

# Cultural Industries and the Environment: Towards a Sustainable Knowledge Economy

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## Abstract

*This paper draws upon findings from a 3 year creative industries study—‘Creative Tropical City’—to examine the enabling role played by the natural environment in terms of local creativity. In so doing, it challenges creative cities orthodoxy, as represented by high profile figures such as Richard Florida, which tends to focus on large, densely-populated post-industrial urban centres of the global North. Darwin reminds us that there is a lot more to creativity than critical mass, dense networks and global companies. Using the centrality of Darwin’s climate to the lifestyles of the creative practitioners interviewed by this study as its starting point, this paper offers some possible ways out of the frequently unsustainable urban planning cul de sacs to be found by uncritically following a user-friendly simplified model of the creative cities script. Three key axis of sustainability will be addressed: seasonality, the environment, and work/life balance for knowledge workers in the new economy; the role of creative industries, and architecture in particular, in minimising energy consumption in the built environment; and, the survival of unique creative urban landscapes in a globalised, post-Richard Florida world.*

## Introduction

This paper draws upon findings from a 3 year study—‘Creative Tropical City’—to examine the enabling role played by the natural environment in terms of local creativity and, in turn, how creative industries can come together with environmentalism to offer constructive ways forward for dealing with climate change. Continuing the critique of high profile Richard Florida-style approaches to ‘creative’ branding undertaken elsewhere by this author and other members of the project team<sup>1</sup>, this paper challenges creative cities orthodoxy which tends to focus on large, post-industrial urban centres of the global North. To do this, it draws on a discussion of Darwin, an urban yet isolated tropical-savannah location in the north of Australia. What clearly emerges in discussion with Darwin’s creative practitioners is that the natural environment is seen as fundamental to local creativity. Darwin’s unique climate, proximity to the sea and South East Asia, seasonal rhythms, the relative dearth of indoor spaces and the emphasis on outdoor festivals, not to mention markets and performances during the dry season, all means that nature figures strongly as an inspiration for creativity. As I’ve written elsewhere, Darwin reminds us that there is a lot more to creativity than critical mass, dense networks and global companies, which has been at various times and places also been deeply connected to space for reflection and nature as a source of inspiration.<sup>2</sup> All this points to a more complex relationship between culture and nature than has been acknowledged in much policy and industry discourse regarding the knowledge economy, yet this has been rarely

addressed beyond a focus on street-scaping and parklands in much of the thinking on creative cities. Using the centrality of Darwin's climate to the lifestyles of the creative practitioners interviewed by this study as its starting point, this paper offers some possible ways out of the frequently unsustainable urban planning *cul de sacs* to be found by uncritically following a user-friendly simplified model of the creative cities script. In particular, it will foreground the importance of location-sensitive architecture in not only minimising energy consumption in the built environment, but also in providing an obvious medium for the survival of unique creative urban landscapes in a globalised, post-Richard Florida world.

## Research Design

Since first championed by the British government in the 1990s, the idea of branding a swath of intellectual property driven activities under the rubric of the creative industries has been embraced by many in academic, policy and governmental circles. A number of definitions of what exactly constitute the creative industries are in circulation, but one model with particular global strength, and that which served as the basis for the Creative Tropical City project, is that offered by the British Department of Media, Culture and Sport whose list of relevant fields includes: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer games, television and radio

([http://www.culture.gov.uk/what\\_we\\_do/creative\\_industries/default.aspx](http://www.culture.gov.uk/what_we_do/creative_industries/default.aspx)).

Underpinning all this interest in creative industries is a growing recognition of the place of creativity as a key driver of economic growth in an information age, with its associated appetite for content. The centrality of cities here is succinctly summed up by John Howkins, author of, among other things, *The Creative Economy*:

Cities have become icons of the creative economy: their startling new buildings, their crowds, clusters and cultural diversity, their elite stars and industry gatherings, their opportunities for dreaming, internships and starting work, their craziness, their high costs, and, out of all of this, their exhilarating novelty and excellence.<sup>3</sup>

For better, and (all too frequently) worse, policy agendas for economic development and population management have been reinvigorated by such thinking.<sup>4</sup> This has been most popularly manifested in urban policy via the work of economist Richard Florida whose 2003 best seller *The Rise of the Creative Class*<sup>5</sup> initiated a wave of interest globally among city officials and urban planners, in attracting and keeping the knowledge workers seen as essential to economic growth in the new economy. Myself and others have elsewhere offered a critique of this work and its 'one size fits all' approach.<sup>6</sup> However, in summary, a key fault of Florida's books and consultancy tours is their simplistic, formulaic approach which has the effect of generating "sameness and blandness through an indifference to complex social realities."<sup>7</sup> Or put even more strongly by Steven Miles, while Florida's approach "makes all the noises that policy makers want to hear", allowing them to "think big" and offering "the earth in return"<sup>8</sup>, "by selling yourself to the cultural 'devil' there is always a danger that you lose sight of what your city was all about in the first place."<sup>9</sup>

Darwin has long had a reputation as a laid-back city, famous for its warm outdoor lifestyle enjoyed through much of the year. In contrast to the big city, built-

environment focus of Florida's work, an emphasis on the physical world and how it impacts upon culture and the economy noticeably emerged in throughout the 'Creative Tropical City' project. Unfortunately, much of this laid-back, low-key outdoor lifestyle is now seen as under threat as Darwin's economy continues to grow despite the 'Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2008-2009; this is evidenced in it being the city in Australia which recorded the second highest median housing price rise in 2009 (15%).<sup>10</sup> Despite being a capital city, its small size (with a population around 74,500), extremely remote location (at least, from the population centres of south-eastern Australia), and comparatively transient residential population render Darwin, *prima facie*, a city without the critical mass to compete as a creative city on the global stage. As such, Darwin shares with many of the world's smaller cities, more isolated regions and certainly its rural areas, a status outside the mainstream of likely sites for serious growth of the global knowledge economy. Nonetheless, Darwin does have a lively and internationally significant creative sector. While our research mapping Darwin's creative industries certainly affirms the major role that cities play in building and sustaining vibrant communities, an alternative story pointing to why Darwin may punch above its weight as a creative city starts to arise. In this particular mapping exercise, we backed up the (quantitative) ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics) and ABN (Australian Business Number) figures with 98 semi-structured interviews with creative practitioners working and/or living in the Darwin area. Participants were asked questions directly related to their own experience of Darwin's creative industries and the factors enabling and/or limiting the growth of Darwin as a creative city. Among these, we asked people to consider: 'what are the qualities of these spaces that inspire you and enable you to be creative?' The responses to this question are summarised in Table 1.

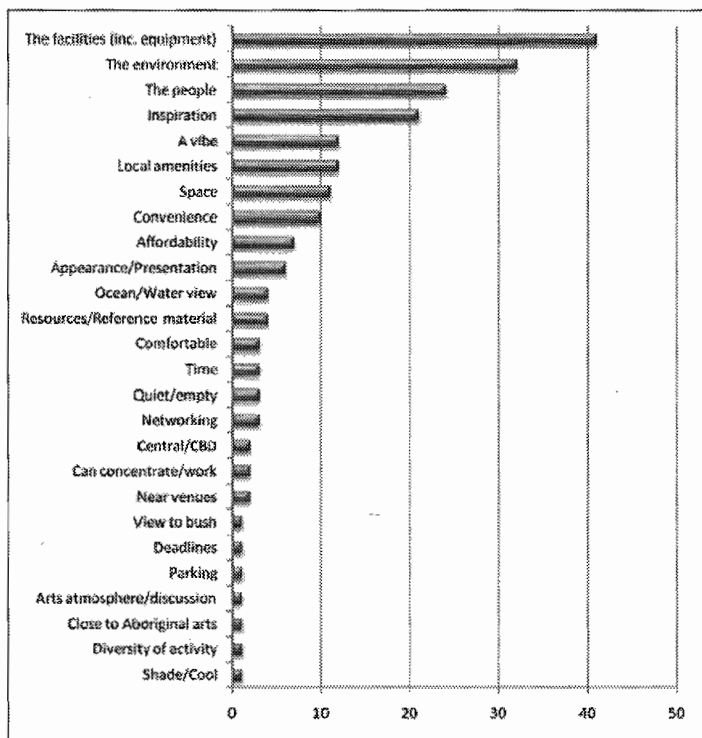
While the city/critical mass-friendly 'The facilities (inc. equipment)' ranked first here, the more nature-focussed 'The environment' ranks a close second, with other qualities off the standard creative cities script—'Can concentrate/work', 'Quiet/empty', 'Ocean/Water view', 'Space', 'Inspiration'—appearing with multiple responses. This taxonomy may simply have been an aberration, or a miss-reading of what people are referring to when evoking 'The Environment', if not for the additional set of triangulating data provided by the mental maps which accompanied the interview process.<sup>11</sup> Developed by cultural geographer and project team member Chris Brennan-Horley, the mental mapping meets Geographic Information Systems (GIS) exercise involved asking participants to indicate on a map any places 'that inspire you to be creative in your work'. The resulting maps clearly present a focus on Darwin's extensive coastal frontage to the Timor Sea<sup>12</sup>; a key part of its natural environment and beauty.

### **Research Findings: Personal Creative Sustainability - Creative Industries and Balanced Lifestyles**

A further emphasis on how the environment and, more specifically, climate affects creative practice also emerged in the Darwin study. Climate defines the year in Darwin. Located above the Tropic of Capricorn, climatically Darwin is a tropical savannah, multi-season place. The Larrakia people indigenous to the region have divided the year into many different climatic periods, but the dominant and most common ways of referring to what time of year it is in Darwin are the 'wet' (December-April) and the 'dry' (April-October), with the coming of the wet heralded

by what is called the ‘suicide season’ or the ‘build up’ (November-December). The ‘wet’ and the ‘dry’ structure the year in Darwin, what kind of city it is and who is around. The dry is tourist and festival season. Meanwhile, during the hot, humid wet even substantial numbers of residents leave, especially those from the southern parts of the country who return to family and friends elsewhere over the Christmas break. Seasonality is thus vital to understanding Darwin, as it is with many cities located within the tropics. To give a sense of its centrality to the construction of place, *ResideNT*, Darwin’s glossy fashion and lifestyle magazine is published twice a year – with a ‘dry’ and ‘wet’ edition. This breakdown of the city is further reflected in the magazine’s advertising, as well as in tourism marketing.

**Table 1: Qualities of Place Enabling Creativity – unpack and list under ‘environment’ and ‘city amenity’**



To appreciate the ambiguous history of tropical seasonality in a (post)colonial society such as Australia, we need to place the idea of the tropics into a longer history of British colonial ambivalence towards and Othering discourses around tropical locales. Again, writing in relation to the specifics of northern Australia, Stratton identifies some of the dominant connotations which have become hardwired to the tropics as a climactic experience following over a century of debate about whether it’s even appropriate or possible for the ‘white race’ to live in such an environment<sup>13</sup>: “heat, luxuriant growth, sensuality, and a general construction of being different, Other, a place which threatens civilization by promoting lassitude over work, and a general degeneration in social etiquette”.<sup>14</sup> A parallel but different understanding of the ways in which the seasonal cycles affect motivation, energy levels and, hence, productivity

emerges however in the study of Darwin's creative industries. It's a picture with wider potential in terms of creative industries, and our understandings regarding what constitutes an optimally creative milieu, especially given recent 'Sea-Change' and 'Tree-Change' shifts in many industrialised countries, not to mention the ongoing and long-standing viability of creative enterprises in the often much-maligned suburbs. In the words of our respondents, these are some of the answers we received to the question: 'So how does the wet season impact upon your creative activities?':

A: "... it's a good time to actually stop and do some thinking and change over because it's less busy here. You can focus on your own projects and what you want to do rather than just being involved in everybody else's, which happens a lot in Darwin." (Interview, August 2007)

A: "Well it's a great time for creative activities in a sense because .... you know we're busy during the dry season with sales and exhibitions and things like that, but really the wet season is when we're doing projects and organising things and so it's a planning time and doing time really" (Interview, July 2007)

A: "It makes me focus on being more in the office because a lot of the spots I go to are inaccessible in the wet season. I think the wet season's great, I find it the time of the year when you feel energised and it's a really good time to get into things and get projects happening." (Interview, December 2007)

A: "I find that I tended to be slightly more insular. I found I probably spent more time in the studio but that wasn't because I was trying to get out of the rain. It's more an elusive thing; it was just somehow more desirable to be in a studio. I felt there's a kind of closure, so I felt like this was a time to work and think and do some.... I've had, in a strange way, similar experiences when I've lived in places that are very cold. It's not that I don't like going out in the snow, because I do, but I find that I tend to work in the studio, and I say that with some precision because the studios were not well heated; they were actually colder to be in and I'd literally be working with mittens and the studios here where I am, were very, very hot and not well ventilated, not air conditioned, so it wasn't exactly a desirable place to be. But I found myself wanting to be there more and I have noticed that in the wet, a lot of practitioners tend to do a lot of work in the wet." (Interview, June 2007)

A picture here of license, of the environment encouraging introspection and shutting oneself in and 'getting on with it' clearly emerges in the interview data. This is especially important for the strategic forward planning of sole traders and micro and small enterprise. Such down time and space for creativity is the under-valued enabling quality of much creative cities thinking despite its importance, even to the 'big end' of town:

When I asked [an Australian physicist and entrepreneur] what motivated his people to do their best, most productive work, he told me they simply need to be "centered". It's

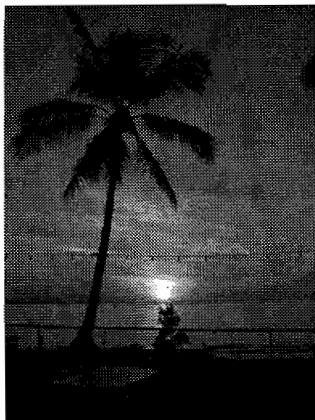
impossible, he added, to be creative when you are stressed and anxious. I know this in my own work; any writer does. So does any software developer. And studies prove it: You need time to get into flow, and once flow is disrupted, it cannot be magically wished back. Stress and anxiety disrupt and damage the creative process. This is what Peter Jackson meant when he said he preferred Wellington because it is free of the “distractions” of daily Los Angeles life. Density and spontaneous interaction are important elements of creative development, but not if they are tethered to too many complications—especially basic safety concerns such as unusable nighttime streets and crime.<sup>15</sup>

### **Discussion: Beyond the Creative Cities Script – Creativity, Climate and the Built Environment**

What manifestly surfaces here is that a number of the key qualities of place identified as fundamental to enabling creativity in the conventional discourse around creative: being ‘Central/in a CBD’; ‘Arts atmosphere/discussion’, ‘Networking’, figure low of the list of reasons why people have set themselves up where they have in Darwin. Rather the ‘environment’, and more nebulous ‘inspiration’ or a ‘vibe’, feature highly here. The central role the local natural environment plays in defining what people mean when they cite ‘inspiration’ and ‘vibe’ clearly emerges when they were prompted to elaborate in the interviews. For example: “That sounds a bit airy-fairy, but I think the other extraordinary advantage is the beauty of the place and the surrounds; I think that the environment, the physical environment.” (Interview, April 2007) Thus, in the data generated by the Darwin project, the natural environment is without a doubt seen as fundamental to local creativity, yet this has been rarely addressed beyond a focus on street-scaping and parklands in much of the thinking on creative.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps as a result of his US origins—the US after all being a large country (like Australia) with significantly larger swathes of undeveloped country than Western Europe and not exclusively elite hobbies to go with this—Richard Florida has always been a little more open to the value of the environment and active lifestyles to creatives. Reporting on a now decade old study by KPMG of ‘high technology workers’, ‘community quality of life’ came a close second to salary in what makes a new job attractive.<sup>17</sup> The local amenities required by the creative class as part of this quality of life package in the eyes of Florida include the traditional package of the industrial economy: “(the symphony, opera, theatre, ballet, etc.) and on big-ticket items like national chain restaurants, nightspots, and major league sports venues”, but, he notes:

There is mounting evidence that, while still important, these types of amenities are taking a backseat to a more casual, open, inclusive, and participative activities. Focus group participants expressed a preference for a diverse range of such activities, including outdoor amenities (e.g., rowing, cycling, and rock climbing) and other lifestyle activities (e.g., vibrant music scene, outdoor restaurants, organic supermarkets, and juice bars).<sup>18</sup>

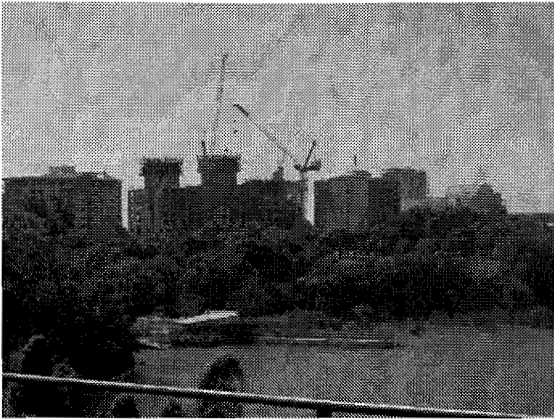
It’s little wonder then that in his more recent book, *The Flight of the Creative Class*<sup>19</sup>, Florida laments Bush-era social, economic and political developments in the US and, now safely ensconced in Canada, talked up the ‘natural advantages’ of cities like Vancouver, Sydney and Wellington in the global race for creative talent.



**Fig 1: Sunset from the Darwin Ski Club**  
**Photo: Susan Luckman**

While Florida in this book and elsewhere has nodded towards the desirability of access to outdoor pursuits as leisure options, this is where his interest in the environment to creativity ends. This, coupled with the centrality of cities, and big cities at that, to his writing and consultancy activities serves to once again reify the densely-built environment in enabling the knowledge economy. But at a time of global climate crisis, a business as usual model which seeks to neatly slip the industries of the twenty-first century into the same personal and industrial work models which came with the Industrial Revolution is neither individually not collectively sustainable. This broader approach to creative places needs to be more substantially acknowledged if the knowledge economy and information age are not destined to repeat the environmental and social mistakes of the industrial.

Though organic supermarkets might be thin on the ground, and cycling tough in a monsoonal downpour, given Darwin's seasonality, relative dearth of indoor spaces and the emphasis on outdoor festivals, not to mention markets and performances during the dry season, it's not totally surprising that nature figures strongly in its creativity, and the desirability of the lifestyle on offer.<sup>20</sup> All this points to a more complex relationship between culture and nature than has been acknowledged in much policy and industry discourse regarding planning for the knowledge economy, especially in locales blessed with a climate favourable to outdoor lifestyles. Indeed, already, anecdotally in conversations with the researchers, a similar focus on outdoor spaces is emerging in creative studies in other climatically desirable parts of the country. As a relatively young country in terms of building stock, but one with an everyday *al fresco* culture well-known throughout the world, Australian locations are well-placed to start developing in more interesting and sustainable directions for the kinds of urban policy models for enabling creativity which will take us into the future. In the rest of this paper, I wish to draw upon the Darwin project data to elaborate upon how environmental awareness, personal lifestyle choices and planning policy can work serendipitously as part of a creative milieu.



**Fig 2: Darwin city Skyline, May 2008**  
**Photo: Susan Luckman**

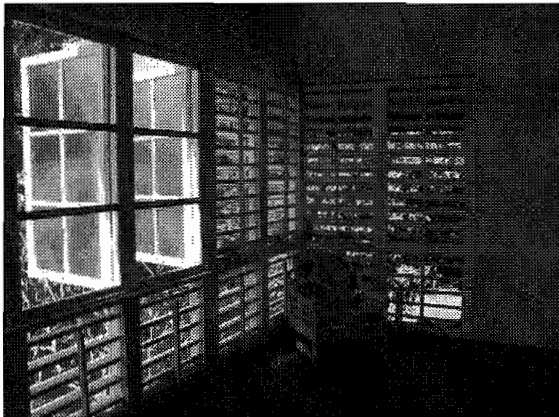
Darwin's skyline is presently littered with cranes as a building development boom unfolds, even through the GFC. Much of this development growth is unfolding upwards, as over 30 years on from Cyclone Tracy fears of high-rise development have given way to the imperative to find more real estate space in a city bounded by the sea, wetlands and Aboriginal land holdings. Architecture was therefore a key creative industry targeted in this study, and a number of prominent figures in the local industry were consulted in the project, including specialists in tropical architecture and design such as those working at the award-winning local Troppo Architects office. But an interest in the development direction of the city emerged more broadly throughout the interview data, as wider community concerns about the development direction of the city and, in particular, the appropriateness for a tropical climate of the kinds of residential housing being built were repeatedly articulated. Representative comments tended to run along the lines of:

"I think a lot of people would like to see more sensitive development through the city that suits the climate, in fact throughout the whole of Darwin to have development that's sensitive to the climate that's sensitive to everyone, so by that having covered walk ways so that you can get around in the wet season in the torrential rain to always have shade, more shade trees, and a lot more shade, that would help, the harshness of the city, and the fact that it just doesn't suit the climate is a real sticking point for a lot of people, I know that frustrates a lot of people in the creative industries." (Interview, December 2007)

"Yeah absolutely, no go, just because, Darwin's biggest asset I think would be the harbour, and it's not utilised, it's not, I don't think they realise what they've got, and I don't think they'll realise what they had until it's gone, and then they'll wish that they hadn't developed it and eaten into the mangroves, the very few cities that are true built in and around on mangroves, and people travel, want to travel all over the world to see something different, and we should be nurturing those mangroves, we should be looking after them and making them, some areas so that people can walk through them and view them and appreciate them, and

appreciate Darwin for what it is, because if we make it look like Singapore, well it's just going to be like another Asian city.” (Interview, September 2007)

Given the prominence of architecture, marketing and design as key fields, in the twenty-first century the creative industries need to take a leading role in addressing issues of global climate change. In Darwin, respondents expressed a clear sense that the emphasis on the importation of pre-existing ‘Southern’ building design with its carpets and air conditioning, rather than a more unique (and potentially expensive architecturally designed) tropical-style architecture, posed a clear threat to Darwin’s urban character: “I’m quite happy with Darwin, I think it’s going in a good direction, but I’d like to see less southern style housing and more tropical designs, which I don’t think would be hard to do.” (Interview, December 2007) Moreover, in the current day and age, ignoring centuries of knowledge about natural air conditioning options for tropical housing (such as large eaves and a focus on natural cross-air flow (see Figure 3), is seen by many as simply irresponsible at a time when we should be building to minimise energy consumption within the built environment.



**Fig 3: The Burnett House at Mylilly Point.  
Pre-WW2 tropical architecture  
with an emphasis on natural airflow.  
Photo: Susan Luckman**

My own disciplinary field of cultural studies has long been interested in the cutting edge of consumer practices, represented most clearly by the early cultural studies focus on subcultures. From the mods, through punk, goth, hippies, grunge, Emos, so-called ‘heroin chic’ and into the present day, whole industries are dedicated to looking to the fringes to find tomorrow’s high street fashions. In subcultural studies this power to influence society and lifestyle trends has all too often been dismissed as ‘selling out’ or going above ground. But as everyday life has been increasingly aestheticised in the industrialised world, enabled by the availability of cheap lifestyle goods and an emphasis on design and appearance in everyday life, and as we globally reach a fork in the road around the standard of life we take for granted, cultural vanguardism can potentially be a force for environmental good. To draw upon the terminology of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, the possession of cultural capital needs to be increasingly tied, ironically, to the consumption of fewer material goods, and to learning to turn off

air-conditioning more. Post-climate climate change lifestyles need to be themselves desirably aestheticised as part of the process of bringing together sustainable lifestyles and consumer demand for sympathetic development. Such change will not be easy; already there is increasing knowledge and acceptance of the science behind climate change, yet this has yet to materialise into widespread substantial lifestyle change. The challenge is acknowledged by those operating at the cutting edge of sustainable design in Darwin, but in the proximity to the environment they identify a positive trade-off to be realised by living more in tune with one's environment:

“.... there's obviously a lot of talk about sustainability and living with our climate which is increasing in temperature and that could go in two directions. At the moment, people feel too hot and .... and people are always searching for that maximum comfort level, you know I think it's the fate of being human that you're always trying and technology has allowed that comfort level to reach a position where people can sit in 26 degrees for most of the day, even though the temperatures fluctuating outside. It's very difficult to then go backwards from that once people understand what a comfort level is and what they enjoy, you know to come back from that is quite hard. But it's the slowest thing and what people don't, I guess what they loose is substantial and that's being in touch with the environment; being in touch with the garden, being in touch with .... we've got an extraordinary amount of animal life in the suburbs of Darwin, it's amazing. If you're in the suburbs and there's Orange Footed Scrub Fowl and lizards and possums, it's in your backyard, it's all there and as soon as you start locking yourself away in 26 degrees, you know that's it. You're either inside or outside and you've kind of deleted the potential for one whole side of your lifestyle.” (Interview, April 2007)

The integration of alternative values into the mainstream here, clearly, offers one way forward out of this impasse. Indeed, such a possibility lies at the heart of Florida's analysis of the overlap between queer, creative and what he terms 'bohemian' lifestyles: “Taken as a whole, [the] literature is suggestive of a growing connection between bohemia and mainstream society, and of a growing integration of bohemian symbols and culture into mainstream economic activity. This lends support to our thesis of the relationship between concentrations of bohemians and the clustering of other creative forms of economic activity.”<sup>21</sup> The challenge is to grow from within these communities the number of people interested in pursuing environmentally-sensitive lifestyles, and having this move beyond simple 'green consumerism'. The emphasis in our interviews with Darwin-based creative practitioners on the imperative for turning around the current development agenda—especially in regards to residential buildings—which favours the importation of energy-intensive 'outsider' architectures clearly gestures towards one way in which this might be possible, across different housing densities.

Many cultural workers find themselves marginally employed and fighting to afford to remain in the very areas they helped popularise as creative neo-liberal city agendas are realised and gentrification displaces artists, musicians and others unable to afford increased rents. But many others are lucky enough to find themselves with secure incomes and a decent amount of capital, and they are the kinds of people more able to afford climatically appropriate architectural design and, as our interviews clearly indicate, there exists in Darwin, and I would imagine elsewhere too, a keen awareness

of the important role to be played by creative practitioners in developing solutions to the kinds of global problems facing the world as we plan for the future. But in Darwin as elsewhere wealth cannot remain a pre-condition for entry into sustainable housing; given the distinct climactic differences which exist across the continent, this is an awareness which needs to be more robustly built into local planning regulations, especially in places such as Darwin where global knowledge flows, rapid growth and the extensive use of (less customised, and hence cheaper) architectural services from 'down south' meet in a perfect storm of inappropriate development.

As the project investigators have written elsewhere, creative industries agendas have all too often been realised in practice at the city level as a force of globalisation whereby 'one size fits all' approaches to the enhancement of local creative potentialities are rolled out by high profile consultants.<sup>22</sup> Globalisation has long been criticised as eroding local differences and leading to cultural homogenisation; within global flows of information, organic, grounded approaches to nurturing local creative industries should be a countering force, a marker of local uniqueness and strengths. An attention to local environment and climate within the cultural milieu is but one key way in which this kind of uniqueness can be not only maintained but developed as a force for creative strength and environmental change, but also as a means by which to maintain the survival of unique creative urban landscapes in a globalised, post-Richard Florida world.

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<sup>1</sup> See S. Luckman, C. Gibson and T. Lea, 'Mosquitoes in the Mix: Just How Transferable is Creative City Thinking?', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30:1 (2009), pp. 47-63; C. Gibson and N. Klocker, 'Academic Publishing as 'Creative' Industry, and Recent Discourses of 'Creative Economies': Some Critical Reflections', *Area*, 36:4 (2004), pp. 423-434.

<sup>2</sup> S. Luckman, 'Creativity, the Environment and the Future of Creative Lifestyles: Lessons from a Creative Tropical City', *The International Journal of the Humanities*, 7:6 (2009), pp. 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> J. Howkins, *The Creative Economy: How People Make Money From Ideas*, London, Penguin Books, 2002, pp. 75.

<sup>4</sup> F. Matarasso and C. Landry, *Balancing Act: Twenty-One Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing, 1999; C. Leadbeater, *Living on Thin Air: The New Economy*, London, Penguin, 2000; R. Florida *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, Melbourne, Pluto Australia, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> R. Florida *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How it's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, Melbourne, Pluto Australia, 2003

<sup>6</sup> S. Luckman, C. Gibson and T. Lea, 'Mosquitoes in the Mix: Just How Transferable is Creative City Thinking?', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30:1 (2009), pp. 47-63.

<sup>7</sup> G. Waite, 'Creative Small Cities: Cityscapes, Power and the Arts', in *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis*, D. Bell and M. Jayne eds., Oxon and New York, Routledge, 2006, pp. 179.

<sup>8</sup> S. Miles, 'Small City - Big Ideas: Culture-led Regeneration and the Consumption of Place'. in *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis*, D. Bell and M. Jayne eds., Oxon and New York, Routledge, 2006, pp. 239.

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<sup>9</sup> S. Miles, 'Small City - Big Ideas: Culture-led Regeneration and the Consumption of Place'. in *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis*, D. Bell and M. Jayne eds., Oxon and New York, Routledge, 2006, pp. 241.

<sup>10</sup> P. Martin, 'Housing Prices Soar 17% to Record', *The Age*, January 1, 2010.

<http://www.theage.com.au/business/housing-prices-soar-17-to-record-20091231-lky9.html>

<sup>11</sup> C. Brennan-Horley, S. Luckman, C. Gibson, and J. Willoughby-Smith, 'Putting Maps Back Into Ethnographic Mappings: GIS, Ethnography and Cultural Research – A Case Study', *The Information Society, Special Issue - Creative Industries and Urban Development*, 26:2 (2009, forthcoming). See also: C. Brennan-Horley, and C. Gibson, 'Where is Creativity in the City?: Integrating Qualitative and GIS Methods', *Environment & Planning A*, 41:11 (2009), pp. 2595 – 2614.

<sup>12</sup> See T. Lea, S. Luckman, C. Gibson, D. Fitzpatrick, C. Brennan-Horley, J. Willoughby-Smith, K. Hughes, *Creative Tropical City: Mapping Darwin's Creative Industries. Research Report*. Darwin, Charles Darwin University, Northern Territory Government and Tourism NT, 2009, pp. 28.

<sup>13</sup> J. Stratton, 'Deconstructing the Territory', *Cultural Studies*, 3:1, (1989): 38-57, pp. 52.

<sup>14</sup> J. Stratton, 'Deconstructing the Territory', *Cultural Studies*, 3:1, (1989): 38-57, pp. 50.

<sup>15</sup> R. Florida, *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent*, New York, Collins, 2007, pp. 203.

<sup>16</sup> C. Landry and F. Bianchini, *The Creative City*, London, Demos/Comedia, 1995; F. Matarasso and C. Landry, *Balancing Act: Twenty-One Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing, 1999.

<sup>17</sup> R. Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class*, London and New York, Routledge, 2005, pp. 82.

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<sup>22</sup> See S. Luckman, C. Gibson and T. Lea, 'Mosquitoes in the Mix: Just How Transferable is Creative City Thinking?', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30:1 (2009), pp. 47-63