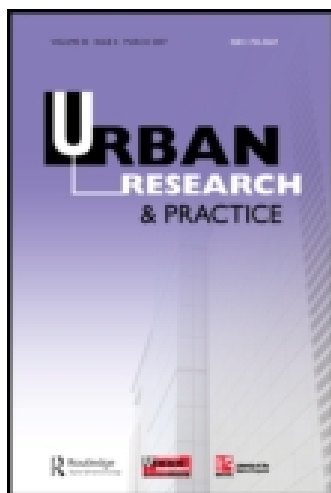


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The local governance of culture-led regeneration projects: a comparison between Montreal and Toronto

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This article analyses culture-led regeneration processes in the context of two case studies. We analyse the roles of urban stakeholders and the adaptation of regeneration strategies in two different local planning cultures: Toronto and Montreal. The two regeneration projects analysed are the redevelopment of the Toronto Entertainment District and a real-estate project proposal within the ‘Quartier des Spectacles’ in Montreal. The analysis highlights the specific planning culture embedded in local governance, aligned with two distinct applications of the creative city concept.

Keywords: urban regeneration; local governance; creative city; planning culture; Canada

1. Introduction

Recent research analysing urban regeneration in Europe and North America has called into question the effectiveness of the creative city concept. The creative city concept is defined as a policy discourse that provides a systematic emphasis on culture to deliver convincing results for both quality of life and economic outcomes (Evans 2005; Kotkin 2005; Stern and Seifert 2010). It is associated with the process of creativity as a key driving force for economic and social change; and this concept unites stakeholders at various levels to promote either economic development strategies or the development of flagship regeneration projects (Edensor et al. 2009; Evans 2009; Miles 2005). In this article, we provide a precise conceptual definition of local governance, and we analyse the structure of local power arrangements during the regeneration process of two downtown areas in Canada as well as the influence of the creative city concept on regeneration strategies. Our case studies include a major real-estate development (2-22 building) within the ‘Quartier des Spectacles’ project in Montreal, and the redevelopment scheme of the Toronto Entertainment District (TED). We start by contextualising the rhetoric surrounding creativity within urban regeneration initiatives. We then summarise some of the drawbacks associated with the creative city concept when applied to urban regeneration identified in existing research. Our aim is to present the characteristics of local governance for each initiative based on Pecqueur’s typology (2001), which categorises and defines local governance structure. Semi-directed interviews were used as a primary method of data

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collection, which is justified and explained further in the methodology. Finally, each case study is described and critically reviewed, with results presented through the thematic analysis of interviews.

2. The creative city concept and culture-led urban regeneration: a review of the literature

2.1. The creative city concept

Edensor et al. (2009) state that creativity has become part of the language of regeneration experts, urban planners and urban policy-makers. According to Miles and Paddison (2005), the idea that culture and creativity can be used as drivers for economic development is seen as an emerging opportunity for cities to enhance their economic competitiveness, with the creativity agenda becoming a key catalyst driving urban development. The concept of the creative city refers to city planning approaches that promote the cultural development of cities, while the concept of the creative class is a model in urban economics to explain the economic growth of metropolitan areas. We acknowledge that the creative city concept and the creative class thesis are two distinct concepts; however, we will demonstrate how they are interrelated. Overall this article will analyse the influence of the creative city concept on regeneration practices.

Within academic literature, two specific publications – Landry and Bianchini (1995), *The Creative City*, and Landry (2000), *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* – are considered to be the most influential works behind the idea of the creative city. The basic tenet is that cities are facing immense challenges through the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial era and need to be both creative in thinking of solutions to urban problems (Edensor et al. 2009). The concept is often associated with the imperative for cities to be competitive in a ‘post-industrial’ period of economic restructuring, specifically within the context of globalisation (Miles 2005). Creative city strategies have also been associated with a particular form of neo-liberalisation of urban politics (Boudreau, Keil, and Young 2009; Christophers 2008; Edensor et al. 2009; Gibson and Klocker 2005; Peck 2009, 2005).

Richard Florida has produced the most influential work on the concept of the creative class (2002, 2003, 2005). Florida’s creative class thesis can be considered a complementary approach to the human capital model, which predicts economic growth according to the concentration of the educated population in metropolitan areas (Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz 2001; Glaeser and Saiz 2004). Florida (2003, 8) differentiates his theory of creative capital in two respects: (1) it identifies a type of human capital, ‘creative people’, as being key to economic growth; and (2) it identifies the underlying factors that shape the locational decisions of the described category of professionals. In this way, Florida (2002, 2005) suggests an alternative measure of human capital based on professional occupations.¹ We concur with Pratt (2008), who states that the concept of the creative city and of the creative class thesis have different intellectual justification and trajectory, indeed the creative city concept pertains to the broader field of urban studies, as the creative class thesis is initially a conceptual model focusing specifically on urban economics.

The creative city concept has been strongly influential in urban regeneration practices but a limited number of works have considered the creative city concept in the place-making strategies for Toronto. Catungal, Leslie, and Hii (2009, 1110) have studied the influence of a creative city agenda in the transformation of Liberty Village. As a result, artists are being displaced which illustrates the ‘absence of genuine economic and

social diversity and experimentation' (Catungal, Leslie, and Hii 2009, 1110). Creative city strategies often stem from a reworking of governance, with an emphasis on public-private partnerships and the objective of place-branding associated with increased security (Atkinson and Easthope 2009).

2.2. *Culture-led regeneration and the role of planning*

As stated by Markusen and Gadwa (2010, 380), the creative city concept and the role of culture have led to an emphasis on three sets of norms: economic impacts, regenerative impacts and cultural impacts. Evans (2005, 971) states that culture has made significant contributions to urban regeneration, with particular success at achieving objectives such as physical regeneration, economic regeneration and social regeneration. In addition, Evans (2005, 966) emphasises that culture-led regeneration has widened the rationale for cultural investment, and that these projects should now consider the social impacts of such initiatives on city residents. In this article, we refer to the notion of culture used by Evans (2005, 966): 'arts-based projects which address social exclusion, the "well-being" of city residents and greater participation in community life.' In this regard, culture-led regeneration should seek the twin benefits of economic competitiveness and social cohesion. Culture-led regeneration should be based on engagement with the local community to improve ownership over cultural projects and local benefits (Evans 2005, 966).

Stern and Seifert (2010, 263) make an important distinction between cultural clusters that evolve organically, and cultural districts where the design is influenced by the intervention of planners. Recent research has also studied the process of 'art district' developments – arts investments and the promotion of flagship cultural events – as an economic strategy subsidised by cities with the goal of economic revitalisation and redevelopment (Chapple, Shannon, and Martin 2010). Grodach (2010) suggests, in the US context, that the art district planning process needs to include many local arts organisations and stakeholders in order to be successful, and should ideally involve cross-sector participation. Currid (2007) in her study of New York explains that the arts and cultural community relies on the organic and social networking of this specific milieu and mostly on face-to-face interaction facilitated through location clustering. This idea is in direct contrast to the 'planned creativity' approach presented in the creative city concept. In the United Kingdom, in the 1980s, a link between cultural industries and urban regeneration emerged with the concept of 'cultural quarters'. In Sheffield, the development of the Cultural Industry Quarter (CIQ) was a response to (1) the decline of the manufacturing economy and (2) the lack of recording facilities, design/performance facilities. Brown, O'Connor, and Cohen (2000, 445) suggest that physical infrastructure and facilities are not sufficient to impact cultural development, and that consideration for the 'soft infrastructure' (the people and social networks) is essential. This analysis confirms many of the above findings from Currid (2007). The essence of this debate is whether the cultural development of cities can be enhanced through planned urban environments.

We should mention that negative effects have also been associated to the concept of 'cultural quarter' in the UK context; for instance, they may lead to escalation of land values and the displacement of disadvantaged groups of population as well as the dispersal of cultural activities (McCarthy, 2006, 398). McCarthy (2005) emphasises the lack of theoretical underpinning of the notion of 'cultural quarter' when translated into policies. Policies should be informed by a pluralist approach to cultural cluster development instead of being based on the replication of previous policy models.

3. Local governance: definition of a concept

Our definition of local governance refers to the stakeholders' actions that come into play during the conceptualisation phase of redevelopment initiatives. Our investigation is based on the idea of project framing which refers to a way that individual agents are held together in the particular context of urban governance (Salet and Gualini 2007). Within the context of this study, we define local governance as the interplay of urban stakeholders during the planning process. Correspondingly, Rhodes (1996, 658) defines local governance as 'a system involving a complex sets of organizations drawn from the public and private sectors'. Rhodes (1996, 658) uses the term 'network' to describe 'the several interdependent actors involved in service delivery'. These networks are made up of 'organisations that exchange resources (for example, money, information, expertise) to achieve their objectives' (Rhodes 1996, 658). We will use this framework to analyse the local governance in the two regeneration contexts discussed in Section 6.2. In addition, to distinguish the two types of local governance, we refer to Pecqueur's typology. Pecqueur (2001) suggests that governance can be characterised by the key actors for territorial coordination or of a given cluster. He proposes a typology of three categories (listed below), which we will use for our analysis.

The first category we will consider is *private governance*. This refers to situations in which an organisation is the key actor in the territory or cluster. The actor may be a private firm, a government enterprise (i.e. a Crown corporation) or a group of private firms that belong to a formal association with goals that emerge from its members' concerns (e.g. sectorial associations and boards of trade). Pecqueur (2001) specifies the latter form as *private collective governance*.

The second category we will refer to is *institutional governance*. This category involves one or more institutions as key actors. These actors may come from the government sphere (e.g. government departments) or from a more broadly defined public sphere (e.g. from research centres, universities or even non-profit associations), that work together on issues such as employment or innovation.

The third category is *partnership-based, pluralistic or joint governance*. This appears when private actors and public organisations co-operate and jointly constitute the key actors of the territory or cluster. This form of governance may be more complex, because it consists of a group of actors where each has their own, sometimes divergent, interests. It is normally more demanding, because it may require concessions and compromises on the parts of the participants. At the same time, this can lead to better outcomes if applied to a planning process to suite a more diverse variety of stakeholders.

This third category can also include actors of the community development sector as well as that of civil society, which is particularly true of the case in Québec. Indeed, some authors refer to the example of Québec – an inclusive, partnership-based mode of governance – contrarily to the rest of Canada or to France takes a more active inclusive approach to involve actors from community development organisations and civil society (Klein and Tremblay 2009; Tremblay, Klein, and Fontan 2009). This explains why we refer to the level of participation to describe the local context for each project (Sections 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.2.2).

These categories are not always exclusive and may change over time within various regeneration projects. In fact, governance is recognised as a dynamic, evolving process. Although they are not exclusive, this typology provides guidance to analyse the type of local governance for each project. In this article, we argue that forms of local governance can correspond to more integrated and complex forms of stakeholder networks, adapted

to the specific political culture of development and regeneration. Our goal is to analyse the interconnections between the type of local governance and the use of the creative city concept in each regeneration context.

In brief, the objectives of this article are to

- determine the type of local governance for each project;
- identify to what extent the structure of power arrangement is linked to the local planning culture; and
- determine how the creative city concept is integrated in the regeneration process.

4. Methodology

As stated by Boudreau et al. (2007), comparative research in urban studies is on the rise, especially when it concerns the local effects of the globalisation process. Nijman (2007) states that the renaissance of comparative approaches in regard to comparative urbanism can be explained by the recent debate around the meta-narrative of globalisation, specifically as it relates to the issue of local urban governance.

The projects in Montreal and Toronto are comparable because they are both culture-based urban regeneration projects, even though they differ in terms of their objectives, scale and local governance. Although we define the Montreal project as a ‘cultural cluster’ and the Toronto project as the redevelopment of an entertainment zone, both projects are interventions on previously unplanned and somewhat underutilised central areas. The different type of project and the nature of local governance are interrelated as we explain in Section 7. However, we can compare local governance. Specifically, we studied a major real-estate development in Montreal, referred to as ‘2-22’. The 2-22 building is a specific space hosting cultural activities and local artistic and cultural companies; it also includes a library, a café and staff (‘Cultural Assistants’) to provide tickets for shows and give information about events happening in the district. This building is emblematic of the cultural dimension of the entire revitalisation project and thus is directly linked to the concept of the creative city. This is an appropriate case within the Quartier des Spectacles to study the power arrangement between the different stakeholders, as it illustrates the extensive debate involved in the process.

The case study in Toronto is still in the conceptualisation phase and its implementation is scheduled to end in 2014–2015. For the Quartier des Spectacles project, the project is partially implemented, while the 2-22 case we studied has suffered some delays due to the funding mechanism used, which requires approval from the federal government. This difference in implementation is not a problem as we focus on the conceptualisation phase of each project.

Our research is based on an extensive qualitative analysis of the documentation for both the Toronto and Montreal redevelopment projects. As we situate each project in the local planning culture, we analysed local plans: *The Masterplan* for the redevelopment of the Toronto TED and the ‘Plan Particulier d’Urbanisme’ (PPU) for the area of the ‘Quartier des Spectacles’; as well as documents to give perspective on each initiative in the context of the creative city: ‘Imaginer Realiser Montreal 2025’ and the ‘Cultural Plan for the creative city’ in Toronto (City of Toronto 2003). In addition to this, we provide a thematic analysis of the interviews given by various stakeholders, as well as observations from some public hearings and consultations for both cases. Finally, we conducted 11 interviews (each lasting between 1 hr and 1 hr 30 min) with the main stakeholders involved in each case. We identified the most influential stakeholders by using a snowball sampling method,²

and interviewees gave additional contacts as we proceeded. The interview guidelines were organised around the following concepts: local governance, the impacts on economic revitalisation and community empowerment, the use of the rhetoric of creativity. We used interview guidelines³ including pre-determined themes. Our analysis can be organised into a template analysis, which refers to thematically organised and analysed textual data (King 2006, 256).⁴

5. Two case studies

In regard to the two areas studied, the label ‘entertainment zone’ fits well to the Toronto case study. Campo and Brent (2008) define entertainment zones in the United States as spontaneous areas hosting a variety of nightlife activities that develop at the edge of city-centres without any planning incentives from governments. The Toronto Entertainment District, also formerly known as ‘Clubland’, fits very well within this definition. The aim of the regeneration scheme in Toronto is to develop an art and cultural hub along John Street, specifically to improve the quality of public spaces around the new Toronto International Film Festival’s (TIFF’s) Bell Lightbox building.

The Quartier des Spectacles project corresponds to the definition of a cultural cluster given by Stern and Seifert (2010, 263), as it has evolved organically from the decisions of the many stakeholders that we are considering in this research. However, in its last phase, the project has been transformed into a ‘planned cultural district’ or ‘planned arts district’ as there has been an emphasis on the planning of public spaces to draw audiences into the area, and to transform the image of the area away from its former reputation as a ‘red light’ district. The scale and the nature of the projects are therefore different but they are nonetheless comparable. According to our research, there are also some differences in regard to the financing process: the Toronto project relies on private sources of funding (a total of \$30 million is required), although the City provides 50% of the funding of Business Improvement Areas’ (BIAs) initiatives under the street improvement programme.

Table 1. Comparison of our case studies (thematic and categorical analysis of interviews).

	QDS/2-22	Redevelopment of the TED
Local governance	Joint governance through a partnership fostered by the city	Hybrid: rather close to private governance (BIA’s interests prevail)
Impacts on economic development	Enable cultural venues to remain in the area/retain artists and cultural workers in the area	Upgrading of economic activities/café culture/retaining knowledge workers/attracting young firm makers
Community empowerment	Consultation–placation level	Information level
Creative city concept	Present in the promotion of the vision Absent in the development of regeneration strategies	Present in the framing of place-making objectives Assumption about attraction of businesses and new residents
Financing	120 million (QDS)/16 million(2-22 real estate project) 3 levels of government	30 million Private sources of funding

Source: Our research.

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The Quartier des Spectacles project is financed by different levels of government: the federal government (\$40 million), the Quebec provincial government (\$40 million) and the City of Montreal (\$40 million). (See Table 1.)

5.1. *Local planning cultures and application of the creative city concept*

It has been widely acknowledged that there are significant differences in the local planning cultures of Toronto and Montreal (Boudreau et al. 2007). Since the 1990s, Toronto has been considered a competitive city with an entrepreneurial type of governance. Kipfer and Keil (2002) associate this type of governance with an approach to planning which is focused on enhancing the status of Toronto as a competitive globalising city and promoting an aestheticisation of urban space. This shift towards a more entrepreneurial type of governance has followed a progressive era of urban planning in Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s (Caulfield 1994). Montreal is considered to be a more socio-democratic and interventionist model, where the Province plays a strong role, with a simultaneous strong tradition of involvement from neighbourhood-based groups. Toronto is described to have a more neo-liberalised governance apparatus (Boudreau et al. 2007). This distinction in governance has a direct impact on the local planning culture. Therefore, the creative city concept is also implemented in different forms with a different impact on economic development strategies and urban development. In the case of Montreal, the creative city concept has been very much put forward by a non-profit lobby group from the cultural sector – Culture Montréal, as well as by all defenders (including Culture Montréal) of the Quartier des Spectacles development project (Prud'homme, Dubois-Prud'homme, and Lapiere 2011). The widespread success of the creative city concept and Richard Florida's focus on Montreal brought the creative city concept to the forefront of redevelopment in Montreal. As a result, cultural actors including Culture Montréal and economic stakeholders such as the Chamber of Commerce of Montréal reached consensus to support to Quartier des spectacles development. Culture Montréal and the Quartier des Spectacles partnership have explicitly used the creative city discourse in their media presentations and lobbying activities to support the idea that public investment in this project would bring a good return on investment.

Keil and Boudreau (2010), in the context of Toronto, refer to the concept of the creative city as a form of collective action that informs metropolitan urban politics. Toronto has suffered from weak metropolitan institutions in the past in regard to the development of urban policies and has gone through extensive neoliberal restructuring of urban politics at the metropolitan level since the 1990s. After this phase, Toronto embarked on a 'cultural renaissance' movement which began with the construction of eight new iconic buildings (e.g. The Royal Ontario Museum, the Art Gallery of Ontario, The Four Seasons Centres for the Performing Arts, the Ontario College for Art and Design). Jenkins (2005, 170) relates the cultural renaissance movement – that included \$257 million from the federal and provincial governments – to the intention of bolstering the identity of Toronto as an international and economic capital. The idea to develop a 'cultural corridor' – or avenue of the arts – to connect the Cultural Renaissance projects stems from the Culture Plan for the Creative City (2003). Previously, in 2001, as part of the report *Canada's Urban Waterfront – Waterfront Culture and Heritage Infrastructure Plan*, John Street was identified as one of the seven cultural corridors linking the waterfront to the Central Business District (CBD). In this document, the revitalisation of John Street is presented as part of a global tourism strategy.

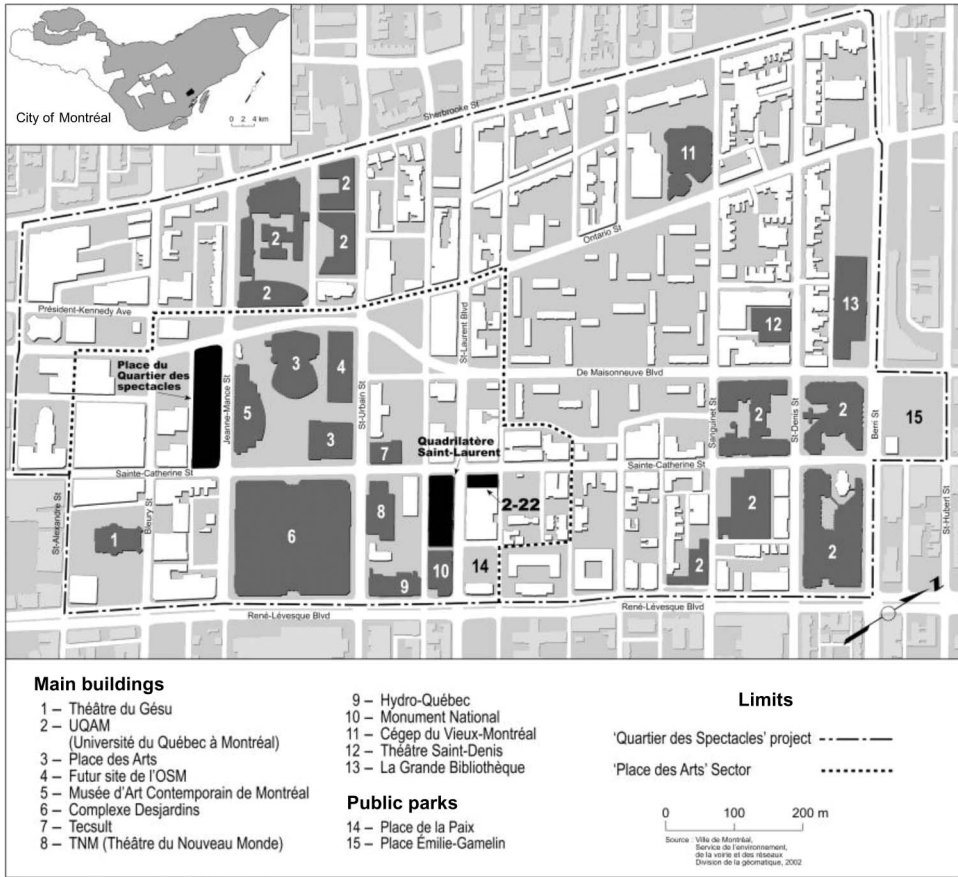


Figure 1. Perimeter of the ‘Quartier des Spectacles’ project.

5.2. Comparison of two case studies

5.2.1. The Quartier des Spectacles project

The Quartier des Spectacles revitalisation⁵ project takes place within the boundaries shown in Figure 1. However, this article deals mostly with the ‘Place des Arts’ sector of the area, where the 2-22 building developed by the SDA has been built.

5.2.1.1. Historical background. In the case of the Quartier des Spectacles, the origin of the project lies with the Recording industry, but very quickly the Association de l’Industrie du Disque du Québec (ADISQ) gathered a series of partners, including mainly town planners and marketing people to define a ‘vision’ (Augustin and Blossie 2008). The ADISQ presented its views in June 2002 at the Montreal Summit, which were taken up by the newly elected (Nov. 2001) mayor, Gerald Tremblay, as a ‘structuring initiative’ precisely because it managed to gather 24 major actors around a cultural project to valorise a zone which was becoming quite decrepit (Noppen and Morisset 2004). The project has taken 10 years to develop because the City’s objective was to make it a collective endeavour. The 2-22 building is now built and open for activities.

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The Quartier des Spectacles and the 2-22 building are part of the ‘Montreal 2025 development framework’, a framework characterised by the development of new mechanisms of public consultation. The aim of this framework is to provide guidance for urban development as well as for economic and cultural development (Ville de Montreal 2006). The area around Ste-Catherine and St-Laurent, which is traditionally known as the ‘red light’ district of Montreal, is part of the PPU (‘Secteur Place des Arts’) (Ville de Montreal 2004). The main objectives of the project are to redevelop the area through a concentration of cultural activities in the district, to foster the creation of more cultural firms and artists’ residences, and to revitalise the zone around artistic and cultural activities (Faure and Négrier 2007).

Given the area’s location between the Université du Québec à Montréal and the Place des Arts (centre for performing arts), many have sought to revitalise this area. The local BIA (‘Corporation de Développement Urbain’) put forward a regeneration project; however, they had difficulty gaining support for it (Noppen and Morisset 2004). As a response, it was deemed essential to most stakeholders that future developments do not force artists to leave the district because of an increase in rents (Jacob 2005). Pierre Deschênes, Director General of the Quartier des Spectacles, insisted on the engagement and collaboration of various groups of society, especially to avoid exclusion of typically disenfranchised groups such as the poor. To date, this theme is evident in the discourse of most of the stakeholders and specifically three of our interviewees. However, some concern remains that the partnership is largely oriented towards the needs of large entertainment firms, and less towards that of the local artists (Noppen and Morisset 2004). In recent years, a new stakeholder, the ‘Société de Développement Angus (SDA), has become involved in the project, completing and reinforcing the ‘joint governance’ model. This group is concerned with two specific projects in the district, the ‘Quadrilatère St-Laurent’ and the ‘2-22 building’. Based in the social economy or third sector (i.e. non-profit developer linked to the Rosemont Community Economic Development Corporation), the SDA brings new stakeholders forward including many local associations and organisations involved in the social economy sector. Furthermore, a not-for-profit organisation has been established by the City of Montreal to develop the ‘Partnership of the Quartier des Spectacles’. This group is made up of 24 members of various constituencies such as culture, tourism, real estate, business, education, the City of Montreal, the Ville-Marie Borough and the government of Québec, and also includes student representatives and some local residents. This Partnership of the Quartier des Spectacles is supported financially by the City of Montreal, the Québec government (Municipal Affairs), the federal ‘Développement Économique Canada’ as well as some private partners (Quartier des Spectacles 2010).

It is also important to acknowledge the role of ‘Culture Montréal’ (Culture Montréal is a non-profit lobby group for the cultural sector) in this process. ‘Culture Montréal’ has voiced concern that the project is centred too much on the commercial and touristic aspects of culture and not enough on supporting small local cultural venues or the local community. Going back to the origin of the project, their goal is not to create an entertainment district but to take into consideration what is already there in terms of cultural activities to support its development (Interview Director SDA).

5.2.1.2. The 2-22 real estate project: local governance. The premise behind the 2-22 project was to create a central iconic building that hosts different local cultural firms and associations. For example, a community radio station was moved from the east of Montreal to the 2-22 building (Interview Director SDA).

The project underwent a public consultation process in June 2009, but our research shows that the involvement of (SDA) Angus significantly reinforced the pluralistic or joint

governance model, since the project creates an open space for the community to voice their opinions. Six public hearings were held in June of 2009 and many people from the local community including individuals, members of the business community and community groups came forward to weigh in (recording of public meetings). Public consultation is part of the normal process in such revitalisation projects in Montreal, but some developers (such as the SDA) consult the stakeholders (e.g. 'Table de concertation') even prior to the formal consultation process. Mediation with local stakeholders prior to the final proposal was a notable factor in the project as stated by the interviewee from the 'Table de Concertation': 'We have met the developer early in the process [. . .] when the project proposal was more advanced he [the developer Angus] came to us to discuss about the proposal' (Interview Director Table de Concertation, 16 June 2009).

The mandate of the SDA is to focus on job creation, community development and business development; in that regard, it is very connected to the local 'milieu'. It has thus created a foundation to develop the 2-22 project, which was mentioned in our interview with the organisation's Director as a project soon to go ahead. In the case of the 2-22, the SDA was asked to put forward a proposal for a real-estate project that would be 'iconic', and that would respond to the objective to develop a world-class destination for the district (Interview Director SDA). In addition, other stakeholders such as the 'Table de Concertation du Faubourg St-Laurent', which also represents a segment of the local community, have their own objectives in relation to this project. They hope to open up the Quartier des Spectacles project to include some pre-existing community initiatives (Interview Director Table de Concertation, 16 June 2009).

As the director of the Partnership of the Quartier des Spectacles mentioned, time was not a limiting issue to develop a consensus before going forward with the project. This point is also emphasised by the urban planners at the City of Montreal:

The City of Montreal is a complex entity including different organisations involved in creative and cultural activities, there is also the "Société des Arts Technologiques" (STA) in the neighborhood which is a corporation [. . .] there has been a consultation process and they did not really oppose against the 2-22 project, it seems that the use of the building we want to develop is satisfying the cultural and artistic milieu there. (Interview Planners, City of Montreal, 9 June 2009)

According to an interviewee from a local organisation in Montreal, the process was relatively inclusive, but could have been more so:

For the Quartier des Spectacles project for example, we developed some partnerships for a use of public space based on equity. We work with other organisations to develop public spaces which are inclusive [. . .] we have written documents to explain what are our social values and we are trying to bring those in the framing of the idea of the Quartier des Spectacles project [. . .] [However] it is difficult to evaluate what was our influence [in the decision-making process in the case of the development of 2-22 building] [. . .]. (Interview Director Table de Concertation, 16 June 2009)

In conclusion, the local governance clearly resembles a joint governance model. The City of Montreal is a central actor that demonstrates real concern to involve the different institutions in the affected area. This model allows for the participation of social community groups, with some clear limitations due to the large scale of the project. Referring to Arnstein's (1969) ladder, we evaluate the level of participation to be situated in between 'placation' (tokenism) and 'partnership' (citizen power).

5.2.1.3. Use of the creative city concept. As we explained in Section 6.1, stakeholders used the creative city concept to introduce the Quartier des Spectacles project to Montreal. In our interviews, there was no explicit reference to the concept, although the idea is present in the public debate on strategies to regenerate the area. Rather, the creative city concept has been used in documents like ‘Montreal Ville Culturelle’ but not always specifically cited during the development of strategies to retain artists and attract cultural industries. The particularity of Montreal is the strong prerogative from the City of Montreal to support and retain artists in the downtown area. This is achieved through partnerships with private developers to ensure affordable space for companies in the cultural activities business:

We were looking for developers that would construct buildings with 75% to be occupied by companies in the cultural industry sector, there is a cost to that [. . .] we expropriated and provided grants for the construction costs [. . .] it is also funded by citizens through taxes. (Interview Planners City of Montreal, 9 June 2009)

5.2.2. The redevelopment of the Toronto entertainment district

To define the area studied in Toronto, we refer to the Toronto Entertainment District Master Plan, which is being completed by a local firm, the Planning Partnership. (See Figure 2.) This initiative is located in the King-Spadina area. Historically, it was one of the city’s main manufacturing and industrial cores (City of Toronto 2006). As such, it has experienced exponential population growth and has undergone a significant transformation in terms of built form, economic, and demographic profiles.

5.2.2.1. Historical background. It is important to highlight that the Entertainment District incorporates the Western edge of Toronto’s CBD, and its centre is a part of the city’s former Central Industrial District (CID). The CID was the hub of manufacturing and warehousing for Toronto and much of Ontario from the 1920s to the end of the Second World War (McKinne 2007). The decline in the manufacturing sector, which coincided with the recession in the early 1990s, reduced the viability of this manufacturing district. To remedy the situation, in 1996 the City of Toronto adopted a new land use planning approach to attract development to the area. New land use controls designated the area as a ‘Reinvestment Area’ (RA), which meant that there were minimal restrictions on land use and increased flexibility for redevelopment (City of Toronto 2006). However, we find that the Master Plan initiated by the local BIA has few linkages with the RA approach implemented by the City of Toronto. Through our interviews, it is apparent that there is an increasing pressure for development in the Toronto Entertainment District: ‘We find that the quickest way to get rid of a nightclub is to approve a condo on site that displaces the nightclub [. . .] therefore you can start to stabilise the district’ (Interview Councillor, 15 October 2009). Given the extraordinary concentration of nightclubs that developed in the district at the start of the decade, the City of Toronto’s objective is to try to stabilise the district by allowing condominium development and progressively pushing some of the largest nightclubs out of the area. One of the current challenges for the local council is to accommodate both a diversity of economic activities and increasing residential uses (Interview Councillor).

The downtown area known as the Entertainment District is comprised of several large corporate entities (see Figure 2), such as the Bell Lightbox (which is the permanent home of the Toronto International Film Festival), Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Rogers and Canada Television (CTV) (Planning Partnership 2009).

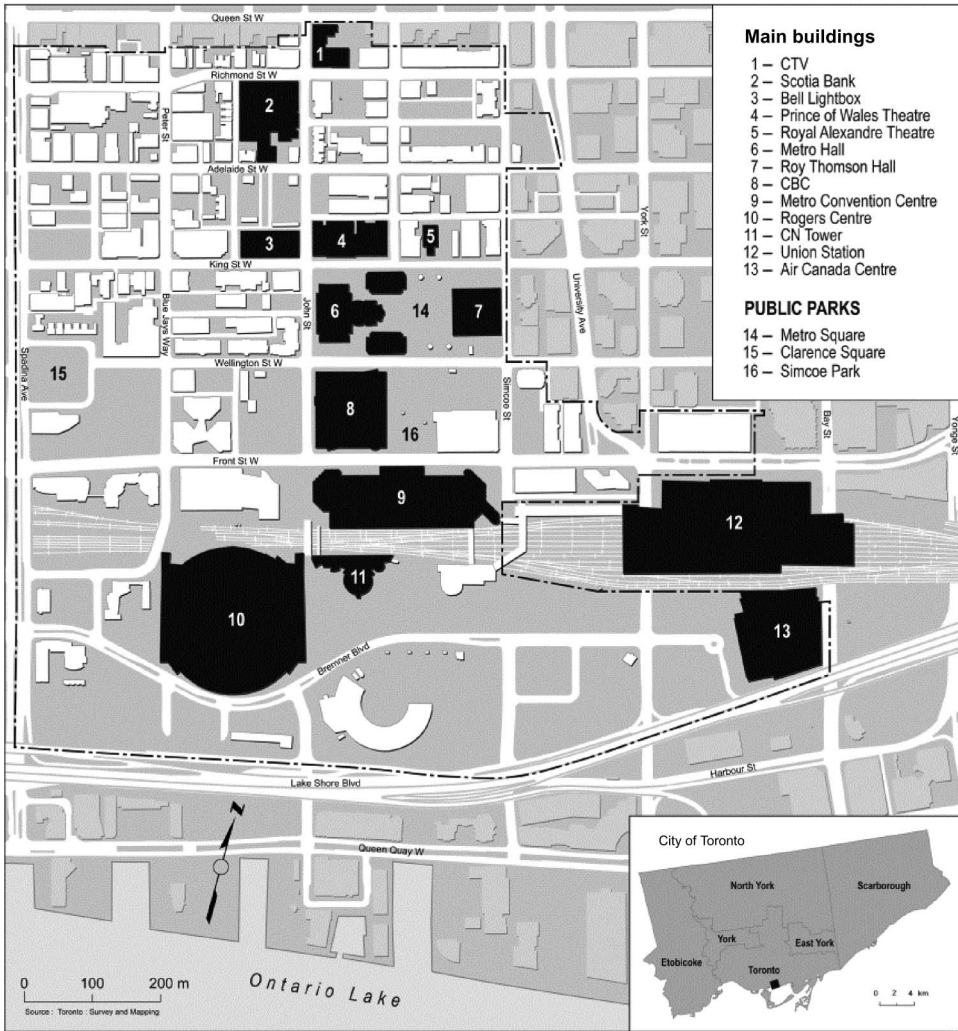


Figure 2. The Master Plan initiated by the local business improvement area (BIA).

In terms of urban planning, the Master Plan is meant to enhance the streetscapes and open spaces, promote more liveable and pedestrian environments, improve the area’s ‘vitality’ and ‘energy’, as well as connections and way-finding (Planning Partnership 2009, 5). The project is not presented as a culture-led regeneration initiative but our research qualifies it as such. Our interviews confirm that the transformation of the area into an international tourist destination, with the redesign of John Street as the main cultural spine in Toronto, is a strong guiding rationale for the redevelopment project.

The local BIA retained the consulting firm Planning Partnership in Spring 2008 to undertake a Master Plan for the district. City staff were involved in the Plan’s development and worked collaboratively with the BIA and the Planning Partnership.⁶ The Master Plan was completed in May 2009, and recommendations focused upon enhancements to the built form and the public realm (Planning Partnership 2009). The TED Master Plan was

an 8-month process divided into three phases, the first of which began in December 2008. Phase 1 focused on the background of the district including site analysis and consultation with stakeholders to generate a comprehensive understanding of the concerns and opportunities in the area. Phase 2 involved a visioning process where stakeholders and the public exchanged ideas to help arrive at a long-term guiding vision (Planning Partnership 2009). The last phase involved the actual construction and design of the physical plan.

5.2.2.2. Local governance. The redevelopment of downtown areas led by BIAs is becoming a common process in North America, a process which is incremental and entrepreneurial (Mitchell 2001). In our case study, an advisory committee oversaw the process, comprised of the BIA's Board of Directors, BIA members, the King-Spadina Residents Association (KSRA), developers, Councillor Adam Vaughan and City of Toronto staff (our interviews). Within this context, the voice of the local BIA, which represents local businesses and is close to cultural institutions like the TIFF building, has been quite dominant: 'The BIA on the one hand is very effective and they have a lot of powerful voices and strong financial interests, but its focus is very specific and it's really related to that set of institutions' (Interview Member of the Wellington Place Neighborhood Association, 3 November 2009).

According to the project-leader for the Master Plan initiated by the BIA, opportunities for public feedback and input were provided during each stage of the development process. The most innovative tool used to generate knowledge sharing between stakeholders was the BIA's use of an online survey from which they received 700 responses (public meeting).

According to the BIA's website, the survey was used to provide further clarity for the priorities, issues and opportunities of the Master Plan and to inform further direction for this document (Toronto Entertainment District 2012). Obtaining the input of residents has been a challenging aspect of the Toronto process. According to the designer of the Master Plan, this is likely due to the fact that residents of the area are young professionals (e.g. knowledge workers) and highly mobile; therefore, they are not necessarily interested in the transformation process of the area as they may move elsewhere in a few years (public meeting).

If we refer to Pecqueur's (2001) typology, in the case of Toronto, the local governance is primarily directed by the private sector, through different groups of stakeholders (e.g. BIA members, the KSRA, developers; as well as the local councillor and the City of Toronto planning staff). It is a hybrid process that does not correspond fully to one of the types of local governance proposed by Pecqueur. The initiative has the support of the Province and other institutions at the city level (Institutional governance) and it also involves a partnership with the local council (joint governance). Even if the local council agrees on the objectives of the Master Plan, it has its own perspective on how regeneration should be driven, which is further demonstrated in the next section. The voice of the BIA is dominant in regard to the objectives of the Master Plan, and we found that it is more closely aligned with private governance. As we have shown, this type of local governance allows for restricted public involvement that we would assess to the level of 'information' if we refer to Arnstein's ladder.

5.2.2.3. Use of the creative city concept. Our research shows that the Toronto Entertainment District BIA has played a central role in the redevelopment initiative; a plan that concurs with the Province's tourism strategy, even though there are no formal sources of government funding committed at this time. In this way, the local BIA is willing to enhance the attractiveness of the area to lure private investments near to or along

John Street: ‘Ontario’s tourism product must be more relevant and interesting to travellers and encourage repeated visits; our attractions need to be more year-around and linked to tourists needs [. . .]’ (Interview Director BIA, 2 October 2009). The project would require 30 million dollars (10 million from each level of governments). The objective is, therefore, to spawn development funding beyond the BIA (public meeting). At the same time, this BIA has significant financial resources compared to most BIAs, which explains their central role in the revitalisation process of the area (Interview Member of the Wellington Place Neighborhood Association).

Although the local council has its own perspective on the redevelopment of the area into a complete neighbourhood based on mixed uses, our interviews reveal that the objective of the transformation of the area into an international tourist destination is the dominant objective of the Master Plan:

If we transform this street, it we will attract much more interesting retail activities like cafes and interesting restaurants and more galleries [. . .] We are hoping to achieve a combination of meaningful permanent art experiences: spontaneous animated art experiences or art projected on screens [. . .]. (Interview Director BIA, 2 October 2009)

As stated by the local BIA, the aim of the redevelopment of John Street is also to have an impact locally and at the street level, this approach is very similar to the creative city concept promoted by Richard Florida in the context of Toronto. According to Artscape’s director, Florida’s concept of the creative city relates to the activation of street life and very close to the Jane Jacob’s notion of creative neighbourhoods (Interview Director Arstcape).

The Toronto Entertainment District hosts high-tech activities worth 12 billion dollars, which are located in the former warehouses of the area (Public meeting). This coincides with the objective of providing a better living environment for knowledge workers working in the neighbourhood. As demonstrated for the Toronto case study, it was mainly the BIA that used the creative city concept as a place-making objective to influence the regeneration strategy. From this, it was assumed that economic revitalisation and the attraction of new residents would follow. This is a view that is partly shared by the local council.

6. Analysis

6.1. Local governance and planning culture

Unsurprisingly, the type of local governance for each project is deeply embedded in the planning culture of each city. In the Montreal case, *joint-governance* is associated with a regeneration process that is rather centralised around the key role of the City of Montreal. Due to the scale of the project, community groups have been involved to a degree, however main stakeholders (City of Montreal, SDA and the Quartier des Spectacles partnership) retain much of the decision-making power. This limited inclusiveness is compensated by an innovative approach to the development of the ‘cultural cluster’: the retention of artists and the attraction of cultural industries in the area has become a priority supported by the City of Montreal. In that regard, the 2-22 building is a catalytic project to achieve this vision, as it is built mainly for community organisations (e.g. community radio). In Toronto, the decision-making process is centred around the key role of the local BIA. This illustrates at the local scale, the trend towards an entrepreneurial type of governance that has characterised Toronto since the 1990s (see Section 6.1). The private type of local governance – although the local council is not totally absent from the debate – creates a regeneration process that is incremental when compared to a process that is driven by a clear vision such

as in Montreal. This ties in to the reliance on private sources of funding for the Toronto case study.

6.2. *Integration of the creative city concept in the regeneration process*

There is a clear distinction between the two case studies in regard to the use of the creative city concept. In the Montreal case study, the creative city concept has been used to define and promote the vision for the Quartier des Spectacles prior to implementation but not in defining planning priorities. The City of Montreal already had mechanisms in place to ensure that some of the buildings allow for creative industries companies occupation at a 75% rate. In the regeneration process, the concept of culture supports social cohesion and attempts to address social exclusion issues in the area.

In the Toronto case study, the creative city concept is used to define some of the planning priorities (e.g. the place-making objective: development of a vibrant pedestrian-friendly environment). In the absence of consensus-building around the regeneration approach, the use of the creative city concept appears as a discourse that is ‘filling the gaps’ and mainly focusing on the place-making aspect. In this context, the use of culture is rather nebulous. It remains unclear, apart from the redevelopment of John Street as a cultural spine, how culture/cultural industries will be used and what type of culture will be incorporated to sustain some of the social objectives of the regeneration process. In our interviews, the use of cultural activities is seen as a way to foster street life activation and to further redefine the area from ‘Clubland’ to an ‘art and cultural hub’.

7. Conclusion

Our findings confirm the distinction between the two cities in regard to the local planning culture. As was emphasised by Mason (2003) and Klein and Tremblay (2009), in regard to the revitalisation of the ‘Quartier International’, the City of Montreal is implementing a distinctive planning and governance model in Canada, still driven by economic competitiveness but also characterised by a commitment towards social cohesion. This statement is also true for the case study of the ‘Quartier des Spectacles’ to a certain extent.

In the Montreal case study, more funding is made available from the different levels of government, which helps to facilitate a high level of inclusiveness, but does not ensure it. A major factor in this regard are the community actors such as the SDA and Culture Montréal, who uphold a more inclusive vision to engage stakeholders from civil society, in comparison with Florida’s (2003, 2005) approach to creativity. As for Toronto, primary funding relies on the capacity of the local BIA to attract investments (public and private), even though the City partly funds BIA initiatives. The use of the creative city concept here is more driven by the interests of the BIA as a private stakeholder and is not necessarily reflecting either local council’s vision or that of local residents’ for the redevelopment of this neighbourhood.

In conclusion, the approach in the case of the 2-22 has been more efficient in retaining the vitality of the district and its character, even through limits on the level of involvement of community groups. In the case of Toronto, cultural activities are not prioritised to the same degree, in relation to the development of daytime activities on John Street. The use of the creative city concept is aligned with the notion of street life activation, but the concept is applied to design an environment for visitors and thus transforming the identity of the district. The rationale of stabilising the district, meaning diversifying economic activities (not relying only on the night life economy) and to create a sustainable neighbourhood requires removal of the largest nightclubs. However, there appears to

be little support to enhance and expand the community that already exists. In the case of Montreal, the approach to development manages to retain and even increase the vitality of the district by creating facilities for the artists. Therefore, the Montreal case study is much more successful in considering the ‘soft infrastructure’ (people and networking), although some will argue that the identity of the ‘red-light district’ has been altered. The regeneration approach is designed around a clear definition of culture and its purpose towards social cohesion is relatively well defined. This distinction between the two regeneration approaches is strongly influenced by the different types of local governance in relation to the local planning culture, as was demonstrated in the article. In one case, there is a vision-driven process based on consensus; in the other case, it is an incremental regeneration process that reflects the interests of a particular set of stakeholders promoting the creative city concept as a means to enhance the attractiveness of the area for new businesses and residents.

Notes

1. To define these professional occupations, we refer to the acronym TAPE (Technology and Innovation, Arts and Culture, Professionals and Management, Education).
2. Snowball sampling (or chain referral sampling) is a non-probability sampling technique that is used by researchers to identify potential subjects in studies where subjects are hard to locate.
3. Can be obtained from the author.
4. We broke down the transcription according to our themes, and we then proceeded to a thematic and categorical analysis to measure the frequency of recurring ideas within our pre-determined themes (local governance, impacts on economic development, community empowerment). Based on the assumption that a theme cited frequently by interviewees is significant in terms of the transfer of themes into practice, we assessed our data as such (Quivy and Van Campenhoudt 1995, 232).
5. In the context of Quebec, the French word ‘revitalisation’ is a preferred term than ‘régénération’.
6. The City of Toronto also hired the firm in 2005 to conduct a comprehensive review of the King-Spadina Secondary Plan (our interviews).

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Interviews

Interviews and recording of public meeting (Toronto Entertainment District)

- President, King-Spadina Residents' Association, 23 September 2009.
- Executive Director of the Toronto Entertainment District BIA, 2 October 2009.
- Planner and Designer, Planning Partnerships, 9 October 2009.
- Councillor of Ward 20, City of Toronto, 15 October 2009.
- Member of the Wellington Place Neighborhood Association, 3 November 2009.
- Recording of the public meeting on John Street, Metro Hall, 16 November 2009.
- Executive director, Artscape, 4 December 2010.

Interviews and recording of public meeting ('Quartier des Spectacles' project)

- Director of the (SDA), 20 May 2009.
- Executive Director, Corporation de développement du Faubourg St Laurent, 6 October 2009
- Urban Planner, Urban Planning Division, Ville-Marie Borough, City of Montreal, 9 June 2009.
- Urban Planner, Division Chief, Urban Planning Division, Ville-Marie Borough, City of Montreal, 9 June 2009.
- Director, Table de concertation du Faubourg Saint-Laurent, 16 June 2009.
- Recording of five public meetings in May–June 2009 (+ access to all documentation from these meetings).