

CREATIVE TORONTO: HARNESSING THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POWER OF ARTS & CULTURE

Shoshanah B.D. Goldberg-Miller, The Ohio State University

Abstract

Over the 2000s, Toronto initiated and instituted a process of cultivating itself as a creative city. Entrepreneurial city visionaries found that in order to enter the global market, their planning had to be strategic. This paper explores how Toronto's policy entrepreneurs used planning, partnerships, and an expanded definition of economic development to create a "Cultural Camelot." In addition to competing on the financial and revenue-generating fronts, a coalition of cross-sector leaders took on the challenge of fostering a livable city with a deep social ethos imbued within a variety of dimensions of urban life. This new focus gave Toronto the chance establish itself as a center for innovation, which strengthened urban cultural capital and helped promote the strategic agenda of becoming a competitor in the creative economy sector. Investment in research and creative city strategic planning, coupled with the allocation of financial and human capital resources across a variety of industries, served to encourage creativity, promote culture and competitiveness, and drive economic development.

Creative Toronto: Harnessing the power of arts & culture

The decade of the 2000s in Toronto was one in which there was a 'Creative Cities Coalescence,' wherein cultural policy, economic development, and state and private support came together in a window of opportunity and played highly visible roles (See Figure 1). The ability of Toronto's policy entrepreneurs to attach solutions to key problems, within both the cultural community and the municipal framework, resulted in a very visible outcome in that decade. Stakeholders, including urban planners, policymakers, elected officials and the cultural community, put forward an agenda based on a variety of planning documents with the goal of branding Toronto as a creative destination and cultural powerhouse. Through the lens of policy theory, this paper looks at the factors that coalesced to bring this goal to fruition, including the identification of an opportunity, political will, timing, and the creation of powerful alliances.



Figure 1. Toronto's Creative Cities Coalescence (Goldberg, 2012)

I examine the role of stakeholder partnerships in the municipal effort to develop Toronto

into a globally recognized creative center during the decade of the 2000s, and I ask the following questions: In what ways did Toronto's policy entrepreneurs advocating for arts and culture play a key role in reimagining a creative city? Was cultural policy tied to the ways that arts and culture gained a role on Toronto's municipal agenda in the economic development toolkit in the 2000s? What can we learn from Toronto's cultural collaborations over the decade?

In order to develop an understanding of what transpired in that decade, I developed a case study of the city using a conceptual framework that looks at six main components: what arts and culture mean; how it is manifest; leadership and stakeholder partnerships; cultural policy in the municipality; economic development using arts and culture; and the integration of these two facets in the city's strategies. Within the public and urban policy framework, there are three main phases within the policy process: agenda setting, implementation, and evaluation. Here I focus on agenda setting, and look at the ways that policy entrepreneurs or advocates were able to gain access to the municipal agenda using the arts and culture context. This is useful in understanding how proponents of arts and culture interventions can coalesce their messages, leverage stakeholder partnerships, and gain access to key policymakers and municipal actors in order to realize their goals and affect policy change.

I utilize a powerful policy theory called Agenda Setting Theory, which lies within the larger Multiple Streams Framework, as a tool with which to examine what took place in Toronto in the 2000s. This theory serves as a way to analyze the ways that a group of actors, including those in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, were able to leverage arts and culture on the economic development agenda with the goal of transforming Toronto into an internationally renowned creative city during that decade. While there are numerous policy theories that could be utilized in an investigation such as this, I employ Agenda Setting Theory as it helps to understand how arts and culture became an option on the economic development agenda in Toronto and allows me to look at ways that policy entrepreneurs coalesced their creative city message in order to do so.

In this investigation, I focus on the municipal level, and center upon the process through which city actors in Toronto during the 2000s were able to build stakeholder partnerships and put forward policies within the cultural context in order to create a cultural renaissance. I examine the way that these stakeholders focused scarce attention -- both by decision makers and the polis -- on their solutions. Actors in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors coalesced to implement a strategic plan carefully designed by the municipality. This was a case of entrepreneurial cultural stakeholders who utilized their agenda for community building (Jackson et al, 2003).

This kind of cultural partnership took place during an opening in the political system after Toronto's amalgamation with outlying municipalities in the late 1990s. Sabatier and Weible (2007, p. 194) emphasize that during an open policy window the goals and aspirations of municipal actors can be changed and new benchmarks can be set for success. Toronto exemplified this, as core beliefs about the city's ability to participate in the global knowledge economy altered and resources became available through the platform of the cultural renaissance. Contributions of financial resources and intellectual property were made in unprecedented quantities, and stakeholders in these domains took on exceptional leadership functions in the city's physical and social being.

The process began with leading cultural organizations' recognition of their problems, including aging infrastructure and decreased demand. This was coupled with the municipality's merging of cultural policy and economic development functions, in addition to the production of cultural planning documents (See Table 1). The creation of these cultural plans and their

subsequent updates provided an opportunity for the city to engage with a number of stakeholders including cultural producers, arts organizations, and creative economy businesses, thus providing a way to gain buy-in from these actors. These factors, as well as the city's interest in and desire to enter the global marketplace through the knowledge economy, together with the fact that creative cities scholar Richard Florida made Toronto his home brought media attention and worldwide interest to the creative sectors in Toronto. Federal and provincial funding gave the cultural renaissance the imprimatur of the state, and this led the way for the private sector to follow suit.

Plans for City of Toronto		
Creative City Plans for Culture For City of Toronto		
Name of Plan	Date	Description
<i>The Creative City: A Workprint</i>	2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A preview of the Culture Plan (2003) lays out the framework for creative innovation
<i>Culture Plan for the Creative City</i>	2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10 year action plan to guide city's cultural development • Impact is tied to larger socioeconomic and environmental agendas for the city • Emphasizes the use of arts, culture and heritage assets to contribute to the molding and marketing of Toronto as a global cultural capital • Calls for increased investment in arts and culture but also urban marketing specifically to increase spending from \$9.3 million on tourism marketing to levels on par with Montreal and Toronto • Makes several socially conscious recommendations as well: remain welcoming to newcomers and to focus on cultural diversity as a means of advocacy and strategies to engage youth • Also included are recommendations for managing the city's portfolio of cultural facilities through partnerships and restoration funding
<i>Culture Plan Progress Report: 2005</i>	2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessment of the Culture Plan, identifies any gaps that may have emerged since 2003 Successes include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Per Capita spending increased • Increased allocations to Toronto Arts Council • Build grants
<i>Culture Plan Progress Report: 2008</i>	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Half-way point review of 10yr action plan • Summarizes the work that has already been done and reaffirms the need to harness momentum from these achievements to move Toronto into the next phase
<i>Creative City Framework</i>	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creative companion plan to the Agenda for Prosperity • Reiterates the points made in the progress report
<i>Creative Capital Initiative</i>	2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Update of the 2003 Culture Plan • Launched in Jan 2011 • Overseen by the City Council's Economic Development Committee

Economic Development Plans for City of Toronto		
Name of Plan	Date	Description
<i>Economic Development Strategy</i>	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5yr action plan to guide economic development • Emphasizes competition and the new position of Toronto in the global market • Identifies arts and culture as the standout industry within the city that sets it apart and has the ability to drive, activate, inspire ideas and innovations across the spectrum of sectors • Think differently about competitiveness • People power the knowledge economy • Quality of place attracts people and investment • Establish a vital cycle of economic growth: strong economic foundations, competitive export clusters, and vibrant local businesses • Tell ourselves and the world what a really great city Toronto is • Mobilize existing resources through partnerships
Agenda for Prosperity Four Pillars of Prosperity • Proactive Toronto: Business Climate • Global Toronto: Internationalization • Creative Toronto: Productivity and Growth • One Toronto: Economic Opportunity and Inclusion	2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New plan for economic competitiveness and growth • Creativity is at the heart of economic competitiveness • Connect creative industries, districts or hubs to creative economy to strengthen creative city • Focus on internationalization of business climate, productivity and growth, and economic opportunity and inclusion • Strategy for international event attraction

Table 1. Plans for City of Toronto

This paper examines a decade in Toronto's development and provides lessons for cities in utilizing arts and culture in economic development, with the caveat that urban centers must develop interventions tailored specifically to their own political and economic environments. Stakeholder partners and policy entrepreneurs need to be mindful of threats to policy objectives caused by economic and political factors. Shifts in policy actors may alter the ways that the public and elected officials view arts and culture strategies and their role in economic development opportunities. These interventions exist in an ever-changing political, public, and economic landscape, as endogenous and exogenous shocks necessitate responses and may delay, modify, or postpone creative city goals.

Methodology

I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews of twenty-one individuals in Toronto and performed comprehensive archival and historical research. The archival and historical research

took place between October 2010 and May 2011 and involved the collection and analysis of books, scholarly articles, municipal policy documents, reports, government documents, news articles, and commissioned research studies. These sources were used to develop a picture of the decade of the 2000s in Toronto regarding a number of dimensions, in addition to the specific areas related to cultural policy and economic development functions. The validity of the archival data was ensured through my comparison of source materials, as well as the selection of data from a variety of well-regarded sources such as the federal government, the province, and city and nongovernmental agencies. Data secured through archival and historical materials were subsequently integrated with those gleaned from the elite interview process.

An essential resource for this study was the epistemic community of economic development directors, urban cultural planners, artists, policymakers, and cultural managers in Toronto. Elite interviews conducted for this investigation were drawn from a pool of individuals within a clearly defined framework. Respondents selected came from categories that included two main characteristics: those individuals who worked for the state either as elected officials, appointees, or city workers; and those outside of the government. Within the category of state actors were the following: elected officials, appointed officials, those who worked for the province of Ontario, and those that worked for the City of Toronto. Outside of the political arena I developed several clearly defined categories from which to draw respondents. These included: artist/architect; real estate developer; museum manager or administrator; academic or think tank director; film and television production manager; film/cultural festival manager; philanthropist; corporate funder; and arts service organization executive. In order to secure elite interviewees for this investigation, I used the snowball sampling technique. The interviews took place between December 2010 and March 2011 and ranged in length from forty minutes to two hours, with the majority in the one-hour range. Additionally, during the course of this research a number of informal interviews were held in each city with academics, nonprofit managers, government arts executives, and other cultural stakeholders.

The historical and archival materials were integrated with the interview data in order to glean an understanding of the role of cultural policy on the arts and culture interventions in Toronto's municipality in the decade under study. Utilizing the conceptual framework developed, I analyzed the key influences that contributed to the development of a creative city initiative. I examined the context that led to an opening in the policy window in Toronto early in the 2000s, and incorporated the thoughts and opinions of the respondents to form a picture of the factors leading to the presence of an arts and culture strategy on the city's municipal economic development agenda. Through the study of what led to Toronto's transformation via the cultural renaissance, I developed key concepts, which I consolidated into a series of policy recommendations designed to provide a reflective roadmap for cities utilizing arts and culture strategies.

Agenda Setting: A theoretical framework

Agenda setting lies within the larger policy framework called Multiple Streams (MS), which seeks to understand how policies are made (Kingdon, 1995). One of the most often cited policy theories, MS finds its focus through the examination of agenda setting and decision making, often at the highest levels of government. MS separates issues into three streams: problem, policy, and politics. It is only when the three streams are joined that what is known as a 'window of opportunity' occurs. Importantly, it is when the three are harmonized that any policy ideas have the best chance for adoption. This point of convergence fosters the environment in

which policy change can happen (Sabatier, 2007). Since Multiple Streams speaks to many of the key issues within the agenda setting agenda function of economic development, in addition to the cultural policy realities of the decade in Toronto, I grounded this inquiry within this robust framework.

Multiple Streams framework points to the role of policy entrepreneurs as facilitators of change, especially during times where a policy window may be open and opportunities for the adoption of their ideas present themselves. The ideas of policy entrepreneurs focus on the provision of solutions to specific policy problems within a variety of areas. This theory suggests that these advocates play a crucial role within institutional settings, often serving as the bridge between the community and the policymakers. Understanding that the attention of both the public and policymakers is often limited and is bombarded by a variety of special interests, policy entrepreneurs work to coalesce messages in order to focus awareness on their policy solution (Kingdon, 2011, p. 183). This process takes place in steps and is often most active during times of uncertainty and under extreme conditions. In the economic development context, policy entrepreneurs in the arts and culture field may present their ideas during open policy windows precipitated by great change, such as the endogenous shock that took place during the amalgamation of Toronto with surrounding municipalities in the late 1990s, resulting in the formulation of what became the City of Toronto.

Toronto's challenge in the early 2000s was that after it became an amalgamated entity, there was interest within this newly formed city government in entering the knowledge economy. The knowledge economy is understood to be inputs to the economy based upon activities and industries that are knowledge-based rather than those that utilize physical inputs or natural resources. A subset of this emerging sector is the creative economy, which is based on the conceptualization of ideas and ability to harness them for innovation in refurbishing existing practices or creating new offerings. Through a focus on research and strategic planning, the creative economy was identified as a pathway toward the attainment of this goal. This, coupled with advocacy for capital improvements by leadership in Toronto's anchor cultural institutions, set up the framework for the inclusion of creative city options on the economic development agenda.

Within the context of public policy, agenda setting plays a variety of roles. On a federal level it involves a wide range of policy issues. These often are constrained by the numerous and conflicting issues competing for attention of both the public and policymakers (Kingdon, 1995). The priorities of the polis and legislators regarding policy issues can compete with one another. Often, special interest groups dominate legislative attention; however, public opinion plays an important role in the agenda setting function. The attention of elected officials does not move against the public attention, and lawmaking does take into consideration public opinion. Nationally, the public focuses on a few issues while lawmakers are involved with a variety of issues. The actions of policymakers often are circumscribed by the size and constraints of political institutions. Public representatives, special interest groups, and policy entrepreneurs can all sway the attention of elected officials (Jones & Baumgartner, 2004).

Studies have shown a strong connection between public opinion with regards to what should be on a political agenda and the role of the media in influencing this opinion (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The media can take punch lines and messages introduced by policymakers and policy entrepreneurs and amplify them through multiple channels. Understanding this, politicians and policymakers seek to use targeted messaging to converge public priority with their own interests. These messages can be communicated through speeches, written materials, and media

interviews. The creation of policy images is important in putting forward initiatives or changes to the ways that the polis views ideas or groups (True et al, 2007). The process of effecting change incorporates translating an idea into an effective image, story or slogan.

Policy entrepreneurs work to distill messaging into palatable “punch lines” in order to gain public attention and buy-in for their proposals. This provides an opportunity for certain target populations to capture the aspirations of policy networks and translate these messages into images that serve to catalyze public opinion (Ingram et al, 2007, p. 100). These images originate in ideas that then are expressed in shorter, media-ready messages. In effect, there can be a kind of battle for the awareness and interest of the polis that takes place through media outlets. However, positive media attention and strong public support do not always ensure that an issue will make it to the agenda on the federal level. Agenda setting is important because it dictates what is decided, and who makes that decision, regarding policy issues that take priority (Silver et al, 2002). Echoing the characteristics of national policy agendas, the public within cities is often focused on a limited number of issues. Technical experts, as well as the community, seek to exert influence on legislators in order to gain a place on the agenda. When an issue and the policy entrepreneur who represents that issue wish to gain access and attention on an invisible policymaking agenda, implementation of a bottom up approach involving the community often is the most effective strategy (John, 2003).

Through the process of deciding on the goal and the implementation of backward mapping, or realizing the necessary steps to achieve that goal, a strategic plan for a policy intervention can be formulated (Weimer & Vining, 2005, p. 283). Top down methodology has proven to be ineffective in garnering the public support and acceptance of policy options. While actors on the national policy stage have numerous issues at hand and many competing agenda issues, policy entrepreneurs on the municipal level need to be more focused and must garner support within a smaller and more tightly focused field. In order to foster trust between policymakers and the community, local stakeholders increasingly are involved in decision-making and agenda setting, thereby seeking to promote “buy in” among effected parties (Silver et al, 2002). Although involvement in the agenda setting stage of policymaking does not ensure adoption of an issue into policy itself, it is a critically important stage that’s value cannot be underestimated (Hays & Glick, 1997).

Agenda setting in municipalities involves numerous stakeholders and a plethora of issues. Housing, transportation, the environment, the economy, and jobs creation and retention are among the topics that compete for the attention of elected officials and the public. City planners and elected officials often seek ways to create revenue streams and rebuild their city centers as magnets for leisure and work activities. The economic development toolkit in cities has numerous interventions designed to address these issues. Understanding why arts and culture have gained a place within the toolkit in municipal economic development and urban planning is important because, at this time, cities are looking for ways to expand tourism, build stronger tax bases, and develop their brand locally as well as globally.

Economic Development Incorporating Arts and Culture

Often heralded as a possible panacea for a variety of ills that may affect a city, the cultural community and its offerings have been touted as a solution to a wide range of problems. How can arts and culture become a part of the economic development agenda and be a valuable tool in the toolkit? Traditionally, municipal economic development efforts and strategies have centered upon a variety of methods of encouraging businesses relocation to, as well as

investment in a city (Grodach, 2011). Among these are assistance with developers' projects, tax abatements, and write-downs on land.

There are several ways that urban economic development plays a role as far as the creative community is concerned, including drawing visitors and locals to a place-specific location in order to experience the culture, attracting new residents, businesses, and developers to a city, and fostering the production of cultural products or services that may be consumed locally and or elsewhere. Many industries that are screen-based have outputs that are exported nationally and internationally as a part of a city's economic development strategy (Liu et al, 2010). In the case of consumption at the point of production in cities, this includes cultural districts, live music and theater, theme or heritage areas, and festivals. Exported cultural goods range from traveling performances to graphic and industrial design products, fashion, publishing and screen-based production that is sold and distributed worldwide. The global marketplace for cultural goods is expanding as barriers to distribution are removed and marketing efforts become increasingly sophisticated. Scott (2000, p. 13) discusses both the pressures on labor markets and the opportunities available for the cultural industries as a result of globalization. This means that cultural producers need not limit their scope to the local level, since both goods and services are able to be sold in a much more efficient way.

All of these kinds of cultural goods and services can be beneficial economically to the city of origin, where oftentimes other businesses grow to support and enhance the arts producers and their consumers, creating a multiplier effect. Public-private partnerships can serve as the keystone of this urban economic development. In concert with local government, neighborhoods in major urban centers have been resuscitated to become flourishing centers of art, commerce, and entertainment. Urban areas can incorporate cultural planning into their marketing campaigns and utilize the creative city model to rebuild decrepit areas (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007).

One caveat to Toronto's success has been the often displaced and disillusioned residents who have watched their neighborhoods disappear and be replaced by prohibitively expensive housing and other high-priced amenities (Scott, 2004). Depending on culture to spur urban development, especially in badly deteriorated areas, could be a mistake. These efforts often include inherent dangers, such as misguided metrics regarding measurement of the effects of cultural economic development (Markusen and Schrock, 2006). Cultural entities designed to draw visitors to an urban center often can isolate that city's less affluent residents, and deny them the chance to participate in the arts (Eisinger, 2000).

Urban areas and their planning professionals have embraced the creative community, using cultural solutions to revitalize decrepit areas, repurpose landmark buildings, and draw residents and visitors (Markusen, 2006). A variety of disciplines have the opportunity to form alliances to address the creative cities conversation. This includes entrepreneurial stakeholders from the worlds of cultural policy, urban planning, and economic development, each of whom often bring very different goals, strategies, and metrics to the table when implementing ideas about cultural city creation.

City of Toronto: Case study

The City of Toronto was created as a united entity on the first of January 1998. As such, it consisted of the merger of what had been the regional municipality called Metropolitan Toronto, which consisted of the cities of Toronto, Scarborough, Etobicoke, North York, York, and the borough of East York (Gertler et al, 2006). This amalgamation brought together 2.5

million people in a new entity called the City of Toronto. A challenge lay ahead for this emergent city – that of creating a shared vision and strategic plan. In light of growing international opportunities for economic growth, city leaders took on this task in a comprehensive way and began to plan for a shared future. The keystone of this planning incorporated the opportunities available in the rapidly growing sector known as the “knowledge economy”.

After the 1998 consolidation of the federated boroughs that comprised the previous municipality of Toronto, the new city embarked on a process to create strategic plans in order to enhance its competitive power within the context of a global marketplace. Municipal actors determined that there was opportunity in the newly developing realm called the knowledge economy, and the City of Toronto seized the chance to participate in all that this emerging sector had to offer. The decade of the 2000s afforded Toronto the possibility of being a player on the world stage, and the creative community served as a key element in the process of tactical urban development. One of the defining aspects during this decade in Toronto was the creation and implementation of a common vision for the city and its residents. The cultural sector played a critical role and served as a vital part of this strategy. In addition to the employment aspects of the knowledge economy, the city focused upon campaigns that drew attention to heritage and culture. In order to brand Toronto as a creative city, several initiatives were put into place including the creation of a ten-year cultural blueprint. Now one of the largest economies in Canada, Toronto has seen a dynamic level of growth and development over the past ten years.

Biotechnology, the information systems field, and other technology-based industries are a part of this framework, which focuses on the value and productivity of intellectual assets (Powell & Snellman, 2004). The knowledge economy also incorporates a wide range of creative industries, including cultural producers in nonprofit and for-profit industries, and integrates the concept of using creativity to shape production. A variety of professions are categorized within this context, such as architecture, design, the performing and fine arts, writing and journalism, photography, filmmaking, interior design, crafts, and television production (Statistics Canada, 2006). Rather than focusing on manufacturing, Toronto set its sights on the knowledge economy and chose to compete through developing and fostering the resources of creativity and knowledge, as well as taking into consideration issues inherent in attracting and retaining these kinds of workers. In addition to aspects of the knowledge economy such as technology, energy, and biotech, Toronto targeted the creative economy as a part of the more expansive sector delineation.

Just after the amalgamation process took place, a new Official Plan was developed that would serve the joined entities. Developed using each municipality’s former planning document, the vision looked at the next 30 years of growth in Toronto. The document recognized that the city would have to think about development in a new way, and focus not on expansion of sites but on new ways to look at areas that already were urbanized (City of Toronto, 2002). This plan put forward the concept of the New Toronto as one where residents and visitors would feel safe, and for which Torontonians would feel a strong sense of pride. Inclusiveness was a key element of the plan, as well as the recognition of Toronto’s extremely multicultural residential makeup. Benefits within the plan included not only economic development and financial growth, but sensitivity to environmental, social, and quality of life issues as well.

A recurrent theme in the plans was competition, which included initiatives within the City of Toronto and strategies for the city to compete in Canada, North America, and globally. For the city to be a worldwide player, it needed to be able to attract workers, foster capital

investment, and provide attractive jobs (City of Toronto, 2000). Being competitive meant focusing on intellectual capital, financing, infrastructure, and providing an attractive business environment. This economic development strategy also took into account ways to compete through quality of life, networking, and unity of vision. This set the stage for a kind of competitiveness that incorporated economic development goals and social concerns, with the vision of fostering the kind of city that would draw and retain businesses and residents and provide a culturally thriving city of which everyone could be proud.

A key concept regarding the thinking to which Toronto turned in crafting this new vision was the creative cities rhetoric circulating in the urban planning and economic development discourse. The idea of the power of a creative class, consisting of for-profit and nonprofit entities, which included a variety of workers who both produced cultural goods and services and provided a milieu that drew other residents and tourists to their midst was a compelling vision. Richard Florida's research, writing, and speaking on this topic made him the unofficial spokesperson for the creative class concept, and it was a coup for Toronto when he subsequently moved to the city in 2007 to head the newly established Martin Prosperity Institute at the University of Toronto.

In addition to the search for its place in the global knowledge economy, one of the obstacles that faced the city was being able to expand its revenue-raising powers, since at the time of amalgamation the sole revenue streams were limited to user fees and property taxes. Neither Toronto's mayor nor city council had the power to impose taxation or regulation. This issue would change, however, when in 2006 greater powers were granted to the city. In addition to the broadening of the newly amalgamated city's powers came some shifts in the fiscal structure, which saw the province of Ontario taking on more of the social service costs but reducing its contribution for municipal infrastructure and transportation (City of Toronto, 2005).

After amalgamation, city leaders began to evaluate and assess the municipality's assets, including its workforce, knowledge base, and infrastructure. Taking stock of existing partnerships and resources, these leaders focused on the possibility of being competitive in a North American as well as global marketplace. Prior to amalgamation, Toronto saw itself as competing with other cities across Canada in a kind of east-west trajectory. This more powerful alliance engendered by the amalgamation of the numerous municipalities and the strategic initiatives it created gave the amalgamated City of Toronto the impetus to compete in a wider marketplace. This included cities beyond Canada's borders, specifically American cities such as San Francisco, Seattle and even New York. For the new City of Toronto, amalgamation brought an important role for arts and culture. The city used this sector in planning economic development, and gave the creative community a place at the table in city building.

Findings: Toronto as "Cultural Camelot"

Municipal leaders used the amalgamation of the late 1990s to create an opportunity for self-examination and goal setting. A declining manufacturing sector coupled with deindustrialization led the new City of Toronto to look for other options in order to develop a competitive niche. Extensive research and planning documents led the way towards the knowledge economy, using the language of creative city building to leverage existing assets. With the imprimatur of the federal and provincial government, this new economic development agenda sought to harness the imagination of residents, visitors, and the world and to change the direction and impetus of the next decade. Among the documents generated at the turn of the millennium was the Official Plan, which included the Economic Development Strategy and the

Culture Plan, in addition to planning documents that focused on the issues of social development and tourism. Each of these had the common theme of quality of life for all Torontonians, with key goals that included building consensus around a shared vision of a healthy and vital city. Elements of opportunity, diversity, urban beautification, and leadership were woven throughout the initial plans and carried through in subsequent updates (City of Toronto, 2008).

Toronto's transformation over the decade using arts and culture, based upon an economic argument arrived at through studies and reports, was the combination of social value and economic value. The decade was one of great accomplishments physically embodied through the cultural renaissance. Subsequent to the development of the vision of the renovation and revitalization of Toronto's major cultural institutions, the policy entrepreneurs, who were leaders of these organizations, built an advocacy coalition. This coalition implemented their concept of the integration of cultural policy and programming into urban economic development (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Among the priorities of a newly created department at City Hall, called Economic Development and Culture, was a focus on using arts and culture as a means to implement social programs, especially in the areas of education and youth empowerment (Jackson & Kabwasa-Green, 2007).

Toronto did surveys, conducted studies and put together partnerships to create an entrepreneurial municipal plan for the creation of a globally recognized cultural city. Why did they go to all of this effort? Through these reflective and integrative processes, the city was able to enhance the social value of arts and culture and create economic value, combining social purpose and economic purpose. This decade was about more than making money – it was about the manifestation of deeper values, inherently Canadian values that spoke to a sense of the national pride. Since the state, evidenced by provincial and federal funding, was the leader in financially supporting this initiative, this kind of investment was able to feed on itself through the multiplier effect.

This window of opportunity created a cultural ecosystem that was greater than the sum of its parts. First, the leaders of the major cultural institutions acknowledged the challenges inherent in the dual issues of run-down facilities and low demand. Second, a mayor was elected who was arts-friendly and wanted to find ways for Toronto to enter the knowledge economy. Third, there was an embedded cultural staff on the municipal level, actors who were very interested in research and produced comprehensive reports and plans. Fourth, academics, specifically Richard Florida, put forward arguments that focused on the creative class and the knowledge economy as a driver of urban development. The addition of federal, provincial, and private sector stakeholders completed the ingredients that resulted in the perfect cultural collaboration.

Former Toronto Mayor David Miller was a champion of arts and culture who, together with his administration, was a visible advocate of the creative economy. Miller was elected to a three-year term in 2003, and was subsequently re-elected in 2006 to serve a four-year term. Chief among the key players in his administration was Executive Director of Culture, Rita Davies, who was renowned for her efforts as a spokesperson and champion of arts and culture in Toronto. The longevity of her work for the city was significant as the chief cultural executive at City Hall, and few other departments within the economic development and culture division played as visible a role over the decade. One example of municipal involvement in strengthening the creative economy was The Toronto Film Board, created by Mayor Miller, which served as a consultative body with regards to the film industry, doing briefings for the municipality on the industry as a part of its role.

The early 2000s saw the convergence of policy entrepreneurs who were leaders of the major cultural institutions, a culture friendly mayor, and entrenched municipal staff that was producing comprehensive research pointing to the efficacy of the integration of cultural policy and economic development. The leadership of the main cultural institutions initiated and implemented this effort, demonstrating the role of these leaders as policy entrepreneurs in igniting this initiative. Collaboration among Toronto's major cultural institutions, including the Royal Ontario Museum, the Canadian Opera Company, the National Ballet School, the Art Gallery of Ontario, and Roy Thompson Hall, each of whom were concerned about aging infrastructure, led to the development of an idea to foster the renovation of key anchor entities in the city. According to a senior executive at the Royal Ontario Museum,

Led by the Royal Ontario Museum, individual institutions themselves decided to embark on an ambitious track that has worked and transformed the level of public demand. These changes have not been public driven, more by internal priorities. Think of arts and culture as the "soul of the city." We haven't just rebuilt these institutions—they have been revitalized. This adds to the public good. (M. Engstrom, personal communication, January 13, 2011)

In addition to a focus on rebuilding the large cultural institutions, Toronto instituted marketing campaigns and a citywide festival, both of which highlighted the numerous less-renown local cultural offerings. Gross (2008) discusses the importance of having a variety of creative economy opportunities both for residents and tourists. One reasons this conflagration succeeded in Toronto include is that this cultural renaissance had its roots embedded in social policy and social value, with qualitative underpinnings and echoes of Canadian cultural identity. In addition, it enhanced national pride, promoted tourism, gave Toronto international market status, and contributed to Torontonians' social wellbeing.

As a part of the messaging used in this creative cities campaign, diversity was a key element and mechanism for conveying "punch lines" of pride and economic value to residents. This was among the tactics employed by the city to encourage foreign-born residents to feel more valued as Toronto strived to position itself as an increasingly international city. The outcomes of stakeholder investment in arts and culture had resulted in improvements that benefited not only the city but also its residents. There was a broad knowledge, both citywide and internationally, of Toronto's increased visibility as an arts and culture center.

All of the respondents in this investigation felt that there was an important role for leadership and stakeholder partnerships (See Figure 2). This included the federal and provincial governments as well as the art community, who were key players who that brought the private sector in as partners. Mayor David Miller, an advocate for the arts, and the long-term municipal cultural leadership – especially Executive Director of Culture Rita Davies -- were powerful allies. The Canadian state was open to the argument made by a powerful cultural community in Toronto, led by the executives of the key institutions. Toronto's private sector, including individuals and corporations, was healthy and receptive to being asked to participate in the transformation of the city into a hub for the knowledge economy. There was a focus on mutually beneficial goal setting that transpired at City Hall during the decade, with the mayor being supported and guided by the leadership from important municipal employees.

Toronto Findings: Leadership, Stakeholder Partnerships & Reports

All (20-21)	Value of stakeholder partnerships
Many (10-19)	<p style="text-align: center;">Mayor Miller champion and visible advocate of arts & culture</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Toronto's arts community valuable leaders</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Younger artists advocates during decade</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Stakeholder partnerships drove role of arts & culture in revitalization</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Research was heart of creative cities initiative</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Florida transformed thinking about cultural sector efficacy</p>
Some (4-9)	<p style="text-align: center;">Municipal staff are advisors to City Council</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Toronto's Culture Plans incorporate economic development & culture</p>
Few (1-3)	<p style="text-align: center;">Policymakers have other concerns</p> <p style="text-align: center;">More leadership in the arts & culture sector is needed</p>

Figure 2. Toronto Findings: Leadership, Stakeholder Partnerships, & Reports

Research and reports were the key cultural policy tools employed, augmented by tax, zoning, and land-use policy, with the city's cultural workers perceived by the polis and

stakeholders as being positive and helpful. Municipal representatives used the tools to which they had access to bring cultural policy to life through the institution of events including citywide cultural celebration, Nuit Blanche, and branding campaigns such as Live with Culture. Projects that reclaimed decrepit lands, such as Wychwood Barns and the Pinewood Film Studios were viewed as examples of the city doing what it could with what it had. Toronto leveraged its seemingly unique blend of cultural policy and economic development as it entered the global knowledge economy.

The decade of the 2000s in Toronto saw the creation of a powerful municipal department, called Economic Development and Culture, in which the often-dissimilar policy objectives of these two domains were blended to an extraordinary degree. Dependent on one another to fulfill the promise of the “Cultural Camelot” created by Toronto's entry onto the creative cities scene, this distinct department produced an innovative and influential new paradigm for city building. In Toronto, cultural policy was embedded in economic development, and in presenting a public face to this symbiotic relationship put forward a friendly and open demeanor. Behind the curtain this was a savvy and competitive team, which was strategizing and planning for the achievement of its highly-calculated objectives. The two areas identified strengths and assets that the other did not have.

In the municipality of Toronto, arts and culture learned the economic development vocabulary, and economic development specialists used arts and culture as a tool with which to make changes in the landscape and financial power of the city. In Canada, the economic argument had to be tied to the social value paradigm. A key element in the synthesis of these aspirations was the interconnection of cultural policy and economic development; in fact, these two departments shared that the same office space at City Hall. The physical proximity, common goal of creating a cultural city, and lack of financial power gave the functions of cultural policy and economic development the conditions needed to form a tight bond and the motivation to seek stakeholder partners in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors.

An open policy window was created as the newly formed City of Toronto sought to find its place in the global knowledge economy. This opening offered an opportunity to put forward ideas on how to accomplish this goal. Policy entrepreneurs both in the municipality and in the creative community believed that the problem, gaining world stature as a center of the knowledge economy, could find a policy solution within the creative cities framework. Aligning the political landscape fell to the team at Toronto's City Hall, who used planning documents and strategic options to fashion a blueprint for a so-called ‘cultural renaissance.’ Thus, the streams of problem, policy, and politics were joined under the Multiple Streams model to provide an opportunity to move forward with this vision for a creative Toronto.

The municipality, over the decade, seemed to be in touch with its constituency. They did not do things arbitrarily. The city was seen as being in tune with economic value and social value and - importantly - the meeting of these two, as embodied within and linked through innovation and creativity. The polis in Toronto was an audience to this initiative, with messaging to the public about Toronto's rise as a cultural city prevalent during this decade. However, it was because the numerous players in this coalition had adopted a new sense of Toronto's power and possibility as a cultural capital that this external messaging took place.

In Toronto, there was a strong perception of a powerful cultural community, one that needed to band together. Toronto's municipal actors changed their thinking about the way they could compete on the cultural level, as well as attempting to change the beliefs of cultural tourists and city residents. During the decade, the coalition, with its group of stakeholder

partners, was able to build consensus and accomplish an enormous amount to move Toronto ahead with its ambitious plans.

The groups that were aligned included the cultural leaders of the major institutions, the province of Ontario, the Canadian federal government, Toronto's mayor, municipal departments including Economic Development and Culture, tourism efforts, and the cultural community. Within the context of this alliance, the change began with the amalgamation and subsequently was fostered by an external source: the nonprofit cultural institutions' leadership. It then was bolstered by the research and reporting done by the municipal personnel, which enabled a new kind of policy belief in the potentiality of Toronto as a cultural player on the global knowledge economy stage.

Since the expenditure by the provincial and the federal government was viewed as an investment in cultural infrastructure, cultural assets, and cultural amenities, it was not surprising that these stakeholders, together with the private sector, were interested in spurring economic development. There was a strong relationship between social and economic goals, one that was important to all of the players in the creation of Toronto's Cultural Camelot. This was a case of mutual interests among stakeholders, as opposed to competing interests. The many members of this coalition embraced the idea of a creative city as a way for the city to attract workers, residents and tourists, thus empowering this solution to the problem of entering the knowledge economy through the policy stream of the cultural economy interventions.

These actors, organizations, institutions and corporations worked together in creating what could be viewed as a kind of "Pareto improvement" to the City of Toronto in which the city's multiple stakeholders were made better off, without any one of them being made worse off. The cultural renaissance could be viewed as a positive externality, in that residents of Toronto receive the benefits of a more visually attractive, culturally diverse, and reenergized city. This all circles back to the initial support by the state through the federal and provincial government, which branched out to the private sector from there. In the case of Toronto's Cultural Renaissance, gaining federal attention and support echoed the national dedication to and identity with multiculturalism.

Arts and culture became integrated as a part of Toronto's economic development strategy during the decade through a combination of cultural policy research, citywide events, and the highly visible cultural built environment of the cultural renaissance. This gave a widely recognized and public face to arts and culture policy and its implementation in economic development, thus showing all of Toronto's stakeholders the efficacy of this utilization of arts and culture. As former Mayor David Miller explained,

Toronto is creative – this is where the arts are. One key element is that we support innovation and creativity. A creative Toronto was at the heart of the economic strategy—it was the number one priority for the arts. My goal was to make Toronto more prosperous, more livable, and to have more opportunities. Arts and culture have helped on all levels. As it became accepted wisdom that arts and culture had an economic value, it became easier to succeed in bringing it in. My administration was championing the arts. We were free to do that. We have increased the funding every year; we made it a part of the conversation from the "bully pulpit" of the Mayor's office. (D. Miller, personal communication, January 20, 2011)

The data show that arts and culture gained a role over the decade as a cornerstone of the economic development agenda in that city. It was the center of post-amalgamation cultural policy platforms, and was implemented in a clearly thought out manner with a wealth of research

to back it up, especially in the form of the substantive municipal cultural planning documents and their subsequent updates. During the decade, Toronto, which had been in the shadow of Montréal's creative dominance, attempted a "cultural makeover" from the outside in, with economic development consistently coupled with cultural policy.

This deeply integrated relationship between cultural policy and economic development in Toronto could point to challenges in diversifying its economic development potential. The reports and studies produced by the city allowed policymakers, private sector leaders, and the cultural community to undergo a kind of change in their thinking about policy and economic development, and to recognize that the integration of arts and culture into economic development would be effective. This produced a consensus among a variety of actors and institutions, as well as a buy-in from the provincial and federal government. This support from the State meant that the policy interventions that took place in the arts and culture landscape of Toronto's cultural renaissance were well funded, as well as receiving the imprimatur of the government.

In Toronto during the 2000s, there was a dedication to team building and collaboration in the areas of leadership and stakeholder partnerships. According to the municipality's former Executive Director of Culture, Rita Davies,

Arts and culture play a cohesive role—they help to coalesce communities, bridge differences, and tell our stories to ourselves and to the world. Arts and culture help bring our stories together to tell our common story. Richard Florida's constructs – creativity and idea generation – are key. Talent is nurtured in the arts, and then goes on to business. They say that the assets in the firm walk out the front door at the end of the day. The rest of Canada benefits from creativity. (R. Davies, personal communication, January 21, 2011)

There was a perception of a team environment in which municipal, provincial, federal, and cultural community actors all played leadership roles in the cultural renaissance. The private sector was seen as following the state, especially when the larger government entities such as the province of Ontario and the federal government came on board for this initiative, pledging nearly \$260M CAD in 2003 towards the renovation of the city's anchor cultural institutions (Jenkins, 2005). Toronto was a consultative environment in which younger artists, community partnerships, and multiple stakeholder involvement contributed to the creative teambuilding that took place over this timeframe.

Summary

Toronto's policy entrepreneurs contributed to the creation of the cultural renaissance in the 2000s. They gained traction on the municipal agenda through policy entrepreneurship in the creative economic development context. Toronto needed to build partnerships and form alliances across sectors in order to bring in stakeholders with greater access to resources. There was available funding from the state and the private sector that the city wished to bring to the implementation of the cultural renaissance. It was through the development of a strong, unified plan that included a variety of actors that this coalition building resulted in the kind of buy-in that was necessary to implement Toronto's ambitious cultural makeover.

In the decade of the 2000s, Toronto needed to collaborate across sectors in order to grow and thrive. The city was in an ambitious phase of development and employed cultural policy tools that were focused on the cultural renaissance. The fact that Toronto did incorporate culture and economic development together into one department in 2005 under Mayor Miller meant that

they were more apt to consider using city-owned land and buildings as an asset for repurposing using arts and culture. The city had a stated interest in partnerships across the public, private, and nonprofit sectors and put economic development using arts and culture front and center in its city building campaign. The integrated culture and economic development department at City Hall justified interventions that incorporated arts and culture both on social benefit and economic grounds.

In striving to compete on a global stage, the municipality utilized creative city data and reports in addition to stakeholder partnerships as cultural policy tools within an economic development framework (Brooks & Kushner, 2002). This was a case of city actors needing to be accountable to stakeholders, which during the 2000s included the provincial and federal government and corporate and individual donors. These actors were invested in the multifaceted goals of enhancing the cultural built environment, strengthening Toronto's creative brand, and fostering community engagement (Grodach, 2009). Toronto used research to create a vision of what could be accomplished in becoming a creative city, and employed strategic planning to implement this ideal (see Table 2).

Topic Area	Summary
What arts and culture mean in the city	Toronto has been able to transform itself through arts and culture through the articulation of an economic argument and using studies and reports as tools with which to make this case. The perceived social value of arts and culture to the City is based upon a combination of cultural identity, civic pride and an inherent dedication to social welfare.
The role, benefits, and manifestation of arts and culture in the City	Over the decade of the 2000s, the highly visible built environment of the cultural renaissance has redefined the city. In addition, citywide festivals, public art and increased tourism have enhanced awareness of Toronto as a cultural place.
Stakeholder involvement and leadership	The Canadian federal government, the Province of Ontario, and the art community played a role in bringing the private sector to the table in building Toronto as a cultural center over the past decade. The combination of an entrenched municipal cultural staff and engaged mayor were a powerful team.
What cultural policy means in the city and its manifestation	To compensate for its lack of economic power, Toronto used research and reports as its main cultural policy tools, together with the integration of tax and zoning initiatives and adaptive reuse strategies.
Have arts and culture gained a Role on the economic development agenda?	Toronto utilized, empowered and implemented economic development using arts and culture as the keystone of its entry as a globally competitive cultural center.
Ties to cultural policy	Cultural policy and economic development are interconnected in Toronto in a mutually beneficial relationship.

Table 2. Themes in Toronto's Decade of Dynamism

Smart Practices: Arts & Culture in Municipal Economic Development

In understanding lessons learned from the Cultural Renaissance, Toronto provides three examples of implementing the integration of arts and culture to create a dynamic city. These are: 1) institute robust research and planning; 2) develop and sustain stakeholder partnerships; and 3) integrate both public good and economic benefit in economic development projects and programs. The following analysis discusses the efficacy of each of these three pillars in light of their innovative and comprehensive components.

1) Utilize research and strategic planning in the creation and implementation of arts and culture interventions in the municipal economic development toolkit.

Effective strategy can be informed by research, which can guide policy development and implementation incorporating arts and culture. Toronto did this with its cultural renaissance, in which the wealth of reports and briefings helped stakeholders to become knowledgeable and subsequently to buy into the plan. Toronto used strategic planning to enter the global knowledge economy and to shift its focus towards nurturing a “creative competitiveness” (Boudreau et al, 2009). City actors incorporated a social ethos into the bottom line goals set for municipal development over the decade of the 2000s.

Toronto produced a wealth of research and reports which gave municipal stakeholders the ammunition they needed to bring provincial, federal, and private sector actors and entities to the table in formulating the elements for the cultural renaissance (City of Toronto, 2001). The municipality laid out the foundation of this ambitious urban project and sought funding for it through the provincial and federal government as well as the private sector. Toronto’s research on the creative city was a tool with which to generate funding and buy-in from this variety of stakeholders, and was influenced directly by numerous reports that made the economic and social case for the support of culture by the state and private actors (Blaug, 2001).

Part of the strategy for Toronto during the decade included the development of citywide cultural initiatives and the repurposing of city-owned properties using an arts and culture lens. The 24-hour arts festival *Nuit Blanche* was an example of an event that focused attention upon the cultural amenities found in Toronto, and brought up to a million participants together to celebrate the city’s creative spirit (Bahn, 2009). Initiated in 2006, *Nuit Blanche* makes contemporary art accessible to the public, drawing up to a million people to the city streets for a popular festival targeted at community engagement and interaction with art (Jiwa et al, 2009). Numerous cultural institutions, galleries, and creative spaces open their doors, welcoming residents and visitors to a lively celebration of Toronto’s creativity (Kurtz, 2009). *Wychwood Barns*, a repurposed streetcar storage area, is an instance of Toronto’s employing city-owned land with which to develop a community resource with a cultural dimension (Gertler et al, 2006). It was redeveloped by the nonprofit *Artscape* together with the City of Toronto, and opened in 2008 with live-work facilities for artists, a public park, and a community gallery space. Now offering a variety of cultural events such as gallery tours, classes, music offerings, and art festivals, *Wychwood Barns* has become a popular destination for Toronto residents who wish to take advantage of the cultural programming, green space, and sense of community. These examples illustrate the way that a strategic plan incorporating arts and culture can be brought to life and enjoy subsequent success.

2. When developing and implementing creative city plans, build and cultivate relationships and stakeholder partnerships across policy domains and throughout sectors.

Toronto respondents perceived the relationship building aspect to be extremely important and an integral component of the cultural renaissance throughout the decade. The strong ties

established between the city and private sector actors were seen as groundbreaking, and something to be continued as part of a culture of collaboration initiated by the municipality. The data revealed that a sense of collaboration among municipal executives, as well as across sectors, was an important tool in building economic strength through arts and culture interventions. As Zukin (1995, p. 2) observes, arts and culture in economic development is an effective means by which cities can boost consumption and differentiate themselves by developing a creative economy brand. Toronto did this by fostering cohesive strategic planning, specifically manifest in the annals of City Hall.

During the planning and implementation of the cultural renaissance, Toronto's municipal government, specifically the Department of Economic Planning and Culture, saw one of its main responsibilities as bringing stakeholders together and building consensus. The numerous instances of partnership development include not only drawing in the federal and provincial government, corporate actors, and private individuals, but also eliciting input from the cultural community and artist stakeholders. Within the municipality, this department served as a convener and locus for the creative city aspirations and activity during the decade through a team-based approach to the creation and implementation of Toronto's cultural renaissance. Florida (2012, p. 305) points to the importance of what he calls a "people climate" in fostering the right environment in which these kinds of interventions can succeed.

Open dialogue between private and public sector actors, the implementation of consultative processes, and eliciting the advice of experts all were hallmarks in regards to the creative city building process. Partnerships included those with private sector actors, such as Scotia Bank's sponsorship of Nuit Blanche and businessman Michael Chin's significant contribution to the Royal Ontario Museum's renovation. Respondents saw Toronto's business community as following the lead of the government entities, and examples such as these illustrate the possibility of leadership from the private sector that could serve as examples for the future. Financial investments made during the cultural renaissance exemplify the power of reaching out into the private sector.

3. Create and institute economic development initiatives that incorporate arts and culture through a framework that integrates both social good and economic benefit components.

Focusing on the two facets of economic development may serve to assist in meeting the goal of strengthening the city financially, while putting forward policymakers' agendas of celebrating diversity, building neighborhoods, and increasing municipal pride (Markusen, 2007). Integrating these goals can contribute to a municipal environment in which the economic development aspirations of a city are strengthened by a dedication to public benefit. In this way, the purpose of one supports the other by acknowledging the potential of this interdependent relationship, in which each area has seemingly disparate goals and objectives. Zolberg (1990, p. 25) emphasizes that there is an inexplicable but very tangible connectivity between the social good produced by arts and culture and its functionality in playing a role in commerce and the economy. Economic development projects intent on growing the creative industries may create revenue streams through corporate taxes and workers' revenues, and non-material results that can include becoming known as a center of a cultural industry, such as publishing or film and television production. Public good interventions using arts and culture can build civic pride, reinforce the city's efficacy as a place to do business, and draw cultural tourism.

Arts and culture provided benefits to Toronto that were manifest both in the realm of public good and that of economic strength. Public art, festivals, and fairs are examples of public good interventions that can serve as a means to create a sense of excitement for visitors and a

feeling of inclusion and pride of place for residents who are able to take advantage both of classical and popular cultural offerings (Scott, 2000). Instances that focused on arts and culture's role in public good initiatives are exemplified by Toronto's citywide Nuit Blanche cultural festival. In each case, the interventions attracted cultural tourism, built civic pride, and provided a multiplier effect that contributed to the financial health of the city. Another example is the "Live with Culture" campaign mounted in Toronto in 2005, instituted to bring attention to the wealth of creative options to be found in the city (Boudreau et al, 2009, p. 193). The initiative focused on attracting visitors and strengthening pride of place for residents. It also served to showcase the wealth of cultural amenities available to workers, thus reinforcing Toronto's attractiveness to the business community.

Toronto concerned itself with attracting and keeping the screen-based industries in the city by offering incentives and providing ease of use amenities designed to assist companies in conducting business. The Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) is an illustration of a screen-based cultural event that leverages its relatively small annual budget to provide nearly \$70 million CAD in economic impact each year (Gertler et al, 2006). TIFF has grown to encompass a year-round location called the TIFF Bell Lightbox & Festival Tower, housing screening areas, gallery space, and a condominium.

On the economic side, the city made investments in its cultural built environment, as exemplified by the renovation of the Royal Ontario Museum and Art Gallery of Ontario. Among the economic development initiatives that incorporate the two dimensions of public good and economic benefit are cultural districts or developed areas designed to attract visitors and residents to creative offerings, instances in which the twin goals of increasing social value and promoting financial growth are blended (Stern & Seifert, 2007). Examples include the Distillery District, in which a repurposed set of buildings were fashioned to create a destination for cultural offerings and entertainment, and the Pinewood Studios project, which incorporated a planned neighborhood and film production center to be built on city-owned land (McClelland, 2005).

Conclusion

This case study exemplifies the power and importance of implementing arts and culture in economic development and city building initiatives, and the important role played by policy entrepreneurs. This is a case illustrating the agenda setting aspect of the Multiple Streams Framework, in which policy entrepreneurs seized the open policy window created after the period of Toronto's amalgamation. The decade of the 2000s exemplified the joining of the three streams of problem, policy, and politics. The problem was how to enter the knowledge economy; the policy aspect included the fruits of the integration of arts and economic development; and the politics centered upon a strategy that brought the local, provincial and federal goals into alignment through the built cultural environment, a dedication to public good, and the strengthening of Toronto's cultural economic health.

Toronto deliberately refashioned itself using a blended cultural policy and economic development template. This innovative initiative incorporated research, strategic planning, and stakeholder partnerships to create the goal of entering the knowledge economy through a creative cities initiative. Policy entrepreneurs within the municipality, as well as those from the cultural community, worked together to focus the attention of policymakers and the polis and to coalesce messaging about Toronto's power as a cultural entity on the global stage. Not only did this initiative gain a place on the economic development agenda over the 2000s, it played a role in

setting the municipal agenda as Toronto's leaders and citizens embraced their city's growing worldwide popularity as a center of culture.

Strategies employed mirrored traditional economic development initiatives, but incorporated a strong social equity premise focused on aspects of the cultural economy that are a part of the public good, such as pride of place, heritage, and national identity. Despite the competition for attention among the many actors and departments in the municipal government, the creative cities strategy gained prominence in Toronto during the decade (Jones & Baumgartner, 2004). Key cultural players brought together powerful partners including provincial, federal government, and private sector actors, gaining access to the city's policy agenda through a strategy that included substantive plans and significant updates to these reports (Kingdon, 2011). Bolstered by these municipally authored studies, the cultural renaissance initiative penetrated Toronto's agenda and was manifest in the numerous stakeholder relationships, creating a powerful reality that strove to fulfill the dream of a world-class cultural city. City policymakers worked together with the cultural community and the media to message Toronto's Cultural Camelot to the public (Silver et al, 2002).

Citywide initiatives, festivals, and fairs such as Nuit Blanche, Live with Culture, Luminato, and Toronto International Film Festival, drew the money, attention, interest, and excitement of residents and tourists alike. Regular updates to the municipally created culture plan, in conjunction with initiatives designed to provide some live/work space for artists and incentives for the real estate developers and cultural industries such as film rounded out the agenda, making decade one of dynamism for Toronto. Over those years, Toronto has been – on the municipal level – a convener and a facilitator. Arts and culture were seen by city dwellers as a normal part of life, and now are taken for granted. Toronto is part of a worldwide competition to participate in the knowledge economy, which in turn attracts members of the creative sector to the city.

Municipal actors in Toronto, especially those in the Department of Economic Development and Culture, took the new vision of the city as a participant in the creative cities and knowledge economy and placed it deliberately in the public eye, making it an important way that the city leaders communicated with constituents. The integration of the culture and economic development departments served as a platform for this plan, and the numerous stakeholders were involved both in the development of strategy and its articulation. Toronto in the 2000s had to make the case for its desire to commit resources of time, energy, and finances to this endeavor. In order to secure the necessary capital, policy entrepreneurs, both in the municipality as well as the cultural community, needed to attract buy-in. Carried out on multiple levels, Toronto's municipal mission during that decade was first to garner support for and subsequently to implement this vision of the creative Toronto; one that balanced a focus on commerce with one on culture (Carr & Servon, 2009).

This study provides a better understanding of the ways that policy entrepreneurs can coalesce to gain access to the municipal agenda. The Multiple Streams Framework, and specifically the Agenda Setting Theory, serve as tools to explore and explain how endogenous shocks, in this case the amalgamation of Toronto's outlying areas into a larger entity, can serve as opportunities for change. A focused message, combined with political will and motivated stakeholder partners, gave Toronto the dynamism it needed to set and achieve an ambitious goal. The case reflects upon the blending of opportunity, strategy, and policy, and the analysis serves to further the understanding of the ways that opportunities can be leveraged through careful planning and the coalescence of seemingly disparate interests.

It is important for the stakeholders in creative city interventions to understand the role played by factors such as changing economic circumstances, shifts in public opinion, and the opinions of newly elected policymakers. As an example of this, in contrast to the ebullience of the decade, the political infrastructure and the enduring power of Toronto's cultural renaissance may be tested. On the physical level, issues related to the quality of program offerings in these behemoth, renovated spaces is a concern. On the demand side, the financial realities stemming from a weakened U.S. dollar in relation to the Canadian dollar, coupled with slower border crossing time after the 2000s led to a diminishment of U.S. tourists to Toronto. Film and television production in Toronto slowed after the decade, primarily due to the stronger Canadian dollar and more competition for production worldwide. The cultural component of the municipal policy domain within economic development has been challenged as a change in mayoralty questions the efficacy of increasing funding both to the nonprofit and for-profit components of the creative sector. The two functions of cultural policy and economic development in Toronto's City Hall could be pulled apart just as easily as they were integrated together.

Because Toronto's private sector is newly involved as champions of culture to the extent they have been over the 2000s, they may not be willing to advocate strongly on the municipal, provincial and national levels to protect the fruits of that decade regarding cultural policy. Additionally, the city needs to build and sustain the immigrant demand for arts and culture. Since immigrants make up nearly fifty percent of Toronto's residents, providing education, uncovering interest, and stimulating demand for arts and culture within that sector of the community will be an important area of focus. These concerns point to the need for policy entrepreneurs to continue to make the case for arts and culture in the municipal, commercial, public, and creative economy realms. The opinions and concerns of the polis and policymakers shift and change according to a variety of factors, and strategies need to be tailored to the realities of current affairs. Advocates of arts and culture in economic development can use the tools of agenda setting within the Multiple Streams Framework as a guide to understanding how to navigate this landscape effectively to meet their goals.

Although creative city partnerships of the kind discussed here offer the opportunity for all to benefit, success is not assured. The further development of theoretical frameworks and utilization of policy theories that can assist in understanding and addressing the disjointed interests of a variety of stakeholders in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors could contribute greatly to improved outcomes in urban economic development initiatives employing arts and culture. This type of policy entrepreneurship serves as a model for cities worldwide, demonstrating that the blend of policy, planning, and persistence can result in the creation of a city of culture that offers economic wellbeing and quality of life enhancements for residents and visitors alike.

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