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**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CREATIVE CITY  
NETWORKS AND THEIR LOCAL DYNAMICS**

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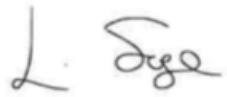
Neither my participation in the GLOCAL Master's programme nor this thesis would have been possible without the consistent support I received from each of my parents in every possible way, from emotional to academic and everything in between. I am also extremely grateful to Aisling for your good humour and words of wisdom which always come exactly when I need them! And thank you Daniel, for being there over the last two years and supporting me even when I decide to move countries once again.

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## **Declaration of Originality**

I hereby confirm that I am the sole author of the written work that follows and that I have compiled it in my own words.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "L. Sijze". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "L" and a stylized "Sijze".

Rotterdam, June 24, 2019.

## Key Abbreviations

CCIs	Cultural and Creative Industries
CIIs	Creative Industries
CCN	Creative Cities Network
ECoC	European Capital of Culture
UCCN	UNESCO Creative Cities Network
UCLG	United Cities, Local Governments
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlement Programme

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## Chapter One: Introduction

In this chapter, the concept of creative city networks (hereafter, CCNs) will be introduced, and some background will be provided to the research presented in this thesis. Subsequently, CCNs will be defined. As this is a comparative case study analysis, the two CCNs and five cities that were chosen for examination will then be introduced. Following this, the research questions will be stated, and the relevance of this thesis will be explained.

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

City networks have become an increasingly widespread phenomenon since the early 1980s.<sup>1</sup> Arguably filling a ‘governance gap’ caused by a gridlock in international diplomacy since that time, cities have the potential to collectively address global problems faced on a local level.<sup>2</sup> The increasing importance of cities on the world stage has been attributed to several factors: most significantly, urbanisation, globalisation, and the efforts of city governments to forge international links in order to boost their competitiveness.<sup>3</sup> The formalisation of this cooperation between cities, whether on a national, regional or international scale, can be understood as city networking. The value of city networks has been more widely recognised in recent times, with 24 per cent of all networks having emerged in the past decade.<sup>4</sup> It is estimated that approximately two hundred city networks are active across the world today. Therefore, “more and more, international networks in general seem to be replacing the international society of states on the diplomatic stage and cities contribute to this phenomenon.”<sup>5</sup> Culture has an important role to play in these city diplomacy activities.

The theory of the ‘creative city’ has similarly gained popularity in recent years, notably since the first use of the term by urban experts Landry and Bianchini in 1995,<sup>6</sup> and an abundance of literature adding to the concept since then, such as Richard Florida’s contentious creative class theory in 2002.<sup>7</sup> In spite of this considerable attention given to creative cities, however,

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<sup>1</sup> Acuto and Rayner, “City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?” *International Affairs* 92, no. 5 (2016): 1155.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 1149.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, General Assembly, *City-to-City Cooperation: Issues Arising from Experience: interim report* (Nairobi: May 25, 2001): 5.

<sup>4</sup> Acuto and Rayner, “City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?,” 1155.

<sup>5</sup> Van der Pluijm, *City Diplomacy: The Expanding Role of Cities in International Politics* (The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 2007), 29.

<sup>6</sup> Landry and Bianchini, *The Creative City* (London: Demos, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2002).



agglomerations of creative cities – or CCNs – have received little discussion to date. Moreover, there is a lack of clarity surrounding the impact of city networks on their member cities and correspondingly, a notable absence of frameworks to measure this. This thesis, then, will seek to address the research gap on CCNs; in doing so, connecting the two prolific but distinct bodies of work on city networks and creative cities.

## 1.2 A DEFINITION OF CREATIVE CITY NETWORKS

Several definitions of city networks have been put forward, such as that of Keiner and Kim, two city networking experts in the field of sustainability, who state that networks are “constructed of nodes (actors) and linkages (information flows) between these nodes.”<sup>8</sup> Fontana proposes that city networks are “systems of relations through which cities can cooperate in order to face the challenges of economic development, social protection, and environmental sustainability.”<sup>9</sup>

For the purposes of this thesis, Acuto and Rayner’s definition of city networks, as “formalised organisations with cities as their main members and characterised by reciprocal and established patterns of communication, policy-making and exchange”, will be taken as the theoretical understanding of city networks.<sup>10</sup> ‘City’, here, refers to a municipality of an urban nature with local government. City networks are of particular interest in the cultural sector, as “creative industries tend to rely on different types of network. Specific formal organisations form one level of networks”.<sup>11</sup> Building on the aforementioned definition proposed by the urbanists Acuto and Rayner, CCNs are understood here as formalised organisations of cities where interaction and exchange are *thematically based* on the cultural and creative activities of member cities.

## 1.3 INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES

In order to limit the scale of the research, this thesis will focus on two of the main CCNs which operate at a global level, and their engagement with the cultural sector of five member cities in

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<sup>8</sup> Keiner and Kim, “Transnational City Networks for Sustainability,” *European Planning Studies* 15, no. 10 (2007): 1382.

<sup>9</sup> Fontana, “City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning,” in *City Networks: Collaboration and Planning for Health and Sustainability*, ed. Athanasia Karakitsiou et al, eBook (Springer, 2017), 17.

<sup>10</sup> Acuto and Rayner, “City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?”, 1149-1150.

<sup>11</sup> Comunian, “Rethinking the Creative City: The Role of Complexity, Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy,” *Urban Studies* 48, no. 6 (2011): 1172.

total. This reflects the title of this thesis, which is concerned with the *local dynamics* created and facilitated by CCNs. Here, ‘dynamics’ are understood to encompass a multitude of processes that are, significantly, bilateral and bidirectional; the term is therefore deemed to provide agency to member cities and is also sufficiently comprehensive. Furthermore, it should be noted that the term ‘Creative City’ in uppercase is distinguished from ‘creative cities’, the former referring to cities that have been officially designated as such by CCNs, and the latter pertaining to the theory of the creative city, as will be discussed in Chapter Two.

The two networks chosen for examination in this study are the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN), which is based at the Headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in Paris; and Culture 21, which is headquartered in Barcelona. An introduction to these two CCNs will be provided in the following, along with a statement of the city case studies.

### 1.3.1 UNESCO Creative Cities Network

The first CCN to be examined is UCCN. As a UNESCO body, UCCN arguably has the highest profile as a global network of creative cities,<sup>12</sup> and has also been referred to as the most “prestigious” CCN.<sup>13</sup> UCCN was launched in 2004 by UNESCO’s Global Alliance for Cultural Diversity.<sup>14</sup> Its mission is to “strengthen cooperation with and among cities that have recognised creativity as a strategic factor of sustainable development as regards economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects.”<sup>15</sup> The network aims to achieve this through partnerships, pilot projects, the promotion of good practices, implementing cooperation programmes and organising training and capacity building.<sup>16</sup> It will be argued in this thesis that UCCN conducts these activities using a top-down approach to network governance.

In 2013, UCCN had 41 member cities; a considerable surge in membership has occurred since then, with a total of 180 UNESCO Creative Cities today. These are categorised according to the following seven creative fields: crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, literature,

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<sup>12</sup> Pearson and Pearson, “Branding Food Culture: UNESCO Cities of Gastronomy,” *Journal of Food Products Marketing* 23, no. 3 (2017): 349.

<sup>13</sup> Namysłak, “Cooperation and Forming Networks of Creative Cities: Polish Experiences,” *European Planning Studies* 22, no. 11 (2014): 2418.

<sup>14</sup> Rosi, “Branding or Sharing? The dialectics of labeling and cooperation in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network,” *Culture and Society* 5 (2014): 108.

<sup>15</sup> UNESCO Creative Cities Network (UCCN), “Mission Statement,” accessed May 7, 2019, [https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/sites/creative-cities/files/uccn\\_mission-statement.pdf](https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/sites/creative-cities/files/uccn_mission-statement.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> UCCN, *Building a Collective Vision for the Future: Strategic Framework*, 2017.

media arts and music. UCCN and its member cities Galway, Ireland (a Creative City of Film since 2014), Glasgow, Scotland (a Creative City of Music since 2008), Barcelona (a Creative City of Literature since 2015), and Berlin, Germany (a Creative City of Design since 2005) will be examined in the present thesis. This selection will be justified in Chapter Three.

### 1.3.2 Culture 21

The second CCN to be studied as part of this research is Culture 21, which is the name given to the Committee on Culture of the global organisation United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). The title Culture 21 stems from the Committee's adoption of Agenda 21 for Culture as their founding document; this was ostensibly the "first worldwide document promoting policies and actions by cities and local governments for cultural development".<sup>17</sup> Agenda 21 for Culture was conceived in September 2002, when a meeting of mayors, cultural councillors and municipal directors of cultural affairs took place in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Here, the need for a document that could provide a framework for cultural policymaking in cities was highlighted, triggering a process that culminated in the approval of Agenda 21 for Culture in Barcelona on 8 May 2004.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, a working group on culture comprising UCLG members was formed for the period of 2005 to 2007. The main aim of this working group was "to promote the role of culture as a central dimension of local policies through the dissemination and implementation of the Agenda 21 for Culture".<sup>19</sup> Building on the success of this group, UCLG constituted a permanent Committee on Culture (known as Culture 21) at the World Congress of Jeju on October 31, 2007.

Today, Culture 21 has 111 member cities, with a further eighteen Local Government Associations (LGAs) as members. In an interesting counterpoint to UCCN, Culture 21 exhibits a strongly bottom-up approach to network governance. The member cities of Culture 21 to be studied in this thesis are Galway in Ireland, Swansea in Wales, and Barcelona in Spain; the former two having taken part in Culture 21's European Pilot City Programme between 2015 and 2018, and Barcelona constituting a Leading City of Agenda 21 for Culture. Again, the reasons for which these three cities were chosen will be elucidated in Chapter Three. Two visualisations of the five urban case studies can be found in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 below.

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<sup>17</sup> Culture 21, "Who We Are," <http://www.agenda21culture.net/who-we-are/committee-on-culture>, accessed January 8, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Culture 21, *Cities, Cultures and Developments: A report that marks the fifth anniversary of Agenda 21 for Culture* (Barcelona: UCLG and Barcelona City Council, 2009), 7.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

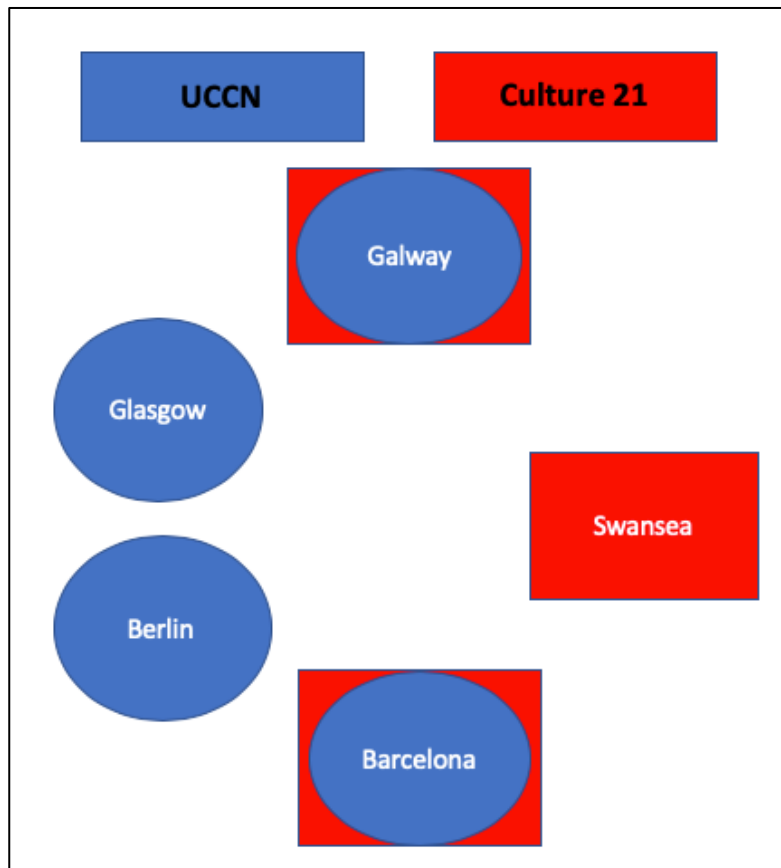


Figure 1.1: Visualisation of City Case Studies.

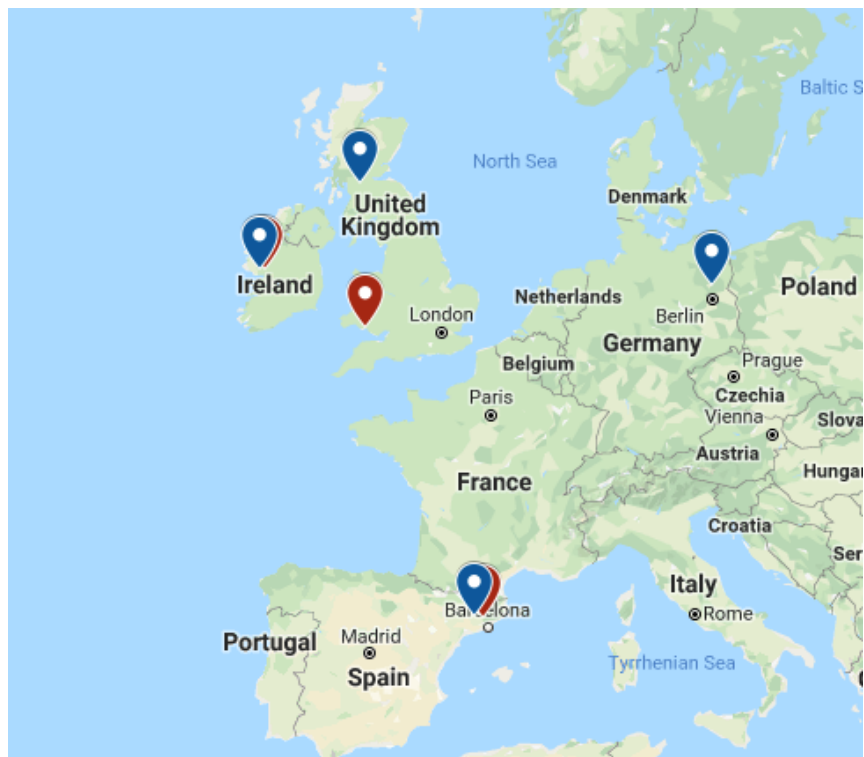


Figure 1.2: Geographic Distribution of City Case Studies.

## 1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Building on the background provided above, and using the five cities and two CCNs as the empirical context for this study, the central research question of this thesis can be formulated as follows:

How have member cities of creative city networks (CCNs) **used their network memberships** to stimulate development in their creative sectors, and how does this relate to the **governance strategies** of the networks?

The above research question was then deconstructed into four key elements which individually serve to illuminate the modus operandi and local outcomes of CCNs. These constitute the sub-questions of this thesis, as follows:

1. Why did the five cities join the CCN(s), and how have they differed in their use of the UNESCO Creative City and/or Culture 21 membership status?
2. What are the perceptions of local cultural actors and representatives from each city of the network's impact on their city - and how do these differ across the cities?
3. How do the distinct network governance strategies of UCCN and Culture 21 (top-down and bottom-up, respectively) determine their outcomes in member cities?
4. What recommendations can be made for enhancing the positive impact of CCNs on the cultural sector of member cities?

## 1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This thesis is of relevance both in the spheres of academia and cultural policymaking at urban level. The notable absence of academic work bridging the two fields of creative cities and city networks serves as the main justification for this study. Acuto and Rayner implicitly identify this research gap, claiming that culture-based networks comprise eleven per cent of all city networks, yet they dedicate no discussion to this significant portion.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the cultural economist Evans argues that the value of CCNs such as UCCN is not only local; rather, they are “able to articulate (and validate) the global culture and world creative industries meta-

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<sup>20</sup> Acuto and Rayner, “City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?”, 1154.

themes.”<sup>21</sup> Given the fact that CCNs can provide valuable contributions and support to cities, it is argued that this is an important research gap which should be filled.

Given the unique position of CCNs, with both global scale and local reach, it seems essential to develop a more comprehensive understanding of their precise nature, *modus operandi* and, importantly, their local dynamics. Pearson and Pearson call for further empirical research on UCCN specifically, which could provide valuable information for both the network and the cities involved.<sup>22</sup> If the benefits of CCN membership could be more clearly identified and communicated, cities would be in a better position to harness these, and in turn, the networks and their legitimacy in the cultural sphere could be bolstered, as well as their effectiveness at the local level.

Finally, Pratt emphasises the importance of archiving and reflecting upon various network governance strategies in the cultural and creative field, in order to be able to learn from failures and successes.<sup>23</sup> No academic research has been produced thus far which examines or compares the governance strategies of CCNs, and their concomitant effects or outcomes. In this way, the present thesis research is innovative as it compares two distinct CCNs and their approaches, linking these with their respective impacts on member cities. It is hoped that this thesis can stimulate some reflection on this topic, which could ultimately be of use for CCNs in developing (governance) strategies and action plans. This could also ensure that resources – which are often limited in city networks and the cultural sector – are allocated in the most efficient way possible and the local challenges and needs of member cities are taken into account.

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<sup>21</sup> Evans, “Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy,” *Urban Studies* 46, nos. 5&6 (2009): 1012.

<sup>22</sup> Pearson and Pearson, “Branding Food Culture,” 353.

<sup>23</sup> Pratt, “The Cultural Contradictions of the Creative City,” *City, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (2011): 20.

## Chapter Two: Historiography

This chapter will explore the key concepts and currents in the literature which form the basis of the discussion on CCNs. The following structure will be taken: Section 2.1 will address the substantial body of literature on creative cities, contextualising this with some debate regarding the concepts of the cultural industries, creative industries (CIs) and cultural and creative industries (CCIs). Section 2.2 will deal with the important component of city networking. Finally, these two concepts will come together in Section 2.3 to provide an overview of the limited research that has been conducted thus far on CCNs.

### 2.1 THEORY OF THE 'CREATIVE CITY'

#### 2.1.1 Emergence of the Creative Industries

Any narrative about creative cities has its origins in the concept of the CIs, which, in turn, should be contextualised with a brief discussion of the preceding concept of the cultural industries. The latter term was first used in Adorno and Horkheimer's seminal work, 'Dialectic of Enlightenment', where the concept was intended to draw critical attention to the commodification of art.<sup>24</sup> Galloway and Dunlop argue that the 'classic' cultural industries arose from the technological advances of the early twentieth century.<sup>25</sup> Within a longer historical context, however, the origin of the cultural industries has been traced back to the nineteenth century, with the increased commercialisation of cultural production in capitalist societies, and the rise of 'mass culture'.<sup>26</sup>

Key features of the cultural industries include high fixed costs of production; low marginal costs of reproduction and distribution; and uncertain demand.<sup>27</sup> The symbolic or immaterial value of the cultural industries has also been emphasised; in 1972, for example, Hirsch proposed an understanding of the cultural industries as "businesses that provide goods and

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<sup>24</sup> Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Verso, 1979[1947]); Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, "Cultural industries and cultural policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 3.

<sup>25</sup> Galloway and Dunlop, "A Critique of Definitions of the Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13, no. 1 (2007): 19.

<sup>26</sup> Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, "Cultural industries and cultural policy," 2.

<sup>27</sup> Garnham, "From cultural to creative industries," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no.1 (2005): 19.

services carrying greater symbolic than material worth”.<sup>28</sup> By the early 1980s, the economic and social value of culture was clearly recognised, and various efforts were made by local authorities to harness this. The Greater London Council (GLC) is cited as being the first local government that utilised the cultural industries as a means of fulfilling public policy objectives and was followed in this by other authorities across the United Kingdom.<sup>29</sup>

An important shift in policy and discourse occurred towards the ‘creative industries’ occurred in the 1990s. It is widely acknowledged that the concept of the CIs originally emerged in Australia in the early 1990s,<sup>30</sup> but was popularised through the marketing of the New Labour government in Britain and its Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), which placed the CIs firmly on the national agenda.<sup>31</sup> Gradually, the ‘creative turn’ spread onto the global plane.<sup>32</sup> Evans notes that this reflected “the shift from culture, and cultural industries as instruments of the nation-state [...], to the more global creative industries.”<sup>33</sup> According to Garnham, a key figure in the development of London’s cultural industries policy in the 1980s, the CIs were “one among a range of products of strands of policy thinking going back to the early 1980s.”<sup>34</sup> In hindsight, however, the emergence of the CIs can be linked with the rise of the knowledge economy which emerged with post-industrialism or post-Fordism in the 1970s. In his 1996 book ‘The Rise of the Network Society’, Castells names this the ‘informational economy’, capturing a shift in value away from materials and industry, and towards innovation and knowledge as the basis for productivity and competitiveness in the economy.<sup>35</sup> Other terms for the informational economy that have been put forward include the ‘knowledge economy’,<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Hirsch, “Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems,” *American Journal of Sociology* 77, no. 4 (1972): 642.

<sup>29</sup> Galloway and Dunlop, “A Critique of Definitions of the Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy,” 18; Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, “Cultural industries and cultural policy,” 3.

<sup>30</sup> United Nations, *Creative Industries and Development*, June 13-18, 2004, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 11<sup>th</sup> Session, São Paulo, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Schlesinger, “The creative economy: invention of a global orthodoxy,” *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 30, no.1 (2017): 76.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Evans, “Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy,” 1009.

<sup>34</sup> Garnham, “From cultural to creative industries,” 16.

<sup>35</sup> Castells, *The Network Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 66.

<sup>36</sup> Currid-Halkett and Scott, “The geography of celebrity and glamour: Reflections on economy, culture, and desire in the city,” *City, Culture and Society* 4 (2013): 3; Etkowitz and Leydesdorff, L (eds.), *Universities and the global knowledge economy: A triple helix of university-industry-government relations* (London: Pinter, 1997).



the ‘creative economy’,<sup>37</sup> ‘third capitalism’,<sup>38</sup> and the ‘cognitive-cultural economy’.<sup>39</sup> Galloway and Dunlop observe that the rise of this knowledge economy provided a significant stimulant for the shift towards CIs.<sup>40</sup>

Various definitions of the CIs have been proposed by academics and public bodies alike: for example, the DCMS in the UK is widely acknowledged as being a pioneer in its use of the term ‘CIs’, and essentially extended the traditional cultural industries to include the copyright industries.<sup>41</sup> This conceptualisation is implicitly accepted in Caves’ transaction cost-based analysis of the microeconomics of the CIs, which defines the latter as industries “in which the product or service is the manifestation of the creativity or artistic abilities of an individual or a team.”<sup>42</sup> The subsequent work of Florida in the early 2000s built on this idea that the new economy is “based on ideas rather than physical capital.”<sup>43</sup> The link between creativity and symbolic value has been emphasised by several other authors, including the historians Friedman and Jones, who state that “creativity is inherent in the entire system of producing goods bearing symbolic meaning.”<sup>44</sup> This also implies intrinsic volatility and variability, as addressed by Thiel, an urban economist who defines the creative economy as a “*reflective production system* characterised by multiple systemic uncertainties.”<sup>45</sup> Further analytically distinctive aspects of the CIs have been highlighted in the literature, such as the role of social networks, which, according to the economist Potts et al, constitute the environment of both the production and consumption of CIs, and ostensibly have a greater influence on individual choices than price signals, or even innate preferences.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*; Markusen and Schrock, “The Artistic Dividend: Urban Artistic Specialisation and Economic Development Implications,” *Urban Studies* 43 (2006).

<sup>38</sup> Peters, Britez and Bulut, “Cybernetic capitalism, informationalism and cognitive labour,” *Geopolitics, History and International Relations* 1 (2009).

<sup>39</sup> Scott, “Capitalism and urbanisation in a new key? The cognitive-cultural dimension,” *Social Forces* 85 (2007).

<sup>40</sup> Galloway and Dunlop, “A Critique of Definitions of the Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy,” 19.

<sup>41</sup> Department of Culture, Media and Sport, “Foreword,” Creative Industries Mapping Documents 2001, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/creative-industries-mapping-documents-2001>, accessed June 2, 2019.

<sup>42</sup> Caves, *Creative Industries: Contracts between Art and Commerce* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000): 1.

<sup>43</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*; Florida et al, “Creativity in the City,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Creative Industries*, ed. Candace Jones, Mark Lorenzen and Jonathan Sapsed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), n.pag.

<sup>44</sup> Friedman and Jones, “Creative Industries in History,” *Business History Review* 85 (Summer 2011): 241.

<sup>45</sup> Thiel, “Creative cities and the reflexivity of the urban economy,” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 24, no. 1 (2017): 22.

<sup>46</sup> Potts et al, “Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries,” *Journal of Cultural Economy* 32 (2008): 170.

Although the concepts of cultural industries and CIs are often used interchangeably – and jointly, forming the CCIs – the CIs have been distinguished from the cultural industries by the European Commission as “those industries which use culture as an input and have a cultural dimension, although their outputs are mainly functional.”<sup>47</sup> The United Nations (UN), meanwhile, position the CIs “at the crossroads between the arts, business and technology”.<sup>48</sup> A KEA report proposes an understanding of the creative economy as a “radiation process”, centred on the locus of the ‘arts’ and radiating outwards towards “creative industries and activities”.<sup>49</sup> Despite these distinctions, the CIs, like the cultural industries, are widely harnessed as a means of securing regional competitive advantage; moreover, Evans states that a key element of policy instruments based on the CIs relates to their “perceived social and environmental benefits and externalities through realising ‘hope values’ (land and labour markets, innovation and skills), trickle-down effects and improved quality of life”.<sup>50</sup> These spill-overs are also recognised by the European Commission, which identifies the CCIs as important drivers of economic and social innovation in other sectors, while recent trends have seen the CCIs being channelled as a means of promoting social cohesion.<sup>51</sup> This latter aspect is important, and reflects the UNESCO Convention which extends the value of culture beyond economic purposes, defining the CCIs as “those activities, goods and services, which at the time they are developed are considered as a specific attribute, use or purpose, embody or convey cultural expressions, irrespective of the commercial value they may have.”<sup>52</sup>

In concord with the myriad attempts to define the CCIs in theoretical terms, many models and classification systems to describe their scope have been developed, which are too numerous to discuss in detail here. However, one significant framework that should be mentioned is Throsby’s ‘concentric circles model of the cultural industries’ (Figure 2.1). For the purposes of this study, it is interesting to compare Throsby’s model with UCCN’s classification of creativity according to seven thematic fields. Interestingly, three of these are not included in Throsby’s classification system, while the remaining four are spread across three distinct

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<sup>47</sup> European Commission, *Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries*, 2010, Green Paper COM (2010) 183 final, Brussels, 6.

<sup>48</sup> United Nations, *Creative Industries and Development*, 4.

<sup>49</sup> KEA, *The Economy of Culture in Europe*, Study prepared for the European Commission (Directorate-General for Education and Culture), October 2006, 53.

<sup>50</sup> Evans, “Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy,” 1008.

<sup>51</sup> European Commission, *Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries*, 6.

<sup>52</sup> UNESCO, *The 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, October 3-21, 2005, General Conference of UNESCO, 33<sup>rd</sup> Session, Paris, 13-14.

categories in his model (see Table 2.1). It is worth acknowledging that Throsby's study dates from 2008, with significant technological developments occurring since then, allowing for the advancement of media art forms. However, this discrepancy also reflects the broader dilemma that exists of developing a single, coherent classification system of the CIs and cultural industries: many non-traditional cultural industries, such as gastronomy, are variously incorporated into different models.

In the framework of this study, UCCN and Culture 21 converge to some degree regarding an understanding of culture and creativity; the former network is fundamentally related to UNESCO's 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, while the first principle of Agenda 21 for Culture is based on this Convention. Culture 21, therefore, understands culture largely in relation to cultural diversity and according to principles of cultural democracy and sustainability; UCCN, meanwhile, is organised according to the seven creative fields listed below. For the purposes of this thesis, however, it is deemed sufficient to acknowledge the ongoing debate and the various definitions, as outlined above, as a context for the following discussion on creative cities.

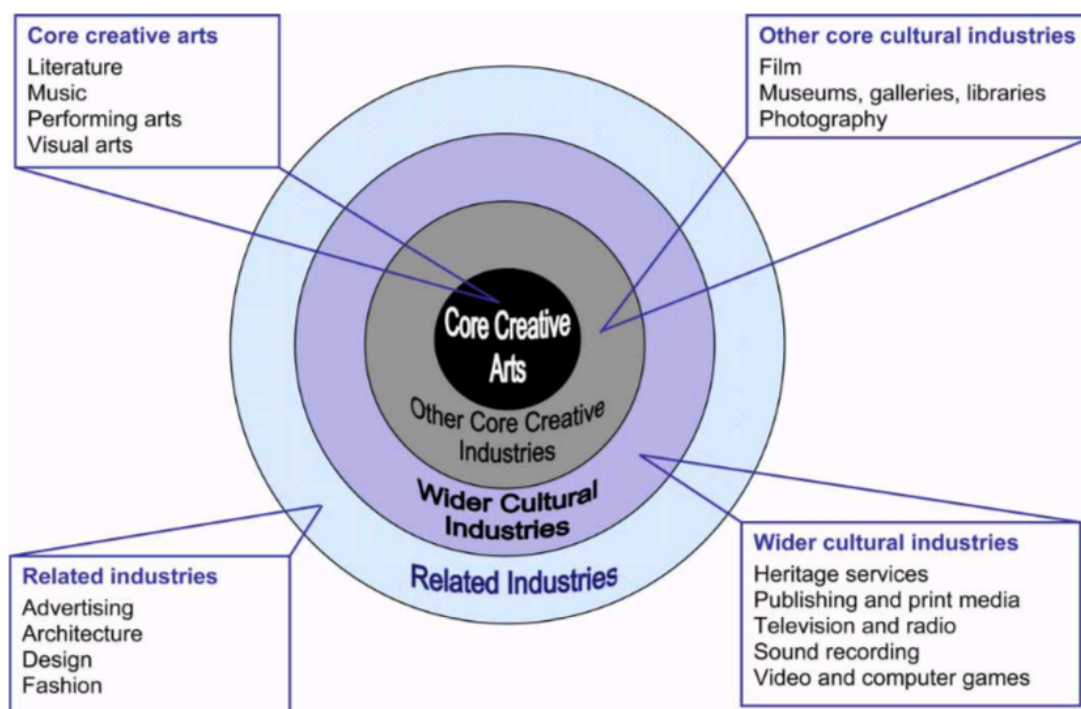


Figure 2.1: Throsby's Concentric Circles Model of the Cultural Industries.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Throsby, "The Concentric Circles Model of the Cultural Industries." *Cultural Trends* 17, no. 3 (2008): 150.

Table 2.1: UCCN Thematic Fields Compared with Throsby's Concentric Circles Model.<sup>54</sup>

UCCN Thematic Field	Throsby's Classification
Craft and Folk Art	Not listed
Design	Related Industries
Film	Other core cultural industries
Gastronomy	Not listed
Literature	Core creative arts
Media Art	Not listed
Music	Core creative arts

### 2.1.2 Creative Industries and the City

The importance of cities for creativity is not new: as early as 1961, Jacobs noted that “creativity has always been intimately related to cities” in her seminal work ‘The Death and Life of Great American Cities’.<sup>55</sup> In 1985, Andersson proposed the influential concept of ‘creative milieux’.<sup>56</sup> However, the restructuring of the international economy, entailing the move towards an informational economy by advanced industrial societies and the corresponding emergence of the CIs, have had significant implications for cities, as the primary location of creative activities,<sup>57</sup> or places of “situated creativity”.<sup>58</sup> Not only do cities provide a favourable environment to cultural systems of production; they also provide “mechanisms to *compensate uncertainties*” intrinsic to CIs.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the logic of economic policy has prevailed within the discourse on CIs, with the latter being viewed as an opportunity for cities to re-invent themselves in the context of deindustrialisation in the West. In recognition of this economic value, urban creative strategies had essentially become a “doctrine”,<sup>60</sup> or even an “article of faith” by the 2000s.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Throsby, “The Concentric Circles Model of the Cultural Industries”; UCCN, “Creative Cities Network,” <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/creative-cities-map>, accessed June 1, 2019.

<sup>55</sup> Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 5.

<sup>56</sup> Florida et al, “Creativity in the City”, n.pag.

<sup>57</sup> Gómez, “Reflective images: Urban regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao,” *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 22, no. 1 (1998): 107.

<sup>58</sup> Cohendet et al, “The Anatomy of the Creative City,” *Industry and Innovation* 17, no. 1 (2010): 91; Pratt, “The cultural contradictions of the creative city,” *City, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (2011).

<sup>59</sup> Thiel, “Creative cities and the reflexivity of the urban economy,” 22.

<sup>60</sup> Schlesinger, “Creativity: from discourse to doctrine?” *Screen* 48, no. 3 (2007): 379.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 377.

The first coherent use of the ‘creative city’ concept can be attributed to Bianchini and Landry’s seminal study from 1995 entitled ‘The Creative City’.<sup>62</sup> Landry further developed this research with his publication of ‘The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators’ in 2000.<sup>63</sup> This work was linked to the repositioning of cultural industries and regeneration within UK urban and economic development in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Indeed, the concept of the creative city was synonymous with regenerative potential until 1998, when DCMS further popularised the notion of the CIs and a shift in focus occurred towards the production of culture and skilled creative labour.<sup>64</sup> Ponzini and Rossi identify culture-driven urban renewal programmes as “paradigmatic examples of post-modern, culturally orientated urbanism”.<sup>65</sup> The latter, they propose, comprises a new stage of ‘entrepreneurial urbanism’, a concept introduced by Harvey in 1989.<sup>66</sup> Here, material and non-material factors are combined in the revitalisation of urban environments, which is exemplified by urban strategies in the form of “unique events, cultural policies, promotion of tourism or image improvement [...] to further develop the economic basis of the urban area.”<sup>67</sup> The outcomes of such urban regeneration strategies are frequently questionable, however: Belfiore reiterates the results of a DCMS report from 1999 which states that “relative to the volume of arts activity taking place in the country’s poorest neighbourhoods, the evidence of the contribution it makes to neighbourhood renewal is paltry”.<sup>68</sup>

Prolific academic studies have delved further into this problematic aspect of the creative city theory, which also relates to the socio-economic perspective that makes a link between creative city policies and social inequalities and inclusion.<sup>69</sup> Peck, a geographer, writes that elite-focused creativity strategies are centred on the subordination of social welfare concerns to economic development imperatives, from which only a third of the population benefits.<sup>70</sup> Such policies, he argues, are enabled by a neoliberalised terrain, and quickened by the enduring

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<sup>62</sup> Landry and Bianchini, *The Creative City*.

<sup>63</sup> Landry, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (London: Earthscan Publications, 2000).

<sup>64</sup> Comunian, “Rethinking the Creative City,” 1158.

<sup>65</sup> Ponzini and Rossi, “Becoming a Creative City: The Entrepreneurial Mayor, Network Politics and the Promise of an Urban Renaissance,” *Urban Studies* 47, no. 5 (2010): 1039.

<sup>66</sup> Harvey, “From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism,” *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography* 71, no. 1 (1989): 3-17.

<sup>67</sup> Gómez, “Reflective images,” 110.

<sup>68</sup> Belfiore, “On bullshit in cultural policy practice and research: notes from the British case,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no. 3 (2009): 348.

<sup>69</sup> Gerhard et al (eds.), *Inequalities in Creative Cities: Issues, Approaches, Comparisons* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

<sup>70</sup> Peck, “Struggling with the Creative Class,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 4 (2005): 766.

legacies of entrepreneurial urbanism.<sup>71</sup> This hypothesis is refuted by other authors, such as Nakagawa, an urban culture academic, who propounds a non-consumption-oriented creative city model whereby cities can be rebuilt through the creativity of culture and the arts.<sup>72</sup> Sasaki also emphasises the positive social potential of creative cities, highlighting their regional, grassroots capacity to solve issues of social exclusion, such as homelessness.<sup>73</sup>

Another important theme that has received much attention in relation to creative cities is the concept of cultural and creative clusters,<sup>74</sup> which largely explains the role of cities as key nodes in the creative economy. Jacobs' study from 1969, for example, shows that diversity of human capital – which is predominantly found in metropolitan areas – is key to the emergence of cultural clusters.<sup>75</sup> The seminal work of Glaeser et al from 1992 examines three key theories about knowledge spill-overs and externalities, namely those of Jacobs, Marshall-Arrow-Romer (MAR) and Porter, ultimately concluding that competition helps industrial growth and city diversity boosts employment levels.<sup>76</sup> These early writings on clusters would later inform the discussion on the operation and economic importance of the CIs in an urban context.

Other key related aspects of the creative city include the creative city as a branding strategy,<sup>77</sup> and significantly, the creative class.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, it is difficult to speak about creative cities without mentioning this latter concept, introduced by Florida in 2002 to describe individuals with occupations that are, to a significant extent, associated with the creation of meaningful new forms.<sup>79</sup> This resulted in a new understanding of the political economy of creative cities, with its emphasis on the 'Three Ts': talent, technology and tolerance. Florida's theory has provoked much discussion about creative cities and people; at best, it has been viewed as "an urban renaissance fostered by the economic and social externalities granted by the localisation

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<sup>71</sup> Peck, "Struggling with the Creative Class," 764.

<sup>72</sup> Nakagawa, "Socially inclusive cultural policy and arts-based urban community regeneration, *Cities* 27, no. 1 (2010): S24.

<sup>73</sup> Sasaki, "Urban regeneration through cultural creativity and social inclusion: Rethinking creative city theory through a Japanese case study," *Cities* 27 (2010): S4.

<sup>74</sup> Cooke and Lazzeretti, *Creative Cities, Cultural Clusters and Local Economic Development* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2008); Porter, "Location, competition, and economic development: local clusters in a global economy," *Economic Development Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (2000); Zarlenga et al, "Cultural clusters and social interaction dynamics: The case of Barcelona," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 23, no. 3 (2016).

<sup>75</sup> Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1969).

<sup>76</sup> Glaeser et al, "Growth in Cities," *Journal of Political Economy* 100, no. 6 (1992): 1150.

<sup>77</sup> Okano and Samson, "Cultural urban branding and creative cities: A theoretical framework for promoting creativity in the public spaces," *Cities* 27 (2010); Pratt, "The cultural contradictions of the creative city".

<sup>78</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid; Moss, *Artistic Enclaves in the Post-Industrial City: A Case Study of Lawrenceville, Pittsburgh* (Switzerland: Springer, 2017): 13.

of artistic, and more generally culturally and economically creative activities”.<sup>80</sup> However, negative criticism of the creative class theory has been abundant, with its perception as a neoliberal concept that promotes top-down cultural regeneration and inexorably, the displacement of artists, or the ‘creative underclass’,<sup>81</sup> from increasingly gentrified urban areas as part of a ‘buzz-to-bland’ cycle.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, in 2017, Florida himself published a book entitled ‘The New Urban Crisis’ which acknowledges that “the creative classes have grabbed hold of many of the world’s greatest cities and choked them to death”.<sup>83</sup>

In conclusion, the concept of the creative city gained considerable momentum in the 2000s due to a widespread recognition of its economic value and positive externalities, for example in terms of social cohesion.<sup>84</sup> It can be said that culture-based regeneration, constituting a trend within entrepreneurial urbanism, paved the way for the creative city concept to some degree, but also serves as a key instrument within urban creative strategies. Despite the strong economic links of the creative city theory, however, it should be noted that a backlash has occurred against the neoliberal tendencies of creative city strategies, advocating instead for the positive social value that they can create. Jakob, for example, elucidates that “the promise of the creative city model lies in its promotion of the promise of creativity and liveability for all.”<sup>85</sup> Therefore, being a creative city does not only imply increased tourism flows, or revenues generated by the CIs: rather, there are numerous spill-overs into other sectors that can be harnessed to boost innovation and improve liveability in cities.<sup>86</sup> All of these aspects are of relevance for the present study, as they can provide some context for the rise of CCNs, as well as the motivation of cities to attain membership.

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<sup>80</sup> Ponzini and Rossi, “Becoming a Creative City,” 1039.

<sup>81</sup> Morgan and Ren, “The Creative Underclass: Culture, Subculture, and Urban Renewal,” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34, no. 2 (2012): 127-130.

<sup>82</sup> Moss, *Artistic Enclaves in the Post-Industrial City*, 18.

<sup>83</sup> Florida, *The New Urban Crisis: Gentrification, Housing Bubbles, Growing Inequality, and What We Can Do About It* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2017); Wetherell, “Richard Florida Is Sorry,” *Jacobin*, August 19, 2017, <https://jacobinmag.com/2017/08/new-urban-crisis-review-richard-florida>, accessed June 20, 2019.

<sup>84</sup> KEA, *The Economy of Culture in Europe*.

<sup>85</sup> Jakob, “Constructing the creative neighbourhood: Hopes and limitations of creative city policies in Berlin,” *City, Culture and Society* 1 (2010): 193.

<sup>86</sup> McNeilly, *Cultural and Creative Spillovers in Europe: A Follow-Up Review* (European Research Partnership on Cultural and Creative Spillovers, 2018), 2.

## 2.2 CITY NETWORKING

### 2.2.1 Networks: An Introduction

Much has been written about the broad concept of networks to date. Certain networking types have received more attention than others in academic discourse; notable examples include social networks and knowledge networks. In the extensive discussion around globalisation, cities have been identified as the key “strategic sites” where globalisation materialises, with global flows of money, information, and people occurring via transnational networks of cities.<sup>87</sup> In 1986, Friedmann developed the ‘world city’ hypothesis to describe cities which serve as the organising nodes of the global economic system.<sup>88</sup> In 1991, Sassen coined the term ‘global cities’ to encompass a limited number of cities that constitute sites for multinational corporations, or nodes in a global network.<sup>89</sup> In 2001, the Globalisation and World Cities (GaWC) organisation devised the interlocking network model (INM) to facilitate the study of the world city network from a corporate perspective.<sup>90</sup> This profoundly firm-centric approach has characterised the majority of research about city networks thus far: the economic geographer Grabher, for example, acknowledges that “the firm still enjoys an ontological and epistemological privilege”, yet it remains the focus of his discussion.<sup>91</sup> The predominance of a corporate focus has meant that the topic of inter-urban networking, in the sense of cooperation between cities towards common goals, has been overshadowed. Even less research has been dedicated to the subject of city networking with cultural incentives or aims.

### 2.2.2 The Rise of City Networks

Cities have long been connected. Currently home to more than half the world’s population, cities are well-placed, if not forced to address global challenges which manifest themselves on a local, or urban, level.<sup>92</sup> In solving these issues, formalised city networks can be of assistance to local authorities; in doing so, creating added public value and increasing cities’ chances of success by improving their competitive advantages.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Sassen, “The Global City: Introducing a Concept,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 11, no. 38 (2005): 38.

<sup>88</sup> Friedmann, “The World City Hypothesis,” *Development and Change* 17, no. 1 (1986): 69-83;

Robinson, “Global and World Cities: A View from off the Map”, 534

<sup>89</sup> Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

<sup>90</sup> Taylor, “Specification of the world city network,” *Geographical Analysis* 33, no. 2 (2001): 181-194.

<sup>91</sup> Grabher, “Learning in Projects, Remembering in Networks? Communal, Sociality and Connectivity in Project Ecologies,” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 11, no. 2 (2004): 104.

<sup>92</sup> Acuto and Rayner, “City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?”, 1149-50.

<sup>93</sup> Fontana, “City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning,” 18.



Koon-hong Chan developed the trans-municipal networking (TMN) model, which encompasses “inter-governmental relationships between cities that work through peer-to-peer ties among municipal officials on specific common challenges.”<sup>94</sup> Thus, city networks can serve as collective actors and negotiate across boundaries.<sup>95</sup> Keiner and Kim corroborate that “networking between cities is generally seen as the most effective way to strengthen cities’ capacity to solve major [...] problems, deliver urban services to its residents, and develop effective urban governance and management structures.”<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, UN-Habitat classifies formal networks as one of several possible support modalities for city-to-city (C2C) cooperation: networks, they argue, “represent a creative way of moving beyond the time and resource and geographic limitations of programmes.”<sup>97</sup> All of these inter-urban networking models reflect the idea of city diplomacy, as mentioned in the Introduction. Therefore, the concept of city networking has gained considerable strength in recent decades.

The start of international city networking in the modern era can be dated back to 1913, when the International Union of Cities (IUC) was founded (changing its name to the International Union of Local Authorities, or IULA, in 1928).<sup>98</sup> The City/County Management Association (ICMA) was established in 1914.<sup>99</sup> A new generation of networks emerged following the Second World War, based on contending interpretations of international order in the bipolar world of the Cold War.<sup>100</sup> In 1946, the idea of town-twinning was introduced, reflecting a desire for international peace and cooperation. Sister Cities International (SCI) emerged in 1956, and the United Town Organisation (UTO) in 1957. Just one new international city network appeared between 1957 and 1982, the International Network for Urban Development (INTA, founded in 1974). Between 1982 and 2004, however, the total number of networks grew from eight to 49,<sup>101</sup> reflecting the proliferation and diversification in cities’ international activities in the context of globalisation, Europeanisation and changing relationships between the state

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<sup>94</sup> Chan, “City diplomacy and “glocal” governance: revitalizing cosmopolitan democracy,” 141.

<sup>95</sup> Acuto and Rayner, “City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?”, 1151.

<sup>96</sup> Keiner and Kim, “Transnational City Networks for Sustainability,” 1371.

<sup>97</sup> United Nations, “City-to-City Cooperation,” 33.

<sup>98</sup> CIEDEL, “The Unstoppable Internationalisation of Cities and Regions: Issues – Trends – Prospects,” Highlights of the Symposium on December 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> 2017, Lyon, n.pag.

<sup>99</sup> Keiner and Kim, “Transnational City Networks for Sustainability,” 1372.

<sup>100</sup> CIEDEL, “The Unstoppable Internationalisation of Cities and Regions,” n.pag.

<sup>101</sup> CIEDEL, “The Unstoppable Internationalisation of Cities and Regions,” n.pag.

and local authorities.<sup>102</sup> The unification process of international city networks culminated in 2004, with the establishment of the aforementioned “global umbrella network” UCLG.<sup>103</sup> A surge in network establishment is observable shortly after this, with 24% of all city networks being established between 2006 and 2016 (see Figure 2.2).<sup>104</sup> Most of these were based on particular topics, categories or techniques, reflecting the earlier ideology of IUC of cities supporting cities.<sup>105</sup> In spite of this significant history, however, the International Centre for Local Development Studies (CIEDEL) highlights the challenge for city networks in operating simultaneously at the local and supra-national levels: in international diplomacy and politics, the state retains central power, and a state-centred vision prevails.<sup>106</sup>

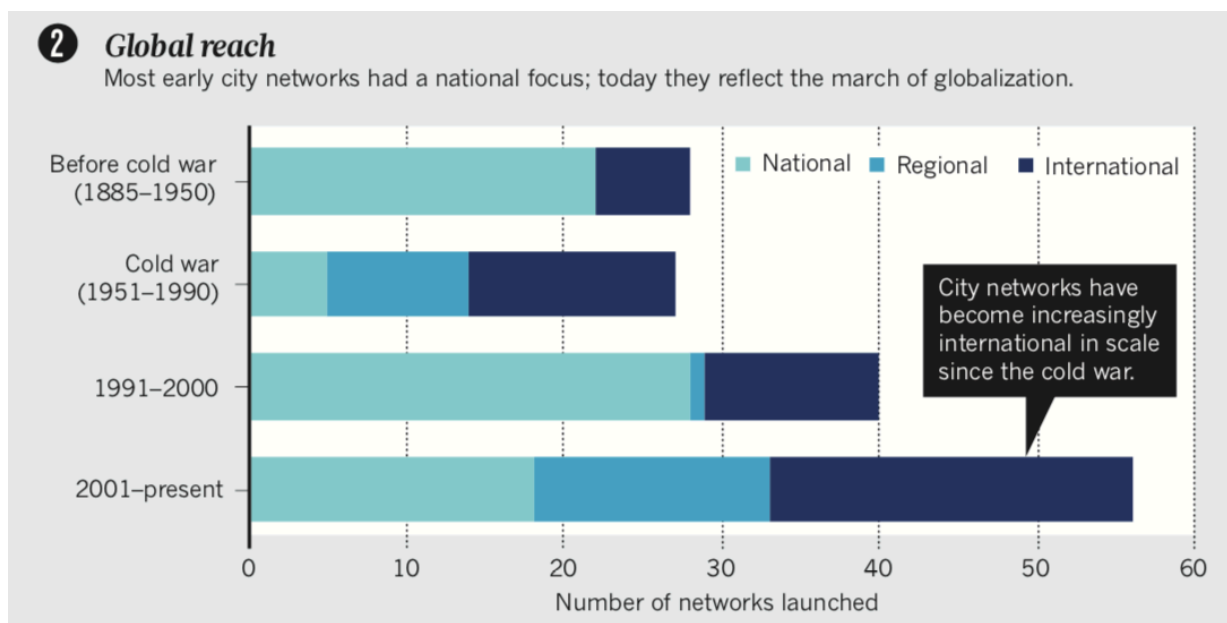


Figure 2.2: The Boom in International City Networking, 2001–2016.<sup>107</sup>

### 2.2.3 Classifying City Networks

Various typologies of city networks have been put forward which can help us to understand their modus operandi. For example, Keiner and Kim assessed the effectiveness of 53 city networks operating in the field of sustainability, focusing on aspects such as direct involvement and connectivity between cities.<sup>108</sup> Another significant classification system for international

<sup>102</sup> Beal and Pinson, “When Mayors Go Global: International Strategies, Urban Governance and Leadership,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 1 (2014): 303.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Acuto and Rayner, “City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?”, 1155.

<sup>105</sup> CIEDEL, “The Unstoppable Internationalisation of Cities and Regions,” n.pag.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Acuto, “Give Cities a Seat at the Top Table,” *Nature* 537 (2016): 612.

<sup>108</sup> Keiner and Kim, “Transnational City Networks for Sustainability,” 1370.

city networks is that of Fontana, who bases his typology on three key definitional criteria: the *spatial scale* of the network; the *nature of relations* between cities as network nodes; and *thematism*, or the network's thematic field of operation.<sup>109</sup>

This latter dimension, thematism, is perhaps the most fundamental aspect by which to classify city networks. It is estimated that over two hundred city networks are active today, 11% of which operate in the cultural field (see Figure 2.3)<sup>110</sup> However, Acuto and Rayner affirm that nearly 71% of all networks are 'multi-purpose', meaning that they "formally act across at least two major areas of policy".<sup>111</sup> Thus, the proportion of city networks which operate solely in the cultural arena could be obscured or diminished.

Finally, this study proposes that another important distinction to be made between international city networks is their approach to network governance. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

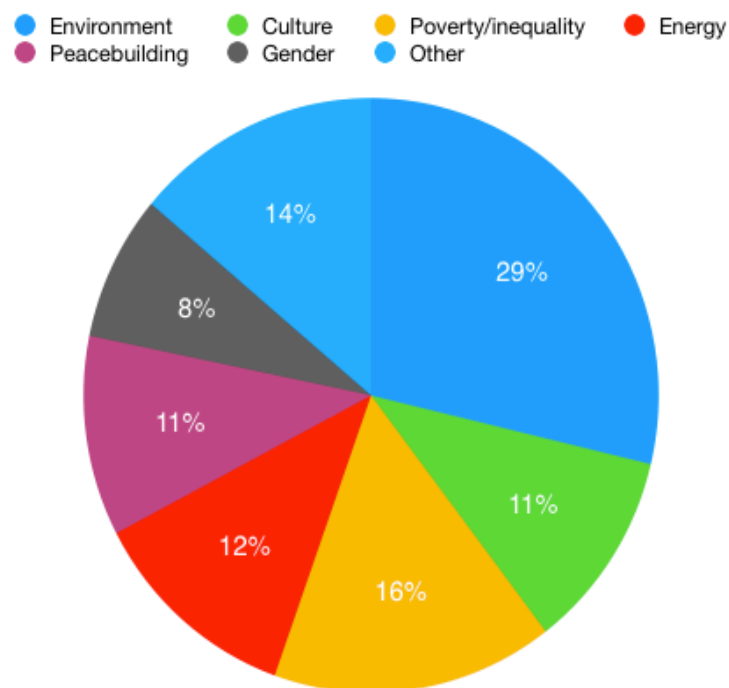


Figure 2.3: Thematic Focus of City Networks.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Fontana, "City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning," 20.

<sup>110</sup> Acuto and Rayner, "City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock-ins?", 1154.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 1153.

<sup>112</sup> Elaborated from Acuto and Rayner, "City networks: breaking gridlocks or forging (new) lock ins?", 1154.

## 2.3 THE NETWORKING OF CREATIVE CITIES

### 2.3.1 CCNs: Networks of Networks

The global dissemination of the creative cities concept has led to the creation of networks for pooling knowledge and innovative strategies in the management of local culture.<sup>113</sup> In spite of the prevalence of CCNs today, however, the topic of inter-urban networking is far outweighed by the literature which focuses on networks *within* creative cities. For example, Potts et al write that “the ‘economics’ of creative industries is an economics of networks.”<sup>114</sup> Here, the authors are arguing for the importance of social networks in the CIs, which they believe function as markets in themselves. Indeed, CCNs have even been conceived as “networks of networks”, implying the centrality of social connections and interactions to activities in the cultural sector.<sup>115</sup> In 1995, the economist Batten coined the term ‘creative network city’ to refer to a city which, among other factors, fosters a “creatively diversified environment for all citizens” and has a polycentric urban structure.<sup>116</sup> This concept was therefore also embedded at the intra-urban level, although Batten correctly predicted that creative network cities would transcend national borders in the twenty-first century, due to the reliance of their dynamism upon transnational human resources.<sup>117</sup> Extrapolated to a global scale, then, CCNs have the capacity to foster dialogue between cultural actors from many cities, spinning a web of creative sub-networks and exchange across the world.

Nonetheless, inter-urban networking is, according to Landry, more complex than inter-firm networking, given the amalgam of actors in any given urban area: the public, private and voluntary sectors all co-exist, and each has its own organisational culture and agenda.<sup>118</sup> Fontana corroborates the difficulties of engaging effectively in city networking, at least partly due to “the roles played by and the relations established among all the social actors, both within and beyond urban boundaries.”<sup>119</sup> These views would seem to align with a complexity theory (CT) perspective of cities, whereby cities represent complex adaptive systems (CAS): this

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<sup>113</sup> Patricio-Mulero and Rius-Ulldemolins, “From creative city to generative governance of the cultural policy system?: The case of Barcelona's candidature as UNESCO City of Literature,” *City, Culture and Society* 10 (2017): 3.

<sup>114</sup> Potts et al, “Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries,” 171.

<sup>115</sup> Fontana, “City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning,” 20.

<sup>116</sup> Batten, “Network Cities – Creative Urban Agglomerations for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” *Urban Studies* 32, no. 2 (1995): 323.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 325.

<sup>118</sup> Landry, *The Creative City*, 129.

<sup>119</sup> Fontana, “City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning,” 18.

implies that they are open, foster non-linear interactions, often follow path dependency and display adaptive behaviour.<sup>120</sup> It would follow, then, that a CCN is inherently composed of many diverse urban centres which are all pursuing distinct trajectories. Discordant with this is Namyślak's statement that CCNs comprise cities with comparable creative sector profiles; this undermines the diversity of such networks and somewhat universalises the creative city experience.<sup>121</sup> Nevertheless, it can be surmised that CCN membership represents a significant commonality in the otherwise distinct trajectories of cities.

### **2.3.2 CCN Membership as an Urban Revitalisation Strategy**

There has been extensive debate on the link between urban renewal and creative cities, as discussed previously in Section 2.1.2. In order to boost their cultural value in the face of high global competition, cities pursue various revitalisation strategies: these may take the form of mega-events, flagship buildings or architecture,<sup>122</sup> or the European City of Culture status.<sup>123</sup> Sociologists Patricio-Mulero and Rius-Ulldemolins present the interesting argument that a fourth potential catalyst for urban revitalisation is membership to CCNs.<sup>124</sup> In their view, CCNs can stimulate the formulation of urban policies which seek to combine economic growth, social transformation, and urban development.<sup>125</sup> The authors draw upon the example of Barcelona's cultural strategy, which "can be understood as an attempt (marked by some signal failures) to avoid the negative effect of a branding cultural strategy based on a standard global culture pushing mega events and flagship cultural institutions".<sup>126</sup> Given Barcelona's active membership in several CCNs – including but not limited to UCCN and Culture 21 – CCNs would appear to represent an attractive option for the cultural development and internationalisation of cities, offering an alternative to neoliberal city branding and marketing.

### **2.3.3 Beyond the Creative City: Towards a Discourse on CCNs**

In spite of some recognition of CCNs' potential to enhance cities' cultural development, as noted above, CCNs have also been considerably under-researched within this crucial aspect.

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<sup>120</sup> Comunian, "Rethinking the Creative City," 1161-2.

<sup>121</sup> Namyślak, "Cooperation and Forming Networks of Creative Cities," 2412.

<sup>122</sup> Evans, "Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy," 1006; Jakob, "Constructing the creative neighbourhood," 194.

<sup>123</sup> Garcia, "Deconstructing the City of Culture: The Long-term Cultural Legacies of Glasgow 1990," *Urban Studies* 42, nos. 5/6 (2005).

<sup>124</sup> Patricio-Mulero and Rius-Ulldemolins, "From creative city to generative governance of the cultural policy system?," 1.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 2.

Rosi, of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, asserts that although “the concept of UNESCO Creative Cities has not been created to adhere to a precise academic model, it corresponds to a well-defined theoretical framework based on the notion that culture is strategic for sustainable development.”<sup>127</sup> Moreover, Sasaki attributes the broader global dissemination of the creative city concept, at least in part, to the launch of UCCN in 2004: he argues that interest in the creative cities “ideal” has spread beyond the confines of Europe and America, to Asia, and onto developing countries throughout the world.<sup>128</sup> Given the significance of CCNs, then, as well as the considerable attention received by the theory of the creative city, both in the academic and urban cultural policymaking spheres, the absence of academic work on CCNs – as agglomerations of creative cities – is all the more notable.

In the most general terms, it can be stated that “network-forming contributes to the development of CIs by strengthening the potential of cooperating cities”.<sup>129</sup> However, there does not appear to be a clear consensus as to how networks achieve this. The profound difficulty of evaluating networks’ contribution to member cities is highlighted by Fontana, who writes that “a very frequent weakness is the lack of measures to assess city networking and other contents of urban strategic plans”.<sup>130</sup> The issue with this is that actions and outcomes, both in the past and present, cannot be assessed comprehensively, and future plans cannot be adapted accordingly.<sup>131</sup> The remainder of this thesis, then, will seek to address this shortcoming by analysing the *modus operandi* and local dynamics UCCN and Culture 21, ultimately providing some reconsideration of how they can best support their member cities globally.

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<sup>127</sup> Rosi, “Branding or Sharing?”, 108.

<sup>128</sup> Sasaki, “Urban regeneration through cultural creativity and social inclusion,” S3.

<sup>129</sup> Namyslak, “Cooperation and Forming Networks of Creative Cities,” 2412.

<sup>130</sup> Fontana, “City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning,” 36.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter 3: Methodology

In order to adequately address the concept of CCNs and answer the research questions, an appropriate methodology was developed for the present study. This chapter will provide an overview of the chosen research strategy: first, the objectives of the study will be reiterated, and their operationalisation will be outlined. In doing so, the relevant sub-concepts, variables and measurable indicators will be presented. Subsequently, the research design – a comparative case study analysis – will be justified, together with the selected empirical contexts. This also encompasses some discussion of the main limitations and challenges of the selected research strategy. Finally, the data collection methods – namely, secondary data analysis and qualitative interviews – will be addressed.

### 3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND OPERATONALISATION

The main objective of the present study is to answer the research question stated in Chapter One: namely, how have member cities of CCNs used their network memberships to stimulate development in their creative sectors, and how does this relate to the governance strategies of the networks?

Below, the four sub-questions that were elaborated to answer the main research question are further deconstructed in order to define the scope of the research.

Table 3.1: Research Sub-Questions and Elaboration

	Sub-Question	Elaboration
1	<i>Why</i> did the five cities join the CCN(s), and <i>how</i> have they differed in their use of the UNESCO Creative City and/or Culture 21 membership status?	What were the motivations of each city in attaining CCN membership? For what purposes has this been used in each city (e.g. branding, partnerships, etc.)? How does the status create public value?
2	What are the perceptions of local cultural actors and representatives from each city of the network's impact on their city - and how do these differ across the cities?	Do cultural actors in each city feel that the network makes a valuable/positive contribution to their city? (How) are cultural actors directly affected by the network? What do they feel could be done better by the network and their city regarding the cultural sector?

3	How do the distinct network governance strategies of UCCN and Culture 21 (top-down and bottom-up, respectively) determine their outcomes in member cities?	How do the distinct relationships of UCCN and Culture 21 to their member cities (determined by their governance approaches) relate to specific outcomes locally? Are these positive/negative? What should the networks learn from these failures and successes?
4	What recommendations can be made for enhancing the positive impact of CCNs on the cultural sector of member cities?	Is there something the CCNs could be doing differently in their work with member cities? Which strategies could they pursue to generate positive developments in local cultural sectors?

In order to answer the above questions, it is necessary to operationalise them as variables, or more specific analytical components. Each of these can be assessed according to a range of qualitative indicators, as presented below.

Table 3.2: Operationalisation of Variables and Indicators

Variables	Indicators	Data Collection Method
City's <b>motivation</b> to join CCN (historical context)	Various, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Desire for international recognition- to be on a 'world stage'</li> <li>• Way of forging international partnerships/ cooperation projects</li> <li>• Learning from other cities' experiences/best practices</li> <li>• See CCN membership as a springboard for becoming UK/ European Capital of Culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• City and CCN reports</li> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> </ul>
City's <b>use</b> of CCN membership/ status	Various, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Partnerships</li> <li>• Branding</li> <li>• Boosting a particular cultural sector</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports published by cities</li> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> </ul>
<b>Visibility</b> of the status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Highly visible</u>, i.e. through publicity campaigns, social media, extensive use of logo; reaching broad range of people in the city</li> <li>• <u>Visible</u>, but only to people in the cultural sector, e.g. through city council publications; use of logo only at specific events</li> <li>• <u>Less visible/invisible</u>: not even widely known within the cultural sector</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> <li>• Some consultancy reports</li> </ul>
Relation to <b>network governance strategy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CCN is for city council only (no trickle-down effect), e.g. international prestige (upperground)</li> <li>• Outcomes of the CCN are tangible for cultural organisations, intermediaries, etc. and can use the title to real benefit (middleground)</li> <li>• A trickle-down effect to grassroots level occurs which generates real outcomes for both cultural</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports published by cities</li> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> </ul>



	actors and the wider public- ownership (underground) <sup>132</sup>	
Relation to <b>cultural policy</b> formulation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Strong potential</u> of CCN to influence cultural policymaking: network acts as driver of change; obliges cities to address certain issues in sector</li> <li>• <u>Some potential</u> to influence policymaking: can add some legitimacy to cultural sector/ a particular issue</li> <li>• <u>Little potential</u> to influence policymaking: the CCN has little real meaning in everyday life of cultural sector - not relevant</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports published by cities</li> <li>• Existing/recent cultural policies and frameworks of cities</li> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> </ul>
Extent of <b>inter-urban networking</b> within CCN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>High degree of networking</u>: participation in CCN events and meetings; evidence of cooperation projects and partnerships with other cities in network</li> <li>• <u>Some degree of networking</u>: infrequent participation in CCN events and meetings; some collaboration with other cities</li> <li>• <u>Low degree of networking</u>: mostly non-attendance at CCN events and meetings; little to no collaboration with other cities in network</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reports published by cities</li> <li>• Bulletins/reports of CCNs about meetings and events</li> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> </ul>
Extent of <b>intra-urban networking</b> as result of CCN membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>High correlation</u> between intra-urban networking and CCN membership: workshops, meetings, etc. which took place within framework of membership are identified as pivotal to networking in city</li> <li>• <u>Medium correlation</u>: CCN membership seen only as one factor of several which stimulated networking between cultural actors in city</li> <li>• <u>Low correlation</u>: CCN membership irrelevant to intra-urban networking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> <li>• Some city and network reports about workshops and meetings about CCN membership</li> </ul>
Perceived need for more coherent <b>monitoring/</b> evaluation mechanism for developments in the cultural sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Great need</u>: little monitoring/measurement of cultural development is happening in city at present</li> <li>• <u>Some need</u>: already one or more frameworks in place for cultural monitoring, but a mechanism provided by UCCN would be useful (oversight, comparison, aggregation)</li> <li>• <u>No need</u>: the city is already strong in cultural monitoring- one or more <i>coherent</i> and adequate framework(s) in place</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• City and network reports</li> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> <li>• Additional secondary data on cultural monitoring</li> </ul>
Perceived <b>cultural trajectory</b> of city without network membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A lot would have happened differently without CCN membership: clear outcomes in terms of cultural policymaking/ international networking/ economic boost to sector/ etc.</li> <li>• Some things would have happened differently: some events, meetings, etc. might not have happened- mostly no trickle-down effect here</li> <li>• Little to nothing would have happened differently: CCN membership is simply an accolade which hasn't produced any real effects.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Qualitative interviews</li> </ul>

<sup>132</sup> The concepts of upperground, middleground and underground here are based on: Cohendet et al, "The Anatomy of the Creative City."

## 3.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND DESIGN

### 3.2.1 Choice of Research Strategy: Comparative Study

In order to answer the above research questions, a comparative research design was deemed to be appropriate. A comparative study is understood here according to Flick's explanation, whereby a "case is not observed in its totality and complexity, but rather a multiplicity of cases with regard to particular excerpts".<sup>133</sup> In the context of this research, five member cities of two different CCNs were selected for examination according to aspects related to their network membership(s). In this way, the present research shares some elements of *comparative urbanism*, which is "the systematic study of similarity and difference among cities or urban processes".<sup>134</sup> Seen from this perspective, places are different and idiosyncratic, yet share the commonality of participation in CCNs, which warrants analysis through a case-oriented comparative approach.

### 3.2.2 Justification for the Case Studies

The two networks chosen for examination in this thesis are UCCN and Culture 21. These two networks were selected because of their relatively high profile and visibility; their similar timeframes and global scales; the availability of related publications and reports; and importantly, because of their contrasting network governance strategies.

The five cities to be examined in this thesis – Barcelona, Berlin, Galway, Glasgow and Swansea – are all members of either one or both of the above CCNs. These five cities have all been members of these networks for a minimum of four years, which was considered to be sufficient time to observe the effects of the respective networks. There is a substantial geographical spread between the cities across western, central and southern Europe, as well as differences in their economic circumstances and cultural policies. This reflects the diversity within both of the CCNs as a whole. While being distinct in many respects, the five cities have used culture and CCN membership to varying degrees as strategies or to overcome certain challenges. Thus, there are perhaps mutual lessons to be learned from the five cities within the study, as well as some insights for cities which may be considering network membership.

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<sup>133</sup> Flick et al, eds., *A Companion to Qualitative Research*, trans. Bryan Jenner (London: SAGE, 2004), 146.

<sup>134</sup> Nijman, "Introduction – Comparative Urbanism," *Urban Geography* 28, no. 1 (2007): 1.

### **3.2.3 Potential Limitations and Challenges**

For time and feasibility purposes, the scope of the research was limited to five cities in two networks. The researcher acknowledges this as a potential limitation to the transferability of the research results.

A particular challenge faced in the process of selecting the cities to be examined was the question of standardisation or constancy across conditions which are not subject to examination. Seen from this perspective, the cities' disparities in size, economic strength, and cultural context may be unfavourable to comparison. However, this is viewed as an asset for this study, as the city case studies were selected with respect to several variables and are considered to be representative of the majority of the population. Therefore, the study is considered to have a relatively high external validity and generalisability.

The researcher acknowledges the possibility of confounding variables such as external factors or relationships which may have had an influence on the interviewees' responses. The study endeavours to counter this by ensuring multiple perspectives from each city in every case, and the use of an interview guide containing several core questions. Nonetheless, it must also be considered that the results may reflect the relatively subjective nature of qualitative research. These are all factors which could potentially reduce the internal validity of the research results.

## **3.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

### **3.3.1 Secondary Data Collection**

In a first key step of the research process, secondary sources, such as policy documents of UCCN and Culture 21, monitoring reports produced by the cities, various webpages and newspaper articles were analysed, together with the available academic literature on creative cities, city networks and CCNs. It was important to be familiar with the various publications of the two networks, including Mission Statements and policy reports, in order to understand their intended role and function in relation to member cities. It was also essential to comprehend the local creative context of each city, as well as its stated objectives and uses of CCN membership, before conducting the interviews, described below. This made it possible to better identify gaps between policy and the reality of the grassroots cultural scene in each case.

### 3.3.2 Qualitative Interviews

A second fundamental step in collecting the data for this thesis was to conduct eighteen in-depth qualitative interviews. Each interview lasted between thirty and sixty minutes and took a semi-structured form. This meant that an interview guide was used, but the interviewees had considerable freedom in their replies. In his discussion of semi-structured qualitative interviewing, Bryman characterises the latter as a flexible process, where “the emphasis must be on how the interviewee frames and understands issues and events”.<sup>135</sup> Collins and Fahy affirm the importance of the individual’s experiences and perceptions in qualitative interviewing, given the ideological nature of the subject material.<sup>136</sup> This interview format would seem to be the most fitting for the present qualitative research model, then, where the *perceived* impact of CCNs on cities’ cultural sectors is fundamental to answering the research question.

The interview participants were selected using purposive sampling, meaning that only stakeholders with relevant knowledge were interviewed. This was the sampling method best suited to the present study, as the information required to supplement the secondary literature could only be provided by individuals who were familiar with one or both CCNs, particularly in relation to the relevant network’s interaction with their city. The individuals were identified using a variety of means, including via websites, such as that of UCCN or city council cultural departments. In a limited number of cases, a snowball effect occurred, whereby interviewees recommended other relevant stakeholders from their city.

As interviewees were based in English, German and Spanish-speaking countries, a small number of interviews were conducted in German and Spanish by the researcher, to best facilitate the interviewees and increase accuracy of results. Interviewees were provided with a consent form which included a description of the project, details of their participation and the risks of doing so, together with some solutions to this and obligations on the part of the researcher in handling the data. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, with the prior permission of the subjects. For confidentiality reasons, neither the recordings nor the transcripts are published, but the researcher holds a copy of them to support the findings. A full sample

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<sup>135</sup> Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 321.

<sup>136</sup> Collins and Fahy, “Culture and Creativity: A Case Study from the West of Ireland,” *Cities* 28 (2011): 29.

interview guide, as well as the Informed Consent document, can be found in the Appendix. In the subsequent stage of data analysis, the eighteen interview transcripts were coded using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti. This was useful in identifying recurring motifs and perceptions across the sample.

## Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter will provide a more in-depth discussion of the two CCNs, UCCN and Culture 21, including a description of their respective backgrounds, objectives and operating mechanisms. Subsequently, the selected city case studies will be analysed in the context of their CCN membership(s), with specific regard to the research sub-questions stated in Chapters One and Three. The findings presented in this chapter will comprise the results of the secondary data analysis, as well as the qualitative interviews.

### 4.1 A TALE OF TWO NETWORKS: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

#### 4.1.1 Typologies of the Networks

As discussed in Chapter Two, applying a network typology to UCCN and Culture 21 provides a good starting point for analytical comparison between the two CCNs, and enables a link to be made between their respective *modus operandi* and outcomes.

According to Fontana's classification system, which is deemed here most comprehensive and relevant for the cultural sphere, both UCCN and Culture 21 can be spatially described as inter-urban systems of relations that act on a global scale. Moreover, in relational terms, it can be surmised that inter-urban relations both within UCCN and Culture 21 take a non-hierarchical form, which "responds to a polycentric model, based on mutual cooperative flows."<sup>137</sup> This seems to correspond with Landry's conception of an effective CCN as one which is characterised by an energy throughout all network nodes rather than solely at the centre.<sup>138</sup> These two-way, horizontal flows certainly seem to characterise the relations between cities in both UCCN and Culture 21; however, they do not account for the position of the network secretariats in relation to the cities. UCCN's model for engagement with member cities arguably takes the hierarchical form described by Fontana, whereas the Culture 21 secretariat is more equal with member cities as network nodes. Nonetheless, hierarchical and non-hierarchical relations may variously combine, creating "complex and multicentric networks that are characterised by both horizontal and vertical links".<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Fontana, "City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning," 19.

<sup>138</sup> Landry, "Maximizing the Potential of the Creative Cities Network," 13.

<sup>139</sup> Fontana, "City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning," 19.

Fontana makes a fundamental distinction between complementarity, synergy and innovation networks as the three main typologies of city networks (see Figure 4.1 below). Within this framework, Culture 21 can be defined as a synergy network, as its member cities share and uphold a common belief in the principles of Agenda 21 for Culture, actively implementing these in their respective urban contexts. UCCN can be viewed as a synergy network to some extent; however, given its categorisation of membership according to seven creative fields, it can also be classified as a complementarity network, linking centres which are particularly strong or specialised in a certain cultural industry. On a global scale, it is within these seven sub-networks that most exchange occurs, affirming the complementary and industry-specific nature of the network. Nonetheless, UCCN is not perceived to enhance competition between cities with a similar specialisation; hence, the network lies between the two categories of complementarity and synergy networks. Both UCCN and Culture 21 also converge to some degree with the innovation network typology: the networks are not solely project-based, but they do promote cooperation to develop effective solutions and policies, as will be discussed further in this chapter.

Table 4.1: Fontana's Classification of City Networks.<sup>140</sup>

City Network Typology	Characteristics
Complementarity Network	Links <b>specialised centres</b> , each of which focuses on different aspects and specific ways of tackling common problems, so as not to compete directly and increase their chances of success.
Synergy Network	Connects <b>like-minded centres</b> , which intend to integrate their initiatives, based on shared strategies, methods, and procedures, and take advantage of economies of scale as well as of the support provided by the network.
Innovation Network	Cooperation between cities covers <b>critical topics</b> or <b>specific projects</b> that benefit from the sharing of resources and skills and through which it is possible to find original solutions and design effective policies.

#### 4.1.2 De Facto Operating Mechanisms of the Networks

##### Network Governance Strategies

Following on from the discussion of inter-nodal relations within the two CCNs in the previous section, it is important to distinguish between the networks' respective governance strategies

<sup>140</sup> Elaborated from Fontana, "City Networking in Urban Strategic Planning."

in relation to member cities, which is a core concern of this thesis. The present research embarked from the hypothesis that UCCN adopts a top-down governance strategy, being predominantly aimed at city councils, often with little trickle-down effect. Conversely, too, from city councils' perspectives, UCCN membership may be dictated by economic potential and the perceived opportunity to improve international competitiveness. Significantly, relations between the network secretariat in Paris and the 180 member cities globally are distant; this is exemplified by the fact that the monitoring of cities' progress takes the form of self-monitoring reports submitted every four years, with little guidance being given to cities about this process. Moreover, communication is infrequent, with face-to-face interaction between the secretariat and member cities taking place just once a year, at the annual gathering of UNESCO Creative Cities.

Culture 21, on the other hand, distinguishes itself by its holistic, bottom-up approach:

“A network is joint work, and responsibilities of cities. UCLG is an organisation where members, cities and local governments lead the organisation, unlike other so-called networks that do not have a democratic basis, and where members cannot participate in the decisions taken by the secretariat. And this makes a strong difference between what we are and what other networks may be.”<sup>141</sup>

As a committee of UCLG, Culture 21 is part of the world's largest association of local governments; the organisation acts as “the united voice and world advocate of democratic local self-government”.<sup>142</sup> City and local government leaders, therefore, being democratically elected, are seen as representative of citizens and should be at the head of all activities.<sup>143</sup> The decentralised and democratic nature of the network is also manifested by the direct involvement of several cities of wide geographical spread in network governance: currently, Culture 21 is co-chaired by Buenos Aires, Lisbon and Mexico City and vice-chaired by Barcelona, Bilbao, Bogotá, Jeju, Paris, Porto Alegre and Rome.<sup>144</sup> Another indicator of the network's bottom-up approach is its close cooperation with member cities. In the case of their Pilot Cities programme in particular, specific challenges in each city are addressed by means of schemes which are tailor-made to the local context, resources and needs, and implemented through a collaborative process between Culture 21 and the member city in question.

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<sup>141</sup> Interview with Culture 21 network coordinator.

<sup>142</sup> Pascual, “Cultural policies, human development and development innovation,” 16.

<sup>143</sup> Interview with Culture 21 network coordinator.

<sup>144</sup> Culture 21, “Who We Are.”



### Core Principles and Frameworks

As outlined in the introduction, UCCN's sphere of operation encompasses seven creative fields: crafts and folk art, design, film, gastronomy, literature, media arts and music. This has not always been the case; initially, the network focused on fine arts and the core cultural industries of literature, music and folk art. However, as suggested in Matovic et al's report, the difficulties in demonstrating measurable economic results may have led to the shift towards "more innovative or market-driven disciplines" such as design and gastronomy.<sup>145</sup> UCCN has a firm theoretical base in culture for sustainability; as a United Nations body, it upholds the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda.

Culture 21 is fundamentally based on the document Agenda 21 for Culture. This document advocates for cultural policymaking based on principles of sustainability and democracy, diversity and intercultural dialogue (see Figure 4.2 below). These aspects would seem to align with the view that creative city strategies can generate positive outcomes in terms of social cohesion and improved liveability in cities. The holistic, bottom-up approach pursued by the network secretariat is also, arguably, most appropriate for implementing these principles at the local level.

Table 4.2: A Comparison of the Key Objectives of UCCN and Culture 21.<sup>146</sup>

UNESCO Creative Cities Network	Culture 21 Network
Strengthen international cooperation between cities that foster creativity	Promote & improve mutual learning; exchange of experiences
Develop hubs of creativity & innovation; create opportunities for professionals in cultural sector	Project development
Stimulate initiatives in member cities; public-private partnerships (PPPs)	Advocacy and lobbying
Improve access to & participation in cultural life	Promotion of cultural diversity, social inclusion, equity and 'interculturality'
Fully integrate culture & creativity into local development plans	Action plans for local governments to integrate culture into strategies

<sup>145</sup> Matovic et al, *Creative Cities: Mapping Creativity Driven Cities* (Bilbao: University of Deusto, 2018), 15.

<sup>146</sup> Elaborated from UCCN, "Mission Statement", and Culture 21, "Who We Are."

Promotion of 2030 Agenda/ SDGs (previously Millennium Development Goals/MDGs)	Culture for sustainable development through promotion of Agenda 21 for Culture
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### Application Procedures

UCCN membership is open to cities from all 193 Member States and Associate Members of the United Nations.<sup>147</sup> Since its establishment in 2004, UCCN launched an open call for membership applications on an annual basis. However, when the rapid expansion of the network provoked protests from member cities, the application process was limited to a biennial occurrence in 2015. In order to gain admission to UCCN, a city must submit an application form, which explains why they wish to join a particular creative category; typically, this should be the category with the greatest potential for social and economic development in the city.<sup>148</sup> The application should be accompanied by a formal letter of endorsement from the relevant National Commission for UNESCO. Moreover, the city is required to provide evidence of ongoing actions in the city's cultural sector, as well as examples of partnerships or collaboration with existing UCCN member cities. Thus, the process of networking in fact commences as early as the candidature stage.

The evaluation process of applications is undertaken by external independent experts designated by UNESCO, as well as UCCN member cities, according to creative field. The final decision regarding cities' admittance to the network is then taken by the Director-General of UNESCO. This extended process causes Namyślak to write that UCCN "is designed for elite candidates and it is very difficult to get into the network".<sup>149</sup> Moreover, one interviewee noted that UCCN's process of selection is not always transparent: member cities have a say in the selection of new awardees, but

"in the end [...] you never know why exactly these three, four or five new cities get in the network. [...] Some of them are very clear, of course, but some others... it's not so clear. Sometimes they're from a country that UNESCO is interested in helping".<sup>150</sup>

It was noted that UCCN is trying to secure more member cities from the Global South; therefore, there is also a political element to the selection process.

<sup>147</sup> UCCN, "Frequently Asked Questions," <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/content/frequently-asked-questions>, accessed May 30, 2019.

<sup>148</sup> Matovic et al, *Creative Cities: Mapping Creativity Driven Cities*, 14.

<sup>149</sup> Namyślak, "Cooperation and Forming Networks of Creative Cities," 2417.

<sup>150</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

In the case of Culture 21, the Pilot and Leading City programmes are open to cities which are either direct or indirect members<sup>151</sup> of UCLG and are familiar with Agenda 21 for Culture. The application procedure for participating in the Pilot Cities scheme is relatively straightforward: cities should respond to the open call of the Culture 21 secretariat, following which a letter of commitment, signed by the Mayor, Deputy Mayor or councillor in charge of the relevant area, should be provided to confirm the city's participation.<sup>152</sup> Pilot Cities participate in the programme for about three years. Leading Cities, on the other hand, are cities which already have substantial experience in implementing Agenda 21 for Culture and are expected to commit to their position for a minimum of two years. They also contribute to the budget of Culture 21. A Memorandum of Understanding or a Convention is written and signed between participating cities and UCLG.

### Funding

Both UCCN and Culture 21 are quite transparent in terms of their budgets and funding. In the case of UCCN, there is no membership fee. UCCN, as a UNESCO body, is funded by the contributions of nation-states to UNESCO rather than by the cities themselves. It also receives support from some city governments and corporate interests, including Beijing Municipal Government, the Wanda Group,<sup>153</sup> and Shenzhen International Culture Association.<sup>154</sup> However, any activities undertaken collaboratively by cities in the network, such as the creation of a website for each of the seven sub-networks, is funded by the cities themselves. Financial commitment is not a prerequisite for UCCN membership, although some cities have secured this. The extent to which cultural funding and UCCN membership are linked is unclear; however, it may be that the CCN can generate political legitimacy for the designated cultural sector within the city and result in increased funding. (See Figure 4.1 below for an overview of UNESCO's income distribution; a UCCN-specific breakdown is not available).

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<sup>151</sup> 'Indirect' members of UCLG refers to cities and local governments that belong to national or regional associations of local governments, which are members of UCLG. Thus, a great number of cities worldwide are indirect members of UCLG.

<sup>152</sup> Culture Action Europe, "New Call: Join Pilot Cities programme in Europe," October 14, 2016, <https://cultureactioneurope.org/news/new-call-join-pilot-cities-programme-in-europe/>, accessed June 1, 2019.

<sup>153</sup> The Wanda Group is a Chinese multinational conglomerate based in Beijing. It is a private property developer with investments across many sectors, including entertainment and media.

<sup>154</sup> UCCN, "Creative Cities Network."

Culture 21 does not charge any membership fee for Pilot Cities, but a financial contribution is expected from Leading Cities, as members which possess “solid conceptual and practical experience as regards the place of culture in sustainable cities”.<sup>155</sup> Again, any relation between local cultural funding and Culture 21 membership is unclear here. As a Committee of UCLG, Culture 21 has received approximately a third of its total funding from the European Commission since 2015, as part of the Strategic Partnership agreement. Other sources of income for UCLG include Barcelona Provincial Council, the City of Barcelona, the European Climate Foundation, UN-Habitat, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the French Development Agency, and several local governments. (See Figure 4.2 for an overview of UCLG’s income sources).

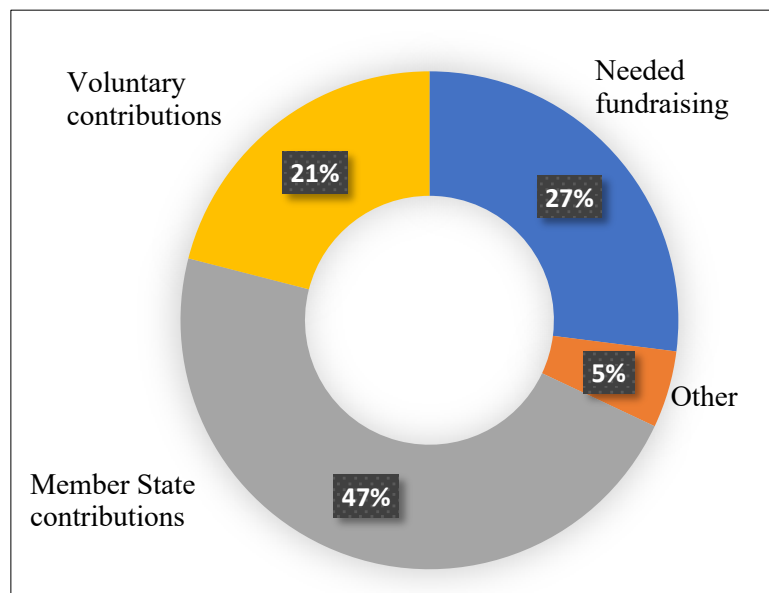


Figure 4.1: Income Sources of UNESCO  
(Approved budget 2018/2019: 1.2 Billion US\$).<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Culture 21, “The Leading Cities of Agenda 21 for Culture: Terms of Reference,” June 2017, [http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/pages/our-cities-pages/leading\\_cities\\_eng.pdf](http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/pages/our-cities-pages/leading_cities_eng.pdf), accessed June 21, 2019.

<sup>156</sup> Adapted from UNESCO, “Financial Accountability,” <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/financial-accountability>, accessed June 2, 2019.

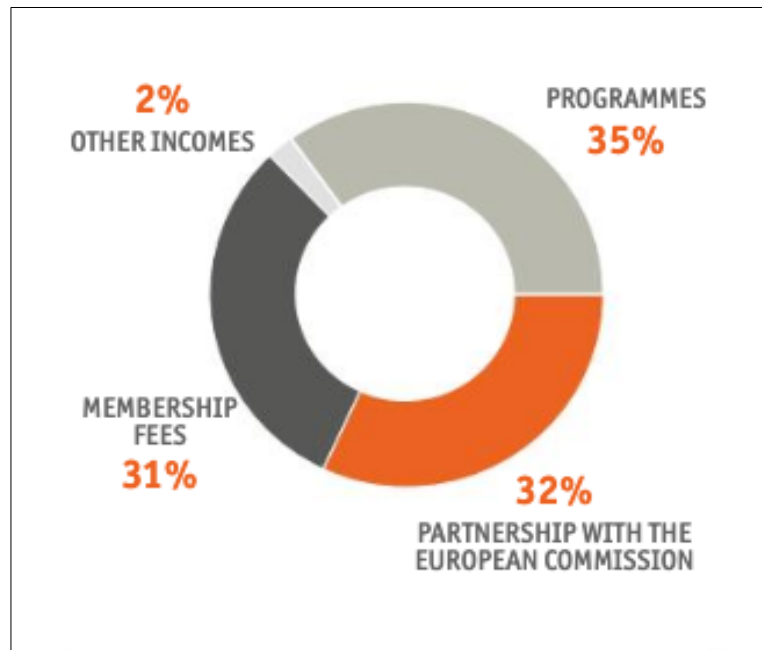


Figure 4.2: Income Sources of UCLG.<sup>157</sup>

## 4.2 MOTIVES FOR CCN MEMBERSHIP

As a city, why take the decision to become a member of a CCN? What public value can be generated by network membership? The reasons for which Barcelona, Berlin, Galway, Glasgow and Swansea joined one or both CCNs will be presented in the following, with discussion being dedicated to each case study separately, allowing for differences between local urban contexts. The results here are primarily based upon the qualitative interviews with cultural actors from each of the cities. This section, then, responds directly to the first sub-question of the present research: namely, *why* cities join CCNs, and provides an important and relevant contextualisation for the subsequent question of *how* these five cities used their membership(s).

### 4.2.1 Barcelona

A city of approximately 1.6 million people, Barcelona has a strong international orientation and reputation as one of Europe's most vibrant cultural hubs. The development of this status can be traced back to Barcelona's nomination for the Olympic Games of 1992: Pareja-Eastaway and Pradel i Miquel identify this as "the starting point of a physical and economic transformation of the city towards a service economy, with a strong role for tourism and

<sup>157</sup> UCLG Annual Report 2017, 56, [https://www.uclg.org/sites/default/files/annual\\_report\\_uclg\\_2017\\_0.pdf](https://www.uclg.org/sites/default/files/annual_report_uclg_2017_0.pdf), accessed June 14, 2019.

culture.”<sup>158</sup> Zarlenga et al write that “Barcelona has become a brand”, something that has been achieved through internal campaigns to enhance the city’s self-image combined with extensive international efforts.<sup>159</sup> As part of the latter endeavour, they argue, Barcelona’s local government has, since the 1980s, “generated a paradiplomacy that has resulted in their leading of city or region networks, with a special tendency to employ culture as a resource”.<sup>160</sup> This corroborates the aforementioned article by Patricio-Mulero and Rius-Ulldemolins which states that membership to various international networks is an integral part of Barcelona’s cultural strategy.<sup>161</sup>

As an exemplification of this, Barcelona was one of the founding cities of Agenda 21 for Culture and was thus involved in its evolution from a strategic document to an active global network, between 2004 and 2007. Barcelona is one of the twelve Leading Cities of Culture 21 and is also the headquarters of the organisation’s secretariat. As will be shown later in this chapter, Culture 21 has provided an important theoretical framework for the development of Barcelona’s cultural policy.

In December 2015, Barcelona was crowned a UNESCO City of Literature. The purpose of this title was to “combine international promotion with boosting literary creation, reading practices and prizing and capitalising on local literary heritage.”<sup>162</sup> The cultural actors interviewed in Barcelona explained that the city could have applied to become a City of Design or a City of Music, but that the creative field of literature was selected for several key reasons:

“From the beginning, it’s what I’ve thought, it’s very good news that Barcelona has won this designation. It would have been a lot easier to become a City of Design, for example [...] But I don’t think it was needed. Because instead, being a City of Literature can attract another sort of tourism, you know, a more cultural one”.<sup>163</sup>

This statement highlights the expectation of cities that membership to CCNs provides a channel of support in solving key local challenges, as well as creating some degree of international

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<sup>158</sup> Pareja-Eastaway and Pradel i Miquel, “Towards the Creative and Knowledge Economy: Analysing Diverse Pathways in Spanish Cities,” *European Planning Studies* 23, no. 12 (2015): 2416.

<sup>159</sup> Zarlenga et al, “Cultural clusters and social interaction dynamics,” 428.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Patricio-Mulero and Rius-Ulldemolins, “From creative city to generative governance of the cultural policy system,” 2.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

visibility, in terms of attracting visitor flows. Moreover, UCCN's potential in formulating local cultural policy was viewed positively:

“The main cultural industry in Barcelona is around books. We needed to organise how to make local policies about books, and [UCCN membership] was the best way of doing this.”<sup>164</sup>

An interesting new finding that emerged is that cities may not only wish to gain internal benefits from UCCN membership; rather, as key global cultural nodes, they may also be able to boost an industry which is experiencing some decline. This is relevant for literature and Barcelona:

“For us, City of Literature, we are very strong on our designation; we really like to keep this literature word, because in the nowadays world, literature doesn't have so much prestige, and we think it's really important, this designation, this name, City of Literature.”<sup>165</sup>

Thus, the wider cultural sector may in fact benefit from the CCN membership of key global cities that are strong in a particular cultural industry: they can serve to enhance the industry's legitimacy and visibility, and even stimulate it economically.

#### 4.2.2 Berlin

A report published by Germany's National Commission for UNESCO described the country's CIs as “a complex of sectors that is more economically powerful than the agricultural or the energy sector in terms of gross value added, but this fact has only started to be widely acknowledged since 2005.”<sup>166</sup> Around that time, design was the key theme of Berlin's creative economy.<sup>167</sup> This represented the culmination of an extended process that was firmly enmeshed within the complex political, social and economic context of the city. The pertinence of Berlin's political separation to the cultural trajectory of the city was emphasised by all five interviewees in this study. In the 1990s, basking in the political success of reunification, Berlin sought to regain economic strength by developing clear top-down policies and investing in the industrial and manufacturing sectors. Parallel to these economic and political developments – with little

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<sup>164</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A. See Appendix 2 for original citation in Spanish.

<sup>165</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>166</sup> Fesl and Söndermann, *Culture and Creative Industries in Germany* (Bonn: German Commission for UNESCO, 2007), 7.

<sup>167</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional A. See Appendix 2 for original citation in German.

money, but many empty spaces and ideas – there was scope for designers and other creative individuals to experiment and create a new symbolic value and reputation for design. This creative energy and extensive self-reflection process ostensibly led to the development of a niche design sector.<sup>168</sup>

In the aftermath of the dotcom crash in the early 2000s, the initiative emerged to gain increased visibility for the design sector in Berlin, given its experimental and unique character, which moved past a purely aesthetic conceptualisation.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, there was an observable growth in professionalisation within the design industry and the sector's maturity.<sup>170</sup> The economic value of the sector was also clear: from 2003 to 2004, the turnover of the German design industry increased by 6.5%, representing the highest growth rate of all cultural industries in the country.<sup>171</sup> The Berlin Senate Department for Economy, Energy and Public Enterprises recognised this sector's success and potential, and sought a means for enhancing Berlin's international status as a city of design.<sup>172</sup> Interestingly, the impulse to become a UCCN member city was described by one interviewee as a collaborative process:

“I think the most relevant part was to find a joint understanding of the actors, in that case the designers, their symbolic contribution to a new understanding of design, and the need to go global, with the help of UNESCO on the one hand, city administration, and some organisational structures that have been established in order to lift up that niche.”<sup>173</sup>

Therefore, in the case of Berlin, a number of factors – most notably the city's “eventful history, which has proved inspirational to its internationally recognised design scene”;<sup>174</sup> the creative energy and experimentation in design; the simultaneous push from designers and the city government to gain international recognition as a City of Design, and the sector's economic strength – all came together to motivate Berlin to become the first European UNESCO City of Design in 2006.

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<sup>168</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional C.

<sup>169</sup> Lange and Schüßler, “Unpacking the middleground of creative cities: spatiotemporal dynamics in the configuration of the Berlin design field,” *Regional Studies* 52, no. 11 (2018): 1554.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Fesl and Söndermann, *Culture and Creative Industries in Germany*, 27.

<sup>172</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional A.

<sup>173</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional C.

<sup>174</sup> Engelke, “Globalisation and Transformation: What Can Design Accomplish in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?” In *Berlin Design Digest*, eds. Robert Eysoldt and Raban Ruddigkeit (Karlsruhe: Slanted Publishers, 2017), 244.



### 4.2.3 Galway

Galway presents an interesting case of a city which has superseded its peripheral location by developing a strong arts scene and cultural links through various international programmes.<sup>175</sup> Two examples of these are the city's status as a UNESCO Creative City of Film, an accolade it received in December 2014, and its participation in Culture 21's Pilot Cities programme from 2015 until, foreseeably, the end of 2019. With an urban population of approximately 80,000, Galway qualifies more as a town in a European context, but it is the fourth largest urban area in Ireland.

As in Berlin, interviewees in Galway indicated that the success of the city's film sector today is embedded in Galway's historical and cultural trajectory. Galway's creative economy, and particularly the film sector, began to develop noticeably from the 1990s. In 1996, an Irish-language television station, TG4, was set up in Connemara in Galway county. This triggered a further influx of television and film companies and workers. Furthermore, Concord Studio was established here and equipped many people living in Galway with the skills to work in this sector. Around the same time, Galway Film Fleadh, a festival by and for filmmakers, was organised, and became a place where ideas for many films were born. All of these activities – together with the fact that Galway had already served as the setting for several films – were reinforced by the presence of strong third-level institutes and partnerships in the county. This all led to the formation of a vibrant television and film cluster in Galway. More recently, an arthouse cinema, the Palace (or Palás), was opened in the city, which was strategically planned to support the UNESCO City of Film application.

Concurrently to these activities in the film sector, Galway began broadening its horizons in terms of partnerships:

“It was all something that was in the atmosphere and Zeitgeist in Galway, to have a very pro-active film and TV industry, and at the same time, to think in terms of Europe.”<sup>176</sup>

Galway's bid for European Capital of Culture (ECoC) in 2005 ostensibly served as the key stimulant for this increased internationalisation: although the ECoC title ultimately went to Cork and not Galway that year, the process encouraged all stakeholders in Galway to think

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<sup>175</sup> Collins and Fahy, “Culture and Creativity: A Case Study from the West of Ireland,” 30.

<sup>176</sup> Interview with Galway cultural coordinator.

internationally. The city's UCCN membership is a further manifestation of this European mindset. An important model for Galway was the city of Bradford in the United Kingdom, as a sister city of Galway and a UNESCO Creative City of Film since 2009. Ultimately, however, UCCN's potential as a stepping stone to ECoC was highlighted as a main determinant for Galway's UCCN application:

“We were aware of the fact that it would strengthen our hand also for our bid for European Capital of Culture, it would get Galway more in the frame of mind of being a winner; Galway was sort of more a lover than a fighter for a long time, [...] so it was phenomenal when Galway actually won UNESCO City of Film and became part of this formal structure.”<sup>177</sup>

Interestingly, a heightened sense of legitimacy as a creative city was noted in Galway upon receiving this accolade:

“So now Galway has a *right* to call itself a creative city, and actually, with that right is also the duty to fulfil what being a creative city means, a creative way of thinking.”<sup>178</sup>

Therefore, in Galway's case, the UNESCO title was not viewed solely as a branding opportunity or a means of gaining status; rather, Galway, as a small and lesser-known city on the edge of Europe, applied for the designation to bolster its confidence and legitimacy as a creative city on the world stage, and as a route to further success and accolades.

Around the time of Galway's bid for ECoC, another opportunity in the cultural sector emerged. While attending a conference in Barcelona, representatives from Galway encountered the organisation UCLG. The concepts of cultural sustainability and democracy seemed to align well with the ideology and interests of the city, which wished to provide “greater opportunities to the ordinary people of Galway and the arts in Galway to become involved in decision-making, and to be involved in democratising arts and culture provision in the city.”<sup>179</sup> Moreover, the Pilot Cities programme of Culture 21 was viewed as an opportunity for Galway to demonstrate its commitment to strong cultural principles, which could also be of strategic value for the city's ECoC bid. Thus, in 2015, Galway joined the Pilot Cities programme. Overall, then, it can be surmised that Galway became involved with Culture 21 because of an

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<sup>177</sup> Interview with Galway cultural coordinator.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

ideological commitment to its agenda, but also due to the legitimacy that Glasgow could gain as a creative city by being formally associated with the network and its principles, which could help the ECoC application.

#### 4.2.4 Glasgow

In 2008, Glasgow became the third ever city to be awarded the UNESCO City of Music title, and the first city with this accolade in the UK. The strength of Glasgow's music industry is often traced back to the 1980s, which are described as a boomtime for Scottish music, with Glasgow becoming the epicentre of the British music scene.<sup>180</sup> This ostensibly occurred in parallel with formal efforts to regenerate Glasgow during the same period, when art and culture constituted central tenets of the promotion of the post-industrial city.<sup>181</sup> Similarly to the case of Barcelona, a mega-event was used as an incentive for culture-based regeneration in Glasgow: in 1990, Glasgow became European City of Culture, and numerous marketing campaigns promoted the city for tourism, inward investment and business.

Despite the illustrious musical heritage of Glasgow, which continues into the present day, the precise motivation for Glasgow to attain UCCN membership was not clear to the three interviewees from the city. One interviewee attributed the push for becoming an official City of Music to a desire for prestige:

“So, why did they go for it: I think for the status of the accolade, probably; the application was driven by the council, as it would be, and I believe there was a very comprehensive bid put together for it [...]. They had amazing ambitions, and lots of great ideas – very meagre resources, but [...] they had lots of things on the go.”<sup>182</sup>

For all interviewees, it seemed logical that Glasgow would fit the category of City of Music (rather than any other of UCCN's seven creative fields); this was elucidated by one interview participant as follows:

“I think the notion of Glasgow boasting of being a musical city makes perfect sense – it is a musical city, even in Scotland, I mean compared to Edinburgh, the quality alone is much higher; the market is much more competitive and it drives people to a much

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<sup>180</sup> Jackson, “How Scotland ripped up pop history in the 1980s,” *BBC Scotland*, June 22, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-44524720>.

<sup>181</sup> Gómez, “Reflective Images: Urban Regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao,” 111.

<sup>182</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional C.

better standard. And I think it makes complete sense for the tourist board [...] to shout about that; it's an exceptional city if you like music, it really is."<sup>183</sup>

Therefore, it can be said that one of Glasgow's main motivations for becoming a UNESCO City of Music was the desire for recognition of an industry which was already flourishing and firmly established in the city's cultural ecosystem. Unlike Berlin, however, where the relevant cultural actors – in that case, designers – were ostensibly involved in the application process, the initiative in Glasgow seems to have stemmed from the top down. This was indicated by two interviewees, who stated that Glasgow's official City of Music status is driven predominantly by higher bodies, such as Glasgow Life (the culture department of the city council) and Visit Scotland (the national tourism board).<sup>184</sup> Therefore, it seems that Glasgow's chief motive for acquiring the UNESCO title was to gain international recognition; possibly with the aim of becoming more competitive as a city and attracting increased tourism flows. The involvement of the tourism board in particular suggests that the City of Music status is perceived as a branding opportunity, which will be discussed in Section 4.3.3.

#### **4.2.5 Swansea**

Swansea is Wales' second city, and another example of a British city that has extensively engaged in efforts to regenerate and reposition itself in a post-industrial society.<sup>185</sup> It would appear to be doing so with some success: earlier in 2019, Swansea won an Urbanism Award for its newly redeveloped Maritime Quarter; moreover, it has moved towards a more production-based approach to culture, particularly as part of the development of a cultural quarter since 1997.<sup>186</sup> While Swansea has traditionally been promoted as 'City by the Sea', more concerted efforts have occurred in recent years to market the city for its cultural assets, such as its status as the birthplace of writer and poet Dylan Thomas. In 1995, Swansea was designated as the host city for the UK Year of Literature and Writing (YOLW), an event that further stimulated literary placemaking and tourism.<sup>187</sup>

Like Galway, Swansea became a Pilot City for Agenda 21 for Culture in 2015, a programme which is projected to continue until the end of 2019. Several main reasons for the city's

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<sup>183</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional B.

<sup>184</sup> Interviews with Glasgow creative professionals A and C.

<sup>185</sup> Tallon et al, "City Profile: Swansea," *Cities* 22, no. 1 (2005): 65.

<sup>186</sup> Watkins and Herbert, "Cultural Policy and place promotion: Swansea and Dylan Thomas," *Geoforum* 34 (2003): 253.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

participation in this scheme were highlighted by interviewees. First, there was a desire for general reflection and improvement in Swansea, by means of looking at best practices and developing good working procedures accordingly, including further local cooperation to overcome challenges faced by the city.<sup>188</sup> Second, it was considered that involvement in the Pilot Cities programme could generate increased international visibility for Swansea's "commitment to learning and progressing as a city", by "provid[ing] knowledge to other people about South Wales and what we can do, what we can offer".<sup>189</sup> Third, Swansea experienced some disappointment when it lost the UK City of Culture 2021 bid to Coventry. In the aftermath of this, people needed "something to focus their minds on".<sup>190</sup> Engaging with Agenda 21 for Culture seemed to provide an effective means of dealing with diversity, which is currently a pressing issue in Swansea. Moreover, the question of funding for the cultural sector is a key challenge which was emphasised by all interviewees, and it was felt that Culture 21 could help to communicate the positive impact and vitality of cultural services.

Finally, despite being a relatively small city – with a population of approximately 250,000 – Culture 21 seemed to reinforce much ongoing work in Swansea's cultural sector:

"I admire Swansea because it is outward-going, it wants to be part of various national and international initiatives; it's part of the Intercultural Cities [network] as well, and it's got a very strong commitment to human rights, and, you know, one senses when one's there that this is a city which has [...] raised its head above the parapet and it wants to keep track of leading edge thinking in various ways."<sup>191</sup>

Therefore, the Pilot Cities programme has aligned well with Swansea's work on cultural democracy and sustainability. Most patently, Culture 21's aim of generating increased visibility for participating cities constituted a strong factor in Swansea's decision to join Culture 21.

#### 4.3 USES OF UCCN MEMBERSHIP

From the above, it is clear that UNESCO Creative Cities were motivated by various factors in seeking CCN membership. Having provided that context, this section will explore the different ways in which the cities proceeded to utilise their UCCN membership. This key aspect

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<sup>188</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator A.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator C.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

responds directly to the main research question, as well as the first sub-question, and will be addressed by providing an overview of the findings from the qualitative interviews, as well as the secondary data. The comparative analysis will be structured according to the following sub-sections: Inter-urban Networking; Internal versus International Value; Branding and Visibility; and Cultural Policymaking.

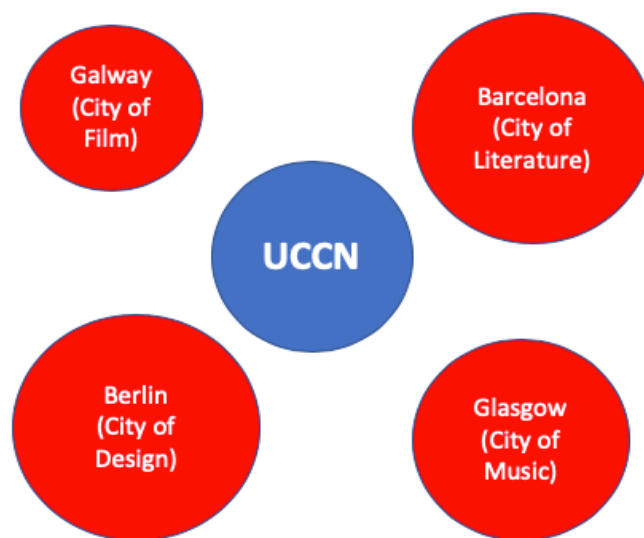


Figure 4.3: Case Studies – UCCN Member Cities.

#### 4.3.1 Inter-Urban Networking

In the qualitative interview stage, two of the four UCCN member cities, Galway and Barcelona, highlighted inter-urban networking as a key benefit of membership to the network. In the case of Galway:

“It seems very clear that that’s one of the main priorities of this designation: being part of that network and being an active member, having a voice, having an equal voice; and then anything that results out of that [...] kind of all feeds back into the network and then everyone gets stronger as a result.”<sup>192</sup>

As Galway is a relatively new member of UCCN, there is a strong commitment to attending meetings and events held by the network and representing the city. There is also evidence of UCCN partnerships being built on top of existing relations between cities; for example,

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<sup>192</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

between Galway and its sister city of Bradford in the UK, another UNESCO City of Film. In March 2015, Galway City Council supported the Cinemobile visit to the first Bradford International Film Summit, where Galway representatives also met with delegations from the UNESCO Cities of Film Busan and Sofia. Moreover, film students from Galway have benefitted from exchange with Rome City of Film. Cooperation between Galway and other UNESCO Creative Cities has also often been transdisciplinary, such as in collaborations with Adelaide City of Music and Melbourne City of Literature.<sup>193</sup>

In Barcelona, meanwhile, only one of the two interviewees viewed networking with other cities as a strong benefit of the city's UCCN membership. Furthermore, city size was considered a factor in forging partnerships:

“What is useful for us is to learn from other cities, of maybe our size or just a little bit smaller [...]; it's very useful to learn from them, like what to do, how to organise the best literature festival, or how to work with literary organisations, and also, it's very, very useful to make exchanges with the other cities. Like residencies for writers”.<sup>194</sup>

This interviewee mentioned several specific events, initiatives and partnerships that had occurred as a direct result of the City of Literature status; for example, Barcelona participated in the Cities of Literature Night at Edinburgh International Book Festival in 2018 (Edinburgh constituting the first UNESCO City of Literature). This event entailed readings by Catalan poets, performances by Catalan bands, and meetings between the Edinburgh festival organisers and Barcelona City of Literature team, which were “interesting” and “useful” in planning more collaborative projects for the future.<sup>195</sup> Strong links with Melbourne City of Literature and Milan, one of the newest cities in the literature sub-network, were also highlighted.

In both Galway and Barcelona, meetings of UCCN members at national level were also mentioned: in the case of Galway, a collaboration with Dublin City of Literature is being planned, and Barcelona participated in the first Spanish meeting of UNESCO Creative Cities in February 2019. This took place in Granada, another City of Literature, and involved all six UCCN member cities in Spain, across four creative fields. Given the size of UCCN, with 180 cities in 72 countries – and the anticipated addition of new cities to the network in late 2019 –

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<sup>193</sup> Galway Film Centre, *UNESCO Report 2019: Galway City of Film*, presented on February 28, 2019.

<sup>194</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>195</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

cross-disciplinary networking is difficult, and most exchange takes place within the sub-networks.<sup>196</sup> Therefore, engagement on a national or even regional level provides an effective means of networking between the creative fields.

In Glasgow, the consensus among all interview participants was that the UNESCO City of Music title has been considerably under-used; Glasgow already enjoys an international reputation for its music scene, to which the UNESCO title has, seemingly, made little contribution. It emerged that international networking between Glasgow and other cities remains quite limited, especially in terms of the music scene: no exchange has taken place within the framework of UCCN, with most collaborations occurring independently at business-to-business level. One interviewee from Glasgow acknowledged that Hannover is a German City of Music, but felt that Glasgow shares more commonalities with other great music cities, such as Berlin, implying some irrelevance of the UNESCO City of Music title in any networking activities:

“I would say Glasgow is – if not *the* obvious [music city] in the UK – *an* obvious one [...]. Berlin is also an obvious one, mostly for techno, and it has a lot of links with Glasgow through techno as well, as does Detroit. So there’s kind of obvious links that we see there and you know, New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles are not official UNESCO Cities of Music – but they are all music cities.”<sup>197</sup>

Finally, the highly personal and subjective nature of networking was also raised by three interviewees from Barcelona and Berlin; as one stated: “It’s always about the people. It’s not the ideas. It’s about *who*’s doing this.”<sup>198</sup> This is worth noting as a possible explanation for the existence of links between cities with seemingly little in common, between cities in different creative fields, or as a justification for why a city may have more connections outside the CCN than within it. The most important element of networking, it was noted, is the need for a leader with both long-term vision and flexibility.<sup>199</sup> Moreover, it seems that the majority of collaborative projects result from informal networking facilitated by a formal intermediary structure, thus consolidating the role of UCCN:

“Sometimes it’s a personal thing that makes you work with Edinburgh, for example, and not some other city. Sometimes it’s only because the people from that city and you

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<sup>196</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional D.

<sup>197</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional C.

<sup>198</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional B.

<sup>199</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional D.



have a nice chat and [it's] easy to communicate with them, and you think of a project. [...] So that's the why the once-a-year meetings are really important, because you make up new projects there.”<sup>200</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Internal versus International Value

Several cities mentioned the attractiveness of being part of a global platform and increasing their international profile. This was, as could be expected, more relevant for small and medium-sized cities than those which are already firmly established as global cities, such as Barcelona: “Barcelona is already a huge international city; it receives so many tourists per year, and it's got all these cultural festivals, so it's not the case.”<sup>201</sup> However, another stakeholder in Barcelona asserted that the most important advantage offered by UCCN is the international legitimacy it gives to local cultural programmes.<sup>202</sup> This could be explained by Barcelona's strong involvement in the literature sub-network, as elucidated above, which generates increased visibility for Barcelona's cultural projects and actors, such as the promotion of Catalan poets at international literary festivals.

The international value that UCCN has contributed to Berlin as a City of Design is less clear. Disparities emerged between interviews, with two participants making various comparisons between Berlin and London or New York, thus clearly ranking the city as a key player internationally, regardless of the UNESCO title; others, however, asserted that “Berlin is not Düsseldorf, Berlin is also not New York, Berlin isn't Paris or London”, in terms of the strength of the design industry.<sup>203</sup> Nonetheless, Berlin's design scene is relatively mature today, with the presence of approximately 7,300 design firms in the city.<sup>204</sup> However, in the early 2000s, raising the international profile of Berlin's design sector was a necessary endeavour, and UCCN provided a seemingly appropriate medium by which to achieve this:

“[The UNESCO status] definitely provided the basis for the legitimacy to go and say, we're going to make Berlin international [...]. So the infrastructure in Berlin, which enabled designers to travel to other cities and abroad – that was definitely related to UNESCO.”<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A.

<sup>203</sup> Interviews with Berlin creative professionals A and E.

<sup>204</sup> Projekt Zukunft, “Designbranche in guter Form,” <https://projektzukunft.berlin.de/themen/design-und-usability/>, accessed May 15, 2019. It should be noted that statistics on the number of design firms in Berlin vary greatly, depending on the source and understanding of ‘design’.

<sup>205</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional A.

An interesting counterpoint to this was put forward by one interviewee, who stated that Berlin designers were already well-connected internationally in the early and mid-2000s, and it was in fact through these links that

“they detected that in other cities, sometimes city administration, economic departments, are doing more for the designers in other cities [than] the Department for Economic Affairs here in Berlin is doing for a sub-branch concept such as design.”<sup>206</sup>

Thus, UCCN ostensibly held the promise of generating *internal*, or intra-urban, legitimacy and recognition from the Berlin Senate, just as much as its potential to forge international links. Clearly, the trajectory of becoming a creative city – and certainly a UNESCO Creative City – is not linear: rather, there are several parallel, or sometimes even conflicting, ongoing processes. In Berlin, the relevance and purpose of the UNESCO status has changed over time.

Finally, a key stakeholder in the Intercultural Cities network identified a trend of cities using CCN membership “as a stepping stone to maybe a European Capital of Culture bid. We see that happening a lot.”<sup>207</sup> As previously discussed, this is a strategy that Galway pursued with success. Galway’s peripheral geographical location and/or small size was mentioned by all interviewees from the city; in some cases, as a factor which hinders the internationalisation of artists and other creative professionals. One of Galway’s main uses of UCCN membership, then, is to establish international partnerships and gain international visibility, which “sort of overcome the fact that we’re an island off an island, and it brings Galway and our artists into the mainstream.”<sup>208</sup> This case, therefore, demonstrates that UCCN can offer second-tier cities with international ambitions “a really good possibility to get a position in this ranking of cities”,<sup>209</sup> as well as access to foreign markets for cultural actors in member cities.

#### 4.3.3 Branding and Visibility

Of the limited academic literature on UCCN, a considerable portion is dedicated to the branding possibilities offered by membership to the network.<sup>210</sup> Pearson and Pearson write of UNESCO’s well-established international ‘brand’, which has a high profile and positive

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<sup>206</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional C.

<sup>207</sup> Interview with Swansea creative professional C.

<sup>208</sup> Interview with Galway cultural coordinator.

<sup>209</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional B.

<sup>210</sup> Barbosa, “Lyon – UNESCO’s Creative City of Gastronomy?”, *Transnational Marketing Journal (TMJ)* 2 (2016); Pearson and Pearson, “Branding Food Culture”; Rosi, “Branding or Sharing?”.

connotations, and can “enhance the perception of cities as cultural icons” in a process of co-branding.<sup>211</sup> However, this constitutes neither an original objective of the network, nor does it seem to be the universal case across the present case studies. Strong aversion to any overt branding strategy was expressed in Barcelona, for example:

“What I didn’t want to do from the beginning and what I haven’t done yet, and I hope I will not have to do, is a big publicity campaign in the city, a communication campaign – I think this is not useful at all. I don’t believe in this marketing, being very aggressive, because this doesn’t mean anything, you know; at the end it’s like an empty message.”<sup>212</sup>

Instead, it was explained, efforts are concentrated in increasing the public visibility of Barcelona’s City of Literature title, in a way that engages with both inhabitants of and visitors to the city. A second interviewee from Barcelona concurred that *local* branding is the main use of the city’s UNESCO status.<sup>213</sup> For example, Barcelona’s City of Literature office is working towards placing plaques on pavements and streets to inform passers-by about the literary heritage of Barcelona, indicating, for example, houses where writers used to live. This information would also be digitalised. A significant output of Barcelona’s City of Literature office from spring 2019 is the creation of a map of literary spots across the city. These kinds of actions, ultimately, have “more meaning and weight”, and would help people to realise faster that “this is a City of Literature – it’s not just a regular city.”<sup>214</sup> This message is also promoted on various social media platforms such as Twitter and Instagram, and Barcelona City of Literature has a dedicated page on the city council’s website, which is available in three languages.<sup>215</sup>

As a large capital city and cultural centre in Europe, Berlin’s reputation precedes it; therefore, a branding exercise based on the UNESCO title is most likely viewed as redundant. Most interviewees from the city doubted the long-term value of Berlin’s UNESCO title, perceiving it more as “an impulse [...], but in the long-term... It’s faded away, no one remembers it any more”.<sup>216</sup> This is discordant with the fact that the design sub-network is ostensibly the most active of all seven UCCN sub-networks: it was the design branch that took the initiative to set

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<sup>211</sup> Pearson and Pearson, “Branding Food Culture”, 344.

<sup>212</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>213</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A.

<sup>214</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>215</sup> See <http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/ciutatdelaliteratura/en>, accessed June 15, 2019.

<sup>216</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional A.

up a website; they are highly active on social media; and a book has already been published that brings together experiences from different UNESCO Design Cities.<sup>217</sup> Nonetheless, in Berlin, the title is little-known, even within the design sector itself: “it doesn’t have any visibility, that’s my impression. [...] And if people are aware of it, they don’t know what its objective is.”<sup>218</sup>

This lack of clarity surrounding UCCN’s purpose was also evident in Galway:

“When that designation was made, there was a lot of palaver about it, but nothing really explained to us what that might mean, or how that really affects the culture of the city.”<sup>219</sup>

Thus, there appears to be a lack of communication or a gap between the top-down designation of the UNESCO title, and the grassroots cultural scene in cities. Branding was mentioned by one interviewee from Galway as a potential positive side-effect of the Creative City of Film title:

“It looks like quite a genuine, active network; I mean obviously it’s a huge title to have in terms of tourism, so I suppose the brand of Galway benefits from that a lot. [...] But from my understanding it’s something that has brought the sector together at the local level as well, so not only branding.”<sup>220</sup>

This statement would seem to reflect Pearson and Pearson’s hypothesis, which propounds that the greatest benefit of UCCN stems from “incremental economic opportunities. Most of these flow from increased visitor numbers”.<sup>221</sup> Nonetheless, there are currently no figures which prove any correlation between higher tourist numbers and the UNESCO Creative City designation. However, Galway is active in promoting its City of Film status on a dedicated website,<sup>222</sup> and the title has high visibility in the city.

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<sup>217</sup> Stocker, *The Power of Design: A Journey through the 11 UNESCO Cities of Design* (Vienna: Springer, 2014).

<sup>218</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional A.

<sup>219</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional C.

<sup>220</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional D.

<sup>221</sup> Pearson and Pearson, “Branding Food Culture,” 352.

<sup>222</sup> See <http://galwaycityoffilm.com/>, accessed June 21, 2019.

The present visibility of Glasgow's UNESCO title appears to be extremely low: in a survey conducted in the city, 89% of respondents were unaware of the award.<sup>223</sup> Nonetheless, Glasgow was the city which most clearly identified the branding potential of the UNESCO Creative City title:

“I think we can do much, much better there in terms of being more pro-active about using that as our brand, if you like. I'm not a big fan of branding in general, but I think that if you're going to exploit your music heritage globally, then that seems like the obvious way to do it: to say we've already been given this title and let's use it.”<sup>224</sup>

Suggestions for the form this branding would take included signs at Glasgow airport and various stations, with reference being made to Edinburgh's signposting of their UNESCO City of Literature award at Waverley Station. Other potential opportunities to publicise the title would be at large events and festivals in Glasgow, such as Celtic Connections and Glasgow Film Festival. One interviewee acknowledged the challenge of using the UCCN award for branding purposes:

“It does need to be sensitively handled, in terms of the marketing, so I think not to kind of badge it up and commoditise it too much, but it's something that's useful to reference, to mention more often that Glasgow is a recognised UNESCO world City of Music. But I think that more explicitly, Glasgow could be marketed simply as a music city.”<sup>225</sup>

Therefore, it seems that the UNESCO title is largely irrelevant to the ongoing efforts to promote Glasgow as a music destination, predominantly driven by bodies such as Glasgow Life and Visit Scotland. “So it's not nothing happening. There's just not much happening under the umbrella of UNESCO.”<sup>226</sup>

#### **4.3.4 Cultural Policymaking**

One of UCCN's six core objectives is to “fully integrate culture and creativity into local development strategies and plans.”<sup>227</sup> The network's potential to positively influence cultural policymaking is harnessed by several member cities. However, a key factor that determines the

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<sup>223</sup> Perman et al, “Growing the Value for Music Tourism in Glasgow: Research Report and Promotional Plan,” 16.

<sup>224</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional A.

<sup>225</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional C.

<sup>226</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional A.

<sup>227</sup> UCCN, “Mission Statement.”

extent to which this is effective in cities is the historical and economic value of the creative field designated by UNESCO, and how this is recognised or handled by politicians and local government. In Berlin, for example, design is viewed as a relevant and growing discipline, the value of which is comprehensible for politicians: “design can be used for diversity, can be used to support people”.<sup>228</sup> Barcelona faces a challenge in this regard, however:

“Politicians don’t know what to do with literature; it’s easier for them to work with, I don’t know, theatre or music, because it’s easy to make a big concert or a big festival, you know... Literature is not so easy, because it doesn’t draw thousands and thousands of people; it’s more smaller communities, so sometimes it’s not so easy to convince politicians that it’s important to invest in this area.”<sup>229</sup>

Constant political change is another issue in Barcelona which has affected progress on the UNESCO City of Literature designation. The perception of current political leaders, however, seems to be that UCCN membership is “a good reason to change cultural policymaking”, with more emphasis on literature and more financial support available for relevant organisations and projects.<sup>230</sup> For example, it is planned to create a writer’s residency in the city in the coming year.

In terms of historical significance and economic contribution, Berlin’s CIs enjoy a relatively strong recognition:

“Berlin is not a beautiful city, but we have quite an exciting and diverse cultural scene. And with this we make money. So [...] I know that the government or the politicians here are quite aware of this.”<sup>231</sup>

Berlin’s UNESCO title is intrinsically linked with the city’s cultural policymaking, as the designation is managed by Projekt Zukunft (PZ), a programme of Berlin’s Senate Department for Economics, Technology and Research. PZ was founded in 1997 to provide strategic support for the IT, film and media sectors in order to “build a solid base for economic growth and vitality”.<sup>232</sup> After the publication of Berlin’s first CIs Report in 2005, PZ acquired the

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<sup>228</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional B.

<sup>229</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional E.

<sup>232</sup> Projekt Zukunft, “Projekt Zukunft: A pioneer in economic development through creative and digital industries,” *Culture for Cities and Regions*, <http://www.cultureforcitiesandregions.eu/culture/resources/Case-study-Berlin-Projekt-Zukunft-WSWE-A3QL8U>, accessed May 4, 2019.

additional responsibilities of ICT, media and the CIs. Therefore, the office has quite a broad remit, and managing the UNESCO title is one of many tasks, which could be a factor which hinders progress as a UCCN member.

Interviewees in Galway were extremely positive about the potential of the city's UNESCO status to influence cultural policymaking. There was a sense that city councillors are highly aware of the strength of the film and screen media industries in Galway, and of the money that this generates for the local economy. The film sector has clearly created many jobs for local people, and has also attracted many start-ups, including from abroad, many of which are screen-based, thus feeding back into the healthy film scene. Galway City Innovation District (GCID) and the PorterShed, the latter serving as a "landing spot or entry-point" to the city, were cited as playing a positive role in relation to the city's film sector.<sup>233</sup> All of these factors create legitimacy for the industry, and in turn, the UNESCO City of Film title, which can be used to shape cultural policy.

In contrast, it emerged from interviews with stakeholders in Glasgow that the weight of the UNESCO City of Music title in terms of cultural policymaking lies in its *reciprocal* value: this means that organisations or individuals – particularly from heavily subsidised genres such as classical or jazz music – commit to using the title in certain activities, in exchange for funding from Glasgow Life, for example. Thus, the UNESCO title is highly politicised and inaccessible to other genres which are less engaged in the corporate side of the music industry, such as punk rock, which is, paradoxically, the music that made Glasgow famous. Nonetheless, one interviewee highlighted that the report 'Growing the Value for Music Tourism in Glasgow' was the subject of debate in the Scottish Parliament,<sup>234</sup> and several of its recommendations have been taken on board, such as further collaboration between businesses in the music and tourism industries.<sup>235</sup> Nonetheless, this report was not officially linked to Glasgow's UCCN membership. Therefore, where interaction between the UNESCO title and policymaking has occurred, it appears to have been limited to more high-profile or top-down structures, which have little visibility or impact at the level of Glasgow's grassroots music scene.

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<sup>233</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

<sup>234</sup> Perman et al, "Growing the Value for Music Tourism in Glasgow: Research Report and Promotional Plan".

<sup>235</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional C.

## 4.4 USES OF CULTURE 21 MEMBERSHIP

Following on from the above analysis of the use of UCCN membership by cities, it is now necessary to shift the focus to Culture 21 regarding the same question. The following, therefore, comprises the results of the secondary data analysis and qualitative interviews in order to answer the central research question and first sub-question. The analysis is structured according to the same sub-sections as above; however, the category of Internal versus International Value is implicitly subsumed under the other three sub-sections, as it is of direct relevance for these aspects.

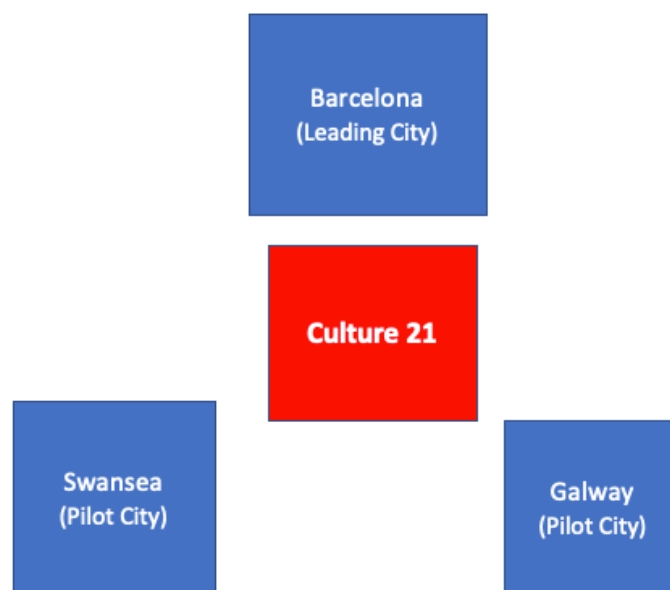


Figure 4.4: Case Studies – Culture 21 Member Cities.

### 4.4.1 Inter-Urban Networking

As highlighted in the previous section, networking with other cities constitutes a primary use of the UCCN title for half of the city case studies. This was also the case for two of the three Culture 21 cities examined. Visiting another city within the Culture 21 network is an important element of the Pilot Cities programme:

“When cities are visited by another delegation and when they travel to another city, what we do is a programme that is like a tailor-made suit to the needs of the city. [...] We try to avoid the narratives of representation and try to support the real exchange of



information, which sometimes happens informally, in non-formal settings and venues. So this peer-to-peer is very important for us.”<sup>236</sup>

Swansea identified the networking element of Culture 21 as a highlight of its Pilot City status, having participated in a visit to Barcelona and Terrassa, the latter being a Catalan city north-east of Barcelona which is also a Pilot City of Culture 21. This trip offered several opportunities for mutual learning: first, the intercultural work in Barcelona is relevant for Swansea, which identified diversity as a key issue in the early stages of its Pilot City status. The Dylan Thomas exhibition, for example, has secured funding for a project which aims to develop family learning strategies around the collection, incorporating a strong intercultural element.<sup>237</sup> Second, and relatedly, Barcelona could provide a model and some inspiration for Swansea in terms of the question of language:

“We’re a bilingual nation, so just seeing the provision for people to learn Catalan was incredible. And the way they’re trying to use that language provision as a way to integrate different communities. That was really, really positive and it would be amazing if we could offer more Welsh language provision.”<sup>238</sup>

A third aspect highlighted by Swansea is the relationship between Barcelona and Terrassa, which was likened to that of Cardiff and Swansea. Swansea, as Wales’ second city, does not want to be defined by this status, but faces the challenge of how to attract visitors from Cardiff. The trip to Terrassa therefore provoked some degree of self-reflection for Swansea and questions such as “what’s unique about us?”.<sup>239</sup> A final recurring issue raised by all interviewees from the city was that of funding. It was felt that Barcelona is in an utterly different league to Swansea in terms of the financial support available for the cultural sector; some “blue-sky ideas” were floated during the trip, which are simply unrealisable in Swansea, given the current economic strain in Wales.<sup>240</sup> Nonetheless, the general sentiment about the exchange with Barcelona remained positive: “Barcelona is always a model, and it should raise people’s aspirations.”<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Interview with Culture 21 network coordinator.

<sup>237</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator C.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator A.

<sup>241</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator B.

Indeed, Barcelona, as a Leading City for Agenda 21 for Culture, identified the formation of partnerships with other cities as the main use of this status:

“For us, belonging to a network like Culture 21 is an advantage, because it allows us to have relations with many cities in a very organised way. In fact, it is through UCLG – through Culture 21 – that we establish many of the relations that we have as a city.”<sup>242</sup>

The global spread of cities within the network was viewed as a significant advantage: through Culture 21, Barcelona can build contacts with African, American, Asian and other European cities, which would otherwise be more difficult. However, two other factors ultimately emerged as being most decisive to forging inter-urban partnerships: first, the thematic area of expertise of other cities; and second, the size of other cities, namely whether they are also global cities. These elements appear to supersede whether the partner city is a member of Culture 21 or not:

“When we discuss the social impact of culture, of course Montevideo and Buenos Aires, they are very good examples. When we talk about planning cultural policies, Montreal is a very good partner of the city of Barcelona. When we develop creative industries, we always look [to] the Netherlands – the Amsterdam experience – and the London experience. So it really depends, but I would say, in a triangle between Buenos Aires, Montreal and London, Barcelona should find a place in the international market of powerful cities.”<sup>243</sup>

Finally, it was clear that networking through Culture 21 is not the main benefit of Galway’s membership at present; however, some potential for growth was envisaged here.<sup>244</sup> At the initial Pilot City meeting of stakeholders in Galway, it was noted that any networking was “still focusing in on Galway rather than connecting out; [...] even people with solid networks through their work, that didn’t really come into it”.<sup>245</sup> Like Swansea, Galway participated in a visit to Barcelona and Terrassa, but little was known about this at city council level or within the cultural sector. There was consensus that the majority of Galway’s networking with other cities is currently happening through ECoC, for example with Rijeka in Croatia, which will also be a culture capital in 2020.

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<sup>242</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Interview with Galway cultural coordinator.

<sup>245</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

#### 4.4.2 Branding and Visibility

It emerged quite clearly from all interviews with Culture 21 members that the network is not used as a branding exercise; rather, its benefits lie in advocacy and its strong links with cultural policymaking according to principles of cultural democracy and sustainability. This is in line with the objectives and mission of the CCN. Therefore, the visibility of the titles ‘Pilot City’ and ‘Leading City’ is less important than the tangibility of their effects: as noted by a key stakeholder in Barcelona, “[Culture 21] doesn’t have a direct communication impact. Rather, we work on elaborating cultural policies”.<sup>246</sup> Nonetheless, while generating visibility might not be the most important priority of Culture 21, it is indeed necessary as it enables the wider community to engage with the activities of the network in their city. In Galway, there was a lack of awareness about the work of Culture 21, or the benefits of the Pilot City status. The dominance of all ECoC-related activities was once again suggested as a reason for this:

“To be honest, you don’t hear that much about Culture 21; I think maybe because [ECoC] has taken a bit of the spotlight. I don’t think that Galway has reached a point where people are aware of Culture 21, and even on a day-to-day basis I wouldn’t really think about it or see it.”<sup>247</sup>

The low visibility of Culture 21 on the local level in Galway was mentioned by all interviewees. Interestingly, some attributed this to the recency of the city’s membership, stating that “it just needs the time to get to the same kind of level as the UNESCO designation.”<sup>248</sup> In fact, however, Galway joined these two CCNs within a year of each other; therefore, the question of time and the maturity of network membership is ostensibly less relevant than the ways in which the CCN is harnessed and promoted within the city.

In Swansea, there is also little evidence of using Culture 21 membership for branding purposes. However, the visit to Barcelona and Terrassa was cited as an opportunity for Swansea to consider its ambitions as a city, and how to develop a brand:

“That is probably part of a wider question about how Swansea sees itself as well. Because, are we branding ourselves as Wales’ cultural city, are we Wales’ second city, are we Wales’ sporting city, [...] what is our identity?”<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A.

<sup>247</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator C.

Another positive aspect of the programme emphasised by interview participants was the mentorship received by the diversity expert assigned to Swansea by Culture 21. This external, objective perspective helped to further the process of self-reflection and provoke deeper consideration of the meaning of diversity and how to promote it in all areas of society. Achieving visibility for the Pilot City status in the wider public sphere seems to be less relevant in Swansea than the need to involve more people directly in cultural activities:

“There’s a desperate need to increase, broaden audiences, [...] not just because it’s a good thing and it’s a human rights thing and it’s a policy commitment, but [cultural venues] need new paying customers to keep afloat. So there’s a strong incentive for them to explore the different parts of the population of Swansea that have never traditionally been users of the venues.”<sup>250</sup>

Therefore, creating *external* visibility does not appear to be high on the agenda of Culture 21 or its participating cities, but the network’s foundation on solid cultural principles can provide some legitimacy for ongoing efforts in the cities, or indeed, create *internal* visibility for certain challenges among relevant stakeholders.

#### 4.4.3 Cultural Policymaking

As outlined above, advocacy and policymaking are the most important intended outcomes of the Culture 21 network. The strong link with policy is explained by the network coordinator in relation to Leading Cities:

“Services and departments of cities have to align their activities in the long-term plan of the city, and this long-term plan sometimes has a very important, very strong narrative of culture, and also very much needed projects and programmes, and this is when we also in the Leading Cities programme, we try to offer our capacity to connect the challenges of the implementation of these programmes to what we do, to what we are, to what we *can* do.”<sup>251</sup>

Activities in advocacy and communications are justified as follows:

“Today we need to communicate what the cities, what the local governments do to other cities, to the UN system, to the United Nations agencies’ programmes, and also to civil society organisations, and to the citizens. This should be well known.”<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator B.

<sup>251</sup> Interview with Culture 21 network coordinator.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

Barcelona, as a founding city of Agenda 21 for Culture, provides a strong case of how the Agenda can be used as a basis to develop the cultural policy of a city:

“Culture 21 is very much at the core of the cultural policies that have been developed in Barcelona over the last years. [...] It is very, very connected with our experiences.”<sup>253</sup>

The main value of Culture 21, then, seems to lie in the inspiration and coherence it provides in developing local cultural policies, based on a clear theoretical corpus.<sup>254</sup> As cities are at the heart of Agenda 21 for Culture, the process is intrinsically bottom-up, and Culture 21, with its global reach and expertise, is in a strong position to coordinate it. In this way, global and local knowledge can interact and complement one another.

Culture 21 achieves this effectively in Swansea as well. At the stakeholder meeting in the early stages of Swansea’s Pilot City programme, the city identified diversity as an area which required some attention and could be supported by Culture 21 in this – significantly, through the network’s aforementioned appointment of a diversity expert as a mentor. Consequently, a working group on diversity was set up, which is currently elaborating a Diversity Pledge; this aims to

“set a kind of a standard in terms of the service that the council would offer, and looking at diversity across the board as well – not just ethnic diversity but all forms of diversity, and how could the idea of a charter or a pledge be used motivate people, to raise their standards, to raise levels of training and skill and awareness, and have implications for staffing, content and programming, marketing, access to buildings...”<sup>255</sup>

To this purpose, the working group is trying to understand the current demographics of cultural users and workers, and to identify the gaps here. The Diversity Pledge, then, reflects many of Culture 21’s principles in terms of cultural democracy, and would be a significant outcome of Swansea’s participation in the Pilot Cities programme. Another tangible policy outcome of Swansea’s engagement with Culture 21 was the publication of a good practice document on refugees, asylum seekers and the Dylan Thomas Centre in January 2019.<sup>256</sup> In all of these ways, Culture 21 helps Swansea to address the challenge of diversity – in the context of a highly

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<sup>253</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator B.

<sup>256</sup> See <http://obs.agenda21culture.net/en/good-practices/dylanthomas-centre-swanea>, accessed May 14, 2019.

constrained economic situation – “from a kind of principled and value-driven priority, but it’s also coming at it from pragmatism and a survival necessity”.<sup>257</sup>

Finally, in Galway, Culture 21 also has links with policymaking. In 2016, ‘Everybody Matters: A Cultural Sustainability Strategy Framework for Galway, 2016-2025’ was published, which incorporated the results of the stakeholder workshop as part of the Pilot City programme and built on the nine areas identified by Culture 21. More currently, the Galway Arts Plan for 2019 to 2021, which is currently being developed, will have at its core the principles of cultural democracy which are enshrined in the city’s agreement with Culture 21.<sup>258</sup> Significantly, it was noted that this plan, with the legitimacy of Culture 21 support and values, can be used to advocate for a long-term view in cultural policy, where a short-term focus usually prevails:

“It’s hugely influenced policy. [...] We use policy to change things, to make things happen and to overcome the short-term view that so many local authority and elected members of local authorities quite often have [...]. We would try to encourage them to take a longer view”.<sup>259</sup>

This would constitute another extremely positive outcome of Culture 21 at the local level. Noting the lack of knowledge or visibility surrounding Culture 21 in Galway, another interviewee suggested that the Pilot City title may be more “embedded at local authority level, in what they’re doing”.<sup>260</sup> This could be true in certain cases; for example, that of buskers in Galway: recently, local businesses have complained about musicians playing on the street – something which strongly characterises the cultural vibrancy of the centre of Galway. Culture 21 can be of practical and relevant use here:

“There was a question of democracy there: how the business people have more right to dictate the public realm than the people who actually use the public realm, and I would contend no, that Agenda 21 for Culture makes it perfectly plain that the buskers are entitled to do what they’re doing. So, there are areas where [...] the councillors have to be reminded of what we have signed up for.”<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator B.

<sup>258</sup> Interview with Galway cultural coordinator.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

<sup>261</sup> Interview with Galway cultural coordinator.

If the core cultural democratic and sustainability principles of Culture 21 *can*, then, be embedded at the level of local cultural policymaking, with positive, tangible outcomes for cultural actors in the city, the network and its agenda could be seen as highly effective.

#### 4.5 REVIEW OF FINDINGS

At this point, a brief review of the findings presented above is necessary before proceeding with the critical analysis. It can be summarised that the five cities examined in this thesis had a variety of reasons for joining UCCN and/or Culture 21, which were discussed in Section 4.2. Both networks ostensibly offered the opportunity to gain increased international visibility, whether for the city as a whole (as in the case of Galway) or a particular creative sector (such as design in Berlin). Furthermore, both networks could provide legitimacy for member cities as official Creative Cities. They also seemed to offer a means by which to address specific local challenges, such as tourism in Barcelona and diversity in Swansea. Several other motives for joining the two CCNs were also presented by cities: however, only in Glasgow was a desire of the city council for status or prestige highlighted as a potential reason for UCCN membership.

The question of how the five city case studies utilised their CCN memberships was addressed in Sections 4.3 and 4.4, from which a variety of uses emerged. The findings are presented in Figure 4.5 below.

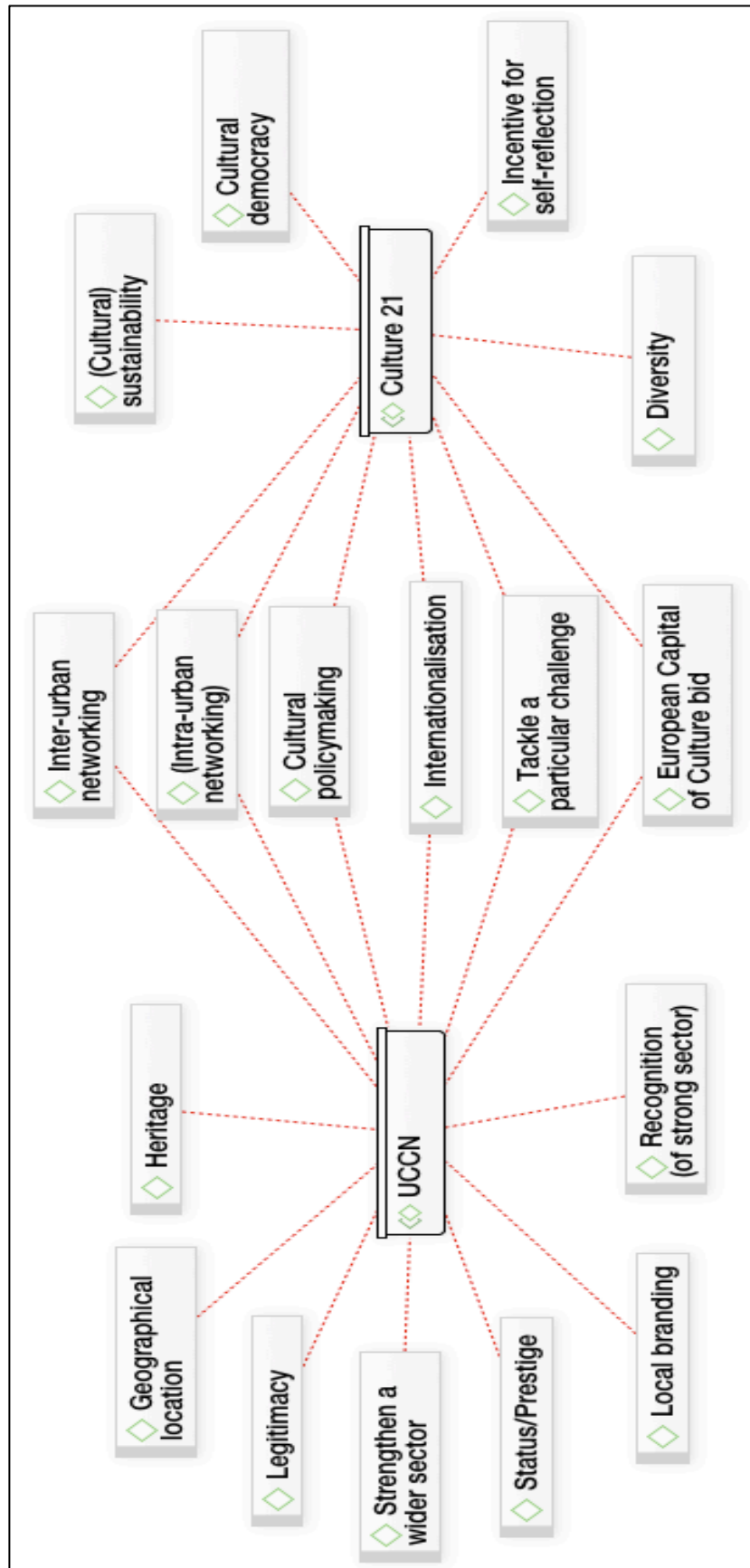


Figure 4.5: Use of CCNs by Member Cities.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>262</sup> Figure elaborated by the author using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti.



In the diagram above, which is based on the results of the interview coding process, a number of universal uses of the two CCNs emerge. These include inter-urban networking and cultural policymaking; related to this latter aspect is the generation of local value for a particular cultural activity, while the international value of the networks was harnessed in other instances. For example, it was shown that CCNs serve as platforms which can connect cultural actors in member cities with international markets. These are some of the most salient uses of CCNs that emerged from the present study; however, additional key functions that are individual to each CCN are also presented above. In the case of Culture 21, for example, the additional uses of promoting cultural sustainability and democracy reflect the core principles and objectives of the network, while UCCN's functions are often more specific to a particular cultural activity. Moreover, the latter network would seem to provide the opportunity of validating a wider cultural industry through the membership of key global cities, as the case of Barcelona and literature demonstrates; this is something which could, potentially, be better recognised, promoted and harnessed by the UCCN secretariat. Ultimately, these findings disprove the hypothesis that the principle value of CCNs lies in their potential for city branding, or even urban regeneration, which are the key aspects highlighted in much of the literature relating to CCNs to date: rather, the two CCNs have the capacity to generate real benefits for member cities and their cultural sectors, as illustrated to varying degrees by the case studies.

## Chapter Five: Critical Analysis of Results

Building on the findings presented in Chapter Four, this chapter will provide a more critical and in-depth comparative analysis of UCCN and Culture 21 with respect to several key points. Here, the second research sub-question, regarding the perceptions of local cultural actors about the CCNs, will be addressed more overtly. This chapter will also make a link between the governance strategies of the two networks and their respective outcomes in member cities, which comprises the third sub-question, and also responds directly to the main research question of this thesis. Finally, the fourth sub-question will be answered by providing some recommendations for CCNs and cities, whether current or future network members.

### 5.1 THE PERCEPTION OF CCNS WITHIN MEMBER CITIES

The opinions of cultural actors in member cities about CCNs are important for this study because they are indicative of the effectiveness of the networks at the local level. The purposive sampling method employed was extremely valuable for discerning this, as all interview participants displayed a relatively high knowledge or at least awareness of how the network(s) interact with their city. Below, the breakdown of interviewees' perceptions of the two CCNs are shown (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). In each case, the majority of participants spoke positively about the networks, indicating their effectiveness and some positive outcomes for the cultural sector of their city. The 'Other' section in both cases represents a small portion of interviewees who displayed neutral attitudes regarding the CCN in question, either because they lacked sufficient in-depth knowledge of the network to be able to gauge its effectiveness, and/or felt the network had very little visibility in their city, indicating a broader lack of awareness about the CCN. However, in 'quantifying' the perceptions of interviewees, another significant aspect emerged within the 'Other' portion: namely, the role of the city itself in determining the local impact of the network. This aspect will be further discussed in Section 5.2.3.

Key reasons for positivity about one or both networks among interviewees mainly comprised the constructive uses of CCN membership presented in Chapter Four, encompassing the following: access to mentoring; skills transfer; access to new markets; new opportunities for local artists to showcase their work internationally; networking with other member cities to create new projects; increase in local collaboration, and potential to influence cultural policymaking. Justifications for negativity about UCCN included its perception as a purely administrative body with very little tangible impact; attainment of the title for status purposes;

the bureaucracy and politicisation of the award; the centralised nature of the network, with little power given to cities; the growing size of the network and related concerns; and the lack of clarity about UCCN's agenda in cities. Therefore, the latter issues would all seem to reflect a distinctly top-down approach to network governance on the part of the UCCN secretariat, as will be discussed in the following section.

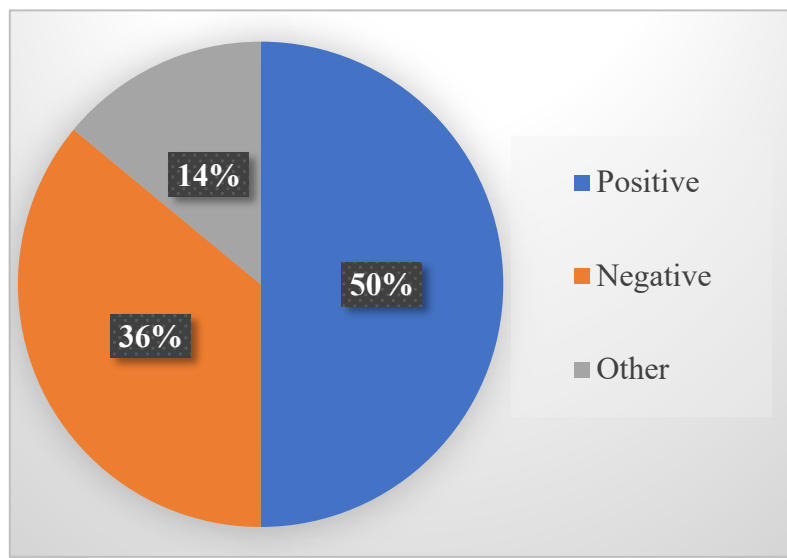


Figure 5.1: Perceptions of Cultural Stakeholders in Member Cities about UCCN.<sup>263</sup>

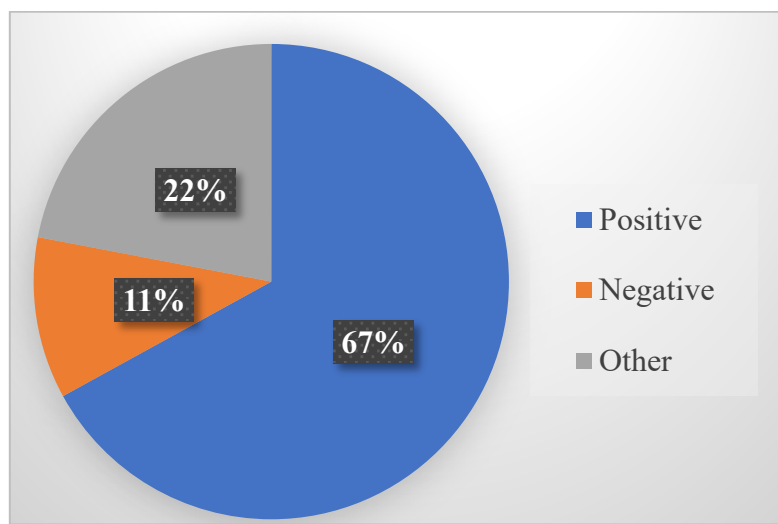


Figure 5.2: Perceptions of Cultural Stakeholders in Member Cities about Culture 21.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>263</sup> Results based on interview data.

<sup>264</sup> Results based on interview data.

## 5.2 CCN GOVERNANCE STRATEGIES AND OUTCOMES

This thesis embarked from the hypothesis that the governance strategies of CCNs affect their respective impacts on the cultural sector of member cities. At the core of this is the contention that UCCN adopts a predominantly top-down approach to network governance, while Culture 21 demonstrates a bottom-up orientation. In Chapter Four, some key features of the two governance strategies were described; in this section, these obverse approaches will be linked with the local outcomes and perceptions of each network.

### 5.2.1 Critical Analysis of Top-Down Governance

Except for Galway, interviews with all UCCN member city representatives verified the network's top-down governance structure, with some also indicating a lack of trickle-down of any benefits from the UNESCO Creative City designation to the grassroots cultural scene. As one interviewee from Glasgow's grassroots music scene stated:

“It becomes a very bureaucratic thing, and there's really little to no actual benefit that trickles down; [...] there's no vague practical knock-on effect, it's purely rhetorical as far as I can see, and it's bragging rights for the authority at the time. I don't see any other benefits whatsoever.”<sup>265</sup>

Interviewees from Berlin also contended that the status generated little tangible outcome for the city's design sector. Most felt that the UCCN secretariat plays a merely administrative role in relation to member cities; one design professional formulated this as follows:

“But maybe [UCCN] is similar [to] government. Because sometimes, I am delegated at meetings with the UNESCO network. And the people from Paris are arriving, they stay one night, having a good dinner with us; they never sit in our sessions, and then they move back to Paris. They don't care about that. They are like... administrators, they like their job, they can travel. But they are not pushing.”<sup>266</sup>

This was consolidated by interviewees from Barcelona, who identified UCCN's infrequent contact and lack of engagement with member cities as weaknesses of the network. Thus, the top-down governance of UCCN is ostensibly felt at all levels within the cultural sector of member cities.

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<sup>265</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional B.

<sup>266</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional B.

This lack of benefit for the grassroots cultural scene of member cities is highly discordant with the fifth objective of UCCN: to “improve access to and participation in cultural life” for all citizens of member cities.<sup>267</sup> Interestingly, Galway was the only city where this aim was ostensibly achieved:

“I think what makes the UNESCO Film designation quite strong [...] is that it was building on solid organisations: cultural, educational institutions, things like that; and you couldn’t really call it grassroots, but there was a very clear line that it was coming *up* the way, rather than being, say, the city council going, do you know what would be really good as a branding exercise, if we did this...”<sup>268</sup>

Another interviewee noted that stakeholders from Galway’s film industry were strongly involved in UNESCO City of Film activities, and that it brought the wider cultural sector together at the local level.<sup>269</sup> A key reason for the success of Galway’s UNESCO title, then, is its collaborative approach with and co-ownership by cultural actors, who can use and promote the designation more widely.

The centralised nature of UCCN was also perceived negatively, as a trait of top-down governance:

“I think there should be more power given from UNESCO to the network itself. I think it would be great if [...] there were maybe four or five people from the network elected for two, three years, and they were like the coordinators and the speakers. They could have decisions, but the decisions are only done in Paris.”<sup>270</sup>

Finally, much of UCCN’s work lies in the dissemination of best practices among member cities. This is also in line with the network’s relatively passive role, and contrasts with the active advocacy and cultural policy development of Culture 21. An interviewee from Barcelona stated:

“We need the advice of these international organisations. So just providing best practices – it’s not enough. It’s not just organising peer reviews or organising best practices collection. Which is fine, but we need advice. We are absorbed by the day-to-day [...]. I need advice, advocacy that can guide me in taking my local decision[s].”<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> UCCN, “Mission Statement.”

<sup>268</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

<sup>269</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional C.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A.

Therefore, it may be necessary for UCCN to take a more pro-active role in providing expertise and guidance to member cities in the future.

### **5.2.2 Critical Analysis of Bottom-Up Governance**

The case studies of Barcelona and Swansea would seem to affirm the bottom-up approach of Culture 21, with Galway again being an outlier. One interviewee attributed the value of a network such as Culture 21 to its convening power: it can help to bring people from many different departments and areas together to discuss shared issues and find solutions.<sup>272</sup> The bottom-up approach of Culture 21, then, through its direct engagement with local stakeholders, has the positive effect of encouraging people to “sit up and listen and act, and it’s a good way of breaking down silos and barriers.”<sup>273</sup> This seems to be effective in Swansea:

“In terms of the ground level, [the Pilot City programme] is partly a way of trying to get the arts community together and get people talking to each other, just within a Swansea context.”<sup>274</sup>

Another advantage of the direct communication between the network secretariat and member cities is that for the latter, having committed to various undertakings and set certain targets as part of CCN membership, it is difficult to withdraw from these in the face of economic or political adversity. In the case of Swansea, “if they weren’t a member of Pilot Cities at the moment, it would be a lot easier for them to start dwelling on their problems and their financial difficulties and to turn inward.”<sup>275</sup> Therefore, Culture 21 offers a necessary “incentive to stay open”.<sup>276</sup>

In Galway, a strong intra-urban network of actors already exists within the cultural sector, regardless of such external networking initiatives.<sup>277</sup> Nonetheless, it was acknowledged that the stakeholder workshops as part of Galway’s Pilot City programme stimulated further local cooperation between the arts sector and community development workers. Participants in these workshops were aware that their inputs were informing the cultural framework at the basis of

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<sup>272</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator B.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator C.

<sup>275</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator B.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

Galway's Pilot City plan; however, some interviewees felt that these have not fed into the local ecosystem in any visible way since then. Here again, Galway was rather an outlier in terms of its perception of Culture 21's governance strategy:

“My perception of Culture 21 is, it's kind of for the executives in the city council; I'm sure it will kind of feed into what we're doing, but it's nearly just mentioned in meetings and things as an afterthought [...]. I think maybe with Agenda 21 it'll just take people a little bit of time to get on board so it can start feeding up, and it's not just a passive, one-way kind of system.”<sup>278</sup>

This statement would in fact seem to converge more with a view of Culture 21 as a top-down network. There seems to be very little public visibility about Galway's Pilot City activities, and thereby, little ownership of the city's Culture 21 status by cultural stakeholders, or clear opportunities to actively engage with network activities.

Barcelona, as a Leading City and home to the Culture 21 secretariat, has particularly “close knowledge and regular contact” with the network.<sup>279</sup> As elucidated in Chapter Four, the intended purpose of Barcelona's Leading City programme is not to generate public visibility or status around this title; rather, the agenda serves largely as the basis for developing the city's cultural policy. Leading Cities also have considerable influence in determining the activities of the network:

“[Culture 21] will follow their priorities: when a city becomes a Leading City in our network, it is because they have the maturity – conceptual and technical; they are ready to choose what they want *us* to support.”<sup>280</sup>

This encapsulates the bottom-up network governance approach taken by Culture 21, and contrasts directly with UCCN, where the secretariat takes all key decisions regarding thematic focus, membership and other crucial aspects. One interviewee clarified the importance and operationalisation of a bottom-up approach:

“You need vivid intermediate activities and practices that are operating on a lower level [...] and that you keep contact to this. Then you're allowing yourself to learn more about the changes that take place bottom-up; whereas when you're distant to this, and you're operating in a kind of supra-organisational structure on top of everything, you're

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<sup>278</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

<sup>279</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator A.

<sup>280</sup> Interview with Culture 21 network coordinator.

losing contact, and thereby you're losing contact with the people, or disqualifying your trust towards them, and vice-versa. They are not trusting you if you are just doing abstract policies on top of this.”<sup>281</sup>

### 5.2.3 Intermediary Structures

The varying outcomes produced by CCNs in member cities, as shown above, indicate that another factor is crucial in determining the local dynamics of a CCN: namely, the role of intermediaries. Intermediaries, in this context, can refer to city council members or cultural organisations and actors operating at a city level (see Figure 5.3). Examples of high-level bodies are Institut de Cultura de Barcelona (ICUB) and Glasgow Life, which are the culture departments of the respective city councils. An example of a cultural organisation that previously operated as an intermediary is CREATE BERLIN, which was an open network by and for Berlin designers and design organisations.<sup>282</sup> The platform – which is no longer in operation – constituted a strong partner in promoting the UNESCO City of Design status and was instrumental in providing designers from Berlin with opportunities to exhibit internationally.<sup>283</sup> These intermediate structures can position themselves as an interface between top-down and bottom-up, stimulating exchanges, connections and networks, and preventing an hierarchical governance mode. Moreover, Barcelona emphasised the key tasks of intermediary structures as connecting people and building a strong (literature) community.<sup>284</sup> Therefore, intermediaries can play an important role as support systems for a particular CI in a city, being closest to the grassroots scene and between top-down and bottom-up structures.

Effective intermediaries can be observed in the case studies of Barcelona, Berlin, Galway and Swansea to different degrees. For example, it was shown that the process of Berlin becoming a Creative City of Design was a collaborative endeavour between the Senate and designers; however, without a long-term strategy for how to use the title, the city's UCCN membership has become redundant and invisible. Barcelona has a dedicated City of Literature Office, which is responsible for all the city's UCCN activities and has direct contact with writers, and ICUB, which works closely with Culture 21. Glasgow's City of Music title, on the other hand, has generated very little dialogue between the city council and the grassroots music scene.

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<sup>281</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional C.

<sup>282</sup> Creative City Berlin, “Create Berlin,” available at [https://www.creative-city-berlin.de/en/network/member/create\\_berlin/](https://www.creative-city-berlin.de/en/network/member/create_berlin/), accessed June 20, 2019.

<sup>283</sup> Lange, “Re-scaling Governance in Berlin's Creative Economy,” *Culture Unbound* 3 (2011): 192.

<sup>284</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.



Intermediaries have played little role here, resulting in the politicisation and restricted use of the title:

“I’m aware of the fact that it’s very much tailored to the benefit of the hierarchy within Glasgow, the people that control the funding [...] the people that run the RSAMD and that – places that are there, but they play very little of a part in the lives of Glaswegians, or Scottish people in fact.”<sup>285</sup>

The question of capacity may also determine the effectiveness of intermediary structures. Both Galway and Swansea highlighted this as an issue in relation to their Pilot City programmes:

“I think in an ideal world, we’d have had more capacity, staff-wise. So we could’ve had an officer, part of whose role was dedicated to this. [...] I think that probably would have been easier for us as an authority. And it would have been easier for us to get the message out about what we do as well, what it means.”<sup>286</sup>

Overall, therefore, it can be surmised that CCNs have less impact on cities which pursue the accolade for status and recognition, without any coherent long-term strategy as to how this should translate into concrete benefits for the grassroots scene. On the other hand, cities which have clear motives for attaining CCN membership and successfully involve key stakeholders in the process gain more benefits from the Creative City title.

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<sup>285</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional B.

<sup>286</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator C.

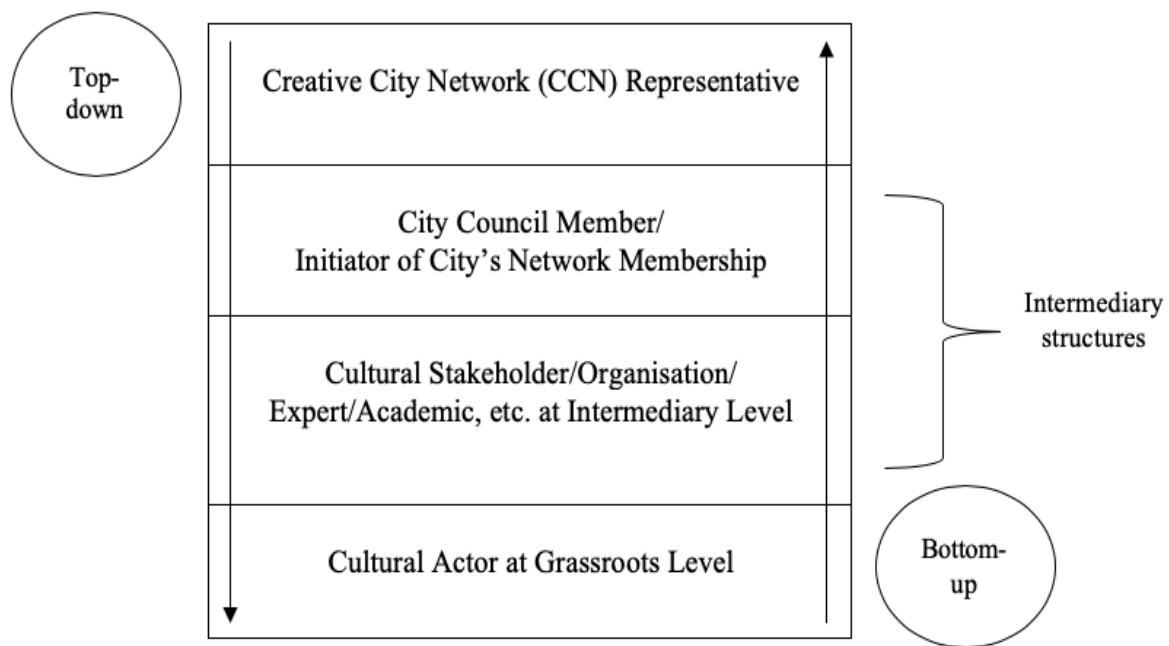


Figure 5.3: The Four Sectors Involved in Shaping CCN Dynamics, with Illustration of the Top-Down/ Bottom-Up Network Governance Dichotomy.

### 5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CCNS

In this section, a number of recommendations will be made for CCNs, based on the shortcomings and gaps identified in the qualitative interviews and secondary data analysis. Thus, the fourth research sub-question will be answered here.

#### 5.3.1 Monitoring

Monitoring emerged as a key challenge in UCCN. At present, the network requires its member cities to submit self-monitoring reports every four years. This self-evaluation process is important, and indeed, was viewed positively by most interviewees from member cities, who noted the transparency and accessibility of these publications on the UCCN website as particularly useful. Moreover, cities are aware that their reports will be read by the UCCN secretariat, which, in turn, provides some general feedback about these at the annual meetings. A potentially problematic aspect of the high publicity of the documents, however, is that cities may be less likely to mention negative trends in their reports, such as the closure of cultural venues, for example. As a means of combating the highly subjective nature of these reports, Landry recommends that the UCCN secretariat consider contracting external experts to assess the progress of cities, as well as instigating a “360-degree evaluation so that the overall UCCN

system is being assessed”.<sup>287</sup> However, given limited resources in the network and the large number of members globally, such a monitoring mechanism would be extremely difficult to implement.

A more collaborative approach to monitoring, therefore, would appear to be more feasible and potentially even more beneficial for member cities. Interviewees from all UCCN member cities unanimously agreed that the development of a more coherent monitoring and evaluation mechanism for progress in the cultural sector is highly necessary:

“It would be really useful to have some support on an ongoing process of monitoring, measurement and evaluation, I think; providing a kind of toolkit of how you might go about that.”<sup>288</sup>

It was felt that UCCN, with its global outreach and overview, would be in the best position to create such a monitoring framework or toolkit. When asked where UCCN could improve, a cultural coordinator in Barcelona implied that such an undertaking is in fact the *responsibility* of the network:

“It would definitely be the construction of indicators, of results, comparable between all cities. And constructing a system of indicators is very complicated, [...] but precisely one of the tasks of international networks, in my opinion, should be this: to search for international comparisons and understandings.”<sup>289</sup>

Such a monitoring mechanism could require cities to provide the secretariat – or the city at the head of each sub-network – with certain data in response to defined indicators; this information would be aggregated by UCCN and presented in a way that would facilitate macro-regional contrast and analysis. This could then be disseminated in the form of “global reports that would be of interest and benefit for everybody as part of the network”.<sup>290</sup> Thus, member cities would have the possibility to quickly identify relevant cultural policies and initiatives of other cities both within their creative field and the wider network, and to see how activities in their own city measure against these international comparisons: in essence, a comprehensive, qualitative form of benchmarking.

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<sup>287</sup> Landry, “Maximizing the Potential of the Creative Cities Network,” 13.

<sup>288</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional C.

<sup>289</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator.

<sup>290</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional C.

The importance of qualitative data in such an endeavour was emphasised by several interviewees:

“Politics is faced with a considerable challenge, because it always wants to label things with numbers, and is always competing, saying: we have this many designers, but the growth is so and so high. And that is often a lie, because the numbers are not right; and on the other hand, one has to say, no, you have to label things in a different way. UNESCO could do something about this.”<sup>291</sup>

According to the recent study by Montalto et al, there are two key obstacles to adequate monitoring in the cultural field: first, the difficulty of defining and delimiting culture, due to the complexity of cultural production and consumption; and second, the heterogeneity of actors involved.<sup>292</sup> A third challenge can be added here, relating to the disparities in cultural monitoring methods across member cities of CCNs, and thus the difficulty of aggregating this diverse data. In light of all these issues, a qualitative approach to cultural monitoring is essential. Moreover, quantitative data in the cultural sector may obscure certain complexities or trends:

“It’s not true that numbers are the measure for everything: you have to have deeper insight, because otherwise you say, everyone is reading in Barcelona – no. Not everyone is reading.”<sup>293</sup>

This interviewee highlighted the issue of illiteracy in Barcelona, which prevails in parallel to the City of Literature status: those with library cards, for example, may not frequent libraries to borrow books, but rather to have access to heating. Thus, regular qualitative monitoring and assessment is ostensibly the most effective means of taking all dimensions into account.

In contrast with interview participants from UCCN member cities, interviewees from Culture 21 cities did not perceive any need for additional monitoring mechanisms. Upon its establishment, Culture 21 developed an index based on the various approaches of existing networks and programmes of the European Union. In 2015, a toolkit consisting of nine commitments and one hundred actions for the localisation of culture was written by cities, for cities: this is used as the framework for Pilot Cities’ initial self-assessment, as well as the

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<sup>291</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional A.

<sup>292</sup> Montalto et al, “Culture counts: An empirical approach to measure the cultural and creative vitality of European cities,” *Cities* 89 (2019): 167.

<sup>293</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

subsequent development of a local action plan (see Figure 5.4 below).<sup>294</sup> This framework could perhaps provide a model for UCCN in developing a qualitative monitoring mechanism. As the network coordinator of Culture 21 asserted:

“We as a network are not here – unlike other networks – to evaluate or to calculate indicators of cultural consumption, or to compare things that cannot be compared. We are here to support the elaboration of policies to cities. And we believe that this frame [...] raises good questions for local activists, local officers and officials to discuss, and then to agree on where are the weaknesses, and where the city should work more in the forthcoming months and years.”<sup>295</sup>

Therefore, Culture 21 would appear to undertake adequate monitoring processes in its member cities. A cultural expert in Swansea argued that where improved monitoring mechanisms in Pilot and Leading Cities are required, this stems from need for the cities themselves “to build up their own [monitoring] capacities”.<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Culture 21, “Culture 21 Actions: Commitments on the Role of Culture in Sustainable Cities,” [http://agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/culture21-actions/c21\\_015\\_en.pdf](http://agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/culture21-actions/c21_015_en.pdf), accessed June 3, 2019.

<sup>295</sup> Interview with Culture 21 network coordinator.

<sup>296</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator B.

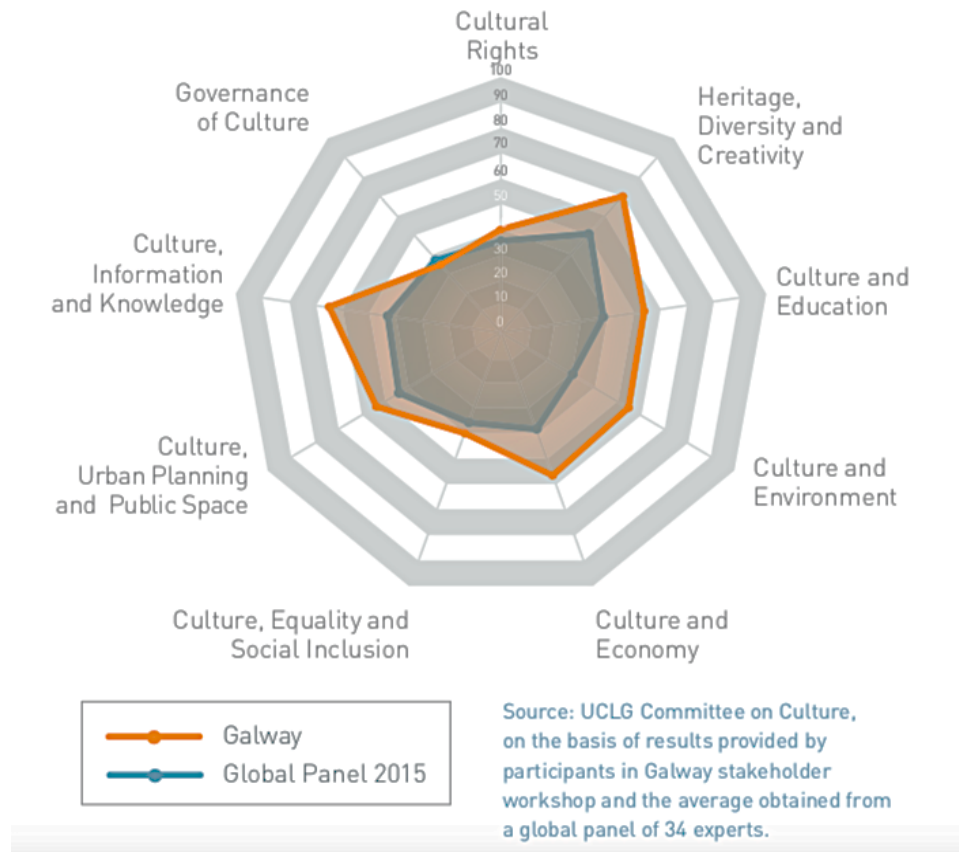


Figure 5.4: Example of Culture 21's Assessment Framework:  
Galway's Self-Assessment and Data from the Global Panel 2015.<sup>297</sup>

### 5.3.2 “Ransoming” the Title

The perpetuity of the UNESCO title and lack of monitoring were problematised by some interviewees from Glasgow and Berlin. It was felt that UCCN membership should not be a question merely of “collecting logos”; rather, member cities should have to continuously earn their membership, facing expulsion from the network if they failed to do so.<sup>298</sup> Another stakeholder referred to UNESCO’s Heritage division, suggesting that the practice of revoking the status of ‘World Heritage Site’ should perhaps be applied to Creative Cities, if the city did something to jeopardise the designated cultural sector.<sup>299</sup>

A role for UCCN was envisaged in generating visibility for certain issues and challenges in the cultural sector which are experienced by member cities. For example, the difficulty of touring

<sup>297</sup> Review of Galway’s Culture 21: Actions Self-Assessment, May 2016, [http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/cities/content/informe\\_galway-eng.pdf](http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/cities/content/informe_galway-eng.pdf), accessed June 2, 2019.

<sup>298</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional D.

<sup>299</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional B.

sustainably as a musician was highlighted by an interviewee who is active in Glasgow's music scene; he stated that "if UNESCO wanted to help, what they could do is highlight the plight, or highlight the situation, and put pressure on people to change that."<sup>300</sup> One means of achieving this would be to "ransom" UCCN membership, whereby UCCN would offer city councils "the bragging rights of a UNESCO title in exchange for one demonstrable policy implementation".<sup>301</sup> One example of such a policy that was suggested was for the city council to make a number of vans available for bands to hire for going on tour, as well as one or two people who would manage these bookings. In order to retain its City of Music status, Glasgow city council would have to maintain this 'Vans for Bands' policy; otherwise, it would face the risk of being stripped of the accolade.<sup>302</sup> This closer monitoring of member cities' use of the UNESCO Creative City title would be a way of ensuring continued progress within the cities, and most importantly, of creating real benefits for people at grassroots level:

"The city has to be seen to invest in the people who can least afford it. Because as I said, the people that they're investing in – the people that benefit most from the UNESCO title – are the people that already have access to most of this subsidy. And folks that don't even know about the UNESCO title are the folk that need the help the most."<sup>303</sup>

### 5.3.3 Network Size

Another concern that was voiced by all interviewees from UCCN member cities was the rapid expansion of the network. As previously mentioned, UCCN has a current total of 180 member cities: a number which will increase again by the end of 2019. The issue with this is twofold. First, accepting more members is simply unfeasible at a practical and organisational level:

"It's starting to become difficult to find a city which wants to host the meeting. Because it's so expensive, hosting this huge meeting of so many people. Every time it's more and more difficult."<sup>304</sup>

Second, the effective functioning of the network is considerably diminished when more members are admitted:

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<sup>300</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional B.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

“When we have the meetings, we tend to stay only in the Cities of Literature, between us, and we share projects [...] but it’s difficult to share with all the cities; it’s really difficult to have a meeting with all of them and of course get to know them, all the people. So, there’s a bit of a problem of the network growing and growing, so fast.”<sup>305</sup>

The most logical solution to this is simply to reduce the number of member cities which can be accepted every two years. This was proposed by one interviewee:

“I think they maybe should stop taking five cities every time. You know, if they take one or two, it’s OK, but if they take five or six... That’s too many. So the symbol is going away, because everybody can join.”<sup>306</sup>

Another potential solution for controlling the size of the network could be the previous recommendation: to grant the UNESCO Creative City title to cities in exchange for a demonstrable policy implementation and monitor the maintenance of this. If UCCN membership were no longer awarded in perpetuity, cities would need to ensure continued progress and tangible outcomes in their cultural sector. Most interviewees from UCCN cities made various references to other cities in the network which do not attend meetings and have very little to show for the title; by suspending the Creative City status of these inactive cities, more space could be created for new members, with increased transdisciplinary exchange between cities. Of course, suspending a city’s membership would not have to mean being barred from the network completely; rather, it could be a temporary measure which could be rescinded by the city in question, upon proving its fulfilment of the necessary criteria to retain membership.

#### **5.3.4 Communication**

A third key recommendation to be made regarding the effectiveness of UCCN as a network would be for increased communication between the network secretariat and its member cities. This lack of communication was previously explained within the context of its top-down network governance strategy, but interviewees felt that more direct interaction with UCCN headquarters would be extremely valuable for guiding their activities:

“I think we would be grateful, like when we have the annual meeting, I think it would be good that they do [...] a practical workshop in which they would tell us what kind of projects they like more, what kind of projects they like less, or what kind of projects

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<sup>305</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>306</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional B.



they think, you know, work together more; I think it couldn't be bad that they tell us, you know – leaving us all the freedom, but telling us, why don't you four cities make this, work together on something... That would be better, I think. Nothing is clear about what they want, so you never know.”<sup>307</sup>

Another interview participant observed the plethora of funding opportunities for creative projects which are available in Europe, but the absence of effective communication about this to people working in the relevant sector at the local level. Here, he suggested that UCCN, by means of a more direct line of communication, might be able to facilitate increased dissemination of awareness about such opportunities to cultural actors in member cities.<sup>308</sup>

A lack of communication between the Culture 21 secretariat and its member cities does not seem to be the case, as close cooperation occurs between the office in Barcelona and city authorities, both in Leading and Pilot Cities. An effective measure which complements and strengthens these close relations is the appointment of a mentor in a relevant area to Pilot Cities, which was noted as one of the most positive aspects of the Pilot City programme in Swansea. This mentor can act as an intermediary between the secretariat and the city, while staying involved in the city's programme – ideally, for its entire duration. Ensuring constancy in this position, insofar as possible, would be an important point for the Pilot Cities programme.

### **5.3.5 Programme Duration: Short versus Long-Term**

On the opposite end of the spectrum to the perpetual award of UNESCO Creative City, interviewees from Culture 21 Pilot Cities highlighted a need for the programme to be slightly longer-term in its approach. The first Pilot Cities programme, in which Galway and Swansea participated, was intended to last from 2015 to 2018; however, the involvement of both cities is ongoing, with the culmination of the programme now being envisaged for the end of 2019. This represents a positive move towards implementing a longer-term Pilot Cities programme. Nonetheless, all interview participants felt that the original designation of three years was too short, and that a timeframe of five years would be more fruitful: this would ensure a comprehensive process spanning from the initial self-assessment and identification of areas for improvement to a final additional step of *reflecting* on the implemented pilot measures.<sup>309</sup> Related to this is the question of legacy: it was unclear to interviewees whether continued

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<sup>307</sup> Interview with Barcelona cultural coordinator B.

<sup>308</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional D.

<sup>309</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator A.

support is available for Pilot Cities once the programme ends, and how the work as a Pilot City would continue. These aspects could perhaps be addressed more overtly by the Culture 21 secretariat.

## 5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CCN MEMBER CITIES (FUTURE AND CURRENT)

### 5.4.1 Development of a Strategy

All interviewees, both from UCCN and Culture 21 cities, emphasised the importance of a strategy for network participation in order to see any results.<sup>310</sup> Berlin, for example, no longer has a clear plan regarding the Creative City of Design status; therefore, little is being done with this designation, and many designers are unaware of it. Stakeholders here asserted that “a structure is needed” in order to more effectively plan activities within the CCN framework and utilise the title.<sup>311</sup>

Key reasons for the necessity of a strategy are the internal political legitimacy that this affords to a city’s CCN membership and ensuring the commitment of all relevant stakeholders. As one interviewee from Swansea reflected:

“I think we’ve learned that it would be a good idea to have a cultural strategy. And some sort of clearer direction at senior level in the authority about where culture stands. And a document that we can share with people and say, this is what we stand for.”<sup>312</sup>

External and internal factors such as political changes in a city, as well as changes in staff and capacity issues within the office responsible for the CCN initiative, can be a hindrance to cities’ progress as network members. Therefore, the formulation of a clear timeframe and a long-term action plan or strategy at the start of the city’s CCN membership is crucial to ensuring some consistency and progress in the cultural sector.

### Financial Commitment

Pearson and Pearson note that member cities of UCCN which allocate resources to promoting the award have the possibility of receiving an economic return on their efforts, mainly in the

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<sup>310</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional B.

<sup>311</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional D.

<sup>312</sup> Interview with Swansea cultural coordinator C.

form of increased tourism and business flows.<sup>313</sup> However, this study shows that linking a CCN strategy with a financial budget can also ensure strategic political commitment within the city. An interesting contrast is presented by Galway and Glasgow in this regard. In Galway, the city and county councils made various financial undertakings as part of the UNESCO Creative City of Film designation over a number of years, and indeed, Galway would seem to emerge from this research as the city which has gained most benefits from its UNESCO title. This was explained by one interviewee from the city:

“I think sometimes when money is involved, and very clearly involved, you see a more direct cause and effect line, or maybe the policymakers are more aware of what’s going on”.<sup>314</sup>

In Glasgow, on the other hand, the poor visibility of the UNESCO City of Music status was explained as follows:

“That is purely down to budget because when a city is given these titles, it doesn’t come with any budget, and it’s up to the city what it does with the title and how it resources itself. My understanding is that in Glasgow, there isn’t that much money for [the UNESCO title].”<sup>315</sup>

It is not the case that there is no money available for the city’s music sector: notably, the ongoing efforts to promote Glasgow as a music city are simply being conducted through channels which are already resourced, rather than allotting additional funds to the UNESCO title. Where a city’s UNESCO designation has a budget, there is also more questioning from politicians. Therefore, at least in part because of greater political pressure, cities which have allocated financial resources to their CCN membership seem to demonstrate greater progress, visibility and benefits from the status.

#### **5.4.2 Integration of Frameworks: CCNs as an Umbrella**

Two of the five case study cities in the present research, Barcelona and Galway, are members of both UCCN and Culture 21. Galway City and County Councils have joint ownership of the former network membership, while only the City Council is responsible for the Culture 21 programme. Nonetheless, there is considerable overlap in those responsible for each of the

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<sup>313</sup> Pearson and Pearson, “Branding Food Culture,” 353.

<sup>314</sup> Interview with Galway creative professional A.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

networking initiatives, particularly given Galway's small size. In Barcelona, on the other hand, there is no coordination between the city's Culture 21 and UCCN offices. A representative from the latter office attributed this to the fact that Barcelona is a large city with many council departments, making it difficult to know who is working on similar topics. Nonetheless, it was felt that more dialogue should take place between the two offices. Although UCCN and Culture 21 work with different frameworks – the SDGs and Agenda 21 for Culture, respectively – increased cooperation could potentially strengthen the impact of both.

Interviewees from Berlin and Glasgow, meanwhile, felt that the UNESCO Creative City title should be used as an umbrella, or overarching structure, to capture all activity within the cultural sector in each city:

“Let's not impose on something that happens organically; the city already has an amazing scene and that happens. [...] But why not try to make [the UNESCO title] more an umbrella for all that exists in Glasgow, that exists naturally in the city.”<sup>316</sup>

However, as highlighted by a cultural actor in Berlin, there needs to be an overall aim to this comprehensive structure – reiterating the point about developing a strategy.<sup>317</sup> For example, some key thematic areas could define the overarching programme of the city's CCN membership, such as cultural education or participation.

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<sup>316</sup> Interview with Glasgow creative professional A.

<sup>317</sup> Interview with Berlin creative professional D.

## Chapter Six: Conclusions

### 6.1 SUMMARY OF MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS & CONCLUSIONS

At this point, all four of the research sub-questions have been addressed individually. In the following, a short summary of the main findings will be given, seeking to provide a more coherent answer to the main research question: namely, “how have member cities of CCNs used their network memberships to stimulate development in their creative sectors, and how does this relate to the governance strategies of the networks?”.

#### 6.1.1 Comparative Use of CCNs by Member Cities

Chapter Four of this thesis showed that CCN membership has been utilised by cities in a variety of ways. Several key uses of the two networks emerged in the findings: these include inter-urban networking; influencing cultural policymaking; raising the international profile of the city and its creative talent and connecting cultural stakeholders with international opportunities. Some other uses of CCNs by cities were also highlighted, including Galway’s involvement in both UCCN and Culture 21 as a stepping stone to ECoC; the impulse from Barcelona to harness literature as part of a strategy to address the issue of tourism; and Swansea’s use of Culture 21 to stimulate a process of self-reflection, as well as to tackle the particular challenge of diversity. Another key novel finding of this thesis is that cities may use their CCN membership to promote a certain cultural industry, as in the case of Barcelona and literature, which benefits the wider literary scene by affording it increased legitimacy and visibility.

Finally, a trend has been noted within UCCN of cities using the title as a quality label, which aims to “attract financial flows and obtain better placement in the rankings of global cities”.<sup>318</sup> The secretariat of Culture 21 also acknowledges the possibility that some member cities “either have considered Agenda 21 for Culture as a brand or a self-evident process that did not need further local action.”<sup>319</sup> However, using the Creative City title for city ranking or branding purposes did not seem to be the main objective of any of the five cities examined in this thesis. Even if it is true of other member cities, this study can refute the hypothesis that the value of CCNs lies solely in its branding potential for cities. Instead, it is clear that many cities have

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<sup>318</sup> Rosi, “Branding or Sharing?”, 110.

<sup>319</sup> Culture 21, *Cities, Cultures and Developments: A report that marks the fifth anniversary of Agenda 21 for Culture* (Barcelona: UCLG and Barcelona City Council, 2009), 13.

harnessed CCN membership to stimulate further development in their cultural sectors, often with a high measure of success. Therefore, the statement that “we cannot accept any more that branding cities is the way in which international networks operate” seems to be upheld in many member cities of both Culture 21 and UCCN.<sup>320</sup> This answers the first part of the central research question.

### **6.1.2 CCNs’ Governance Strategies and Outcomes**

The second half of the research question concerns the link between network governance strategies and how these translate at the local level. This study embarked from the hypothesis that UCCN and Culture 21 foster distinct network governance approaches, which affect the respective cultural dynamics that they create in member cities. The present research confirmed this relation, showing that the operating mechanism of each CCN provides a basic overarching structure for the activities of cities. Based on the perceptions of interviewees, it can be surmised that a bottom-up approach to network governance generates the most tangible, sustainable and beneficial outcomes for cities’ cultural sectors. However, cities push boundaries and display innovation in different ways, which can result in the highly productive use of CCN membership, regardless of its network governance orientation. A key finding of this research, therefore, is the significance of *intermediaries* within member cities, or the people who drive this innovation. Intermediaries are crucial in channelling a UNESCO Creative City or Culture 21 title locally, in order to ensure its ownership by cultural stakeholders and the wider public. Conversely, due to a lack of strategy, vision or clear motive for gaining membership, intermediaries may hinder any positive trickle-down effects from the title, limiting its benefits to city council level, or even using it as political leverage.

In conclusion, to directly answer the research question, the governance strategies of UCCN and Culture 21 are indeed related to the ways in which development in member cities’ cultural sectors can be stimulated. UCCN’s top-down governance approach entails little involvement by the secretariat in the activities of cities; it has been argued that UCCN in fact performs a more administrative function, fostering a somewhat hierarchical relationship to its member cities, with little outcome locally. Culture 21, on the other hand, constitutes a more equal network node by cultivating non-hierarchical relations and cooperating closely with member cities to actively engage in addressing challenges in their cultural sectors.

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<sup>320</sup> Interview with Culture 21 network coordinator.

## 6.2 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis has added to the still limited body of research which links the concept of the creative city with city networks. It is ostensibly the first in-depth comparative study of two CCNs, which is also novel in considering their respective governance strategies and local dynamics. Moreover, the purposive sampling method at the qualitative interview stage ensured a high level of reliability, given the expertise of all participants in the cultural field, and familiarity with their city and its engagement in the CCN(s). The diversity of interviewees' backgrounds is seen as a strength of this research, which has presented opinions not only from city council level or the network secretariat, but also included the voices of people actively working at grassroots level in different cultural contexts.

Given the time constraints and highly time-consuming nature of qualitative interviews, it is also noted as a strong point that ultimately, a total of eighteen interviews were conducted, across five cities and in three languages. This demonstrates the wide interest of cities in the subject of CCNs. Therefore, the topic of CCNs is relevant, and has implications not only for existent academic theory and research in the fields of creative cities and city networking, but also for cultural policy at the urban level, and strategy development within CCNs.

However, it is acknowledged that only five member cities of the two CCNs were analysed in this study, which may diminish the generalisability of the results. In addition, the findings are shaped by the selection of interview participants, meaning the information may be subjective or imperfect, and interviewees with a stronger voice could have inadvertently influenced the direction of the analysis. A main challenge experienced in the research process was securing responses from stakeholders and ensuring a relatively balanced number of interviews from each of the five cities. Of most notable absence from the interview process is the UCCN secretariat, which was unresponsive to all attempts at contact, meaning that only one of the two CCNs could be fully represented in this thesis.

Finally, the researcher recognises that the discourse on top-down and bottom-up network governance strategies may be somewhat reductionist, when the reality of coordinating a network is more complex and nuanced. However, the current lack of framework for assessing the governance strategies and operations of CCNs, together with a general lack of literature on

the subject of CCNs, as already noted, made it difficult to undertake a more comprehensive analysis of this aspect. It is hoped that the paradigm of top-down and bottom-up, therefore, can provide a useful starting point for reflecting on the various strengths and weaknesses of different governance strategies.

### 6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Following on from this research, several key pathways of research are envisaged, as outlined below.

#### **Pathway One: Further In-depth Analysis of CCNs**

The first and most salient pathway for future research relates to the need for further studies on CCNs which take more networks into account and, importantly, have a larger sample size of interview participants from more member cities. It seems that pursuing creativity as a strategy remains attractive for cities, and linked with this, the opportunity of gaining official recognition from a CCN as a Creative City. Therefore, future research should respond to the question of how CCNs, as agglomerations of creative cities, can help to improve creativity and liveability for all. The governance of the networks, whether top-down, bottom-up or otherwise, is crucial in determining how this is achieved. Other related aspects which merit further clarification include the economic value of CCN membership for cities, and the role of path dependency, or how a city's historical trajectory influences the outcomes of CCN membership.

#### **Pathway Two: Monitoring Mechanisms**

As highlighted in Chapter Five, CCNs have a key role to play in developing global monitoring mechanisms for culture in cities. This is a complex endeavour, as “measuring culture at urban level mostly remains an ‘unchartered territory’, let alone in a multi-country context.”<sup>321</sup> Therefore, more research is required in the near future about monitoring methodologies which could be feasibly be adopted by CCNs. This entails developing appropriate (qualitative) indicators; identifying the necessary data to be gathered from cities and the data collection methods for this; and the subsequent aggregation and analysis of results.

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<sup>321</sup> Montalto et al, “Culture Counts”, 168.



### **Pathway Three: The Geography of CCNs**

A research deficit in the “rather neglected” area of the geography of music scenes is noted by Baker and other authors.<sup>322</sup> The highest concentration of UCCN cities, for example, is in Europe, despite the UCCN secretariat’s persistent efforts to include more cities from the Global South. Therefore, it would be important to investigate the barriers for entry to CCNs experienced by cities, particularly in regions outside of Europe. This also implies a wider study about the geographical spread of cultural specialisations in cities, which could be conducted according to the seven creative fields of UCCN, for example.

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<sup>322</sup> Baker, “Music Scenes and Self Branding (Nashville and Austin)”, *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 28, no. 3 (2016): 336.

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## Appendices

### APPENDIX 1: CODING KEY OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

No.	City	In-Text Code	Profession/Organisation	Gender	Date of Interview	Medium	Place of Interview
1	Barcelona	Culture 21 network coordinator	CCN (Culture 21 )	M	30 January 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
2	Barcelona	Barcelona cultural coordinator A	ICUB (culture department of city council)	M	22 February 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
3	Barcelona	Barcelona cultural coordinator B	Barcelona City of Literature office (city council)	F	21 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
4	Berlin	Berlin creative professional A	Editor at Kulturprojekte Berlin (cultural centre) with expertise in design field	M	15 February 2019	Face-to-face	Berlin
5	Berlin/Graz	Berlin creative professional B	Design Expert, FH Joanneum Graz (with experience of Berlin design scene)	M	11 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
6	Berlin	Berlin creative professional C	Academic in Urban Studies/CIs	M	18 March 2019	Face-to-face	Berlin
7	Berlin	Berlin creative professional D	Independent creative consultant with expertise in design field	M	20 March 2019	Face-to-face	Berlin
8	Berlin	Berlin creative professional E	Founder of a cultural venue/enterprise in Berlin (music)	M	15 February 2019	Face-to-face	Berlin
9	Galway	Galway cultural coordinator	Galway City Council cultural department	M	7 March 2019	Telephone	Rotterdam

10	Galway	Galway creative professional A	Curator, cultural organisation in Galway (art)	F	9 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
11	Galway	Galway creative professional B	Producer, cultural organisation in Galway (theatre)	F	22 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
12	Galway	Galway creative professional C	Executive Creative Director, cultural organisation in Galway (circus)	F	22 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
13	Glasgow	Glasgow creative professional A	Business owner in area of music tourism	F	6 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
14	Glasgow	Glasgow creative professional B	Music venue owner and musician	M	22 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
15	Glasgow	Glasgow creative professional C	Scottish Music Industry Association (SMIA)	M	25 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
16	Swansea	Swansea cultural coordinator A	Cultural division of city council	F	11 February 2019	WhatsApp	Rotterdam
17	Swansea	Swansea Cultural coordinator B	Diversity expert	M	22 February 2019	Skype	Rotterdam
18	Swansea	Swansea cultural coordinator C	Cultural division of city council; Dylan Thomas centre	F	7 March 2019	Skype	Rotterdam

**Note:** Further information about the interviewees, as well as full interview transcripts, are held by the researcher and can be obtained upon request.

## APPENDIX 2: INDEX OF INTERVIEW CITATIONS IN ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

### **Page 39, citation 125:**

“La principal industria cultural que hay en Barcelona es alrededor de libros. Necesitábamos ordenar como hacíamos la política local alrededor del libro, y era la manera mejor para hacerlo.” (Barcelona cultural coordinator A).

### **Page 40, citation 128:**

“Design war damals in Berlin das Thema für Kreativwirtschaft, so 2006.” (Berlin creative professional A).

### **Page 41, citation 133:**

“Die Wirtschaftsleitung hat sich sehr auf dieses Thema gespürt und hat versucht so, Berlin als Designstadt voran zu bringen.” (Berlin creative professional A).

### **Page 50, citation 158:**

“La ventaja más importante es que nos da legibilidad internacional a un programa que es local.” (Barcelona cultural coordinator A).

### **Page 50, citation 159:**

“Berlin ist nicht Düsseldorf, Berlin ist auch nicht New York, Berlin ist auch nicht Paris oder London. Das zeigt sich auch bei den Modemessen, also ist auch im Kunstbereich überall so.” (Berlin creative professional A).

### **Page 50, citation 161:**

“Es war auf jeden Fall auch eine Legitimationsgrundlage, anzugehen und zu sagen, wir machen Berlin international [...]. Also die Berlin Infrastrukturenschaft, damit die Designer in andere Städte kommen... das hatte auf jeden Fall mit der UNESCO zu tun.” (Berlin creative professional A).

### **Page 52, citation 168:**

“Sobre todo, branding, local branding de Barcelona, como Ciudad de Literatura, es lo que más lo sirve.” (Barcelona cultural coordinator A).

**Page 52, citation 170:**

“Es war so ein Impuls [...], aber langfristig... es ist auch so verblasst, man erinnert sich überhaupt nicht mehr daran.” (Berlin creative professional A).

**Page 53, citation 173:**

“Das hat doch nicht so eine Außenwirkung. Das ist mein Eindruck. [...] Und die Leute, wenn sie's kennen, wissen sie nicht, was das Ziel ist.” (Berlin creative professional A).

**Page 58, citation 194:**

“Pertener a una red como a Agenda 21 para la Cultura, para nosotros, es una ventaja, porque nos permite tener una relación con muchas ciudades, de manera muy organizada. Es de hecho a partir de UCLG, de Agenda 21 de la Cultura, que establecemos muchas de las relaciones que nosotros tenemos como ciudad.” (Barcelona cultural coordinator A).

**Page 59, citation 198:**

“No tiene un impacto de comunicación directo. Es que nos dedicamos al trabajo de políticas culturales.” (Barcelona cultural coordinator A).

**Page 69, citation 227:**

“El secretariado está en Barcelona, y esto nos permite tener un conocimiento muy cercano, muy aproximado [...] y un contacto muy regular.” (Barcelona cultural coordinator A).

**Page 75, citation 248:**

“Seguramente sería la construcción de indicadores, de resultados, comparables entre todas las ciudades. Y construir un sistema de indicadores es muy complicado, porque pudiera explicar de la misma manera cual es la política del libro en Melbourne, Dublin, Barcelona, en Montevideo- sería muy útil. Es complicado, pero justamente una de las misiones de las redes internacionales, según mi punto de vista, debe ser este. Buscar la comparación internacional, buscar la manera de entender.” (Barcelona cultural coordinator A).

**Page 75, citation 250:**

“Da steht die Politik vor einer ganz großen Herausforderung, weil sie immer mit Zahlen was benennen will, und immer konkurriert, so und sagt, wir haben so und so viele Designer, aber das Wachstum ist so und so hoch. Und das ist schon mal gelogen, oft, weil die Zahlen nicht

stimmen, und andererseits muss man sagen, ne, ihr müsst das anders benennen. Da könnte die UNESCO was machen.” (Berlin creative professional A).

## **APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM**

### **CONSENT REQUEST FOR PARTICIPATING IN RESEARCH**

For questions about the study, please contact: Liadán Sage, [514277ls@eur.nl](mailto:514277ls@eur.nl)

#### **DESCRIPTION**

You are invited to participate in a research project about creative city networks (CCNs) and their impact on the cultural sector of member cities. The purpose of the study is to understand the way in which CCNs engage with cities in the network and their cultural sectors, and to relate the outcomes of this to the respective network governance strategies of CCNs. This will be done by comparing the perspectives of relevant cultural actors and representatives at city level, as well as the policy objectives of the cities and networks in question.

Your acceptance to participate in this study means that you accept to be interviewed. In general terms,

- your participation in the research project will be related to your experience in the cultural sector and/or the city networking initiative;
- the questions of the interview will be related to your experience in the cultural sector and/or city network initiative, such as projects in which you have participated, and your experience of the city network of which your city is a member;
- the data gathered from these interviews will be used exclusively for academic purposes, namely the final Master's thesis, which may be further distributed, including publication on the Erasmus University Library website;
- the cities used as case studies will be specified in the final thesis, as well as the broader sector which each interviewee represents (i.e. cultural/city council, etc.). However, all interviewees will remain anonymous;
- unless you prefer that no recordings are made, I will use an audio recorder for the interview. You are always free not to answer any particular question, and/or stop participating at any point.

#### **TIME INVOLVEMENT**

Your participation in this study will take 30-60 minutes. You may interrupt your participation at any time.

#### **RISKS**

I am aware that naming the cities used in this study may invoke the risk of individuals being identified. Therefore, I will not use any explicit information that could lead to the identification of those involved in the study and others mentioned during the interview, using only pseudonyms to identify them and their role. If an interviewee is concerned that their identity will not be sufficiently protected in this way, I am willing to consult with them to find a more satisfactory solution.

## **PAYMENT**

There will be no monetary compensation for participation in this research project.

## **PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS**

If you have decided to accept to participate in this project, please understand that your participation is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. If you prefer, your identity will be made known in all written data resulting from the study. Otherwise, your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study.

## **A WORD OF THANKS**

The researcher would like to take this opportunity to again express her gratitude for your time and willingness to participate in this study.

## **CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS**

If you have questions about your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact the supervisor of this thesis: Assistant-professor Dr. Jeroen Euwe, Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication, Department of History, Erasmus University Rotterdam ([euwe@eshcc.eur.nl](mailto:euwe@eshcc.eur.nl)).

## **SIGNING THE CONSENT FORM**

By signing this consent form, you are hereby agreeing to be audiotaped during the interview and for the material to be used for the purposes of this research project. Your signature here will be the only documentation of your identity and will not be disclosed as part of the thesis, unless specified otherwise by the interviewee.

Name:

Signature:

Date:



## APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE TEMPLATE

### Section 1: CCNs at Local Level

- Can you please tell me a bit about the process of your city becoming a member of UCCN/ Culture 21, and how you were involved?
- What do you think has been your city's main use of CCN membership? (e.g. branding, partnerships, etc.)
- How visible is your city's CCN status within the city? (i.e. is it widely known to the public/ tourists/creative professionals?)
- What do you see as being the main outcomes/benefits of your city's CCN membership? (What is the added value of CCN membership?).
- In what ways has the UNESCO/Culture 21 status been able to influence cultural policymaking in the city?

### Section 2: Networking

- To what extent is inter-urban networking facilitated by the network? How is this networking (both formal and informal) helpful? In which ways has your city learned from other cities, and translated this knowledge into practice?
- UCCN encompasses a very wide range of cities (in terms of size, local challenges, etc.): do you think this has any implications for the effectiveness of the network?
- What do you think about UCCN's categorisation of creativity (i.e. the seven creative disciplines)? Is this helpful, or could there be more interdisciplinarity/engagement between different sub-networks?
- Within your city, do you think the UNESCO Creative City status has created more unity and dialogue between various cultural actors? (Intra-urban networking).

### Section 3: Governance & Strategies

- What do you think about the idea that UCCN fosters a top-down approach to network governance/Culture 21 fosters a bottom-up approach to network governance? (How) do you think the designation reaches your city's grassroots cultural scene?
- How is the agenda of UCCN/Culture 21 (i.e. the 17 Sustainable Development Goals/Agenda 21 for Culture) promoted in member cities, and incorporated into the actions of your city?
- Do you think sub-networks/local governments could have more responsibility from UCCN in terms of decision-making about network-related issues?

### Section 4: Monitoring and Measurement

- What are the main challenges of monitoring and measuring developments in your city's cultural sector, and how do you think these could be overcome?
- Do you think a more coherent monitoring or evaluation mechanism is necessary in UCCN/Culture 21 member cities? If so, do you see it as the networks' or cities' responsibility to develop this?
- What do you think about the self-monitoring process which UCCN member cities are obliged to undertake? Is this an effective means of evaluating progress?

#### Section 5: Reflection

- Could UCCN/Culture 21 be doing something differently to enhance their positive impact on the local cultural sector of member cities?
- Which are the main challenges facing your city's cultural sector today? Do you think UCCN/Culture 21 provides an effective means for addressing these?
- Do you think your city could be doing something differently to maximise the benefits of CCN membership?
- How do you see the cultural trajectory and development of your city without CCN membership? Would something have happened differently without it?