Key success elements of a creative city: Lisbon as an emerging creative milieu

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Resumo

O crescente interesse da investigação sobre a criatividade nas cidades está a par com a relevância que a criatividade assume no desenvolvimento das políticas urbanas e locais. A noção de criatividade urbana tem sido amplamente debatida e progressivamente integrada nas práticas urbanas tendo como objetivo a sustentabilidade econômica das cidades, e especificamente a capacidade das áreas urbanas em competir globalmente. Com o objetivo de desenvolver as melhores estratégias de planeamento urbano, as cidades têm procurado as melhores soluções e, em muitos casos, responder as questões urbanas existentes.

A investigação incide sobre o conhecimento teórico e principais elementos que qualquer cidade deve adotar para ser considerada uma cidade criativa. No entanto, a literatura acadêmica carece de implicações práticas sobre como esses elementos são implementados, as estratégias locais como por exemplos em cidades especificas. Neste trabalho de investigação foram identificados os principais fatores críticos de sucesso das cidades e como estes fatores são aplicados em Lisboa como meio criativo. Foram entrevistados 13 indivíduos de organizações culturais públicas e privadas e o texto foi analisados por meio do softwareLeximancer. Os resultados mostram que embora o ambiente criativo de Lisboa esteja a desenvolver-se e tenha muitas vantagens para os criativos, nenhum dos elementos faz parte de um plano estratégico urbano. Este estudo contribui para a literatura acadêmica na implementação de elementos comuns às cidades criativas e sugere recomendações e formulação de políticas culturais.

Palavras-chave: cidade criativa, criatividade, indústrias criativas, cultura, politicas, Lisboa

Classificaçao JEL:

Z18: Políticas Públicas
Z19: Economia Cultural: Outos

Abstract

The ongoing interest in the research of creative cities follows the recognition of the importance of creativity in urban development and local policies. Creative city notion has been widely debated and progressively integrated into urban practice targeting cities' economic sustainability, and specifically the capability of urban areas to compete globally. In order to develop the best urban planning strategies, cities have been massively seeking the best solutions, and in many cases, with the aim to 'stopgap' for existing urban issues.

Researchers provide theoretical knowledge on key elements that any city must adopt to be considered creative. However, the academic literature lacks practical implications for implementing these elements into local strategies in individual city examples. This dissertation's objectives were to identify the key success elements of creative cities and investigate how they are applied in Lisbon's case study as a creative milieu. Thirteen representatives from public and private cultural institutions were interviewed, and the data was processed using the software Leximancer. The results demonstrate that although the creative environment of Lisbon is developing and has many advantages for creative people, none of the elements is part of sophisticated urban strategic planning. This current study contributes to the academic literature on the geography-based application of creative city elements and suggests future recommendations for formulating cultural policies.

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1. Introduction

"A creative city is far from an easy city." (Romein and Trip, 2009a, p. 230)

The creative economy is transforming every form of economic development as human capital and talent have become the core production element in the contemporary environment. In the mass production era, the key success factors of competitiveness were related to the overall costs of doing business: via natural resources, transportation access, the cost of physical labour, and productivity. This perception has changed with the emergence of the creative economy where the advantage of the destination, specifically in urban areas, is driven by mobile talent, creative resources, and capabilities which can turn cities and the creative class innovations into commercial products (Mould, 2015). Additionally, with the development of a creative economy cities are highly affected by how they create and maintain competitive advantage. Starting from the late 20th century, cities started to show high interest in positioning themselves as creative cities and the idea has evolved into a widespread notion within urban policymaking worldwide (Vanolo, 2017).

Attractive in its nature and a source of many debates simultaneously, the creative city concept implicates the perspective of urban economic growth in frames of creativity provided by the creative class or cultural and creative industries. Specifically, Richard Florida's book 'The Rise of the Creative Class' (2002) has been the focal point of the research around creativity and creative city discourses, which has gained significant popularity. Although Florida was not the first author to initially comment on creativity and its application in cities, Peck (2005) comments on Florida's approach to the theory as: "The book has proven to be a hugely seductive one for civic leaders around the world. […] From Singapore to London, […] cities have paid handsomely to hear about the new credo of creativity, to learn how to attract and nurture creative workers" (p.740).

Nevertheless, Russo and Van der Borg (in Romein and Trip, 2009b) highlight that the connection between urban economic growth and culture is left in an 'amateur box' where cities do not know how to act properly and use it for their advantage. Chatterton (2007, p. 392) highly criticises the overall situation by claiming that the creative economy, in many cases is: "little more than a rhetorical device which can placate the hearts and minds of local councillors and politicians that they are actually doing something whilst doing hardly anything at all".

In fact, the creative city notion has been implemented in megapolises such as New York, Glasgow, Amsterdam, and Tokyo (Goldberg-Miller, 2019; Pollock, 2020; Romein & Trip, 2009b; Ursic & Imai, 2020), but as it usually happens with practices being implemented in a short while, other cities try to copy and adapt it quite inaccurately (Amin and Thrift, 2007). In this regard, while it is a successful strategy, or at least it can be perceived as a success allegedly, in a particular city, it may not be the identical case in another one. They suggest that no matter how appealing the creative city notion can be, its policies may face a high risk of failure. It is vital to comprehend the extent to which the practice of the creative city, which might be an ideal choice in one city, can be passed on to other cities to have positive long-term urban redevelopment outcomes (ibid.). As a result, the creative improvements are greatly context-dependent, and the differences in the structure and allocation of cultural policies vary in terms of the scale of location, the availability of cultural assets, and connectedness. Several researchers claim that place-based creativity emphasises the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the city and provides favourable conditions for talent and investments by reinforcing its attractiveness and reputation (Landry, 2000; Mengi et al., 2017). However, some factors in this process need to be considered, such as a well-maintained creative vision, a set of cultural strategies used in urban policymaking, and an attractive urban vision (Vanolo, 2008).

Three factors have been outlined as the main features in any creative city: (1) well organised creative sector, (2) a dynamic and innovative creative society and atmosphere, and (3) well-managed strategies and policies in terms of creativity (Landry, 2000; Florida 2002). Many researchers have identified specific elements for the cities to use in order to become a successful creative city. However, there is a gap in the literature focusing on the practical insights of implementing these elements, as the studies mostly debate the theoretical approach to making a city successful in terms of creativity and fail to answer this 'how' question of practical guidance. Although Florida (2005) outlines that to become creative, cities must "provide the physical and social space needed for creative and economic opportunities to take root" (p. 259), they do not provide any clear structure on how to achieve it. Moreover, little research has been conducted to show how elements of creativity could be implemented in practice by considering each city's distinct features, local strategies, and unique cultural identity. Finally, the studies about creative cities have mostly assessed megapolises, and little attention has been put into researching other cities, less famous and less advertised globally as creative places.

Considering the above-mentioned factors, the following research question was chosen by the author:

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RQ1: How are the key elements of the creative city notion applied in practice?

Two objectives have been identified to answer the research question:

RO1: To investigate creative city elements by different authors
RO2: To analyse how key success elements are being implemented in the city of Lisbon

The thesis is structured as follows: in the first part of the Literature Review, the definitions linked to creative city discourse are provided. The initial part of the Literature Review also contains information about the relationship between creative activities and urban policymaking as well as the importance of local-based perception of creativity. The second part of the literature review specifically focuses on identifying key creative city elements as academic literature emphasises. The next chapter is Methodology with information about the research method, data collection, and data analysis approach. Following this, the author provides results and discussions based on the qualitative research method. Finally, theoretical and practical implications, recommendations for future studies, and limitations of the research are presented in the conclusion chapter.

2. Literature review and theoretical background

2.1 Defining 'Creative Industries', 'Creative Class', and 'Creative Cities'

In the widest sense, creative city strategies target the growth of creative production via sustaining the creative industries sphere, which is generally considered to cover "advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, software, toys and games, TV and radio, and video games (Richards, 2011, p. 1231). Some researchers (Bagwell, 2009; Evans 2009) also add tourism to the list of creative industries. Creative city as a notion in academic research is represented by a growing list of papers with regard to using the concept of creativity in urban planning. Within the last decade, several conferences and sessions have been focusing attention on this phenomenon; several books (e.g., Kong and O'Connor, 2009; Edensor et al., 2010a), articles from various journals, and journal theme issues (City, Culture and Society, 2010 1.4; Urban Studies, 2009 46.5/6, etc.) which have contributed to the geographical and thematic target of the research (Borén and Young, 2013). The ongoing interest in the research of creative cities follows the recognition of the importance of creativity in urban policy and placemaking. Induced by urban researchers and practitioners such as Richard Florida (2002a; 2002b; 2002c; 2005; 2007) and Charles Landry (2000), as well as the implementation of creativity in urbanisation processes (see Evans 2009; Kong O'Connor, 2009; Peck, 2011), culture and creativity have been progressively integrated into urban practice targeting the economic sustainability of cities, tourism perspectives, and the capability of urban areas to compete for capital in the environment of globalisation and growing competition between cities (Borén and Young, 2013). In order to create the best city planning strategies, cities have been massively seeking the best solutions, and in many cases, unfortunately, with the aim to 'stopgap' for existing urban issues. In this regard, the growth in attention to the ideas of creativity and their contribution to urban development and city competitiveness has been exceptional.

The research of Richard Florida (2002; 2005; 2007; 2008) is particularly dominant in exploring the term creativity in city policy. In their publications, the author claims that to grow effectively, cities should be attractive to the so-called creative class. However, one of the core issues in discussions about the creative city is a deficiency in analytical accuracy and poorly defined concepts (Markusen, 2006; Evans, 2009) which create a space for future research. In this regard, Florida (2002) defines creative class as people (engineers, designers, musicians,

artists, etc.) who are paid to do creative work for a living. They believe cities that look more appealing in terms of diversity, multiculturalism, tolerance, and hospitality will excessively attract this highly valued part of the community. Consequently, this practice will invite investors and companies to the city, positively affecting its economic prosperity. Three 'Ts' (Talent, Technology, and Tolerance) are key performers in this argument, which creates a further assumption for the environment where firms follow people and no other way round (Florida, 2005).

In urban policy, a core concept is that representatives of the creative class are more willing to remain in urban areas with a top-ranked 'people climate'. It is another hard-to-define term, but overall, 'people climate' represents an environment with a good provision of first-rate cultural establishments and amenities, and values of openness, diversity, and tolerance. The conclusion is, then, that city policy must concentrate on re-creating urban areas to attract and retain the creative class; because of this process, economic endeavours will follow. In this case, the city must be 'liberal', 'cosmopolitan', 'multicultural', and 'bohemian' (Florida, 2005); another set of definitions that are pretty ambiguous. They should have an environment willing to be 'different' and accommodate 'cool' communities. In this regard, the concentration of immigrants, artistic, and queer communities in an area creates an effective mechanism for entrepreneurial endeavours and knowledge dissemination (Borén and Young, 2013).

Nevertheless, Borén and Young (2013) mention that the express growth in the implementation of concepts of creativity in city policy is ongoing despite the academic critique (Peck, 2005; Markusen, 2006; Scott, 2006) that is focused on the concept of creative cities, especially on Florida's point of view and his creative city policy recommendations. Notions of Florida have been broadly imposed in urban policies of cities worldwide due to the simple fact that in the 'fast-policy' era it carries good opportunities to tackle economic issues, and ultimately, which city would not 'desire' to be identified as 'creative'? (Oakley, 2009). Additionally, Peck (2011) implies that such policies have been broadly implemented not because of their effectiveness but because they are easy to link with existing urban strategies and considering their 'compatible' nature – there is no need for fundamental changes by policymakers. In this 'quick-policy' adaptation process, policymakers inaccurately duplicate concepts of creativity, notwithstanding the critiques emphasising prospective negative restructuring consequences. For instance, public funds are being spent on wide-ranging mainstream cultural resources to enhance 'attractiveness' of the urban area instead of supporting other forms of creativity, such as education and welfare. Hence, this may exhibit creative activities in their basic and limited proportions in the interests of economic benefits,

e.g. a focus on building sports facilities or opera halls. On the other hand, this side of creative activities is highly prioritised by city elites and value aids from public funds generally aiming at the foreign audience. Consequently, other forms of creativity, the more experimental, unconventional, 'endemic' and less mainstream (Edensor et al., 2010), are being paid less attention to or eliminated from the cultural and creative city policies. This situation highly contradicts the nature of creativity and its main characteristics of spontaneity and authenticity and has critically influenced academic dialogue (Gibson and Klocker, 2005; Edensor et al., 2010; Evans, 2009; Treger, 2011). Examples in this regard could be Stockholm's City Council's prohibition on any forms of street art or privatisation of creative milieus for commercial purposes such as building shopping centres (Schacter, 2014). Another critical issue that researchers have introduced is the gentrification of creative spaces in megacities such as Berlin and New York (Borén and Young, 2013).

2.2 What makes cities creative?

The creative city is a combination of culturally diverse, interdependent, and unique places, and the concept differs from the rest due to the approach primarily focused on arts, culture, and heritage inclusion in the future vision of the city (Duxbury, 2004). Landry's (2000) creative city discourse outlines the significance of cultural pilot projects and puts human talent, skills, and creativity at the top of urban development. The main success 'ingredient' of any city is people who characterise themselves culturally with the city and are integral to it. Landry defines specific qualities, which are essential for any creative city, but the definition is quite abstract to follow: "Open-mindedness and a willingness to take risks; a clear focus on long-term aims with an understanding of strategy; a capacity to work with local distinctiveness and to find strength in apparent weakness; and a willingness to listen and learn" (Landry, 2008, p. 4). According to Landry, these elements eventually make people, organisations, and cities creative. They also outline that the creative city process can start from one building, a neighbourhood, or the whole city, but it is easier to start with small-scale projects while people practice new approaches (ibid.).

2.3 Introducing creativity in place branding

"Great cities have always been melting pots of races and cultures. Out of the vivid and subtle interactions of which they have been centers, there have come the newer breeds and the newer social types." Robert Park, from Florida (2005, p. 27)

City image has been perceived as an essential element in urban competitiveness to attract economic activities, specifically for tourism development (Richards, 2011). In the case of a good city image, the policymakers try to maintain and strengthen the image through several branding campaigns. However, if the initial image is not favourable, the new fundamental branding seems necessary. Although the use of city marketing for economic benefits has developed more effectively starting from the 1980s, the concept of city branding and its use to promote a distinct idea around the city is a relatively new aspect (Kavaratzis, 2004). Furthermore, with the rise of the creative class and creative industries and their positive role in generating economic advantages, many cities have linked their new branding strategies with elements associated with a creative city concept. This concept advances the enhancement of the quality of life, amenities, and the development of long-term or short-term economic principles (Vicari Haddock, 2010).

Several researchers have raised debates about the effectiveness of urban policies in putting creativity at the heart of urban development (Landry, 2000; Scott, 2006). In fact, more comprehensive arguments have been discussed around the advantages and disadvantages of city branding. These policies positively impact the international awareness of the city's economic competitive realities. Nonetheless, certain researchers (Turok, 2003; Haddock, 2010) argue about the importance of integrating the one-side vision plan needed to reinforce the branding strategy with the distinctive identity of the place and the sensitivities of locals and tourists using or living in the city. Subsequently, the success regarding international recognition does not necessarily provide the awareness of a city's identity, unique features, and its dimensions. Some city branding strategies lead to exclusive policies that leave the rest of the population who are also part of a city's unique identity, behind. Creative city branding could be an example in this case, as this element represents only a specific proportion of the local population and its economic needs.

Designing the distinct elements of a city differentiates one place from another for a competitive position (Gregory, 2009). Hall and Hubbard (1998) claim that this process can be implemented via several methods of advertising and promotion, urban redevelopment, public-

private partnerships, cultural regeneration, public art, and major events. It can reshape the image of a city of production into a city of consumption. In this case, culture and creativity play a significant role as they contribute to identifying the specific characteristics of a city to boost its attractiveness for locals and tourists. Moreover, some cities have a broad strategy not only for promoting their existing tangible heritage or the creative scenes but also for creating other types of attractions such as big events and festivals or by using famous people as tools to generate local economic and cultural contributions simultaneously (Evans, 2009; Richards and Palmer, 2010). One of the main questions raised in this scenario appears when city branding and creativity work side by side in a specific area. The whole process of policymaking, including branding, planning, and designing, contradicts the spontaneous nature of creativity. Nonetheless, considering the links between economic benefits and creativity, positioning as a creative city has become one of the main focuses of stakeholders involved in city development (Evans, 2009). Subsequently, cities need to be transparent about their potential to use culture and creativity as a 'branding engine' in a broader spectrum.

According to scientific research, place branding is considered an emerging notion in the branding literature (Pedeliento & Kavaratzis, 2019), and various stakeholders have mostly utilised the concept for marketing destinations for differentiation (Donner & Fort, 2018). Identity and positive image have a conceptual role in this process (Pedeliento & Kavaratzis, 2019), thus, it is a fundamental strategy within tourism and cultural spheres. Therefore, the number of cities trying to promote themselves as creative is constantly rising aiming to improve the place's attractiveness and creativity (Hospers, 2003), which indicates the interconnectedness of creativity and tourism (Gregs, 2011). Additionally, Aitken and Campelo (2011) claim that in place branding, it is essential to comprehend the relationship between people and places. The city's brand identity is formed by common approaches of a local community, which affect stakeholders' values, perceptions, and attitudes (ibid.). Initially, the brand identity was observed as a particular set of brand associations that later culminated into something very dynamic, interactive, and reciprocal (von Wallpach et al., 2017). This emerged interpretation of a place branding emphasises the importance of a continuous communication exchange (Gioia et al., 2010) between policymakers and other involved stakeholders, including individual consumers (Wallpach et al., 2017), which is entrenched in the contemporary marketing context related to value creation (Kotler, 2020). Researchers also underline that city identity is influenced by political, historical, religious, and cultural affairs united with local knowledge (Govers & Go, 2009). Subsequently, the whole process of city branding involves

exploring the place's identity and later communicating it with the brand which must developed with local stakeholders' involvement (Donner & Fort, 2018).

2.4 Local-based perception of creativity

It is necessary to comprehend the concepts of creativity, which are built and assembled within various management systems and urban backgrounds. How do the theories of creativity emerge, being consumed, debated, and maintained by a wide range of parties involved in different levels within specific urban contexts, and what are the potential consequences of this? There is a gradient in critical evaluations based on policy documents as suggestive of where the presence of creativity is perceived within policymakers. This considers the mechanism of forming, altering, representing, and settling the integration of creativity into urban policy. Nevertheless, the such framework only stays on policy reports and documents, often focusing on external consumption, in which policy authorities aim to be viewed as 'acting for creativity'.

In fact, urban policymakers are not homogenous bodies. Various departments and sections of city administration may perceive the creativity formula in several different conceptions and even neglect or reject it. The interpretations and directions of creativity are strongly related to the scale of urban policies or can be focused entirely on the purpose, the level of autonomy, and local concerns of various ranges of urban management in a broad spectrum of national frameworks. For instance, various models of sub-city urban governance may discern creativity in distinguishing ways aiming for different targets other than the marketing and promotion of an area to improve 'attractiveness'. On the contrary, these policies' focal point is to use culture and creativity in education, social welfare, DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion), and sustainability, and they differ in being more community-oriented to tackle local socio-economic matters. Furthermore, urban planners may possess more detailed knowledge of cultural and creative activities in various contexts (Heur, 2010). Pratt (2005) claims that policymakers build on a combination of arguments in their perception of culture and creativity, while some are making more progress in comprehension than others. Similarly, they suggest that while it is only the economic prospect of creative adaptation is being disclosed, there is no accessible information, for instance, about policymakers themselves and their personal cultural and creative knowledge and familiarity and how this translates into their ordinary working agenda. Policymakers and planners may recognise the distinct creative features of local practices but may face challenges in implementing them into planning processes and policy guidelines.

Notions of creativity are also expressed and organised by a mixture of stakeholders at different extents within local structures of urban management in association with other actors at various urban area levels (city, region, national, etc.). Scott (2010) highlights that the endorsement of creativity in city policy is a politically induced discourse. The researcher takes into consideration various stakeholders (authorities, academics, cultural mediators, creative industry representatives from different operational circles) involved in the local formulation of creative policy and the idea that these joints are the 'fruits' of local-based political controversy. Borén and Young (2013, p. 1805) underline Peck's (2011) statement, which declares that "it is not only necessary to pay attention to issues of policy discourse and design, policy talk and technology but also to consider the expansive 'policy ecologies' within which such policies-of-choice are embedded, and that enable their conspicuous mobility". Hence, creativity is not a uniform notion but is formulated within many layers of governance, locally induced circumstances, artistic environment, and collaborations, as well as a policy database consisting of academic researchers, conferences, media, and creative coalitions. Communication between those stakeholders is a core factor in understanding the comprehensive environment of creativity and its interpretations (Borén and Young, 2013).

2.5 Creative practices in urban policymaking

It is necessary to find solutions for the 'creative policy gap' to find out how it could be communicated to encourage cultural production and how to make these policies perform as a creative activity. In this case, Gibson and Klocker (2005, p. 100) identify the following problem: "despite the many possibilities that an engagement with creativity might enable, in the emerging policy discourse […] creativity is 'folded back' within a neoliberal governing project […] and a singular interpretation of creativity is being incorporated into a rather uncreative framework". Simultaneously, on the other hand, a considerable critical discourse around creative city policies does not particularly assimilate to the point of approval of neglecting creativity. Gibson and Klocker (2005) suggest that depending on how the notion is interpreted in different places, creativity can contribute to the social, cultural, and economic wellbeing of urban areas and individual development of people living or visiting these cities. Considering the analysis of O'Connor and Gu (2010), who point out that it is quite complicated to connect cultural production with urban economic development, finding a more detailed representation of creativity in urban policymaking in a broader and diverse basis is recommended (Edensor et al., 2010). In identifying those creative practices in city policies,

Gibson and Klocker highlight that integrating alternative creativities into city's economic development debate could open up more scope for policymakers that based on: "the progressive, socialised elements of policy prescriptions to build community, provide stable incomes and jobs for people, form partnerships and become more tolerant, but without having to weld those impulses to necessarily neoliberal agendas" (2005, p. 101).

Thus, in this case, an essential matter is to seek for and maintain 'new conceptual spaces' where city policymakers and those involved in creativity can engage. Gibson and Klocker (2005) also claim that we need creativity in policymaking rather than policymaking regulations about creativity. The main issue is, therefore, how to achieve this in different ways and bridge those gaps in creative policies. Rantisi and Leslie (2010) highlight that state authorities are not the relevant bodies to create and monitor creative activities, as they do not fully comprehend the social and cultural norms of the community. In addition, Evans (2009) adds that community involvement in urban policymaking and providing them with special amenities is a positive factor in satisfying their aspirations and creative interests. Creative policies must also consider the daily cultural practices of local creatives in private and public places. In this regard, Bain (2010, p. 65) states that: "If creativity is to remain a viable and inclusive tool of urban economic development, then scholars, policymakers, journalists, and the general public need to review their stock of collective imaginings of creative practices." This in its turn creates many obstacles for the research. However, Pratt (2005) claims that the whole nature of policymaking is likely to change into more long-term strategic planning by enhancing cultural integration, but for that to happen, decision-makers will have to take a step in comprehending the nature of production and reproduction of culture and cultural activities: "[…] this task is likely to be particularly challenging. However, effective debates about governance are unlikely to develop unless a rich and deep understanding of the processes to be governed is elaborated" (2005, p. 42).

The existing research has been concentrated on finding out about primary ideas rather than outlining specific formulas on how to connect city elites and creative activities in those 'new conceptual places' to refine more creative urban planning. For instance, there are some cases when alternative creative subcultures conjointly with city authorities work on strategies and creative spaces and consider the role of culture and creativity in their operations. In the case of Helsinki and Amsterdam, urban planning in these cities has been maintained by the involvement of local actors in sub-cultural groups willing to contribute to the growth of place-specific cultural scenes (Lehtovuori and Havik, 2009). Oehmke (in Kagan and Hahn, 2011) provides an example of Hamburg, where artists, activists, and musicians stand against the

Floridean concept of creative city regeneration and introduces a manifesto - 'Not in our Name' which counters such conception. They collaborate with local policymakers to develop culture and creativity in a new way that can be implemented into the city's sustainable future. Another example is Toronto, where a neighbourhood group of activities called 'Active 18' tried to oppose the Floridean concept by affecting the nature of urban development (ibid.). On the other hand, Boren and Young (2013) suggest ways to act beyond these examples of cooperation between urban elites and creative subcultures, with particular emphasis on planning initiatives and creative spaces. The essence of the idea behind 'new conceptual spaces' is to reach a prospective change in the comprehension of creativity regulated by main urban stakeholders. It is worth mentioning that knowledge reproduction creates favourable conditions for involved parties (city authorities and those in creative spheres) to share, learn and reproduce. This makes a huge difference in overcoming 'creative policy gaps' as all parties have entirely different ideas of creativity. By planning the urban policy in new 'creative sociability', the term initially introduced by Thrift (2008) and later developed by Crouch (2010), and via diverse layers of actors, Gibson (2010) claims that the narrow perception of creativity in everyday environments can be called into question and advanced.

3. Indicators of creative cities

3.1 Florida's Creativity Index

In the book 'The Rise of the Creative Class' (Florida, 2002), the author points out that city policymakers should lead a 'people-oriented' rather than a 'business-oriented' approach, and instead of attracting businesses, they should focus on creative people. They highlight the creative class as an essential 'ingredient' for the economic development and success of the city as members of this so-called class differ from others with innovative and entrepreneurial skills willing to navigate creative enterprises. Florida presents '3T' Model (Talent, Tolerance and Technology), which is listed below with its indicators:

Talent	Tolerance	Technology
Human Capital	Foreign-born	Innovation
Creative Class	Diversity Index	High-Tech Innovation
Researchers	Gay Index	High-Tech Industry
	Bohemian Index	

Table 1. Florida's (2002) '3T' Model

Florida's work on creativity has received enormous popularity due to its radical, and in fact, it was perceived as controversial concerning the inclusion of Gay and Bohemian aspects as economic development indicators.

3.2 Euro-Creativity Index

After launching the first book Florida and the co-author Tinagli have introduced a new work targeting European standards (Florida & Tinagli, 2004). Particular modifications were explored related to sub-indicators of 'Tolerance' with a more subjective focus by keeping Florida's primary hypothesis on the Creative Capital Theory. The 'Tolerance' index included:

- Attitudes sub-index (the percentage of people having a tolerant approach towards minorities),

- Values sub-index (traditional values versus secular values), and

- Self-Expression sub-index (the acceptance rate of self-expression values).

3.3 Landry's initial Creative City Index

Landry (2000) points out several factors to consider for a city to use its full potential to be a creative place and to involve creativity in the structural operations of the organisational environment. They outline seven groups of factors namely "Personal qualities; Will and Leadership; Human diversity and access to varied talent; Organisational culture; Local identity; Urban spaces and facilities; and Networking" (p. 105).

I. The 'Personal qualities', or creative individuals, is one of the core elements as there is no creative establishment or place without it. Landry (2000) points out that although not everyone in the city has to be creative, creative individuals must be involved in the process at critical stages revolving around the openness and modernistic views of the masses. Talent in Richard Florida's (2002) analysis follows the same goals as the 'Personal qualities'.

II. Landry (2000) identifies seven classifications in the creation of 'Will and Leadership': "harnessing energy, dynamism, and intensity; discipline and control; concentration, focus, and attention; resolve and a willingness to make decisions; patience, perseverance, and tolerance; initiative and courage; and the capacity to organise, integrate and synthesise" (p. 108). These specific classifications concern the leaders. Each creative city needs leaders from public entrepreneurship to volunteerism to identify how they want to develop the city and follow the necessary steps to achieve it.

III. 'Human diversity and access to varied talent' unite demographic and social contexts. Laundry (2000), and Florida (2005), specify the importance of immigration and ethnic diversity and criticise xenophobia. According to them, the history of tolerance stands at the core of a vibrant and healthy society.

IV. 'Organisational culture' measures the structure of different organisations and how they are being managed. In this case, the organisation's structure focused more on internal operations than external, over-hierarchical, and departmentalised structures become less innovative with high bureaucratic issues.

V. 'Local identity' is another essential factor as a robust identity positively affects the sustainable emergence and preservation of community spirit and vital care for the urban environment (Laundry, 2000).

VI. 'Urban spaces and facilities' highlight the state of public areas, urban places, meeting centres, and cultural amenities.

VII. 'Networking' is perceived within the conditions of internal and external communication (Landry, 2000). Scott (2010) underlines that creativity exists in a globalised environment, and proper communication is unavoidable.

3.4 Landry's updated Creative City Index

Later after releasing the first list of creative city indicators, Landry with their colleague Hyams introduced an updated Creative City Index (Landry and Hyams, 2012). The indicators were provided to measure the pulse of cities identified by analysing internal and external evaluations and a web-based survey. The author highlights ten measurements (see **Table 2**) that distinguish the creative milieu, and each element is accounted for by core indicators of creativity and its sustainable preservation and resilience.

1	Political and public framework
2	Distinctiveness, diversity, vitality and expression
3	Openness, trust, tolerance and accessibility
4	Entrepreneurship, exploration and innovation
5	Strategic leadership, agility and vision
6	Talent and the learning landscape
7	Communication, connectivity and networking
8	The place and placemaking
9	Liveability and well-being
10	Professionalism and effectiveness

Table 2. Landry's (2010) updated Creative City Index

3.5 Key success elements of a creative city

Arie Romein and Jan Jacob Trip (2009b), based on literature around creative city indicators, provide an overview of the key success elements that make the city creative by combining them

into general categorisations. Some of them are related to either creative production or consumption milieu; however, the majority have elements that combine both as it is complicated to separate these two factors. The key elements represent the rising significance of symbolic values in the post-industrial economy, which showcase that diversity, tolerance, and openness towards different communities and subcultures are important characteristics of the creative milieu as a city. These key elements focus on long-term urban (re)development opportunities for cities. The combined categories which are mentioned in detail below are the following: 'natural assets'; 'social climate'; 'buzz, atmosphere'; 'employment and labour market'; 'built environment'; 'amenities'; 'cluster and incubator spaces'; and 'policy, government and governance'.

3.5.1 Natural assets

This category showcases the city's natural elements including a warm climate and mild winter as well as a beautiful city landscape. The idea is that these natural conditions create favourable conditions to attract creative people and businesses. Alternatively, Kotkin (2000) stresses that in some cases, the city does not need to have a pleasant natural background. They are of the opinion that creative people and businesses sometimes seek places where there is always a 'cultural action', and they can adapt to climate conditions. These elements are immune to local policies and implementation as they cannot be changed.

3.5.2 Social climate

Diversity, equity, inclusion, tolerance, and openness towards various parts of the local and immigrant communities are essential assets of the creative city. While Glaeser et al. (2001) and Clark et al. (2004) point out the high importance of amenities, Florida (2005) claims that diversity is a much more needed element in a creative city. They are focusing on being open towards the gay, immigrant, and bohemian communities as direct evidence of diversity and tolerance of a place. An open environment will potentially bring more diverse and tolerant people, although the policies that effectively promote such values in a social environment require a lot of time.

3.5.3 Buzz, Atmosphere

Creativity demands 'buzz' to secure important intangible and implicit cognition of fast-shifting terms for creative production in terms of innovation, technology, and skills (Scott et al., 2001). 'Buzz' is related chiefly to face-to-face cooperation in creative production clusters. Scott (2000) outlines that to create a creative atmosphere, it is significant to take into account traditions that control the production systems. The researchers focusing more on people-centred perspectives, such as Florida (2002; 2005) and Musterd et al. (2007), emphasise how dynamic and diverse street life and unscheduled random street encounters influence the creative atmosphere, specifically in the spaces identified as 'third places' (Florida, 2005), that are considered neither home nor work, places such as cafes and alternative spaces of socialisation and creativity. According to Jacobs (1961) and supported by previously mentioned authors, spatial, economic, and social diversity is a core term for the creative environment. City policies may contribute to the support of so-called 'third places' with materialisation and planning, but as stated by Romein and Trip (2009b), they can easily be left behind.

3.5.4 Employment and Labour Market

The concept provided by Florida (2002; 2005) that it is an era when jobs follow people and not vice versa, means that the diverse capacity of creative workers is an essential locator indicator for companies (Scott, 2010). On the other hand, Glaeser et al. (2001) stress the factor of a 'dense' labour market that is attractive for the creative class in terms of employment, and even Florida (2002) agrees with this idea. It is complicated for city policies to affect the employment market within a short period of time, as both people and creative companies operate in nature free of obligations. Nevertheless, the policies can be focused on the quality of vocational training, education, and creative products, as there is limited capacity and resources for creative firms to get involved in these processes (Scott, 2000).

3.5.5 Built Environment

Many authors claim that diverse, inclusive and most importantly, authentic neighbourhoods are undeniable features of a creative city. Different businesses and entrepreneurs value creative neighbourhoods with a mix of buildings varying in age, capacity, and multi-layered functionality throughout the years (Florida, 2005). Nonetheless, Kotkin (2000) points out that

the 'taste' in creative residential neighbourhoods varies among different groups. In reality, policies on this crucial component tend to take the form of revitalisation (usually resulting in gentrification) of old neighbourhoods or safeguarding heritage, as happened in Toronto. Florida (2005) stresses the importance of affordability as any creative city must provide affordable living and working spaces for the creatives.

3.5.6 Amenities

A wide spectrum of amenities should be present in a city promoting itself as a creative area. It includes well-operated public transport, public spaces such as parks and outdoor sports facilities, alternative shops and dining spaces, a variety of city festivals and music events (Romein and Trip, 2009b). It is essential to mention that offering high-class cultural experience in venues or upscale events, named 'constructed amenities' by Clark et al. (2004), is valuable but insufficient. They highlight the necessity to invest in low-budget cultural programmes and boost cultural participation. Moreover, Florida (2002) particularly critiques using public funds for investing in big-scale and 'fancy' events suggesting that these activities do not contribute to the reproduction of creativity. Apart from the leisure-oriented amenities, Florida (2002) and Clark et al. (2004) also touch on the importance of public libraries and research institutes. Universities play a noteworthy role in leading creativity to evolve as they promote tolerant environments and stand as integral parts of the city's technological potential (Florida, 2002). In terms of technology, cities linking their technological capacity with dynamic downtown and outdoor amenities rank high in creativity. The respective policies can easily promote some amenities, but it demands a far more complex strategy to create a knowledge-oriented approach for a vibrant downtown and its communities (ibid.).

3.5.7 Clusters, Incubator Spaces

"Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must use old buildings." (Jacobs, 1961, p. 188)

For the economic outcome of creativity in cities' performance, many academics highlight the importance of networks of specialised and additional stakeholders. Scott (2006, p. 8) mentions "alternative but complementary ways of categorising agglomeration economies in terms of sharing (e.g., infrastructural facilities), matching (e.g., specialised inputs and output relations, and jobs and workers) and learning (for example, inter-firm exchanges of information)".

Initially, Scott (1997) introduces the concept of 'Marshallian atmosphere' (p. 329), which refers to Marshall's perspectives on the atmosphere of workings in 19th-century industrial districts. In current realities, this means the concentration of creative firms in one geographical area (such as a city) that is a positive factor in the development of urban creativity. Moreover, in their study, Jacobs (1961) mentions that old buildings are fundamental to innovative ideas. They clarify that not only the high-valued 'fancy' old constructions in expensive rehabilitation areas but also low-value and ordinary buildings must also be taken into account. Scholars point out that old industrial premises are being adapted as incubators for creative activities, providing affordable spaces for small-scale projects. However, it is not the sole reason for creatives to choose these buildings as they often seek authentic, 'non-commercialised' buildings to add their own value. These spaces create favourable conditions to link work, leisure, residency, and creative activities (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). For example, the creative policy of Toronto was channelled towards incubator spaces in old industrial structures; on the other hand, the incentive of creative clusters in Toronto's case also focused on financial stimulation (Romein and Trip, 2009b).

3.5.8 Policy, Government and Governance

While previously mentioned points identify 'what' are the key elements that should be implemented to become a successful creative city, the policy focuses on its practical side and specifies 'how' to do it. Many scholars suggest cooperation of the public with the private sector, government authorities with local companies, creative groups with local and international agents, and so on (Scott, 1997; Landry, 2000). Landry (2000) has written 250 pages on how stakeholders from various backgrounds should act, create and distribute innovation and creativity for local development. Apart from that, prior studies failed to answer this 'how' question of practical guidance. Although Florida (2005) outlines that to become creative, cities must "provide the physical and social space needed for creative and economic opportunities to take root" (p. 259), they do not provide any clear structure on how to achieve it aside from mentioning ideas of Jacobs (1961) about diversity, authenticity, and liveliness.

The following **Table 3** (adopted from Romein and Trip, 2009a) provides clear guidance on the elements of the categories mentioned above from various researchers that make cities creative:

	Landry	**Kotkin**	**Scott**	**Glaeser et al.**	**Florida**	**Clark et al.**
Natural assets		Clean air, beautiful landscapes		Nice weather, mild winter		Natural, physical amenities
Social climate	Diversity, tolerance Openness to immigrants				Openness and tolerance (gays) Quality of life to attract creatives	Values and attitudes of residents
Buzz, Atmosphere	Third spaces	Buzz; where creatives 'sense that there is action'	Rich cultural life Quality of social networks for success of clusters	Lively street scene	Experience Street life 'Third spaces'	
Employment and labour market				Education, etc. Thick labour market	Thick labour market Employment opportunities	
Built environment	Distinctiveness (non-standard)	Inner cities: small-scale 'village-like' atmosphere		Aesthetics, architecture	Authenticity: historic buildings, established neighbourhoods Mixed-use new-urbanist communities Downtown revitalisation Affordable housing and commercial spaces Suburbs must be part of attractive metropolitan region	

	Landry	**Kotkin**	**Scott**	**Glaeser et al.**	**Florida**	**Clark et al.**

Amenities	Cultural life (as a means to distinctiveness) Education and research facilities	Major universities Inner cities: cultural institutions	Theatres, literary and musical amenities Technological research and training activities Strategic forums	Amenities are of overriding importance: Schools speed, no congestion (transport) Safety (less crime, safe and clean streets) International cultural offering	Advanced technological capacity, including universities as tolerant creative hubs Festivals, cutting-edge music scene	Constructed amenities: opera, research libraries, etc.
Clusters, incubator spaces	Creative-milieux Open-minded, cosmopolitan Face-to-face contacts, networks, associative structures	Old buildings as incubator zones Old industrial and warehouse buildings Clusters of specialised, art based creative industries Place-specific qualities of thriving clusters	Traditions, collectives Daily contact in workplace 'Marshallian atmosphere'		Affordable commercial spaces for creative and economic opportunities to take root (Jacobs: 'old building for new activities')	
Policy, Government	'Good' governance is competitive tool		Reinforce production structures:	Reinforcement of amenities	People, climate: talent, tolerance, technology (3T)	From private to public goods

and governance	Importance of capacity to organise coalitions of actors, agents and interest groups		provide amenities as public goods (firms too small to do so themselves) Encourage cooperation between firms		Safety, downtown revitalisation Low barriers to entry: focus on creative class values Improve institutional communication to remain active Social cohesion	Focus on all kinds of subpopulations

Table 3. Key elements of a creative city

4. Methodology

The following chapter identifies the research method chosen for this thesis and describes the data collection approach and data analysis procedure.

4.1 Research Method

The main objective of this study is to find out how key success elements of a creative city notion are being applied in practice in the example of Lisbon as an emerging creative milieu selected as a case study for this thesis. A qualitative research approach was chosen to thoroughly investigate this process and find out the perspectives of the implementation. Following the research question and research objective specifically covering the location-based implementation (Lisbon) of creative city elements, a semi-structured interview type was chosen to gather the relevant data. There are several advantages of using a semi-structured interview to gain the research results. It comprises theoretically guided and open-ended questions drawing the participant more into the study area to gather data about their experience and knowledge (Galletta and Cross, 2013). Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewees to be more flexible about their responses without feeling social pressure, and at the same time, the interviewer may ask follow-up questions or change the order depending on the circumstances and received answers (ibid.). Another benefit of using semi-structured interview questions is that interview guidelines are not strictly followed. On the contrary, the critical goal is to explore the researched topic extensively from different perspectives (Kallio et al., 2016).

The interview questions were formulated according to the key creative city elements researched by various authors. The questions were adapted based on the interviewee and their position, knowledge and experience, and some follow-up questions were asked if necessary. The author lists the main questions, their sources, and their purpose in Annexes (**Annex A**). The questions were separated into seven sections according to the researched seven creative city categories and their key elements. In this study, these categories are named as 'indicators' which are 'Policy, Government and Governance'; 'Social climate and Diversity'; 'Buzz, Atmosphere'; 'Employment and Labour Market'; 'Built Environment'; 'Clusters, Incubator Spaces'; and 'Amenities'. Together with 'Natural Assets' they make a final list of eight indicators by Romein and Trip (2009a), which make a city creative based on several researchers. Nonetheless, 'Natural Assets' as an indicator was not examined by the author as it

contradicts the research question and objectives of the thesis, and its elements cannot be implemented in practice as an intangible factor.

4.2 Sample and data collection

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 representatives from both public and private cultural and educational organisations and institutions in Lisbon. All interviews were conducted from May to July 2022, in English, in person (Lisbon city) or online via video-communication tools 'Zoom' or 'Google Meet', and they were recorded following the consent of the respondents. As the demographics of respondents do not play a role in the research outcome, no question was asked about the interviewees' age, ethnicity, or gender apart from the fact that they all were over 18 years old, which they confirmed by signing the Consent Form provided in Annexes (**Annex B**). However, the author gathered information about their position and the organisations the respondents represent as the insights need to be provided from relevant sources. In the case of online interview, the Consent Form was shared to the respondent via e-mail for the e-signature before the start of the interview. One example of the interview with answers is provided in Annexes (Annex C). **Table 4** presented below provides information about the respondents' organisation and position:

Respondent ID	Organisation	Position
Respondent 1	Câmara Municipal de Lisboa	Municipal Director for Culture
Respondent 2	Ministry of Culture / Cultural Strategy, Planning and Assessment Bureau (GEPAC) of the Ministry of Culture	Former Advisor at the Ministry of Culture | Senior Technician
Respondent 3	Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation	Director of the Gulbenkian Cultural Programme
Respondent 4	Marvila Municipal Library	Director
Respondent 5	Culturgest Foundation - Fundação Caixa Geral de Depósitos	Visual Arts Curator
Respondent 6	Hub Criativo do Beato	Project Manager

		Executive Education Program Coordinator | Digital Lab Coordinator | Higher Education Lecturer
Respondent 7	IADE Creative University, Faculdade de Design, Tecnologia e Comunicaçao	
Respondent 8	Lisbon Architecture Triennale	Executive Director
Respondent 9	Faculty of Architecture of the University of Lisbon | ModaLisboa – Lisbon Fashion Week	Researcher and Lecturer - Fashion Design and Entrepreneurship | Special Projects Coordinator
Respondent 10	Largo Residências	Artistic and Executive Director
Respondent 11	Iminente Festival	Production Assistant | Curatorial Assistant and Visual Arts Production
Respondent 12	Factory Lisboa | NOVA Institute of Art and Technology	Co-founder of Startup Lisboa | Head of Innovation and Entrepreneurship at NOVA Former Advisor to the Minister of Culture
Respondent 13	Brotéria Cultural Centre	General Director

Table 4. The list of interviewees

4.2.1 Transcribing interviews

The interviews were transcribed using 'Otter.ai', which is a software used to develop speech-to-text transcription. In qualitative data research, the transcription practice is a powerful act of representation; however, there is a lack of research on its examination, and it has still been conceived as a 'behind-the-scenes' task (Oliver et al. 2005). The proper transcription can positively affect the way respondents are understood and the insights they share (ibid.). As the existing transcribing software, including 'Otter.ai', is still not fully advanced in capturing voice details, pauses, and non-native speaker accents, it was necessary for the author to use the recording to correct the transcript text obtained from the software manually. Moreover, some

repetitive words, phrases, and colloquial words in the transcript were removed from the final version for high-quality content.

4.2.2 Data analysis with Leximancer

"Leximancer is a text analytics tool that can be used to analyse the content of collections of textual documents and to display the extracted information visually" (Leximancer, 2021, p. 3). This computer software was used to answer the main research question and objectives, namely to identify how key elements of creative city indicators are applied in practice from the raw data of interview transcripts. This process assists the research in pointing out essential 'themes' by exploring figures and forming clusters constructed on correlations. Each 'keyword' identified has an associated concept, which facilitates the data processing and details various evaluations of the researched topic. The concepts, in this case, are elements of creative city indicators which will be described in detail in the discussions section of the thesis. According to Chen et al. (1996), **Figure 1** shows how Leximancer facilitates the data analysis process by mapping the words into a set of several concepts. The academic literature has wide discussions on the Leximancer's algorithms and descriptions.
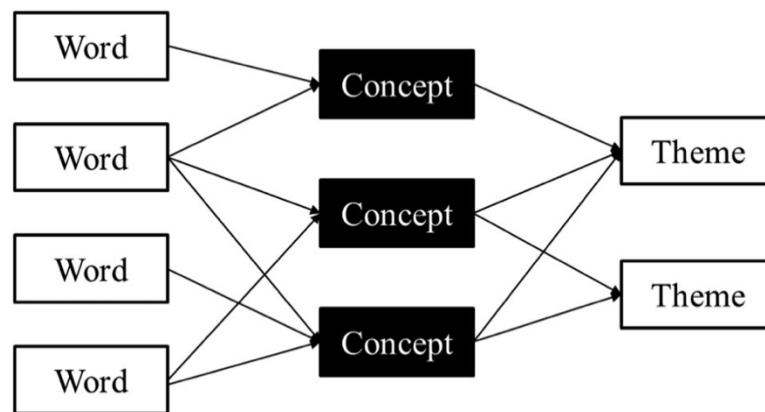

Figure 1. Semantic pattern model (Adapted from Leximancer)

4.2.3 R programming software

The graph illustrated in **Figure 3** (see sub-section **4.3.2**) was visualised using the programming software R (R Core Team, 2022). It displays how the concepts obtained from Leximancer data processing are linked to the seven creative city indicators, which were 'Policy, Government

and Governance'; 'Social climate and Diversity'; 'Buzz, Atmosphere'; 'Employment and Labour Market'; 'Built Environment; Clusters, Incubator Spaces'; and 'Amenities'. The packages used from R to import, clean, and visualise the data were *tidyverse* (Wickham et al., 2019)*, hrbrthemes* (Rudis, 2020) *and ggplot2* (Wickham, 2016)*. The tidyverse package is mainly used to import and manipulate the data to make it suitable for data visualisation (see **Annex D** for the code), while *ggplot2* was used to make the graph and add some aesthetic elements, and *hrbrthemes* package was used for aesthetic purposes.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Semantic clustering based on elements of creative city indicators

The author analysed the data to find out which words mainly were used by the respondents while answering to specific questions about implementing elements of seven creative city indicators in Lisbon. Nine themes were identified from respondents' insights about creativity in Lisbon. **Figure 2** showcases nine heat-mapped themes in different colours, while the most significant themes based on hits are in red, followed by orange and so on (Leximancer, 2021). The themes rank as follows: 'creative' (895 hits), 'work' (382 hits), 'city' (342 hits), 'Portugal' (227 hits), 'government' (146 hits), 'buildings' (146 hits), 'public' (117 hits), 'library' (90 hits), and 'process' (33 hits). These themes and several concepts are shown in nine clusters illustrated in respective coloured circles. The text associated with the central theme 'creative' with the most connectivity in red colour consists of concepts such as 'creative', 'Lisbon', 'industries', 'project', 'social', 'cultural', 'local', 'people', 'place', 'neighbourhood', and 'important'. The 'creative' theme is directly connected to the theme 'process', and through other concepts to all the rest.
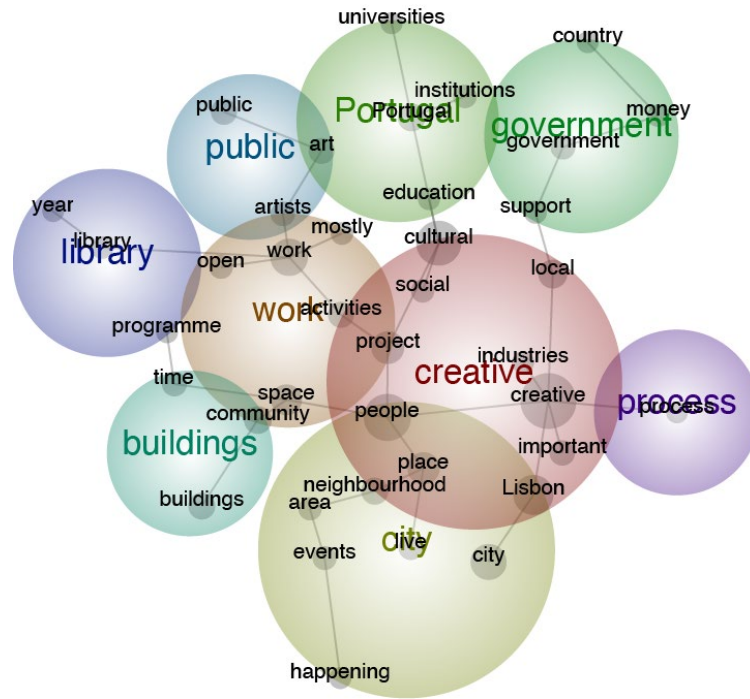
Figure 2. General concept map of most common themes and concepts

4.3.2 Concepts and creative city indicators

As shown in **Figure 3**, the concepts identified from Leximancer analysis were linked manually by the author to the creative city indicators. The graph clearly shows that 'Policy, Government and Governance' shown in purple colour is linked to the most concepts such as 'work', 'local', 'community', 'public', 'time', 'important', 'art', 'government', 'institutions', 'money', 'support', 'country', 'year', and 'programme'. As the concepts 'creative' and 'city' can be linked to all seven indicators, they were put in 'All' section of the indicators.
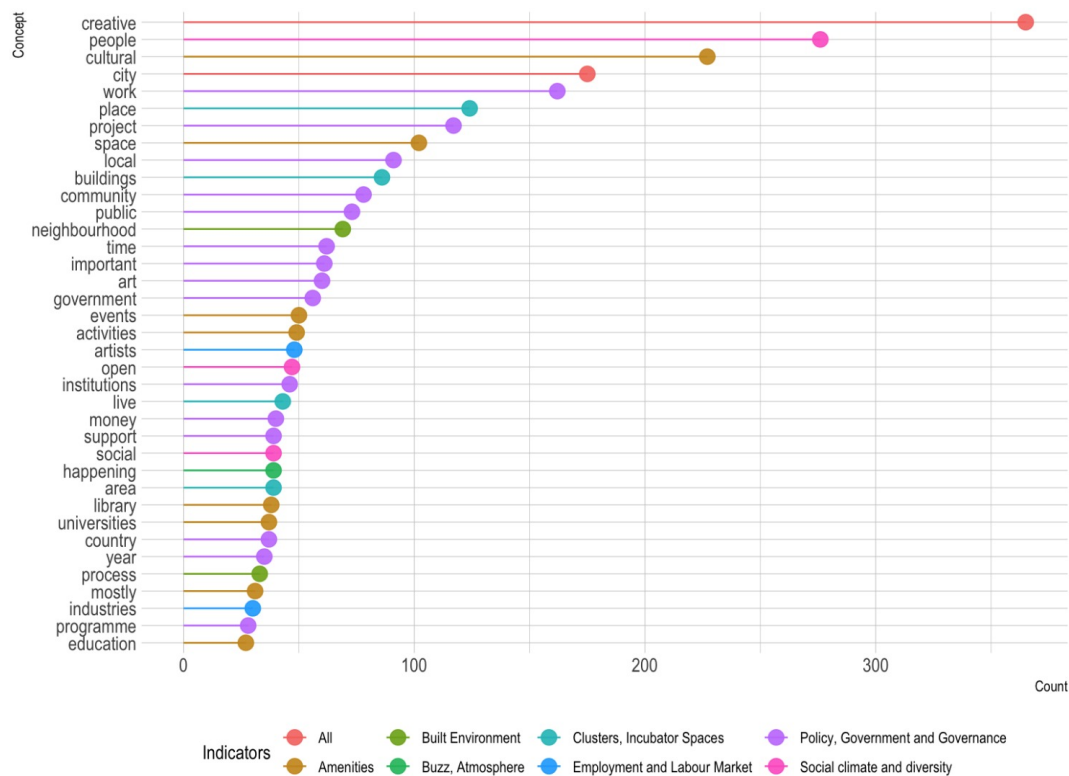
Figure 3. The links between identified concepts and creative city indicators

4.4 Discussions

The next paragraph features the discussions on the findings achieved from the interviews which are introduced in the previous sub-section. The findings of this research provide insights related to the key elements of a creative city and how they are being implemented in the city of Lisbon.

As the interview questions were divided into seven groups according to the creative city indicators discussed in the literature review, this paragraph will follow the same procedure according to the findings shown in **Figure 2** and **Figure 3** to enhance the debate and apply critical thought to the discussion for each of these indicators.

4.4.1 Creative governance, policymaking and main stakeholders

Local cultural policies stand at the core of creative city development (Landry, 2000). Several questions were asked to respondents to identify the role of creativity and creative initiatives in the local cultural strategy of Lisbon and the public authorities' attitude towards creativity in urban development.

"I am trying to link and help connect these two aspects *(i.e. culture and creative industries)*, and we are developing many projects with the creative industries. The creative economy is essential in the cultural strategy." (R1, 2022)

The respondent from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (R3) stresses that it is impossible to separate creativity from local cultural strategy and policymaking as it is an organic ecosystem. In the arts and cultural world, these kinds of relationships, synergies and collaborations are very visible. Creativity is an integral part of a city's strategy and policymaking, and it is impossible to create art or promote creativity by the grid. There should be a proper strategy that nurtures the creative fabric of the city, but it is one of those things that must work in both directions.

According to **Figure 2** the theme 'government' relevant for this indicator does not overlap with the dominant theme 'creative'; however, is linked to it through concepts of 'local' and 'support'. As stated by the director of the cultural department of Lisbon City Council (R1), 'Lisbon Citizens Council' was created by the Mayor of Lisbon to involve local citizens in the decision-making process and promote democracy. Additionally, public authorities are creating a municipal focus group and assembly to discuss with local creatives the questions about the cultural activity in Lisbon. In terms of everyday citizen creativity, they have 'Urban Art Gallery', and within the last years, this gallery has been trying to educate disadvantaged layers of society about culture, and in the places less concerned about culture to value creativity. These kinds of public initiatives support the interconnectedness between public and local creative people that Scott (2000) and Landry (2000) find foremost in the creative city environment.

"I think for the first time in the last 20 years, Lisbon has a proper cultural strategy. […] Most cultural institutions work together, and people know each other, and there are networks where people collaborate, coproduce and share projects." (R3, 2022)

Although there are cultural policies adopted in 2009 and 2017, there is no policy about creativity, and all the initiatives provided by the public are not part of the long-term creative city strategy: "And there was not a public policy that could avoid this change because the municipality in a way started to support a lot of local and participatory programmes, but they were just projects, not sophisticated urban planning processes" (R10, 2022). The respondent from Culturgest (R5) states that long-term cultural policy would be critical to the city's

development, especially in a city with such massive tourism. He adds, "[…] it would be helpful if there would be a structure dedicated to creating, managing, and putting into practice a palpable cultural policy, that was not only something to deal with how we manage money or the budget for culture" (ibid.). According to the participant from Factory Lisbon (R12), the lack of strategic city planning has also to do with the fact that at the time of this research, the new mayor of the city of Lisbon was just being elected since a few months. For this reason, the strategy for the role of creativity in the local economy or society is not clear yet and they are just now being defined at a local level.

Moreover, Scott (2000) and Landry (2000) also point out the significance of cooperation between public and private institutions, and the results vary regarding this structural communication presence in Lisbon. Many respondents shared that the financial support from a municipal perspective invested in the culture was never as high as it has been for the past three years. Furthermore, that has to do with Covid-19 and the fact that some sort of emergency relief had to be provided. However, it has to do also with the fact that there is awareness of the importance of culture and arts for the city's development. Researchers note the significance of creative vision in urban planning and understanding of the value of culture and arts by city authorities in their operations and how this factor is crucial for creativity to develop (Landry, 2000; Scott, 2000, 2006; Florida, 2002, 2005; Clark et al., 2004). On the other hand, while the respondent from the Lisbon City Council (R1) claims that many stakeholders are always invited to participate and contribute to cultural projects, they show passive interest in these initiatives. Cultural lifestyle, mentality, and weather have been pointed out as the factors influencing Lisbonners not being 'focused' in planning cultural initiatives to boost creativity: "We like to have long reunions, long discussions, but not much of productivity. We are changing the projects, always modifying them, and not deciding. And it is a very negative factor in the long term" (R1, 2022). In spite of the fact that the academic literature contains information about favourable climate conditions in cities and how they are attractive for creative people to move to these places and create (Kotkin, 2000; Glaeser et al., 2001; Clark et al., 2004; Romein and Trip, 2009a), there is no information to the best of author's knowledge about this factor also having a reversed effect in a creative context. There is a lack of knowledge about the elements of lifestyle and mentality in different parts of the world and how they might also influence creativity. The results follow the importance of the idea of paying attention to these elements and generate alternatives to boost effectiveness: "People can get distracted with the incredible weather they have here, being close to the ocean, amazing food, all those things that are positive for the city, simultaneously cause some challenges in creative people's daily life" (R2, 2022).

Additionally, the representative from the municipality (R1) stresses that in the private sector there are not many stakeholders implementing creative activities in the city. Millenium BCP and EDP (Portuguese electric utilities company) have been mentioned several times as funders and supporters of creative initiatives in Lisbon. All in all, in Lisbon's cultural environment main stakeholders are mostly the government, municipality, non-profit institutions and international organisations. This means that more diverse stakeholders should be present in the ecosystem and contribute developing creative initiatives. Otherwise, as Romein and Trip (2009b) also agree, limited participation can lead to the lack of funding and spontaneous or non-commercial ideas being left behind and paid less attention to.

4.4.2 Social diversity of the city's 'DNA'

As shown in **Figure 3**, 'social climate and diversity' indicator is linked to the concept 'open'. All respondents agree that Lisbon is an open city for diverse communities and subcultures: "The diversity was always present here as historically Lisbon was an epicentre of the whole empire. People from different backgrounds have always been present in Lisbon" (R2, 2022). Florida (2002) introduced the 3T model of 'Talent, Tolerance and Technology' and claims that for a city to be creative, all three elements must be present. By tolerance element, they specify the foreign-born population, gay, bohemian and diversity indexes (ibid.). Typically, other researchers such as Landry (2000) and Clark et al. (2004) support Florida's ideas on social climate and argue that diversity and creativity are linked to urban economic growth (2007). Openness and diversity in Lisbon are not based on specific policies; it is more of a historical value embedded in its DNA: "Our policies regarding diversity, immigration, and integration, have the right amount of looseness to accommodate a bit of everything, it is an involuntary model that kind of works. In a way, it is the result of policymaking, but not exclusively" (R3, 2022). Nonetheless, few respondents stated that although in a mainstream context, the city can be considered open and diverse, for the people more concerned about these issues it is not enough: "Just look around, we are all the same colours, backgrounds, wealth level, and we all live in the same areas. But underrepresented groups are still underrepresented. And it is not in the heads of the public" (R8, 2022).

Some of the interviewed organisations are keen to contribute tackling the city's discrimination issues. A good example is the Marvila library's membership in 'The Human Library' organisation, a Danish social innovation strategy aiming to promote dialogue, respect for human rights and the fight against stereotypes. It is a face-to-face meeting between two

people: one is a 'book', and another one is a 'reader', and Marvila library is the sole member of this social project from Portugal. It is a way to get to know the personal stories of people who have been victims of social issues, and change people's ideas about discrimination. Another important example is Largo Residências cultural association, who immensely contributed to the urban redevelopment plan of the municipality named Bip-Zip (Neighbourhoods and Areas of Priority Intervention) in the area of Intendente, which used to be a place with major social problems. The association director (R10, 2022) shared that their main goal was to make culture accessible for the locals of this place and work with the community that was left behind. She mentions that their organisation is pursuing a rich cultural programme involving various communities in Lisbon. However, not many such cultural associations are leading the same policy due to the lack of funding: "[…] There is a refugee friend that works a lot with us who says 'Lisbon is a very welcoming city, but still not an inclusive city.' And this is the big point" (ibid.). R13 highlights that for creativity to spark, more such non-profit organisations focusing on community work are needed. These initiatives make clear the perception of Clark et al. (2004) about the valuable role of small-scale cultural organisations in contributing to the spread of social diversity in a creative city.

4.4.3 Buzz and atmosphere

Scott (2000) outlines that to form a creative atmosphere, it is significant to take into account traditions that control the production systems. In order to find out about Lisbon's creative atmosphere and whether the city is leading business or a people-centric approach to creativity, a question was asked to all respondents about the city's focus on attracting people versus creative production. In addition, a follow-up question was asked about which one would be more relevant for the city. The results demonstrate that attracting people has been a focus in the latest decade, starting with temporary visitors and later changing the focus on attracting talents to live and create in Lisbon: "I do think that the city has been very successful in attracting creative people from a cultural perspective, and also from an economic, financial and tech perspectives." (R13, 2022). Florida (2002; 2005) states that attracting people is necessary for a creative city, as talents bring events and create conditions to boost production. On the other hand, Scott (2000) argues that it is not enough just to attract them to the city; the main issue is for the authorities to create an environment where these creatives will stay and develop the field. R7 specifies that local policies are consequential to create favourable conditions for creative companies to invest here in Lisbon. Simultaneously, it is word of mouth: "Due to those

big companies that invested here, other small and medium ones also approach Lisbon. They choose Lisbon not just because of weather and food, but also because of the creative community and atmosphere flourishing here" (ibid.).

The majority of respondents believe that both attracting people and creative production are necessary, and it is impossible to separate them: "There are good incentives in general, the fact that the city is pleasant and charming is indirectly a good way of attracting creative people" (R13, 2022). Favourable conditions in Lisbon, being more affordable than other western European cities and offering much more, influence many foreign individual creatives to choose the city to live and create. It is a good factor; nonetheless, the researchers point out that the creative atmosphere in a city must be attractive not only for foreign creatives but also for the local ones to keep living there (Glaeser et al., 2001; Florida, 2005). If the conditions are not the same for foreigners and the locals, and if the locals leave the city somewhere else, it purports the structural issues in allocating creative opportunities (ibid.).

"[…] Creative people sometimes do not stay long here, because jobs are still very poorly paid. The city is costly, especially for an emerging artist. I think there is a big problem of retention of talents, in general." (R9, 2022)

As for Scott et al. (2001), having 'buzz' in creative production in terms of innovation, technology and skills is essential for creativity to secure intangible cognition in fast-changing environment. In Lisbon, a good example of such face-to-face cooperation can be 'Hub Criativo do Beato', which is a municipality project managed by 'Startup Lisboa' promoting creativity and innovation in Lisbon: "Currently, it is difficult to define the border between what is technology, creativity, and entrepreneurial ecosystem. And what we are trying to do here is to create a community that can also support itself on creativity" (R6, 2022).

Figure 3 shows that the 'Buzz, atmosphere' indicator is linked to the concept 'happening'. When it comes to diverse street life, random street encounters, and socialisation in so-called 'third places', Lisbon's creative atmosphere is rich and spontaneous in such activities. As it happens naturally all over Lisbon, all respondents shared that public authorities support street activities by facilitating the organisation of such occasions and events, which proves Florida's (2005) ideas of the need for materialisation and planning support from the government in establishing those 'third places'. However, some respondents mentioned that street activities are not always diverse as would be expected: "We use the streets a lot and streets are generally

diverse. But in some cases, some people from various backgrounds do not mingle enough because they do not feel they are part of it" (R8, 2022).

4.4.4 Creative employment and labour market

It is clear from **Figure 2** that the theme 'creative' overlaps with the theme 'work', and both are connected via several concepts such as 'people', 'project', and 'activities'. In addition, this simultaneously indicates the 'buzz' that there is always something happening in a creative ecosystem and the dense labour market, which is considered by Glaeser et al. (2001) and Florida (2002) as an attractive element for the creative class. Although the interviewees' answers about the labour market in Lisbon vary, they all agree with the fact that the jobs available in a creative market are poorly paid: "I do not think it is very easy to find a job in a local creative market, mostly because those jobs are not well paid. Lisbon is becoming an expensive place to live, and the market is still very precarious" (R8, 2022).

Consequently, this leads to another problem in a creative ecosystem: Lisbon has been losing its population in the last decades. The respondent from Brotéria states that: "[…] This happened again some five years ago, and employability is not impossible in the country. The thing is jobs are so poorly paid that people decide to move abroad despite having worked here" (R13, 2022). However, he also mentioned that in comparison to previous decades, the amount of people leaving Lisbon has dropped within the last ten years. It is primarily the result of the flow of international creative businesses opening their branches in Lisbon within the last decade. It is another consequence of opportunities from international businesses in Lisbon taking speed. He also pointed out the distinguishing factor of the creative sphere in comparison to all the other industries stating that creativity does not need to have enough jobs: "The proof that your product is good when you work in a creative industry is the fact that you can make it happen." (ibid.). It is an unconventional angle to look at the prospect of employability in the creative world that being creative and doing something valuable is a job without being hired and certainly bringing income. The problem here lies in whether there are good conditions for creatives to show their work. Relevant to this matter, R13 describes Lisbon as the place 'to show your work'. As it is quite expensive to afford to live in Lisbon, many emerging artists and creatives do their work outside of the city but promote it in Lisbon. Natural assets of Portugal's landscape scenery play a significant role for these creatives to get inspired outside of the metropolitan area but still to connect to others in Lisbon via tools of information technologies.

4.4.5 Built environment: creative neighbourhoods and gentrification

Several questions were asked to the interviewees to find out how creative neighbourhoods are planned in Lisbon and whether they are aware of potential gentrification issues happening in those neighbourhoods. The most common answers of neighbourhoods as examples are Marvila, Beato, Intendente, Anjos, Martim Moniz, and Alcantara. According to the statements, all these neighbourhoods have been regenerated within the last decade; before that, they were clear cases of 'ghost towns'. No one wanted to move to those areas or work there, as no employment opportunities were available, and the area suffered from social issues. The city authorities allowed these parts of the city to renovate and reinvent themselves. As pointed out by Florida (2002;2005), the pioneers that go live in these places first are mainly from the creative and cultural backgrounds. Alongside the gentrification that these creatives bring to these neighbourhoods, they also contribute a lot by choosing to live there: they renovate the area, make it attractive, open new businesses, and create employment opportunities for the locals. In this process, the state also gives a hand to these neighbourhoods by putting its creative hubs, co-working spaces or other incubator facilities that offer more services and attract people from outside. According to Clark et al. (2004), the city officials could also contribute to the revitalisation processes by supporting cultural events involving the communities in such neighbourhoods. One of the City Council's successful initiatives that was mentioned by R11 and supported in the research by Estevens et al. (2020) was to support the music and culture community festival named the 'Festival Todos' (Everyone Festival) in the neighbourhoods most affected by social issues. It is one of the examples of when the city authorities use culture to contribute to revitalising these areas and make them attractive to the public. As a result, it changed the perception of both the insiders and outsiders of these neighbourhoods. It is an achievement if it does not create tension and social stress between the locals who were already there and the ones coming from outside. Clark et al. (2004) state that it needs to be carefully considered, in a very respectful way to the people living there.

"And that is something overall about Lisbon. If they continue to attract people, they need to be very keen on the values and ambitions of these people. Because the moment they become a little bit more fascist, people just go away." (R2, 2022)

In the example of Lisbon, the respondents were also worried about the government's incomprehension and not taking required measures to safeguard these neighbourhoods after revitalisation to prevent them from full privatisation triggering the housing crisis.

As shown in **Figure 2,** concepts such as 'people', 'project', 'activities', 'work', and 'open' are connected to the themes of 'library' and 'creative' which point to the community-involvement processes happening in creative neighbourhoods. An example of the municipality library renovation as a case of the public's contribution to achieving respectful communication with the locals of the creative neighbourhood of Marvila was mentioned by the respondent from GEPAC (R2). The library, before the latest opening after the renovation, was open to the public. A lot of people were already working there, but the library had some problems. Many times, the windows were broken, for example. To tackle these issues and make the space community-oriented, the municipality managed to build a relationship with the key people of the community so they can see that the library serves them and their needs. To have a message that: "We are not here to obliterate you or to treat you as transparent or as somebody who does not belong here" (R2, 2002). Moreover, it was a neighbourhood with many different cultural and ethnic backgrounds: people from the previous Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa, people of Roma descent, nomadic people, etc. These problems would still exist without this new relationship between the locals of the neighbourhood and city authorities. If new people coming would not respect their values, the local population will not cooperate as they will not work for somebody that do not have the same value system. It was a huge success story in the neighbourhood, and currently, library serves as the meeting point for all generations living in the neighbourhood, using the space for entertainment, socialization and community events. The library is also developing many innovative projects, such as gaming, where youngsters are taught artificial intelligence. Marvila library is more than just giving books; it is giving hope to the whole community. This initiative shows that the comments of Clark et al. (2004) about being able to respond to the needs of the community are crucial in a creative environment in order to build an effective relationship with them.

On the other side, all respondents agreed that gentrification is very much present in Lisbon and its creative neighbourhoods. According to the respondent from Gulbenkian (R3), it is something natural in all cosmopolitan cities, but the distinguishing factor about Lisbon is that the process here is happening at a rapid speed. Neither creative people, creative businesses, nor city authorities are ready for it. Based on the results, the housing crisis is the most enormous consequence of gentrification in Lisbon's neighbourhoods, primarily because of the latest tourism boom and Airbnb explosion at a certain point. It is something that has been mentioned

by Gregs (2011) that in case of the policy lack targeting over-tourism, a creative city might face substantial issues related to gentrification and its outcomes. Other reasons are the golden visa opportunities, the expat community, and how they can afford things that people used to live in the centre of the city right now cannot. The respondent from Iminente Festival states that "Lisbon now is not for Portuguese people anymore." (R11, 2022). Some sort of de-characterisation is also happening in traditional neighbourhoods because older people, or those who have already lived there for a long time, right now cannot afford to go to the restaurant on the corner, or to grab a coffee in that place. R9 shares: "Everything got expensive and curated that causes the loss of city's personality. It is okay, it happens everywhere in the world's cities. The negative factor here is that it is inaccessible, not diverse, and creates a sense of non-belonging" (R9, 2022). It is a fact that researchers (Florida, 2002, 2005; Romein and Trip, 2009b) find gentrification as a natural outcome in a creative city, and their ideas are not to avoid gentrification considering its complex nature, but more to minimise its consequences as much as possible. In addition, they put creative people as one of the main contributors to gentrification. It is a factor that the respondents did not deny that creative people cause revitalised neighbourhoods to face gentrification at some point; however, the majority do not consider that it is their fault. The respondent from Brotéria Cultural Centre (R13) contends that they add value to the life of the city as well in terms of the revenue they generate, the quality of their creation, cosmopolitanism, and for building peace: "[…] And if it was not for creative people moving in, gentrification will happen for some other reasons" (ibid.). A PhD researcher (R9) in fashion entrepreneurship points out that some of the creative ones might have had the responsibility, but some of them might have profited from this, which is very natural. Because they need their work to be promoted: "[…] They need their chairs to put in restaurants, their designs to be hired for a new space. It is okay and there is no blame in that. We all profit, and in a sense, we are all part of the problem" (ibid.). All in all, it is clear that gentrification is bound to happen in a city like Lisbon, as long as living conditions and wages are low.

An additional problem that was acknowledged by some of the interviewees is that Lisbon is facing the big challenge of losing its identity: "[…] Again, my concern here is just that creativity might be in danger if Lisbon becomes a city, like every other city" (R13, 2022). It is a big challenge for a creative city, and academic literature lacks any practical guidance on how to avoid this 'copycat' that has become widespread among cities claiming themselves creative.

"When we come to the point where McDonald's is the only restaurant we have in every single city in the world, and when that day comes, creativity will be very diminished in scope." (R13, 2022)

The present results agree with the ideas of Borén and Young (2013) that gentrification, by its nature, has this problem. They claim that with or without notice, in the growing competition between cities, the majority of city policies use the same references for branding, which cause the distinctiveness and peculiarity of different places and geographies to fade and eventually disappear. The academics worry about this case and urge creative city policymakers to involve the local community in decision-making and support the work and initiatives of local creative businesses. Creativity cannot be only used as a tool to 'fix' existing urban and social issues.

"Everything seems very short-term to cover existing issues in the city which quite serious and important, and the way we are operating culture is not sustainable. We are committing the same mistakes." (R3, 2022)

Furthermore, many respondents stated that local policies could address some of the harmful elements of gentrification, which are all connected, specifically in housing.

4.4.6 Incubators of creative activities

Old buildings have a significant impact on a creative environment, and as stated by Jacobs: "[…] New ideas must use old buildings" (1961, p. 188). As shown in **Figure 2**, the theme 'creative' is connected to the theme 'buildings' via the concepts 'people', 'space', and 'community'. Scott (2000), Landry (2000), and Florida (2005) contend that in a creative city, old industrial buildings must provide affordable amenities for creative people in terms of living, working and leisure. These buildings become incubators of creative activities and are being used for small-scale creative projects. The researchers agree that creatives usually find these buildings more authentic and non-commercialised, as they can still add their own value to restructuring them. Following this, a few questions were asked about the state of old-industrial buildings in Lisbon, how they are being used, and what type of amenities they provide.

Many of these old-industrial buildings in Lisbon are owned by the municipality or the state itself. The respondent from the Lisbon City Council stated that they always try to regenerate these old buildings if they carry a certain value to the city. This perception contradicts the ideas of Jacobs (1961), who stresses that not only valuable old buildings but all of them should be

taken care of, revitalised and returned to the community. According to the results, current revitalisation processes in old-industrial buildings are mostly happening in Marvila and Beato creative neighbourhoods. The creative clusters of these areas are located close to each other, indicating that the 'Marshallian atmosphere' of Scott (1997), which is a positive factor in the development of urban creativity, is present in Lisbon. One of the clear examples of revitalising old-industrial buildings is 'Hub Criativo do Beato' project which was formerly an army factory and now is one of Lisbon's primary creativity and innovation clusters. The respondent from Largo Residências (R10) stated that the building where their association is currently based used to be a police headquarters and a prison at some point, and before they moved there, it was abandoned entirely. The outcomes also support the ideas of Kotkin (2000) that not only old industrial buildings but non-industrial old buildings left empty can benefit the creative community. However, many respondents believe that these buildings do not provide affordable amenities for creatives. The main reason behind it is that in the last decade, many of these buildings went into privatisation and became hubs with expensive services as there are no local policies or strategies to keep them from getting privatised. Florida (2005) specifies that local policies are crucial in managing urban processes revitalising old buildings, as private investors are always looking for them, and usually, their main interest is profit-oriented. With the lack of policies, these spaces lose the ability to serve the creatives. It is happening in 'Hub Criativo do Beato', where international investors own some buildings. The idea is still to create attractive spaces for creatives, but the ultimate aim is to increase those spaces' value by using creative agents. Most of these buildings serve as art galleries, audio-visual studios, and co-working spaces, but some buildings and warehouses are rebuilt as lofts and expensive condominiums. On this matter, Lisbon is not an exception in what urban phenomenon concerned: "We are just following the book for that 20 years later" (R3, 2022). When asked whether the revitalisation processes involve the participation of local creatives, the respondents shared that privatised buildings have their regulations and do not always collaborate with local creatives. The involvement of locals is more common in the buildings owned by cultural associations, such as Fábrica do Braço de Prata in Marvila. These are the examples where local creatives retransformed these spaces that Florida (2005) considers necessary as these transformations made by the locals usually serve the community and its needs. In this regard, respondents also shared that now the authorities see that the only possible solution is to keep these remaining empty industrial buildings from privatisation and to transform them into resistance for affordable conditions: "The government did not have this vision to keep

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industrial places not to be privatised and to bring structural conditions for the creative sector. And it is a pity. But now we are trying to compensate for this delay" (R10, 2022).

One of the strategies that the municipality is currently leading, even though it is still not part of a comprehensive city policy, is letting small and medium size cultural associations use these buildings without charging them or charging a very low symbolic fee. In return, they expect these associations to 'bring life' back to these buildings and use them for community-oriented activities with affordable amenities. There are several examples when this initiative is running successfully. Iminente Festival with their 'Underdogs Gallery', 'Fábrica do Braço de Prata', and many more use these buildings and warehouses and are mostly community-oriented: "There is a certain charm in these old-industrial buildings, we creatives feel so inspired by just physically being here" (R11, 2022). It indicates that this process will see more benefits in the near future when more and more cultural associations move their activities to such spaces. The respondent from IADE (R7) mentioned another positive factor that at the moment even these privatised buildings and activities held there are starting to engage with the local community. And although the mission is honourable, but in the end, they are promoting a co-working space or sell their services. Simultaneously, they are also vital because they can reach out to specific places like 'Hub Criativo do Beato' in the Beato neighbourhood which used to be a 'ghost town': "They are creating a different dynamic in neighbourhoods and even if they are private or with public funding, them being there is already a positive impact" (ibid.).

4.4.7 Amenities: leisure-oriented vs knowledge-oriented approach

As illustrated in **Figure 2,** the concepts 'university', 'education', and 'institutions' make the theme 'Portugal', which is connected to the theme 'creative' via the concepts 'people', 'project', 'social', and 'cultural'. Moreover, **Figure 3** visualises that the concepts 'library', 'universities', 'education', 'space', 'people', 'project', 'events', and 'activities' concepts are linked to the indicator 'Amenities'. In this part, the main aim was to achieve the results on the cultural amenities, education, and vocational training available in Lisbon for creative people and their affordability. According to the results, the concept 'university' was mentioned by multiple respondents who considered them as 'tolerant hubs of creativity' (R9, 2022) in Lisbon and generally in Portugal, which Florida (2005) finds crucial in a creative city. On the other hand, the majority also argued that they lack the practical part in proffering necessary skills to prepare creatives for the job market: "They fail in becoming entrepreneurial, as institutions. […] They strengthen these profiles of people who will be on the job market and creating new

projects; but concerning the soft skills of either financing, communicating, promoting yourself, it is poorly executed" (R9, 2022).

The education facilities in Lisbon are most important in allowing investigators to have a structure to work. The role of universities, research institutions, and education facilities has been discussed thoroughly by academics (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; 2005; Clark et al., 2004), and they all highly value their benefits to the creative environment and contribution to the local city policies. The respondent from IADE – Creative University (R7) mentions that universities have that mission to try to open the knowledge of adding creativity to other fields. Developing creative thinking in creativity is not feasible in the short term, it is only achievable in the medium and long terms: "Preparing all the curriculum considering these mentioned factors is a challenge that universities need to embrace" (ibid.).

In the question asked about educational institutions' participation and cooperation with local authorities in creating cultural strategies, the majority claimed that their research is not fully implemented in the authorities' decision-making. They shared that even though there are open channels between universities, the city and the government, the knowledge that universities have produced need to be measured consistently throughout the time: "[…] In democracy, decision-makers keep changing, and the universities need to keep lobbying governments because people change. The channels are open, but the knowledge booming from universities is not always transferred into public decision-making and city policies" (R12, 2022). The PhD researcher in Fashion Entrepreneurship (R9) shared that the concept of entrepreneurship must be applied in Portugal's educational system. She specifically focused on 'Triple helix model of innovation', which is an integral policymaking tool enhancing innovation and building communication between universities, industry, and the government. She added that universities need to promote their students' work elsewhere, not just internally, bringing stakeholders in and making them active parts of the education they provide: "[…] I think they work as hubs for creatives, but not necessarily they are fully effective in making them successful creatives outside of the university. And that is very critical" (ibid.).

The lack of such an innovative education approach by local universities is also directly linked to losing talent after graduation as they leave elsewhere. They are not fully aware of their chances and the opportunities that exist outside the university, which leads them to leave for other places. It is an essential factor that Florida (2005) puts as the ability for creative companies to the retention of talent, but does not clearly indicate the role of educational institutions and how they can be integrated into the process of keeping graduates in the city. Landry (2000) and Scott (2000) also point out that in a creative city, there is a need for

cooperation and active communication between all kinds of stakeholders, but they miss details on how educational institutions could facilitate this process. It is something that needs to be addressed in future discussions as for a city to be a thriving creative milieu, it is essential at first to be attractive for its own talents. In Lisbon, the implementation of this model can be achieved, as R1 mentioned that they are always open to cooperation with universities in many projects: "[…] we provide our support for them. If it is not financial support, then we try to help with other matters such as publicity and communication" (ibid.).

According to the results about Lisbon leading leisure-oriented or knowledge-oriented approach, all respondents agreed that the city is keeping both directions. While there are many leisure-oriented cultural activities and big events in music and entertainment that Clark et al. (2004) identify as 'constructed amenities', there are also many other small-scale cultural activities with affordable prices. The respondent from Iminente Festival (R11) shares that many festivals in Lisbon are profit and leisure-oriented; however, there has been a significant increase in the number of cultural events focusing on creative knowledge.

The respondent from the Lisbon City Council (R1) shares that although it is hard to achieve, it is vital to link leisure and knowledge. He is of the opinion that talents and creative companies coming to Lisbon also have a responsibility to be involved in this process and contribute to the development of creativity by investing in people, culture, education, and innovation. Florida (2002) particularly critiques using public funds for investing in large-scale events as they do not contribute to the reproduction of creativity. In addition, Clark et al. (2004) agree that although 'constructed amenities' are also valuable, a creative environment needs affordable cultural programmes with the active participation of locals. Moreover, R9 specifies the municipality's support in providing different types of cultural programmes. The City Council and its EGEAC institution own many cultural facilities in Lisbon that creative organisations can use for their events.

An important cultural stakeholder in Lisbon's cultural and creative world is the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which many respondents mentioned as the established institution fostering creativity and reshaping the creative atmosphere of Lisbon. According to the results, they have a rich cultural programme oriented on different communities and one of their initiatives is 'Jardim de Verão' event which takes place in its garden oriented on Afro-Portuguese music culture and fully open to the public. R11 adds that: "[…] it is nice to see such an institutional place having such an interesting and different programme from the things that we used to see from other institutions" (ibid.). The Gulbenkian Foundation is also invested in enhancing creative knowledge and fostering cultural education. They are well integrated into

this network of knowledge, academy, cultural life, and creative fabric of the city: "We fund and provide scholarships for students. We work with universities in many ways to prepare exhibitions and social innovation projects. We do not have all the experts for everything we do, and universities can provide these experts." (R3, 2022). Although the academic literature points out the significance of small-scale cultural associations in reshaping a city's creative atmosphere, there is little information about the role of established organisations and their contribution in this process.

Last but not least, many respondents shared that there are not enough affordable vocational programmes for creatives to enhance their skills, especially in languages other than Portuguese. However, some respondents are optimistic about the role of the increasing number of non-profit associations in Lisbon within the last couple of years involved in providing such amenities: "[…] I think this is changing for the better. It will keep changing over time, in a way that will make it better and easier" (R13, 2022). There are concerns in the academic literature about the lack of interest among creative people in getting other, more technical skills to finance their works and be independent (Florida, 2005; Scott, 2006). According to R12 who was formerly involved in the Ministry of Culture's initiative to develop tech and business skills among local creatives, in Lisbon there is a challenge in monetising your work: "There is prejudice against making money out of cultural and creative work here in Portugal because we come from a dictatorship where all cultural and artistic activities were financed by the state" (ibid.). Although she argues that there is available training, many creatives do not consider that they should have those skills yet. There is a mentality that they should create more freely and not necessarily invest in more technical skills such as project management. It is a concern that is very crucial to address; however, the academics do not provide clear guidance on location-based mentality among creative people in terms of their education and how it can be managed. The respondent from GEPAC (R2) agrees with this factor being a problem in Lisbon's creative environment: "[…] It is an issue in the education system. All students should be trained in finances, especially creatives, as in many cases they do not have enough resources to have certain employees who can deal with these aspects" (ibid.). He added that the government and municipality provide funding opportunities for launching creative businesses, but in order to receive this financial support creative businesses must plan their budgeting correctly and very detailed. Consequently, when there is a lack of such technical skills, especially among creatives in visual and performing arts, they fail to propose the detailed plan and get rejected in funding. The education facilities must consider this serious problem and involve this methodology in their curriculums.

5. Conclusion

The current study analysed key success elements of a creative city from the academic literature and how they are applied in practice in the city of Lisbon. These key elements are focused on long-term opportunities for cities in urban redevelopment. The combined most common seven categories of these elements chosen by the author to investigate in Lisbon's creative ecosystem are the following: 'social climate'; 'buzz, atmosphere'; 'employment and labour market'; 'built environment'; 'amenities'; 'cluster and incubator spaces'; 'policy, government and governance'. Nine themes were identified and visualised using the data analysis software Leximancer (**Figure 2**) based on the interview results conducted with the representatives of public and private cultural institutions and organisations. These results show that although the creative environment of Lisbon is developing and has many advantages for creative people, none of the elements is part of sophisticated urban policymaking. Furthermore, elements related to 'policy, government, and governance', 'built environment', 'employment and labour market', 'clusters, incubator spaces', and 'amenities' experience structural drawbacks in their implementation, which results in causing issues of gentrification, housing crisis, labour market, and attrition of talent. The remaining elements of 'social diversity' and 'buzz, atmosphere' are primarily present in the creative ecosystem of Lisbon, considering a rich cultural scene, favourable climate conditions, and diverse historical background of the city.

5.1 Practical implications

The current research suggests several strategy approaches for policymakers and actors in culture and education spheres to build a sustainable environment for the development of creativity and the creative ecosystem in Lisbon. One of the main findings implicates that it is necessary to create a long-term urban policy that will involve all the creative city elements discussed in this thesis. The latest cultural strategy adopted in Lisbon in 2017 (Câmara Municipal Lisboa, 2017) was a short-term solution to fix urban issues with a lack of creative implications and was not fully implemented. A long-term urban strategy must be created and thoroughly followed in tackling the main challenges of gentrification, housing crisis, and talent attrition that Lisbon is currently facing. More policies on the limitation of privatisation of the old industrial and non-industrial empty buildings owned by the municipality or government are needed as well as providing more benefits for the local creatives and creative

businesses to participate in their revitalisation process. This proceeding is a direct positive contribution to resolving the housing crisis and slowing down rapidly growing gentrification processes in Lisbon's creative neighbourhoods. Besides, city authorities should also contribute to the revitalisation processes by supporting cultural events involving the communities living in such neighbourhoods. They can do so by focusing on non-profit small-scale cultural organisations reshaping the city's creative environment and providing more affordable cultural amenities for the community (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002).

Furthermore, Romein and Trip (2009a) specify that city authorities are unwilling or unable to alter the city's economy, acting solely. Cooperation with other cultural, educational, business, and other relevant stakeholders is key to achieving long-term results. The results demonstrate that the participation of universities must be advanced by adopting the 'Triple helix model of innovation' in their curriculum to build effective communication between universities, the city and the government. Additionally, awareness about the importance of technical skills among creative disciplines is crucial to support creative talent after graduation and improve their chances to stay, create their work or business, and contribute to the creative environment. Finally, due to the growing interest in creative city notion among cities, being a 'copycat' and losing the city's unique fabric is an impending threat (Florida, 2005). This process is spread in most of Lisbon's regenerated neighbourhoods, such as Intendente, Anjos, Martim Moniz, Marvila and Beato. To tackle this issue, this study also suggests that one important stakeholder that cannot be ignored is the local community itself. The involvement of diverse communities in the distribution and implementation of creative activities as well as decision-making processes would not only benefit the social diversity and tolerance of the city but also help to keep Lisbon's unique identity.

5.2 Theoretical implications

This study's results feature several theoretical implications. First, it adds to the literature on the creative city notion and its contribution to urban development by examining its key success elements. Considering that academic literature lacks guidance on how these elements can be implemented in practice by contemplating each city's distinct features, local strategies and unique cultural identity, the current thesis generates location-based knowledge on how these elements are applied in the particular example of Lisbon city as an emerging creative milieu.

Although the key elements of creative cities are usually present as part of complex city policies (Romein and Trip, 2009a; 2009b), in the case of Lisbon, they are implemented organically or via individual strategies which do not have a long-term perspective. Lisbon's challenges as a creative city are mostly linked to the lack of sophisticated urban policies with creative elements, gentrification, attrition of local talent, and affordable and accessible amenities. These four mentioned challenges are direct indicators of poor implementation of the elements related to 'policy, government, and governance', 'built environment', 'employment and labour market', 'clusters, incubator spaces', and 'amenities', respectively.

Despite the fact that in a creative environment, gentrification is considered a common challenge (Borén and Young, 2013), in Lisbon, it happened suddenly after the regeneration of certain neighbourhoods and followed by tourism boom, and has been rapidly growing due to the lack of respective policies. Old industrial buildings in Lisbon, which according to Florida (2002) serve as incubators for creative activities and provide affordable amenities for locals, are getting privatised by foreign investors. Landry (2000) states that creative people are seeking authentic, 'non-commercialised' buildings to add their own value, albeit after privatisation, the investors follow their regulations in the transformation process, and it directly affects local creatives having fewer opportunities to use their creativity in revitalising these spaces. The existing policies do not cover the 'incubator' factor that focuses on rehabilitating and reusing such buildings to provide affordable amenities. In the urban environment, the risk of attrition of talent to places where more affordable amenities exist to work and live is undeniable. However, some of the old industrial and non-industrial buildings have been offered for local cultural associations and non-profit cultural organisations providing community-oriented events, and it is getting more common in the last decade.

Last but not least, low salaries and the inability of local universities to prepare creatives for the outside creative market are other factors that push local talents to leave the city, even though this process has slowed down in the recent decade. This problem also originated in the perception of local creative people not finding technical skills important to learn, which blocks them from getting the required financial support from the city to launch their creative business.

5.3 Limitations

The limitation of this research refers to the sample size, and a broader sample of interviewed sources may have contributed to more advanced data and enriched conclusions. For instance,

the sample may have also included insights and perspectives on the researched subject from the individual creative people living in the city and involved in different creative professions.

5.4 Future Research

As the academic literature lacks practical guidance of the application of creative city elements in local urban policies, future research can be conducted in the example of other cities. Future studies must examine this phenomenon based on the distinctive nature of a particular city, the resources available, and its creative class. In addition, more research is needed to provide practical implications on the effective steps the city could take to avoid the 'copycat' and losing its identity. Last but not least, the role of educational institutions as one of the main stakeholders in the creative ecosystem must be thoroughly investigated, specifically on their contribution to the creative class inside and outside the university.

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7. Annexes

Annex A. Interview Questions

Question	Source in the literature	General category of key elements	Purpose of the question
1. Would you be able to describe what is your organisation's role in the development of culture and creativity in Lisbon? * This question is specifically asked for the respondents representing an organisation	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	It is needed to know the operational structure of the organisation and how it influences the creativity in the city.
2. What is the role of creativity in the local cultural development strategy?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Local cultural policies stand at the core of the creative city development. As each city has different approaches towards its creative narrative, this question will identify the position of creativity in the cultural sphere of Lisbon.
3. Who are the main stakeholders in	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Landry mentions the importance of involvement of various

implementing creative activities in the city?			types of stakeholders in creative initiatives. This question asked to identify who these key stakeholders in Lisbon are.
4. How do these stakeholders act?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	The question goes further to find out how the stakeholders act and whether they are connected to each other or not.
5. What do the city authorities focus on more: attracting people or creative production?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Shows if Lisbon leads business or people-centric approach in creativity.
6. In your opinion, which one is more relevant/necessary for Lisbon?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Clarifies if the approach is the right one for the distinctiveness of the city.
7. What kind of relationship does the city governance have with cultural institutions?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Clarifies what kind of relationship exists between public and private sectors.
8. What kind of relationship does the city governance have with creative business	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Shows if there is any support and incentives from the government towards creative people's initiatives

owners and the 'creative class'?			
9. What would you say are some of the challenges that Lisbon faces as a creative city?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Main challenges in creative environment of the city.
10. What should be done to overcome these challenges?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	What should be done to tackle existing issues?
11. Are cultural resources of Lisbon accessible to the local community?	Landry (2000)	Policy, Government and Governance	Identifies the level of community-involvement in the city.
12. Do you think Lisbon is succeeding in attracting creative people/businesses?	Florida (2002, 2004, 2005)	Social climate and diversity	The question is asked to find out whether the city is attractive or not to the so-called 'Creative Class'
13. By providing specific examples, would you consider Lisbon 'open' for diverse communities and subcultures?	Florida (2002, 2004, 2005)	Social climate and diversity	Shows the city's social tolerance towards different communities
14. In your opinion, does Lisbon have dynamic and diverse street life?	Kotkin (2000); Glaeser et al. (2001)	Buzz, Atmosphere	Identifies current situation of creative atmosphere in the city

15. Are there any clusters in Lisbon reshaping the creative atmosphere of the city?	Scott (2000)	Buzz, Atmosphere	To find out the actors involved in building the creative 'buzz' in Lisbon
16. By giving examples, do you think Lisbon has thick labour market in creative industries?	Glaeser et al. (2001)	Employment and Labour Market	To identify if it is easy for local and foreign creatives to find jobs in Lisbon
17. Could you describe the form in which creative neighbourhoods are planned in Lisbon?	Kotkin (2000)	Built Environment | Living and residential environment	To find out the creative 'taste' of Lisbon
18. Are you aware of gentrification issues happening in creative neighborhoods?	Florida (2005)	Built Environment | Living and residential environment	Identifies if the creative neighborhoods struggle with gentrification
19. If yes, who is responsible behind gentrification?	Florida (2005)	Built Environment | Living and residential environment	To identify whether local policies cause gentrification outcomes
20. What is the role of old industrial buildings in Lisbon's creative environment?	Florida (2002)	Clusters, Incubator Spaces	Identifies whether old industrial buildings being used in the city

21. Are these 'incubators of creative activities' provide affordable amenities for creative people? * (affordability in this case refers to leisure, residence, and social activities)	Florida (2002)	Clusters, Incubator Spaces	Question asked to identify how these incubators improve the quality of life of locals
22. Does the revitalisation process of these old buildings involve participation of creatives?	Florida (2002)	Clusters, Incubator Spaces	Identifies if local creatives are provided with the opportunity to add their creativity in revitalizing old buildings
23. In your opinion, do city's cultural amenities focus on leisure-oriented or knowledge-oriented approach? *('fancy' big events vs dynamic downtown and low-budget cultural programmes with active participation of locals)	Clark (2004)	Amenities	Indicates whether Lisbon's cultural amenities are inclusive for locals

			Explores whether in Lisbon there are any accessible vocational programmes for the locals that can improve their creative and other necessary skills
24. Do you think creative people in Lisbon have access to vocational training?	Kotkin (2000)	Amenities	
25. What is the role of universities in the development of creativity in Lisbon?	Florida (2002, 2005)	Amenities	Identifies whether creative people can access quality education that will facilitate job search and improve city tolerance (The idea of Florida (2002, 2005) about universities being 'tolerant creative hubs').

<u>Wrapping up:</u>

- Is there anything I haven't asked, that you think would be relevant to include in the research?

- Which other creative institutions/businesses do you think I should interview?

Annex B. Consent Form for the interview

Dear participant,

To begin with, I appreciate your time and willingness to provide your contribution to this academic work. In the following section you can find a brief overview of the guidelines to participate in this semi-structured interview. I kindly ask you to sign the form once you have been informed about its details. If you will have any further questions, you can contact me via the following email address: **Emilhuseynzadeh@gmail.com**

Guidelines:

- I confirm that I am over 18 years old.
- I confirm that I personally gave my consent to participate in this interview and I find my contribution relevant to the studied area.
- I have been informed of the purpose of the research and was given a chance to ask questions before the start of the interview.
- I confirm that I will not receive any financial remuneration for participation.
- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.
- I confirm that I can express my opinion in English language that I speak and understand.
- I give consent for the insights provided by me to be used for this thesis by mentioning my name/organisation/position.

I am over 18 years old, and I .... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

Signature of the interviewer: _____

Signature of the interviewee: _____

Interviewer: Could you describe what is your organisation's role in the development of culture and creativity in Lisbon?

Interviewee: So, we're at this place called Brotéria which is a cultural centre that belongs to the Portuguese Jesuits. So, a Catholic religious order that started as a journal in 1902. We're now sort of reaching our 120th anniversary. And for a long time, Brotéria's activity consisted in publishing this journal. Over time to journal evolved to become a journal focusing more and more on Christianity and culture, and on cultural themes. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1910, when the Republic was installed, and started coming back to the country in the late 1920s. From the 1930s onwards, we started to gather a library, basically, that had to do with books that had to do with the subjects that were part of the research of the Jesuits who worked in the House and who wrote for the journal. And that is what we had up until 2019, a journal and a large library with 260,000 volumes, very significant collection of books published prior to the 1800s, which technically is called 'Old Book'. In 2019, as part of an agreement established with 'Santa Casa da Misericordia de Lisboa', a very large organisation here in town, we moved to this building where we operate from at the moment. And we added to the journal and to the library a gallery for the exhibitions of the contemporary arts, a permanent collection that the House hosts, and a very dynamic team that does cultural event planning, conferences, book launches, seminars, workshops and so on.

So, this in a nutshell, the history and what we do at the moment. Your question about contribution? That's an interesting one. Lisbon is becoming livelier as a cultural hub. It's changing. 15-20 years ago, we basically had the old theatres and some more formal places like Bairro Alto that used to be a little bit more bohemian. Now, Lisbon has more and more art galleries, festivals, and more cultural institutions in a broad sense. There are two things I would say that we bring to the panorama that are kind of distinctive of who we are. The first one is that in our mission statement, we mention that we want to be the place where the tradition of Christian faith meets with the contemporary urban concerns of people who live or visit Lisbon. So, this idea of bringing together, fostering dialogue and broaching encounters I find to be something quite distinctive in our contribution. Culture and cultural scene in many ways is very ideological and defensive. There are more and more people trying to promote things through art and culture. And it's not really our approach. These ideas of dialogue, encounter and

bringing together are key to who we are and recognising where we come from. At the same time, what are the worldviews that surround us and what are the concerns of people who may not have the same worldview as we have, but still trying to recognise common ground and shared points of interest. So, I find this to be distinctive. The other thing I find to be distinctive is this insistence on the way of doing things. So, it's not really that we distinguish ourselves by being an art gallery. There are loads of art galleries in town, there are loads of institutions and people doing different things in town. But the way we do things, we find that to be quite distinctive, that there's something about hospitality in this house. And we want that to be the case, there is something about truth seeking that is also important to us. There is something about recognising valuing beauty. And these three things together kind of put us in the path of trying to find a way of doing things more than just putting together a programme with events and activities. We try to do things in a way that is hospitable, truth seeking and that recognises beauty, and these three things go hand in hand. And I think this is the contribution we make.

Interviewer: What is the role of culture and creativity in the local cultural development strategy?

Interviewee: For a very long time in Lisbon the cultural and policymaking worlds were kind of strangers living in the same land. I get to have contact quite often with policymakers, both from local parishes and from the perspective of the mayor and the whole City Hall. And I find that the way cultural institutions express their concerns about the pursuit for the common good for social identity and what that means for poverty and violence quite relevant, well received, and paid attention to from the perspective of those who are in charge of policymaking. And yet it's not that those cultural institutions have a seat on the board of every single meeting that happens at a policymaking level. But it is relevant. What is said is relevant. The amount of money we had from a municipal perspective invested into culture was never as high as it has been for the past three years. And that has to do with Covid-19 and the fact that some sort of emergency relief had to be provided. But it has to do also with the fact that there is awareness of the importance of culture and arts for the development of the city and country.

Interviewer: So, what you are saying is that the government and local policies are using culture as a tool to tackle social issues?

Interviewee: No, the other way around. I'm saying that the world of culture and arts can identify some problems that would otherwise go unnoticed to the government. And that because of the activity of the cultural scene, and the art scene, becomes noticeable to the government in a way that it requires action and change.

Interviewer: Who do you think are the main stakeholders in implementing creative activities in the city?

Interviewee: Portugal is a socialist country. And I don't know what answers people have been given, but in a country where your taxation levels are often closer to 55%, the government has a responsibility if not for anything else, just because of the sheer amount of money that is collected through taxes. So, one very important stakeholder would be the government just because they have the responsibility of making things happen, and therefore, they are accountable as well for what happens. If you are looking at large institutions, you have Gulbenkian and Culturgest. I run a small cultural centre and our budget is half a million euro a year. If you want to look at Gulbenkian, Culturgest, or CCB, they're in a whole different level. My understanding is that they do work well done, and that they are important and good stakeholders for what's been happening in the city. But I will also add that there is a proliferation of cultural centres, art centres, galleries, concert venues. Things are just booming, and they have been booming for the past 15 years or so. And it's respectable, the work that these small institutions do. I'm a big fan of small institutions because institutions bring employment. If you have just a small association that is owned by a few friends, that's cool. And they will be doing their work elsewhere, and their jobs will be elsewhere. That's great. But if you want to create employment, and if you want to create jobs, then you need an institutional dimension to it. There are several good, relevant, and reliable small institutions that will employ two people, three people in order to have one and a half FTE, something like that. I think we need these institutions because we need the professionalisation to do well. Creativity has a lot to do with spontaneity and charism is very important. But you if you want to go for the long run, then creativity needs to have structures that will empower the creators and who are able to provide for the livelihood and will be able to take care of them if they're sick, who will be able to give them good working conditions and technological support. So sheer spontaneity is interesting, but I think it's naïve for the long run. You don't have to go all the way to looking for the solution for creativity in large creative hubs such as the one that the City Hall is opening and putting up. There's a lot of creativity going on there. And many small tech start-ups, some

of them that have to do with culture as well. But I don't think the future relies on institutions that employ 300 people, I think the future absolutely requires to have institutions that will employ one person, two, three, something like that. Because those will be able to have boots on the ground, and to know the reality and at the same time, they will have the consistence and the solidity to provide good conditions for people to work. And our cultural team here has 14 people working, seven of them on a volunteer basis. Creativity is easy to come about, the difficult thing to come about is money. If we had more resources, we would do more things with the same standard of quality that we are doing now. But you will only be able to have more funding, if you have a structure that has the quality to justify for donors to fund what you're doing. We hate fundraising here, we don't do it and we don't have a fundraising team just because the whole thing is messed up from the beginning. You have cultural institutions that need money. And to find money, they will hire a team that will do their fundraising, and they will get some money. And with that money, they will pay for their fundraising team. And therefore, they will need money because they will have no money because they spent their money paying for their fundraising team. This is just a vicious circle, that doesn't work. We don't do that over here. But we recognise the need of having proper funding to do things that are good, and that bring quality and ultimately, that are meaningful, because that should be the currency for creativity. You trade in meaningfulness and then you are paid to do that. But meaningfulness and providing meaningfulness is the thing that is the most important.

Interviewer: How do these stakeholders act?

Interviewee: I have great admiration for some of the people who are leading some of these institutions. My understanding is that we are at a turning point, and things are getting better. Again, Portugal is a small and a socialist country, there's not a lot of private money going around. So, institutions tend to be very protective of their donors and their shareholders because shareholders very often bring money. A lot of this has to do with money. And I'm utterly convinced that we can talk about money in a good way and not in a bad way when it comes to creativity and culture. But, up until recently, money was a problem and therefore institutions were very protective of their own turf, and they made sure that no one else was able to invade their turf. I find that to be less and less the case. Last week or 10 days ago, we had to submit a proposal for a public grant which is a large public grant. And we did that ourselves. Our own team, as I said, we don't hire fundraisers, the whole thing from beginning to end. One of the things we had to gather were letters of sympathy, or appreciation. Individuals and institutions

talking about the work we do here and telling the government that the work we do here is relevant. And I was just absolutely puzzled with the amount of replies we received, with the number of letters we received. Some of these letters came from people who could see us as competitors. But there is something about recognising that this institution is doing a good job, that this particular curator is doing a good job, and so on. I find this to be more transparent, more welcoming, more encouraging, than it was in the past. Yes, I'm quite hopeful. I know I'm not answering your question straight, but in terms of hopefulness, I have great hopefulness in the fact that collaboration will exist more and more. And I see glimpses of collaboration nowadays that I think will grow.

Interviewer: As a non-profit institution, which sources are you funded from?

Interviewee: So, the Jesuits who in the past owned the journal 'Brotéria', own a building elsewhere in the city, in Lapa, that is rented. And that rent money comes to us. That means about 1/3 of our budget. Then we rent out rooms here in the building. We have a cafe, so we have income that comes from F&B. We have the subscriptions of the journal. We have private donors and private donations. And then we apply for different public grants in different levels. And then we have sponsors for specific projects. Now we have one main sponsor for our library that brings in about 60,000 euros a year. So, we are running as a non-profit and looking for the resources that non-profits must look for both at the public and private levels.

Interviewer: Whom are you renting the rooms?

Interviewee: This is a 19th century palace. So, the ceilings are quite nice, and the light is great. And the space is spacious. The rooms have good conditions for conferences and meetings, so, we have interest coming from companies that deal in cosmetics to universities that want to do conferences here or sellers that want to have their board meetings here. It's quite diverse.

Interviewer: So, not necessarily for creative people?

Interviewer: We have artists in our art gallery mostly. And yes, most of the work we do in that regard is in our gallery because artists here will not enter the category of rentals. Now, we have conferences and talks that involve artists, some of them who are exhibiting in the house, some of them who have in the past. But that doesn't count as a rental that comes in the section of our

event planning and cultural event planning. So, there is no fee involved in renting the room, that is us putting up those events, and overseeing the communications, design, setting up the room in terms of audio visuals, etc. So, we are the one to do all of that when it comes to artists and the art world.

Interviewer: What do you think the city governance focuses on more: attracting people or creative production?

Interviewee: It is both because there's an agency owned by the City Hall called EGEAC that runs theatres and other cultural venues. And to attract people? Yes, absolutely. You have a good programme of residences that is run by the City Hall, and there are some other similar projects. There are good incentives in general, the fact that the city is pleasant and charming is indirectly a good way of attracting creative people.

Interviewer: Is Lisbon succeeding in attracting creative people/businesses?

Interviewee: Yes, absolutely. The politically incorrect answer would be at the expense of people who were born here. I do think that the city has been very successful in a way that has brought a lot of benefits to the city and to the country. In attracting creative people from a cultural perspective, and also from an economic, financial and tech perspectives.

Interviewer: What are some of the challenges that Lisbon is facing now as a creative city?

Interviewee: Cosmopolitanism and gentrification may come at the price of the loss of identity of a place. And that is a danger that Lisbon faces as a creative city. Lisbon is an attractive city, because besides good weather and food, there is also a local way of living that is kind of quirky and local. And the city is interesting because of that. But at the same time the fact that the city is becoming more and more expensive and gentrified means that you still get the weather and food but you're starting to lose people. I find that to be a problem if there are no people and no local life in the city. I find funding to be a problem. It is not easy to find money in Lisbon. The tech world is doing better, but the cultural world has obvious difficulties. I don't think the cultural world should be treated differently. I don't think it should be spoiled. But it is true that it is not easy to find money. Another important thing would be internationalisation. It is not common to find fluent Portuguese speakers who are non-native speakers. English native

speakers are usually very accommodating because they are used to having people who are non-native speakers but who speak the language at a proficient/okay level so, they're very accommodating for small mistakes. Native Portuguese speakers are not very accommodating and for that reason, it's difficult to learn the language because the language is difficult to learn. One of the things that happens is that local Portuguese culture finds it very difficult to have an impact abroad, and our literature is very rarely translated. Most of the things they translate is not very interesting. Our music is good, but again, it is not easy to empathise with it. So, internationalisation I find to be a problem in terms of the recognition of our creative talents. And going back to the same thing, in terms of finding sponsors, donors, people who can fund the work.

Interviewer: Do you think creative people are contributing to gentrification processes?

Interviewee: I do, without any intention of doing so. There are very few people moving in Lisbon who will have the same wages, as people who live in the centre of the city and who are who are moving out. Our minimum wage is outrageously low. I think for this year, it's under 730 euros a month. I would be surprised to find more than a handful of people who move to Lisbon with wages under 730 euros a month and who live the life they have elsewhere. It means that without any malice, people who move to Lisbon, will find accommodation to be not very expensive. Food is not very expensive. This is the principle of gentrification. The idea of a city is born out of gentrification. So, there's nothing strange in here. The cities are born precisely because people have to gather in a place to trade and to have safety. It is not a new phenomenon. This is how cities that were built upon, that people come from the outside and move to this place and they make the place more expensive because of what they bring. But in a place like Lisbon things happened fast, perhaps a bit too fast. I think that's the main problem. I do think creative people bring prices up. But they add value to the life of the city as well. They add value in terms of the revenue they generate, the quality of their creation, they add value in terms of cosmopolitanism, and for building peace. And if it was not for creative people moving in gentrification will happen for some other reasons. So, gentrification is bound to happen in a city like Lisbon, as long as living conditions and wages are this shockingly low. We cannot blame that on anyone but ourselves. I keep telling this to public officials, when people complain about the fact that places like Bairro Alto becoming uncharacterised. I mean it's your fault. If wages were not this low, people would not have to move out, so, it's your fault. You cannot blame it on a student or a young professional who moves to Lisbon and has a wage that is

twice/three times as much for no immoral reasons. I like this city and I would like to live here. Again, my concern here is just that creativity might be in danger if Lisbon becomes a city, like every other city. You walk across downtown, there are Zara, H&M, Nike stores everywhere, the same stores that you have everywhere. You go to Avenida da Liberdade, and it is the same thing: the same high end stores that you have in every single major boulevard in Europe. When we come to the point where McDonald's is the only restaurant we have in every single city in the world and when that day comes, creativity will be very diminished in scope. It is going to be between choosing a 'Big Mac' or 'Mac Bacon', but it is all McDonald's. With creativity and culture, the more we let small businesses run dry, the less room will be for creativity. We will think of ourselves as being creative, but we will all be creative in different shades of grey, so it will all be doing the same thing without noticing. Gentrification has that problem. Without noticing we all have the same references. And we lose what is distinctive and peculiar of different places and geographies.

Interviewer: So, creative people, as everyone else, need a place to live and they need a place to work. What has been happening in Lisbon is that people have been moving out from central areas like Bairro Alto and Alfama. They move to suburb neighbourhoods like Marvila and Beato. Do you think that local policies could address these issues to keep them in town? Or do you think it's a positive factor that they move there because they spread creative activities to those neighbourhoods and not everything is concentrated in the city centre?

Interviewee: I think your second point is good. Although, I would say that people who are forced to move out, will always carry with them the sorrow of being forced to move out. So, the fact that they bring some good elsewhere, I find that hard to justify that you can displace people just because they will do a greater good over there and therefore, let's displace them from where they are now. And good luck to them in finding new local ties. I do think local authorities have a role to play here, in many ways. The school system in this part of town is appalling. So, if you're a parent, in your early 30s with a couple of kids and you have to start thinking about where to put them for primary school. You will not want to live here. Just because these are the schools that are worst ranked in the whole school system, in Lisbon and the surroundings. So, why would you do that your kids.   There is another thing where local governments can play a part. If you've lived here for a while, and if you want to live here for a while, and if you show that you have interest to live here for a while, local tax for local housing must become something that is more affordable. If you're in your 20s or 30s and you want to

buy a house here, if you have some sort of incentive for that, then that will help in keeping creative talent here. Because people who are in their 20s and 30s have a lot to offer, in a way that people who are in their teens and late 40s onwards don't have. Both the energy and also the stability of having had already a few years of dealing with the job market, so, it's prime years for creativity. After a certain age, the thing you will do for creativity is to give directions, but you will rarely be the creative agent yourself. Same thing, when you're in your teens, you may have an extraordinary idea, but your extraordinary idea might have to do with 'stapling water to trees', you know, someone will have to know how to do that. And so, in a city like Lisbon, making sure that people in their 20s and 30s can afford to stay in the city centre and to make the city better. Creativity is easier if you have kids running around and you have local grocery stores with regular customers, and that just makes creativity better just because you'll have references and some sort of roots. And that's one less thing to worry about. If your industry has to do with creation, most of the time you will be worried about whether you will have public for what you're doing and being well rooted is one less thing to be worried about. And that just gives you the energy to expand what you're doing and offering.

Interviewer: By providing specific examples would you consider Lisbon 'open' for diverse communities and subcultures?

Interviewee: The difficulty I have in replying that question is that it can easily be used in an ideological way. So, I can either answer that people are not doing enough for my particular community, or that they are doing too much for communities that are not mine, and not enough for mine. I was born here, I lived abroad for eight years, but I know the place, I know people in many different levels, and I run a cultural centre that has an art gallery, I work with artists all the time, but I'm also a Catholic priest. And so, I know loads of different realities in the city. I can provide you with examples of support and openness to every single community you may name and also with examples of lack of support for every single community you may name. I can answer that question in a way that distorts. So, in order not to distort, the only thing I can say is 'yes', without providing any specific examples. I can build a narrative, but it's either pro my community or against some other community that will always be partial. I think it is battle that was won a long time ago. We can still talk about it. I would be immensely surprised if someone says that they feel at a threat because they belong to a specific community in the city. This is not to say that there is no danger to people, individually, and even as communities. But even the most welcoming, open, safest place, will have challenges, problems and will have

exceptions. I find Lisbon to be a place that is welcoming, open and safe. And the path is towards more openness, and more welcoming and safety. If you say 'but there are still hurdles here and there'. Of course, you know, our weather can always be better. And weather matters for nothing when it comes to comparison with personal identity and the personal development of who one is. Overall, if you told me that Lisbon is a city where communities are afraid of facing any kind of violence or anything, I would be quite shocked. This is not to say that all communities have the same opportunities, nor that all communities have the same possibilities of developing who they are. But I don't think this is because of openness or welcoming. I think this is because of more structural reasons that have to do not so much with the city, but with history and geography of urbanism.

Interviewer: Does Lisbon have a thick labour market in creative fields?

Interviewee: The proof that your product is good when you work in a creative industry is the fact that you can make it happen. So, I don't think creativity needs to have enough jobs. It's the role of creativity to create value and jobs. If you ask things the other way around: "Are there enough people to work in the creative industry?" That would be a very interesting question. But when it comes to the industry itself, it has the duty to create the jobs that this creative process bring about.

Interviewer: Do creatives stay in Lisbon after graduating, or they move abroad?

Interviewee: People have been leaving Lisbon since last decades, but the numbers were worse 10 years ago than they are now. This is the second or third time that it happens in Portugal. So, you have generations that work as buffers. My generation, for instance, I was born in 1884, many of my friends after graduating from college moved abroad. And they were abroad for 10 or 12 years. And then they wanted to come back. They were not able to come back because the fact that we moved abroad, allowed for the generation that was that came after and us to be well employed. So, my generation found it difficult. And we'll still find it difficult to come back to Portugal because the jobs that were open were taken off by a generation that was below ours. And if we stayed here, they would have had to move abroad themselves. As far as I know, this is the second or third time we have a buffer generation that moves abroad and leaves space for others. This happened again some five years ago, and employability is not impossible in the country. The thing is jobs are so poorly paid that people decide to move abroad despite

having work here. But yes, I think your question is well phrased and that is indeed a problem. And I think it will remain one.

Interviewer: What is the role of old industrial buildings in Lisbon's creative environment?

Interviewee: As you know that goes eastwards of where we are now, but also northwards. If you were to come back to Lisbon 10 years from now, and I would expect most of those buildings would be in use. Renovations are starting, but they are expensive. There is a movement and there are things happening. And I have no idea of the rate or the quantity, but in an informal perspective it's growing, and it will keep growing.

Interviewer: Once these buildings are rehabilitated and become 'incubators' of creative activities, do they provide affordable amenities for creative people?

Interviewee: Most of the old industrial ones I know, are housed by non-profits or educational projects. The thing about affordable is always 'affordable to whom?'. Because if it is for local talent with local wages, that's one thing. If it is for local talent with wages from abroad, it's a different thing. I don't know many people born and raised in Lisbon, who work in industrial buildings and the hubs they have become. I would find it difficult to imagine someone older than 25 wanting to work in a co-working space in an old industrial building, instead of finding a place here in downtown or elsewhere. Most of the people I know who are in their late 20s up until their late 30s either work in corporate buildings, or the smaller they can find the better. So, sharing office with a couple of people, I find that to be the dream everyone pursues.

Interviewer: Does revitalisation process of these old buildings involve participation of local creators?

Interviewee: The only example I can think is architects. Most of these buildings are being renewed by Portuguese architects. That's good. I suspect that they will be brought in, because local architects will speed up the process as they will know how to navigate the bureaucracy better. It's the only good example I can think of where you will have local talent.

Interviewer: When a foreign company invests in these buildings, do you think they collaborate with local creatives in terms of the amenities that these spaces would provide in future?

Interviewee: No. I think it's different 'brands of McDonald's'. When once again, you have the money, you have this co-working model that exists and I am not criticising it, but I honestly don't think in all fairness that investors really have an interest in the development of local life.

Interviewer: In your opinion, do city's cultural amenities focus on leisure-oriented or knowledge-oriented approach?

Interviewee: I never thought of that. I would be very interested in learning what other people have been saying about this, because I have no clue.

Interviewer: Do creative people in Lisbon have access to cultural vocational training?

Interviewee: I would say in languages other than Portuguese, absolutely not. You have business schools of the universities such as Católica, Nova, ISCTE. And then there are trainings here and there. But it's not enough.

Interviewer: What is the role of non-profit cultural associations in this regard?

Interviewee: It is a very limited number of those associations that offer events in languages other than Portuguese. But I know some, but I wouldn't say they are representative, neither that they are enough for the population for people to have access to. If you're talking about Portuguese speakers, then yes, I do think there is a lot of quality offer. But this is going back to something we talked about, already, I think this is changing for the better. It will keep changing over time, in a way that will make it better and easier.

Interviewer: Is the data that universities provide from their research in culture and creativity, being used to create cultural policies of the city?

Interviewee: I wouldn't say so. I'd say that local government and local policies are way more influenced by the contact with cultural institutions and directors of cultural institutions, than they are by the universities.

Interviewer: Would you consider local universities as 'tolerant hubs' of creativity?

Interviewee: Yes. I would like to think so. But I studied law, and then philosophy and political theory so, my field is not the most creative one in terms of research and neither in terms of implementation.

Interviewer: Thank you, this was the last question. Is there anything I haven't asked, that you think would be relevant to include in the research?

Interviewee: I don't think so, the interview is quite comprehensive.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for your answers.

Annex D. Code of packages used to create the graph (Figure 3)

```r
  #these are the packages used to read the file and create the
graph

#this package is mostly for making changes to the files so that it's
easier to read in R
library(tidyverse)
#this package is exclusively for reading excel type files
library(readxl)
#this package is for creating graphs
library(ggplot2)
#this package is for aesthetic aspects of the graph, such as the
font and colour of the background
library(hrbrthemes)
#this first step is to create an object (called sheet) with the
excel file inside so that R can read it
sheet <- "emil-concepts.xlsx"

#An object called 'concepts' is made with the data from the object
with the excel sheet, which is made into a dataframe, which is a
type of object in R that looks like an excel sheet, that can be
manipulated and used for data visualisation
concepts <- readxl::read_xlsx(
  path = here::here(sheet),
  na = c("", "-")
)
#this is the code for making the graph
concepts %>%
  #this is for arranging the data in descending order by count
  dplyr::mutate(Concept = forcats::fct_reorder(Concept, Count)) %>%
  #this is to remove the concepts "Lisbon" & "Portugal" from the
```

```
data

  dplyr::filter(!(Concept == c("Lisbon", "Portugal"))) %>%

  #this is to tell the software that the x and y variables of the

graph are Count and Concept respectively, and that the colour of the

lines are to be grouped by the Indicator variable

  ggplot2::ggplot(aes(x = Count, y = Concept, color = Indicators)) +

  # create a lollipop plot and change the colour of the lines

  ggplot2::geom_segment(aes( x = 0, xend = Count, y = Concept, yend

= Concept)) +

  # change the size and transparency of the circles at the end of

the lines

  ggplot2::geom_point(size = 4, alpha = 0.9, ) +

  #this is an aesthetic change for the area of the circles

  ggplot2::scale_size(range = c(.1, 24)) +

  #this is to change the font and background of the graph

  theme_ipsum() +

  #this is to place the legend at the bottom of the graph

  theme(legend.position = "bottom")
## Warning in `==.default`(Concept, c("Lisbon", "Portugal")): longer

object length
## is not a multiple of shorter object length
## Warning in is.na(e1) | is.na(e2): longer object length is not a

multiple of
## shorter object length
```