

An Exploratory Study on Creative City from the Citizen's Point of View

Kuang-Hui PENG and Yuang-Miao YANG



Kuang-Hui PENG, National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan

Dr. Kuang-Hui PENG graduated from The University of Manchester in UK. He is a Professor of urban design in the Graduate Institute of Architecture and Urban Design, National Taipei University of Technology, and the President of Taiwan Institute of Urban Planning. He has been involved in various types of projects including urban design and planning, green community planning and disaster prevention, housing and new town development. Contact: khpeng@mail.ntut.edu.tw



Yuang-Miao YANG, National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan

Yuang-Miao YANG is pursuing a doctoral degree at the College of Design, in National Taipei University of Technology. Her research focuses on the relationship among creative cities, creative industries and the citizens' views based on her interest in creative cities and creative partnership in the development of creative incubator work spaces and clusters to support business development. Yang is a Special Assistant to Publisher and Transitional Director of Global Views Survey Research Center at Commonwealth Publishing Group, Taiwan. Contact: cdnyym@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In the development of the concept of creative city, there has been scant attention to the views of its citizens despite the fact that urban residents are the core element of a city and an important driver of urban development. It is therefore imperative that we reconstruct the concept of creative city from the citizen's point of view. The study uses literature analysis and the Delphi Method to reassess the meaning behind the concepts of creative city and compare the traditional creative city's vision with the creative city from the citizen's point of view. The study finds that the concept of creative city which takes into account the views of its citizens has important differences in comparison with the traditional concept of creative city. When the views of citizens are incorporated into the creative city, it is easier to create consensus on the developmental phase and professional prejudices are reduced when planning the creative city.

Keywords: Creative city, Citizen's point of view, Delphi Method

1. INTRODUCTION

In the 1990s, the idea of the creative city became central to urban regeneration. Efforts were being made by each city to differentiate itself from its competitors and recreate its economic competitiveness (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). The definition of a 'city' changes according to the economic, political, and environmental development. The Dictionary of Human Geography (Gregory, 2009) gives a precise and clear description of a city as "an urban demographic, economic and above all political and jurisdictional unit, usually bigger than a town" (p. 85).

Previous research (Hall, 1998; Glaeser, Kolko, & Saiz, 2001; Miles, 2005; Hospers, 2003; Krätke, 2001) has pointed out that in the cumulative process of wealth creation, social progress, and development of quality of life, 'creativity' plays an indispensable role. In practice, many cities have begun actively building towards the goal of becoming a creative city. In 2004, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established the "Creative Cities Network" to help each member city to develop into a 'creative city'.

A review of the existing literature shows that there has been hardly any attempt to assess the 'creative city' from the perspective of the citizen. Although van Geenhuizen and Nijkamp (2012) defined the creative cities from different angles, most of current research on creative cities apparently fails to recognize the views of citizens as an important factor that should be considered in developing creative cities despite the fact that urban residents are the core element of any city and an important driver of urban development. Therefore, we believe that it is imperative to construct a framework to analyze creative city with the citizen's point of view as its starting point. In order to produce a plan for the development of a creative city that can genuinely win the support and satisfy the demands of its citizens, it is essential to begin from the citizen's point of view. The citizen's point of view refers to the citizens' effort in promoting the development of creative cities by expressing their opinions and

participating in the cities' affairs. City leaders and planners must work from the citizen's point of view to ensure that their plans resonate with the wider population and the development reflect the aspirations of ordinary citizens.

Hall (1998) argued that a city is the crystallization of human civilization, the cradle of culture, and that most of human creative achievements are related to the city. Urban living is now also the main form of human habitation. Figures from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) show that in 2008, the population living in cities overtook the population living in rural areas, exceeding 50% of the world's population for the first time. By 2030, it is expected that at least five billion of people will live in cities, and that the number of cities with a population of over one million will increase from 175 in 1995 and 241 in 2000 to 358 in 2015. Saunders (2011) predicts that by the end of the twenty-first century, human beings will have become a fully urbanized species, showing the closeness and importance of the city in people's lives. In the 'century of cities', our planet is moving towards a 'New Urban World', as more people move from rural areas towards an 'urban way of life' characterized by a specific and local identity, to seek promising socio-economic opportunities (Nijkamp & Kourtit, 2012). However, with the rapid emergence of cities, urban development is facing some severe challenges, such as the competitive pressures brought about by globalization, the decline of the traditional sector, and deterioration in quality of life. In the face of these shifting problems, there is a need for new ways of thinking to provide feasible solutions.

In recent years, the concept of 'creative city' has emerged as a new way of thinking widely used in discussion of city development around the world. Aside from the developed cities in the West, emerging cities in Asia have launched scale urban planning schemes with the aim to expand economic growth. In one city after another, the goal of 'building a creative city' has been included in the urban development policy. It is worth emphasizing that the 'creative city' is not only an abstract concept. The process of realizing a creative city takes place in the context of a number

of important factors such as the environment, natural ecology, social and cultural change, and the citizens who live in the city. A success example of realizing one creative city might not necessarily be applicable to another city, and it could even have the opposite effect to the one intended, meaning that the good intentions to develop the creative city are lost.

In terms of urban composition, urban residents are the core element of any city and an important driver of urban development. When the lifeblood of the city comes from private innovation, this means that the creativity of a city lies in its people. Landry (2005) argues that in many cases, citizen participation in the public policy decision-making processes has gradually been taken more seriously. In contrast to creativity at the individual or organizational level, organizing creativity in a city level means bringing together groups, organizations, and stakeholders with different backgrounds, aspirations, potential, and cultural attributes. Therefore, in order to realize a creative city, it is essential to remain close to the locus of the city development by incorporating the points of view of its citizens. In other words, to deliver a unique creative city, city leaders must both work within the context of city's existing cultural, social, ecological, and economic development, and at the same time, involve the public in the process (Lin, 2010).

Although previous studies (see for example Ting, 2005; Tseng, 2008) have expounded a theoretical framework for the development of creative cities, a review of the existing literature shows that very little effort has been made to study creative cities from the perspective of its citizens despite the importance of citizens' role as the core of any city. It is therefore imperative that we reconstruct the concept of the creative city from a citizen's point of view. The results of our research can be useful reference for city leaders and planners, ensuring that the city develops in a direction that commands public support and increasing public consensus on the creative city development.

This study uses Literature Analysis to review the concepts, features, and context of creative cities and citizen's participation and the Delphi Method

to identify the characteristics of creative city that incorporates the citizen's point of view.

This exploratory study integrates the citizen's point of view into the development of creative cities and seeks to clarify the concept and development context of creative and to find the characteristics of creative city which are able to respond to citizen's point of view.

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 2 is a review of the literature, Section 3 explains the research method, and Section 4 tries to construct the features of the creative city that incorporates the citizen's point of view. Finally, we present the findings and conclusions of the study and point out interesting issues for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

With the advent of the era of globalization, a number of cities have become important connecting points in global economic activity and competition between cities has steadily increased. The presence or absence of creativity has become an important determinant of city competitiveness. This section reviews the relevant literature to gain an understanding of the basic concept of the creative city, context and types of creative city development, and indices for measuring creative cities. This study examines previous research on urban citizens and seeks to understand the idea about the citizen's point of view.

2.1 The Concept and Development of the Creative City

Over time, the settlements that first emerged as a function of group life gradually expanded into townships and cities. Mumford (1938) stated that cities take on a particular form that bears the marks of human civilization.

Faced with the effects of globalization, the idea of city as the main body of competition was put forward by Michael Porter. Porter (1995) believes that the competition among cities is more intense than competition between countries. The 2011 United Nations Report "World Urbanization Prospects" responded to these trends; between 2011 and 2050, global population will grow by 2.3 billion while the number of urban residents will increase by 2.6 billion. By 2050, the population

of urban residents will match the entire world population in 1950. The competition between different cities has given rise to debates between globalization and localization advocates. Hospers et al. (2003) indicated that in order to resolve the contradictions between globalization and localization, a city must be creative to effectively highlight its character.

The development of the concept and context of the creative city can be traced back to Mumford's (1938) work in the humanities describing the origin and development of creative cities. Mumford's multidisciplinary work on urban development produced a number of pioneering perspectives that led the way for future research. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs (1961) advocates that urban creativity must emerge locally and puts forward a number of challenging theses, most notably that the source of wealth is not nations, but cities. Jacobs' point of view on the one hand establishes the economic status of the city, but also enshrines 'diversity' as the driving force of the city's creativity. Her work laid an important theoretical foundation for work on creative cities.

However, the creative city only started to receive attention beginning in the 1990s. In 1995, Landry and Bianchini found that cultural and artistic activities can lead to urban regeneration while Porter (1995) looks at creative competitiveness from a governance perspective. Subsequently, Hall (1998) pointed out that historically human innovation has emerged from the city. He argued that the golden age of the city has arrived. The rise of cultural industries and the development of the global city show the continued progress of the urban civilization in the information age. These developments will also have a major impact on the economy, families, and civil society.

Landry (2000) has identified specific strategies to produce the creative city. His focus is on the severe structural problems in contemporary urban development, such as the decline of traditional industries, the lack of a collective sense of belonging, deterioration of the quality of life, and the threats and challenges arising from globalization. Landry argues that these problems

can only be resolved using creative methods. Florida (2002) argues that in the twenty-first century, city-based creative groups have already developed into a 'creative class'. Florida's main thesis is based on the creative class driving urban industrial development to create a 'creative city'. In contrast to the 'working class' and 'service class' whose work is almost entirely planned, the 'creative class' is dedicated to producing new ideas, technology, and content. Florida (2002) believes that an environment that embraces technology, tolerance, and talent (the 3T) is most able to attract creative manpower to relocate and thereby achieve the goal of a competitive 'creative city'. Accordingly, producing an environment that is suitable for the creative class to live and work and can therefore attract creative talent is a crucial goal in urban development. In addition, Hospers (2003) points out that creativity can effectively highlight the character of a city and defines the values of creative city development.

2.2 Development Typology for the Creative City

By examining the history of the creative city, Hall (1998) identified three periods in the development of creative cities – the technological-productive innovation period, the cultural-intellectual innovation period, and the cultural-technological innovation period.

(1) **Technological-productive innovation:** the examples of this period are Manchester industrial revolution in the 1770s, machine industry in Glasgow in the 1840s, and industrial design in Berlin in the 1870s.

(2) **Cultural-intellectual innovation:** for example, the Hollywood (Los Angeles) in the 1920s and the revolutionary impact of Elvis Presley (Memphis) on the music industry in the 1950s.

(3) **Cultural-technological innovation:** using information technology to bring art and technology together and creating new value-added services.

Based on the perspectives of Hospers, Landry, and others, Yeh (2010) presents his own observations on creative cities. The concept of the creative city requires that city planners broaden their knowledge and vision to reimagine

the urban living experience; at the same time, it encourages citizens to exercise their imagination and creativity, and collaborate and participate in city planning. Creative cities will evolve their own features based on local conditions and cultural differences. Using this theoretical framework, cities are categorized into four types: technological-innovative, cultural-intellectual, cultural-technological, and technological-organizational cities.

Member cities of the UNESCO “Creative Cities Network” each have their own distinct features. There are currently 30 member cities around the world in seven creative industry fields (UNESCO, 2012). The origin of ‘creativity’ in each city is different, as shown by Table 1. This development shows that the ‘creative city’ is already an important factor in determining the direction of industrial and economic development in the world network of cities.

Although the development of the city network described above appears to be self-contained, Landry (2005) has stressed that the key to urban regeneration lies in the overall innovativeness of the city. For this reason, any city has the chance of becoming a creative city. This also implies that there are many types of innovation opportunities in the creative city and that it is possible that previous research on categories of the creative city failed to account for all the development possibilities of the creative city.

2.3 Measurement Indicators of Creative Cities

Hall (2000) and Lin (2010) point out that when

researching creative cities, it is necessary to pay attention to three urban characteristics: industrial clustering, structural instability, and diversity. They define the characteristic of a creative city as a high degree of social and intellectual hybridity as opposed to a comfortable and peaceful place. Landry (2000) points out that the formation of the creative city requires creative milieu including environmental stimuli and cultural diversity. Landry also puts forward tools and strategies for developing creative cities, increasing the feasibility of creative cities. Following on from Landry’s theoretical innovation, Hospers (2003) proposes three key elements that can aid the formation of the creative city: concentration, diversity, and instability.

Florida (2002) believes that when competing in the global market, attracting ‘creative talent’ is an important factor in urban economic development. In order to measure the creative abilities of cities, he proposes a ‘creativity index’ consisting of four equally weighted factors: creative talent, innovation index, high tech industry index, and diversity index.

Glaeser (2005) believes that Florida’s creative capital theory is a traditional human resources capital theory. However, he argues that the forces at work attracting creative talent and promoting economic development are the ‘Three S’: skills, sun, and sprawl.

Landry (2000) puts forward a measurement index for creative cities covering four dimensions: the economic dimension, the social dimension,

Table 1 UNESCO Creative Cities Network

‘Creative’ Field	Creative City (Country)
City of Literature	Edinburgh (UK), Melbourne (Australia), Iowa City (US), Dublin (Ireland) and Reykjavik (Iceland)
City of Film	Bradford (UK) and Sydney (Australia)
City of Music	Seville (Spain), Bologna (Italy), Glasgow (UK), Ghent (Belgium) and Bogota (Colombia)
City of Crafts and Folk Art	Santa Fe (US), Aswan (Egypt), Kanazawa (Japan) and Icheon (Korea)
City of Design	Buenos Aires (Argentina), Berlin (Germany), Montréal (Canada), Nagoya (Japan), Kobe (Japan), Shenzhen (China), Shanghai (China), Seoul (Korea), Saint-Étienne (France) and Graz (Austria)
City of Media Arts	Lyon (France)
City of Gastronomy	Popayán (Columbia), Chengdu (China) and Östersund (Sweden)

Source: UNESCO, 2012

the environmental dimension, and the cultural dimension. Landry also proposes nine indicators to evaluate the vitality and dynamism of the creative city: critical mass, diversity, accessibility, safety and security, identity and distinctiveness, innovativeness, linkage and synergy, competitiveness, and organizational capacity.

In summary, Landry established an important theoretical basis for the creative city. Florida's main thesis is the 'creative class', which drives industrial development and builds the 'creative city'. At the same time, an environment that possesses the '3T' (technology, tolerance, and talent) is in the best position to attract creative talent to relocate and realize a competitive 'creative city'.

In addition, Yeh's (2010) review of the work on creative cities shows that most research in the area is still at the stage of outlining concepts. Only a few studies have tried to researched indices of creative cities, and there is a lack of systematic indicators to assess the competitiveness of creative cities. Studies in this area, including Ting (2005), Liang (2007), and Tseng (2008) are still primarily based on the evaluation indicators suggested by Florida and Landry.

2.4 Civil Rights, Citizenship, and the Creative City: City for Citizens

This study was initially conceived from the proposition that the culture of a creative city is formed through the attitudes and styles of its residents. As 'people' are the drivers of a creative city, any city that aspires to become a creative city requires their recognition and support. On this basis, this section reviews existing studies on civil rights and the city for citizens.

As early as 1938, Wirth defined a city as a large, heterogeneous population concentrated in one place, allowing for new forms of interaction between people. This definition formed an important basis for the idea of the city formed by its citizens. In 1958, Jacobs published the influential essay *Downtown is for the People*, revealing the civic spirit of the city. In 1968, Lefebvre described the 'right to the city' as 'the summation of other crucial rights', including the

right not to be excluded from one's daily living space, and the right not to be deprived of social, economic, and political goods (Carrasco, 2010; Hsu, 2011).

Shen (2002) believes that the citizenship in the West is related to a social structure dominated by the bourgeoisie. This idea of citizenship includes the linked concepts of the citizen and denizen. Civil society is a bottom up social arrangement that is free of state control and where groups can express their common ideas. However, the objective of civil society is influencing government policy rather than winning political power for itself (Diamond, 1994).

Heater (1990) identifies five forms of citizenship: (1) participatory/democratic, (2) conservative/elite, (3) totalitarian/manipulative, (4) nationalist/integrative, and (5) world/ universal.

Shen (2002) argues that the above classification provides a comprehensive and wide-ranging account of citizenship. In order to create a city for citizens, Hsia, Cheng, Chen, & Tai (2002) believes that rational and independent problem analysis, citizen participation, and policy debate are required. They define cities as the spatial formation of a specific culture, or a specific form of social organization and cultural expression. From case analysis, they map out the process of achieving a city for citizens, identifying four necessary features: (1) territorial identification with the community, (2) realizing urban use value, (3) citizen participation, (4) identifying with local culture.

However, Sun (2009) takes a grassroots perspective, arguing that the city for citizens highlights the public's hoped for vision of the city space. This perspective includes: (1) a democratic and self-governing city incorporating political participation and citizens' self-governance; (2) a city order constructed based on interest for citizens; (3) production of space based on the everyday practices and space of citizens.

Based on different perspectives from the research cited above, we categorize the possible connotations of the city for citizens in Table 2.

Table 2 Connotations of the City for Citizens

Dimension	Connotations
Citizens	(1) Territorial identification with the community (2) Consensus on the public interest
Political participation	(1) Citizen participation (2) Citizen self-government and democratic self-government
Political objectives	(1) Realizing urban use value (2) Citizen action and everyday life objectives

In a city for citizens, citizens play a key role in promoting prosperity, social stability, and self-realization. Citizen creativity is defined as applying an ability to solve problems to achieve public objectives. This opportunity often exists at the juncture between private interest and public aspirations. The creation of a civic consciousness always involves some form of politics, developing the potential of the collective community and working partnerships between different organizations, promoting individual growth, social cohesion, and well as building a happy and sustainable city (Longworth, 2006).

In practice, the creative city is a rich strategy. A broad range of approaches exists for developing an imaginative and smart city. By being aware of the city's potential resources, competitive advantage can be found in the seemingly insignificant. Making something out of nothing and turning weakness into strengths is both a rich and complex process that relies on the creativity of the city's people (Landry, 2006).

The studies mentioned above demonstrate the close relationship between citizens and creative cities. However, previous research has not examined this relationship in detail.

In recent years, theory on urban creativity has gained widespread acceptance among city leaders across the world. However, many scholars have questioned whether the focus on the mobility and clustering of and competition for human talent can deliver harmonious urban development (Gibson & Klocker, 2004; Markusen, 2006; Scott, 2006; Gibson & Kong, 2005). In particular, Florida's concept of the creative class has attracted debate since the success of government policies to produce a clustering of talent can only be demonstrated empirically over a period.

Markusen (2006) believes that Florida's theory fails to analyze the cultural industry production system or its labor market. Scott (2006) further criticizes Florida's perspective, arguing that there is no causal logic between a diverse and dynamic cultural environment and attracting creative talent, and encouraging cultural consumption areas in the city is not the most important means of attracting creative talent. In contrast, understanding the cultural industry production system and providing employment opportunities and mechanisms to start businesses is fundamental to maintaining local work and living opportunities for workers in creative industries.

Sun (2009) argues that in the history of the city, 'the city for citizens' was the first type of creative city to emerge after World War Two. From a grassroots perspective, the city for citizens projects a citizen's view of a desired urban space. In other words, the citizen's city is one type of creative city.

Bell and de-Shalit (2011) argue that city residents typically believe that the city they live in represents a particular set of values, and the city reflects and shapes the values of its citizens. An outsider's evaluation of a city is also a judgment on the lifestyles of its residents. Bell and de-Shalit stress that civicism is a sense of pride in the city. Their research proposes six factors that can help develop civicism: (1) equal distribution of wealth in the city or low occurrence of serious conflict between different groups, (2) no serious external threat of war, (3) external pressure on citizen's sense of identity, (4) the city has governing capacity, (5) leading urban planners, (6) special features or markers.

A review of the literature has shown that the development of creative cities has already become an important issue, and gradually developed a set of assessment criteria. On the other hand, civil rights and the concept of the 'city for citizens' have also become a focus for discussion. However, even if we all agree that citizens are a vital component of the city, we still have not found a way to incorporate the citizen's point of view into research on creative cities.

3. METHODOLOGY

Currently, a number of methods are available to select the characteristics of creative city, such as the Delphi method, grey relational analysis (GRA), and the weighted average of expert assessments. It is generally believed that the weighting used for expert averages lacks objectivity, while GRA can only distinguish the importance between different factors and is unable to show if the correlation is positive or negative. Although the Delphi Method is relatively time-consuming, subjective, and vulnerable to the influence of extreme views, it is relatively simple to operate. Therefore, this study uses the Delphi method to determine the characteristics of creative cities from the citizen's point of view.

3.1 Delphi Method

Delphi is an expert opinion survey method, which is based on a group of experts making systematic, iterative forecasts. The method was developed by Dalkey (1969) of the RAND Corporation. Its main purpose is to obtain the consensus of groups of experts, to seek a consistent opinion on a specific forecast. This method does not only rely on collective wisdom, but also takes into account the quality of individual judgments made by experts. It has been widely used in scientific and technological forecasting, program planning, public policy analysis, innovative education systems, and other areas. When using the Delphi Method, the following points should be observed: (1) Experts should be asked to anonymously and independently answer questions; (2) The average results should be reported to the experts; (3) Ask

experts to discuss the feedback results; (4) Repeat the preceding steps until specific and consistent position is obtained.

3.2 Composition of the Delphi Expert Panel

Since this study is focused on identifying the characteristics of the citizen's point of view, experts were required to possess the following qualifications: (1) Familiarity with the issues of the citizen's point of view and the creative city, (2) Expertise in research on participation in the creative industries; (3) Posses forward-looking ideas and analytical skills; (4) Supports and recognizes the importance of the research topic, and willing to be interviewed; (5) Ability to complete the questionnaire during the survey period. We invited six respondents to form the decision-making group. The respondents were from different fields, but all satisfied the required qualifications. The reasons for the selection of each of the group members are summarized in Table 3. The survey was carried out between March 10 and May 10, 2012. Two rounds of questionnaire were used to obtain a consensus.

4. INCORPORATING THE CITIZEN'S VIEW POINTS INTO THE FEATURES OF CREATIVE CITIES

In order to identify the features of the creative city that incorporates the citizen's point of view, this study compiles the views of a number of scholars including Landry and Florida. This study employed the Delphi Method to find a consensus between six experts and scholars on the features of the creative city that incorporate the citizen's point of view.

Table 3 Basic Information on Decision Group Members

Dimension	Connotations
A Key staff member of former mayor	Has previously acted as important staff member for mayor of direct-controlled municipality, familiar with democratic governance
B High level media executive	Has planned several evaluations of creative cities, highly respected influential opinion leader
C University professor	Has organized forums on the creative city for many years, very familiar with the development of creative cities
D Director of creative enterprise	Important promoter of Taiwan's creative industry, promoted creative products in different cities with frequent success
E Pollster	Long experience in opinion polling, familiar with citizens' views on public policy
F City resident	Lived in Taipei for many years, familiar with the city's long-term development

Source: compiled by the authors

4.1 The Features of the Creative City

Landry (2000) argues that creative cities cover four dimensions: the economic dimension, the social dimension, the environmental dimension, and the cultural dimension. Landry also proposes nine indicators to evaluate the creative city. Florida (2005) proposes the 'Three T' creative environment theory, stressing that the right environment must be created before the talent arrives. In other words, in terms of the prioritization when producing the creative city, although attracting human talent needs to be taken seriously, it is not the only consideration.

Hsia et al. (2002) use actual case analysis to define the features of a city for citizens, including: territorial identification with the community, realizing urban use value, citizen participation, identifying with local culture. This perspective appears to cover a broader range of citizen views and perspectives.

Bell and de-Shalit (2011) argue that city residents typically believe that the city they live in represents a particular set of values, and the cities also form citizen's values. Out of the six factors that can help develop civicism, external pressure on citizen's sense of identity and special features or markers have direct relation to the citizen's point of view.

From the review above, it is clear that the existing literature contains a number of citizen points of view. However, at present the literature is lacking a coherent account of these views. This study compiles 26 features of the creative city from the existing literature, including: talent, technology, tolerance (Florida, 2002), critical mass, diversity, accessibility, safety and security, identity and distinctiveness, innovativeness, linkage and synergy, competitiveness, organizational capacity (Landry, 2000), equal wealth distribution, infrequent occurrence of serious group conflict, no serious external threat of war, external pressure on citizens' identity, governing capacity, possession of leading urban planners, special features or markers (Bell & de-Shalit, 2011), territorial identification with the community, realizing city values, citizen participation (Hsia et al., 2002), a local production system based on the

concept of the 'creative field' and a labor market to attract creative workers (Scott, 2006), political participation, a city order constructed based on interest for citizens, and production space based on the everyday practices and space of citizens (Sun, 2009).

This study complements the features of creative cities from the existing literatures with four additional items: (1) the health and balance of human life and urban ecology, (2) dynamic adjustment according to local ecological features, cultures, needs, and resources, (3) priority to public participation, and (4) design-driven innovation. These thirty features of creative city formed the basis of our subsequent analysis.

4.2 Questionnaire Analysis

This study uses the Delphi Method to look for consensus on the features of the creative city that incorporates the citizen's point of view. The questionnaire uses Likert's five-point scale to measure responses to each item from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Each item is scored from 5 to 1.

The questionnaire's contents are based on the thirty features of creative city. Two PhD students first carried out a pilot test, which resulted in some minor changes to the draft.

Before carrying out the questionnaire, it was first stressed to all members of the decision-making group that their main task was to identify features of the creative city that incorporated the citizen's point of view. At the same time, we prepared a reference guide on the creative city and citizen's point of view as well as providing supplementary materials when requested by respondents of the Group. The respondents were then asked to provide written answers and return the questionnaires within two weeks. For items where no consensus was reached, the second round of the questionnaire was carried out. For the second round, we used email to inform respondents and ask for direct responses in order to speed up the process of gathering ideas.

We gathered the first wave of responses on March 29, 2012. Analysis of the questionnaires showed that the key level of consensus value had already

Table 4 Delphi Round One and Round Two Reorganization and Analysis

Features of the Creative City	First round Consensus on Level of Importance Value	First Round Suggestions for Reorganization	Second round Consensus on Level of Importance Value	Consensus on Level of Importance Order*
Diversity	5.00	Included in the talent dimension	--	(1)
Tolerance	4.83	Included in the talent dimension	--	(2)
Health and balance of human life and urban ecology	4.83	Included in the vision dimension	--	(2)
Priority to public participation	4.83	Included in the management dimension	--	(2)
Technology	4.50	Included in the management dimension, and revised to “using technology to make the city into a learning center.”	--	(5)
A local production system based on the concept of the “creative field” and a labor market to attract creative workers	4.50	Included in the management dimension, and revised to “A local production system and labor market based on the concept of the ‘creative field.’”	--	(5)
Linkage and synergy	No convergence	Included in the management dimension	4.33	(7)
Production space based on the everyday actions and lifestyles of citizens.	No convergence	Included in the management dimension	4.33	(7)
Critical mass	No convergence	Included in the talent dimension	4.17	(9)
Identity and distinctiveness	No convergence	Included in the talent dimension	4.17	(9)
Possession of leading urban planners	No convergence	Included in the talent dimension and revised to “the vision of urban planners”	4.17	(9)
Realizing city values	No convergence	Included in the vision dimension and revised to “realizing the values of the creative city”	4.17	(9)
Design-driven innovation	No convergence	Included in the management dimension	4.00	(13)

Features of the Creative City	First round Consensus on Level of Importance Value	First Round Suggestions for Reorganization	Second round Consensus on Level of Importance Value	Consensus on Level of Importance Order*
Dynamic adjustment of needs and resources based on the ecological features and local culture	No convergence	--	3.50	14
Innovativeness	3.50	--	--	14
Equal distribution of the city's wealth	No convergence	--	3.50	14
Special features or markers	No convergence	--	3.50	14
Territorial identification with the community	No convergence	--	3.33	18
Competitiveness	No convergence	--	3.33	18
Safety and security	No convergence	--	3.33	18
External pressure on citizens' identity	No convergence	--	3.17	21
City order constructed based on interest for citizens	No convergence	--	3.17	21
Political participation	No convergence	--	2.83	23
Organizational capacity	2.83	--	--	23
Accessibility	No convergence	--	2.67	25
Infrequent occurrence of serious group conflict	No convergence	--	2.67	25
Governing capacity	No convergence	--	1.83	27
No serious external threat of war	1.83	--	--	27
Public participation.	No convergence	Merged with priority to public participation	--	--
Talent	No convergence	Re-classified as a dimension	--	--

* The numbers in brackets show the consensus value that is above the threshold value of this study (4.0)

been reached on eight items. However, consensus was not reached on a total of twenty-two items. In addition, some experts suggested reorganizing or revising the existing items as well as adding new dimensions. Based on these recommendations, the above items were reorganized, and dimensions for personnel, management, and vision were also added. After these revisions, the final second wave of the questionnaire was produced.

Each of the twenty-two assessment criteria on different dimensions that did not achieve

convergence in the first round was added to the second round questionnaire. A total of four respondents provided revised information for the second round of the questionnaire. After the data from the second wave of the questionnaire was gathered, it was found that the important level of consensus had been reached on all twenty-two questionnaire items. In addition, respondents accepted each of the proposed three dimensions. The important level of consensus for each of the thirty items is listed in descending order in Table 4.

In order to achieve a high level of consensus on each item, Table 4 sets a benchmark for the consensus on the level of importance. When the consensus value is above the threshold, the item is retained. Since the setting of the threshold level is subjective, if the level of the threshold is set too high, the number of items selected will be very small; but if it is set too low, the opposite will occur. From a review of the existing literature, we discovered that the threshold value is normally set between 3.5 and 4.0. Looking at the consensus on level of importance in this survey, Table 5 shows 13 items where consensus on the level of importance is at 4.0 or above. There is a large gap between the 13th placed item (consensus value 4.00) and the 14th placed item (consensus value 3.50). Therefore, this study sets the decision making group discussion agreement threshold at 4.00. To sum up, using a fuzzy Delphi method to create a consensus, the items on the features of the creative city from the citizen's point of view were reduced from the original thirty to thirteen, omitting a total of seventeen assessment criteria. At the same time, these remaining thirteen items were divided into the talent, management, and vision dimensions, as shown in Table 5.

4.3 Features and Contents of the Creative City from the Citizen's Point of View

This study applied the Delphi Method to a panel of invited experts to identify the characteristics of the creative city from the citizen's point of view. These characteristics were then divided into three dimensions: talent, management, and vision. Below we list the selected features and contents of the creative city from the citizen's point of view.

1) **Talent:** requires participation of a critical mass to form a force for consensus; diversity to produce an innovative environment; citizen recognition of the city's distinctiveness as its source of innovativeness and originality; tolerant citizens to create opportunity for creativity; the vision of planners to establish the city brand.

2) **Management:** design-driven innovation to produce the operating framework for the creative city; linkage and synergy to produce cooperation between the public and private sector; priority to public participation to produce bottom-up decision making based on citizen's point of view; a local production system based on the concept of the 'creative field' and a labor market to

Table 5 Features and Contents of the Creative City from Citizen's Point of View

Dimension	Features and Contents of the Creative City from Contents the Citizen's Point of View	
Talent	Critical mass	Driving consensus
	Diversity	Nurturing a creative environment
	Identity and distinctiveness	Source of innovation and originality
	Tolerance	Providing opportunities for creativity
	Vision of city planners	Creating a city brand in a global environment
Management	Design-driven innovation	Planning the operating framework for the creative city
	Linkage and synergy	Mutually beneficial cooperation between public and private sector
	Priority to public participation	Bottom-up decision making process
	A local production system based on the concept of the 'creative field' and a labor market	Creative workers and industry clustering
	Production space based on the everyday practices and space of citizens	Establishing creative space
Vision	Using technology to make the city into a learning center	Increasing creative abilities of citizens
	Realizing the values of the creative city	Improve urban governance performance and citizen self-realization
	Pursuing health and balance of human life and urban ecology	The ultimate goal of the creative city from the citizen's point of view

Source: Compiled by the authors

attract creative workers and industry clustering; production space based on the everyday practices and space of citizens to create a space for creativity; at the same time, apply technology to make the city into a center for learning and deliver increases in citizen's learning.

3) **Vision:** the ultimate goal of the creative city from the citizen's point of view is to achieve the values of a creative city, to improve urban governance performance, and to pursue citizen self-realization.

4.4 The Impact of the Citizen's Point of View on the Development of the Creative City

In recent years, the development of the concept of the creative city has been quite rapid and attracted increasing attention from urban leaders, becoming a guide for urban governance. However, there is a clear lack of work on the theory and practice of the creative city based on the citizen's point of view. This paper looked at number of important studies on the creative city, as well as discussing in detail the importance of the citizen's point of view. The authors hope to bring these two concepts together.

In recent years, many city leaders have started promoting the development of the creative city. However, in these efforts, the citizen's point of view has been left out. All countries that are promoting the creative city apparently share the same problem. When the citizen's point of view is not accounted for, creative city policies are not certain to reflect the needs of citizens, and are therefore unlikely to inspire public enthusiasm. Of course, this method of planning the development of a creative city has an elitist flavor to it and ignores the real needs of its 'customers'.

This study used the Delphi Method to identify a consensus on the features of the creative city from the citizen's point of view among academics, experts, and citizens. The study shows that the main differences between the traditional creative city and the creative city from the citizen's point of view are found in the different dimensions that need to be taken into account. Not only the talent dimension, it is also necessary to consider the dimensions of management and vision.

When compared to the traditional concept of a creative city, the creative city from the citizen's point of view is simply focused on citizens and city planners jointly realizing the values of the creative city. The ultimate objective of the creative city from the citizen point of view is health and balance of human life and urban ecology.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The creative city is a city that encourages urban development and progress by placing developing creative values at its core. Citizens create a collective memory through creative practice. The development of a creative city also becomes a part of the collective memory of a city's residents, making it a precious asset to the city. The development of the creative city also means the telling of the story of the city. Whether the story is compelling depends on the active participation of city residents in successfully creating a collective memory. When city residents become creative, organizations in the city will become creative organizations. Only at this point will the creative city genuinely emerge and the compelling city story can be told.

In this context, individuals, organizations, and the city as a whole can use their creativity to lift the vitality and developmental capacity of the city. By doing this, they drive individual, organizational, and city-wide development of the creative city.

This study reviews the relevant literature on the creative city, and hopes to incorporate the views of the most important subject of the city – its citizens – into the process of developing the creative city. The findings of this study can be summarized by the following points:

- 1) There is a close relationship between the city for citizens and the creative city. The modern city must develop with the spirit of its citizens at its core. This is a particularly important area of research in the development of the creative city.
- 2) Looking back historically, the creative ideal first appeared in the 1960s, followed by the gradual emergence of the concept of the creative city. However, the development of the idea and practice of the creative city did not come until

the first decade of the twenty-first century. At the same time, both researchers in the field and city leaders have clearly begun to focus increased attention on the development of a network of creative cities and even the construction of the infrastructure of the creative city.

3) A creative city that encompasses the citizen's point of view involves the common pursuit by both citizens and city planners to achieve the values of the creative city, with the ultimate objectives of the citizens' health and the balance of human life and urban ecology.

This study found that most existing theories and practical planning for a creative city emerged top-down on the supply side. Project-type planning fails to account for the citizen's point of view, leading to professional 'blind spots' in the formation of the creative city and reducing the likelihood that citizens will accept the plans. This means that it is necessary to resort to marketing to promote a creative city. For the development of a creative city, this is both strange and disappointing. From a review of related literature, this study incorporates the concept of citizenship, putting forward the concept of creative city from the citizen's point of view.

This perspective is hoped to resolve problems that emerge from the exclusion of citizen's participation. This study is still at the exploratory stage; subsequent research should be able to include the citizen's point of view in the construction of creative city in a larger scale. Further discussions are needed to develop an effective evaluation mechanism for the creative city from the citizen's point of view to produce better and more valuable results. In addition, follow-up studies can focus more attention on the different features of the modern creative city and the traditional creative city so that this model can be applied to more cities, producing more generalized research results and recommendations and to verify whether the composition of the decision making group is sufficient to represent the citizen's point of view.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank the editors and anonymous reviewers for their insightful

comments which had helped to considerably improve the quality of the paper.

REFERENCES

- Bell, D. A. & de-Shalit, A. (2011). *The Spirit of Cities: Why the Identity of a City Matters in a Global Age*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Bianchini, F. (1993). Remaking European Cities: The Role of Cultural Policies, in Bianchini, F. & Parkinson, M. (Eds.): *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1-20.
- Carrasco, S. (2010). *The Right to the City: Shaping the City that Makes Us*. Retrieved from <http://revista-amauta.org/2010/08/the-right-to-the-city-shaping-the-city-that-makes-us/>
- Dalkey, Norman C. (1969). *The Delphi Method: An Experimental Study of Group Opinion*. No. RM-5888-PR. Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA., USA.
- Diamond, Larry (1994). Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation, *Journal of Democracy*, 5(3), 4-17.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2005). *Cities and the Creative Class*. New York: Routledge.
- Gibson, C. & Klocker, N. (2004). Academic Publishing as "Creative" Industry, and Recent Discourse of "Creative Economies": Some Critical Reflections. *Area*, 36(4), 423-434.
- Gibson, C. & Kong, L. (2005). Cultural Economy: A Critical Review. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(5), 541-561.
- Glaeser, E. L. (2005). Review of Richard Florida's "The Rise of the Creative Class." *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Vol.35, 593-596.
- Glaeser, E. L., Kolko, J., & Saiz, A. (2001). Consumer City. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 1, 27-50.
- Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, M. J., Whatmore, S. (2009). *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th edition, John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Griffiths, R. (2006). City/Culture Discourses: Evidence from the Competition to Select the European Capital of Culture 2008. *European Planning Studies*, 14(4), 415-430.
- Hall, P. (1998). *Cities in Civilization*. London: Pantheon.
- Hall, P. (2000). Creative Cities and Economic Development. *Urban Studies*, 37(4), 639-649.
- Heater, D. (1990). *Citizenship: the Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*. New York: Longman.

- Hospers, G. J. (2003). Creative Cities: Breeding Places in the Knowledge Economy. *Knowledge, Technology & Policy*, 16(3), 143-162.
- Hsia, C. J., Cheng, L., Chen, H. C. & Tai, P. F. (2002). Toward a City for citizens: The Dali Community Movement of Taipei. *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 46,141-172.
- Hsu, W. Y. (2011). *Right to the City and Democratic Governance*. Retrieved from <http://taspaa.org/file/2011TASPAA/all/B/B4%E5%85%A8%E6%96%87.pdf>
- Lin, Charles Chin-Rong (2010). *The Innovative Region and Creative City-Visions and Urban Design Strategies for Nangang, Taipei*. Including original research work and drawings, National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage.
- Krätke, S. (2001). Berlin: Towards a Global City? *Urban Studies*, 38(10), 1777-1799.
- Landry, C. & Bianchini, F. (1995). *The Creative City*. London: Demos.
- Landry, C. (2000). *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*. London: Earthscan.
- Landry, C. (2005). Creativity and the City: Thinking through the Steps, International Forum on Creative City: The Birth of Creativity, Taipei, Taiwan.
- Landry, C. (2006). *The Art of City Making*. London/ Sterling VA: Earthscan.
- Liang, H. B. (2007). Study on Competitiveness Indicators of Cultural Creative Industry in Taiwan Cities (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Real Estate & Built Environment, National Taipei University, Taiwan.
- Longworth, N. (2006). *Learning Cities, Learning Regions, Learning Communities*. London: Routledge.
- Markusen, A. (2006). Urban Development and the Politics of a Creative Class: Evidence from a Study of Artists. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(10), 1921-1940.
- Miles, S. (2005). 'Our Tyne': iconic regeneration and the revitalisation of identity in Newcastle Gateshead, *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6), 913-926.
- Mumford, L. (1938). *Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Nijkamp, P. and Kourtit, K. (2012). The 'New Urban Europe': Global Challenges and Local Responses in the Urban Century. *European Planning Studies*, 21(3), 291-315.
- Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the Creative Class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 740-770.
- Porter, M. E. (1995). The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City. *Harvard Business Review*, May-June, 55-71.
- Saunders, D. (2011). *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History Is Reshaping Our World*. Knopf, Canada.
- Scott, A. J. (2006). Creative Cities: Conceptual Issues and Policy Questions, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(1), 1-17.
- Shen, T. R. (2002). The Historical Dialogue between Republican Citizenship and Liberalist Citizenship. *Formosan Education and Society*, 3, 1-34.
- Sun, S. (2009). City for Citizens. Retrieved from <http://blog.eslite.com/esliteforum/archives/174>.
- Ting, C. P. (2005). Analytical Research on the Relative Competitiveness in Creativity of Major Taiwanese Cities as Compared to Foreign Studies (Unpublished master's thesis). Dept. of Business Administration, National Chengchi University, Taiwan.
- Tseng, Y. Y. (2008). A Study on Assessment System of City's Creative Competitiveness- Examination in Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung (Unpublished master's thesis). Dept. of Land Management, Feng Chia University, Taiwan.
- UNESCO (2012). *The Creative Cities Network*. Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/creativity/creative-industries/creative-cities-network/who-are-the-members/>
- United Nations (2011). *World Urbanization Prospects: the 2011 Revision*. New York: United Nations.
- van Geenhuizen, M. & Nijkamp, P. (2012). *Creative Knowledge Cities – Maths, Visions and Realities*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life. *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), 1-24.
- Yeh, C. C. (2010). A Comparative Study on Cross-National Creative City Indicators System. *City Development*, 9, 111-144.

