

Creative Cities Movement in Southeast Asian Developing Countries: Bandung and Chiang Mai

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CREATIVE CITIES MOVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN DEVELOPING
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Bandung and Chiang Mai

Master Thesis

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Abstract

The creative city idea in urban development puts the notion of creativity and innovation as the main criteria. As we shall see these notions place an emphasis on public participation and interaction between diverse social groups via collaborative planning. This thesis refers to these aspects to provide an understanding of the implementation of the creative city idea within urban development processes in Southeast Asian Developing Countries. The Bandung Creative City Forum (Indonesia) and the Creative City Chiang Mai (Thailand) are the case studies of this research. The relevant characteristics including intentions of the two initiatives will be compared then analyzed in collaborative planning perspective. The comparative analysis also concerns inequalities that follow the creative city idea. Analysis of the findings reveals several important points in understanding creative city strategy in the Southeast Asian context. The thesis alludes to lessons for policy-makers and practitioners that emerge from these findings.

Key words: Creative City, Bandung Creative City Forum, Creative City Chiang Mai, collaborative planning, inequalities

Preface

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Chapter 1/Introduction

The creative city, as Scott (2014) said, is the form of cognitive-cultural capitalism which emphasizes the consumption of cultural and service products that in line with neo-liberalist perspective. Scott (2014) also mentioned that nowadays this kind of city is entering the third wave of urbanization that focusing on cerebral and affective capacities of the labor forces. Previously, in 19th century, the first wave of urbanization associated with factory and workshop system; and the second wave is associated with 20th century Fordism.

Great cities in the developed world had started to attract world-class talents to inhabit their land even before the creative city movement became ubiquitous. As examples, Paris, New York, London, Milan, Amsterdam, or any well-known cities that have the images to attract and produce newly born great talents to their cities, have world reputation and long history as a culturally beautiful place. Landry (2006) in *The Art of City Making* implies that those kind of cities have a long history in education and production worldwide renowned idols in creative class and use their political power, that basically rooted in economic motive, to force-feed the city with creativity and then generated great power of attractiveness for young ambitious talents that want to be near to the center of power.

Due to the previous illustration, it is obvious that creative city movements mostly come from cities in developed countries. As examples, Landry (2006: 386) listed that 20 cities in United Kingdom have creative city initiatives from London to Plymouth; Canada with Vancouver's Creative City Task Force and Toronto's Culture Plan for Creative City; or United States with CoolCities Michigan, Creative Cincinnati, Creative Tampa Bay. The strategies in the creative city concept were moved beyond traditional economic development such as tax incentives or financial subsidies. The concept's approach may give the abandoned building the new life through self-build program with private partnership (NDSM Wharf, Amsterdam), legal and technical assistance for creative industries (Creative London), or unified creative community to encourage new development that supports creative environment (Bandung Creative City Forum).

City as an object of 'the new imperialism' is intensely producing several inequalities (poverty, homelessness, unemployment, state neglect, segregation) during growth phase and its development strategies (Harvey, 2013). Creative city concept, that nurturing a development of creative class (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000), hides the inequalities behind the mask of high-order amenities. In the rise of creative class, there are several unseen workers that receive low payment because they are not doing creative jobs. According to Peck (2005), the creative class has to find the solution to solve economy and urban problems in their own ways, while uncreative population should look and learn. In line with that, McCann (2007) has spotted the inequalities in the so-called creative city, Austin, Texas in the USA.

The concern about inequalities will guide the analysis of the thesis since the idea comes mostly from developed countries and, in this research, initiated by developing countries. The creative city idea promises an approach that fosters new employment through the creative economic sector.

In planning, the notion of creativity might provide answers to the problem of the rigid form of the traditional planning system (Healey, 2004). Through the nature of learning, innovation, and creativity, the creative city idea might have important relations to certain ideas within collaborative planning which emphasize the importance of social interaction, involvement of a broad range of actors, and place-making, as discussed by Healey (2003). Through the collaborative planning perspective, the thesis will not show the “best” strategy in implementing a creative city initiative, but will explain how the creative city idea is implemented and emerging in cities from Southeast Asian Developing Countries.

To provide this understanding, the comparison analysis of the case studies is taken from two cities in developing countries with contrasting initiation processes. Bandung is chosen because this city is called as a creative city, and in Yokohama meeting, Bandung was appointed as the pilot project for creative city in East Asia (Soemardi & Radjawali, 2004; Irawati, 2011). In the Yokohama meeting, the prominent initiative that brings Bandung in the meeting is Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF). This initiative is chosen as the object of this thesis because of its impact in the city. On the other hand, Chiang Mai is chosen because the city is part of Southeast Asian Creative Cities Network (SEACCN) and has a well-documented creative city strategy and implementation. The implementation of creative city idea in Chiang Mai is called as Creative City Chiang Mai that becomes the compared object in the thesis. As the reason both initiatives is BCCF has a historical background deeply rooted in community action, in contrast, the Creative City Chiang Mai is a government initiative in promoting the creative economy. This contrasting background may give interesting points to be compared to understand the implementation of creative city idea in developing countries, Southeast Asian particularly.

1.1. Research Objective

According to S. Yusuf and Nabeshima (2005), the literature on the creative city idea focuses mostly on North America and Europe, with only a small number of studies from a developing country or Asia in particular. Essentially, this thesis aims to draw out lessons from the comparison of creative city initiatives in Bandung, Indonesia and Chiang Mai, Thailand. The objective is to attempt an explanation of the relevance, or otherwise, of creative city concept in developing countries especially in the Southeast Asia Region.

More specifically, the thesis focuses on how Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) and Creative City Chiang Mai emerge and implement several activities in relation to creative city idea. The research questions that drive the thesis are formulated in relation to the

comparison of the cases with respect to their respective spatial planning contexts. Primarily a desk study, this thesis focuses only on the online information about the initiatives due to the limits of time and funding. At its core, the thesis is about lessons, not only for theory but also for policy-makers and practitioners, gleaned from the comparison of creative city initiatives in the Southeast Asian Developing Countries.

1.2. Research Questions

Based on the background that was described previously, there were several questions that shall be answered in this research. The questions are as follows:

- a. What are the empirical similarities and differences between creative city initiatives in the BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai in terms of planning?
- b. What is the theoretical relevance of the creative city idea for development processes in cities of Southeast Asian Developing Countries?
- c. How can we account for the relevance (or otherwise) of the idea in cities of the Southeast Asian Developing Countries?

1.3 Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 introduces the topic of the thesis, the creative city idea, and proceeds to the motive behind this thesis, and hints at the approach followed for the research.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review in order to help construct a conceptual framework that guides the analysis of the case material later. The chapter puts the creative city idea into the context of Southeast Asian Developing Countries and spatial planning.

Chapter 3 explains in more detail the methodology of the thesis, particularly on how the data was collected and analyzed. It presents the limitation of this thesis as well.

Chapter 4 tells the story of BCCF and The Creative City Chiang Mai respectively, from the history, motives, objectives, to the implementation of the initiatives. These chapters offer a description of the initiatives.

Chapter 5 analyzes the case studies through comparing both initiatives to answer the first and second research questions. This chapter is meant to answer the research questions.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis, by summarizing the argument, discussing implications for theory, lessons for policy makers and practitioners and also speculates over future research that can be grounded on the initial findings presented here. Key issues for consideration are: does creative city concept only widen a gap between the poor and the rich as many expert concerned towards this concept? Does creative economy sector need interference from government? Or, does it need to foster creativity or creative class to improve economic and social condition in developing country?

Chapter 2/Creativity in City Development

In the previous chapter, the notion of creativity was highlighted in economic development strategy in both developed and developing countries. Previously mentioned, in harnessing creativity, a city has to move beyond the border of a merely physical development. Other factors such as natural, social, cultural, political, and economic environment are important in cultivating creativity, or as a notion from Landry and Bianchini (1995), called 'holistic approach' in spatial planning and urban development. This holistic approach must be understood through the fundamental meaning of creativity and related science in spatial and urban development fields. This chapter seeks to elaborate the creative city strategy within developing country context, especially in Southeast Asia, and draws attention to specific elements to analyse the strategy and implementation.

2.1 Creativity

This part starts with the definition of creativity as individual behavior. At the micro level, creativity is defined as one of a cognitive psychological trait and the ideas that are developed by the brain (Andersson, 2011). However, this is not a merely an action that is produced by an idea in an individual's brain. Simonton (2011) defines creativity as an idea that has to fulfill three requirements: novelty, utility, and surprise. These elements help to distinguish creativity from other related notion, innovation for example.

Another identified meaning that has a strong relationship with creativity is culture. Culture start from particular action and then became habit (that used to be called 'custom'), thus transformed into symbolic emblem that described the whole group of people (Abram, 2011). Creativity may be used to create a culture since this can be said to come from human action. Before culture exists, the elements of creativity might have been attached to that particular action and then in turn had an influence on many people.

Everyone is creative (Florida, 2002), so we might also say so is an organization, an institution, or a city (Landry, 2000). Creativity could be taught and encouraged (Edward de Bono, 1992). In line with that basic understanding of creativity, a 'conformist' society like Japan is possible to produce several products in creative economy sector (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). However, there is confusion between innovation and creativity definition. While creativity is a process of inventing a novel idea, the outcomes from this process are diverse. It could be nothing existed before (innovative) or just a new decoration of an old idea. Behind innovation, there must be a creativity process but not in vice versa (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). So it could be said that creativity is a process and innovation is an output.

2.2 The Creative City Idea

Even though creativity is an individual process, the impact could reach a global audience. By this domain, creativity became a social phenomenon (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). The phenomenon is created mostly by the innovation that became ubiquitous, such as paper, television, internet, etc. In a wider context, abstract concept like socialism and capitalism also could be included as a product of creativity since these have elements of novelty, utility, and surprise. Along with the amazement of creativity, many scientists attempt to embed this notion to other field such as creative economy (Howkins, 2002), creative industries (Caves, 2000), creative class (Andersson, 1985; Florida, 2002), creative city (Landry, 1995), and so on.

Creative economy defined by Howkins (2002) as the system of economic that emphasize the importance of creative qualities rather than traditional economic qualities such as land, labor, and capital. The result of creative economy is creative product that qualifies as intellectual property. The intellectual property is intangible and has qualitative measure in economy term. The Marxist's school of thought sees the creative economy as a form of 'cognitive capitalism' which means to sell indefinite values likes design and experience (Moulier-Boutang, 2012). The nature of capitalism, one might claim, is a survival of the fittest based development where the strong could gain more than the weak, thus it widens social inequalities (ibid.).

Creative economy create spin-off termed as *creative industry* (Howkins, 2002). In Britain and Australia, the creative industry is restricted on arts and cultural industries without science and patent industries (ibid.). According to Pratt (2008), the notion of creative industry and cultural industry was used by nobody until the late of 1990s. Previously, the terms 'cultural industries' was used to explain similar domain of policy and activity (Pratt, 2008). Furthermore, Pratt (2008) explained the key distinctness between both notions is the management behind the output. Creative is embedded as a characteristic of the entire process of industry, while cultural industries mostly associated as art-related production. This interpretation is closely related with UNCTAD (2008, p.15) definition:

“Creative industries’ can be defined as the cycles of creation, production and distribution of goods and services that use creativity and intellectual capital as primary inputs. They comprise a set of knowledge-based activities that produce tangible goods and intangible intellectual or artistic services with creative content, economic value and market objectives”

The workers in creative economy are categorized as *creative class*. The notion of creative class is mostly used in the developed countries. Florida (2002) basically explained that people in this class in a sense use creativity as a source of income. The high-tech and art-related job is more likely to be classified in this class and described as 'super-creative core'.

Another service and management occupation also described as ‘creative professional’. By implementing the ‘3T’ of economic development concept, the city will attract this occupational class.

Before Florida coined the terms of creative class, in 1985 Swedish regional Economist Åke E. Andersson published a book about the importance of creative ‘knowledge handlers’ in the post-industrial economy that he claimed would shape the future of metropolis (Andersson, 1985). Since the book was published in Swedish, the audience towards Andersson’s idea was limited to Sweden and Denmark. Andersson insists the importance of transport infrastructure investment and the inter-regional network (Andersson and Mellander, 2011). Without saying that Florida’s and Andersson’s theories are identical, they have a common point that a future leading role in economic development is embedded in creativity as a new type of society.

Florida (2002) presents a model of urban growth called ‘The 3T of Economic Development – Technology, Talent, and Tolerance’ which suggests that in post-industrial era, ecosystem to generate and incorporating high level of talent is a key of successful regional economic development. The ecosystem demands high-technology concentration, easiness place for talents, and high degree of social tolerance. Florida maintains that while countries now start shifting from a dependence of natural resources toward human resources, geographical context still matters. Business demands proximity with the greatest supply of knowledge workers class that identified by Florida in diverse sub-classes, creative classes and creative professionals. Florida argues that creative class has the smallest portion in social class but holds highest wealth and high degree of flexibility.

In urban planning, the term of *creative city* emerges with the specific aim to creates and retains the creative class in order to provide a city with the profit from creative economy (Landry, 2012). Generally, the creative city is understood and used through 4 ways: (i) as a focal point of arts and cultural infrastructures, (ii) as an action place for creative economy sector, (iii) identical with a strong creative class, and (iv) a place that support culture of creativity (Baycan, 2011). Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini (1995) argue that urban problems that plagued post-industrial cities demand a creative response to solve the problem that resulted in Creative City concept. Its concept accepted as a base for further Landry works in his book *The Creative City – A Toolkit for Urban Innovator* (2012). The concept of creative city places the importance of innovator and creator which can be developed by creative projects that emphasize the importance of social interaction, openness and tolerance, research facilities, and easily connected from outside.

2.3 Celebrating Creative City Idea

Following the amazement of creative city in the developed countries, the cities in the developing countries, Southeast Asia regions in particular, start to put investments in their

creative economy sector as the future of a new economy era (Rahmawati & Irawati, 2014), even though in developed country, the positive impact from the creative city strategy still doubtful (Peck, 2005). Jamie Peck (2005) said that with many efforts to 'hipsterize' their cities, governments start to forget many invisible low-paid workers that tirelessly work for this creative mastermind. Furthermore, he spotted an increasing number of inequalities in creative city.

City, as a place for economic competition, creates social reproduction that relates to qualities of life (McCann, 2007). The creative city is a place that nurtures a specific social class which means the economic competition inside the city is unequal. Furthermore, McCann (2007) spots in Austin concerning inequalities that come from creative city idea such as: the decreasing number of affordable housing; unequal wage composition between Hi-tech industries and other industries; and higher residents that live in poverty compare to the average of US, even though Florida's creativity index positions the city in the second place (Florida, 2005).

In critical view, Peck (2013) categorizes the creative city concept as a Neoliberalism Urbanism that have indications like debt-financed development; put mindset on 'growth first' development; entrepreneurial governance; build and improve elite network; privatism; develop market distribution; roll-backs of bureaucratic and public service; and increasing penal regulation for poor or urban revanchism. Neoliberalism actually based on classical roots of economy theory that markets and people are completely liberated from any type of governmental interference (Smith, 2009). The creative city concept even has a slightly different characteristic with neoliberalism since government has interference on the defined creative economy sector through stimulus and legal assistance.

Moreover the creative city concept celebrates individuality through 'hipster urbanism' that means to put our trust and investment to few people that have responsibility and nurture them, or can be said as letting bohemian lifestyle save world economy downturn (Peck, 2005). Florida (2002) in his research implied that some cities gain economy robustness because of the impressing number of creative class that resides on these cities. Bures (2012), in *Thirtytwo* Magazine article, concludes that causal relation between creative class and wealthy cities is unproven because it cannot say that a city is rich because of some 'hipster' that inhabiting the city. That like saying about the high number of hot dog vendors in New York City is what causing the presence of so many investment bankers. Bures (2012) argues that the economy development is more affected by human capital and institution condition than the creative class in particular.

Another critique shows that in Toronto, after Creative City concept was implemented, inequality leads immigrants and poor forced out of the city since downtown is made to prepare creative class influx, tuition goes up 30% as university builds creative cities

innovation centre, feminist exclusion on arts stage, and cops arrest homeless for sleeping in touristy area (McLean, 2014).

2.4 Creative City Concept in Southeast Asian Developing Countries Context

In order to reach 'developed' label, some developing countries have shifted their mindset in economic development from natural-led economy to culture and creative-led economy. A research from UNCTAD (2013) shows that worldwide creative goods and services recorded US\$ 624 billion in 2011; the number is doubled from 2002. The average annual growth rate is 8.8 %. Developing countries have a bigger annual growth rate percentage, 12.1% in the same period. The percentage shows that the developing countries are shifting their "old economy" paradigm into the "new economy" which emphasizes the intangible value in economic term. Hence, the new economy paradigm fits with creative economy concept.

A developing country also does not really experience large scale competition between companies since the numbers of multinational companies from developing countries are not as much as the developed one (Lau, 2000). This means the economic competition of the country is insignificant compared with developed country. That is why the big multinational and national companies dominate the market. According to Landry (2012), the creative city is a place that attracts investment from international companies which could create imbalance competition and kills local company if the human capital of the city is not ready. However if a country with limited natural resources can manage its human capital efficiently, for example, Japan and the Republic of Korea, so it can become a rich country.

The creative city idea uses creative economy as the main engine for urban development (Landry, 2012). According to Fleming and NORDEN (2007), there are ten preconditions in the city as criteria that might foster creativity and attract the creative class:

- a. A world-class, high-profile cultural infrastructure;
- b. A wide range of specialist creative industries support services;
- c. A wide range of specialist and accessible facilities of the creative industries;
- d. A strong and specialized higher education sector;
- e. An innovative further, school education sector, and strong informal learning sector;
- f. Spaces for convergence and connectivity;
- g. Global partnership and initiatives;
- h. Diversity advantage;
- i. Strong spaces of cultural consumption connecting spaces of production; and
- j. A vibrant night-time economy.

The developed countries may fulfill these criteria better because they have earlier phase of advancement than developing countries. In developing countries, according to the Global Competitiveness Report 2014 (World Economic Forum, 2014), the most problematic issues

for investment in ASEAN countries are corruption, infrastructure readiness, access to finance, and inadequately educated workers. To achieve the ten preconditions, these problems be addressed first before implementing the creative city idea. The developing countries might also own all of those preconditions, but lagged behind in the reputation and quality. This means the possibilities of developing countries in attracting creative class, is lower than developed countries. Florida (2002) implies that the creative city demands sophisticated human capital, social tolerance, and easiness place for talents. These demands could be inferred into the three aspects to implement creative city; innovation, tolerance, and amenities.

The innovation aspect that might be considered in implementing the creative city idea in developing countries is innovation. In developed countries, innovation is an essential factor in implementing the creative city idea (Yusuf & Nabeshima, 2005). In line with that, it is important to note the innovation for the implementation of the creative city idea in Southeast Asian, despite there is a problem in qualities and reputations of the preconditions as mentioned before. Concerning innovation aspect, there is a relationship between higher education institution and creative city (de Heijer et al., 2012). The reputable higher education institution might attract and retains students and knowledge workers to increase the possibility of innovation. This means the presence of reputable university in a city might be a catalyst for the idea of creative city. A city in developing countries should improve their high education institution qualities in order to create bigger chance in producing creators and innovators.

The second aspect in implementing creative city idea is tolerance which has connection with culture. The creative city idea could not be totally implemented since the cultural context is strongly embedded in the implementation (Pratt, 2009). According to Florida (2002), tolerance is the assets to attract creative class in the creative city; however developing countries have problems in tolerance. In the late 1980s, the developing countries positioned their cultures and traditions as national identity, not economic development, however, after 1990, culture and tradition have assumed a different role as one of a driver of economic growth (Kim, 2015).

Stewarts (2002) argues in the “Root Causes of Violent Conflict in Developing Countries”, the common culture (ethnics and religions) and economic are the roots of social conflict in developing countries. The majority ethnics and religions fight in order to maintain their cultural autonomy. The tolerance brought by creative city idea encourages gay openness, multiculturalism, and atheism, might aggravate wider conflicts in developing countries. Furthermore, Stewarts (2002) recommends the policy of inequalities reduction in order to avoid social conflict which contradicts the idea of creative city that might cause inequalities as explained in the subchapter before.

Furthermore, Southeast Asian Developing Countries still face several traditional and religion problems, such as: the recent Buddhist-Muslim conflict in South Thailand; several extremist movements and religious conflicts in Indonesia; and specific ethnic domination in Southeast Asian Countries. In spite of these basic problems, there are several developing countries which promote creative city idea such as Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia (Yusuf and Nabeshima, 2005). They try to promote the concept even though the creative city idea demands tolerance in social and cultural diversities.

With their cultural and local uniqueness, developing countries have an inclination to abusively exploit their own local and cultural activities into economic benefits (Evans, 2009). UNCTAD (2008) mentioned that cultural activities should be developed to create wider economic development such as employment and export activities. However, there is a concern in implementing the UNCTAD suggestion; exploiting local cultures and values into new employment and export value is not secure for the long term. In order to deal with that, UNCTAD (2008) recommends modernization and the improvement of local capacities in managing cultural advantages.

The third aspect in implementing creative city in the developing countries is amenities (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2005; Romein and Trip, 2012). The amenities cover several entities such as the beauty of the city, public facilities, public transports, public securities, and festivals or events (Romein and Trip, 2012). Even though public services in the developing countries are improving, there is a common knowledge that the quality is lagged behind the developed countries. However, developing countries may create internationally renowned festivals and events to attract so-called creative class. Since the term of creative class comes from developed countries, there is no distinct definition of creative class in developing countries even though some of them establish special body in creative economy (Indonesia Creative Economy Body, Thailand Creative and Design Center [TCDC], and Malaysia Global Innovation and Creativity Centre [MaGIC]).

Those national bodies of creative economy may initiate a construction of venue for international and high prestige event. However, Florida (2002) criticizes the investment in large scale in tight schedule amenities because these would not create informal interaction that reproduces creativity. To create informal network, Developing Countries, Southeast Asia in particular, has this kind of place that has been emerging in humble way since long time ago, and called Informal Food Sector (Yasmeen, 2000). This informal food sector should be encouraged because this kind of place may alleviate the poverty in developing countries and promotes creative process. Due to the minimum capital, the seller is in the shape of food stall or tent that illegally occupying pedestrian way. The other, with different assets, serves food and beverage in more comfortable place. The first kind of place does not constrain the customer with a distinct eat manner, but the later does, either formally or informally stated by the restaurant. Both initiatives do not explicitly maintain this sector. This effort is needed in order to stimulate informal interaction.

However, decentralized government might open the chance for creative city idea. In the implementation of decentralization, Southeast Asian Developing Countries have just started to transfer the central government responsibilities to sub-national levels like localities (Miraftab et al., 2008). The implementation of decentralization in developing countries started later than in developed ones. The call of governmental decentralization goes back to the 1970s that was triggered by crisis in the legitimacy of developing countries government due to the exclusiveness and the lack of transparency in decision making processes (ibid.). Decentralization promises a greater role of civil society and more public participation so several developing countries are attracted to the idea. Along with the increasing diversities of social class, the decentralization opens the chance for the idea of the creative city to be spread.

2.5 Collaborative Planning as the Perspective

As mentioned in the introduction, several cities are following the third wave of urbanization that emphasizing the consumption of cultural and service products such as Barcelona, Tokyo, Amsterdam, London, and other smaller cities like Austin, Bilbao, Kyoto, Rotterdam. As the trend of creative city goes, several cities in developing countries also follow this concept. In creative city, there is an interdependent process of learning, creativity, and innovation than lies in the fields of social relationship (Scott, 2014). In so-called creative city, the creative class is organically developed with a specific catalyst. As the examples; the development of Silicon Valley in California through the hand of Stanford's graduate (Adams, 2003), Berlin as a capital of bohemian lifestyle (Peck, 2005), or the international position of Amsterdam in Europe (Romein and Trip, 2012).

With the nature of learning, creativity, and innovation, the creative city idea is an anti-thesis of planning and government in the end of twentieth century. As Healey (2004) described, administrative routines that followed bureaucratic procedures could hamper innovation and adaptation to a new context and new pressures. According to Healey (2004), freedom is one kind of neo-liberal approach in planning activities with respect to the existing planning practice and system. This also implies that increasing diversity of social class creates and demands a different approach in planning practice and system. The creative city idea also has a relation with self-organization in urban planning. According to Horelli, et al (2015), the invention of information and communication technology has been providing a different kind of participation that triggers self-organization in urban planning and this matches with one of the model of urban growth as Florida (2002) described as 3T (Technology, Talents, and Tolerance)

The characteristic of culture and institution in developing countries should be taken into account in implementing the creative city idea. Pratt (2009) explained that the idea of creative economic development should not be taken entirely by a developing country. The idea should grow organically through daily communication and intertwining networks

between actors and stakeholders (Scott, 2006). In other words, there must be a specific requirement for a city to implement the creative city idea that nurtures the existing creative economic activities. In an institutional sense, several developing countries in Asia have just implemented decentralization processes, including Indonesia and Thailand (Miraftab, et al., 2008). Decentralization is in line with the idea of neoliberalization that encourages inter-local competitiveness. Some cities are doubtfully capable to compete with other cities and force the less competitive cities to improve their human capital and technology. Some cities also seek their cultural advantages to be exploited (Seymour, 2002).

The creative city idea is one of a few new policies which are inserted into a range of existing measures to answer the challenge from the new trends in urban planning. Healey (2004) has formulated the three meanings of creativity in urban planning policy, the first one is creativity as innovation that provides 'new projects', 'new policies', 'new people' and 'new practices'. In this first meaning, the importance of innovation is emphasized. The second meaning is economic motive that move beyond innovation in urban development. The third meaning is creativity as the process of making a new product which is related to the self-organization part of the creative city idea.

Healey (2003) defined planning as the interactive process of governance in a complex and dynamic institutional environment, concerning places and territories making which is shaped by wider social, economic, and environmental context. So it could be inferred that planning have aspects such as social interaction, actors' involvement, and place-making in order to manage a complex situation. City planning depends on traditions, political contexts, and physical conditions as a mechanism for achieving several purposes that are framed in planning system (Healey, 2003).

The creative city idea comes as a mechanism to enhance local economic development in each city as it emphasizes a city's identity or branding (Landry, 2011). Thus this idea might have some relation to the aspects of planning as defined by Healey (2004) in social interaction, actors' involvement, and place-making. According to Markusen (2006), the notion of creative city has the possibility to tie urban planning when arts, economic development, and cultural policy efforts come together. For those cities which implemented the creative city concept to their cities development, they should consider some aspects to be included in their planning process or activity. The important aspect to engage creative city idea in planning activity is the cooperation and collaboration from all related aspects in city dimension such as institutions, actors, strategies, and financing in a creative way (Kunzman, 2004).

Since the concept of creative city stresses the importance of tolerance among people (Florida, 2002) and encourages participation of diverse people and social groups in city development (Landry, 2011), *ideally and at least in principle* it enables different types of people and stakeholders in a city to participate in the planning process. In other words, the

opportunities of every individual, community, and private sector actor to initiate ideas as the input for planning may increase. Therefore, the concept of creative city might be relevant to the collaborative approach in communicative planning. The collaborative approach in planning develops collaboration among stakeholders in policy development with regard to the qualities of places (Healey, 1998). Moreover, it is argued that all planning activities require interactive relation and collaboration in the governance process which may increase the quality of openness, inclusivity, and creativity in a city (Healey, 2003).

Popular participation in planning is argued as an approach which can provide opportunities for communities to manage the issues they deal with (Hibbard & Lurie, 2000). This type of planning is also familiar as community planning or bottom-up approach in planning where the ideas to solve the issues in an area are initiated by individuals or communities which correspond to the concept of creative city carried by Florida (2002). However, the concept of creative city does not necessarily apply to cities which emphasize the bottom-up approach in their urban planning and management. An opposite approach known as top-down approach also can be coexist with the concept of creative city by strengthening the ability of government to be innovative and creative in making new policy to manage its city (Healey, 2004). The tension between bottom up and top down planning is one that is referred to via the presentation and analysis of the case studies in this thesis.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The literatures review about creative city idea is explained in this chapter and are connected each other (see **figure 2.1**). To understand the notion of creativity and its related term, the thesis is start with the definition of creativity. The notion of creativity has a relationship with innovation and culture. Innovation and culture is the product of creativity. This definition is important distinguish the three notions that often come in this chapter. Creativity becomes a social phenomenon and attaches into some fields. Creative economy comes in order to provide an alternative source in the wealth of a nation. The idea is to utilize intellectual property in economy value. The term of creative economy create a spin-off named creative industry. The creative industry has relationship with cultural industries and there is no common definition about both of notions (Howkins, 2002). People that work in the creative economy world are called creative class (Florida, 2002). In order to utilize creative economy as the engine of a city's economic growth, the notion of creativity reaches urban planning field termed as creative city. The creative city idea becomes the main idea in this concept.

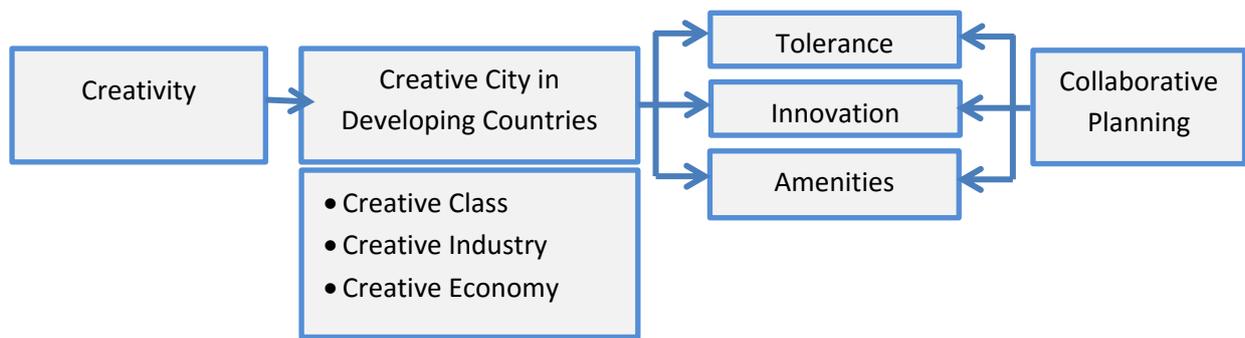


Figure 2.1 Theoretical Framework (Source: Author. 2015)

The idea of creative city is criticized by several academics that categorized as cognitive capitalism (Moulier-Boutang, 2012; Scott, 2014,) and brings neoliberalism ideology that carries the inequalities behind the mask of high amenities projects (Peck, 2005). Austin, as the top level creative city (Florida, 2005), spotted by McCann (2007) several social inequalities inside the city. Moreover, the impact of creative class in regional economic development still doubtful (Bures, 2012). In developing countries, there are some doubts about the applicability of the creative city idea in the notion of **innovation**, **tolerance**, and **amenities** which will be used as the thesis's points of comparison. Hence, these notions are analyzed by the perspective of collaborative planning. The theoretical context of creative city idea in developing countries is brought together with the spatial planning context that noted the emergence of decentralization which came later than in developed countries. The spatial planning context of creative city thinking is emphasized by the aspect of social interaction, relevant actors, and place making (Healey, 2003).

Chapter 3/Methodology

Chapter three contains a discussion of the methodological aspects of the thesis to generate the ideas to answer research questions that have been explained in the first chapter. This research focuses on Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) and Creative City Chiang Mai as the prominent creative city initiatives from Bandung and Chiang Mai. It is about determining the lessons in theory and practice from both initiatives in implementing the creative city idea. The case studies are examined by using the theories about creative city idea and planning practice. Afterwards, the case studies also will be compared to identify the differences and similarities between both initiatives in order to gain sense of the lessons learned. The data for the cases are interpreted as part of a qualitative research technique due to utilization of more non-numerical (textual) data as a resource of its analysis (Punch, 2014).

3.1 Cases Selection

From a preliminary study, Secondary Cities in Southeast Asian Developing Countries are considered for their uniqueness. Southeast Asia countries have a strong attachment with tradition, religion, and culture (i.e. Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, etc.) which is different from countries of the western world, where the creative city concept first emerged. With upcoming ASEAN Economy Community implementation, the cities in Southeast Asia race to attract regional investment and to offer distinct skills and talents. In line with that, the creative city concept promises to wed culture with technology through creative talent.

Bandung and Chiang Mai are chosen because both cities have fundamental differences in the initiating and implementing the creative city concept as revealed below. As mentioned before, The City of Bandung has had a big influence in Indonesia's creative economy and the prominent initiative of the creative city idea is Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF). BCCF is initiated by a group of creative worker in Bandung to improve social and economic condition of Bandung (bottom-up). The BCCF mainly aims for the improvement of low-income resident and encouraging marginalized communities. In relation with spatial planning aspects that emphasize social interaction and broad actors' involvement, the BCCF may provide a particular perspective in the creative city idea.

The second case study is Chiang Mai, Thailand. As one of main tourist attractions in Thailand, Chiang Mai was established as The Creative City Chiang Mai initiative. Different from Bandung's case, the motive of Chiang Mai in establishing the Creative City initiative is to invent a hi-tech industrial cluster and foster tourism through the improvement of existing culture based industries. Furthermore, The Creative City Chiang Mai is arranged by the Governor of Chiang Mai after central government initiated the development of creative economy sector (top-down). Henceforth, the Creative City Chiang Mai may provide a different perspective in initiating the creative city idea.

The case studies are conducted by using desk research towards the programs, news, and related research about BCCF and The Creative City Chiang Mai. Afterwards, the analyses, and content analyses are constructed. Secondary data collection effort is maximized due to the availability in related research and for minimizing a duplication of data.

3.2 Literature Review

The review from related theories is aimed to develop a theoretical framework as a conceptual thinking to answer the research questions. The review is conducted by collecting some sources of theory that relate to the creative city idea in Southeast Asian Countries. The review on creativity is to provide an understanding towards creativity as human traits. Afterwards, creativity is understood as a sort of social movement, noted by Florida (2002) as the rise of creative class that creates spin-off developments such as the creative economy and creative industry.

The next review was specified on creative city. The review started to look at the correlation between creativity and urban development. The creative city is looked upon as a trend in urban development, along with some negative impacts from the idea of the creative city. Afterwards, the review became more specific with the context of Southeast Asian Developing Countries. Afterwards, the three notions that difference the creative city idea in developing countries and developed countries are found, in order to be used as theoretical basis in defining analysis aspects (tolerance, innovation, and amenities).

The last review that comprises the theoretical framework are creative city and planning. The creative city idea has some joint perception with the ideas from spatial planning. In this thesis, the spotlight is directed to the notion of collaborative planning. A brief review of the central tenets from collaborative planning should provide sufficient material for the analysis of the possible lessons, in theory and practice, for the creative city initiative in a developing country context.

3.3 Data Collection

The review was conducted through the scanning of several sources (e.g. books, scientific journals, newspapers, research reports, government publications, and other relevant publications). Afterwards, the literature review becomes the basis for further understanding and for the analysis of the case material. The details of linkages between research questions and data collection can be seen in **table 3-1**.

Table 3-1: Data Collection (source: Author’s own)

Research Question	Sources of Data	Method of Data Collection	Method of Analysis
What are the empirical similarities and differences between	Online data about the creative city initiative (website,	Online research, document and literature review	Descriptive analysis

Research Question	Sources of Data	Method of Data Collection	Method of Analysis
creative city initiatives in the BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai in terms of planning?	journal, mass media, and published interview)		
What is the theoretical relevance of the creative city idea for development processes in cities of Southeast Asian Developing Countries?	books, scientific journals, news, research reports, government publications, and other relevant publications	Online research, document and literature review	Descriptive analysis
How can we account for the relevance (or otherwise) of the idea in cities of the Southeast Asian Developing Countries?	books, scientific journals, news, research reports, government publications, and other relevant publications	Online research, document and literature review	Descriptive analysis

All of the data are described in the Chapter 4. The data are illustrated after they are extracted through qualitative content analysis. According to Flick (2006), The steps in qualitative content analysis are: *summarizing* – the process of abstracting and reducing the overlapping information; *explicating* – clarification process of diffuse, ambiguous and contradictory passages by involving contextual material in the analysis; and *structuring* – process for searching types or formal structures and connections in the materials.

The data come from secondary sources such as websites, the initiative’s reports, relevant academic literatures, news portals, published interviews and conferences from video-sharing websites, and relevant books. As the consideration in selecting the data, the reliability of the data source is necessary. If the source of data is not reliable, the actions from the case studies are not presented. The reliability of data is determined by using two measures: who is represented by the source? If he/she/they represented the initiatives, so the source is taken, and the second is the literatures from scientific journals or books. Special attention places on the selection of the action from the initiatives. Due to the limited secondary data, the three notions (tolerance, innovation, and amenities) are used in selecting the actions. The actions that have impact on the three notions are chosen.

3.4 Analysis Process

Four steps of analysis will explain the way that constructs the thesis as illustrated by the diagram below (**figure 3-1**). Each step of analysis is explained as the following paragraphs.

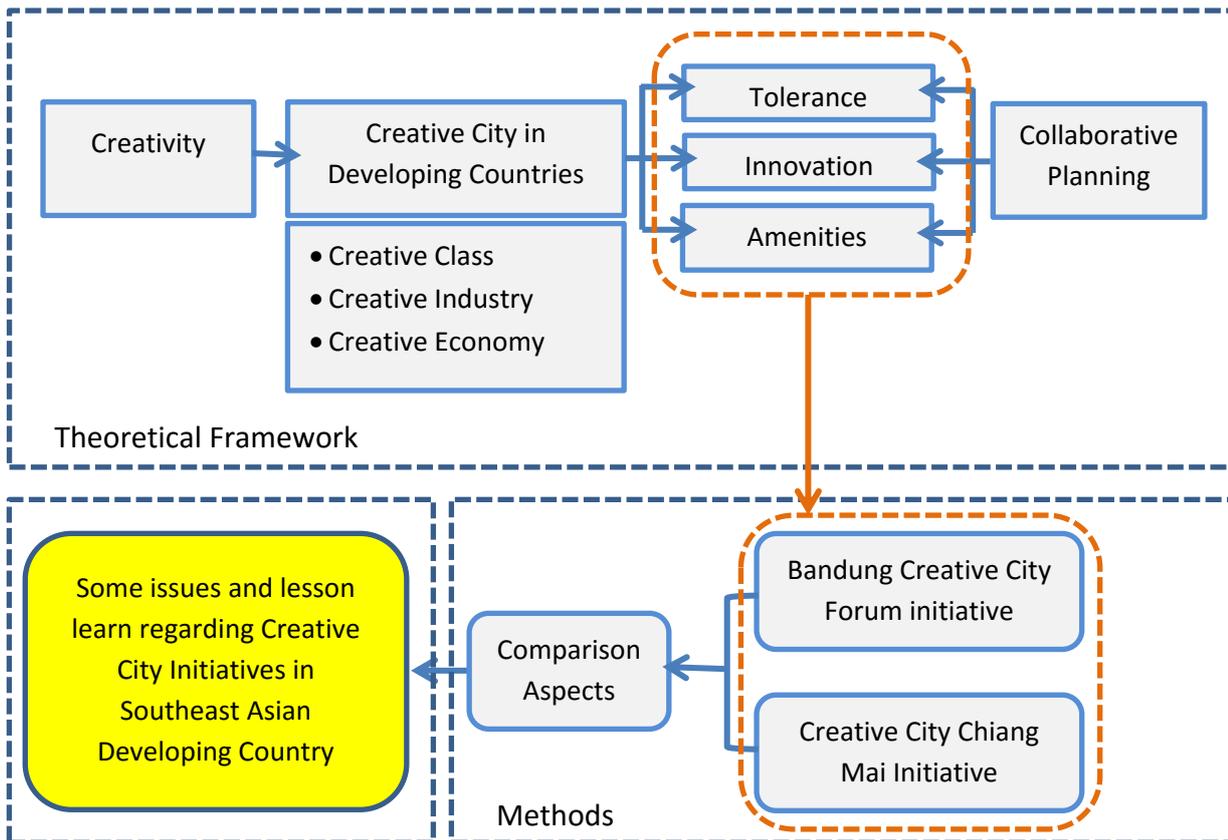


Figure 3-1. Conceptual Framework (source: Author's own)

First, the literatures review produces theoretical framework to analyse the case studies. According to Yusuf and Nabeshima (2005), the literatures about creative city in developing countries and Asia in particular are still few. Moreover, this thesis' objective is to understand the implementation of creative city idea in Southeast Asian Developing Country context. The case study method might provide a fresh perspective in a phenomenon since the existing theory is considered inadequate (Rowley, 2002). The case study method also might show the relation between phenomenon and real life context (Yin, 1994). Furthermore, the multiple cases are preferred since the outcomes are more compelling (Rowley, 2002). The study uses two cases in order to provide contrasting view in the creative city idea.

The second step is the findings in the case studies. The three notions of implementation of the creative city idea in developing countries (tolerance, innovation, and amenities) are used as the basis for data collection. The data are purely description about the BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai after they are selected through preliminary considerations as explained in the subchapter before. In describing the case studies, historical reviews to understand the basic assets and experience for initiating the creative city concept becomes the background. After understanding the background with recent development orientation, the motives behind the initiatives are described. Afterwards, the objectives that become the basis of initiative are illustrated. In this part, the main object of the initiatives is found. Finally, the actions that implemented by both initiatives are presented.

The third step is analyzing the findings. The descriptive and comparative analysis methods are used. The comparison aspects are formulated using the three notions of implementation of the creative city idea in developing countries (See **table 3-2**). The comparisons are explained through descriptive analysis in order to link and shape the issue of creative city with the theoretical aspects (Vaus, 2001). Descriptive analysis is employed to describe the condition of the Creative City Initiatives related to the three notions (tolerance, innovation, and amenities). Furthermore, the descriptive analysis is employed to describe the empirical differences and similarities between two initiatives.

There are five elements of method that should be used in comparative analysis (Walk, 1998). The first is set the frame of references. The frame of reference is constructed from several theories about the creative city in developed countries and developing countries since there are no single comprehensive aspects to differ the implementation in both contexts. The second element is grounds for comparison. As mentioned before, the ground for comparison in choosing BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai as the object is the contrasting aspect from both initiatives. Since the perspective of analysis is collaborative planning, community and government-led initiative might provide an arguable implication in theory and policy. The third element is thesis. In literature review there is a concern in the creative city idea about social inequalities. Hence, the social inequalities are chosen as the concerns which direct to the comparative analysis. The fourth is organizational scheme which will use point-by-point due to the contrasting background of the initiative. The last element is linking both initiatives.

The forth process is the lessons that can be learned after comparing both initiatives. The lesson learned is formulated by using the collaborative planning perspective. Afterwards, the lesson learned can be applied to relevant theory and policy implications. Finally, study limitations are explained to provide further research.

Table 3-2: The Comparison Aspects (source: Author's own)

Tolerance	
The diversity of population	One key point of departure with developed countries is that Southeast Asian Developing Countries have a different kind of diversity in their population. Kim (2015) shows that the diversity in developing countries is seen as the composition of local ethnic and religion identities, and do not really have international atmosphere, even though the city in case study try to achieve the “cosmopolitan” feeling through attracting international features.
Investment openness	Investment openness relates to the readiness of local resident in accepting foreign influence (culture and competitiveness). This could lead to wider social inequalities if the citizen is not be prepared.
The specific object in	To provide an understanding in the inequalities that might

social class or culture	come from the initiatives as some theorist expected (Peck, 2005; McCann, 2007; McLean, 2014).
Innovation	
Universities' role	The role of universities in the initiative to encourage the innovation of population.
Research	As mentioned earlier, both of the initiatives have contrasting source of actions. The initiative in Bandung is triggered by communities, while in Chiang Mai is initiated by the Thai's Central Government. These conditions may provide interesting lesson learned whether both initiatives can sustain their actions by providing a long term improvement of their actions through research.
Amenities	
Problems in basic infrastructures	To show how far the initiative addressing the problems in basic infrastructure such as: slum, crime, vandalism, flood, traffic congestion, and so on.
The specific aims in amenities	There are amenities that can be utilized by a specific social class or need particular background (education, internet access, or money). This aspect show what kind of amenities that be provided by the initiatives.
The specific creative economy sector	There must be specific aim in creative city since the idea is using creative economy as the engine of city development. The initiatives from both cities might aim a specific creative economy sector.

3.5 Constraints and Limitations

This section explains some constrains and limitations during the research. Furthermore, every constraint and limitation point also holds the seeds of alternatives, in other words, the ways to deal with problem.

Different cultural background

The differences here mean that the creative city concept mostly comes from western countries which have different cultural background with the case study context of this thesis. Southeast Asian countries still have concern regarding a particular religion and tradition and hence to understand this, relevant literature review is needed to ensure the applicability of creative city initiative.

Hard to measure real behavior

Since the data gathered from secondary source, it is hard to measure how the real impact from the creative city initiative towards society, environment, and economy. To achieve a better understanding, several interviews from reliable news channel could be accessed through internet connection. The nature of technology involvement in creative city concept

also becomes advantageous in data gathering since many relevant achievements and presentations are uploaded on the official websites.

Language and time barriers

This limitation only applies to the case of Chiang Mai, because the case of Bandung is in Indonesia where the author comes from. In the case of Chiang Mai, several data such a report and so on use a different language and alphabet (Thai). To overcome this, an online translator was used although the precision is not fully assured. Additionally, to gather specific data about creative city concept implementation, a longer time period is needed.

A more detailed discussion of the limitations of the present study and suggestion for future research are presented in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 4/ Findings from the Cases Studies

This chapter describes the existing conditions of the initiatives, Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) and Creative City Chiang Mai. Each description is started with the condition of each city, afterwards, the illustrations of the action are described into motives, objectives, and activities.

4.1 Bandung Creative City Forum

Bandung is the capital of West Java Province and the third largest city in Indonesia after Jakarta and Surabaya, in term of population and economic development (see **figure 4-1**). The indigenous people of Bandung, *Sundanese*, first inhabited Bandung in the Cikapundung Riverbank and the Lake North of Bandung before the 15th century (Soemardi and Radjawali, 2004). Over the next decades, they made their living through farming and then developed a local culture based on activities such as traditional puppet-*wayang golek* and various kinds of musical instruments. In 1786, under the colonial era, the European colonizers built roads that connected Jakarta (formerly known as *Batavia*) to Bandung. In the middle of the 19th century, assam tea and coffee were introduced to the people of Bandung and transformed the highland part into the most prosperous plantation area in the Province (Widodo, 1995). After the rail line construction was finished in 1881, several hotels, cafes, and shops sprouted out in Bandung and the city turned out to be an exclusive place for Europeans to escape from the capital's tension. The Chinese also arrived around this time to provide help and service to light industries that process the plantation products, and thus built Chinatown. Due to the rapid processes of urban development and the securing of a geographically safer location, Bandung was planned as the new capital replacing Batavia in early 1920s.



Figure 4-1. Bandung Map (source: Internet from many sources)

In the early years of the independence era of Indonesia, Bandung's population grew from 230,000 in 1940 to around 1 million by 1961 (Widodo, 1995). Economic prosperity was primarily due to the boom in oil production in 1970s, which escalated the population to 2

million by the early 1990s. Reacting to this situation, the Greater Bandung Plan (*Bandung Raya*) was initiated to alleviate the population pressures on the central city.. According to Master Plan of Bandung in 1971, the northern part of Bandung was deemed appropriate for education and tourism, the central area for commerce and cultural use, and southern part of the city for industrial activities. That land use scheme remained more or less the same until recent municipal spatial planning interventions. Nowadays, the growth has spread to the periphery of Bandung and has been regulated by the *Cekungan Bandung* Metropolitan Area (Government of Indonesia). The growth of *Cekungan Bandung* even could connect to the growth of Jakarta Metropolitan Area-Jabodetabekpunjur, thus forming a *megapolitan* area, due to the proximity of and links between their respective geographic locations (see **figure 4-2**).



Figure 4-2. Proximity of *Cekungan Bandung* with Jakarta Metropolitan Area (source: Ministry of Public Works, 2014)

Geographically, Bandung is located in a basin (*cekungan*) that is surrounded by several mountains. This condition causes a cooler climate in a tropical country that means a comfortable place for living. Due to many higher education institutes that are situated in Bandung, the social atmosphere is youthful and tolerant since the students come from across the country. The *Technische Hoogeschool* (now Bandung Technology Institute) was established in 1920 and has produced many young professionals since then. The emergence of this higher education institute was followed by the development of other industries beside plantation, such as textiles and the garment industry. The Asian economic crisis at the end of 1990s ruined many of these industries, but textiles in Bandung remained strong. According to the AKATIGA-FES survey in 2007, from 53 middle-upper textile and garment industries in Bandung, only nine have been established since 1997.

In 2005, the Cipularang highway which connects Bandung with Jakarta has operated and cut the journey time from five hours driving to about 3 hours. As a consequence, the influx of Jakarta's people in considerable numbers has become inevitable, especially at the weekend. These people are looking for places to shop, for refreshment, or visiting for short family

stays. Many properties in Bandung such as apartments, houses, resorts, or villas are owned by people from Jakarta. There are over 15 major art galleries and several studios for multimedia, animation, and music recording in the city. These places also attract about 1,500 expatriates, mostly Koreans, British, and Americans, to Bandung. However, to open a small business in Bandung, the expatriates have to invest more than IDR 10 billion or about USD 750,000, unless specified by specific legislation (BKPM, 2013).

Nowadays, the Bandung population has reached about 3,5 million, of which 65% are under 40 years of age (Larasati, 2014). According to Bandung's Statistic sin 2012, trade was the largest contributor to GDP (about 40%), followed by processing industries (20%), transportations & communications (7%), and services (7%). One of largest trade activities in Bandung is the fashion sector. Bandung now has more than 200 factory outlets from about 40 in the early 2000s, which is about 50% from all kinds of existing market. These outlets sell various outfits from global fashion brands with third price cuts and draw shoppers from across Southeast Asia. The outfits come from surrounding textile factories where those brands have outsourced their manufacturing. The export of textile products has reached USD 423 million, underlining the long-standing nickname of Bandung as "*Paris van Java*".

4.1.1 Motives to Initiate the BCCF

After the establishment of Presidential Instruction number 6/2009 concerning Creative Economy Development, national policy has just been decided to strengthen creative economy sector. This was because both value of exports and net trades in creative industries sector have been increased about 100% from 2002 to 2009, and accounted for 7,74% of national GDP with employment about 8,5 million workers (Simarmata and Adiwidjaja, 2011). In Indonesia, the definition of creative industries follows the UK Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) task force 1998, which stated the following field as creative industries: advertising, architecture, the art market, design, film making, fashion, handicrafts, music, interactive playing, photography, performance of art, research and development, printing and publishing, computer and software, and mass media (Rahmawati and Irawati, 2014).

Then in 2011, Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy was established to replace formerly Ministry of Tourism and Culture, and in recent cabinet formation of 2014, there is Creative Economy Body that works directly under the President. Furthermore, according to former Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy Mari Elka Pangestu in 2012, Bandung has a strong role in national creative industries blueprint¹. The city's GDP was contributed about 14,6% by creative industries sector (Suwarni, 2012).

¹ The former Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy, Mari Elka Pangestu, was interviewed by News Channel Asia in Boomtown Asia: Creative City Bandung

According to Larasati (2014), The City of Bandung determines quality of Creative Economy from three interrelated notions: People (active and entrepreneurial communities), Place (built environment with business potential), and Ideas (social innovation and economic value). Deden Hidayat also stressed the nature of creativity in Bandung's people as stated below:

“Bandung does not possess natural resources, except for its human resources. It has been instilled in the Bandung Community at a young age that if you want to survive in Bandung, you can't be a parasite and must have entrepreneurial spirit” (Deden Hidayat, Chairman of Bandung Chamber of Commerce and Industry, interviewed on Channel News Asia, April 9, 2012)

Bandung also has long standing historical background as a campus city. Since the Bandung Technology Institute has established as the first higher education institute, now there are eleven public universities and institutes as well as more than 50 private universities (see figure 3). Every year thousands of freshly graduated high-school people from across Indonesia inhabit Bandung and stay for 2-7 years, even some of them are decided to live and work in the city. This multi-cultural atmosphere creates tolerant social climate which is according to Florida (2002) and Landry (2000) is one proper ingredient for attracting creative class.

However, with that pattern of economic development, Bandung still suffers several social and environmental problems: poverty (there are 110,280 people that generate income below USD 20 in 2010), flood (regular flooding yearly), slum area (202 Ha was inhabited by 121,124 people in 2008), traffic congestion, and unemployment (about 240,000 unemployment in 2011, especially of youth). Reerink & van Gelder (2009) argue that the increasing of population in Bandung has resulted the increasing of low-income settlements. These low-income settlements are thus managed by several program initiatives from governments. However, they add that the effectiveness of government's program which based on community-driven to improve low-income settlement in Bandung has not been proven yet. Minerry et al. (2013) also investigate the unsuccessful of the government's program to upgrade the low-income settlement in Bandung. The top-down approach to empower community's capability in improving their settlement fails to meet its objectives.

In December 2008, Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) was initiated by local creative industry actors to overcome the urban problems in Bandung through collaborative and creative way. The motive of BCCF in empowering low income residents and marginalized community are supported by them, local academicians, and the actors from local creative industries. With strong support from marginalized communities, the BCCF is still operated until now, and getting stronger since one of the founders was elected as the Mayor of Bandung in 2013.

4.1.2 Objectives of The BCCF

According to Ridwan Kamil (2012), the creative economy in Bandung happened mostly by the initiative of the people, not by the government strategy and policy ^[3]. He argued that the government of Indonesia forgot about how to produce creative minds and how to make a place that emulates or encourages creativity. Furthermore, he emphasized the importance of education and place-making. Based on that concern, Ridwan Kamil initiated BCCF in 2008 with the objectives: (1) Fostering creative culture through events, media, community organization and education; (2) Nurturing creative entrepreneurs/ businesses through networking, business incubators, taskforce, and economic policy; and (3) Producing responsive city design and planning through public space, creative clusters, district regeneration, and architecture.

The BCCF was initiated as a form of activism that meant to support marginalized communities, uphold creative expressions and activities of local communities, and balance the relations and interactions between the urban and natural environment. The initiative consists of 50 independent creative organizations based in Bandung. Nowadays, since the election of Ridwan Kamil as the mayor of Bandung, the BCCF is involved in the provision of local government services and urban development. In addition, there are many creative communities in Bandung such as local community on home industry clothing industry-Kreative Independent Clothing Kommunity (KICK), or IT and software community-Bandung High Tech Valley (BHTV) which mean there are many approaches in dealing with creative economy development outside the BCCF. Urban design and architecture become the main approach of BCCF since the founder formerly worked as an architect. The BCCF is focused on as the case study here, because this initiative becomes the main idea of Bandung's development strategy and started to be followed by other cities in Indonesia (Soemardi & Radjawali, 2004; Irawati, 2011).

Since inception the BCCF did not have a hierarchical organization in management, but after legalized by law, the organization's structure was established. The operationalization of the BCCF is based on voluntary donations and support, and financed by interested sponsor and without government funds. After connecting to and collaborating with the diverse creative communities in Bandung, the next step is to transform the generated ideas into commercial terms but in perspective of social quality improvements, such as: employment generation, creative education, and so forth. With the existing rich culture combined with the diversity and young and vibrant atmosphere of Bandung, the direction of social and economic development through creativity-based economy has become more obvious.

4.1.3 Relevant Activities

Since 2008, the BCCF has produced many actions that could be classified into 8 sectors: Green open space; Public space; Entrepreneurship; Heritage sites and building; Traffic and

urban mobility; Social and culture; Environment; and Art, design, and built environment (Larasati, 2014). The actions are different in every year that is framed by the specific theme that year. The theme of activities is formulated by the secretariat of BCCF. The activities below are chosen by the specific object that is highlighted in the improvement of low-income residents and marginalized communities in order to provide a particular perspective in the creative city idea. The actions below show what has been done by the BCCF for the city and who has benefited from that. Some of the actions regarding the creative city initiative that specifically related to the main objective of the BCCF are explained below:

HELARFEST



Figure 4-3. Actions from HELARFEST (source: internet from many sources)

Creative communities in Bandung did not really have a kind of peak event at the city-scale under one umbrella to celebrate the existence of the creative economy. After conducting several regular meeting between communities, they decided to initiate an event called Helarfest in 2008 (**figure 4-3**). The main initiator was BCCF in collaboration with several communities which organized themselves to scheduling, funding, and promoting Helarfest (www.helarfest.bccf.co visited on June 28, 2015). Hereafter, Helarfest has conducted similar events in 2009, 2012, and recently, 2015 with different themes and lengths of time. The first event, in 2008, consisted of 31 events in 1,5 months and executed several programs such as concerts, exhibitions, workshops, open-galleries, conferences, and parades. The second event basically had similar programs with the previous one but being held over 2,5 months with 67 events. The third event was held in 2012 carrying four main themes: forest (conducting *lightcestra*, a free concert of light and sound in urban forest); river (river cinema); Kampung (initiated *Creative Kampung*); and Park (celebrating park as social space). The 2015 event is still ongoing until June and was started on April during the Asia-Africa Conferences. By the event, hopefully the public of Bandung becomes ever more aware of the actions of the city to utilize its creative activities and potential. According to Romein and Trip (2012), the creative city needs an atmosphere that stimulates creativity. From the creativity, the hope is that the people of Bandung, specifically the invited creative communities, could provide the three meanings of creativity in planning practice as Healey

(2004) constructed; providing innovation, economic development, and producing new ideas. The HELARFEST actually tries to conjure up this meaning of creativity, however the long term effect from this kind of event still needs to be measured and assessed in some way.

SEMARAK.BDG



Figure 4-4. Actions from SEMARAK.BDG (source: https://c1.staticflickr.com/5/4094/4943124666_86233efb15_b.jpg)

This action was executed in 2010. The BCCF tries to optimize the public space of Bandung. The main object of this action is riverside and old buildings which are both abandoned and re-used (**figure 4-4**). Through adding value on the building and river, the citizens will hopefully use those public spaces for social activity. Florida (2002) and Landry (2000) support the improvement of public space to encourage creativity. In Southeast Asian Developing context, the deterioration of river conditions and old building usage are not the main concern of the government. The literature review mentioned that developing countries still put economic development as the central plank of government policy. The creative class in Bandung is generating their own access to appropriate public space through this action. The government involvement in this action is only as facilitator and most of the activities are executed by the member of BCCF and the public.



Figure 4-5. Participants in DESIGNACTION.BDG (source: www.arifabdurahman.com)

DESIGNACTION.BDG

The DESIGNACTION.BDG objective is public engagement with design through adequate research and also exhibitions. The public then could understand the importance of design from critically challenging, conceptually informed, and forward looking work. One of the programs is DESIGNACTION.BDG's designer in residence that invites a practitioner to live and work at community development activity for a month (**figure 4-5**). The designer is requested to generate a project/ installation/ intervention/ solution which has long-term vision and provides continuous activities for the local communities to improve their neighbourhood. The designer should provide the outcome with proper research and social-engaging elements. The direct involvement of creative communities by the low-income residents is expressed by this action.

Kampung Kreatif



Figure 4-6. Local News about Kampung Kreatif (source: <https://bandungcreativecityforum.wordpress.com/2012/06/>)

According to Patton and Subanu (1988), the term "*Kampung*" means a settlement that has a high density of poor residents, usually located in the city centre. The other definition is a small village in a peri-urban area. *Kampung kreatif* is meant to equip the residents of a *Kampung* to develop their own neighbourhood in creative way. This action was actually started by a community called "Taboo Community" in 2009. In 2012, the community, collaborating with BCCF, implemented *Kampung Kreatif*, and since then there are five *Kampung Kreatif* implemented activities in Bandung (**figure 4-6**). The *Kampung Kreatif*

activity might be the example of planning practice using the creative city idea. The action's project consists of: brainstorming, workshops, training, invents a *kampung* identity to be commercialized, facilitates microeconomic activities, enlivens traditional activities, and fosters urban design. The projects are matched with the meaning of creativity in planning practice as discussed by Healey (2004) in HELARFEST section but emphasizing on the place-making process.

Simpul Institute



Figure 4-7. Joko Widodo, the President of Indonesia, announce the establishment of National Economic Body at *Simpul Space* (source: <https://galihsedayu.wordpress.com/2015/01/>)

This action is aimed at developing citizen skills and encouraging a life-long learning spirit through learning-teaching cycle, workshops, classes, and courses. The first initiator of this action was a community called "*Jendela Ide/ Idea Window*" and then in 2013, the community collaborated with other communities: BCCF, Ecotechno, Sahabat Kota, and Batik Fractal; these collaborations resulted in the establishment of the Simpul Institute. Until now, several communities also support and join the Simpul Institute and have created *Simpul Space* as a place for the activities (**figure 4-7**). A number of classes have been launched such as: PRALIC (Literacy Club), Adventure Club, Writing Club, Creative Teacher Training, Innovative Batik Training (Batik Fractal, Science Club), and so forth. The age of the participants are ranged from 6 years old to adult. BCCF The inclusiveness of this activity matches with the notion of learning, creativity, and innovation in creative city planning.

4.2 Creative City Chiang Mai

In the Northern part, lies the second geographically largest province in Thailand, Chiang Mai. The capital of this Province is Chiang Mai city and it is also as the centre of the Chiang Mai Metropolitan Area (see **figure 4-8**). Chiang Mai city has important role at the regional level and has been settled since 1296, when the city became the capital of Lanna Kingdom (Kidokoro, et al., 2008). The Lanna Kingdom area reached some parts of Myanmar, China, and Laos and called “Kingdom of Million Rice Fields” (www.cmcity.go.th visited on June 2015). This historical role presents Chiang Mai as the centre of cultural heritage in Thailand.

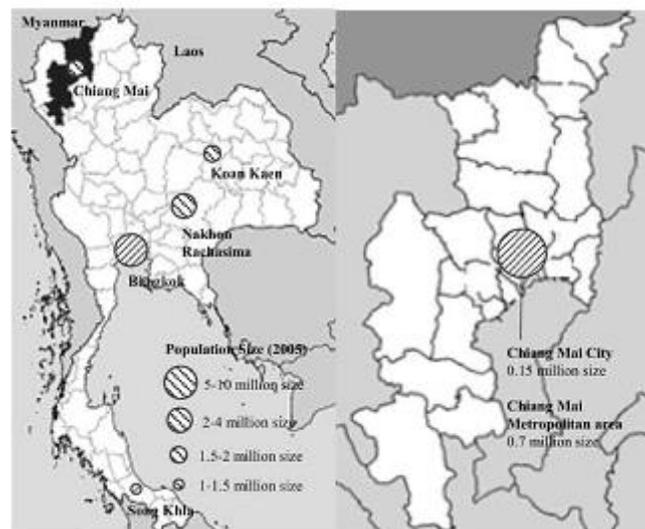


Figure 4-8. Map of Chiang Mai (source: Kulrisombat, 2008)

In the end of the 1990s, Chiang Mai City heavily depended on agriculture, tourism, and handicrafts as the main economic sources (Ribeiro & Srisuwan, 2005). This was because the program of National Government of Thailand placed Chiang Mai as the main urban centre for North Thailand. The program consists of four plans from 1967 to 1982 in which every plan had five years' time span. In the fourth plan (1977-1981), the National Government promoted Chiang Mai's role as a regional growth centre in order to accelerate the industrialization program of Thailand and alleviate congestion in Bangkok as well as a decentralization policy. As time went by, the inequalities between Chiang Mai City and other municipalities inside the Province widened (see **figure 4-9**).

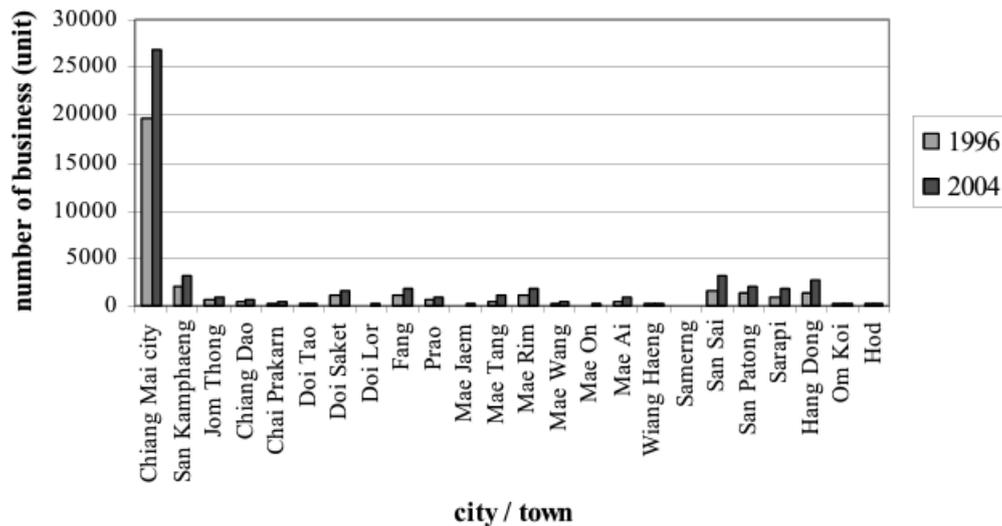


Figure 4-9. The concentration of economic activities in Province of Chiang Mai, 1996-2004 (source: Kulrisombat, 2008)

This role triggered an influx of people from regions around Chiang Mai City, including China, Myanmar, and Laos, into the city. The inflow of migrant contributed to the increasing population of Chiang Mai City and also to urban problems as well as the source of solution. They are attracted by the economic charm of Chiang Mai City that contribute to high portion of national tourism in Thailand as the second most visited city by tourist after Bangkok (Kulrisombat, 2008). Rest in a Highland area, Chiang Mai City has a warm climate and rich cultural heritage that attracts tourists.

Along with the crowd of tourists, urbanization of Chiang Mai City creates severe problems, such as flooding, slum, traffic congestion, and air pollution (Sangawongse, et al., 2012). Those problems are about to detach the charm of Chiang Mai and emphasized by National Geographic Traveler in March 2004 as “getting ugly”. This was a reason for a responsible stakeholder to search for other economic sources². A mixture between modernity and tradition is the recent development strategy in Chiang Mai that is covered by Creative City Chiang Mai initiative. The initiative emphasizes the role of creativity and innovation to diversify and develop better alternatives economic sources.

To coordinate the initiative, The Chiang Mai Creative Development Committee was established by Governor of Chiang Mai in 2010 (www.creativechiangmai.com visited in June 2015). The chair of committee is held by Payap University and North Chiang Mai University. The secretariat and point of contact is Chiang Mai University and Technology Park (CMU STeP). The committee is responsible for Creative City Chiang Mai roadmap and strategy,

² The 3 levels of government in Thailand in the context of decentralization: (1) central government; (2) provincial government; and (3) local government. The provincial governor is appointed by the Minister of Interior and responsible for coordinating policy from the Central level. The local government is elected by the public and responsible for providing public services.

information and knowledge sharing, coordinating relevant projects, establishing a working group, gathering of members and then raising funds from them, and to market Chiang Mai more generally. However, the committee body is a voluntary-based activity that still needs further legal consolidation.

4.2.1 Motives to Initiate the Creative City Chiang Mai

As a result of the economic crisis of 1997 that heavily shook Thailand's condition, the Government of Thailand tried to build a knowledge and creativity based economic development strategy in order to be more resilient in facing future crises. The former Thailand's main economic activity was manufacturing with low-cost labour and extensive natural resources which proved more fragile in time of crisis (TCDC, 2006). With the top-down nature of the governmental system in Thailand (Kulrisombat, 2008; Ribeiro & Srisuwan, 2005; Sangawongse, et. al, 2012), Central Government established the Thailand Creative and Design Center (TCDC) in 2004 as part of the office of the Prime Minister. The prime minister of Thailand at that time, Thaksin Shinawatra, saw that creativity and economics still appeared as separated matters and TCDC was needed to bring them together (TCDC, 2006). Financed by a national budget, the TCDC tried to stimulate the public's creativity through organizing exhibitions, lectures, workshops, and sources for research. By these efforts, the ubiquitously labelled "*Thai*" terms such as: Thai massage, Thai food, Muay thai, and Thai spa have acquired international recognition.. The TCDC has built a permanent exhibition area, design libraries, a place for creative economy education, and a mini TCDC office at 13 universities. Fundamentally, the Thai government tries to harvest local values and then promote them through networking activities.

In the 2013, the TCDC built the first regional design resource centre that has a full slate of services that were formerly only available in Bangkok (<http://www.tcdc.or.th/chiangmai/> visited on June 23, 2015). The central government also enforces this main growth node for northern Thailand through building several key public infrastructures. After the TCDC Chiang Mai establishment, Creative City Chiang Mai was initiated by local government. Along with these support from Central Government, the Creative City Chiang Mai initiative appears to have positive impacts and creates expected spillovers, particularly in the other regions around Chiang Mai through creativity. Creative City Chiang Mai initiative defines creativity as a whole technical, scientific, cultural, artistic, and business phenomenon, not indicating a specific industry as such. The initiative hopes to build an innovative culture and build what Chiang Mai already has through collaboration (<http://www.creativechiangmai.com/> visited on June 21, 2015).

As already indicated, Chiang Mai has a vibrant indigenous cultural based economy such as handicraft and fine arts. The city also relies a great deal upon tourism that has a mutual relationship with cityscape beauties. However, the provincial government of Chiang Mai saw a particular potential in the Information and Technology sector. There are seven universities

in Chiang Mai that could produce IT specialist each year (Theptong, 2010). Some major players in the IT world, like Creative Kingdom and IBM, also have set up their business there. The climate is also suitable for IT related component manufactures (Glassman and Sneddon, 2003). Furthermore, there are also other promising assets in Chiang Mai such as the highest biodiversity in Thailand, 50% of universities in Chiang Mai which are dedicated to bio-medicine and life science, and 17 foreign representatives (Martin Venzky-Stalling speech on November 16, 2012). Those conditions that owned by Chiang Mai leads the city through the Creative City Chiang Mai to implement the Creative City Chiang Mai with the specific motive to develop local IT sectors and improve the existing cultural industries in order to create new job employments.

4.2.3 Objectives of the Creative City Chiang Mai

In local policy, Thailand still has strong Central Government influence since the governor is appointed by the Department of Interior (Kulrisombat, 2008). The Central Government's efforts to alleviate congestion in the Capital City of Thailand, Bangkok, through decentralization, are still in line with a top-down approach (Kitirianglarp, 2015). However, the private sector and diverse communities also have a strong influence in recent Thai policy making. This could be an indicator of the shift from government to governance, which means many actors are increasingly involved in policy making outside official governmental institutions. The Creative City Chiang Mai has a strong western flavor since people from western counties were chosen as advisors, and some foreign institutions, such as the British Council and United States Embassy, provide actual support to the initiative. However, this does not mean that foreigners countries have a dominant role. According to Martin Venzky-Stalling in TEDxBKK speech (2012), the three major stakeholders are university, industry, and government³.

The main objective of the initiative is future job creation. Conceptually, the initiative is aimed at: the emergence of dynamic and competitive companies; adding national GDP by 2%; 5000 new jobs in 5 years (starting from 2010); and a more robust and sustainable economy (speech of Martin Venzky-Stalling on October 8, 2014). These objectives are planned to be achieved through leveraging innovation and creativity. To strengthen the effort, 40 organizations are dedicated to their support. In line with that, the support-raising is based on voluntary prevision and a bottom-up scheme, endorsed by the Governor of Chiang Mai Province. The outcome of Creative City Chiang Mai is a list of recommendations for five years that guide the Chiang Mai development plan and depend heavily on Central Government budgeting (www.creativechiangmai.com visited on June 22, 2015). However, if possible, the members of committee could raise funds and resources for the formulated recommendations and action.

³ Martin Venzky-Stalling was presenting the Creative City Chiang Mai in several occasions such as ASEAN Business Club Forum 2014 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dnLbI8XRB9U> visited on June 22, 2015) and TEDxBKK (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F48tb3yifqs> visited on June 22, 2015)

The formulated recommendations from Creative City Chiang Mai Committee are pointing to the future economic pillar which is considered to be more sustainable and robust. The six pillars of future Chiang Mai economic activity are: craft/ cultural industries; clean tourism; software/ media/ IT/ design; services/ logistics/ education; food/ agro-industry/ bio technology; and cosmetics/ life-sciences. According to the website of Creative City Chiang Mai (visited on June 22, 2015), “While focus is placed on certain creative industries, particularly digital content IT, software, and functional design - other industries such as crafts and tourism are also supported.” One of affiliated activities of Creative City Chiang Mai, “Disrupt Universities”, has the specific objective of “Bring Silicon Valley to Thailand”.

4.2.4 Relevant Activities

According to Creative City Chiang Mai official website (visited on June 22, 2015), there are 8 projects from Creative City Chiang Mai (*Chiang Mai Design Award, TEDxChiang Mai, Handmade-Chiang Mai, Southeast Asia Creative City Network, CCM Goodwil Ambassadors, UNESCO Creative City Network, and CNXP Experience festival*). The activities below are aim on a particular sector which has a relation with the main objective: develop IT sectors and local cultural industries. Furthermore, the actions explained below are using larger amounts of investment from the government and to show the contrasting aspect of action from the BCCF.

Chiang Mai Design Award



Figure 4-10. The poster of Chiang Mai Design Award (*source: <http://www.creativechiangmai.com>*)

Chiang Mai design award was firstly launched at “Nimmanhaemin Art and Design Promenade” (NAP) in December 2011 and became an annual event. From 2012 there are five categories: Architecture and Interior; Crafts; New Media; Furniture, decorative items and fashion accessories; Packaging design; corporate identity design; and Retail design and merchandising display (**figure 4-10**). The winner would be selected and awarded by voluntary experts from related fields to achieve several benefits such as: free consultation for product development and market access; could be gained future support, but have to

win another award (Design Excellence Award (DEmark Award and G-Mark Award); free exhibition on Chiang Mai and Bangkok or Phuket; and Marketing and PR Support. The award intention is to highlight the importance of design as added value and as a showcase for Thai talent.

TEDxChiang Mai



Figure 4-11. Speech in TEDxChiang Mai (source: http://www.varee.ac.th/pictures/international/TEDxChiangMai_00201102013111546.jpg)

This event is independently organized by Chiang Mai and operates under license of TED (Technology, Entertainment, and Design). Starting annually from 2013, there are several mini TEDxChiang Mai events such as TEDxSalon; TEDxThapaeGate; and TEDxDoiSuthep which have smaller spaces for audiences and specific themes (**figure 4-11**). Basically, as a ubiquitously TED event, the aim is to spread the idea that hopefully may trigger other real action in, as examples, social activity or new business start-up. The organizer of the event is mainly Martin Venzky-Stalling who is also the senior advisor of Creative City Chiang Mai. Through private sponsors, the event is funded on a voluntary basis.



Figure 4-12. Handmade-Chiang Mai’s Website (*source: <http://www.handmade-chiangmai.com>*)

Handmade-Chiang Mai

This action is aimed for educating, adding value, and marketing the indigenous design of Northern Thailand, particularly Chiang Mai, at the national and international levels. The committee of Creative City Chiang Mai manages and updates every action on the website (**Figure 4-12**). Handmade-Chiang Mai is a place for a crafts-person affiliated with the Northern Handicrafts Manufacturers and Exporters Association (NOHMEX). The NOHMEX was established in 1991 and has over 250 members throughout 11 craft sub sectors. Some of the sub sectors are woods, textiles, ceramics, metals, papers, and soaps & oils. The committee also provides support in research and design through Chiang Mai University Science & Technology Park and the College of Media, Art and Technology at Chiang Mai University. Some of funds are raised from the British Council and Chiang Mai University Science & Technology Park (STEP). These institutions are wrapping-up the first phase of this action; the second action is still in a planning phase. The glimpses of second phase actions include digital design, production, training and capacity development.



Figure 4-13. The Goodwill Ambassadors (*source: <http://photos.state.gov/libraries/chiangmai>*)

CCM Goodwill Ambassador

The CCM Goodwill Ambassador consists of group of well-connected individuals that are available to provide personal contacts and advice in promoting the Creative City Chiang Mai initiative (**figure 4-13**). They could be directly involved in particular events or act as as advisor in a more general sense. The members are varying from upper-echelon in government, ex-governor, and leaders in the private sector. Their membership is proposed by members of Chiang Mai Creative City (CMCC) Committee, reviewed by CMCC secretariat and finally approved by the Governor of Chiang Mai. Besides providing advice, network access, and assistance to the committee, the ambassadors also have to attend at a minimum the annual CMCC review meeting twice or, if not, make an appearance, otherwise their membership comes under review by the Governor.

CNXP Chiang Mai Experience City Festival



Figure 4-14. Activity in CNXP (source: https://i.ytimg.com/vi/B1871pt_EFg/hqdefault.jpg)

Inspired by The Spirit of South by South West (SXSW) event in Austin (Texas), Chiang Mai held its annual celebration event in music, technology, and photography sector (www.cnxpfest.com visited on June 25, 2015). The event used several spots in Chiang Mai city as places for exhibitions, workshops, or concerts. The purpose of the event is to foster and promote the value of the digital arts, and become a sort of eye opener for local residents about contemporary digital arts (**Figure 4-14**). Voluntary based management and funding through private sponsorship became a generator of first and the only event that has been held since 2013. However there are more in the pipeline to be executed.



Figure 4-15. TCDC Chiang Mai Building and Interior (source: <https://wisont.files.wordpress.com/2013/05>)

TCDC Chiang Mai

In fact this final initiative comes from The Central Government of Thailand, which means the action has strong support from a national budget. However, TCDC Chiang Mai is the only regional level support for creative industries and has affiliation with Creative City Chiang Mai. TCDC Chiang Mai is a building that has activities: (1) TCDC Resources Center, a library providing various books and media about design; (2) Material ConneXion® Chiang Mai, is a database of world material and how world-class designers treat them; (3) Seminar and workshop activities about design and product development; (4) Design and educational exhibition; (5) Creative showcase; and (6) Business start-up strategy planning consultation and design service (**figure 4-15**). These activities are meant to be a place for knowledge and information sharing to produce more innovators and creators.

. *Southeast Asia Creative Cities Network (SEACCN)*

Southeast Asia Creative Cities Network (SEACCN)

Together with other 3 cities; Bandung (Indonesia), Cebu (Philippines), and George Town (Malaysia), Southeast Asia Creative Cities Network (SEACCN) is established on 2014. This organization intends to build network for creative cluster and creative city in South East Asia. Even though the existing member is focused on Southeast Asia and secondary cities, the SEACCN also open for member from the mentioned region. Through several conferences - the upcoming fourth event would held in Cebu - knowledge and information sharing between members could be established. This includes the representatives from communities, groups, specialists, cities, experts, and agencies

Chapter 5/Analysis

Bandung and Chiang Mai have a fundamentally different background, such as city size, population, and historical background. In order to nurture the creativity of the population, Bandung Creative City Forum (BCCF) and Creative City Chiang Mai have been established. The creativity of the population is supposed to create positive economic impacts. To achieve that objective, both initiatives have different approaches, objects, and specific creative development outcomes. In order to provide a new perspective on the implementation of creative city idea in developing countries, a comparison between those two contrasting initiatives might illustrate such a new perspective. Concerning the inequalities behind the creative city idea, the comparative analysis is explained in order to explain the empirical similarities and differences between the BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai.

5.1 Comparison Between the Cities

The table below (see **table 5-1**) shows the comparison between the two initiatives regarding to the notions in implementing creative city idea in developing countries as constructed in the theoretical framework. The three notions (tolerance, innovation, and amenities) are attached to the cities' initiatives from the case studies. The city context, like social and physical conditions, is added to the analysis since the initiatives are connected with these conditions. After the table below, the explanation for each criterion is stated.

Table 5-1. Comparing Bandung Creative City Forum with Creative City Chiang Mai

The initiative	Bandung Creative City Forum	Creative City Chiang Mai
Tolerance		
The diversity of population	Higher ethnic and cultural diversity in national context.	Lower ethnic and cultural diversity in national context.
Influence from foreigner	Lower influence from foreigners	Higher influence from foreigners
Investment openness	Lower	Higher
The specific object in social class or culture	Aiming for low income residents and marginalized communities	Implicitly aiming for formally educated people
Innovation		
Universities' role	As supporter	As operator
Research	Yes, but not organized	Yes, organized by specific research body (Lanna Research Network Center)
Amenities		
Problems in basic	Flood, traffic congestion, and	Flood, traffic congestion, and

infrastructures	slum	slum
The specific aims in amenities	Yes	No
The specific creative economy sector	No	Yes

5.2 Comparative Analysis

According to the comparison between the initiatives that is showed by the table above, the differences and similarities between both initiatives are analyzed in the order of the three notions. The analysis of the differences and similarities places the concern of inequalities as the ground for comparison.

Tolerance

Both Bandung and Chiang Mai have histories as a place of tolerance.. Bandung has been maintained as campus city that has attracted students from across Indonesia with their own distinct culture (ethnic and religious). On the other hand, Chiang Mai is place that is open for foreigners as showed by 17 foreign government representatives in the city. From an internet search (www.google.com on June 22nd), there is no violent social conflict that caused by culture and economy condition in the cities. This fits with the argumentation from Florida (2002) and Landry (1995) about the tolerance condition which stimulates a creative atmosphere. From the findings from the case studies, both cities have long standing histories in a specific creative economy, Bandung as the center of the fashion industry in Indonesia and Chiang Mai as a tourist attraction for its fine arts.

In investment openness, from 20 countries in the Asian Pacific, Thailand is ranked 9th and Indonesia 16th in openness to international and trade business (Vriens & Partner, 2014). The rule of law in stimulating foreign direct investment also shows similar results (Thailand 10th and Indonesia 16th). This is showed by numerous small scale companies in Chiang Mai, while Bandung has no small foreign companies since the law restricts foreign investment below USD 750,000 (BKPM, 2013). The Central government tries to develop local production and value added industry through protectionist regulations. The upcoming ASEAN Economy Community has been an important factor here.

In foreign influence, the creative city initiatives display contrasting support. Because of the high investment openness of Chiang Mai, some foreign companies finance the Creative City Chiang Mai initiative. The high investment openness of Chiang Mai is a result of the Central Government policy. Bandung has lower investment openness than Chiang Mai, which is why the initiatives are mostly funded by local creative actors. The different influences create differing actions in the implementation of the initiatives.

The connection between foreign and government influence with the object of implementation is not clear. However, from the case studies, pure local communities' initiative has a tendency to improve low-income resident condition as the BCCF actions show. In contrast, financial support from government and private sector leads the actions from Creative City Chiang Mai to aim at specific target groups (for example: the CCM Goodwill Ambassador provides connection and advisory support for a specific creative industry; Handmade-Chiang Mai for fine-arts industries; and Chiang Mai Design Award to stimulate a certain creative economy sector).

Innovation

De Heijer et al. (2012) made a connection between higher education institutions and city development in the perspective of the creative knowledge city idea. This theory matches with the case study of BCCF that initiated by some academics from the nationally reputable University, *Institut Teknologi Bandung* (ITB). The strong influence from ITB in the BCCF action creates this higher institution as the main engine to provide innovation, even though the BCCF is not officially affiliated with the ITB. However, there is no research body that specifically aims for creative economy development that established by the BCCF, government, or private sector. The universities in Chiang Mai have taken a more active role than Bandung in the initiatives. The local universities in Chiang Mai are appointed by government to operate the initiative.

In research, Thailand is considered has a well-established research centre in creative industry context through initiating Lanna Research Network Center that has affiliation with numerous universities in Chiang Mai (Thaimyoj, 2010). The Research works are divided into four categories: agriculture & agricultural technology; science & technology; health sciences; and social & economic research. In creative economy development, the Thai Government has established a permanent Thailand Creative Design Center (TCDC) office in Chiang Mai in order to provide design-related resources. The TCDC, which has affiliation with Creative City Chiang Mai, provides an exhibition place and design library for creative economy education. Even though TCDC opens for public, implicitly, the visitor might have specific education background in order to utilize the facilities. This is one point of criticism from Peck (2005) who argues about specific creative class improvement while the so-called "uncreative" should merely look and learn more passively.

Both case studies aim for future job creation through innovation. This aim needs not only a set of consistent policies and regulatory guidelines, but also public education. If the job is available but the human resources are not yet prepared through education, the influx of foreign workers would create future social problems. This is highly related to the upcoming ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in which Southeast Asia will be planned as an integrated regional economic entity, included as a single market and production base.

In education, Bandung has a more active role in preparing public skills for creative industries. Through *Simpul Institute*, a community based education, public could register to have a particular skill for free. Bandung is aimed for knowledge improvement within the blue-collar labour class. Chiang Mai objective is creating a cluster of high-tech industries which demand highly educated workers. The government has prepared several research units in Chiang Mai including the TCDC. A better investment environment could trigger low-middle foreign investment in Chiang Mai which has already started. The public of Chiang Mai should be prepared for the future demands of high educated employment.

Amenities

From the literature review, amenities in a creative city are identified as public spaces that stimulate creativity including public facilities, public transport, beauty of the city, and events (Romein and Trip, 2012). This is about comfortable public spaces which create informal networks. Both cities from the case studies have several urban problems that are largely related to flooding, slum conditions, and traffic congestion. The BCCF has some actions that address these problems (HELARFEST [awareness about public space], SEMARAK.BDG [river improvement], DESIGNACTION.BDG [neighborhood improvement], and *Kampung Kreatif* [neighborhood improvement]), whereas Creative Chiang Mai does not have any action that specifically addresses those urban issues.

BCCF focuses on more a generic term of creativity, and does not specifically aim for a certain social group. On the other hand, Creative City Chiang Mai strongly focuses on Hi-Tech industries cluster development but still encourages the existing cultural industries. Creative City Chiang Mai has created the amenities, both in reality (TCDC Chiang Mai) and virtually (Handmade Chiang Mai), to innovate in the development of Hi-Tech and handmade production, while Bandung believes that public space is a suitable place for fostering creative economy activity. Both cities already have clusters of specialized workplaces and were developed organically (Hi-Tech and Fine Art in Chiang Mai; Home based textile industries in Bandung).

Creative City Chiang Mai mainly tries to develop software and IT companies and also to improve the existing culture-based industrial sector. On the other hand, BCCF tries to stimulate public entrepreneurship without specifying on particular creative industrial sectors. However, both cities need to emphasize place making to create wider social interaction. Romein and Trip (2012) argue that creative people need an atmosphere that provides an invigorating “buzz” through face to face meetings. They follow Florida (2002) and Musterd, et al. (2007) in emphasizing the importance of a third place, after home and workplace, as places for creative production.

In order to try and create the “buzz” an event is organized by both initiatives (HELARFEST and SEMARAK.BDG in Bandung; CNXP, Chiang Mai Design Award, and TEDxChiang Mai in

Chiang Mai), BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai have different objects that influence their ways of action. Since BCCF aims at low-income residents and marginalized communities, the projects are mostly being held in poor areas. The BCCF wants to raise the levels of public creativity then autonomously generate innovative jobs. Bandung also encourages the citizens to utilize natural assets in a sustainable way such as river cinema, *lightcestra*, and conduct activities in a public park. On the other hand, Creative Chiang Mai's object is providing the citizen skills in stimulating a creative economy's beat. Compared with Bandung, Chiang Mai's object is well educated citizens while Bandung is the more marginalized and less formally educated ones. According the case studies from BCCF, the idea of creative city might improve the condition of marginalized people and reduces social inequalities.

5.2 The Creative City Initiatives in Collaborative Planning Perspective

In collaborative planning, the aspects of social interaction, actors involvement, and place making are central elements of the links with creative city development, based on a reading of Healey (2003). She also argues that collaborative planning will contribute to the governance system in order to create social justice. The planning processes might be the answer for the inequalities that follow the idea of creative city, at least in the context of the literature on the global north. In line with the collaborative planning perspective, the notion of creativity fits with the broad involvement of actors with their own networks which hopefully could answer the challenges from traditional planning that have limited rational bureaucracy (Healey, 2004). The BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai might take the creative city idea as an opportunity to enrich the idea in implementation and provide flexible solutions in managing urban change.

After comparing the initiatives using the notions of tolerance, innovation, and amenities, the empirical similarities and differences between creative city initiatives in the BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai are found. In term of collaborative planning, the aspects of social interaction, actors involvement, and place making are central elements of the links with creative city development, based on a reading of Healey (2003). Both initiatives already involve many actors in implementing the creative city concept, even though Chiang Mai is more private sectors oriented while Bandung is communities oriented. In the presentation of both cities' delegation for ABC Forum 2014, in the governance aspect, Chiang Mai has *triple helix* concept (Universities, Industries, and Government and Bandung has *quadro-helix* concept (Universities, Industries, Communities, and Government). With strong support from central government, Chiang Mai action heavily depends on a government budget (www.creativechiangmai.com accessed on June 25, 2015). Cross sector collaboration is necessary to ensure a good planning process. For the role of academics, Chiang Mai includes them to operate the initiative and Bandung has them as supporting actors (even though Ridwan Kamil is a lecturer and researcher, his role here is as a community leader).

In taking the opportunities, the BCCF and Creative City Chiang Mai have different initiators. As the background, Indonesia and Thailand have three levels of government which are National/ Central, Provincial, and Local/ Municipal. However, from the case studies, Thailand has a more centralistic mode of governance. This means as long as the Central government pays attention to the creative economy sector, Chiang Mai receives strong support for the initiative. Provincial Government of Chiang is the one who initiated the Creative City Chiang Mai. The three levels of government in Chiang Mai are in the stance of supporting each other. Bandung also has a similar situation. However, the Indonesian national independent body in managing the creative economy sector is established there later than Thailand. The National Economy Creative Body has only just been implemented (in 2014) and still does not have real power in supporting the local economy. However, the municipality of Bandung provides support towards the initiative through including the BCCF in the provision of urban development.

According to Healey (2004), the notion of creativity in managing complex and dynamic urban change is explained via three meanings. The first one is the importance of innovation that triggers the production of new policies, new projects, new practices and new actors, which emphasize the importance of experimentation. BCCF has inconsistent activities in every year. In contrast, Creative City Chiang Mai has steadier activities that are regularly held in a specific time frame such as TEDxChiang Mai and Chiang Mai Design Award. This is because the Creative City Chiang Mai has strong support in budgeting from the government and the private sector. Since BCCF is formed by creative communities, the grassroots movement of creative city could create more experimentation in their activities without some restriction in the bureaucracy of government budget. According to the first meaning of creativity from Healey (2008) in urban management context which emphasizes experimentation, the BCCF may provide flexible solutions in managing the complexities of urban change.

However, the BCCF initiatives have voluntary based funding that might hinder the actors' commitment. According to research from United Nation (Yusuf, et al., 2007), even though it could boost efficiency and competitiveness in programs delivery, voluntary based funding has negative effects such as lack of predictability and its impact on the sustainability of programs delivery, reducing the flexibility of funding, and hindering the secretariat effort in delivering mandates of the programs. In spite of this, the BCCFs actors have proved their commitment and have been generating activities since 2008.

The second meaning of creativity is the economic view of innovation. The BCCF activities from the case studies aim to support marginalized communities which have the tendency to provide for the basic needs of the people with added value, especially in design. The activities from BCCF such as *Kampung Kreatif*, *Simpul Institute*, and *DESIGNACTION.BDG* try to improve social and place conditions with the help of the so-called creative class. Because of the strong support from central government, the Creative City Chiang Mai initiative has

built several institutions to encourage the creative economy sector (TDCD Chiang Mai and Handmade Chiang Mai). The activities from Creative City Chiang Mai show the importance of regional economic development whereas the BCCF aims to solve urban problems in Bandung.

The third meaning of creativity is the process of making new products such as a cultural object, a new market niche, a new urban locale or a new government practice (Healey, 2008). As explained above, the Creative City Chiang Mai has built a longer term institution due to the greater financial support from the government than Bandung which is a self-funded initiative by the actors from creative class. In this meaning of creativity, The Creative City Chiang Mai may provide more new products than the BCCF produces. However, the commitment of actors in Creative City Chiang Mai may be questioned since the initiative comes from above.

From the three meanings of creativity, The Creative City Chiang Mai takes more risks than BCCF in implementing creative city idea. The first risk is the actors' commitment of Creative City Chiang Mai which is doubted due to the strong influence from government and the private sector. Whereas, the BCCF actors seems attached to the activities to prove their commitment. Second, the risk of the inequalities that latently hide behind the creative city idea may occur in Chiang Mai since the affected social class is mostly from educated people. The facilities from Creative City Chiang Mai, such as TDCD Chiang Mai and Handmade Chiang Mai, are open for all social groups but to utilize the facilities, there are several requirements such as internet connection (to access handmade Chiang Mai) and a specific educational background (architecture or design products).

Clearly there are significant similarities and differences between the two cases. We now turn to the concluding chapter of the thesis that summarizes the argument and speculates over implications for theory and practice.

Chapter 6/Conclusion

Investigating and comparing two cities as the case studies, in order to understand the implementation of the creative city idea in the developing countries, run the risk of over-generalization. Every city has its own unique characteristics and how to utilize them. This also means that every city is creative, but to a varying degree. Anderson (1985) explains that future economic development would be focused on human knowledge. Landry (2000) emphasizes a combination between hard and soft infrastructure in order to improve the nature of creativity in the city. Florida (2002) argues that the appearance of the creative class is a good sign for future economic development and that cities should attract this new social class as much as they can.

Despite the influence of many critics towards the creative city idea, the anxiety about the future widening of social inequality and the reliability of creative class to foster urban development (Peck, 2005; McCann, 2007; McLean, 2014), many cities have been trying to implement the idea. Even if all the people are highly creative and know how to use their creativity, several factors still influence their actions such as regulation, chance, policy, capital, equality, infrastructural readiness, research attitude, and so on. In this last chapter, the lessons acquired hopefully can provide a better grasp in responding to the creative city paradigm, especially in Southeast Asian context.

According to the analysis of the case studies, the idea of creative city can be implemented by the cities but with contrasting backgrounds. However, the main lesson learned from the case studies shows that the bottom up initiative will lead the creative city idea to move into more flexible activities which might follow the dynamics of urban change. The impacts from the activities are not yet studied. Do the activities really reach marginalized people and communities or formally educated people? If the activities reach these groups, does the idea of the creative city tend to highlight and deepen already existing inequalities as happened in developed countries? The answers to these questions are not yet answered, but from the case studies, the dissemination of creative city idea can occur either by a bottom up or top down approach. In a collaborative planning perspective, the influence of stakeholders are instrumental in determining the direction of the initiative of the creative city idea, hence it creates different targets in the implementation process.

Below, the theory and policy implications for the creative city idea are intended to be the lessons that are learned, if not recommendations, in implementing the idea within developing countries.

6.1 Theoretical Relevance of Creative City Idea for Development Processes in Cities of Southeast Asian Developing Countries

A country in Southeast Asia still has a strong influence of tradition, religion, and culture in economic development policy. Those factors are strongly embedded in public attitude towards an idea. The creative city idea is seductive with its promise of future job creation in the coming generations. But the idea needs many hard and soft aspects readiness. The second aspect that is crucial for implementing the creative city idea is innovation. With the assumption that the innovative capacity of the population in developing countries is less popular than developed countries, the creative city idea promises hope to conjure up the actions of creators and innovators. The next aspect is the amenities. In Southeast Asia, the approach of hard infrastructure is still focused on overcoming basic problems such as poverty alleviation, accessibility, and provision of basic infrastructure. Western cities in developed country that (in part) “successfully” implement the creative city idea are more prepared in infrastructure and public services readiness. With those three aspects that influence the implementation of creative city idea in developing countries, here are some considerations that might be taken into account for future analyses on the topic.

Creative city concept is a part of wider city development

As a developing country, many sectors outside creative industries are still needed to be improved. However, there are several complementary development aspects between basic economic development and creative city initiative, such as public utilities, green open space, public sport fields, key infrastructure, public transport, and so on. This means that governments of developing countries should concentrate on investing the public budget largely on providing those key basic infrastructures. Even though having some negative effect, voluntary based funding is preferred for delivering the action (i.e. not sustainable for future program). That is why the creative city concept should be seen as spin-off from wider city development.

Tradition is still an important factor in Southeast Asian Countries

To create innovation, tradition and technology would be great ingredients if managed properly. A Southeast Asian country has a strong attachment with old traditions and religion which should be a main concern in implementing a creative city initiative. The western norm of diversity as sex orientation or gender (in-)equalities is still treated differently by some local cultures in ASEAN countries. The diversity here is seen as the amalgamation of several local cultures which possesses their own unique norm and tradition. Even though some countries are more open in accepting foreign culture (i.e. Thailand), careful research is still necessary before implementing the creative city concept.

The creative class has to deliver their enhanced resources to the public goods

The creative class tends to receive a great surge of support in the city that initiates the creative city concept. They have to channel their advantages to other class members in order to achieve wider social and economic development, especially for lower class people of people of other social groups and identities. In a Southeast Asian Developing Countries, a distinct creative class is not clearly stated by the government, but creative industries have already been defined by some countries (i.e. Thailand and Indonesia). In Chiang Mai and Bandung, there are several slum areas that need to be improved. Actors from creative industries should alleviate that public condition in a creative way, even though still aim for commerciality.

Specific body for creative economy is supporting factor, the aim is collaboration

Thailand and Indonesia have a specific national body for the creative economy but have different moments in time when they were established. Thailand has an earlier establishment in TCDC, whereas Indonesia just started the specific body in 2014 through the launching of the Creative Economy Body. Based on the case studies, the national body could provide substantial funding to foster creative industries development. However, collaboration with various actors (private, academics, and communities) is still necessary since they will provide relevant resources for support. The role of leader as collaborator is also important to engage the diverse actors in delivering the programs.

Bottom-up and top down initiative have different implementation

According to the case studies of this thesis, Bandung has a bottom-up initiative which aims for social inequalities alleviation. On the other hand, Chiang Mai initiative relies on Central Government action in fostering the creative economy. In Southeast Asian developing country, the Bandung approach is preferable since many problems such as unemployment and slums are needed to be alleviated immediately. Another reason is that protective measures are crucial to help developing countries solve the mentioned problems. The citizens must be competitive in facing globalization. Education and research should be emphasized in order to increase public competitiveness. However, the evidence from the two cases of this thesis suggest that a top-down approach with strong financial support will provide more consistent activities in implementing the creative city idea.

6.2 Policy Implications to Account the Relevance of the Creative City Idea in Cities of Southeast Asian Developing Countries

This thesis is not show the success or failure in implementing the creative city idea in developing countries. This means a recommendation for a better policy cannot be easily formulated. In general, however, regional development policy should cover aspects such as

infrastructure, local firms, and labor skills (Conti & Giaccaria, 2009). If creativity is attached to government policy, both soft and hard infrastructure developments are meant to encourage public interaction, human knowledge, and innovation (Landry, 2006). The government is supposed to have a role as catalyst and place a more crucial role in firms and the public. However, several points regarding the implementation of similar policy could be extracted from the points above which can be used as a consideration. Some of the considerations below are “business as usual” as Peck (2005) assumes, which means every government should implement their policies (providing basic infrastructure and protect lower income resident), however the policy on investment openness still needs careful protective measures.

Providing basic infrastructure

This policy is obligatory for relevant governments across the world, but in implementing creative city idea, the importance of public open space is emphasized (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000; 2006). The other basic infrastructures such as access, sanitation, electricity, and internet should be provided. The infrastructure development is aiming for the development of creativity in the public mind which could provide mutual relationship with the government in order to encourage city development. The important point here is about how to encourage creative economy actors in developing their city condition as far as possible.

Florida (2002) and Landry (2000) emphasize the built environment that supports pedestrian and public transport life. Both cities in the the thesis have congestion problems which need to be alleviated through reducing journey distance (both for obligatory or vacation journey) and encourage public transport usage. In the residential sector, both cities also have problem in availability of low to middle income citizens. To ensure the economic sustainability of the city, this income class has to be supported through providing affordable housing with proximity to workplaces.

Community Initiative to Minimize Inequalities

From the case studies, the initiative on creative city idea could be realised by communities without help from government and become a prominent movement for city development. This case questioned the establishment of a specific creative economy body at the national level that has the objective to build a creative city, since the movement of creative city could be realised organically as long as the city has the ingredients that fosters the creative economy. The case studies also show that the community initiated actions might aim at a wider range of social groups to minimize the inequalities that can be said to come from creative city idea.

Protecting lower income residents

The government's policy should protect the local firms before attracting national or international investment. After basic infrastructure readiness, the people themselves should be ready for higher competitiveness in a creative city. Peck (2005) argues that the creative city only promotes a specific class (the creative class) and neglects other classes of people. To compete with the creative class, the public has to be ready through several improvements in local capacities. Basic needs such as public housing, health, and employment must be provided for in a more converted way than is currently the case.

Investment openness

The investment openness will lead to the influx of expatriates, along with their culture and ideologies. This will diversify the social conditions within cities. The social condition here means diversity in social characteristics (religion, ethnic, sexual preference, etc.) and openness towards the diversity (Romein and Trip, 2012). From Florida's point of view, or one could say the western view, the diversity is an important factor in attracting creative class talent from his gay-index, bohemian population, and residing expatriates. However, in the case studies' context, the social climate is seen in a different manner since traditions and local norms have a strong influence. This means they lack specific regulations in dealing with that kind of diversity. But the appearance of western expatriates in these cities should have more attention paid to it by relevant stakeholders. The public should be educated about social diversities in the public school curriculum, if the regulation is not already needed. This is important to integrate future diversities. Hence, Landry (2006) suggests that diversity should be treated as inter-diversity/ cultural instead of multi-diversity/ cultural. This issue cannot be over-emphasized in my view.

6.3 Study Limitations

As mentioned before, the study of this thesis tends towards generalization of characteristics since the thesis uses only two cities from Southeast Asia Countries as the location context. Generalization could create a problem in defining a case study. However, the contrasting factor in the initiatives might provide the understanding of the implementation of creative city idea in two different perspectives.

Furthermore, the chosen case studies have limited documentation about the initiative in question, even though both cities have better documentation than other cities that have similar initiatives. The research that specifically addresses both initiatives is not found yet. This constrains the findings and the literature review in the ability to construct an even stronger analytical base.

Each city has a historical background that shows that they actually have a strong creative economic sector (Bandung with textile industry and Chiang Mai with ethnic-cultural based industry). Even though both cities show the specific historical reasons for initiating the creative city idea, the thesis still lacks in-depth analysis especially for some aspects like tradition, institutional design, and policy dimensions since the data comes from secondary sources. To overcome these problems, secondary interviews from prominent news media sources were taken and analyzed through qualitative content analysis. This solution helps provide a clear basis for the case study analysis.

6.4 Further Research Agenda

This thesis only revealed small amount of knowledge in implementing the creative city idea in developing countries. Both cities unconsciously take on board insights from theory but the real impact is still perhaps not clearly seen. However, Bandung and Chiang Mai actually have strong influence from foreign countries in initiating the creative city idea. BCCF has it from the British Council and Creative City Chiang Mai has it from the city of Austin, Texas.

In both cities, the implementation of the organized creative city initiative is still ongoing. This means that several aspects are still unclear. With different traditions and cultural characteristics compared to western countries, both cities are implementing a new paradigm in social construction. Both cities are celebrating the construction and importance of the creative class. Kong (2009) and Pratt (2009) provide previous research that shows that there are several considerations in implementing creative city idea in developing countries.

The connection between creative city initiatives and inequalities, as argued by some theorists, are still not clear. If referred to these theorists (Peck, 2005; McCann, 2007; McLean, 2014), Chiang Mai would have more possibilities of inequalities in the future than Bandung. This assumption is needed to be assessed through new research that would blend quantitative as well as qualitative research.

Regarding tolerance, the case studies show the relevance of this aspect with the emergence of creative class and creative city idea. However, the tolerant city actually is a good place for any idea due to the openness nature. The interesting case would come from the intolerant city with severe social conflict that attempts to implement the creative city idea. The thesis also not explains the gentrification of the cities because of the influx of creative class that encouraged by both initiatives. The creative city idea triggers gentrifications as happened in Toronto (McLean, 2014) and Austin (McCann). This concern can be addressed in developing countries for future research.

6.5 Conclusion

The idea of creativity which is embedded in several notions comes from a western perspective; creative economy as a spin off from knowledge economy (Howkins, 2001), with creative class as the main engine (Florida, 2002) to create wider creativity-based industries (Hartley, 2005), and then to create impact on spatial level that encourages specific urban societies and urban economies (Landry, 2008). These notions still have some concerns even though the ideas are fluidly spread across boundaries and adopted as specific city development policy (Prince, 2012). This thesis shows that the creative city initiative faces several institutional barriers such as specific religious and traditional majority, infrastructure readiness, and poverty. However, the idea actually has been practiced since long time ago by both cities, even with these institutional barriers.

In theory field of creative city paradigm, the contribution of tradition and religion needs further research. Some emerging countries are still struggling with tradition and religious problems, as well as the widening gap of social inequalities. The creative city initiative seems to contradict that condition since the initiative encourages a specific social class (the creative class) to be the main engine of economic and social development. In order to answer that contradiction, the creative class tries to deliver their advantages to improve the social conditions through undertaking creative city activities. The initiative also needs an adequate basic infrastructure support which remains in its infancy at the present moment in time.

To equalize the condition of secondary city with primate city in developing country context, several key infrastructure developments and connections are still needed to be executed. However, an appropriate development initiative in a right time is considered as leverage in developing progress. In this thesis, a similar initiative, the creative city, is implemented by these secondary cities – Bandung and, Chiang Mai – in order to catch up primate city's development pace, or from a top-down point of view, to alleviate the congestion in primate city. Furthermore, for the longer term, both cities aim for international acknowledgment for implementing creative city development and for creating wider positive impacts in economy, social, and environmental sectors.

To achieve the long term vision, previously, both cities have possessed rich culture and distinct traditions for centuries. In the early 21st century, both cities try to utilize these assets through a combination with technology in a creative city perspective. The creative class of Florida and the creative city of Landry are not consciously implemented by both cities, but some key factors from both commentators (or "experts" if you will) are used as the basis for implementation. With the lack of basic infrastructure and the existence of poverty in both cities as the key hindrances in developing countries of global south for the creative city idea, relevant stakeholders must understand that the creative city initiative is not a panacea for those problems. The creative city initiative that has concentrated and

organized implementation is a new approach for both cities. Formerly, the creative industries in both cities have been organically developed (framed by both cities as “creative city”). With this new approach in development, hopefully this thesis would give insight towards the implementation of creative city initiative, particularly for Southeast Asian developing countries and to contribute to discussions of how to improve such implementation in the future.

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APPENDIX A: List of Documents for the Case Studies

No.	Document's Name	Document category	Source
BANDUNG CREATIVE CITY FORUM			
1.	News Channel Asia in Boomtown Asia: Creative City	Recorded interview	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hj_FmnyAX9Y&list=PL2020F80E7270DDB3
2.	<i>Hubungan Ridwan Kamil dengan Bandung Creative City Forum (The connection between Ridwan Kamil with Bandung Creative City Forum)</i>	Recorded News	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bg-lwGbm57w
3.	Dwinita Larasati, the secretary of BCCF speech in ASEAN Business Club Forum 2014- Plenary Session 2— Creative & Secondary Cities In ASEAN	Recorded conference	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dnLbI8XRB9U
3	Official website of Bandung Creative City Forum	Relevant publication and news	https://bandungcreativecityforum.wordpress.com/
4	News about BCCF	News Portal	<p>Pikiran Rakyat http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/node/178342</p> <p>Bisnisjabar.com (1) http://bisnis-jabar.com/index.php/berita/industri-kreatif-kumpul-kumpul-komunitas-kreatif-bandung-di-simpul-space2</p> <p>Bisnisjabar.com (2) http://bisnis-jabar.com/index.php/berita/komunitas-kreatif-dana-hibah-rp700-juta-untuk-industri-kreatif-bandung</p> <p>Jabarprov.co.id http://www.jabarprov.go.id/index.php/subMenu/informasi/berita/detailberita/4032/</p> <p>Bandungnewsphoto.com (1) http://bandungnewsphoto.com/?conte</p>

		<p>nt=komunitas&op=view&id=254993498</p> <p>Bandungnewsphoto.com (2)</p> <p>http://m.bandungnewsphoto.com/?content=headline&op=view&id=24253717</p> <p>Portal Bandung</p> <p>http://www.portalbandung.com/pariwisata-bandung/item/83-ruang-publik-bagi-komunitas-kreatif-di-kota-bandung.html</p> <p>Klik-Walimedia.com</p> <p>http://www.klik-walimedia.com/2012/02/kota-bandung-miliki-ruang-publik.html</p> <p>Bisnis Indonesia</p> <p>http://www.bisnis.com/articles/industri-kreatif-bandung-raih-hibah-rp700-juta</p> <p>Kompasiana</p> <p>http://media.kompasiana.com/buku/2012/03/23/peluncuran-buku-tentang-air-di-hari-air/</p> <p>Indonesian Future leader</p> <p>http://bandung.indonesianfutureleaders.org/?p=351</p> <p>Antara Jawa Barat</p> <p>http://antarajawabarat.com/lihat/berita/36342/bni-sumbang-sepeda-untuk-forum-kreatif-bandung</p> <p>Tribunnews.com</p> <p>http://www.tribunnews.com/2012/02/15/tere-stres-sambil-menggoreskan-cat-di-kanvas</p> <p>Republika Online</p> <p>http://www.republika.co.id/berita/senang/seni-budaya/12/06/10/m5efma-sosialisasikan-budaya-melalui-komunikasi</p> <p>Indonesia Berprestasi</p> <p>http://www.indonesiaberprestasi.web.id/?p=11202</p>
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			<p>Duodynamic http://duodynamic.blogspot.com/2012/02/meet-up-volunteer-tedxbandung.html Bisnis Indonesia (1) http://www.bisnis.com/articles/kampung-kreatif-festival-bandung-creative-2012-digelar Bisnis Indonesia (2) http://www.bisnis.com/articles/kampung-kreatif-digagas-bandung-creative-city-forum Bandung Media http://www.bandungmedia.com/interaksi/dari-redaksi/201206/road-to-kampung-kreatif-dago-pojok-diramaikan-1-000-peserta/</p>
CREATIVE CITY CHIANG MAI			
1.	Martin Venzky-Stalling, the advisor of Creative City Chiang Mai speech in ASEAN Business Club Forum 2014- Plenary Session 2— Creative & Secondary Cities In ASEAN	Recorded Conferences	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dnLb18XRB9U
2.	Martin Venzky-Stalling, speech in TEDxBKK	Recorded Presentation	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F48tb3yifqs visited on June 22, 2015
3.	Creative City Chiang Mai news on CNN	Recorded news	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6F5Dv8yRIQg
4.	Official website of Creative City Chiang Mai	Relevants publication and documents (Reports, Presentation Pointers, and Minute of Meeting	www.creativechiangmai.com
5.	Official website of Thailand TCDC Creative and Design Center	Relevant publications	www.TCDC.or.th
6.	Presentation Powerpoint of Creative City Chiang Mai	Relevant publication	www.seaccn.com/...at.../Chiang%20Mai_Martin_Venzky_Stalling.pptx

