THE CREATIVE CLASS PARADOX

Image 1: Cuba St: Wellington's creative ecosystem, 2005.

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A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for a degree of Masters in Design at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thankyou to:
my primary supervisor Dr Claire Robinson,
and to Roy Parkhurst for their guidence and advice;

the founding members of Save Our Streets:
Laurie Foon, Ashely Owers, Thomasin Bollinger, Natasha Naus,
Steven Jessop, Jeremy Randerson;

and a final thankyou to Laurie, Lily-mai and Miriana
for their support and patience
during this roller-coaster ride of a project.

ABSTRACT

In an effort to encourage Wellington's economic growth the Wellington City Council (WCC) integrated the principles of Richard Florida's (2002) Creative Class theory into their strategic vision – *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital.* This initiative influenced the WCC's resource policies with the aim of attracting and retaining creative people and innovative businesses.

Within the Creative Class paradigm the value system used is predominantly economic, with creative assets and success being defined in terms of commercial gains. Consequently, the types of creative individuals, innovate businesses and physical environments that the WCC's policies prioritised were ones with high revenue earning potential.

Such a restricted definition of creativity raises the question of how do Wellington's alternative forms of creativity and innovation fit into the WCC's *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy? Are their contributions to be ignored and their futures compromised in the WCC's drive to attract members of the Creative Class or do they have a role to play within the Creative Class paradigm?

My thesis investigates these questions by critiquing the WCC's implementation of the Creative Class theory. I also investigate the impact that the WCC's actions have had on Te Aro, a suburb on the outer edge of Wellington's central business district that is home to a diverse array of creative practices and small innovative businesses.

Through this investigation I discover parallels between Te Aro's unique characteristics and the criteria Florida argued as being necessary to attract the Creative Class. I argue that for this reason Te Aro, and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports, meets the value and lifestyle needs of the Creative Class and are therefore assets in the WCC's *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy. My thesis concludes by using these findings in a graphic design led strategy that seeks to enhance Wellington's unique creative dynamic by broadening both the community and Council's concept of capital, assets and success.

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LIST OF IMAGES

All images and design outputs created by Tim Parkin unless otherwise stated.

INTRODUCTION

In February 2002 the New Zealand Government released the *Growth and Innovation Framework, Growing an Innovative New Zealand* in which it identified the creative industry sector as being one of three sectors to offer New Zealand the greatest potential for economic growth and wealth creation. In the document the New Zealand Government outlined its intent to promote and support industries that were innovative and creative. Launching the framework, the report explained:

> New Zealand's next phase of its economic development must be characterised by innovation. We must become a nation known internationally for our innovation, our creativity, our skills and our lifestyles. Government has chosen to target its innovation initiatives initially in biotechnology, information and communication technology and the creative industries. These are all areas which, if they attain their growth potential, can have a significant influence on the broad scope of the New Zealand economy (The Office of the Prime Minister, 2002, cited in New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003, p 2).

This addressed the Government's growing concern about the poor performance of the New Zealand economy in the global market and the need to compete at an international level for buyers of exports, international investment, and skilled workers. In this environment the creative industries were seen as contributing not only through growth and productivity in their own right, but also through their potential to add value to a range of other industries through systems design, product design, and the design of marketing and communications (New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development, 2003; New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, 2005).

The creative industries are also seen as playing an important role in helping change offshore perceptions about New Zealand from one of green hills and sheep to one that presents New Zealand as an innovative and vibrant country. It is believed that they have the potential to promote (or in the words of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise 'brand') New Zealand as a 'nation of new ideas and new thinking' with an 'economy based on innovation and talent' and in doing so differentiating their products, generating added value, attracting investment, and enhancing the country's position in the global market (New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development, 2003; New Zealand Trade & Enterprise, 2005, p. 2).

New Zealand is not the only country to focus on the creative industries as a means to generate wealth and economic growth. The term 'creative industries' was first developed in the UK in 1997 by the Blair Government, which set up a Creative Industries Task Force in recognition of the contribution that creative industries play 'in economic development, regeneration, and social inclusion' (UK Creative Industries Task Force, 2001, cited in New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003, p. 4).

Since then several other countries including Australia, Canada, Singapore and Korea have prioritised creative industries in their economic policies. While all of their definitions of creative industries differ slightly, their rationale for adopting the policies are very similar – 'creative industries are significant in their own terms, partly because they help countries differentiate their offerings; they are growing faster than the economy as a whole and can become a driver of growth in other sectors' (New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003, p. 4).

In the case of New Zealand the definition of creative industries is the same used by the UK – 'those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill, and talent, and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property.' However, the set of industries in New Zealand differs slightly from the UK, comprising of the following ten sectors: advertising, software and computer services, publishing, television and radio, film and video, architecture, design, designer fashion, music and performing arts, and visual arts (arts, crafts, antiques) (New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003, p. 5).

In March 2001 the joint domestic consumption of these industries was $7 billion NZD (these are to date the most recent figures available). This contributed 3.1% to the total GDP of New Zealand. This is comparable with that for communication services (3.2%), finance (3.5%), and education (3.9%). In the period between 1997 and 2001 the sector had a faster growth than the economy as a whole with creative industry exports growing 435% compared with growth of the service sector at 16%.

Individually software and computer services were the stand out achievers contributing 42% of the total profits with a growth between 1997 and 2001 of 58%. In terms of profit the nearest contributor was Publishing at 18%, with Visual Arts & Crafts, Music & Performing Arts, and Designer Fashion contributing a combined total of only 5% (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (inc.), 2002; New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development, 2003).

TABLE 1: CREATIVE INDUSTRIES, REVENUE AND GROWTH

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES	2001 $M	As % Total	% Growth 1997-2001
Software & Computer Services	2,950	42%	58%
Publishing	1,276	18%	18%
Television & Radio	911	13%	17%
Film & Video	572	8%	164%
Architecture	300	4%	36%
Design	300	4%	15%
Advertising	214	3%	14%
Visual Arts & Craft	168	2%	24%
Music & Performing Arts	160	2%	19%
Designer Fashion	100	1%	47%

(New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003, p. 6).

Creative industries further increased their profile when they were articulated into urban regeneration and regional economic development discourse. In large part, this new emphasis was triggered by Richard Florida (2002) and his book *The rise of the Creative Class and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*, which provides theories on how cities can attract creative people and innovative businesses in order to generate economic growth.

Florida's theories have been embraced by many city administrations worldwide, including the Wellington City Council (WCC), which integrated Florida's principles into their strategic vision – *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital*. This initiative influenced the WCC's resource policies and determined the types of creative individuals, innovate businesses and physical environments that they prioritised (Wellington City Council, 2004a).

This thesis examines Florida's Creative Class theory and critiques the WCC's implementation of his theory. Chapter 2 discusses the literature on the Creative Class paradigm and offers four research aims for my research. Chapter 3 describes the applied design methodology engaged in the study. Chapter 4 discusses and critiques the WCC's application of the Creative Class paradigm and investigates the impact the WCC's actions have had on Te Aro, a creative area of urban Wellington. Chapter 5 is an exegesis of the applied design component of the research.

CHAPTER 2

THE RICHARD FLORIDA EFFECT

2.1

A SUMMARY OF THE CREATIVE CLASS THEORY

In his book *The rise of the Creative Class and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*, Florida (2002) supports the view that the creative industries are the new economic force driving national economies. He explains that in the global market environment creative industries are an integral component in the economic success of regions and cities because, as with nations, regions and cities need to compete globally for international investment and to attract skilled workers. Consequently, Florida adds, city councils and regional governments need to put into action aggressive strategies that attract and retain such businesses and individuals. Florida outlines what he believes policy makers must do to stimulate the development of such creative industries in their cities in order to ensure their economic success.

Briefly stated, Florida's Creative Class theory asserts that the future economic prosperity of cities will depend on their ability to attract creative individuals, which he refers to as the Creative Class. This theory rests on his assumption that the Creative Class are the driving force behind the creative economy and that by attracting these individuals a city will in turn attract the creative industries. In order to achieve this, he asserts, a city must create an environment that supports the values and priorities of the Creative Class, and where all forms of creativity – artistic and cultural, technological and economic – can take root and flourish.

Florida's Creative Class consists of two categories and covers many occupations. The first category is the Super Creative Core that includes individuals in science, engineering, architecture, design, education, arts, music and entertainment. The second category is the Creative Professionals that includes a broader group of individuals in business finance, law, healthcare and related managerial fields. What differentiates them from other classes is that while the Working Class and Service Class are primarily paid to execute according to plan, the Creative Class's common economic function is to create things that are new and original (that is, new ideas, new technology and new content).

Florida argues that it is the clustering of these creative people that creates economic growth, because, in a curious reversal, instead of people moving to jobs, companies are moving to, or forming in, places that have the skilled people. These skilled people are therefore a city's greatest economic asset. He makes the analogy that access to creative and talented people is to modern business what access to coal and iron ore was to steelmaking. It determines where companies will choose to locate and grow and this in turn changes the way in which cities must compete.

This could be viewed as a 'chicken-and-egg' situation. What makes a successful centre of creativity? – the abundance of creative people. Why would creative people move there in the first place? – because it's a centre of creativity. Florida supports his stance that people come before jobs using statistics from a survey he conducted in 2002 of 4000 recent college graduates in the U.S.. From it he found that three quarters of them identified location as more important than the availability of a job when selecting a place to live.

Florida explains that while career opportunity and money are important factors in influencing where the Creative Class base their location choice, it is not a sufficient motivator. His research suggests that the Creative Class are moving to places that support their values and lifestyle interests, and that financial consideration is balanced with the ability to live in communities that are open to diversity and provide the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people.

Having established the hypothesis that the Creative Class are the generators of economic growth and that they, and therefore creative industries, are attracted to places that reflect their interests and values, Florida outlines a set of conditions that he states are necessary for providing this type of environment, which he refers to as a creative ecosystem. These conditions include an environment that offers diverse lifestyle options, cultural diversity, and tolerant attitudes.

As a way of indicating how well a city complies with these conditions Florida devised the Tolerance Index, which in turn provided one of the three components that contributed to Florida's Creative Index. Florida argues that the Creative Index indicates a city's ability to translate the advantage of attracting the Creative Class into creative economic outcomes. These conditions and indexes are discussed in detail below.

THE CREATIVE ECOSYSTEM

Through interviews and focus groups with members of the Creative Class Florida identified three underlying conditions that contribute to a creative ecosystem and are necessary in attracting creative individuals to an environment. These conditions fall under the three headings of: diverse lifestyle options; cultural diversity and tolerant attitudes.

DIVERSE LIFESTYLE OPTIONS

The first condition refers to an environment's ability to offer a variety of choice and an abundance of stimulation through a range of different *scenes* close at hand (for example, the music scene, nightlife scene, art scene, technology scene, outdoor sports scene). Florida states that this choice of scenes is important because firstly, the Creative Class are a diverse group of individuals whose ability to create is not determined by age, race, sex, or sexual orientation. To address the lifestyle needs of such a diverse group of individuals an environment must be able to provide options for different kinds of people at different stages in their lives.

Secondly, a choice of scenes offers individuals the opportunity to experience new things whether it is through participating in them or just simply observing them. These new experiences are what the Creative Class seeks because they provide the creative stimulation that is essential to the creative process. As Florida explains, 'we cannot create out of nothing. Creativity is an act of synthesis, and in order to create and synthesize we need stimuli' (p. 186). However, Florida makes the point that in order for the experiences to provide truly creative stimulation they must offer something unique and original, and that these kinds of experiences come from environments that are authentic.

Florida defines authentic as being real. He states that an authentic environment 'comes from several aspects of a community - historic buildings, established neighbourhoods, a unique music scene or specific cultural attributes. It comes from a mix – from urban grit alongside renovated buildings, from the commingling of young and old, long-time neighbourhood characters and yuppies, fashion models

and bag ladies' (p. 228). He explains that this type of environment is not typically found in designated cultural districts or in large commercial venues comprised of chain outlets because they 'look pretty much the same everywhere, [and] they offer the same experiences you could have anywhere' (p. 228).

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The second condition refers to an environment's mix of people. Florida argues that an environment that has a diverse range of people from different ethnic groups, age groups and sexual orientation will be more likely to attract members of the Creative Class. He argues that the Creative Class are themselves a culturally diverse group, and a culturally diverse environment will attract different types of creative people because it increases the odds that they will be able to meet like-minded peers.

Cultural diversity is also an important component in supporting the first condition – Diverse Lifestyle Options – as it helps to create an environment that has an eclectic mix of people who bring with them different influences, perspectives, choice and experiences. It is also indicative of the third condition, Tolerant Attitudes, because a community that is culturally diverse must welcome all kinds of people and therefore be open-minded.

TOLERANT ATTITUDES

'Tolerant attitudes' refers to a place that is open-minded to different cultures, sub-cultures and individuals from elsewhere. Florida argues that such places have what he terms a 'low entry barrier' (p. 250), which refers to how easily an individual will be accepted into a community. He explains that this is important to the Creative Class for both social and economic reasons because socially it allows individuals to be accepted into a community regardless of their beliefs or appearance. Economically it means that a community will be open to new and different ideas and methods, qualities that are conducive to innovation, risk taking and the formation of new businesses.

Florida concludes that regions that offer these three conditions are likely to do the best job of tapping the diverse creative talents of most people, and thus gain competitive advantage in the creative economy. As a way of measuring how well cities comply with these conditions Florida devised the Tolerance Index.

TOLERANCE INDEX

The Tolerance Index provides an indication of how conducive a city is in attracting the Creative Class. It is a composite of three main indexes - the Bohemian Index, Melting Pot Index and Gay Index (it also includes a measure of racial integration but this component is not explained in any detail by Florida and does not have an index to gauge it). Florida's research suggests that creative people are attracted to, and high-tech industry takes root in, places that score highly on all three. These indexes are briefly outlined below.

BOHEMIAN INDEX

The Bohemian Index measures the numbers of writers, designers, musicians, actors and directors, painters and sculptors, photographers and dancers in a region and is used as an indicator of Diverse Lifestyle Options because, as Florida argues, it counts the producers of amenities. Florida found that the Bohemian Index also correlated with centers of high-tech growth, providing support for the view that places with a flourishing artistic and cultural environment are the ones that generate creative economic outcomes.

MELTING POT INDEX

The Melting Pot Index measures the relative percentage of foreign-born people in a region and is a strong indicator of Cultural Diversity and Tolerant Attitudes. The Melting Pot Index correlates strongly with population growth in small and medium sized regions. In addition to this Florida believes that immigrants are a powerful source of innovation and entrepreneurship because those who choose to leave their countries are predisposed to risk and can be thought of as 'innovative outsiders' (p. 253). They are also people that face obstacles in traditional organisations so are more likely to start their own enterprises.

GAY INDEX

The Gay Index measures the amount of gay people living in an area and is an indicator of Tolerant Attitudes. Florida argues that the gay community is a non-mainstream group that has been subjected to a high level of discrimination and a place that welcomes the gay community welcomes all kinds of people. Florida found the Gay Index correlated with centres where a high proportion of high tech industry was located and innovation occurred.

Having outlined the components that contribute to the Tolerance Index Florida concludes that 'the key to economic growth lies not just in the ability to attract the Creative Class, but to translate that underlying advantage into creative economic outcomes in the form of new ideas, new high-tech businesses and regional growth' (p. 244). The Creativity Index provides an indication of a city's ability to achieve this.

CREATIVE INDEX & THE 3 T's

The Creative Index was developed by Florida as a way of giving a 'broad-gauge indicator of a region's ability to harness creative energy for long run economic growth...based on three component scores – one for technology, one for talent and one for tolerance' (p. xx). Florida refers to these three components as the '3 T's' and explains that 'to attract creative people, generate innovation and stimulate economic growth, a place must have all three' (p. 249). The way in which these are measured are as follow.

Technology – measured by innovation (patents granted per capita) and high tech industry concentration.

Talent – measured by the numbers of people (Creative Class) actually employed in creative occupations.

Tolerance – measured by a composite of the gay, bohemian, melting pot index.

Cities among U.S. regions, with populations over one million, that were the creative leaders according to Florida's Creativity Index included Austin Texas, San Francisco, Seattle and Boston, while cities at the bottom of the index included St. Louis, Memphis and Buffalo.

IMPLEMENTATION OF FLORIDA'S THEORY AND INDEXES

Florida and his theories have been embraced by many city administrations worldwide. In the U.S. his work has been highly influential with Providence, Rhode Island and upstate New York employing Florida (who owns a consultancy firm through which he

disseminates his knowledge) to come up with creative strategies to attract members of the Creative Class and to enhance 'cool' imagery and marketing. Keeping with the theme of cool, Michigan governor Jennifer M. Granholm boasted that, thanks to Florida's ideas, Detroit, Dearborn and Grand Rapids would soon be 'so cool you'll have to wear shades' (Gibson & Klocker, 2004, p. 428).

Another example of Florida's influence is Austin Texas. Already rated highly on Florida's list of creative cities, the Austin City Council Economic Development Subcommittee emphasised its belief that support of offbeat culture was essential to the city's economic future by adopting the slogan "Keep Austin Weird" (Wellington City Council, 2003b).

In Australia, Florida has consulted with the New South Wales State Government on regional and rural development and the Queensland State Government on creative industry development. At a national level, an explicit borrowing of Florida's ideas is apparent in the 2002 Australian Local Government Association's State of the Regions report which undertook a full Creative Index study of Australia to measure the regions in terms of their Creative Class. This information was then used for the development of cultural planning policy themes among Australian local governments (Gibson & Klocker, 2005).

In New Zealand, Florida held meetings with both the Auckland and Wellington City Councils to determine how their cities rated against the Creative Index and to discuss ways they could improve their ability to attract the Creative Class and generate economic growth. In response to these meetings Auckland established a creative cities sub-committee to begin a plan outlining the role of the council in the growth of the creative sector, but have done little to actively promote themselves to the Creative Class. The WCC on the other hand has embraced the theories of Florida (Larner, 2005; New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development, 2003; Wellington City Council, 2004a). Wellington's implementation of the Creative Class theory will be discussed in detail in chapter 4 .

2.2

JANE JACOBS: DIVERSITY, CREATIVITY & HOMOGENY

In developing his Creative Class theory, Florida drew heavily from the theories of Jane Jacobs, a leading theorist on urban planning during the 1960s. Jacobs, author of *The death and life of great American cities* (1961), promotes the role of diversity in establishing a dynamic and creative environment. Florida (2002) refers to her work as 'monumental' (p. 40) and writes that her principles have influenced the design of workplaces, industries and entire geographical regions. Florida also quotes the Nobel Prize-winning economist Robert Lucas as suggesting that through her work into the productive capability of cities Jacobs 'should be considered for a Nobel in economics herself' (p. 222).

Jacobs' theories are of interest to this thesis because they outlined the conditions necessary in generating diversity within an urban area. These conditions contributed to Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem and will be used in chapter 4 to help validate the claim that the Wellington suburb of Te Aro is a creative ecosystem. Jacobs' theories also raised issues relating to the vulnerability to gentrification and displacement of diverse environments. These set a premise for the future of creative ecosystems and provide a departure point for later criticisms on the impact that the Creative Class theory has on inherently creative environments and the local creative practices that they support.

Jacobs' theories on why diversity is an important ingredient in encouraging creativity, the conditions necessary for generating diversity, and the vulnerability to gentrification and displacement of diverse environments is outlined below.

DIVERSITY – THE CATALYST TO CREATIVITY

Jane Jacobs celebrated the creativity of established urban neighborhoods during a time when new suburban communities and re-vamped inner city districts were seen as being progressive and desirable. Her findings illustrated that while the newly developed environments provided clean and safe surroundings, they lacked social interaction, exerted strong pressures for social conformity and failed in providing an environment that encouraged creativity and innovation.

Jacobs identified diversity as being the single most important component for encouraging such a creative environment. She argued that diversity not only offered the inhabitants (or users) of an environment convenience, interest, and choice, but it also provided opportunity to be influenced by different people with different needs and perspectives. All these things, she concluded, contributed to a physical and social environment that she referred to as 'prolific incubators of new enterprises and ideas of all kinds' (p. 145).

Jacobs identified the following four conditions that were indispensable in generating diversity within an urban area.

THE NEED FOR AGED BUILDINGS.

Jacobs explained that the term aged buildings did not refer to just old 'museum piece' (p. 187) buildings that had been restored, but also to plain, ordinary buildings that were of low value and in run-down conditions. Jacobs wrote that these were needed because a 'district must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition, including a good proportion of old ones' (p. 187) so that they vary in the economic yield they must produce. Jacobs explained that only high profit, established enterprises could pay the overheads of new construction while low profit and new enterprises could only afford the rents of old buildings. Therefore, apart from being visually monotonous, large swatches of construction built at one time were unable to support a wide range of cultural, population and business diversity due to economical factors.

THE NEED FOR MIXED PRIMARY USES.

Jacobs wrote that 'the district, and indeed as many of its internal parts as possible, must serve more than one primary function; preferably more than two' (p. 152). This would ensure that a mixed variety of people would occupy the area for different purposes, at different times of the day, but would still be able to use many facilities in common. She saw this environment stimulating the development of a wide variety of secondary uses (shopping facilities, restaurants, garage facilities, fringe entertainment) and in turn attracting more people to the area.

THE NEED FOR SMALL BLOCKS.

> This condition refered to the size of the streets that Jacobs wrote must be short, with opportunities to turn corners frequently. By having shorter streets, an individual had various alternative routes to choose from in getting to their destination. This, Jacobs explained, opened up a neighbourhood by increasing the areas where peoples separated paths meet and where people mingle. This would increase the amount of feasible spots for commerce to take root by increasing the 'pools of cross-use' (p. 182) where, in direct reference to condition 2, people with different purposes, appear at different times, at the same location.

THE NEED FOR CONCENTRATION

> This referred to having a sufficiently dense concentration of people. This provided a source of vitality, variety and difference and increased the possibilities for more interactions between a diverse array of people, culture and ideas. This not only increased the possibilities for creativity to be generated but also increased an environment's economic possibilities because the greater the amount of people with different needs, the greater the specialties an environment could support.

Jacobs concluded that all four of these conditions were necessary to generate diversity, and the absence of any one of them would hamper a city's creative potential. However, she also raised an interesting paradox for areas that did successfully comply with all four conditions for diversity. Jacobs warned that these areas often had the tendency to become homogenous, 'purely as a result of being successful' (p.242). This paradox, and the way in which it is contextualised within the Creative Class paradigm will be discussed below.

THE DIVERSITY PARADOX

In a chapter entitled *The self-destruction of diversity* (p.241) Jacobs highlighted the vulnerability of areas that became popular due to their success in providing a diversified mixture of uses:

> Because of the location's success, which is invariably based on flourishing and magnetic diversity, ardent competition for space in this locality develops... winners of the competition for space will represent only a narrow segment of the many uses that together created success. Whichever one of the few users

> emerged as the most profitable in the locality will be repeated and repeated, crowding out and overwhelming less profitable forms of use...From this point on, the locality will gradually be deserted by people using it for purposes other than those that emerged triumphant from the competition – because the other purposes are no longer there. Both visually and functionally, the place becomes more monotonous (p. 243).

Jacobs gave the example of Eighth Street in Greenwich Village, New York that in the early 1960s was a commercial street with the addition of a few small night-clubs and movie theatres. This was unusual at the time and proved to be extremely popular, bringing people to the street not only during the day, but also in the evening and weekends. This stimulated the growth of convenience and specialty stores as well as restaurants. Over time these restaurants became 'the largest money earners per square foot of space' (p.244) and through a process of increased competition, increased rents and increased development they pushed out the low earning 'bookstores, galleries, clubs, craftsmen and one-of-a-kind shops' (p. 244), reducing the diversity of Eighth Street and diminishing the base of its attraction.

Jacobs explained how this process could diminish an area's potential to enable innovative enterprises and new ideas to evolve. She argued that like the one-of-a-kind shops that required a level of affordability to operate, so did innovative enterprises, local artists, actors and what she refers to as the 'unformalised feeders of the arts – studios, galleries, stores for musical instruments and art supplies' (p. 188). This was because 'no matter how ultimately profitable or otherwise successful some of them might prove to be – there is no leeway for such chancy trial, error, and experimentation (required by creative practices) in the high over-head economy of new construction' (p. 188).

In essence, what Jacobs was referring to was gentrification and displacement, a process defined over 40 years later by Kim Dovey (2004), professor of architecture and urban design at the University of Melbourne, as 'any urban development process that displaces lower-income residents and replaces them with upper-income residents' (p. 1). While this process may seem inevitable there are options to stop it, if not slow it down and in doing so preserve the existing character, affordability and social dynamic of areas that support creativity and innovation.

SOLUTIONS FOR PRESERVING CREATIVE ENVIRONMENTS

Jacobs argued that the key to sustaining diverse, creative environments lay not in stopping development, for change is an intrinsic component of creativity, but rather ensuring that developments were sympathetic with the existing character of the area. Solutions to achieve this and to support creative practices and innovative businesses were possible through what Jacobs referred to as 'zoning for diversity' (p. 252).

Zoning for diversity consisted of policies to protect historically valuable buildings against demolition, and the placing of height limits to prevent development beyond an existing building's height. Such policies would have the effect of limiting the financial potential of developing buildings and reduce the escalation of property values, ensuring that a range of affordability was maintained within the area. This would help in preserving the unique physical character of an area and differentiate it from elsewhere.

Another measure that councils may take is to subsidise or provide long-term leases on city-owned property for the specific use of creative practices or new businesses. This helps to nurture up-and-coming talent within an environment in which they can afford to prioritise creativity and innovation over the need to make a profit (Dovey, 2004; Landry, 2000; Jacobs, 1961).

While these options are available to local governments Charles Landry (2000), an international authority on the use of culture in city revitalisation and author of *The creative city: a toolkit for urban innovations*, believes they are very rarely put into practice. Landry argues this is because the authority within local governments remains 'largely in the hands of middle aged men, whose ideas of need and priority are conditioned by who they are and what they believe' (p.75). These beliefs regard concepts of capital, assets and success in terms of financial resources which translates into policies that prioritise the needs of commercially viable businesses over the needs of non-profitable forms of creativity and innovation.

SUMMARY

This section examined the theories of Jane Jacobs and the issues surrounding them. The main points presented in this section can be summarised as:

- Diversity is a key ingredient in encouraging creativity because it provides different social, cultural and economic stimuli that feed the creative process.
- To generate diversity an urban environment must offer accommodation that varies in economic yield; a variety of reasons for different people to occupy the area at different times of the day; abundant opportunities for individuals to interact; and a large amount of people from different cultural and social backgrounds. This may be achieved through an environment possessing the following conditions: aged buildings, mixed primary uses, small blocks, and a dense concentration of people.
- Diverse environments are vulnerable to a process of gentrification and displacement because of their increased popularity and economic potential.
- Policies to address this process include protecting historical buildings from demolition; restrictions on height limits, and subsidising the rents of creative practices and new businesses. These policies preserve the characteristics of diverse, and creative environments because they limit the financial potential of development.
- There is a general reluctance from local governments to implement such policies because they prioritise the needs of commercially viable businesses over the needs of non-profitable forms of creativity and innovation.

These points are relevant to this thesis because of the influence that Jacobs' conditions for diversity had on Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem, and the similarities between diverse and creative environments. They therefore set a premise highlighting the vulnerability of the creative ecosystems that Florida promotes as being imperative for a city's success in attracting creative individuals and businesses. They also explain the reluctance of local governments to implement policies to protect such environments. The next section contextualises these arguments within the Creative Class theory discourse by examining criticisms of the Creative Class theory and its impact on inherently creative environments and the local creative practices that they support.

2.3

THE CREATIVE CLASS PARADOX: CRITIQUE OF FLORIDA'S CREATIVE CLASS THEORY

This section examines more deeply the issues of gentrification and displacement, and highlights the impact that they can have on successfully attracting, and retaining members of the Creative Class. It also illustrates the paradox for local governments that through the implementation of the Creative Class theory the likelihood of gentrification and displacement taking place in creative ecosystems is increased, impacting on many of the characteristics that attract the Creative Class in the first place. This argument is supported through an explanation of the economically motivated value system that appears to dictate local government policies. The section concludes by providing an alternative value system that would ensure creative environments retain their unique character and continue to contribute to the sustainable implementation of the Creative Class theory.

THE IMPACT OF GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT WITHIN THE CREATIVE CLASS THEORY PARADIGM.

The process of gentrification and displacement can be argued as being inevitable for affordable, undeveloped urban areas that become popular due to, in the words of Jacobs (1961), their 'flourishing and magnetic diversity' (p. 243). Yet, it is a process that takes on a greater significance, and one that needs to be addressed, for local governments that pursue the Creative Class theory in an effort to encourage economic growth. This is because the areas that are most at risk are the environments that conform to Florida's conditions for a creative ecosystems and that, according to Florida, the Creative Class are drawn to. If these areas were to be redeveloped and lose their diversity and unique character then an asset in attracting the Creative Class would also be lost.

This comes about firstly through the effect that the process has on an area's unique sense of place. While new businesses and residents are drawn to an area by the advantages that a creative ecosystem offers, many of the physical ingredients that contribute to this

character prove to be either uneconomical or undesirable. Over time the qualities such as run-down buildings, low rise buildings, noise, and general seediness are either renovated or removed and replaced with an environment stripped of its difference.

The loss of these characteristics causes the displacement of the creative practices and innovative small businesses that rely on cheap access to multi-use spaces. With the environment that supports them rendered unaffordable they are forced to move out and seek accommodation elsewhere. Therefore, as the Creative Class and high profit businesses move in to capitalise on the advantages that the creative ecosystems offer, the practices and businesses that attracted them in the first place are forced to move out (Dovey, 2004; Gibson, 2004; Landry, 2000).

The paradox for local governments that implement the Creative Class theory is that while gentrification and displacement negatively impacts on the ability to attract members of the Creative Class, it is through the drive, and success, in attracting the creative class that the likelihood of this process taking place in the creative ecosystems is increased. This is because, as with Jacobs' example of what may happen to areas that succeed in being diverse, it is the influx of the Creative Class who are responsible for the increased popularity and property prices of the undeveloped, affordable areas that support diversity and creativity. It is also because of the value system derived from the Creative Class theory, which views social and physical assets in terms of economic potential. This perspective influences the priorities of local governments when putting resource policies in place. Support for these arguments is provided in the following section through the research conducted by Australian academics Kim Dovey (2004) and Lisanne Gibson (2004).

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS THEORY ON GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT

Gibson and Dovey conducted research investigating the influence that economic and urban policies driven by the Creative Class theory were having on the inherently creative Melbourne suburb of Port Phillip. Both assert that through the implementation of the Creative Class theory this area is undergoing an accelerated process of gentrification and that local culture is being driven out. An explanation for their stance is outlined below.

Dovey (2004) argues that the Creative Class is made up of affluent individuals who become the gentrifiers of the diverse, affordable environments that support creative practices. Dovey writes that with the influx of the Creative Class comes a loss of affordability, which 'is strongly geared to the loss of character' (p. 4). This is not only due to the economic pressures forcing out small businesses and local creative practices but also because the gentrifiers bring a 'desire for a more purified neighborhood, a desire to cleanse the character – more smiles and soap' (p. 3). The gentrifiers often want the social mix, but when they get there, certain ingredients prove undesirable – the seediness, prostitution, crime, noise, bad characters. The paradox is that the desire for diversity strips the city of difference. Dovey states that this affects the social, formal and economic mix that contributes to the 'very distinctive buzz' (p. 4) of a creative city and concludes by warning that cities which allow the displacement of local cultural practices in favor of the more affluent Creative Class may be 'killing the proverbial goose which lays the triple golden egg of a socially mixed community, rich urban character and long term economic prosperity' (p. 4).

Lisanne Gibson (2004), postdoctoral fellow at the Cultural Industries and Practices Research Centre at the University of Newcastle, supports this view. She writes that it is the local cultural practices and environments that reflect a region's unique characteristics, maintain an area's diversity, and create local identity and authenticity. Gibson states that many of these qualities are being destroyed because in an effort to attract the Creative Class local governments are 'spend[ing] their money on redesigning their downtowns to encourage cafes and nice restaurants' (p. 4) and in doing so raising property prices and stripping the area of its uniqueness. Gibson warns that while the attraction of the Creative Class may produce economic growth in the short term, it is not sustainable. Gibson writes that in order to achieve long-term success 'the creative class government must invest in cultural practice which is not necessarily economically successful' (p. 6) in order to help them survive the mechanisms used to attract the Creative Class. Failure to do so will result in such areas becoming 'Disneyland bohemians of cultural consumption' (p. 6) that will have none of the unique characteristics needed to retain the Creative Class.

However, as with Landry's explanation about the reluctance of local governments to implement policies that support diverse creative environments, there is also a lack of motivation for local governments to prioritise the needs of non-profitable forms

of creativity within the Creative Class paradigm. Chris Gibson and Natascha Klocker (2005) of the University of New South Wales, argue that this is due to the value system derived from the Creative Class theory that views social and physical assets in terms of commercial benefits. This perspective influences the priorities of local governments when putting resource policies in place. A justification for this argument, and issues that it raises is outlined below.

AN ECONOMIC DEFINITION OF CREATIVITY

Lateral thinking guru Edward De Bono defines creativity at its simplest level as 'bringing into being something that was not there before' (1992, p. 3) which involves making new combinations and configurations of existing things and ideas. It is possible in virtually any domain of human activity and is potentially achievable by anyone. However, complying with this simplistic definition, creating a mess could be an example of creativity. Therefore, to give the concept of creativity greater definition the solutions must not only be new, different or unique, they must also be to some degree meaningful. This requires attributing value to the result, which in turn requires judgment and standards (Boden, 1990; De Bono, 1992; Weiner, 2000).

Gibson & Klocker (2005) argue the Creative Class paradigm values economic success and commercial benefits. They write that 'the only relevant forms of innovation are those that produce profitable private-sector outcomes. 'Creativity' is a loaded term but, in Florida (2002)...a limited definition – creativity as entrepreneurial innovation present only in some individuals, those engaged in certain industries – is assumed to be all encompassing' (p. 100).

It seems that the question for local governments supporting a possible form of creativity is therefore predominantly a matter of costs and benefits. To what ends should the ratepayer's dollar be spent? Which form of creativity can be best helped through funding to achieve a city's objective of economic growth? In this economic environment the types of creativity that meet this criteria and that are defined as being successful are mainly found within high-tech industries such as software and computer services, interactive media, and film and video, which within New Zealand's creative industries account for 50% of the profit, with growth of 222% (New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003).

It can be assumed then that it is the individuals within these industries that local governments seek to attract and retain, and for whom the physical and business environments are enhanced through strategic policies. This explains the lack of motivation by local governments to prioritise policies that support alternative creative practices and small businesses. However, it also raises question about the future for such creative practices and small businesses and if they have a role to play within the Creative Class paradigm. These questions are addressed below.

NEW DEFINITIONS OF CAPITAL, ASSETS AND SUCCESS

The value system derived from the Creative Class theory contributes to a very restricted definition of creativity. It ignores the contribution of alternative creative practices, small innovative businesses, and the environments that support them because, in the words of Gibson & Klocker (2005), 'they are less easily transformed into (capitalist) accumulation strategies' (p. 100).

Gibson & Klocker believe that to give these forms of creativity and innovation greater legitimacy within the Creative Class theory's commercial value system their ability to enhance economic efficiency needs to be emphasised. This includes the ways in which networks and social connections facilitate the generation of new ideas and a creative dynamic. It also includes the way in which a city's authentic social and cultural capital contributes to its unique sense of place and meets the value and lifestyle needs of the Creative Class.

By highlighting these economic benefits the definition of asset would broaden to include the conditions that encourage a diverse, authentic and unique urban dynamic. It would also see the definition of success being determined as much by the ability to enhance the existing characteristics, values and growth of local culture within these areas, as by the ability to create economic growth through development and attracting talent from elsewhere.

NEW INSIGHTS / BROADENED RESOURCE BASES

Landry (2000) argues that for local governments to gain such an insight into the contribution, and needs, of a creative ecosystem they need to broaden their resource base beyond their own professional and technical disciplines. This would involve creating new channels of communication with the community to gain access to a greater number of perspectives and expertise. Such measures would enable the individuals who have a vested interest in the existing character, values and productivity of creative environments to contribute to policies that dictate their future. This would ensure the long-term success of the Creative Class paradigm by sustaining the social dynamic, functionality and character of the creative ecosystems that contribute in attracting the Creative Class (Florida, 2002; Gibson, 2004; Landry, 2000).

SUMMARY

This section examined issues surrounding gentrification and displacement within the Creative Class paradigm. The main points presented in this section can be summarised as:

- Gentrification and displacement is a serious issue for local governments that pursue the Creative Class theory because it negatively impacts on the urban characteristics desired by members of the Creative Class.
- There is a paradox for local governments that pursue the Creative Class theory, which is – the drive, and success, in attracting members of the Creative Class contributes to the likelihood of gentrification and displacement within creative ecosystems increasing. This is due to the influx of the Creative Class who are responsible for the increased popularity and commercial potential of the creative ecosystems to which they are drawn.
- Local governments that pursue the Creative Class theory are reluctant to implement policies that dissuade urban development that causes gentrification and displacement. This is because of an economically motivated value system that influences the priorities of local governments when putting resource policies in place.

- For alternative creative practices, small innovative businesses and the environments that support them to gain greater legitimacy within a commercially motivated value system, their economic contribution needs to be emphasised. This includes the way in which they contribute in attracting members of the Creative Class by providing the conditions that meet their value and lifestyle needs.
- For local governments to gain an insight into the contribution and needs of alternative creative practices, small innovative businesses and the environments that support them, new channels of communication between community and councils are needed.

The main points of this section outlined above indicate a possible chain of events caused by local governments drawing off Florida's Creative Class theory in an effort to encourage economic growth. The local government in the case of this thesis is the WCC. I was aware that the WCC pursued the Creative Class theory and was interested to see if this scenario was relevant within the Wellington context. If it was, I wanted to investigate ways of opening new channels of communication between community and council. These interests led to my research aims, which are outlined in the following section.

2.4

RESEARCH AIMS

1. To analyse the Wellington City Council's implementation of the Creative Class theory to gain an understanding of how it translated the theory's principles in an effort to encouraging economic growth.

2. To identify a creative ecosystem within the Wellington context that supports the forms of creativity and innovation that fall outside of the Creative Class economic value system.

3. To understand the way in which the Wellington City Council's implementation of the Creative Class theory impacts on Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.

4. Assuming that the Wellington City Council's 's implementation of the Creative Class theory causes gentrification and displacement as suggested in the previous chapter: to open new channels of communication between community and council to broaden the Wellington City Council's 's perspective of capital, assets and success so that they include Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.

The methods that I utilised in addressing these research aims are explained in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The main methodological approach for this project was applied design research that informed, and was informed by, my critique of the Creative Class theory and an analysis of the implementation of the theory in relation to Wellington.

These components ran concurrently using an iterative method whereby each responded to, and informed, the needs of the other in a cyclic process. Peter Downton, Professor of Architecture and Design at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, states that this approach is often necessary within an applied research enquiry because 'designing, as it progresses, changes the character of the initial intent and the direction in which the design search is undertaken starts to diverge from the originally predicted path' (2003, p.22). During this process knowledge was gained through the research carried out to inform and support the design decisions, and further knowledge was gained through reflecting upon the design process.

3.1

CASE STUDY

Having established an understanding of the Creative Class theory and the paradigm within which it functions, I responded to the research questions by investigating how the theory worked in practice. I analysed the implementation of the theory in relation to Wellington City by conducting a case study that focused firstly on the WCC's integration of the theory into their urban policy, and secondly by focusing on the location of Te Aro, an area on the outer edge of Wellington's central business district that is home to many low and non-profitable forms of creativity and small, innovative businesses.

The aim of investigating the WCC's use of the theory was to gain an understanding of how it translated the theory's principles in an effort to encourage economic growth. I was interested in finding out the types of people and skills that it was targeting and the aspects of Wellington that it prioritised. This gave me an awareness into the forms of creativity and the environments that the WCC defined as being successful and desirable through its interpretation of the Creative Class theory.

This involved a literature search of relevant WCC documents. It began with an investigation of the WCC's Economy and Arts committee's U.S. Study Report (2003b) – a document that outlined the Council's findings from a visit to eleven cities in the United States that pursue the Creative Class strategy. This provided information about the WCC's motivation for implementing the Creative Class theory. Information on how WCC integrated the theory into its allocation of resources and marketing strategy came through the WCC's Annual Plan (2004a), Tourism Action Plan (2004b), and Economic Development Strategy (2003a). Evidence of the types of individuals and skill sets that WCC were targeting, and the aspects of Wellington that it was prioritising were included in a report from the Wellington Mayor Kerry Prendergast about her participation at the London Job Expo. I also undertook a critical textual analysis of the WCC publication *Our Wellington: a great place to live, work and play, 2004 – 2005* (van Grondelle, 2004), a promotional booklet that showcases the city and region in an effort to encourage the Creative Class to move to, and do business in, Wellington.

Having gained an understanding of the WCC's interpretation of the Creative Class theory I then conducted a case study of Te Aro focusing specifically on Cuba Street, the main street of this area. I selected this area because it is home to many creative enterprises and small, innovative businesses that fall outside of the Creative Class theory's economic definition of success. This provided the subject matter through which I could investigate the effects that the implementation of the Creative Class theory had on low and non-profit forms of creativity, and the environments that support them.

I began by investigating the historical background of the area looking for an insight into how the existing character of Te Aro had evolved and to assess the extent of the WCC's influence and support. I then sought to validate Te Aro as a creative environment and gain an understanding into what role it may have to play in the Creative Class script by drawing parallels between the area's physical and social characteristics, and the criteria outlined by Florida as being desirable to the Creative Class. This comparison expanded to include the writings of Jane Jacobs (1961) and her conditions for diversity. This process was conducted using primary research methods including personal observations of what was happening in the area as well as drawing off comments from artists, businesses and local body politicians found in news articles and council documents.

3.2

APPLIED DESIGN COMPONENTS

This thesis includes two applied design components. The first is a self authored project that provides an alternative method of communicating my research findings, and the second is a live, user centred project that addresses research aim 4 - *To open new channels of communication between community and council to broaden the WCC's perspective of capital, assets and success so that they include Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.* A description of the methods employed in creating these applied design components of research is outlined below.

APPLIED DESIGN COMPONENT 1: DOCUMENTING TE ARO AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH COUNCIL

The first applied design component of research worked in conjunction with the literature search and acted as an alternative method to interrogate, and articulate, my findings. It also aimed to present a new way of documenting and defining a creative environment. This involved visually interpreting my findings relating to: the way in which Te Aro conforms to Jacobs' conditions for encouraging diversity; the way in which Te Aro conforms to Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem; and the impact on Te Aro's existing character caused by the WCC's implementation of the Creative Class theory. This was achieved through a series of diagrams, juxtaposition of images, and visual narratives using Cuba Street as the subject matter.

APPLIED DESIGN COMPONENT 2: SAVE OUR STREETS CAMPAIGN

The second applied component of research was a live user centred project. This aimed to validate Te Aro as an asset within the Creative Class economic value system and to open new channels of communication on the issue between community and council. This involved the creation of a graphic design led campaign for Save Our Streets (SOS), a voluntary group concerned with urban development that was unsympathetic to Te Aro's existing character. The design outputs included: an identity; the development of a proposition; and the communication of this proposition through a series of promotional and informative material.

In designing these outputs I utilised strategic persuasive techniques to motivate both the Wellington community and council to act upon SOS's recommendations. I also utilised branding principles to raise awareness about the SOS campaign and unify a diverse group of individuals. A brief description of these techniques and principles is provided below.

STRATEGIC PERSUASIVE TECHNIQUES

Richard Perloff (1993), author of *The dynamics of persuasion*, defines the act of persuasion as attempting to influence a change of attitude, or behaviour of another person, or group of people, 'through the transmission of a message in a context in which the persuaded has some degree of free choice' (p. 14). To achieve this the persuaded must accept the request made in the persuasive message because ultimately it is them who decides whether or not to alter their attitude to an issue. Therefore, it is incorrect to state that persuaders change people's minds. The best that a persuader can do is take the perspectives of the persuadee and present, or position, a message in a way that meets their social, moral or physical needs. The intent of this being that the persuadee accepts the advocated position in the belief that there will be a direct personal benefit. This can be achieved through a variety of approaches including communicating a threat, a promise, or playing on self esteem. It also involves considering how the content of the message is communicated and includes the visual language, verbal language, and channels of communication (Aubuchon, 1997).

BRANDING PRINCIPLES

A brand is defined by branding expert Alina Wheeler (2006) as 'the big promise, the big idea, and the expectations that reside in each customer's mind about a product, service, or company' (p. 4). It functions as a focal point that unifies the associations and symbolic attributes that are ascribed to an organisation in the minds of the audience. In this way a brand helps an organisation to differentiate itself within a market place where there is greater choice and where products and services are becoming less distinguishable. These associations are influenced through a brand identity, which translates the emotive qualities of a brand into a tangible visual and verbal expression that is relevant to the audience.

In applying these methods I viewed communication from a social constructivist perspective. Social constructivism is an approach to communication that assumes that the meaning of things are not fixed but rather constructed by an individual through a cognitive process drawing on past experiences and understandings of cultural conventions. According to this perspective effective communication can only be developed when the sender has the ability to take the perspective of the message recipient and adapt the concepts and signs in a way that relates to them (Hall, 1997; Perloff, 1993). This view worked in conjunction with branding principles and strategic persuasive techniques because both rely on positioning a proposition in a way that meets the needs of the audience and on communicating in a way that is relevant to them.

An understanding of the audience and their needs was informed by using members of Save Our Streets as a focus group. The members of Save Our Streets represented a sample group of the creative individuals and small business owners who contribute to Te Aro and included: Laurie Foon, a high profile local fashion designer and retail owner; Ashely Owers, band manager and editor of a local gig guide *The package*; Thomasin Bollinger, local small business owner and board member for the Cuba Carnival; Natasha Naus, local historian and author of *Heritage of health: a brief history of medical practices, maternity homes and motorways in Te Aro, Wellington*; Steven Jessop, musician; and Jeremy Randerson, actor.

CHAPTER 4

THE CREATIVE CLASS THEORY'S IMPLEMENTATION & IMPACT IN WELLINGTON

4.1

HOW THE WELLINGTON CITY COUNCIL TRANSLATED THE CREATIVE CLASS THEORY'S PRINCIPLES INTO PRACTICE

Research Aim 1 – To analyse the Wellington City Council's implemented the Creative Class theory to gain an understanding of how it translated the theory's principles in an effort to encouraging economic growth.

Wellington is one of many cities worldwide that actively draw off Florida's Creative Class theory in an effort to encourage sustainable economic growth. In doing so the WCC focus their efforts on developing and promoting conditions that support commercially successful forms of creativity and attract the individuals who participate in them. This chapter will provide a background to WCC's implementation of the Creative Class theory and discuss the ways in which it has been integrated it into its economic development strategy. It will also explore the ways in which the WCC have translated Florida's conditions for a successful creative ecosystem by highlighting the aspects of Wellington that they promote to members of the Creative Class.

CREATIVE WELLINGTON – INNOVATION CAPITAL (BACKGROUND)

During the 1990s Wellington had a reputation as a bureaucratic city with industries that were dominated by public services, and residents dominated by civil servants. In an effort to shrug off this perception and attract people to Wellington the WCC began a strategy that included amended zoning policies to repopulate the city centre by encouraging more cafes, restaurants and inner city apartments. It also included supporting public amenities such as the National Museum Te Papa and the Westpac Stadium sports venue. However, despite these advances, economic indicators continued to depict Wellington as a poor performer. When measured against 27 other New Zealand centres over a 5 year period from 1996 to 2001 Wellington was 7 out of 28 for employment growth, 9 out of 28 for population growth, and 21 out of 28 for GDP per capita growth (Wellington City Council, 2004c).

In early 2003 Richard Florida visited Wellington and introduced the WCC to the Creative Class concept that provided encouraging news about Wellington's potential to grow economically by attracting and retaining creative people. A Creative Index study of Wellington indicated that the city had the makings of being a leader in the creative economy, scoring well on all of the '3T's.' Michael Volkerling (2005), head of the Centre for the Creative Industries at Wellington Institute of Technology gives a breakdown of the results, stating that 'on the talent index, Wellington could claim 24% of its population with tertiary qualifications against 8% for the country as a whole. A total of 34% of the population were also employed in the creative workforce – more than the U.S. national average. The Tolerance criterion was satisfied by surveys indicating 76% of Wellingtonians believed that new immigrants made a positive contribution to the city (much higher again than national averages).' Volkerling stated that the Technology Index was more difficult to satisfy but Florida felt that the film industry in Wellington was a good indicator of success with Peter Jackson's studios being 'perhaps the world's most sophisticated complex' (p. 3).

Motivated by this news, Wellington mayor Kerry Prendergast traveled with the Council's Chief Executive and Economic Advocate to the United States to visit eleven cities that 'were actively – and successfully – pursuing a creative city strategy to attract and retain creative people and business.' The objective of the trip was to assess the 'successes, opportunities and challenges surrounding the implementation of the (Creative Class) strategy' and study the initiatives used to influence it (Wellington City Council, 2003b, p. 4).

The trip confirmed their opinion that Wellington's future lay in attracting and retaining the Creative Class. This led to the long-term strategic vision – *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital*, an overarching vision that influenced all of the Council's resources in a collaborative effort to achieve the goal of being a 'genuinely creative city'. Its stated objective was to 'promote Wellington as New Zealand's premier centre of creativity and innovation to attract and retain smart, creative people and innovative, cutting-edge enterprise to advance the city's social and economic development' (Wellington City Council, 2004a, p. 8).

The strategy was implemented through the Council's economic development strategy. This refocused resources on enhancing the physical environment to meet the lifestyle

needs of the Creative Class, and on creating a business environment that fostered creative activity. This incorporated the development of basic services such as an effective transport network, community centers, and an enhanced natural and street environment, as well as involvement in business processes and regulatory frameworks through their regional promoter of business, 'Positively Wellington Business' (Wellington City Council, 2003a, 2004a, van Grondelle, 2004).

The WCC also actively referenced the theories and rhetoric of Florida in an effort to promote Wellington as a desirable living and business destination to an international audience. In a presentation given by Prendergast at the London Job Expo in October of 2004 she promoted Wellington by validating its physical and business environment in context with Florida's Creative Class theory. Placing a heavy emphasis on Florida's Creative Index and the '3 T's' (technology, talent and tolerance) Prendergast aimed to highlight that Wellington, in her words, had 'a sound research and technology base with six tertiary institutions; a culturally, socially diverse environment; a high degree of tolerance, borne out by research; and high quality infrastructure' (Wellington City Council, 2004c, p. 2).

Prendergast also discussed the WCC's strategic vision *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital.* Through the following six themes she outlined the initiatives that were being taken to address the needs of creative businesses and meet the lifestyle needs of the Creative Class.

1. maintaining sound social, environmental, educational and economic infrastructure;
2. continuing to celebrate diversity, culture, heritage innovation and creativity;
3. fostering technology, economic and artistic creativity;
4. promoting Wellington as a centre with energy, vibrancy, entertainment and culture;
5. encouraging the development of new, smart and creative businesses and to grow the number of jobs in the creative sector; and
6. focusing on the three indices of creative cities – technology, talent and tolerance (Wellington City Council, 2004c, p. 3).

An explicit referencing of Florida's creative Class theory and rhetoric was also evident in the WCC's publication *Our Wellington: a great place to live, work and play 2004-2005* (van Grondelle, 2004). This was a key promotional tool that was used in conjunction with the London Job Expo, and later distributed to select Wellington individuals and businesses that were considered to be key stakeholders in the WCC's *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy. The content of the publication begins with an endorsement from Florida stating that Wellington is 'exciting and cosmopolitan, and the epitome of an international creative centre' (p. 2). It then goes on to give a summary of both Prendergast's presentation and the *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy, by explaining the arguments of Florida's Creative Class theory and outlining the ways in which Wellington conforms to his conditions for a creative city.

For this reason *Our Wellington: a great place to live, work and play 2004-2005*, provides a clear indication of the types of creative innovation and creative businesses that the WCC consider to be desirable. It also provides an indication of the WCC's interpretation of Florida's creative ecosystem conditions through the business and lifestyle opportunities that they prioritise as being assets. These conditions and opportunities will be discussed below.

THE WELLINGTON CITY COUNCIL'S INTERPRETATION OF A CREATIVE ECOSYSTEM

In Prendergast's presentation at the London Job Expo she stated that the WCC's objective was 'to retain and attract creative people to our city in order to help our economy to grow' (Wellington City Council, 2004c, p. 3). She references Florida's theory that creative people are moving away form traditional corporate and manufacturing centres to places that reflect their values and lifestyle needs and where creativity of all kinds can flourish. This section will analyse which features of Wellington's economic and lifestyle environment the WCC promotes in an effort to achieve this goal. It will do this by summarising three of the main components addressed in WCC's promotional publication *Our Wellington: a great place to live, work and play 2004-2005*. These components are: Lifestyle; Doing Business; and Culture, Arts and Events.

Image 2: Wellington lifestyles, WCC brochure, 2004.

Image 3: Wellington business, WCC brochure, 2004.

Image 4: Wellington culture, art and events, WCC brochure, 2004.

LIFESTYLE

Many of the lifestyle attributes that the WCC promotes revolve around the fact that Wellington is a compact harbour city that is easily accessible. They state that this enables two key benefits that address the needs of the Creative Class. Firstly it provides a tolerant environment where social networks and a strong community spirit are easily maintained. Secondly it enables diverse lifestyle options where an individual can be mountain biking one minute, windsurfing the next, and end up at one of the many sophisticated cafes downtown. The WCC seek to confirm this opinion through a profile of Steve Limbaugh, an American IT executive living in Wellington, who expresses that part of the reason that he moved was because he likes to be 'able to walk around the downtown, and running into people I know. It's easy to get to places. We've been able to get involved in our local community very easily. People have been fabulous, actually, really friendly and welcoming...Yet you can be really remote in a very short space of time. We just put Morgan in a backpack and off we go...We love Karori Wildlife Sanctuary and Otari-Wilton's bush' (p. 21).

The aspects of Wellington that are emphasised are: the 'rapidly developing waterfront' which is stated as being 'a promenade, a playground and a treasured place' (p. 11); recreational and sporting activities such as mountain biking, bush walks, water sports and fishing; the vibrant cafe, restaurant and bar scene of Courtenay Place; the scenic environment including the south coast, the town belt and the four botanical gardens; and community facilities and programmes such as recreation centers, free libraries, and public swimming pools.

The imagery used to depict Wellington's lifestyle include: Wellington's waterfront; an arial view of the sports stadium and city; a night shot of Oriental Bay; an up-market cafe; the Botanic Gardens; Wellington's southcoast; a selection of houses; and a husband and wife playing with their three children in a bush setting.

DOING BUSINESS

In describing Wellington's business environment the WCC makes reference to the city's traditional businesses such as insurance companies, finance companies, Crown companies and state-owned enterprises. However, it is stressed that Wellington's economy is diversifying and draw attention to innovations implemented by the WCC to support creative businesses. These include the fact that 'Wellington is the most 'fully

wired' city in the world possessing four high-capacity fibre-optic networks for high speed data transmission' (p.15). It is explained how this commitment to advancing technology has seen a growth in high tech industries such as IT, software development and multi-media. This statement is supported through a profile of a Methodware, a Wellington software company that has offices in North America and Europe, and earns 90% of its revenue overseas.

Also promoted is the now defunct 'Positively Wellington Business' (PWB), a regional economic development agency that sought to 'drive growth, diversify the business sector, create more jobs and attract more investment' (p. 17). One of PWB's key activities highlighted by the Council was the Business Clusters project, which involved bringing together groups of export driver businesses to share information and resources. Businesses that were identified within the Business Clusters project included: Creative Manufacturing, Earthquake Engineering New Zealand, Natural Hazards New Zealand, Tertiary Education, Maori and Pacific Consultancy, and Information Communication Technology. The WCC expressed that these clusters had been successful in enhancing 'Wellington's positioning as a creative, IT region of excellence' (p. 19).

Another PWB initiative that is promoted is Creative HQ. Creative HQ supports and helps to develop new businesses within the creative sector including advertising, media, interactive software, publishing, film and video, design, computer services and fashion. Criteria needed to receive assistance from Creative HQ include businesses having the 'potential for high growth and development (e.g.: a turnover of NZ$5 million by the fifth year of trading)' (p. 19).

Finally, the WCC promotes their Research and Development (R&D) capabilities by referencing the regions educational resources. It is explained that Wellington has an advantage over other cities because of R&D's 'traditional alignment with government... [whereby] most of these organisations were set up as state entities but over time have moved into the private sector and expanded into the international market' (p. 17). To support this claim a profile of the medical research facility - The Malaghan Institute of Medical Research, and innovators in electrical engineering - Industrial Research Ltd, are provided.

The imagery used to depict Wellington's business environment include: the Beehive (New Zealand's government headquarters); film director Peter Jackson; a business man using a mobile phone; a selection of job-vacancy advertisements; software developers; a fashion designer; a close up of dentritic cells; and the directors of Industrial Research Ltd.

CULTURE, ARTS AND EVENTS

In this section the WCC seek to promote the opinion that 'Wellingtonians are passionate art supporters' and that 'Wellington is a wellspring of creativity' (p. 35). This section begins by briefly mentioning Wellington's many independent art galleries and the diverse music scene but place the main emphasis on the high profile arts institutions that Wellington is home to and the large events that Wellington hosts.

The WCC draws attention to the fact that Wellington, being the Nation's capital, accommodates many of New Zealand's national cultural assets such as: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, the Royal New Zealand Ballet, and Te Whaea – National Dance and Drama Centre. The cultural and arts institutions specific to Wellington that they promote include Wellington's opera house, three professional theatre companies, the regions art galleries – Pataka, Dowse and City Gallery, and the City and Sea Museum.

The events that are mentioned in the publication are divided into two parts. The first part references smaller events that include community sporting events and family entertainment such as the Wellington Dragon Boat Festival, Round the Bays Fun Run, Carols by Candlelight and the Christmas Parade. The second part provides a more in-depth profile for the bigger festivals and events, which include: the New Zealand International Arts Festival; Motana World of WearableArts Awards; Summer City – a free entertainment programme that organises a range of family orientated events; Diwali Festival of Lights – an Indian Hindu New Year celebration; International Rugby Sevens tournament; and Wellington International Jazz Festival. They also profile one-off events that the WCC seeks to attract including: international concerts such as David Bowie and Neil Diamond; the stopover destination for the Global Challenge round the world yacht race; Vodafone X*AIR, an extreme sports event; and the 2005 World Mountain Running Championships.

The artist profile included in the publication is of John Psathas, a senior lecturer at Victoria University's School of Music, who composed and arranged music for the Athens Olympic Game's opening ceremony.

The imagery used to depict Wellington's cultural, arts and events scene comprise of a Chinese New Year celebration; an Indian cultural dancer; a child with face paint; a saxophone; a moari carving; two contemporary sculptures; and an entry at the WearableArt awards.

CONCLUSION

When analysing the text and imagery promoted within the WCCs publication it becomes evident that the creative industries and individuals that the WCC prioritise all have high revenue earning potential, including businesses with strong export or growth capabilities such as IT, software development, and research and development facilities. This is in keeping with the Creative Class theory's economic definition of creativity, motivated by a desire to encouraging economic growth.

It also becomes evident that the events, environments, innovations and infrastructure that the WCC view as being assets in the drive to attract the Creative Class are ones which they have directly contributed to and support. These all tend to be either high profile events, newly renovated areas or family orientated attractions aimed at a mainstream audience.

This perspective ignores the contribution of less glamorous, and profitable, enterprises and environments that Florida refers to as 'authentic' and argues are necessary in offering the cultural, economic and creative diversity sought by the Creative Class. This includes the established neighbourhoods that offer creative stimulation through their inclusion of rundown buildings, eccentric characters, and in the words of Florida 'urban grit' (2002, p. 228). It also ignores the role of creative practices and innovative businesses such as artists, writers, actors, musicians, and small business owners, that fall outside of an economic definition of creativity.

The following section identifies a creative ecosystem within the Wellington Context and investigates the consequences that the WCC's perspective of creative success has on it and the alternative forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.

4.2

TE ARO: FROM UNDESIRABLE TO CREATIVE ECOSYSTEM

Research Aim 2 – To identify a creative ecosystem within the Wellington context that supports the forms of creativity and innovation that fall outside of the Creative Class economic value system.

Te Aro is an area on the outer edge of Wellington's CBD that this thesis identifies as being an alternative, tolerant and unique environment that is home to a diverse array of innovative businesses and creative practices. In doing so Te Aro conforms to both Jacobs' conditions for diversity and Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem. This chapter will validate this claim by drawing parallels between Te Aro's physical and social characteristics, and the criteria outlined by Florida as being desirable to the Creative Class. It begins with a historical background of the area that provides an insight into how the existing character of Te Aro has evolved.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The existing character of Te Aro has come about through a series of historical circumstances that can be traced back to when Europeans first settled the area in 1839. Te Aro (originally a Pa site) was purchased by Edward Wakefield of the New Zealand Company from local Maori leaders Te Wharepouri and Te Puni. The New Zealand Company developed the area as a commercial quarter with land allocated to merchant settlers. Meanwhile the nearby area of Thorndon was developed as the official quarter with land allocated to the aristocratic settlers. This was a conscious plan by the New Zealand Company to retain the existing social order of Britain and was the cause of the first cases of class tension with the residents of Te Aro being viewed as predominantly working class (Bell, 1996; King, 2003).

Despite this, Te Aro thrived as an early centre of commerce, although by the 1870s the area was becoming densely populated, with many of the original one-acre blocks being sub-divided and occupied with cheap slum housing. Te Aro fell further into disrepair when in the early 1900s new roads and the development of a tram network resulted in residents moving out of central Wellington to the now more accessible outer suburbs. This resulted in Te Aro being viewed by the WCC as little more than a transport route, suited for factories and light industry as opposed to residential housing.

In 1937 a housing survey was carried out on the area, which concluded that Te Aro housing was sub-standard and 'slum like', and that the land was commercially under-utilised. This, plus a housing shortage at the time, led to large areas of Te Aro's original old wooden houses being demolished and replaced with high-density apartments and council flats. These became tenanted by members of the lower socio-demographic, including a large immigrant and student population (Wellington City Council, 2001).

Then in the 1960s Te Aro, and more specifically the southern end of Cuba Street and Arthur Street, was earmarked by the WCC as the location through which a proposed motorway by-pass would run. The by-pass consisted of a 700m stretch of road that would cut through a historically significant area of Te Aro with the intent to reduce inner city congestion. The choice of location was based on the area's significance as a traffic route, with State Highway 1 and the main roads to the airport, hospital, southern and eastern suburbs all passing through it.

In preparation for the construction of the proposed by-pass the Government began purchasing the land and buildings along the route that the road would take. However, the building of the by-pass would not begin for another forty years and in the interim the purchased buildings, and the area in general, fell into a state of disrepair due to a lack of maintenance. This uncertainty surrounding the area's future, along with uncertainty surrounding height limits and zoning, resulted in little development taking place and a lack of public funding on community facilities (Wellington City Council, 2001).

Under these circumstances Te Aro, and more specifically the central location of Cuba Street, acquired a surplus of low revenue earning office, retail, and warehouse living space that was viewed by council and urban planners of the time as being unproductive and undesirable. On the other hand, these circumstances also provided the conditions outlined by Jacobs (1961) as being indispensable in generating diversity, and in doing so creating the type of creative ecosystem promoted by Florida. This eventually resulted in Te Aro evolving from a run down industrial area into a vibrant creative environment.

Evidence of the way in which Te Aro's existing character conforms with Jacobs' conditions for diversity and Florida's conditions for a creative ecosystem is visually presented on the following pages through a montage of Cuba Street (see image 5, pp. 68-77), the main street of Te Aro. This provides a sense of the area, illustrating the heritage buildings and diversity of stores that contribute to Te Aro's unique character. The montage also documents a moment in time before the ongoing developments that are evident potentially change this unique character forever.

Following the montage is a diagram (see images 6 & 7, pp. 81-83) that makes a comparison between the amount of owner operated stores within the Cuba Quarter and Wellington's other three retail quarters. The diagram illustrates how the quantity of owner operated stores increases as one moves away from the city centre. Original vintage tiles found in Cuba Street have been used as the main graphic element to emphasise the contrast between unique and generic.

The series of graphic images are followed by a written argument supporting the claim that Te Aro is a diverse, creative environment.

132 - 303 CUBA STREET. TE ARO. WELLINGTON.

06.07.2005

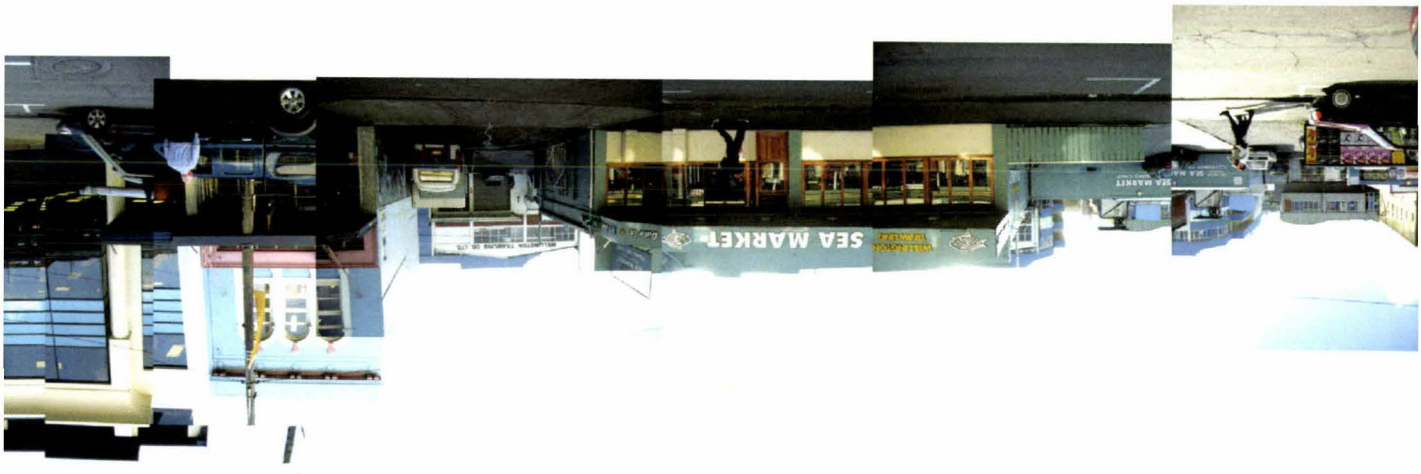

SATAY NOODLE HOUSE


TAKEAWAY
CHINA 中國烹飪
LEATHER DIRE
COSMIC CORNER
SLOW BOAT RECORDS


TOY SHOP
USCHI
Sweet

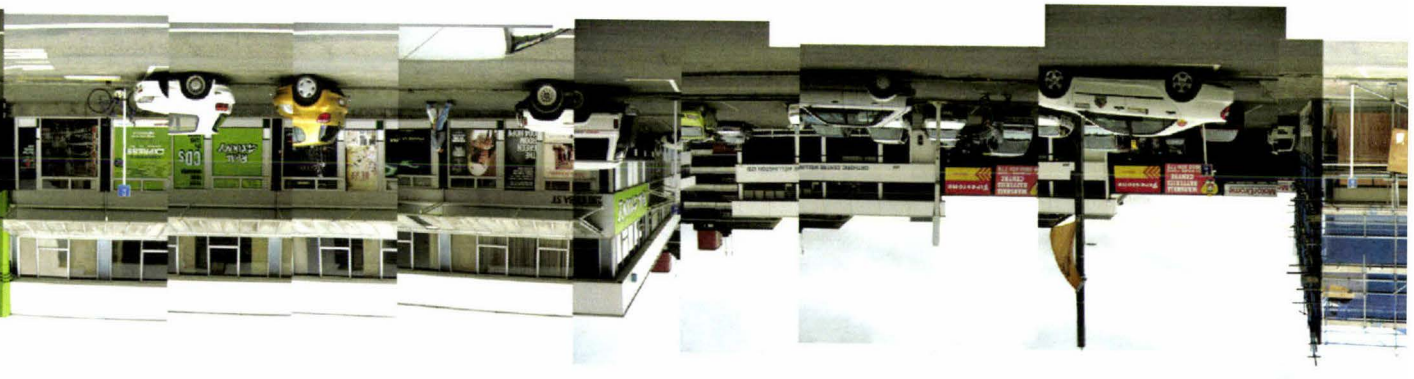

PEOPLE'S 1864 PALACE
HOTEL
neat


TATTOOART


SEA MARKET


DRY CLEANING
& PRESSERS


terralink
For Lease



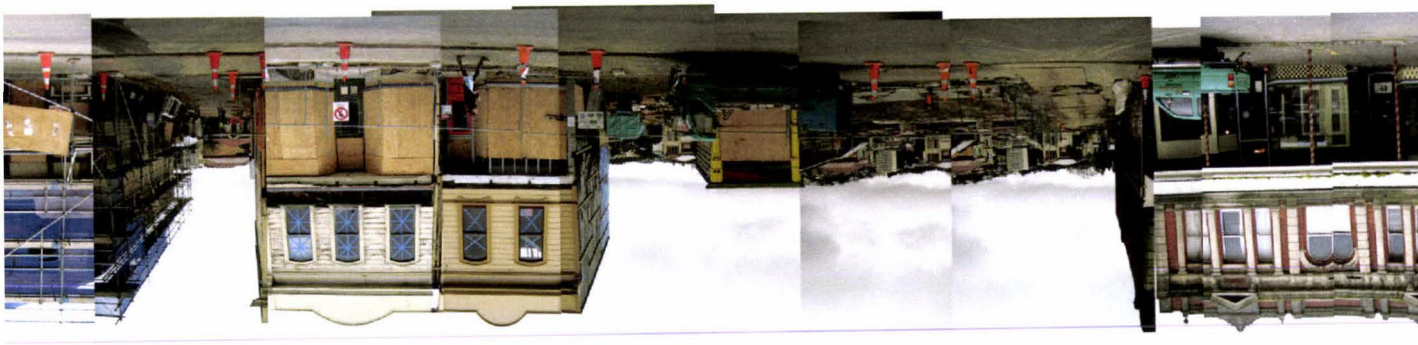


Image 5: Cuba Street montage, 2005.

LIST OF STORES: 132-303 CUBA STREET

303	Aro Motors
301	Cuba Street Superette
297-299	Careering Options Recruitment Services
293-295	Thistle Community Hall
291	Construction Site
289	Vacant
287	Vacant
275-285	Regional Public Health
267-273	Cuban Court Flats
257-265	Aro Motors
255	Angies Cafe
253	Flesh Wound Body Piercing
251	The Adult Sex Shoppe
245-249	Presbyterim (SP) Support Centre
243	Private Flat
241	Workshop DIY Framing
239	Ellmers Mower Centre
237	Private Flat
231-235	Construction Site
229	Construction Site
227	Construction Site
225	Construction Site
223	Construction Site
221	Construction Site
219	Construction Site
217	S.S.Patel Superette
215	Alister's Music
211-213	Comfort Backpackers
209	Coco Cafe
207	Boudelicious Clothing
205	Cordoba Cafe
201-203	Neat Restaurant
199	The Exclusive Adult Sex Shoppe
195-197	Blue Note Bar & Live Music Venue
193	Sweet Kebab House
191	Mix & Match Clothing
185-189	Saint Pierres Sushi
183	Slow Boat Second Hand Records
181	Simply Paris Patissarie
179	Cosmic Corner Party Pills
177a	Leather Direct
177b	Chinese Imports
175	Wasabi Sushi Bar
173	Factory Seconds Clothing
171	Mr Chin Chinese Takeaways
169	San Fransisco Bath House Live Music Venue
167	Aunty Mena's Vege & Vagan Restaurant
165	Satay Palace Malaysian Cafe
161-163	Floriditas Cafe & Restaurant
153-159	Wison's Parking
151	Lazule Jeweller
149	Jam Hairdressers
147	Enjoy Public Art Gallery
145	Aspee Food Market
141-143	Rouge Bistro & Bar
290	Charcoal Roated Chicken
288a	Private Flat (check)
288b	Private (check)
286	Ladies and Gents Tailors
284	Taxi Call Centre
282	Vacant
280	Private Flats
278	Aotearoa Arts
276	Jewel Centre Jeweller & Watchmaker
274	Construction Site
272	Construction Site
270	Construction Site
268	Construction Site
266	Firestone Tyres
264	Orthotic Centre
250-262	Real Groovy Records
238	55 min Drycleaning
236	Foodmine Bakery & Coffee Shop
234	Fidels Cafe & Bar
222-132	Parking
220	Sea Market Fish & Chips
218	Wellington Trawling Fish Factory
216	Manuela Florists
202-214	Salvation Army Headquarters & Christian Resources & Bookshop
200	Rasa Malaysian Restaurant
198	Rogers Tattoo Art
196	Munchener Continental BBQ Food
188-194	Logan Brown Restaurant
182-186	Flying Burrito Bros Mexican Restaurant
180	Frutti Original Clothing
178	Midnight Expresso Cafe
176	Vacant??
174	Lavage Pure & natural Body Care
172	Olive Cafe
170	Chilli Marketing
168	Dayal Brothers Fruit Market
166A	Bookbinder
166b	Freedom Anarchist Shop
164	Space Suit Urbanwear
162	Belle Vie Homestore
160a	Tempest Clothing
160b	Miss Demeanour Clothing
158	Film Set for *'Beginners Guide to Happiness'*
156	Cafe Istanbul
154	Carly Harris Clothing
152	R&S Satay & Noodle House
148-150	TAB
144-146	Zest West Bistro
142	Ziggurat Vintage Clothing
140	Monty's Cuba Foodmarket
138	Fuji Image Plaza
136	Dorothy Pattisserie
134a	Relaxation & Therapeutic Massage Centre
134b	Hunters & Collectors Vintage Clothing
132	Krazy Lounge Cafe

Image 6:
Wellington's shopping quarters, 2005.

1. CUBA QUARTER– fresh, funky, alternative.
2. COURTENAY QUARTER – pure entertainment
3. WILLIS QUARTER – a design, arts and lifestyle experience.
4. LAMBTON QUARTER – concentrated retail therapy
   (WCC retail strategy, 2003c, pp. 8-9).

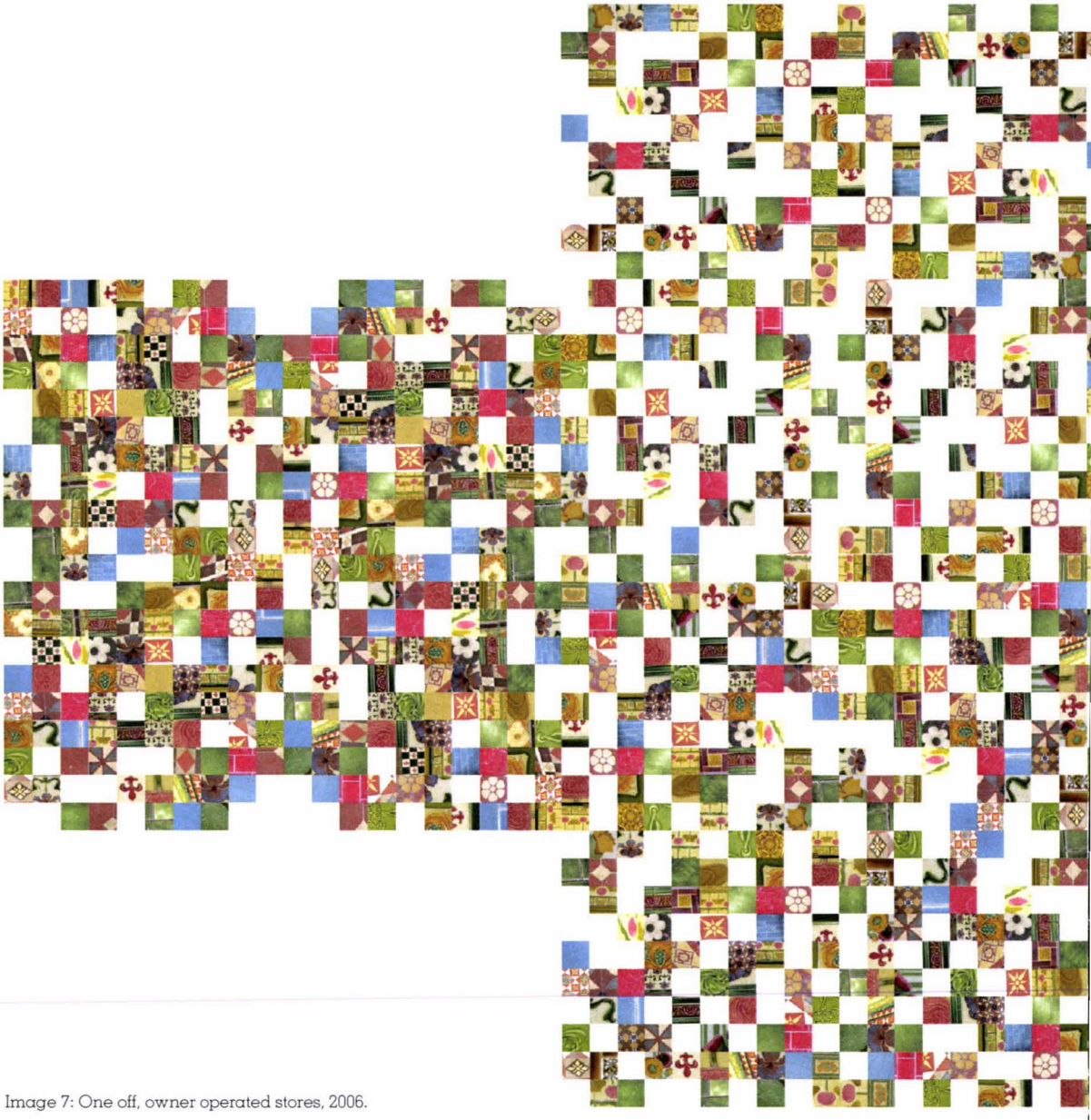


Image 7: One off, owner operated stores, 2006.

One off, unique, owner operated store.

TE ARO: CONFORMING TO JACOBS' CONDITIONS FOR GENERATING DIVERSITY

Jacobs believed that diversity was the key ingredient for creativity and that in order for an environment to encourage diversity it needed the following four conditions – old buildings, mixed primary uses, short blocks and concentration. Through the series of historical circumstances outlined in the previous section Te Aro evolved into an area that possess all four of these conditions. The lack of development caused by Te Aro's uncertain future ensured that the area conformed to the need for aged buildings. This generated affordable rents that encouraged a diverse array of innovative businesses, creative practices, unique stores, cafes and bars to established themselves in the area, resulting in a variety of mixed primary uses. Te Aro is inherently made up of small blocks and the area's high-density buildings and use as a thoroughfare by pedestrians walking to the CBD addresses the need for concentration.

Evidence of Te Aro's diversity can be found in a review of the area entitled the *Te Aro discussion document* (Wellington City Council, 2001). The *Te Aro discussion document* was compiled by the WCC in 2001 to gain an insight into Te Aro to obtain ideas on how to best develop and manage the area in an effort to extract its full potential. The information gathered for this document was intended to be used to inform an official urban development plan for Te Aro.

To gain an insight into Te Aro this the document sought comments from 'key players' in the area, including input from 'city councillors, architects, urban planners, developers, historians, business people, and residents on issues relating to: working, living, playing, shopping, getting around, getting through and building in Te Aro' (p. 2).

Throughout the Te Aro discussion document a strong indication of Te Aro's social, cultural and physical diversity becomes apparent. Also apparent are many of the conditions described by Jacobs for encouraging diversity. The document describes how through interviews with '30 (different types of) people who live, play, meet and eat in Te Aro...popular words emerged for the area – especially diverse and mixed use' (p. 14). An example of this diversity is evident in the following list of words used to describe both Te Aro's and Cuba Street's personality which read as follows:

'LIKES: The strength of Te Aro is its diversity, its mix of people, buildings and shops; the mixture makes it work; compact nature; Cuba Mall; diversity of shops; light; low buildings; paved areas; pedestrian malls; people; old buildings; small lanes and alley ways; space; sunlight

TE ARO'S PERSONALITY: colourful characters; alternative; students; old but young at heart; social; exciting; quirky; fun; tolerant; accepting; well educated; reasonably affluent; seedy; ethnic; caring; bubbly; old; hippy; social person; wise; warm; artistic; into arts and culture; wide culinary tastes; lives in an apartment.

CUBA STREET: the place to be; funky; alternative, individual, unique, interesting; laid back' (p. 15).

TE ARO: CONFORMING TO FLORIDA'S CONDITIONS FOR CREATIVE ECOSYSTEM

As well as supporting the claim that Te Aro is socially, culturally and physically diverse the Te Aro discussion document provides a clear indication that Te Aro provides the criteria outlined by Florida as being necessary in attracting the Creative Class. This criteria comprises of the need to provide diverse lifestyle options, cultural diversity and tolerant attitudes. This can be seen firstly in the above list that includes many of the key words used by Florida when outlining the values and lifestyle needs of the Creative Class and the characteristics of creative ecosystems. These include: alternative, individual, unique, mix of people and tolerant. Secondly, it is communicated through many of the comments made by the 'key players' interviewed within the document. A further explanation of how Te Aro conforms to Florida's criteria and a selection of quotes to support this claim are outlined below.

DIVERSE LIFESTYLE OPTIONS

Te Aro's retention of aged buildings and abundance of mixed primary uses ensures that the area offers the Creative Class a wide variety of different scenes and diverse lifestyle options. This is reflected in the diversity of economic and social activity in the area which boasts 80% of Wellington's entertainment venues and sees florists next to fishmongers, lawn mower stores next to body piercing parlors, five star restaurants next to burger bars,

and live music venues next to fashion stores. The lack of development also ensured that many of the areas heritage buildings survived Wellington's development boom of the 1980s, avoiding the influx of generic, low cost buildings and heavily packaged commercial venues such as chain stores and chain restaurants. In doing so the area can be considered as being authentic under Florida's definition by retaining much of it's heritage, unique street level culture, and established community.

These characteristics are highlighted through the comments of Wellington Central MP, Marian Hobbs, who refers to Te Aro as cosmopolitan, vibrant and genuine where 'the area accurately reflects the character of its people' and where 'The mix of old and new buildings is exciting and provides a wide range of living and working options' (Wellington City Council, 2001, p. 3).

The variety of living and working options that Hobbs refers to contributes to the diverse lifestyle options that Te Aro offers. This aspect of Te Aro is expressed through the comments of Marty Taylor, who works and lives in Cuba Street and was spokesperson for Campaign for a Better City. Taylor states that 'Te Aro is Wellington's everyday carnival, where you can dress up or dress down, visit cafes, opportunity shops or top class stores. This is the town at the heart of the city, and has strength through diversity, character, heritage, history and through its people. It is the destination of the Wellington region, bringing shoppers, visitors, tourists and inner city residents flocking to share its different aspect' (Wellington City Council, 2001, p. 27).

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Te Aro is culturally diverse which comes in part from the people who work and shop in the variety of stores and services, and by the individuals who are drawn to the area to participate in different scenes. It also comes from the array of people that live in Te Aro who range from the yuppies that seek the convenience of inner city living to the immigrants and students who occupy the high density apartments and council flats.

The cultural diversity of Te Aro is reflected in the figures provided by Neil Worboys, Principle of Mount Cook School in central Te Aro, who gives a break down of the schools ethnic mix. Worboys explains that 'the Mt Cook school community is strong, vibrant and diverse, with roughly 25% of the students Pakeha, 25% Maori, 25% Pacific Island, 15%

North east African and 10% Asian...For about half of the students English is a second language' (p. 20).

This ethnic mix, and the way in which Te Aro caters for individuals from diverse social and economic backgrounds contributes to Te Aro being a vibrant and stimulating environment. This view is supported through the comments of Mike Egan, Wellington restaurateur and president of the Restaurant Association of New Zealand, who explains how Te Aro's fusion of different people results in the area being 'an exciting enclave' where 'the whole spectrum of Wellington's diversity is seen living, playing and working together' (p.25).

TOLERANT ATTITUDES

An indication of Te Aro being a tolerant environment comes from the diverse array of lifestyle options and cultures that it supports. According to Florida this suggests that an environment is open to a variety of individuals and enterprises regardless of beliefs or appearances.

This perspective is expressed through the comments of The Hannah's Warehouse Corporate Body representatives who begin by referencing Te Aro's cultural diversity, writing that 'Te Aro is a rich mix of people – culturally diverse, all ages, with contrasting ethnic and social influence.' They go on to explain how this results in a tolerant environment stating that 'Te Aro is a village community that is inclusive, that welcomes and provides for people and groups of all kinds' (p. 23).

Marian Hobbs also emphasises the community feeling within Te Aro and how this enables the low entry barriers referred to by Florida, writing that 'Despite its complexity Te Aro feels safe. The compact structure and various close-knit communities make it an easy area to move through and live in. I have been amazed at how fast Te Aro faces become familiar and community linkages are made' (p. 3).

CONCLUSION

Through a series of events Te Aro has evolved to conform with Jacobs' conditions for encouraging diversity and Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem. In doing so Te Aro has evolved from a working class slum to become an exciting environment that, in the

words of then Mayor Mark Blumsky, supports 'the best of everything that Wellington has to offer' (Wellington City Council, 2001, p. 3). Today Te Aro attracts a large number of shoppers, visitors, tourists and inner city residents to participate in its different aspects and provides the type of environment that meets the value and lifestyle needs of the Creative Class.

Despite this there is little evidence within WCC documentation, including *Our Wellington: a great place to live, work and play 2004-2005*, that the WCC value Te Aro as an asset within their *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy. This scenario potentially has negative consequences for the physical and social future of Te Aro because it strongly reflects Jacobs' argument that environments that successfully provide a diversified mixture of uses are vulnerable to wide spread re-development, which local governments are reluctant to stop.

The following section will investigate the relevance of Jacobs' argument within the Wellington context by identifying the consequences that the WCC's implementation of the Creative Class theory has had on Te Aro and the local creative culture that Te Aro supports. This section is introduced by a series of images that seek to make a statement against the negative impact that generic urban development is having on Te Aro's unique character.

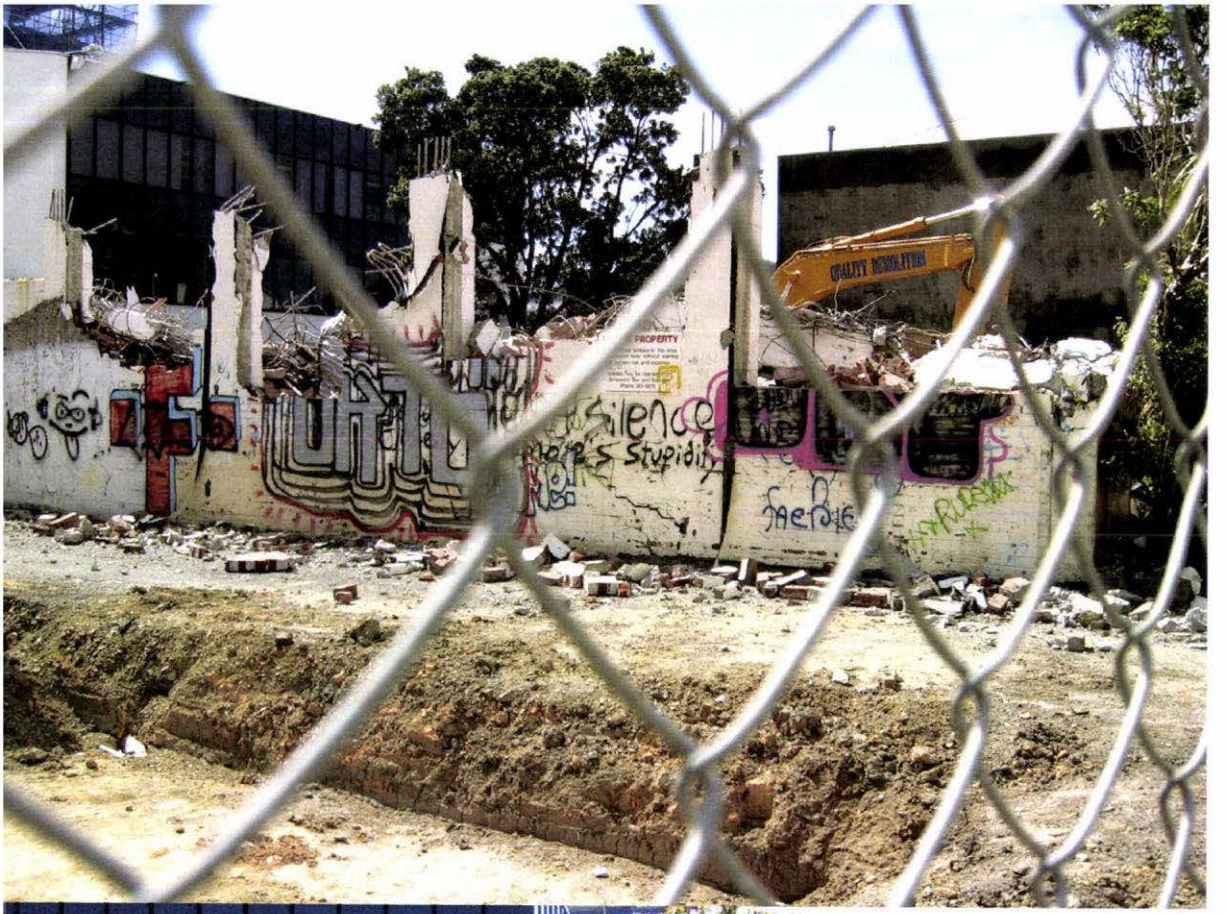
THE CHANGING FACE OF TE ARO.

Image 8: Reflections of the past in the present, 2005.


STOP


MEXICAN
and PIZZA
ARO
MOTOR CO
ARO
Quality Used
Vehicles


Farm
Full of local goodness
HYUNDAI
DANGER
CONSTRUCTION
SITE
UNAUTHORISED PERSONS
KEEP OUT


QUALITY DEMOLITION
PROPERTY


MAKE 'EM SMILE


DEMOLI
KW 3577


TION

Image 9: (pp. 90-91) Stop, 2005.
Image 10: (pp. 92-93) Closed for business, 2005.
Image 11: (pp. 94-95) Demolition, 2005.

4.3

WELLINGTON'S CREATIVE ECOSYSTEM: HERE TODAY, GONE TOMORROW

Research Aim 3 – To understand the way in which the Wellington City Council's implementation of the Creative Class theory impacts on Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.

The vulnerability of Te Aro to wide spread re-development and a process of gentrification and displacement is evident within the Te Aro discussion document through the comments of property developer Ian Cassels. Cassels begins by explaining how Te Aro's 'precious personality have come to us through a conspiracy of circumstances (uncertain motorway planning, changing industrial demand, blossoming arts culture, inner city living etc) that has effectively, so far, confused the gumboot developers appetite.' Cassels goes on warn that this could soon change due to many of the contentious issues surrounding Te Aro being resolved, resulting in an increased residential and commercial demand for the area. He states that the increased development that will occur as a consequence will destroy many of Te Aro's original buildings and much of its existing character because 'it is much more profitable to demolish existing buildings and build new structures to the height of the district plan than to work within the limitations of the old ones' (Wellington City Council, 2001, p. 34).

The fact that the WCC's existing district plan fails to detract developers from destroying the characteristics that contribute to a creative ecosystem indicates that the WCC do not value or prioritise Te Aro's contribution to the social and cultural dynamic of Wellington. This conforms with Landry's (2000) argument that local governments only regard concepts of capital and assets in terms of commercial success and prioritises land use in terms of ability to generate profit. It also conforms to the value system employed by cities such as Wellington that pursue the Creative Class theory to generate economic growth, a value system that defines success in terms of economic gains.

Under these conditions creative ecosystems such as Te Aro fail to thrive as their undeveloped properties return low rates and the enterprises that evolve within them generate low profits and limited job growth (visual arts and craft, and music and

performing arts contributed a combined total of only 4% to the profits generated by New Zealand creative industries between 1997 and 2001 (New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 2003)). There is also a lack of incentive for local governments to implement the policies outline in section 2.3 that aim to enhance the urban characteristics required for supporting creativity because they do not contribute any perceived economic benefits. These issues are compounded by the considerable pressure placed on the WCC by developers not to hamper the economic potential of a site – a sentiment that is voiced by two prominent Wellington property developers – Chris Parkin and Richard Burrel.

Chris Parkin, who was also a Wellington councillor between 1995 and 2001, argues that the key to the success of Te Aro is increased development and the intensification of inner city residential activity. He states that to achieve this 'council should not create development hurdles and should not be too restrictive on design – i.e. design guides' (Wellington City Council, 2001, p. 34). Property developer Richard Burrell also believes that the future success of Te Aro comes from more development and agrees with Parkin that 'regulations make it harder to keep up the momentum. Rules and restrictions put on the development in Te Aro will quite simply kill it and the life in it' (Wellington City Council, 2001, p.16).

CONSEQUENCES ON TE ARO'S PHYSICAL CHARACTER, SMALL INNOVATIVE BUSINESSES AND CREATIVE ENTERPRISES

As a result of such pressure by developers, and the economic motivation of the WCC, resource consent has been given to an influx of inner-city developments. The impact of this within Te Aro is that historic buildings are being relocated and demolished, artistic studio spaces are being replaced with apartments; and small businesses are being replaced with chain stores. Ironically, the consequence of this is that the developments, which are being built to accommodate the people and businesses that are attracted to the vibrancy of Te Aro, are driving out the creative practices and small businesses that helped to make the area a desirable place in the first place.

Examples of this happening include the building of Hotel Wellington, a five story, 114 room luxury complex that pushed local height limits to the maximum and displaced a diverse array of unique business. These businesses included an African hair braiding parlor, a Greek takeaway bar, and the office for Visual Tourist – a collective that

promoted Wellington artists. The preparation for the Wellington inner-city by-pass also demonstrated the affects of the WCC's actions. In this case heritage building were either destroyed or relocated to create environments such as Tonks Grove, an inauthentic replica of a colonial village setting. In doing so Wellington's oldest inner-city community, and a large part of its unique character, has been destroyed.

Another example is the displacement of WACT, the Wellington Artists Charitable Trust (a group that was comprised of a diverse array of Wellington's most creative up-and-coming talent including film-makers, writers, comedians, musicians and actors), who were evicted from their Te Aro studio to make way for an eight-story apartment block.

Small innovative businesses and creative enterprises such as WACT actively contributed to the creative environment and vibrancy of Wellington and helped to validate the WCC's claim that Wellington is New Zealand's creative capital. Yet despite this the WCC provide very few initiatives to support such groups and prevent the ongoing destruction of their spaces and their displacement from the city to the outer suburbs. As award winning play write and actor Jo Randerson states, the council 'are so happy to proudly say what a wonderful creative capital we are and they'll list all these artists and group of artists. Yet these are exactly the same artists who are getting kicked out of their spaces...there are all these people who want to make money out of the arts and to enjoy the scene around the arts. But there doesn't seem to be a basic comprehension as to where that work actually occurs, and the time and spaces that must be available, for it to be done' (Campbell, 2004, p. 40).

Wellington mayoral candidate Timothy O'Brien also used this issue as one of the platforms for his 2004 Wellington mayoral election campaign. In his campaign he emphasised what was in his view the hypocrisy, and economic shortcomings, of a city that promotes itself as the Creative Capital yet does little to support its local creative community or environments. This opinion is expressed in his statement that for 'all the frothy rhetoric [by the council] about creative community', creative spaces were 'being bowled over and replaced by apartment blocks for yuppies, who may soon have only generic bars, pubs and restaurants left in which to amuse themselves after dark.' O'Brien went on to warn that this bodes poorly for the social and economic life of Wellington because 'you first need to foster the creativity, before you can build the creative industries' (Campbell, 2004, p. 38).

O'Brien's comments align with the arguments of Dovey (2002) and Gibson (2004) that the sustainable implementation of the Creative Class theory relies on local government investing in local environments and cultural practices that are not necessarily economically successful yet contribute in attracting the Creative Class. Urban planner, Mark Baily, believes that in order to achieve this a comprehensive plan for Te Aro's future must be produced that identifies 'the opportunities for improvement, some incentive[s for] property owners to work with the WCC, [ways for] the public [to be] engaged to express what they value and would like to change, and some quickly achievable goals that can be realised in short time.' He concludes by warning that 'if some leadership and direction is not forthcoming, Te Aro will lurch forward and any strong influence will sweep the floor and the Te Aro of today will be gone tomorrow' (Wellington City Council, 2001, p.9).

TO DATE NO TE ARO URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN HAS BEEN COMPLETED.

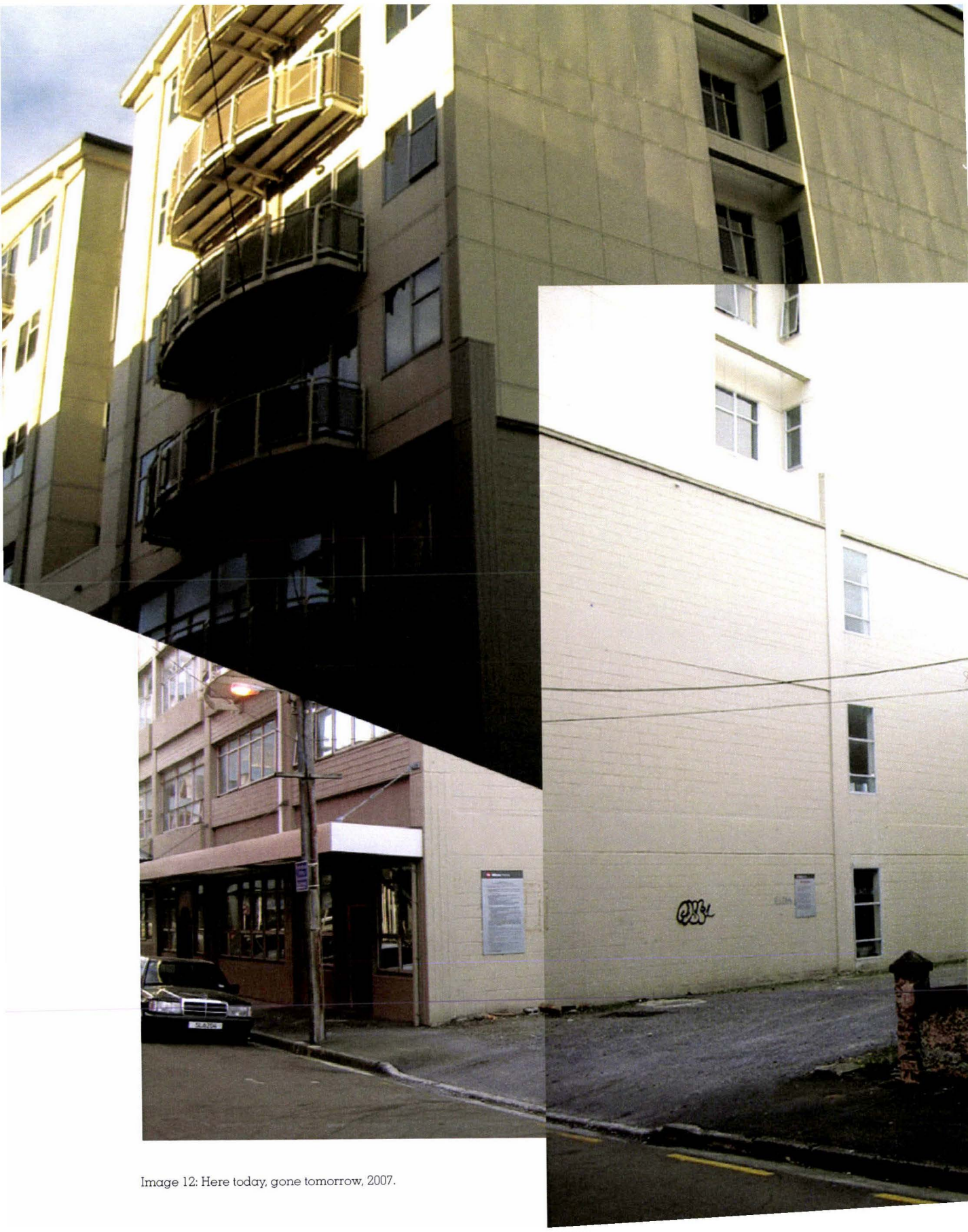


Image 12: Here today, gone tomorrow, 2007.


SOLD

CHAPTER 5

EXEGESIS

5.1

SAVE OUR STREETS: CAMPAIGNING FOR A CREATIVE QUARTER

> *Research aim 4 – to open new channels of communication between community and council to broaden the Wellington City Council's perspective of capital, assets and success so that they include Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.*

The applied component of research addressed the issues raised at the conclusion of chapters 2 and 4 regarding the sustainable implementation of the Creative Class theory. These issues included the need of policy makers to expand their perspective of capital, assets and success to include non-profitable forms of creativity and the environmental conditions that support them. They also included the need for new channels of communication that enable policy makers to broaden their resource base to incorporate the insights of the community.

I carried out this applied component of research through a live, user centered project for the organisation Save Our Streets, a voluntary group that was established in an effort to preserve the existing character of Te Aro and make it a designated place for creative practices and small businesses. My involvement with the group, and the means through which I addressed research aim 4, was as the organisation's strategic planner and graphic designer.

This section provides the background to this project, explaining the reasons for Save Our Streets being formed and its objectives. This is followed by explanations of the strategy, proposition and graphic design led strategy that was developed to achieve SOS's objectives.

BACKGROUND.

Save Our Streets (SOS) was established in 2004 by a group of individuals who had a vested interest in Te Aro and acknowledged the area's contribution to the creative dynamic of Wellington. The founding members represented a cross section of the area's

small business owners and creative talent and included: Laurie Foon – a high profile local fashion designer and retail owner, Ashely Owers – band manager and editor of a local gig guide The package, Thomasin Bollinger – local small business owner and board member for the Cuba Carnival, Natasha Naus – local historian and author of Heritage of health: a brief history of medical practices, maternity homes and motorways in Te Aro, Wellington, Steven Jessop – musician, and Jeremy Randerson – actor. Together they expressed concern about much of the development taking place in Te Aro, which they considered to be non-conducive to nurturing or enhancing the existing creative character, values and productivity of the area.

The catalyst for the forming of SOS was Transit New Zealand receiving funding approval to build the Wellington City by-pass, a 700m stretch of road that was intended to reduce inner city congestion. The proposed route for the road cut through a historically significant part of Te Aro – demolishing, relocating or developing many of the areas original buildings. SOS believed that these actions would destroy many of the characteristics that contributed to Te Aro's, and Wellington's, creative dynamic including the loss of affordability, diversity, authenticity and uniqueness.

The original objective of SOS was to generate a large amount of public support to oppose the building of the by-pass and influence the WCC to withdraw their support for the road. However, having observed the detrimental affects that other developments were having on Te Aro's creative dynamic, the focus of SOS expanded to oppose any developments that were unsympathetic to the existing creative character of Te Aro. Therefore, to achieve the objective of making the Cuba Quarter a designated place for creative practices and small businesses SOS revised their objective to persuading the WCC to change the District Plan and enforce resource requirements that support the enhancement of Te Aro's existing creative character (Save Our Streets, 2004).

Through my association with the founding members of SOS and the relevance of their objective to my area of research I became involved in the campaign. This firstly involved contributing in the development of the group's strategic proposition in a collaborative effort with the other members. Secondly, it involved the sole responsibility for communicating the proposition through a range of graphic design outputs including: an identity, promotional material, t-shirts, web site, power point presentation and art direction of photography.

STRATEGY

To achieve the aim of persuading the WCC to change the District Plan a strategy was developed that involved two separate but related objectives:

1. To persuade all individuals and businesses who had a vested interest in Te Aro to support the campaign's vision for the enhancement of the area's existing creative character by becoming active members of the campaign.
2. Use this support to persuade the WCC to act on the campaign's recommendations for Te Aro.

By persuading all individuals and businesses that had a vested interest in Te Aro to become active members of the campaign SOS felt it would be able to present what is in effect a diverse, autonomous group of individuals as a united community with a collective voice. SOS believed that this would give the campaign and its recommendations greater legitimacy when presented to the WCC because collectively the group represented a significant number of businesses and individuals who made a major contribution to the economic growth and future of Wellington. They also collectively represented a large body of voters with the power of electing council candidates who support SOS's recommendations.

This positioned the campaign as a respectable organisation with economic and political influence, criteria that the WCC related to and valued. It also illustrated that concern about the issues reached the wider Wellington community, in doing so differentiating the campaign and its members from the stereotypical perception of activists and anti-establishment protesters.

To achieve these objectives a proposition, and a graphic design led strategy to communicate it, had to be developed that would firstly persuade individuals and businesses to become members of the campaign and secondly persuade the WCC to act on their recommendations. Central to both of these tasks was the act of persuasion, a definition of which is outlined below, followed by an explanation of the way in which persuasive techniques influenced my process when developing the proposition and the graphic design strategy.

5.2

PROPOSITION

A proposition is defined by the Collins English dictionary as 'a proposal or topic presented for consideration'. In the context of this thesis the topic presented for consideration was that Te Aro is an environment worth preserving, retaining and enhancing. In order to achieve this the proposition had to redefine perceptions of the area's existing character to meet the needs of two audiences – the individuals and businesses with a vested interest in Te Aro and the WCC. This presented a challenge because both audiences held different views towards Te Aro and the issues surrounding the development of the area.

On the one hand the individuals and businesses with a vested interest in Te Aro were all drawn to the area because an aspect of its existing character provided a benefit for their lifestyle and/or professional needs. This audience viewed Te Aro's uniqueness, affordability, authenticity and the variety of scenes as an asset. Any developments that impacted on these existing characteristics would have an adverse affect on their individual interests.

On the other hand, the WCC viewed Te Aro's existing character as being underutilised within their economical definition of success. The WCC and their policies supported development in Te Aro as it resulted in what they perceived to be an improvement of the area's desirability and economic yield.

SOLUTION

To reconcile these competing views a strategy was developed that drew off Florida's Creative Class theory with a specific emphasis on his conditions for a creative ecosystem. It emphasised Te Aro's role as a creative asset by highlighting the unique benefits that the area's existing characteristics provided for creative and innovative communities. This resulted in the proposition that the Cuba Quarter should become a designated place for creative practices and small businesses. This proposition was supported by the following set of recommendations:

1. Rename the Cuba Quarter the Creative Quarter.
2. Strengthen and enforce sympathetic building codes for creative environments including height restrictions to promote affordable accommodation, and sound proofing to protect creative venues from misplaced suburban dwellers' noise complaints.
3. Place a ban on chain stores within the area.
4. Restore and preserve historic buildings in situ.
5. Withdraw support for the inner city by-pass.

In addition, SOS communicated directly to the Te Aro community that they should vote for council candidates in the 2004 local body elections who support the above list of recommendations. This strengthened SOS's strategy of influencing the WCC by emphasising the organisations political will.

We believed that this proposition and list of recommendations related with both the individuals and businesses with a vested interest in Te Aro, and the WCC because of the reasons outlined below.

THE RELEVANCE OF SOS'S PROPOSITION FOR THE INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESSES WITH A VESTED INTEREST IN TE ARO

The proposition that Te Aro should become a designated place for creative practices and small businesses outlined above directed the persuasive argument to the underlying function that Te Aro served. It stressed that Te Aro provided a unique environment that enabled independent enterprises with little financial capital to evolve and flourish, and that it contributed to Wellington's creative dynamic. In doing so it related with the individuals and businesses with a vested interest in Te Aro by heightening their self-awareness towards the existing attitude that they held for the area. It encouraged them to focus inwardly, cognitively elaborating on the unique way in which Te Aro influenced and supported their individual business, practice or lifestyle (Aubuchon, 1997; Perloff, 1993).

My belief was that this approach would motivate this audience to support the campaign because rather than taking Te Aro for granted they would acknowledge the role that the area played in providing a solution to their individual needs. This approach also expanded on the notion of how unsympathetic changes to the area could directly affect each of them personally.

Another benefit of emphasising the unique benefits that Te Aro provides is that it made the issue relevant to a wide audience, encouraging a diverse array of individuals to see themselves as part of a community with a shared fate by negotiating their differences and focusing on the aspect of Te Aro that united them all (Featherstone, 1996).

THE RELEVANCE OF SOS'S PROPOSITION FOR THE WELLINGTON CITY COUNCIL

The proposition related to the WCC by contextualising Te Aro within their *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy. By drawing parallels between Te Aro's existing character and Florida's conditions for a creative ecosystem we highlighted the fact that Te Aro was the type of environment that meets the value and lifestyle needs of the Creative Class, and to which they are drawn. This positioned Te Aro and the low and non-profitable forms of creativity that it supports as assets within the WCC's *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy.

This proposition not only positioned Te Aro in a way that was relevant to the WCC's needs, it also emphasised that the WCC had to take action to preserve or enhance Te Aro's existing character in order to succeed in its objective of attracting the Creative Class and creative industries. This new perspective, plus the suggestion of SOS's political will, related to existing councillors and individuals who were looking to enter local government by providing a platform on which they could base an election campaign.

CONTRIBUTING VS OPPOSSING

Considering the needs of the WCC in our proposition was an innovative approach in the drive against unsympathetic development. Previous campaigns that addressed the issue had tended to take a confrontational approach. They had been anti-roading, anti-development, and anti-council. These campaigns focused on the consequences of specific actions and tended to only empathise with the individuals who were being directly affected by the imposing threats. This was evident in the language and stylistic approach used which was intended to resonate with the affected community by attacking, and therefore alienating the organisations and individuals that had direct influence over the situation.

By shifting the focus from protesting about the negative impact that the developments were having on Te Aro to promoting the area as an asset we employed a persuasive argument that was inclusive of not only the community's needs but also the WCC's. This allowed the campaign to enter communications with the WCC as contributors to their vision, not opponents, and positioned the recommendations as solutions to their needs not demands. In this way the campaign could be viewed as credible and constructive channel of communication through which the views of the community could be related to the WCC and in doing so broaden their resource base and perspective of capital, assets and success.

Having developed a proposition that positioned Te Aro as an environment worth preserving, retaining and enhancing the next stage was to communicate the message through a graphic design led strategy. An explanation of the methods and process used in developing this is outlined in the following section. This is preceded by a series of images that communicate the sentiment held by members of the Te Aro community against the by-pass, unsympathetic urban development, and the WCC's lack of action against these issues. The images also illustrate the confrontational tone previously used by opponents of development in Te Aro, and the limited channels of communication that they utilised.

Image 13: (p. 115) Anti by-pass posters, 2005.
Image 14: (p. 116) 'Join the fight' billboard, 2005.
Image 15: (p. 117) 'Fuck', 2005.
Image 16: (p. 118) 'Stick it Kerry' billboard, 2005.
Image 17: (p. 119) Conflict of interests poster, 2005.

COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN
COMMUNITY
AND

AFTER THE BYPASS GOES THROUGH, I WILL REPLACE TE ARO WITH APARTMENT BLOCKS

I WON'T SEE THE COMMUNITY DYING BEHIND THE 6 METRE HIGH NOISE BARRIERS

THE BYPASS, SOMETHING WE CAN ALL BE PROUD OF, while all those other cities build clean mass transit systems, we'll have a two lane bypass chock full of cars...

THE BYPASS IS SAFE as long as all those bloody kids use the crossings.


Now @ 166 Cuba
JOIN THE FIGHT
Freedom Shop now
@ 166 Cuba St
NO BY-PASS
TRUTH.COMPASSION
FOREARANCE

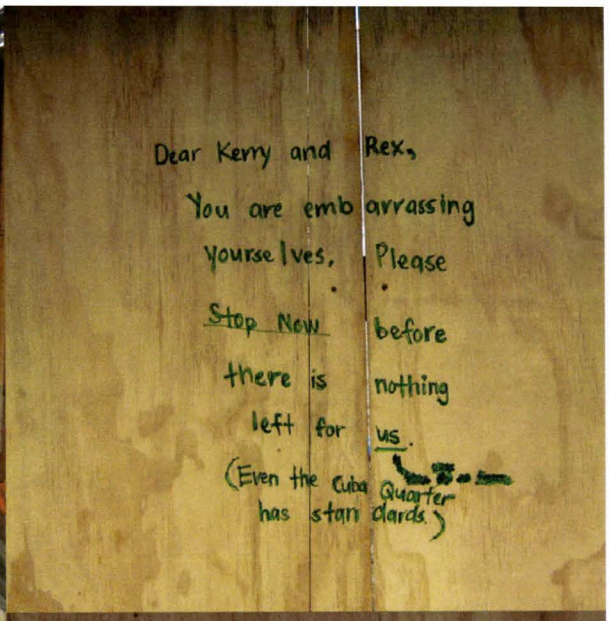

BIN HIRE
528 4072

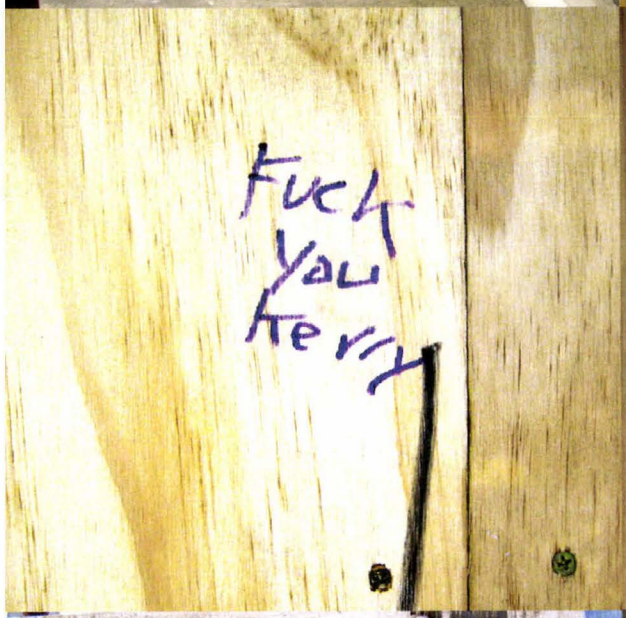

ONCE
IS NOT
STICK
the WITH
KERRY
THIS BILLBOARD
WAS AUTHORISED
BY ME, BECAUSE I'D
LOVE TO CONTINUE
TO BE YOUR MAYOR!
range
THE BODY SHOP
Private Parking Only
Illegally parked vehicles
will be removed at the
owners risk & expense.
The Body Shop
For Sale
SOLD BY
499 6022
BAYLEYS
Private Parking Only
Illegally parked vehicles
will be removed at the
owners risk & expense.
The Body Shop

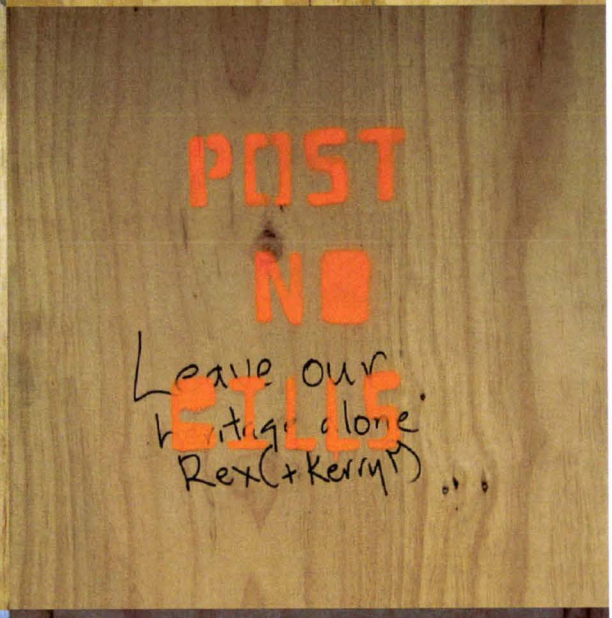

"The Bypass will be good for my husband's business!" - Kerry Prendergast (Mayor)
Two days after Transfund's decision to fund the inner city BYPASS, the Mayor's husband filed a resource consent application for this multi-story twin tower complex on an adjacent Cuba Street heritage site.

Image 18: (above) Hotel Wellington construction site, 2005.
Image 19: (over leaf) Community and council dialogue, 2005.

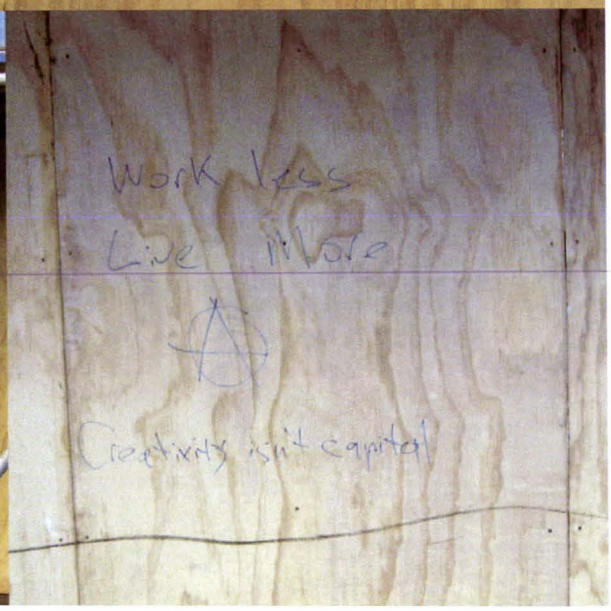

11.08.2005
Screw new Revelopment
FORC3


Dear Kerry and Rex,
You are embarrassing yourselves. Please
Stop Now before there is nothing left for us.
(Even the Cuba Quarter has standards.)

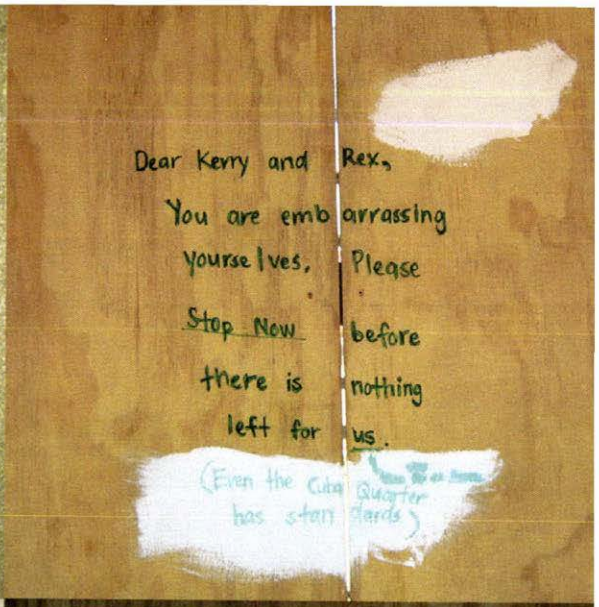

Fuck You Kerry

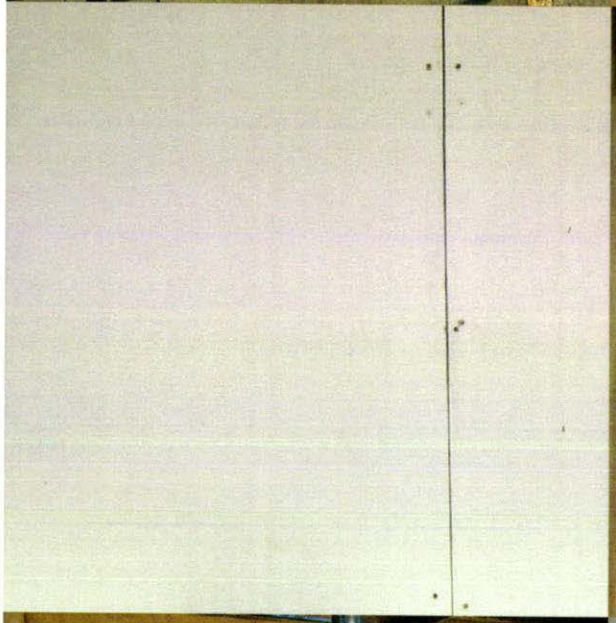

POST
NO
BILLS
Leave our heritage alone
Rex(+Kerry)

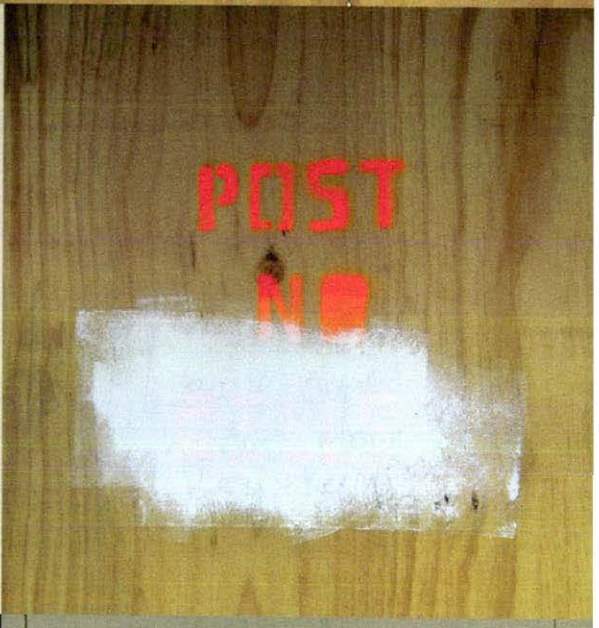

Fuck You
REX!
WCC


Work less
Live more
Creativity isn't capital


05.09.2005
excellent


Dear Kerry and Rex,
You are embarrassing
yourselves, Please
Stop Now before
there is nothing
left for us.
(Even the Cuba Quarter
has stars)




POST
NO


POST
NO
BUILDINGS


WRECKS
NICHOLLS

5.3

GRAPHIC DESIGN LED STRATEGY

Graphic design is an effective persuasion tool. It involves the use of aesthetics, image, different mediums and the sequencing of information to translate a persuasive argument into a tangible expression. Like the spoken word the visual language of graphic design has a tone, an attitude and a vernacular that can relate with a specific audience, indicating shared values and an understanding between the sender and the receiver (Crow, 2003; Lester, 2000).

I utilised these design principles to communicate SOS's proposition and support it in achieving its objectives of influencing individuals to become active members of the campaign, and persuading the WCC to act on SOS's recommendations. To succeed in influencing such changes in behaviour I developed a graphic design led strategy with the following aims: to raise awareness about the campaign, to inform the audience about the related issues, and to provide a clear call to action. The design outputs I produced to achieve these aims consisted of the following:

- A name and brandmark;
- Tee shirts, badges and stickers;
- Posters and postcards;
- Magazine and newspaper advertisements;
- A website;
- A Powerpoint presentation and discussion document.

This section provides a description of the design methods that I utilised in developing the design outputs above, followed by an explanation of my process and the role of each output in the overall graphic design led strategy.

INCLUSIVE, POSITIVE AND HOLISTIC

My design approach took into consideration the attitudes and values of the audience in order to present the message in a way that resonated with them. However, as with the proposition, this presented a challenge because I had to communicate with two audiences – the diverse individuals and businesses that had a vested interest in Te Aro, and the WCC. To address this issue I utilised methods that presented SOS's proposition in a way that was inclusive, positive and conceptually holistic.

INCLUSIVE

In developing my design outputs I considered ways in which I could communicate SOS's proposition to be inclusive and to implicate the audience with the message. I believed that this approach was appropriate when communicating to such a diverse group of individuals, all with their own needs and desires because it encouraged an individual to explore their own cognitive responses and process their own arguments in a way that was relevant to them. Perloff (1993) argues that this is an effective way to influence a response because people process their own arguments more deeply and extensively than those that are contained in the message. He supports this statement by quoting the French philosopher, Blaise Pascal (1623 – 1662) who wrote 'we are more easily persuaded, in general, by the reasons we ourselves discover than by those which are given to us by others' (p. 117).

This approach is firstly evident in the written language that I used with the inclusion of words such as I, your, us and our. It is also evident in the visual language that reflected the inherent visual character of Te Aro by using the signage and local icons of the area as my palette. My intent was that this would connect with the audience who interacted in the environment because they would draw on their local knowledge or connection with the place and bring their own personal experiences and meaning to the images. It also allowed my graphic approach to be more open to interpretation by not imposing a loaded style that may pigeon hole or overtly dictate the way in which an individual should interpret the message (De Vito, 1997).

POSITIVE

In utilising this palette my application was positive and energetic. I used bold graphics, bright colours, and positive statements. My belief was that this would enhance the likelihood of persuasion by following the same principles ascribed to classical conditioning whereby exposure to an attractive speaker elicits a pleasant reaction and facilitates attitude change through the processes of liking and identification. By considering my designs within a classical conditioning context the positive visual language that I created encouraged people to evaluate the message's arguments more favorably. The intent was that this would make the audience more inclined to associate themselves with the cause because of the pleasant impressions that they associated with the message (Lidwell, Holden & Butler, 2003; Perloff, 1993).

HOLISTIC

When applying these graphic and conceptual approaches I viewed the project in a similar way as a commercial branding exercise with the difference being that a social cause replaced a company, a set of beliefs replaced a service or product and the criteria for success was measured through changes in attitudes rather than units sold (Kotler, 1982). By viewing the project in this way each design output functioned holistically as part of a single visual brand identity, creating a strong presence that individuals could identify with. My intent was that this would generate a level of trust among the audience so that they would feel confident supporting it as a channel of communication to represent their needs. Following is a more in-depth definition of a brand and a brand identity and an explanation of how viewing the project in this way informed my process.

A DEFINITION OF A BRAND AND BRAND IDENTITY

Marketing experts Ries and Trout (1993) define a brand as 'a collection of perceptions in the minds of the consumer' (p. 7). They explain that in the global environment, where products and services have become less distinguishable, a brand has evolved from being a means of defining and differentiating into an asset that makes an emotional connection with the audience. It enhances perceived desirability and influences choice by acting as a focal point, unifying the associations and symbolic attributes that are ascribed to the brand in the minds of the audience i.e. what does it say about the owner, which social group does it identify with (Gertner & Kotler, 2002; Neumeier, 2003; Ries & Trout, 1993; Wheeler, 2003).

By viewing the campaign as a brand I aimed to develop an enduring expression of its values, beliefs and goals. I created a clear focal point within a saturated persuasive environment that individuals would identify with and through which they could express themselves. By supporting the campaign individuals actively aligned themselves with the cause and acknowledged their membership in a social group with common values, needs and a shared fate.

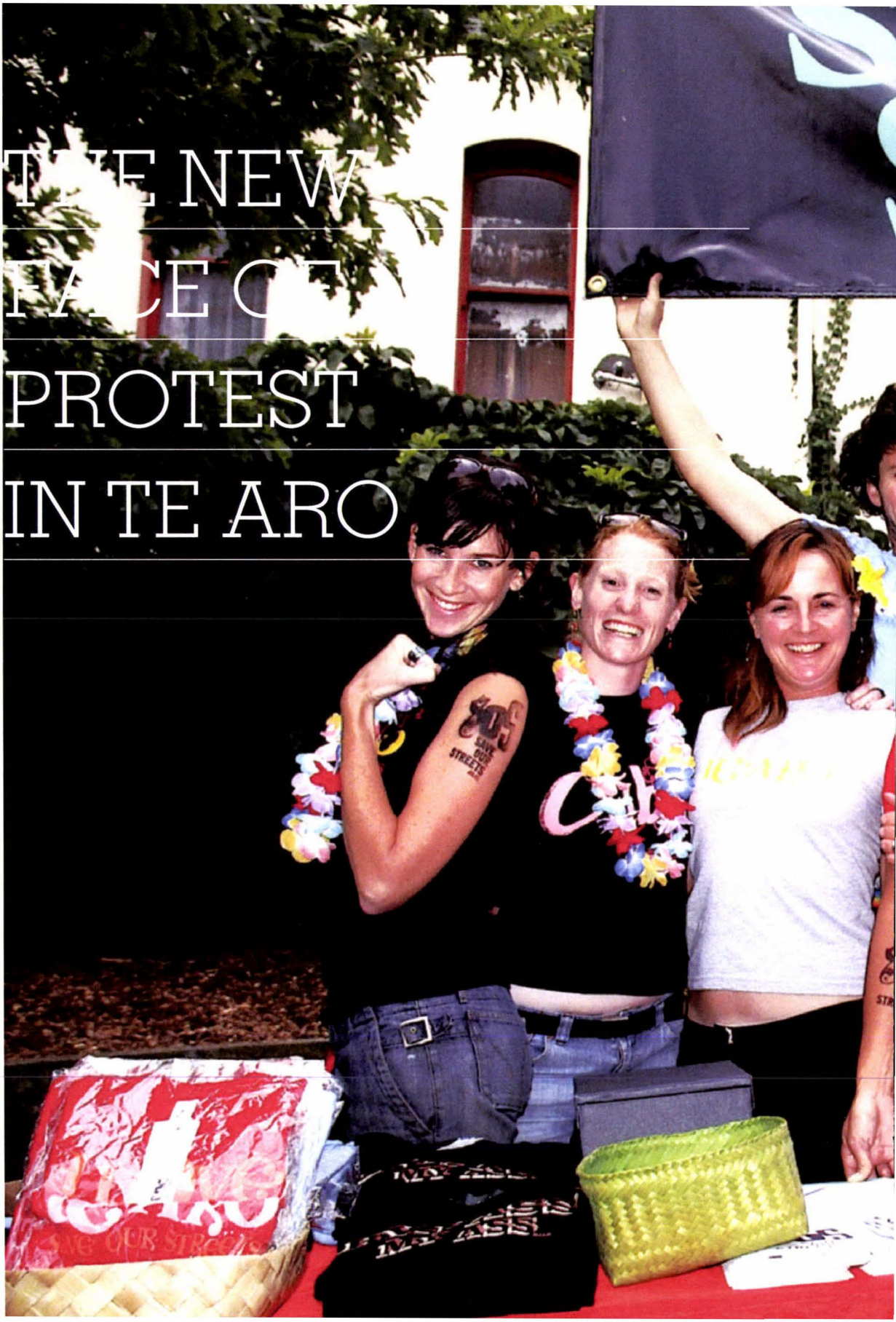
When developing the brand I realised that I could not dictate the associations and symbolic attributes that defined it because a brand is dependent on an individual's perspective. When many individuals share the same feelings about an organisation it can be said to have a brand. However, I could influence the process by communicating the essence of the organisation through a brand identity.

A brand identity translates the emotive qualities of a brand into a tangible visual and verbal expression. Alina Wheeler (2003), author of *Designing brand identity; a complete guide to creating, building, and maintaining strong brands* explains that a 'while brands speak to the mind and heart, brand identity is tangible and appeals to the senses' (p. 6). It acts as a cue that triggers the collection of perceptions in the minds of the target audience and creates increased brand recognition, awareness, trust and loyalty. Every design output produced is an opportunity to communicate the values and objectives of an organisation and in doing so strengthen the brand. However, the image projected through a brand identity must be an authentic expression of an organisation that is appropriate to the company, its target market and the sector in which it operates because any deviation between representation and reality will negatively impact on the audience's perception of the brand.

By viewing my design outputs as part of a brand identity they functioned not only as a means of communicating the organisations persuasive message, they also acted as a way of building perceptions about the campaign in the minds of the audience. Each design output was a coherent expression of the organisation, projecting what they stood for and how they wanted to be perceived.

Outlined in the following section is an explanation of the processes through which these methods were utilised in creating my design outputs. There is also an explanation of each design output's role in addressing the project's communication aims of: raising awareness about the campaign, informing the audience about the related issues, and providing a clear call to action.

THE NEW FACE OF PROTEST IN TE ARO



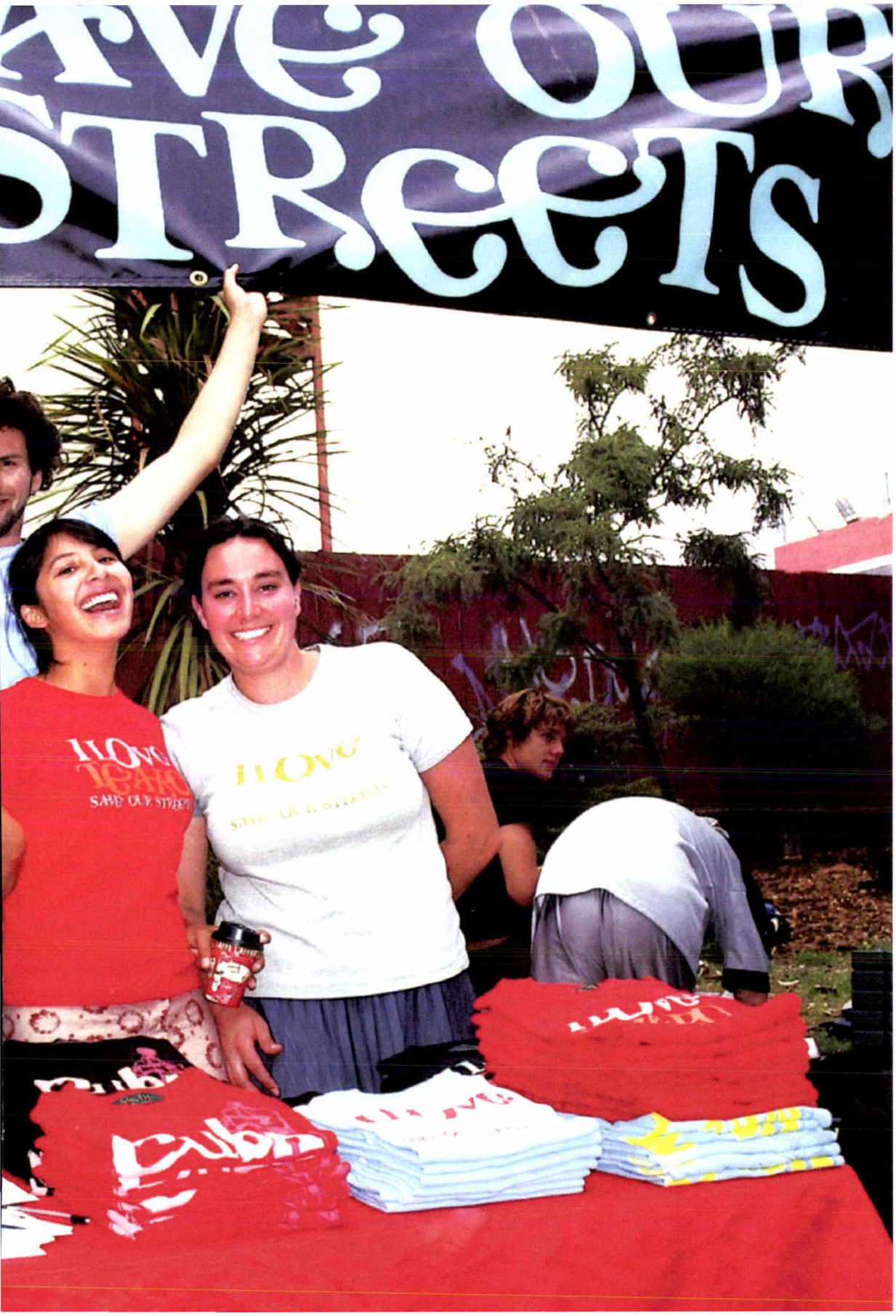


Image 20 : Positive protest at the Cuba Carnival, Steve Thomson, 2005.

5.4

DESIGN OUTPUTS

When explaining the role that each design output had in the overall strategy it is difficult to place them under clear headings that relate to the different communication aims. This is because each design output often served more than one purpose. I have, however, tried to place them in a logical sequence that relates to when the outputs were produced during the course of the campaign. The sequence is as follows: the name of the campaign, the brandmark, tee shirts, promotional advertisements, postcards, website, posters and advertisements and Powerpoint presentation.

NAME

Of a brand's collateral the name is the most essential and prominent asset. It identifies, describes, influences perceptions and raises awareness about the brand while being transmitted through word of mouth, emails, promotional material, and in presentations. For this reason the name needed to signify the objectives of the campaign and be something that people would identify with. To achieve this the name 'Save Our Streets' was agreed upon.

Save Our Streets was a meaningful, descriptive name that clearly communicated the intent of the campaign. It was also an assertive yet inclusive call to action, indicating membership within a collective group with a shared fate. When abbreviated the name had a secondary layer of meaning. The acronym SOS reflected the vulnerability of the situation and indicated a need for urgency.

BRANDMARK

Like the name, a brandmark helps to identify, describe, influence perceptions and raise awareness about a brand. It achieves this by translating the essence of an organisation through a range of possible visual forms from literal to symbolic, word-driven to image-driven.

The final brandmark solution that I developed for Save Our Streets was a wordmark, which is a group of legible letters with a distinctive font characteristic. In this case the group of letters used was the acronym SOS, which visually lent itself to a strong typographic representation that was clear in its meaning.

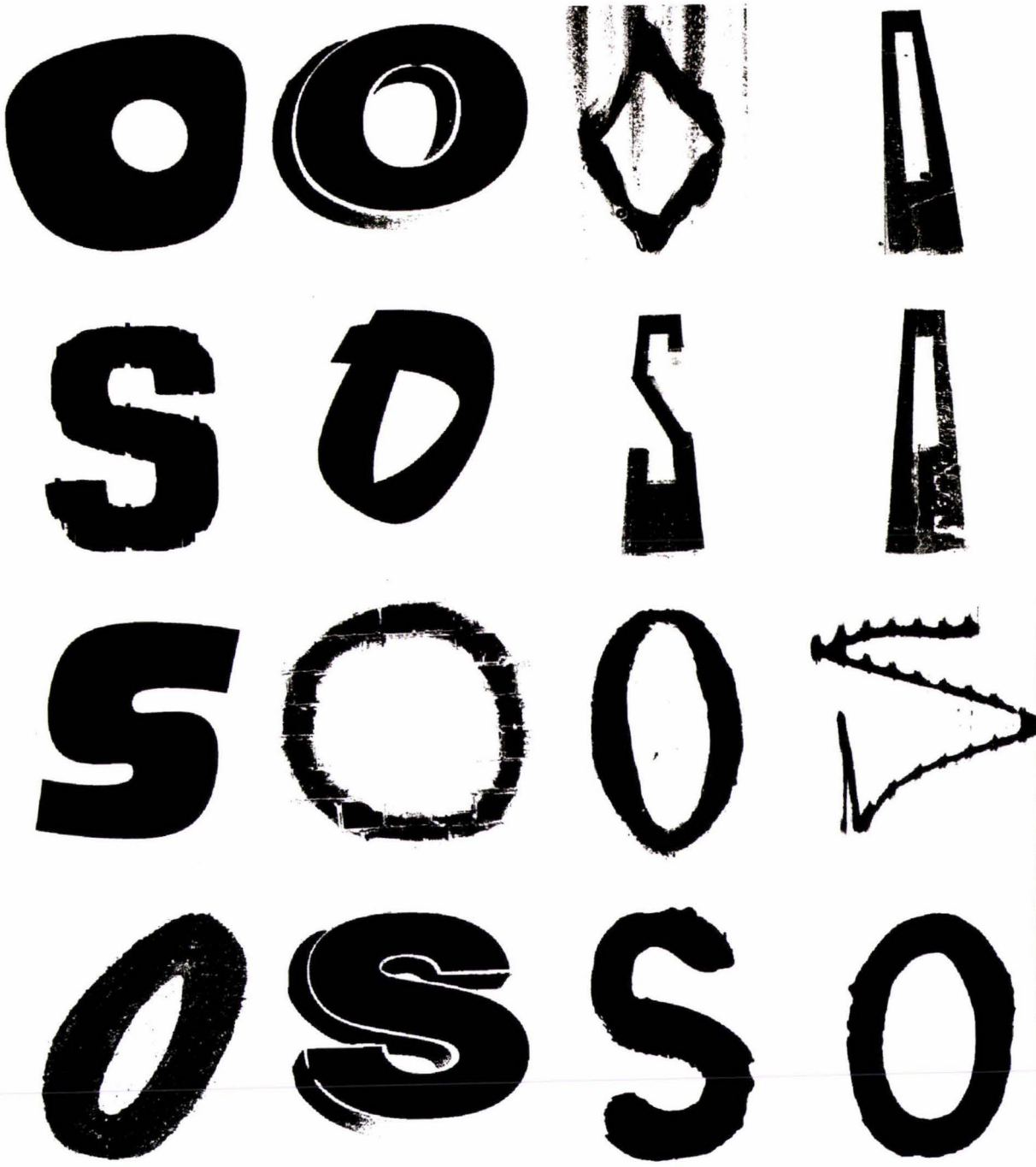
Image 21: SOS wordmark on badge, 2004.

I created the wordmark by taking photographs of a wide variety of signage from around Te Aro and converting the individual letters into black graphic forms. Through this process I generated a variety of different wordmarks that all had a distinctive look but were indicative of the others, reflecting the visual vernacular of Te Aro and signifying a connection with the actual place. The many variations of the wordmark meant that I could apply a different interpretation to the various design outputs that I produced throughout the campaign. This flexibility aided in communicating the concept of diversity within the area and stopped the brandmark from being locked down into one interpretation.

An issue that arose when applying this process was that while the wordmarks reflected the subject matter of the campaign they embodied an unconventual, raw character that lacked the desired authority needed to position SOS as being creditable to the WCC. To manage this tension I created a version that included the name of the organisation spelt out in full, using a formal san serif typeface and an orthodox typographic lock-up. I also refined the colour palette for formal purposes to black and red on a white background, which produced a strong, no-nonsense statement.


OFFSET
LETTERPRESS
S.O.S.
HOUSE
TUESDAY
WENESDAY
THURSDAY
MONDAY CLOSED
TUESDAY CLOSED
WENESDAY CLOSED
THURSDAY CLOSED
FRIDAY
SATURDAY CLOSED
SUNDAY

Image 22: Cuba St. signage, 2004.



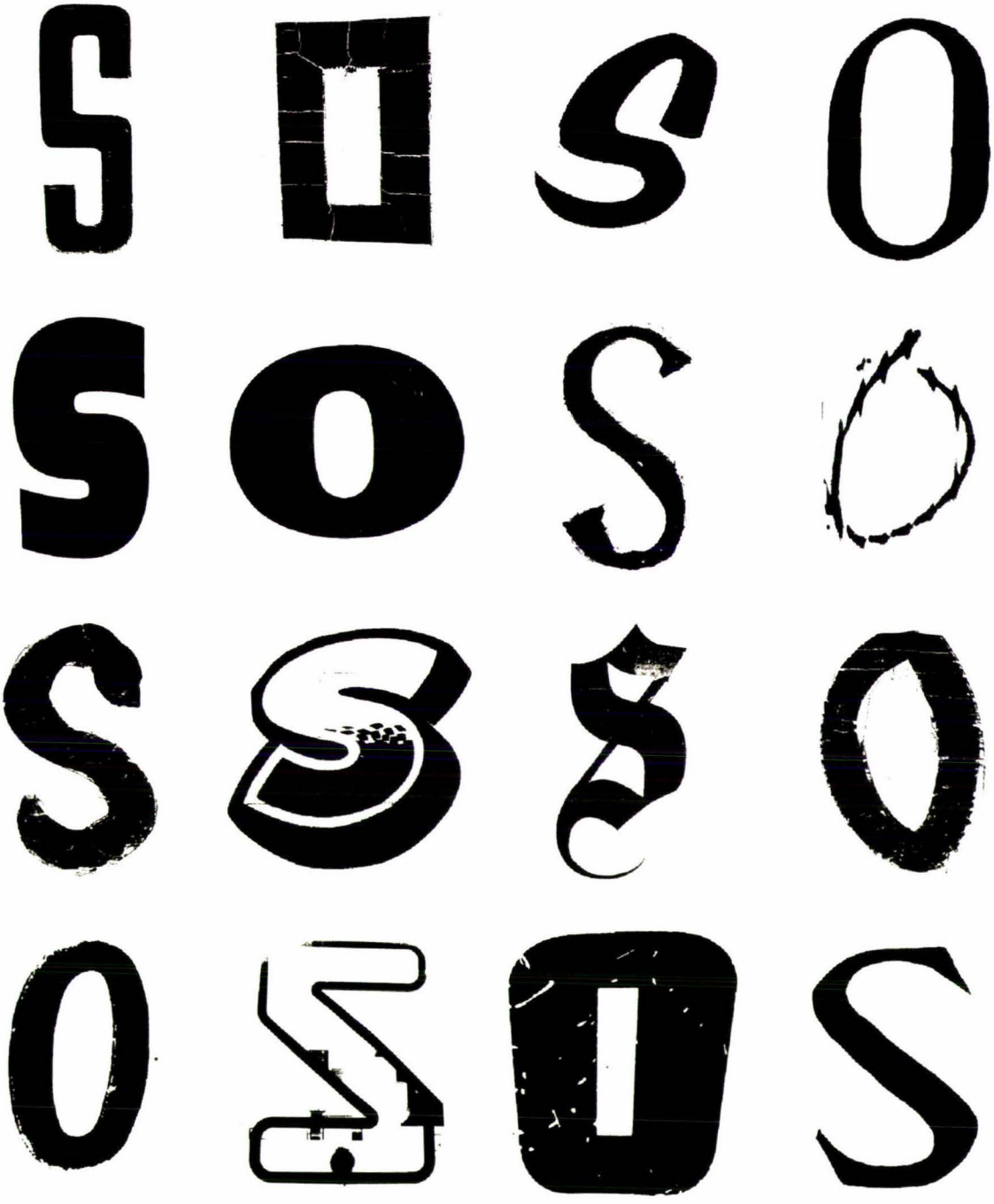


Image 23: SOS letter forms, 2004.

Image 24: SOS logo, 2004.

TEE SHIRTS

The role of the tee shirts was to generate awareness about the campaign and to encourage participation. Tee shirts were chosen as the medium of communication to achieve this because they acted as a portable billboard, getting a message out into the public domain.

The tee shirt also acted as a way of signaling the interests, values and social affiliations of the wearer by communicating an idea with other like-minded people through discussion or debate (Brunel, 2002; Fletcher, 2001). The intent was that this would influence the behavior of other people because much of the influence of a message is mediated through the opinion leadership of the sender, or in this case the wearer, of the message (Kotler, 1982).

TEE SHIRT 1 – The first of the four tee shirts utilised the slogan 'by-pass my ass' from a previous anti-bypass campaign that many of the SOS founding members had participated in. This campaign slogan had been prominent in the early opposition of the proposed road and was familiar to the public of Te Aro as being associated with issues of environmental concern specific to Te Aro. The justification for using this slogan was that it acted as a cue that aligned the SOS campaign with these issues and the Te Aro community (see image 27).

TEE SHIRT 2 – The second tee shirt also carried the 'by-pass my ass' message. This solution was directed at a male audience who, while supporting the statement, were conscious of exhibiting too much self-disclosure. The solution reflected the subject matter to which the statement was referring using graphic block typographic forms to represent a road. These forms were visually cryptic and not as legible as the first tee shirt. This enabled the wearer to participate in the cause and make a connection with their peers while not standing out (De Vito, 1997) (see image 27).

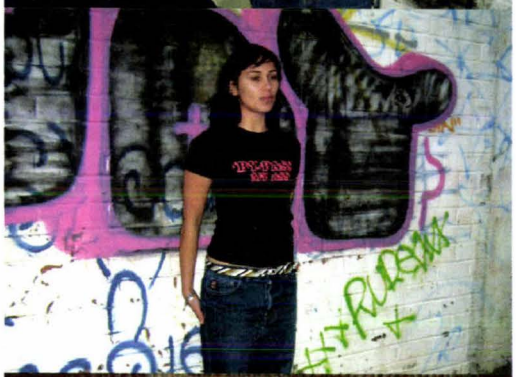
TEE SHIRT 3 – The third tee shirt carried the slogan 'I love Te Aro: save our streets'. This tee shirt clearly introduced the new campaign and the positioning of the persuasive message. The intent behind the message was to make a strong, positive statement that focused on an individual's affiliation with the area and embraced the notion of community.

The design of the tee shirt utilized a typeface that was derived from the cover of New Zealand's Heritage (1971). The typeface had strong thematic characteristics resembling a koru, which were applied to the E, A, and R. I took these characters and adapted them in a typographic lock-up that applied different scale and orientation. The intent was to create a composition that was legible and had a clear hierarchy yet was playful and energetic (see image 27).

TEE SHIRT 4 – The fourth tee shirt sought to encourage pride in the area by displaying a local sculptural icon and featuring typographic elements sourced from Cuba Street. The intent behind the design was to enable the wearer to contribute to the campaign and signify their social affiliations without having to communicate a political statement to the wider community (see image 27).

Image 25: (previous page) *New Zealand's Heritage* cover.
Image 26: Photo shoot, 2004.


BYPASS
MY ASS




'BY-PASS'
MY ASS


EMPIRE
40 hours later

Image 27: Tee shirt designs, 2004.
Image 28: (bottom left) Tee shirt advertisements, 2004.

PROMOTIONAL ADVERTISEMENTS

I developed a series of promotional advertisements that had the dual role of raising awareness about the campaign by promoting the tee shirts while also providing additional information about the campaign by directing the audience to the SOS website. The advertisements consisted of two full-page layouts placed sequentially in *Staple* - a Wellington based art, design, fashion and culture magazine. *Staple* was chosen as a credible medium for promoting the tee shirts because it had a bias to Wellington issues and often featured articles about cultural events taking place in and around Te Aro.

When art directing the photography I wanted to reflect the topic of the campaign and indicate a connection with Te Aro. To achieve this the photographs for the advertisements were shot on location at Arthur Street as it was earmarked to have the by-pass run through it. I also used voluntary models who were prominent in the Te Aro, and more specifically Cuba Street, creative scene. Michelle was a waitress at the iconic Wellington cafe Fidels and often took the door takings at local music events. Sean was a local photographer who had been documenting the music scene of Wellington, photographing every major local gig over the period of two years. When directing the models they were asked to reflect the attitude of Te Aro and SOS by posing in a casual manner with an expression that communicated a level of concern and defiance. When instructing the models to pose in this way I had to manage the tension between looking concerned and sad, and defiant and angry in order to retain a positive feel that would appeal to the audience and elicit a positive reaction.

In laying out the advertisements I appropriated my style to reflect that of the magazine so that they would visually integrate with the articles. This toned down the advertisements 'promotional' emphasis and gave the tee shirts greater perceived credibility by aligning them with the cultural subject matter within the magazine.

The sequencing of the advertisements began with the 'by-pass my ass' tee shirt to make an immediate connection with the audience who were familiar with the previous campaign's slogan and cause. This was supported with the tag line 'back by popular demand' which gave the tee shirts a sense of history and perceived desirability. This advertisement acted as an introduction to the 'I love Te Aro' tee shirt, providing a visual and conceptual link.

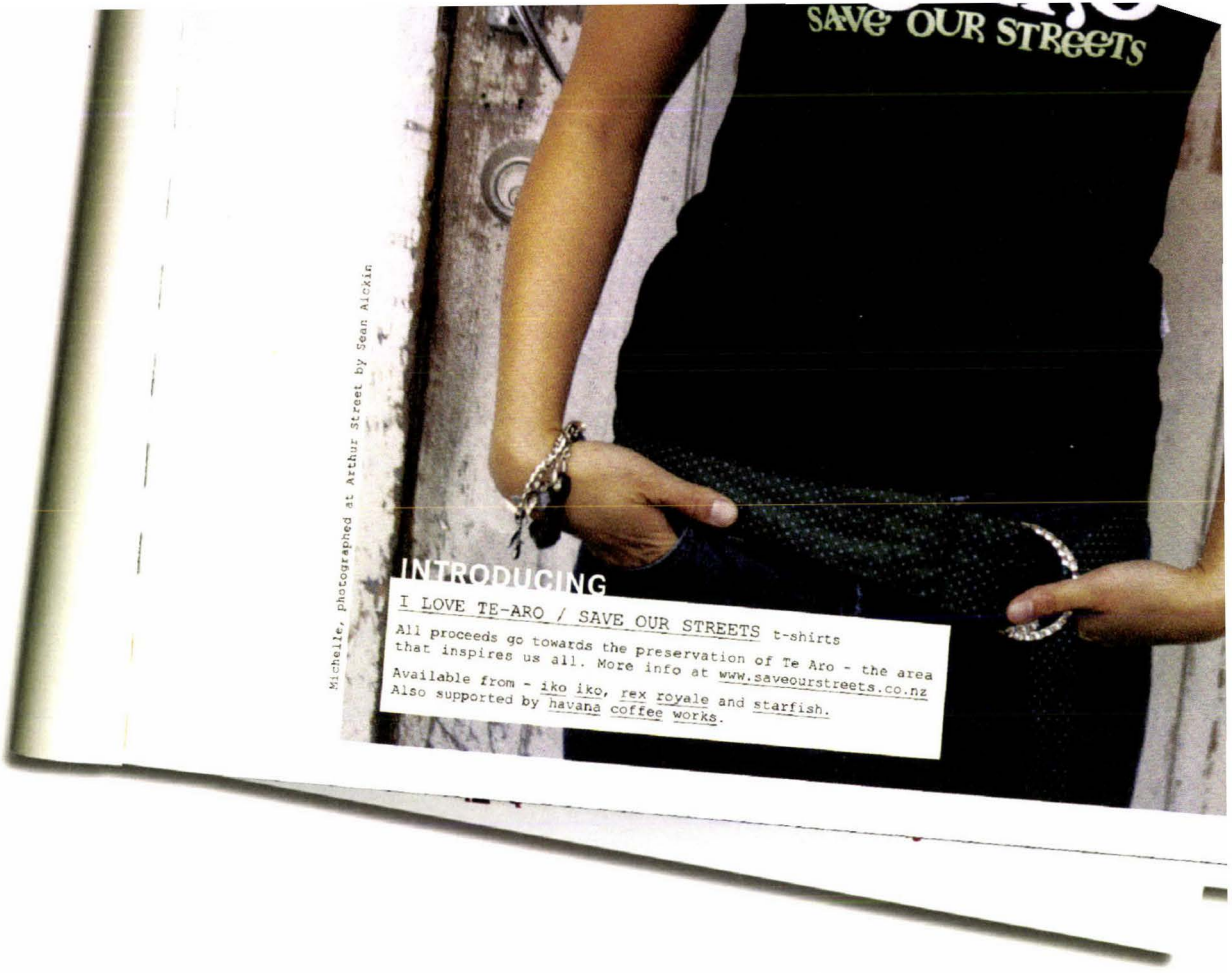


Image 29: Advertisement detail, 2004.

The advertisement for the 'I love Te Aro' tee shirt used the tag line 'introducing' to support the transferal of meaning from the old to the new campaign. This indicated a new phase and in the effort to preserve Te Aro's existing character and provided a clear visual statement that the audience could identify with and support.

Both advertisements included copy that informed the audience where they could purchase the tee shirts. It also clarified the motivation behind the tee shirts and provided the SOS web site address for individuals to gain further information about the campaign. The approach used for the copywriting was inclusive yet assertive, and was intended to provoke an emotional response. It achieved this using a minimal amount of text that

implied a meaning while allowing the message to be open to interpretation. This pared back approach was extended to the visual treatment of the copy through the use of a light typeface, small point size and a restrained differentiation of hierarchy. This included the exclusion of the sponsor's logos so that the audience could relate to the statements and take ownership of the campaign without being influenced by any pre-conceptions they held towards the sponsors. It also emphasised the charitable nature of the campaign by expressing that the sponsors supported the cause but did not expect any commercial gain.

POSTCARDS

I developed a series of four postcards that communicated the issues relating to campaign and the objectives of SOS. They also provided a clear call to action by including details on joining the campaign and voting for WCC candidates who support the cause. Like the SOS brand mark each postcard used signage from around Te Aro to reflect the visual vernacular of Te Aro and draw the audience closer to the content.

In this case the graphic treatment of the letters retained their visual integrity, acting as a way of documenting an aspect of the area and symbolically keeping a record. They invited the audience to engage with them by providing a recognisable image that they could identify with and interpret through their own cognitive response. Each of these characters had a distinct visual voice that represented a different aspect and attitude of Te Aro. When arranged side by side each postcard reflected the diverse and eclectic mix that contributes to Te Aro's creative dynamic.

The postcards were distributed in cafes, bars and shops throughout Te Aro, targeting the audience within the environments in which they worked, lived and played. This placement supported the message by acting as a tangible, immediate and relevant example of the subject matter outlined in the copy i.e. the places that contribute to Te Aro's creative dynamic and that need to be preserved or enhanced. They were also distributed to individuals who purchased the tee shirts to reiterate the cause to those who were aware of the campaign and to introduce the cause to those who were drawn to the tee shirts purely on an aesthetic basis.

Image 30: SOS postcards, 2004.

WEBSITE

The SOS web site acted as a medium through which the audience could gain in-depth information about the campaign and, once being fully informed, action the request to become a member of SOS. It also provided information about the ongoing achievements and initiatives of SOS, information about relevant issues, links to related sites, and an opportunity for individuals to share their thoughts through a forum. These all contributed to creating a presence around the cause and building a sense of community which individuals could participate in.

My role in the creation of the web site was as art director, while web designer Vincent Lowe produced the layout and building of the site. Vincent's participation in the project was voluntary and had to be conducted outside of a very busy work schedule. This placed considerable restrictions on the complexity of the site and forced me to consider the functions that the site would perform. Consequently I prioritised easy usability and clarity of information over providing a dynamic virtual experience.

The different components of information were grouped into clearly differentiated units that were easy to visually identify and access. In doing this we utilised graphic elements from the promotional design outputs to act as visual cues relating individual points, and the site as a whole, to the rest of the campaign. We also negotiated having a site that lacked a strong interactive component by providing links to relevant sites that fulfilled this role. The approach reduced the amount of information that needed to be contained within the site, minimising its complexity and related workload issues (see image 31).

POSTERS & ADVERTISEMENTS

The role of the advertisements and posters was to raise the profile of the campaign and remind existing SOS members to vote for WCC candidates who support SOS's recommendations. The advertisements were run in several issues of two community newspapers – the Wellingtonian and the Capital Times – and a poster run was carried out through central Wellington and the surrounding suburbs (see images 32, 33 & 34).

These forms of mass media were chosen because we had already introduced the campaign to the individuals and organisations that were being directly affected by the developments through informal and credible channels of communication. Having gained a level of acceptance for the cause within Te Aro we needed to diffuse the message to a wider sympathetic audience. Mass media served this purpose because it could reach a more mainstream audience beyond Te Aro.

Both the advertisements and the posters shared the same graphic layout. The focal point was a written statement providing a clear call to action. This utilised the typographic approach developed for the 'I love Te Aro' tee shirts with the addition of a thematic C and Q. This graphic treatment did not signify a clear link to Te Aro in the same way as the logo and postcards. However, it did achieve the desired result of drawing the audience closer to the content because the tee shirts had proven to be extremely popular and the public strongly associated the graphic with the campaign.

The composition included the names of all the SOS members, illustrating the level of support that the campaign had. This had the dual effect of firstly influencing new individuals to adopt the message because of the influence exerted by knowing, and wanting to be associated with the people and/or orgnisations on the list. Secondly, it acted as a means to relate with the WCC councilors by visually articulating the popularity and wide appeal of the campaign. There were a large number of names on the list, many of whom were highly influential within the New Zealand arts and cultural environment i.e. feature film maker Gaylene Preston, Oscar nominee Taika Waititi, and award winning restaurant Logan Brown. Because of this I had to consider whether or not to highlight high profile, influential individuals and organisations. I chose not to because I felt that the understated approach gave the message greater impact because of its unexpected nature. It also emphasised that SOS considered all of its members concerns and contribution to be as valid as each other, breaking down any hierarchy or existing value system.

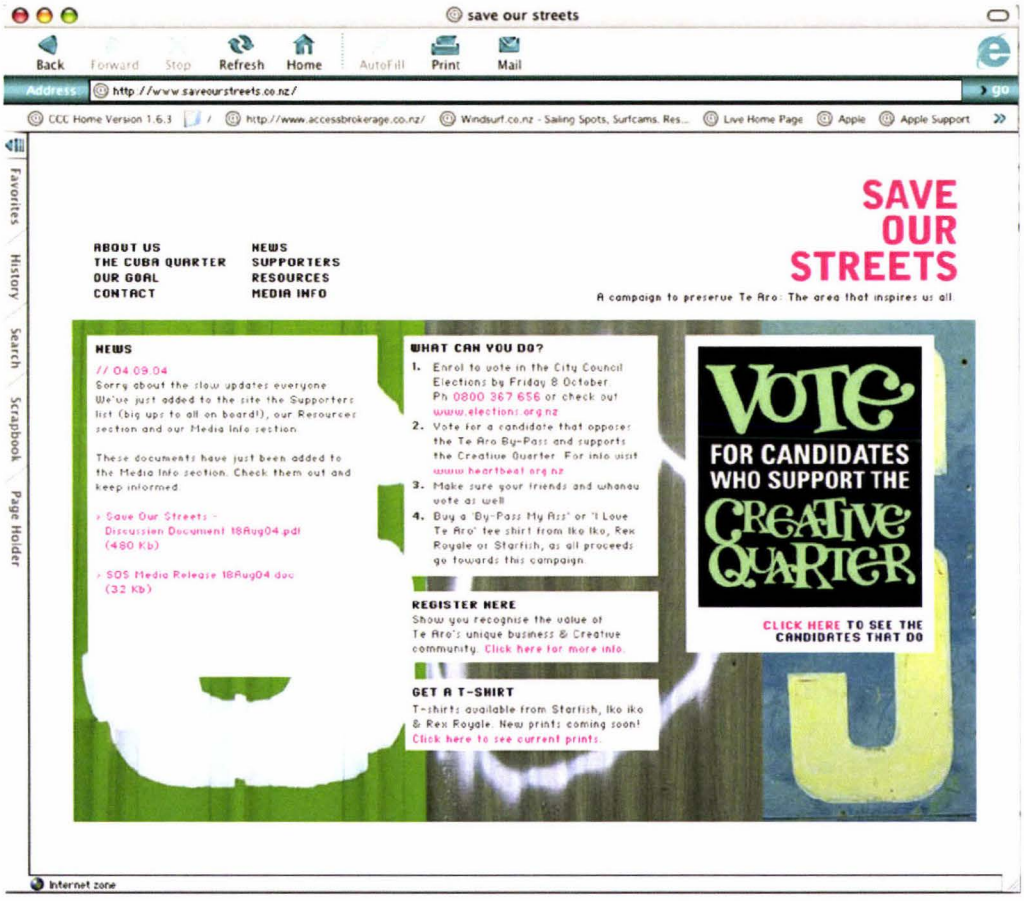

save our streets
Back
Forward
Stop
Refresh
Home
AutoFill
Print
Mail
Address
http://www.saveourstreets.co.nz/
go
CCC Home Version 1.6.3
http://www.accessbrokerage.co.nz/
Windsurf.co.nz - Sailing Spots, Surfcams, Res...
Live Home Page
Apple
Apple Support
Favorites
History
Search
Scrapbook
Page Holder
ABOUT US
THE CUBA QUARTER
OUR GOAL
CONTACT
NEWS
SUPPORTERS
RESOURCES
MEDIA INFO
SAVE OUR STREETS
A campaign to preserve Te Aro: The area that inspires us all
NEWS
// 04.09.04
Sorry about the slow updates everyone. We've just added to the site the Supporters list (big ups to all on board!), our Resources section and our Media Info section.
These documents have just been added to the Media Info section. Check them out and keep informed.
» Save Our Streets - Discussion Document 18Aug04.pdf (480 Kb)
» SOS Media Release 18Aug04.doc (32 Kb)
WHAT CAN YOU DO?
1. Enrol to vote in the City Council Elections by Friday 8 October. Ph 0800 367 656 or check out www.elections.org.nz
2. Vote for a candidate that opposes the Te Aro By-Pass and supports the Creative Quarter. For info visit www.heartbeat.org.nz
3. Make sure your friends and whanau vote as well.
4. Buy a 'By-Pass My Ass' or 'I Love Te Aro' tee shirt from Iko Iko, Rex Royale or Starfish, as all proceeds go towards this campaign.
REGISTER HERE
Show you recognise the value of Te Aro's unique business & Creative community. Click here for more info.
GET A T-SHIRT
T-shirts available from Starfish, Iko iko & Rex Royale. New prints coming soon! Click here to see current prints.
VOTE
FOR CANDIDATES WHO SUPPORT THE CREATIVE QUARTER
CLICK HERE TO SEE THE CANDIDATES THAT DO
Internet zone

Image 31: (far left) SOS website, 2004.
Image 32: (above) 'Creative Quarter' advertisement, 2004.
Image 33: (middle) Community newspapers, 2004.
Image 34: (bottom) 'Creative Quarter' poster, 2004.

POWERPOINT PRESENTATION

The powerpoint presentations were used to support the discussion document presented at the WCC Economy and Arts Committee meeting (2 August, 2004) and the WCC General meeting (18 August, 2004). These presentations represented a decisive moment in the campaign, culminating all of the promotional work and support that had gone towards raising the profile of the cause. It was also the opportunity to directly communicate to the WCC the issues relating to the campaign and the rationale for SOS's objectives:

1. to open channels of communication with Wellington City Council;
2. to have Wellington City Council designate the Cuba Quarter as the Creative Quarter: a place designated for small business and creative space;
3. to have Wellington City Council gain a greater appreciation and understanding of the creative dynamic that operates in Te Aro;
4. to enter into dialogue with Save Our Streets about the issues facing Te Aro and Creative Wellington. (Save Our Streets, 2004, p. 3)

Before the meetings we acknowledged that we would be presenting to an audience who, to a large extent, held opposing views to our position. We were also conscious that we had to retain their focus as they would have many separate issues to address during the meetings. For these reasons it was imperative that the presentations were clear, had impact, and related to councillors' needs and beliefs.

The presentations began by making a connection with the councillors by acknowledging their initiative in implementing the *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy. The content of the presentation then conveyed empathy with the WCC's objectives by communicating an awareness of, and agreement with, Florida's Creative Class theory on which their strategy was based. This approach helped to communicate that SOS had taken Florida's arguments, and the WCC's needs, into consideration when developing their recommendations.

The presentations went on to highlight parallels between Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem and the existing characteristics of Te Aro. It also provided an explanation of how Te Aro supports Wellington's creative dynamic, and in doing so positioned the area as a creative asset in the *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy.

The presentations concluded by focusing on the WCC's implementation of their brand strategy. It emphasised the principles required in creating an authentic brand, explaining that an organisation's actions must be consistent with the image that they project. This provided a platform to highlight inconsistencies between the council's existing resource policies and the needs of a creative environment. It also legitimised SOS's recommendations as being solutions to enable the WCC to build a strong and successful brand. These recommendations are outlined below.

- Receive and consider the issues addressed in this Discussion Document;
- Implement the Creative Quarter;
- Suspend support for the By-Pass;
- Talk to the people who are being branded with Creative Wellington;
- Engage local business and creatives to assist the development of appropriate policy and plans to support the vision of Creative Wellington – Innovative Capital;
- Prioritise a planning for, and protection of, Te Aro and the Creative Quarter;
- Expand and strengthen the foundation of Wellington's creative culture (Save Our Streets, 2004, p. 16).

While the main emphasis of these presentations came through the written component of the discussion document, they were visually supported using a powerpoint presentation. This provided a means through which to clarify the content and give it greater impact. The approach used to achieve this included quotes to punctuate the main points. These were made relevant to the councillors by choosing statements from individuals with whom the WCC had contact with, respected and trusted. These included a past mayor, local business owners, urban planners, and Kevin Roberts, the CEO of Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide, the organisation that the WCC had employed to develop their brand.

I also developed a diagram to clarify the point that the WCC's brand proposition, *Absolutely Creative Wellington*, was dependent on nurturing the environments that support creativity. The subject matter utilised for the diagram reflected Jacobs' argument that creative productivity is dependent on a diverse community and variety of scenes, and

that this is dependent on a sympathetic environment. I communicated this concept by appropriating the WCC's *Absolutely Creative Wellington* brand mark, placing emphasis on the components that the existing WCC policies prioritised. This interpretation placed the WCC's brand on the top of productivity, community, and place, creating an inverted pyramid that appeared unstable and vulnerable. It then evolved, expanding the bottom component to illustrate the importance of 'place' in providing a solid foundation for both the authenticity of the WCC's brand and the creative dynamic of Wellington.

Another form of visual rhetoric used was the juxtaposition of images. This approach made comparisons between Lambton Quay and Cuba Street on a Saturday, highlighting Te Aro's vibrancy and contribution to Wellington's commercial and cultural dynamic. The images also helped to illustrate to the WCC what Wellington's creative environment physically looked like, changing the perception of Te Aro from run-down to desirable. This was supported by juxtaposing historical buildings in Te Aro with some of the high-rise developments that were taking place around them to demonstrate the impact that commercially motivated buildings were having on the character of the area and its appeal to the Creative Class (see image 37).

Image 35: Presentation brainstorm, 2004.

SOS

L-C INTRO self

Intro SOS - Preservation of Kerry's call for ideas tears - the area inspires us all.

congrats - acknowledge WCC - vision for AKs creative sector

what a great place would be (what they want)

- general points of agreement (VISION
- (examples LOTR) economic
(vision in action)

unique rare + valuable

Asset - what we have that aligns itself with this vision (stat - rate of people working in creative industries) * CREATIVE PEOPLE

why HOW IT WORKS (educate them) Jerem

WHAT + WHY its happening

Dynamic - people - community - place

network: /office/body/

- How it relates/feeds the 'creative' vis
- FOUNDATION CREATIVE INFRASTRUCT

NETWORK

- OPPORTUNITY
- DENSITY/EFFICIENCY - STORY
- INTERACTION
- TRAFFIC/PEOPLE —
- NETWORK — grow this network (AI

NETWORK

BYPASS

Identified the creative infrastructure) LOL

Network is Fragile - under threat - bypass

OUTCOMES NOT CONSISTENT w VISION

COMPLIANCE + PLAN NOT " ; BRAND

→ Threat to creative infrastructure

With economic growth = creative edge

you're saying 'creativity' is what we are

- we're saying this is where we are + what w need.

WCC Lack of vision doesn't support their


SOS

Image 36: SOS presentation at the WCC Economy & Arts meeting, 2004.

SAVE OUR STREETS

1

Absolutely Creatively Wellington

2

3

"If some leadership and direction is not forthcoming, Te Aro will lurch forward and any strong influence will sweep the floor and the Te Aro of today will be gone tomorrow."

Mark Baily (urban planner), *Te Aro Discussion Document 2001.*

7

8

9

13

14

"The best brands stand for something - a big idea, a strategic position, a defined set of values but it must be an AUTHENTIC expression of an organisation.

Alan Wheeler. *Designing brand identity.*

15

Productivity
Community
Place

19

Absolutely Creatively Wellington
Productivity
Community
Place

20

Absolutely Creatively Wellington
Productivity
Community
Place

21

.ppt

"First and foremost, a great street should make community: should facilitate people acting and interacting to achieve in concert what they might not achieve alone." Allan B. Jacobs, *Great Streets*

4

Absolutely Creatively Wellington
Productivity
Community
Place

5

"I think the Cuba Street area is very rich in culture and diversity: it is Wellington's Cambden Town. Id hate to see any development drive people away."

Mark Thomas (manager of Real Groovy Records).

Te Aro Discussion Document, 2001.

6

10

11

12

16

Place

17

Community
Place

18

Image 37: Powerpoint presentation for the WCC General meeting, 2004.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The research aims for this thesis were to:

1. Analyse the WCC's implemented the Creative Class theory to gain an understanding of how it translated the theory's principles in an effort to encouraging economic growth.
2. Identify a creative ecosystem within the Wellington context that supports the forms of creativity and innovation that fall outside of the Creative Class economic value system.
3. Understand the way in which the WCC's implementation of the Creative Class theory impacts on Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.
4. Open new channels of communication between community and council to broaden the WCC's perspective of capital, assets and success so that they include Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.

Research aims 1, 2 and 3 were investigated through an in-depth literature search, qualitative observations and a critical analysis of the WCCs promotional material, while research aim 4 was addressed using an applied design process. This chapter reflects on the answers that I have gained through these methods and how they address the stated research aims.

CONCLUDING RESEARCH AIM 1

> *To analyse the Wellington City Council's implemented the Creative Class theory to gain an understanding of how it translated the theory's principles in an effort to encouraging economic growth.*

The WCC began investigating Florida's Creative Class theory in 2003 to assess the theory's potential of improving Wellington's economic growth. This led to the WCC integrating the principles of Florida's theory into their strategic vision *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital*, an initiative that influenced the council's resource policies with the aim of attracting and retaining creative people and innovative businesses. This included enhancing Wellington's physical environment to meet the lifestyle needs of the Creative Class, and on creating a business environment that fostered creative innovation.

Through conducting a literature search of WCC documents and a critical textual analysis of the WCC's promotional publication *Our Wellington: a great place to live, work and play, 2004 – 2005* (van Grondelle, 2004), I concluded that the types of creative people and innovative businesses that the WCC prioritised in this strategic vision were ones that had high revenue earning potential. These included businesses with strong export or growth capabilities such as IT, software development, and research and development facilities. I found that many of the resource policies that were implemented to enhance local events, environments, and infrastructure in an effort to attract the Creative Class had an economic bias. These included initiatives that supported and promoted inner city developments, high media profile events and family orientated attractions aimed at a mainstream audience.

My conclusion was that the WCC's definition of what constituted creativity, innovation and an environmental asset was driven by their motivation to encourage economic growth. This definition also reflected the Creative Class theory's value system that defines success in terms of financial gains.

CONCLUDING RESEARCH AIM 2

Identify a creative ecosystem within the Wellington context that supports the forms of creativity and innovation that fall outside of the Creative Class economic value system.

My thesis concluded that the inner city suburb of Te Aro is Wellington's creative ecosystem and that it supports the forms of creativity and innovation that fall outside of the Creative Class economic value system.

I drew this conclusion by conducting a case study of Te Aro and its physical and social characteristics. This process utilised primary research methods including personal observations and referencing the comments of artists, businesses and local politicians found in the WCC's Te Aro discussion document (2001). I then drew comparisons between Te Aro's physical and social characteristics and Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem and Jacobs' conditions for encouraging diversity and creativity.

Through this process I demonstrated that Te Aro was an authentic, established suburb with affordable accommodation that supports creative practices and small innovative businesses. I also demonstrated that Te Aro was home to a large concentration of Wellington's entertainment venues, a diverse mix of small businesses, and a diverse range of people who are drawn to the area for different purposes, at different times of the day. These characteristics all contributed to Te Aro providing the diverse lifestyle options, cultural diversity, and tolerant attitudes that Florida argues are necessary in meeting the values and lifestyle needs of the Creative Class.

CONCLUDING RESEARCH AIM 3

Understand the way in which the Wellington City Council's implementation of the Creative Class theory impacts on Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.

As outlined in my conclusion for research aim 1, the WCC's interpretation of the Creative Class theory defined creative success in terms of financial gains and prioritised forms of creativity and innovation that had high revenue earning potential. This definition ignores the contribution of alternative creative practices and small innovative businesses that are not economically successful. I found that as a consequence the needs of such creative practices and innovative businesses were not considered in the policies derived from the WCC's implementation of the Creative Class theory. These needs included access to affordable leases and established, multi-use environments that offer diverse lifestyle and cultural options.

Another consequence was that Te Aro's contribution in meeting the environmental and economic needs of alternative forms of creativity and innovation were not considered as being beneficial within the WCC's implementation of the Creative Class theory. Therefore, the WCC provided no support to enhance Te Aro's existing character or protect it from the pressures of urban development and gentrification. I found this to be evident in the WCC's actions that included granting resource consents to an influx of inner city developments that sought to take advantage of Te Aro's cheap real estate and growing popularity. It also included actively supporting the Wellington inner city by-pass, a 700m stretch of road that cut through a historically and culturally significant part of Te Aro.

I concluded that these actions negatively impacting on Te Aro's existing character by permitting the destruction, relocation and development of many of the area's original buildings. My research indicated that this in turn negatively impacted on the low and non-profitable forms of creativity and small innovative businesses that Te Aro supported by affecting the areas affordability, diversity, authenticity and uniqueness.

I believe that in the long term this will have a serious impact on Te Aro's creative networks and Wellington's creative dynamic by forcing creative and innovative individuals to move from the inner-city to find accommodation in the outer suburbs. This dispersion will reduce the chance social encounters and the sharing of ideas that translate into businesses and creative opportunities, which in turn enables Wellington's local creative culture to thrive.

CONCLUDING RESEARCH AIM 4

> *Open new channels of communication between community and council to broaden the Wellington City Council's perspective of capital, assets and success so that they include Wellington's creative ecosystem and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.*

An opportunity to address this research aim came through the voluntary organisation Save Our Streets whose objective was to persuade the WCC to enforce resource requirements that enhanced Te Aro's existing creative character. To achieve this SOS proposed that they act as a channel of communication to convey the opinions and expertise of the Te Aro community to the WCC. The aim of this was to broaden the WCC's perspective of capital, assets and success to include Te Aro and the forms of creativity and innovation that it supports.

To succeed in opening this channel of communication SOS, and their objective, had to be positioned in a way that was relevant to the needs of both the individuals with a vested interest in Te Aro and the WCC. To achieve this a proposition was developed that drew off Florida's criteria for a creative ecosystem and Jacobs' conditions for diversity to highlight the unique way in which Te Aro's existing character supported creative practices, small innovative businesses and a diverse variety of cultural scenes. The strategy also emphasised the way in which Te Aro contributed to Wellington's creative dynamic and provided the type of environment desired by the creative class. In doing so it contextualised Te Aro as an asset in the WCC's *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy.

This proposition was translated through a graphic design led strategy that raised awareness about the SOS campaign, provided a focal point that individuals could align themselves with, and communicated a call to action requesting individuals to support SOS's recommendations. In order to resonate with both audiences I presented the message in a way that was inclusive, open to interpretation, and in which the audiences were implicated. Together the design outputs functioned as a brand identity and contributed to the following list of outcomes:

- The SOS campaign gained considerable media coverage including articles in the *Dominion Post* (August 5 2004, p. A6), community newspapers *The Wellingtonian* (September 2, 2004, p.2), *Cook Strait News* (August 9, 2004, p.7) and *Capital Times* (August 4, 2004, p. 3; August 25, 2004, p. 3) and in the national magazine *Staple* (issue 7, 2004, p.26).
- The SOS tee shirts proved to be extremely popular, selling over 1000 units. This was a significant number considering that they were only retailed through three stores within Te Aro. The tee shirts also raised awareness through the media coverage they received, featuring on the premier New Zealand art show *Frontline* on TV One that discussed their social and political contribution, and in the *Dominion Post's* fashion and culture sections (August 12, 2004, p. D2; October 7, 2004, p. D3).
- SOS motivated community action with 400 businesses and individuals that had a vested interest in Te Aro becoming active members of SOS.
- SOS, and their recommendations, were endorsed by Wellington City Councillor Brian Pepperell and mayoral candidate Tim O'Brien in the 2004 mayoralty elections. Brian Pepperell again used SOS's recommendations as a platform for his 2007 Mayoral bid.
- SOS contributed to a shift in the relationship between community and council with the WCC inviting input from SOS on issues regarding urban development and heritage issues.

As far as the recommendations of SOS being translated into action they were unsuccessful in preventing the Wellington inner-city by-pass, which was completed in 2007. However, it can be argued that without the campaign Transit New Zealand and the WCC would have not been so sympathetic in their actions when building the road. Such actions included the relocation and renovation of historically significant buildings and beautifying the road's route to minimise its impact on the surrounding community.

Other areas of change in the relationship between community and council, and in the council's prioritisation of creative and cultural resources are implied in the WCC Annual report 05/06. While the influence of SOS on these proposed policy changes is hard to validate there are clear parallels between the WCC's initiatives and the recommendations put forward by SOS. These changes included:

- Acknowledging that 91% of Wellington residents think heritage buildings and other heritage features add to the city's character.
- Implementing district plan changes that aim to balance heritage protection with demand for development. If adopted resource consents will be required for demolition or substantial renovations of homes built before 1930.
- Implementing district plan changes that ensure that 'the city develops in a way that takes account of its natural environment and unique urban character' (p.5).
- Setting up Toi Poneke – the Wellington Arts Centre located just off Cuba Street that provides an affordable environment for artistic exploration.

These are positive steps towards preserving Wellington's unique character and supporting Wellington's creative practices. They are also positive steps in creating the type of environment desired by the Creative Class, legitimising and supporting the WCC's *Creative Wellington – Innovation Capital* strategy. However, the long-term success, and more importantly the vigilance in which these policies are translated into action are yet to be seen and provide an interesting topic of investigation for future research projects.

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