

**FULL ARTICLE**

Cultural cities, urban economic growth, and regional development: The role of creativity and cosmopolitan identity

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Abstract

Cultural heritage has been recognized as fundamental for local development. In particular, some recent works have highlighted the role of sophisticated transmission channels of this relationship, that is local creativity and cosmopolitan identity. Following a territorial perspective, the present work aims at combining the two approaches, in the belief that there could be a synergic interplay between creativity and cosmopolitan identity, reinforcing their individual effects. Accordingly, an original conceptual and operational taxonomy characterizing cultural cities is put forward. The contribution of the different identified patterns to urban and regional growth is assessed, as well as their capacity to valorize cultural participation.

KEYWORDS

cosmopolitan identity, creativity, cultural and creative cities, cultural participation, economic growth

JEL CLASSIFICATION

O18, R11, Z10

1 | INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage and cultural activities are essential and integral traits and components of individuals, societies, and political communities. More specifically, a fast-growing attention has been dedicated in the last twenty years to the potential beneficial effects of cultural expressions—both in their tangible and intangible forms—for local development. The international institutions as well as the academic literature demonstrate an increasing and flourishing



interest towards the topic, with the ultimate ambition of recommending governments, local administrations, and private players to support cultural activities' development and liveliness.

The relationship between different forms of cultural expressions and economic dynamics has been mostly referred by the literature to the touristic channel, and in this sense the empirical evidence has overall confirmed the existence of the linkage. However, two original ideas have been recently put forward in this field: on the one hand, more sophisticated, complex, and intangible mechanisms through which cultural heritage might influence local economic development have been investigated; on the other hand, the role of territorial local conditions has been recognized as an essential component of the ways in which this relationship functions. More in detail, *creativity* has been studied as a *mediator* between cultural heritage and local development (Cerisola, 2019a, 2019b). However, another original transmission mechanism has also been considered, namely, the role of territorial identity. In particular, a specific type of local identity has been identified as a catalyser of the effect of cultural heritage on economic performance (Camagni et al., 2020; Panzera, 2021b). This is *cosmopolitan identity*, interpreted as high levels of trust, openness, and tolerance. The importance of local conditions—for example, localized externalities, traditions, skills and know-hows and proximity relationships of cultural elements and values, as well as of rules and practices (Camagni, 2009)—in determining the impact of heritage on development was also acknowledged (Capello & Perucca, 2017).

Although these more indirect and abstract - mainly psychological and emotional - transmission channels have been conceptually identified (CHCfE, 2015), they have hardly been investigated through quantitative analyses. Nevertheless, in some earlier studies carried out by the authors, the role of local creativity and cosmopolitan identity in harnessing the impact of material cultural heritage on regional development had been assessed. However, those works did not consider other manifestations of culture conveying signs of an active behaviour by citizens, such as cultural participation.¹

Indicators of cultural participation are also representative of the willingness to socialize and of the individual fruition of cultural activities and events, to add to the pure presence of cultural opportunities, forms of collective experience and relationality. This element is due to lead to a more intentional and emotionally deep fruition of culture, enhancing its potential inspirational role in other dimensions of social life, including the economic one.

While material cultural heritage in effect has been widely highlighted by international institutions as a contributor to sustainable development and overall economic growth (Council of Europe, 2018; European Commission, 2015) and although it has been broadly identified by the academic empirical literature as an engine for economic performance through the touristic channel (see Faber & Gaubert, 2019; Panzera, 2021a; Panzera et al., 2021; Patuelli et al., 2013; Petit & Seetaram, 2018; Yang et al., 2010), it is in fact through its participatory activation and fruition that these economic outcomes might be fully actualized. Participation breathes life into heritage sites, cultural venues, arts exhibitions, museums and all the other cultural expressions and manifestations. Exchange, communication, and connection with the audience allow arts and culture to be imbued and blended with individuals and societies.

All these considerations apply particularly to certain contexts and in fact creativity and open attitudes towards the external world—in the form of a cosmopolitan local identity—as well as a vibrant cultural participation, have been broadly recognized as fundamental territorial characteristics. In particular, they are usually associated with urban environments, generating, boosting and attracting talents, social vitality and cultural heterogeneity (Hall, 1998; Landry & Bianchini, 1995; Scott, 2000; UNESCO and World Bank, 2021; Zukin, 1995). In Baycan et al.'s (2011, p. 4) words: "Cities have always been meeting places for people of different cultures, education and talents."

According to these thoughts, we hereby consider that urban contexts—especially when distinguished by an important cultural dimension—can in fact be differently characterized in terms of their creative and identitarian features and of their particular combination. In this sense, the present work proposes an innovative taxonomy based on the *creative and identitarian* characters of cultural cities, with the aim of investigating the relative role of the different combinations of the two elements, identifying four urban patterns. In fact, based on the studies mentioned above, our expectation is that cultural cities may benefit from a synergic interplay between creativity and a cosmopolitan type of territorial identity. The fruitful co-presence of these two elements, indeed, could favour the shaping of a cultural environment more suitable for territorial economic growth.



The beneficial effects stemming from urban creative and cosmopolitan characteristics are of course expected to favour the urban economic development. Nevertheless, they might not be limited to the cultural city itself, since cultural cities can be thought of as engines of the regional growth of the area they belong to (Braudel, 1977; Glaeser, 2011; Mumford, 1938). The idea is that a favourable urban creative and cosmopolitan context might promote economic growth at the city level and such performance could pull the rest of the region. Therefore, this work specifically focuses on the role played by different *creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns* in favouring urban but also *regional* development, according to the belief that specific conditions, and especially the simultaneous presence of creativity and a cosmopolitan identity, can in fact be more conducive to urban and regional economic growth.

The potentially favourable interplay between the different *creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns* and urban cultural participation is also explored. This is done mainly to assess how efficiently different creative and cosmopolitan environments valorize their participation in cultural activities. In addition, urban cultural participation could expand its beneficial effects from the urban core of cultural cities to the wider external areas and therefore propagate broader positive consequences from the city to the whole region hosting it (Cerisola & Panzera, 2021). Such mechanisms could be activated through positive externalities to individuals and activities and collective learning processes functioning as enhancers of knowledge.

Along these logical lines, the Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (CCCM), the interesting database provided by the European Commission Joint Research Centre (JRC), supplies a very suitable array of data on Cultural and Creative Cities (CCCs), allowing us to operationalize the conceptual reasoning here introduced.

In order to address all the issues mentioned above, the paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides a background literature review related to the economic implications of creativity and cosmopolitan local identity, while Section 3 presents an original taxonomy that combines the two territorial context conditions to characterize different cultural cities. An empirical confirmation of the reasoning is reported in Section 4, as well as the interpretation of the results. Section 5 provides some overall reflections and concludes.

2 | TERRITORIAL CONTEXT AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF CREATIVITY AND COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITY

The synergy between culture and creativity in favouring territorial development has been conceptually highlighted for quite some time (Cerisola, 2019b; Council of Europe, 2005; European Commission, 2014). More recently, the idea that specific types of territorial identity—and especially more cosmopolitan ones—can better catalyse the impact of culture on local economic performance has also been interestingly investigated (Camagni et al., 2020; Panzera, 2021b). These approaches and hypotheses belong to the long tradition of endogenous development processes, theorized in terms of industrial districts (Becattini, 1989; Dei Ottati, 2003; Marshall, 1920; Piore & Sabel, 1984), innovative *milieux* (Aydalot, 1986; Aydalot & Keeble, 1988; Camagni, 1991), industrial clusters (Boix & Trullén, 2010; Porter, 1990), and geographical and cultural proximity (e.g. Torre & Gilly, 2000), all sharing the idea that specific local context conditions are important in determining the different functioning of corresponding economic dynamics. Such an approach has found a new common scientific basis in the concept of *territorial capital*. Initially introduced by the OECD in 2001 (OECD, 2001), further elaborated by the DG Regio of the Commission of the European Union in 2005 (European Commission, 2005) and formalized by Camagni in 2009, *territorial capital* encompasses material and immaterial assets, private, public, and collective resources as well as cognitive, social, and relational traits defining the development potential of each territory (Camagni, 2019).

Diverse context characteristics influence local economic dynamics besides traditional production factors: culture, histories, institutional structures, relational and social capital. All these intangible and immaterial elements influence mindsets, attitudes, and the ways in which economic activities are performed. As such, *creativity* and *cosmopolitan identity* are intangible context characters ascribable to territorial capital encompassing social attributes and socio-cultural, psychological, and political relationships. Their effects on economic development and local competitiveness have been investigated recently more and more.



Creativity is a complex phenomenon associated with originality, imagination, and inspiration but also with problem solving, new ways of performing production processes, innovation, and knowledge creation (Preiser, 2006; Torrance, 1988; UNCTAD, 2010). Several definitions have been proposed by the literature, either based on the *content* of creativity, on its *outcome*, or on the *creative process*. Furthermore, if at an initial stage creativity was exclusively referred to the artistic field, it is nowadays widely acknowledged that more and wider domains are linked to creativity such as the economic and scientific ones.

In the context of the present work, creativity is understood as *ideation based on local talents* and the main focus lies in its potential beneficial effects on local economic development. The relationship between creativity and economic growth is indeed widely investigated.² In fact, in Baycan et al.'s (2011, p. 3) words: "Since Florida's ideas on the creative class, the creative industry and the creative city (Florida, 2002), an avalanche of studies has been undertaken to study the features and success conditions of creative environments." Moreover, within the related literature, the concept of *creative economy* (see Howkins, 2007) has been closely associated with cities (Huang & Fan, 2021; Lawton et al., 2010; Musterd & Kovács, 2013; Musterd & Murie, 2010; Peck, 2012), since urban environments in which creative talents proliferate are thought to generate a context responsive to new ideas, forward-looking, innovative, and vibrant. Therefore, a favourable situation for attracting new talents and investments, thus contributing to the development of the area.

Overall, *creativity* has been widely recognized by the literature as a beneficial factor for economic development, by directly generating jobs and profit but, more importantly, by establishing a fertile atmosphere for innovation and attracting talents and international investments (Cook & Lazeretti, 2007; Fleischmann et al., 2017; Turok, 2003). The main driver through which creativity influences economic dynamics is innovation (see Capello & Lenzi, 2013). As argued in Santagata (2009), intangible components, intellectual property and symbolic attributes of products directly derive from creativity which is the input of innovation processes. In addition, different and multifaceted mechanisms through which the positive effects of creativity can benefit a broader audience of people, industries, and territories have been identified. In particular, such mechanisms can be defined as "the process by which activity in the arts, culture and creative industries has a subsequent broader impact on places, society or the economy through the overflow of concepts, ideas, skills, knowledge and different types of capital" (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2015). Entrepreneurial energy, rapid learning capacity, flexibility and openness to innovation are all elements that characterize creative environments. These environments, in turn, become better prepared to face changing markets and support economic progress.

Nevertheless, a *cosmopolitan local identity* has also been recognized as potentially connected with local economic dynamics, although the empirical evidence is in this case particularly scant. Trust, civic traditions, and strong networks have a role in influencing the ways in which economic activities are performed (Guiso et al., 2007; Putnam et al., 1993; Schneider et al., 2000). As creativity, *territorial identity* is a multifaceted and multidimensional phenomenon. It is a transdisciplinary concept studied by, among others, anthropology, political philosophy and sociology (Beck & Sznaider, 2006). Territorial identity may be interpreted according to different perspectives and different types of territorial identity have been in fact identified in the literature (see, among others, Bruter, 2003; Fligstein et al., 2012; Paasi, 2002; Revilla et al., 2013). However, what we are specifically interested in here is a *cosmopolitan territorial identity*, that is, a type of identity associated with open-mindedness, a positive disposition and tolerance towards peoples and different cultures (Szszynski & Urry, 2002), and a particular accepting and welcoming stance towards diversity (Young et al., 2006).

The choice is due to some previous research work carried out by the authors suggesting that a cosmopolitan identity can be more conducive to local development, also being a catalyser of the impact of cultural heritage on economic growth. Moreover, the notion of cosmopolitan identity (*cosmopolitanism*) particularly fits the urban environment, too. Cities are in fact where different people, cultures, and ways of living are more likely to live together. As highlighted, among others, in Baycan-Levent (2010) and Balebas et al. (2020), international migration is indeed contributing to the diversification of cities, leading to a circumstance sometimes called a *superdiverse* city (Crul, 2016). Diversity is heterogeneously perceived and valued by different cities: while some of them consider it as an asset that favours their attractiveness, global positioning and economies, others are more closed and sceptical towards



diversity, tolerance, and inclusion (Balebas et al., 2020; Glick & Çağlar, 2009; Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018). In this work, cosmopolitanism is interpreted as an urban atmosphere characterized by trust, tolerance, and openness towards other members of the collectivity, transcending, but often coexisting with, local citizenship and sense of belonging. In this sense, it is important to remind how such more intangible context-related factors are also recognized as drivers of economic competitiveness by a literature focused on endogenous development. In fact, social and relational systems built by communities through norms, trust, and networks shape economic behaviours and support economic efficiency by facilitating interactions, co-operation, and coordination fed by the awareness of mutual benefits (Iyer et al., 2005; Putnam et al., 1993).

As Beck and Sznaider (2006, p. 3) put it, “the dualities of the global and the local, the national and the international, us and them, have dissolved and merged together in new forms”. Cosmopolitan identity represents a fertile condition for generating new forms of critical knowledge (Hannerz, 1996), exchanging ideas and know-hows, and enhancing urban attractiveness of investors and creative talents (Goess et al., 2016; Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018). Even though the economic literature in this field is less developed, it has been recognized that a certain coincidence between public and private interests fed by collective trust can generate co-operative behaviours that strengthen the efficiency of a community and support local economic dynamics (Capello, 2018). Furthermore, openness and tolerance towards foreigners and different cultures might contribute to create a bridging type of social capital that support a more open-minded environment in which contamination of traditions, ideas and beliefs might be linked to a more progressive context both in socio-cultural and economic terms.

Cosmopolitan identity turns out to be strictly linked with creativity, and they are both tightly connected to and in urban agglomerations. In fact, citing from Huang and Fan (2021, p. 4), “the overall atmosphere of a city is a critical element in generating ideas, because arts and creativity tend to thrive in societies that can embrace multiple ideologies (Florida, 2005; Montalto et al., 2019) and where a high level of trust exists (Chambers & Evans, 2020).” Therefore, an urban cosmopolitan spirit (open-mindedness) might create a fertile condition for creativity to flourish, acting as a multiplier and carrier of ideas. However, it is not necessarily the case that cosmopolitan identity and creativity simultaneously characterize an urban agglomeration. Based on the combination of these two intangible local context conditions specific *creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns* can be identified and their role in the economic development of the city, but also of the overall region where the cultural and creative cities (CCCs) are located, can be explored. According to this perspective, in fact, although culture and creativity mostly find their greatest and considerable expressions within cities, we put forward the idea that economic benefits stemming from creative and cosmopolitan environments may positively affect the city level, but also cross the urban boundaries and spill over to the whole region to which each city belongs, propelling economic growth within a wider geographical scope.

In addition, the different creative and cosmopolitan urban environments can be more or less efficient in harnessing the effects of urban cultural participation on urban economic growth and in catalyzing the potential positive effects of cultural participation from the city to the whole region. Our prediction is that cultural cities (also characterized by a cosmopolitan identity) can be more effective in this respect, being overall more inclusive and therefore favouring the transmission of positive values to the individuals who enjoy urban cultural activities, potentially also taking their benefits back to their residence areas, even outside the city.

To start deepening our understanding of these aspects, we begin by describing in detail the proposed conceptual *creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns* in the next section. The corresponding measurement arrangement—made possible thanks to the availability of information on CCCs that fits our purposes particularly well—is also detailed.

3 | CREATIVITY AND COSMOPOLITAN IDENTITY IN EUROPEAN CULTURAL CITIES: AN URBAN TAXONOMY

Following the reasoning presented so far, different combinations of *creativity* and *cosmopolitan identity* may characterize European cultural cities. Figure 1 represents the accordingly identified *creative and cosmopolitan urban*

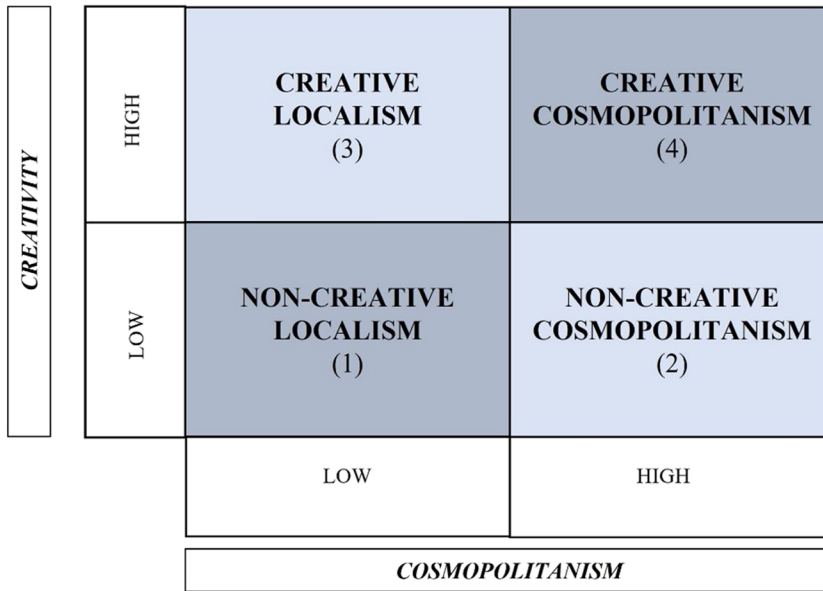


FIGURE 1 Creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns *Source:* Authors' elaboration

patterns. As can be smoothly inferred from Figure 1, four patterns of European cultural cities have been distinguished using this classification:

- **Non-creative localism:** cultural cities belonging to this territorial pattern present low levels of both creativity and cosmopolitan identity. *Non-creative* refers to the lack of creative talents, professions, and industries and the consequent absence of an innovative and vibrant urban atmosphere. *Localism* marks the scarce propensity of the citizens to trust, accept, include, and integrate others, in clear contrast with a cosmopolitan spirit. A scant innovativeness tension is here accompanied by individualistic and closed attitudes.
- **Non-creative cosmopolitanism:** the second pattern characterizes cultural cities embedded in a scarcely creative environment that is nevertheless highly tolerant and inclusive. These urban contexts present other industrial specializations rather than creative sectors and they are lived by people that trust each other and are inclusive and tolerant towards different cultures and foreign inhabitants.
- **Creative localism:** cultural cities belonging to this third territorial pattern are strongly creative, that is, they host a vast number of creative talents, professions, and industries that contribute to generate a lively, inventive, and innovative atmosphere. However, the inhabitants of these cities do not feel trust towards the other members of the community in which they live and do not show tolerant and inclusive behaviours thus justifying their nomenclature as *localist*.
- **Creative cosmopolitanism:** the last pattern concerns simultaneously creative and cosmopolitan cultural cities. A large creative class is embedded in an urban climate of trust, tolerance, and integration. Novel and creative ideas are continuously exchanged in this type of territorial environment supported by a cohesive, loyal, and inclusive atmosphere. A cosmopolitan context stimulates creativity to spread, contaminate and permeate across the city thus eventually favouring the actualization of its economic potential.

In the attempt of assessing the association between the creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns identified above and urban and regional economic development, a first necessary step lies in gathering appropriate data to operationalize the taxonomy. For this aim we have exploited data provided by the CCCM, that is, a comprehensive



database including quantitative and qualitative data on 190 cultural and creative European cities capturing their cultural, social, and economic vitality. Cities monitored in the CCCM are specifically distinguished for their commitment to the promotion of culture and creativity including European Capitals of Culture, UNESCO Creative Cities, and host cities of at least two international cultural festivals labelled with the “Europe for Festivals, Festivals for Europe (EFFE)” title. For each of these cities the Monitor provides 29 indicators reflecting three major facets of the urban socio-cultural domain: *cultural vibrancy*, *creative economy* and *enabling environment* (for a detailed description of the database see JRC, 2019). The database includes all the countries belonging to the European Union as well as Norway, Switzerland,³ and UK.

In order to gather the most suitable data to measure the urban creative and cosmopolitan essence, two specific indicators have been selected from the ones provided by the CCCM: *creative and knowledge-based jobs* and *openness, tolerance and trust*. The first indicator is here used to measure creativity and it encompasses jobs in arts, culture and entertainment, jobs in media and communication and jobs in other creative sectors, normalized by population.⁴ *Openness, tolerance, and trust* is instead used to translate in measurable terms the urban cosmopolitan spirit. More specifically, the indicator is made with a percentage of foreign graduates, share of foreign-born population, tolerance of foreigners, integration of foreigners and people trust.

The following step concerns the assignment of the European CCCs to one of the four patterns (i.e., *non-creative localism*, *non-creative cosmopolitanism*, *creative localism*, and *creative cosmopolitanism*). To do so, the following procedure has been followed:

- The median values of the CCCs included in the sample in terms of *creative and knowledge-based jobs* and *openness, tolerance and trust* have been calculated by country.
- The urban value of the two indicators has been compared with the national medians.
- A specific urban creative and cosmopolitan pattern has been consequently assigned to each European cultural and creative city, namely: *non-creative localism* for cultural cities with both creative and cosmopolitan values lower than the national medians; *non-creative cosmopolitanism* for cultural cities scoring higher than national median in cosmopolitanism but lower in creativity; *creative localism* for cultural cities with higher than national medians creativity but lower cosmopolitanism; and *creative cosmopolitanism* for cultural cities presenting values higher than national medians in both creativity and cosmopolitanism.

Using a map representation, Figure 2 provides two examples of patterns assignment to Italian (panel a) and UK and Ireland (panel b) cultural and creative cities.

The operationalization of the four identified urban patterns according to their creative and cosmopolitan characteristics using CCCM data allowed us to investigate the patterns according to some specific socio-economic attributes (in particular, capital city, city size, wealth, innovativeness, logistic accessibility), so confirming the characteristics conceptually associated to the different categories. In particular, *non-creative localism* identifies non-capital, scarcely innovative, and smaller cultural cities, in clear contrast with *creative cosmopolitanism* which is instead the category to which most of the capital and bigger cultural cities belong. Creative cosmopolitan cultural cities are also the ones that present higher values of wealth. *Non-creative cosmopolitanism* is instead typical of small-scale and non-capital cultural cities, which are in fact the poorest in the sample. *Creative localism* lies in the middle and characterizes cultural cities that are less rich than creative cosmopolitan ones but wealthier than non-creative and localist cities; quite populous urban environments belong to this pattern. Not-surprisingly, creative cosmopolitan cultural cities are the most innovative in terms of ICT patents and community design applications, outdistancing all the other categories. Interestingly enough, though characterized by a very creative context, *creative localism* does not show similar innovativeness levels. This means that an exclusively creative environment is not enough to make innovation flourish and prosper from creativity. An open-minded, cohesive, and progressive atmosphere, in other words a cosmopolitan environment, triggers and enhances this relationship, actualizing it.

Another interesting aspect concerns the local and international connectedness of the four categories. *Creative cosmopolitanism* is the more connected urban environment in terms of accessibility by different means of

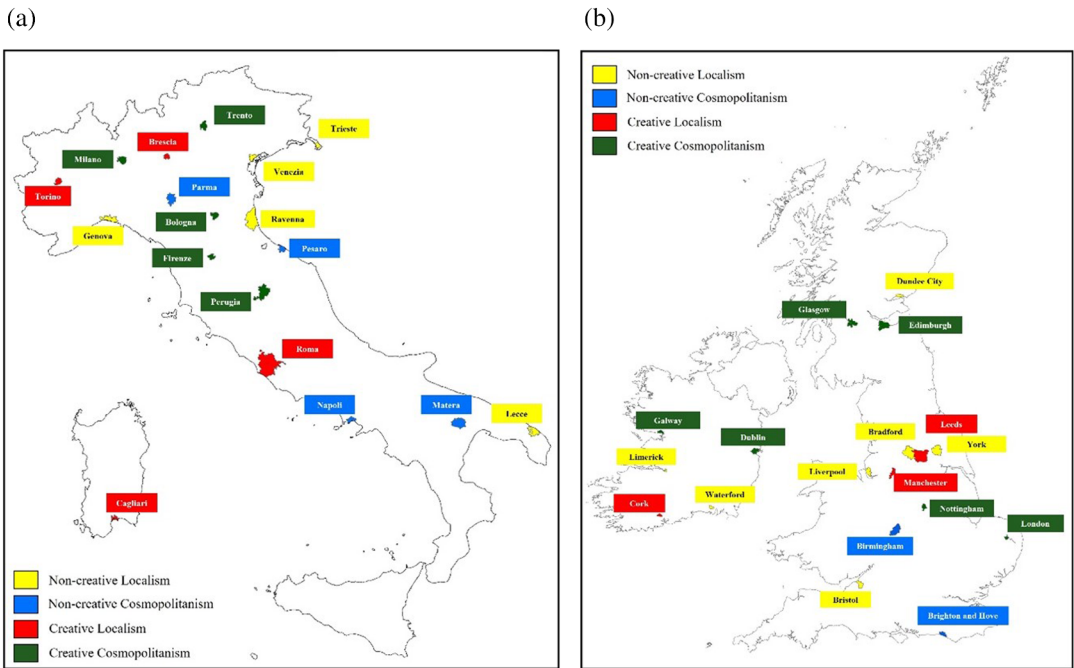


FIGURE 2 Creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns—Operationalization in Italy (panel a) and UK and Ireland (panel b) *Source:* Authors' elaboration

transportation (i.e., flights, car, and train). Interestingly, also *non-creative cosmopolitanism* shows a good accessibility condition with respect to the other categories. This makes us think that being better connected with the rest of the country and the world—and therefore more exposed to different peoples, cultures, and ideas—is in fact associated with a more open mind and greater tolerance and trust.

After conceptually devising and empirically identifying the four *creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns*, we aim at further exploring their association with urban and regional economic development and their respective efficiency in making the most of urban cultural participation. Our expectation is that cultural cities can also be engines of development for the whole region, but that this relationship may depend on their specific creative and cosmopolitan environment. In particular, urban creativity can be an important trigger of urban but also regional growth through stimulating original ideas and innovative thinking and attracting talents, thus pushing a substantial economic development able to pull the performance also at a broader geographical scale. However, we also expect that the favourable effect of a creative urban environment can be further enhanced when territorial creativity is accompanied by an open-minded, tolerant, and trustful environment. In a word, a cosmopolitan context.

According to this perspective, the following section presents the models and the data used and discusses the obtained results.

4 | CREATIVE AND COSMOPOLITAN URBAN PATTERNS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

4.1 | Model and data

The conceptual reasoning presented in the previous sections needs to be empirically tested. In particular, we want to understand if in fact the creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns identified before may be differently associated



with urban and regional economic growth, potentially showing effects strong enough to affect the economy at the regional level, too. The urban patterns are in fact very interesting to be analysed, both in their direct relationship with urban and regional development and in their capacity to efficiently make use of their cultural participation in enhancing economic growth.

To this end, we need to organize our empirical investigation in two steps. The first one aims at assessing the more direct relationship between the different creative and cosmopolitan patterns and urban growth, together with their potentially different capacity of making efficient use of their cultural participation. The second step, instead, focuses on the exploration of potential pulling mechanisms, to test if in fact the devised urban creative and cosmopolitan patterns can be differently linked to the strength of cultural cities in dragging their own region development and in making the most of their cultural participation, in this sense expanding the related beneficial effects to the whole surrounding area.

Therefore, we start by associating each cultural city with the corresponding NUTS 3 region and by estimating through an ordinary least squares regression an urban growth model, according to the following specification:

$$gdp\ growth_{c, 2016-2019} = \alpha + \beta_1 non-creat_cosmop_c + \beta_2 creat_local_c + \beta_3 creat_cosmop_c + \beta_5 X_{c,2013} + \varepsilon, \quad (1)$$

where the units of analysis are NUTS 3 regions c (city level), the dependent variable (*gdp growth*) is the annual average growth rate of log real gdp from 2016 to 2019 and the variables of interest are: the creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns defined in the previous section, that is, non-creative cosmopolitanism (*non-creat_cosmop*), creative localism (*create_local*), and creative cosmopolitanism (*create_cosmop*), all of them being dummy variables equal to one if the city belongs to the specific pattern, respectively. The reference pattern is therefore non-creative localism.

To take into account other important elements that are likely to affect urban economic growth, a vector X of control variables measured at the urban (NUTS 3) level enters the regression, too. It includes GDP *per capita* to control for the initial level of wealth, share of employment in agriculture and share of employment in industry to control for the sectoral structure, the share of tertiary educated over total employment to consider the widely recognized role of human capital, innovation proxied as the number of patents *per capita*, the population of the city to control for its size and urbanization economies, and a dummy variable equal to one if the city is a capital. Importantly, we also include the share of the city population over the total population of the NUTS 3 area to control for geographical and administrative differences associated with some cities being themselves a whole NUTS 3 region and some others representing instead just a portion of it.

In order to mitigate the risk of endogeneity, all the variables are lagged and computed as averages on the 2012–2014 period,⁵ consistently with the reference period of the data provided by the CCCM used for determining the different creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns (see previous section). Finally, standard errors are clustered by country.

Subsequently, Equation 1 is slightly modified to test, through interaction terms, the potentially different effectiveness of each creative and cosmopolitan urban pattern in exploiting its cultural liveliness to benefit the economic development of the city. Cultural participation is here measured through a composite indicator including museum visitors, cinema attendance, and satisfaction with cultural facilities. This particular measurement method was chosen as representative of a cultural participation that implies a physical presence in the sites and some degree of interaction with the cultural facilities, thus favouring the generation of potentially fruitful collective and individual relations. In addition, the inclusion of the “satisfaction component” provides an indication of the “quality” of the available cultural facilities and of the awareness of the importance of cultural activities.

The second empirical step aims instead at testing if there may also be a significant relationship spilling over from the creative and cosmopolitan urban characteristics to the economic growth of the whole region the cultural cities belong to. To perform this additional step, we estimate a regional (NUTS 2 level) growth model which substantially replicates the one used for the urban level, with some suitable changes to include the dummies representing the



urban creative and cosmopolitan patterns and the cultural participation at the city level and all the other (dependent and control) variables at the NUTS 2 level.

In more details, each city is now associated with the corresponding NUTS 2 region. However, a few cultural cities do represent an entire NUTS 2 region. For these specific cases, the city was associated with a simulated larger region, made of all the adjacent NUTS 2 regions besides the region the city belongs to. This was done in order to be able to catch the relationship between the creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns with the surrounding area.⁶

The different variables, their computation, and their sources are displayed in Table 1.

5 | RESULTS

The output of the models presented in the previous sub-section and of the related augmented specifications, meant to include the interaction terms between urban cultural participation and creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns, is shown in Table 2 (NUTS 3 level) and Table 3 (NUTS 2 level).

As reported in the first column of Table 2, the creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns significantly differ in their association with urban economic development. More specifically, both *creative localism* and *creative cosmopolitanism* present positive and statistically significant coefficients meaning that, with respect to *non-creative localism*, they do show a better and stronger relationship with urban economic growth. As expected, a substantial urban creative context favours original thinking and new ideas, thus triggering innovation, knowledge improvement and attractiveness and therefore generating beneficial effects. As reported in Section 2, in fact, a vibrant and creative urban environment contributes to inspire innovative practices, products and processes as well as generating an attractive atmosphere for talents and investments.

TABLE 1 Variables' description

Variable	Computation	Data source
<i>non-creative cosmopolitanism</i>	Dummy variable = 1 if the cultural city is neither creative nor cosmopolitan	JRC—Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (CCCM)
<i>creative localism</i>	Dummy variable = 1 if the cultural city is creative, but not cosmopolitan	JRC—Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (CCCM)
<i>creative cosmopolitanism</i>	Dummy variable = 1 if the cultural city is both creative and cosmopolitan	JRC—Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (CCCM)
<i>cultural participation</i>	Average between the 0–100 standardized indicators for museum visitors (total number of museum tickets sold/population), cinema attendance (total number of tickets sold/population), and satisfaction with cultural facilities (% very satisfied with cultural facilities in the city)	JRC—Cultural and Creative Cities Monitor (CCCM)
<i>gdp growth</i>	Annual average growth rate of log real gdp	Cambridge Econometrics
<i>gdp per capita</i>	GDP/population	Cambridge Econometrics
<i>share emp agriculture</i>	Employment in agriculture/total employment	Cambridge Econometrics
<i>share emp industry</i>	Employment in industry/total employment	Cambridge Econometrics
<i>innovation</i>	patents/population	Eurostat
<i>human capital</i>	tertiary educated employees/total employment	Eurostat
<i>pop city</i>	City resident population	Eurostat—Urban Audit
<i>share pop city</i>	Share of city population over total (NUTS 3/NUTS 2) population	Eurostat
<i>capital city</i>	Dummy variable = 1 if the city is a capital	Authors' own computation

**TABLE 2** Creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns and urban economic growth

	(1)	(2a)	(2b)	(2c)
non-creative cosmopolitanism	0.002 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.008)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)
creative localism	0.007** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	0.006 (0.012)	0.007** (0.003)
creative cosmopolitanism	0.007** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	0.002 (0.005)
non-creative cosmopolitanism*cultural participation		0.203 (0.219)		
creative localism*cultural participation			0.035 (0.402)	
creative cosmopolitanism*cultural participation				0.151 (0.185)
cultural participation		-0.072 (0.120)	-0.042 (0.105)	-0.081 (0.121)
gdp per capita	-0.338 (0.213)	-0.314 (0.207)	-0.325 (0.196)	-0.334 (0.209)
share emp agriculture	0.041 (0.031)	0.043 (0.031)	0.040 (0.030)	0.038 (0.031)
share emp industry	0.058** (0.023)	0.057** (0.023)	0.057** (0.023)	0.057** (0.023)
human capital	0.051* (0.025)	0.053** (0.025)	0.052* (0.025)	0.051* (0.026)
innovation (patents per inhabitant)	-0.001 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.009)
pop city	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
share pop city	0.002 (0.008)	0.002 (0.008)	0.002 (0.008)	0.002 (0.009)
capital city	0.016*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.004)
Constant	0.007 (0.009)	0.008 (0.010)	0.008 (0.010)	0.009 (0.011)
Observations	186	186	186	186
R-squared	0.253	0.255	0.253	0.255

Notes: Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses. Statistical significance as follows:

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

As for the control variables, they have the expected signs and significance, showing the positive role of human capital and capital city functions in the urban growth and a convergence dynamic at play, represented by the negative coefficient of *per capita* GDP.

Overall, local creativity is proved to be an important determinant of urban growth. However, we wonder if a more open-minded environment can be more efficient in making the most of some intangible cultural elements, such as cultural participation. Therefore, each urban cultural and cosmopolitan pattern is subsequently analysed in its synergy with urban cultural participation. Specifications 2a, 2b and 2c of Table 2 present the results obtained from models augmented with the interactions with each pattern (except for *non-creative localism*, which remains the reference category) and cultural participation. Although no interacted term is statistically significant, the marginal effects computed on the *creative localism* and on the *creative cosmopolitanism* patterns are still positive and significant.

Moreover, we further explore the relationship of interest through the marginal effects for increasing values of cultural participation. The results of this additional analysis are graphically reported in Figure 3, where the marginal effects of the *creative localism* pattern (panel a) and of the *creative cosmopolitanism* pattern (panel b) are displayed. As can be seen from the Figure, while in the case of *creative localism* the trend is basically flat and not statistically significant, in the case of *creative cosmopolitanism* marginal effects increase for increasing values of cultural participation, and this is statistically significant, except for very low values of cultural participation. This is quite intuitive, since in fact a low level of cultural participation is not expected to activate the socialization and networking mechanisms we believe at the core of its beneficial role.

Therefore, thanks to their peculiar context, attributes characterized by creativity, innovation, open-mindedness and social cohesion, cultural cities that are simultaneously creative and cosmopolitan are also more efficient than the

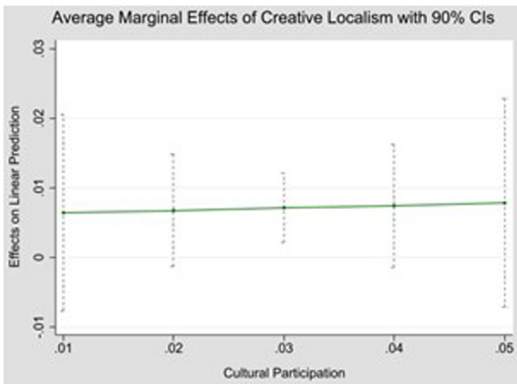
**TABLE 3** Creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns and regional economic growth

	(1)	(2a)	(2b)	(2c)
non-creative cosmopolitanism	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)
creative localism	0.004* (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.001 (0.010)	0.004* (0.002)
creative cosmopolitanism	0.004* (0.002)	0.005* (0.002)	0.005* (0.002)	-0.004 (0.004)
non-creative cosmopolitanism*cultural participation		0.068 (0.172)		
creative localism*cultural participation			0.125 (0.363)	
creative cosmopolitanism*cultural participation				0.284** (0.128)
cultural participation		-0.073 (0.136)	-0.077 (0.113)	-0.147 (0.124)
gdp per capita	-0.363 (0.304)	-0.330 (0.301)	-0.335 (0.294)	-0.340 (0.300)
share emp agriculture	0.059* (0.030)	0.059* (0.030)	0.058* (0.029)	0.056* (0.031)
share emp industry	0.084*** (0.027)	0.084*** (0.027)	0.084*** (0.027)	0.086*** (0.027)
human capital	0.066** (0.029)	0.067** (0.029)	0.066** (0.028)	0.067** (0.029)
innovation (patents per inhabitant)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
pop city	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)
share pop city	0.005 (0.014)	0.004 (0.013)	0.005 (0.012)	0.005 (0.013)
capital city	0.014*** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.004)
Constant	-0.005 (0.015)	-0.003 (0.016)	-0.003 (0.015)	-0.002 (0.016)
Observations	186	186	186	186
R-squared	0.340	0.341	0.342	0.349

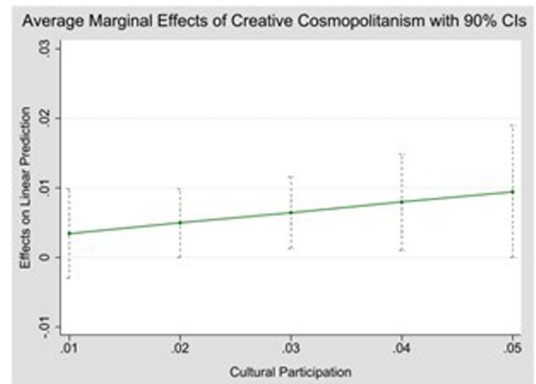
Notes: Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses. Statistical significance as follows:

***p < 0.01, **p < 0.05, *p < 0.1.

(a) Creative Localism



(b) Creative Cosmopolitanism

**FIGURE 3** Marginal effects for increasing values of cultural participation

others in exploiting their cultural participation. More interestingly, this means that cosmopolitanism is the territorial feature that triggers the local capacity to efficiently use cultural participation.

After checking the different role of the urban creative and cosmopolitan patterns in urban growth and in making use of their cultural participation, we move to the second empirical step, that is, the assessment of potential pulling



effects from the cultural cities to the economic development of the whole region where they are located. Thus, the empirical analysis is modified and performed at NUTS 2 level (except the creative and cosmopolitan patterns and cultural participation that are still measured at the urban-NUTS 3 level). The results are displayed in Table 3.

As apparent from column (1) in Table 3, the previous results are corroborated and reinforced, since cultural cities characterized by a creative localistic, or a creative cosmopolitan environment do in fact drive the growth of their regions. In this sense, these patterns favour the urban economic growth, which also pulls the whole regional economic performance.

When the interplay between different urban creative and cosmopolitan patterns and cultural participation is considered (columns (2a)–(2c) in Table 3), the marginal effects computed on the creative localism and the creative cosmopolitanism patterns are again positive and statistically significant. Moreover, consistently with the previous results, it is only in the case of *creative cosmopolitanism* that the interaction with cultural participation is associated with a positive and statistically significant coefficient.

Non-city residents of the region could in fact enjoy the cultural opportunities offered by the city, taking back all advantages in terms of individual and collective psychological and physical well-being, and spreading their beneficial effects to a wider area. This mechanism seems to be enhanced by an inclusive urban attitude that in fact allows all the benefits associated with cultural participation to be effectively transmitted.

The synergic effect of a simultaneously creative and cosmopolitan urban context and cultural participation on regional development is progressively stronger as cultural participation increases. In fact, through the activation of cultural sights and venues with public's engagement several culture-related activities are stimulated (e.g., events, advertising, tourism) that in turn generate positive and broad economic effects. Furthermore, connections between cultural participation and social cohesion or sense of belonging might reflect costs reduction in terms of conflicts resolution and lower levels of crime. Cultural participation can be as well considered as an alternative form of education generating human capital improvement both through new subjects learning and enhanced transferrable self-expressions skills. Creative cosmopolitan contexts seem to be the only ones able to favour the diffusion of these positive economic consequences to the whole region, valorizing cultural participation more efficiently than others (i.e., non-creative localism, non-creative cosmopolitanism, and creative localism).

6 | DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Starting from a genuinely territorial perspective, this work aimed at considering jointly two important local characteristics that have been shown to be relevant in explaining the interesting relationship between culture and economic development: local creativity and cosmopolitan identity. According to an authentically territorial point of view, in fact, some specific local environments may be more conducive to a positive economic performance and may be differently efficient in profiting from cultural activities.

In the specific case of the local features the present paper focused on, the best unit of analysis seemed to be cultural cities, since urban agglomerations have been widely recognized as the most favourable hubs for the generation and development of original ideas, tolerance, and engagement in cultural life, as well as being engines of regional development. We believe these mechanisms are particularly at play in the specific case of cultural cities.

Following this type of reasoning, based on the relative combination in terms of local creativity and cosmopolitan identity at the urban level, the work conceptually identified four different patterns of creative and cosmopolitan cultural cities. Thanks to a suitable JRC database on cultural cities, the logic presented was operationally applied, associating each city to a specific pattern. Subsequently, the role of each pattern in favouring the pulling effect of each cultural city towards its economy and the economy of the whole region was empirically tested. The different capacity of the four creative and cosmopolitan urban patterns to make the most from cultural participation and to effectively use it as a transmission channel of positive effects was also quantitatively investigated.



The results are quite interesting in that an urban creative environment is confirmed to be an important catalyser for urban development. In addition, favourable pulling mechanisms are detectable from the urban to the regional level. Moreover, creative and cosmopolitan cultural cities are the best in capitalizing on their cultural participation to an extent such that the effects may be visible at the level of the region as a whole. This means that a creative local fabric needs to be complemented by cosmopolitan characteristics of tolerance and open-mindedness to be able to efficiently use its cultural participation.

Overall, our outcomes seem to point at the importance of a creative environment in favouring growth and pulling effects from the urban area to the economic development at a wider geographical scope. In this sense, promoting the development of creative industries, encouraging creative occupations, and supporting the unfolding of new ideas are further corroborated as potentially fruitful means to enhance local economic growth.

However, a fertile creative environment can be even more effective if accompanied by a cosmopolitan attitude characterized by openness, tolerance, and trust. This means that a more open-minded context is needed to suitably capitalize on cultural activities, especially considering the social and psychological importance of the cultural engagement of citizens. Cultural participation, in fact, is known to increase health and welfare of communities as well as individual and collective well-being. Participating to arts and culture favours territorial, social, and individual resilience, stimulates skills creation, and encourages prosocial behavioural shifts.

Of course, an overall cosmopolitan mindset seems to be desirable in order to smooth the mechanisms highlighted within the present work. Nevertheless, this is clearly a difficult process to pursue and guide since it is related with individual and collective characteristics that need a long-time perspective to be modelled. Although not much is available at the moment in terms of data, this could be an interesting issue to be further explored in subsequent research works in order to shed additional light on the important intangible local conditions that enhance the beneficial effects of cultural participation on territorial development.

Finally, an additional way forward in this field of research could be the extension of this type of analysis also to “non-cultural” cities, in order to deepen the understanding on the generalizability of our results. This, of course, will be feasible only if suitable data become available.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors are obliged to two anonymous referees for useful and constructive comments and suggestions.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Participation in cultural activities is, however, a fundamental and essential aspect of vibrancy and vitality of local cultural lives and it has also been recognized as linked with emotional and physical health as well as psycho-physic well-being (Crociana, Agovino, & Sacco, 2014; Evans, 2009; European Union, 2012; Grossi, Sacco, Tavano Blessi, & Cerutti, 2011; Konlaan, Bygren, & Johansson, 2000; UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012) and virtuous behaviours (e.g., Quaglione, Cassetta, Crociata, & Sarra, 2017). In addition, cultural participation is a form of human capital accumulation, social regeneration, networking, and cohesion (Everingham, 2003).
- ² See, for instance, European Commission (2017); Landry and Bianchini (1995); Marlet and van Woerkens (2007); McGranahan and Wojan (2007); Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick (2008); De Miguel-Molina, Hervas-Oliver, Boix, and de Miguel-Molina (2012); Boix, de Miguel, and Hervas (2013); Marrocu and Paci (2012, 2013); Boix-Domenech and Soler-Marco (2017).
- ³ Switzerland is however excluded from the subsequent empirical analyses because of the unavailability of corresponding regional data for the other control variables included in the models.
- ⁴ This method for the measurement of creativity can be related to the “creative industries approach”, which is based on the identification of so-called creative industries, whose employment and/or value added is subsequently used to assess the level of creativity of a given area.



- ⁵ There are two exceptions. The first is human capital, since updated data at NUTS3 level are not available. Therefore, 2001 NUTS3 level data (available through the Eurostat Census Hub) are used. As a robustness check, NUTS2 level data for the 2012–2014 period (as the other control variables) were also tested, and the results do not change substantially. The second exception is related to patents data, that are computed as a 2010–2012 average, due to the lack of more recent data through Eurostat.
- ⁶ In some cases, there is more than one Cultural and Creative City (CCC) in the same NUTS2 region. As a robustness check, all the regressions presented below were also run randomly keeping only one CCC for each of the NUTS2 regions for which the case occurs. The results do not change.

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How to cite this article: Cerisola, S., & Panzera, E. (2022). Cultural cities, urban economic growth, and regional development: The role of creativity and cosmopolitan identity. *Papers in Regional Science*, 101(2), 285–302. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pirs.12654>



Resumen. El patrimonio cultural ha sido reconocido como fundamental para el desarrollo local. En particular, algunos trabajos recientes han destacado el papel de los sofisticados canales de transmisión de esta relación, como son la creatividad local y la identidad cosmopolita. Siguiendo una perspectiva territorial, el presente estudio busca combinar los dos enfoques, en la creencia de que podría haber una interacción sinérgica entre la creatividad y la identidad cosmopolita, que refuerza sus efectos individuales. En consecuencia, se propone una taxonomía conceptual y operativa original que caracteriza a las ciudades culturales. Se evalúa la contribución de los diferentes modelos identificados al crecimiento urbano y regional, así como su capacidad para valorar la participación cultural.

抄録: 文化遺産は地域の発展に重要であるものと認識されてきた。特に最近の研究では、この関係、すなわち地域の創造性と国際的アイデンティティの洗練された伝達経路の役割が強調されている。地域的観点から、本研究は、創造性と国際的アイデンティティに相乗的相互作用があり、それぞれの効果を強化することができる信じて、2つの方法を組み合わせることを目的とする。そこで、文化都市を特徴づける概念のおよび操作的な独自の分類法を提案する。特定された異なるパターンの、都市と地域の成長に対する寄与と、文化的参加の価値を決定する能力を評価する。