Wellington as a ‘Creative City’: After Florida - and before

Michael Volkerling
Centre for Creative Industries, Wellington Institute of Technology

Keywords Creative city, Florida, Wellington, city planning, urban renewal policy, regional development

Abstract For Richard Florida, the ‘creative city’ is characterised by 'lots of high-tech industry' (Florida, 2002: 275), located in an urban centre ‘whose rebirth has been fuelled by a combination of creativity and lifestyle amenities’ (Florida, 2002: 285). Following a visit to Wellington, New Zealand, in 2003, Florida suggested that these factors existed in sufficient concentration to provide a foundation for its continuing development as a ‘creative city’. In reaching this judgment, Florida made little attempt to account for the origin of the qualities of Wellington's current urban culture. This paper therefore examines Florida's account of Wellington's status as a ‘creative city’ and analyses the development of its cultural characteristics through the interaction of the intended and unintended consequences of urban policy over time.

Biography Michael Volkerling teaches at the Wellington Institute of Technology and is a Teaching Associate in Museum and Heritage Studies at Victoria University. Michael has previously held positions as Director of the Centre for Creative Industries at Wellington Institute of Technology; Director of the Leisure and Heritage Studies Programme at Victoria University; Acting Chief Executive of the Museum of New Zealand; Executive Director of the National Art Gallery and Museum; and Director of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council. His work on cultural policy has been widely recognised internationally.

Florida and the Rise of the Creative Class

The theories of Richard Florida concerning the rise of the creative class (Florida 2002) have exerted a powerful influence over those civic governing bodies in North America and elsewhere that are concerned to find new means of maximising the economic development possibilities of their cities and regions. Briefly stated, Florida’s argument asserts that the future economic prosperity of cities will depend on their ability to attract and retain ‘the creative class’ - those who ‘add economic value through their creativity’ (Florida 2002: 68). Of particular value are those individuals that comprise the ‘super creative core’ who may be found in such occupations as computing, mathematics, architecture, engineering, life, physical and social sciences, education, training, libraries, art, design, entertainment, sports and media. (Florida 2002: 328).

These individuals occupy high-end, high added value positions. Occupational Employment Statistics for the US in 1999 showed the average salary of a creative class worker to be considerably higher than that of any other occupational group 1. The creative class also accounts for a significant and growing proportion of the US population. Over the past 50 years the proportion of US workers employed within creative class occupations has increased threefold, and those within the super creative core have increased by almost as much. Creative class occupations accounted for 30% of the total employment in 1999.
Florida suggests a number of factors are important in attracting the creative class to any location. These include:

- a variety of lifestyle amenities close at hand, including a thriving, street-level art, music and technology scene and outdoor recreational opportunities (Florida 2002: 224, 232);
- thick labour markets offering plentiful job opportunities (Florida 2002: 224);
- opportunities for social interaction supported by plenty of venues like coffee shops, bookstores and cafes (Florida 2002: 225);
- a diverse population of different ethnic and racial groups, ages and sexual orientations (Florida 2002: 226);
- the existence of creative class peers (Florida 2002: 229, 230);
- tolerance to all types of people and ideas (Florida 2002: 232);
- unique offerings that are not accessible in other locations, such as in the architecture, music scene or cultural qualities of the place (Florida 2002: 228); and,
- an attractive natural and built environment (Florida 2002: 232).

Florida has devised a series of indices to assess the readiness of cities to host the Creative Class. These include Talent, Technology and Tolerance indices and the various sub-indices illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: List of Indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Sub-indices</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talent</td>
<td>Creative Class</td>
<td>Employed in creative occupations as percentage of total employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human Capital</td>
<td>Percentage of population 25-64 with a bachelor degree or above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scientific Talent</td>
<td>Number of researchers in scientific disciplines per thousand workforce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Innovation Index</td>
<td>Patents applications to the US Patent Office per million population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R&amp;D Index</td>
<td>R&amp;D expenditure as percentage of GDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>Attitudes Index</td>
<td>Percentage of population that express tolerant attitudes toward minorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values Index</td>
<td>Degree to which a country is based on traditional values versus more rational/secular values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self Expression Index</td>
<td>Degree to which a country recognizes and accepts self expression values</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table compiled by the author from Florida (2002).
To guarantee their future economic success, Florida believes that cities need to achieve a demographic profile consistent with this framework.

Richard Florida visited Wellington, New Zealand in early 2003 and he and local officials ran the ruler over the city to determine how it rated against these indices. On the talent index, Wellington could claim 24% of its population with tertiary qualifications against 8% for the country as a whole. A total of 34% of the population were also employed in the creative workforce – more than the US national average. The Tolerance criterion was satisfied by surveys indicating 76% of Wellingtonians believed that new immigrants made a positive contribution to the city (much higher again than national averages).

The Technology Index was more difficult to satisfy, but Florida did encounter one industry whose achievements demonstrated Wellington’s potential to attract the ‘creative class’. He visited Peter Jackson, director of The Lord of the Rings trilogy, at what he subsequently described as ‘perhaps the world’s most sophisticated filmmaking complex’ (Florida 2004(a): npn). He reported that Jackson realized that with the allure of the Rings trilogy, he could attract a diversely creative array of talent from all over the world to New Zealand; the best cinematographers, costume designers, sound technicians, computer graphic artists, model builders, editors, and animators.

*When I visited, I met dozens of Americans from places like Berkeley and MIT working alongside talented filmmakers from Europe and Asia, the Americans asserting that they were ready to relinquish their citizenship. Many had begun the process of establishing residency in New Zealand. Think about this. In the industry most symbolic of America’s international economic and cultural might, film, the greatest single project in recent cinematic history was internationally funded and crafted by the best filmmakers from around the world, but not in Hollywood.*

(Florida 2004(b): npn)

Florida concluded that Wellington was ‘ahead of the curve’ in its thinking about the creative city concept’ (Prendergast and Poole 2003: 5).

This verdict was eagerly received by Wellington’s Mayor and Chief Executive. An analysis of Wellington’s economy undertaken three years earlier (Berl 2000) had revealed that the city had generated only modest employment growth (it ranked seventh out of the 28 New Zealand cities surveyed); low population growth (ninth from 28); and very low growth in GDP (twenty-first out of twenty-eight).

They subsequently embarked on a study tour of 12 cities in the United States, selected in conjunction with Florida, to see what Wellington could learn from their ‘wins’ and ‘mistakes’ (Prendergast and Poole 2003: 5). This experience confirmed that Mayor’s announced opinion that:

*Wellington’s future lies in attracting and retaining the “Creative Class” of scientists, artists, engineers and technology experts, who will lead business in the 21st century,*

(Prendergast 2002);

And that,

*Under the banner Creative Wellington- Innovation Capital…the Wellington City Council agreed that the city’s vision would be based around themes of innovation and creativity- a strategic direction aimed at building on the city’s economic performance by attracting and retaining creative people.*

(WCC 2003)

In the limited time since this policy was launched, some data have become available (Statistics New Zealand 2006), that supports these contentions. First, official statistics
have revealed that in 2005, the New Zealand film industry earned $2.6 billion in overseas revenue. Of this, the feature films and short films sub-sector was the largest contributor to gross revenue, with $503 million for the 2005 financial year. This represented 53% of total screen production revenue. In this same year, 42% of New Zealand film businesses used Wellington as a location for their productions. This is in part a reflection of the industry significance of the sophisticated new production and post-production facilities whose development Peter Jackson has catalysed.

Second, focus group research has been undertaken to establish the extent to which young graduates whose academic profile fits Florida's definition of the 'super-creative core,' are attracted to particular locations to live and work (Preston 2004). Consistent with Florida’s theories they ranked highly lifestyle and leisure opportunities, diverse culture, access to scenery and nature, visual appeal and employment opportunities. Travel opportunities, safety, proximity to work, access to peer groups and moderate density and size were additional factors. Wellington exhibits all these factors. On the face of it, then, Wellington’s adoption of Florida’s theories appears to be an example of successful policy diffusion: the right policy framework borrowed at the right time.

Any way of naming is a way of claiming. And Florida's subsequent claims have been expansive. He cites Peter Jackson as evidence that the 'paradigmbusting creative industries could single-handedly change the ways cities flourish and drive dynamic, widespread economic change' (my emphasis) (Florida 2004: npn). This rather overstates the case. It also too readily creates the impression that Florida's theories have been a causative factor in determining the present character and future prospects of the city. Such an impression cannot be sustained when a wider view is taken of Wellington's history and urban development. Florida's theories have done little other than to redescribe characteristics of the city that were already apparent and are grounded in historical circumstances.

To take one obvious example, the decision to make Wellington New Zealand's capital which was taken in 1864 was a determining factor in moulding its cultural character. The capital became the home of the country's national institutions: the National Art Gallery and Museum, the National Library, National Archives, the Royal New Zealand Ballet, the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, the National School of Dance and Drama, and, until the 1980s the headquarters of state radio and television. These institutions created a context for the development of other cultural facilities such as the country's first professional theatres in the 1960s.

As the capital, the city also required an educated, worldly and privileged elite to staff its policy departments and ministries. Thus Wellington city can still claim the electorate with the most highly educated and affluent voters in the country despite the fact that most of New Zealand’s private wealth is concentrated elsewhere.

The policy processes which led to these facilities and resources being concentrated in a small city of 250,000 inhabitants at the bottom of the South Pacific, cannot therefore be accounted for by Florida’s policy model. A more sophisticated analysis of policy types and influences is required to account for these developments.

A New Classification of Policy Types

In order to develop such an account, I wish to employ a set of terms (Bouchard and Carroll 2003) that help to distinguish purposive policy-making from more random and uncontrolled processes. Firmly on the purposive side of the divide are policies that exhibit high degrees of complexity and visibility. The extent of policy complexity determines ‘the degree of expert knowledge required in the policy area’ (Bouchard and Carroll 2003:5). A high professional involvement is usually combined with significant levels of policy discretion and a low incidence of unintended consequences. Visibility here refers to ‘the degree to which a policy area affects public awareness or attracts attention’ (Bouchard and Carroll 2003: 16). Because of their essential transparency,
such policies have a low incidence of unintended consequences and are subject to strict controls in order to ensure that the visible outcomes are consistent with public expectations (Bouchard and Carroll, 2003: 16).

On the other side of the divide are policies that are characterised by high compression and extensive external coupling. The term compression defines ‘the length of time between policy action and policy impact’. With policies characterised by high compression ‘it may take many years for the impact of a policy to be registered’ and there will be a significant incidence of ‘unintended consequences’ (Bouchard and Carroll 2003: 8). External coupling refers to ‘the degree of interaction between the policy area itself and other policy areas’ (Bouchard and Carroll 2003: 9). Policy areas with high levels of external coupling that impact on many other fields, may also have ‘high levels of unintended consequences’ (Bouchard and Carroll 2003: 9).

My purpose in using this typology is to construct an analysis which suggests that the positive cultural outcomes that have been registered in Wellington are not the outcome of some long-term rational planning process. Rather they represent the outcome of the interaction between the unintended consequences of early policymaking; the purposive public sector reforms of the 1980s; and a combination of recent civic activism and serendipity.

The Foundation of the City

Wellington, New Zealand, was established in 1839 according to the theory of systematic colonisation developed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield of the New Zealand Company. Wakefield’s main contention was that a successful settlement depended on attracting people of sufficient means to be able to purchase their own land and then finance the immigration of labourers and domestic servants in equal numbers (Temple 2003).

Wakefield’s theories of colonisation were developed in Newgate prison where he was incarcerated for three years for abducting an heiress. He may also have read at this time the town planning theories of John Buckingham Silk which were later to influence Ebenezer Howard’s theory of the garden city (Hall and Ward 1998: 15). Whatever the influence, all of Wakefield’s early settlements feature, in accordance with Silk’s precepts, a zone of green space for public use that encircles the central city area.

Land for the settlement was purchased from local Maori leaders Te Wharepouri and Te Puni in 1839 for a collection of axes, blankets and umbrellas. The sale proceeded in the knowledge that Te Puni did not have the authority to sell much of the prime land. As a consequence, New Zealand Company surveyors worked armed with swords and pistols and Maori showed their opposition by pulling out survey pegs by night (Miller 1958).

In order to attract purchasers in Britain, the New Zealand Company represented Wellington as an area of easy pastoral land. Company planners in London therefore applied a grid style town plan designed in Britain, parcelling up the land in one-acre blocks to be sold to immigrants and absentee speculators. They also set aside the Town Belt, a total of 1061 acres, one rood and two perches as a public recreation resource ground for Wellington residents.

When the colonial planners’ grid pattern was transposed onto Wellington’s rugged landscape, the Town Belt was mapped onto the first ring of hills that encircle the harbour (Byrne 2001). This has had a lasting effect on Wellington’s urban form. Unusually within New Zealand, the CBD had to develop on the narrow strip of land between these hills and the harbour edge. This has led to a density of urban land use unusual among New Zealand cities 2.

The Town Belt has not been preserved wholly intact: various tracts were transferred to
public institutions (the university and the hospital, for example) and the more attractive of these areas have since been subdivided and sold off as up-market executive subdivisions. The areas that have remained are those not suitable for commercial or residential purposes and their ownership has been vested in the Wellington City Council. Recently they have provided the setting for a number of the action scenes in *Lord of the Rings*.

The company also set aside the so-called ‘Wellington tenths’ - one tenth of the area purchased – which was intended as a ‘true purchase consideration’ for the benefit of Te Wharepouri and Te Puni. The company's directors believed that if these ‘chiefs’ could be maintained in their natural dignity and relative superiority and be given a trust-estate (described by Wakefield as analogous to a widower’s estate in England), then they might be able to protect and help assimilate their own kin.

A century later about 1,280 acres of the ‘tenths’ land were vested in Maori beneficiaries, about 500 acres were sold (and the proceeds devoted to Maori purposes), and 227 acres remained held by the Maori Trustee including 36 acres in the southern suburb of Newtown. After a lengthy period of legal dispute, the 1896 Native Reserves Act Amendment Act was passed which empowered the Public Trustee to enter into perpetually renewable leases of these lands, at 4% of the unimproved land value, with 21-year review periods. One of these leases was taken up by the Athletic Park Company which was encouraged by the Wellington City Council Empowering Act 1908, which enabled the Council, if necessary, to take the land 'for the purposes of a sports-ground'. As a consequence, Athletic Park opened in 1896 and became the headquarters of New Zealand’s national game, Rugby Union.

Athletic Park staged its first international that year - New Zealand versus Queensland. This game is remembered for two reasons - a New Zealand victory and the weather. The *Evening Post*’s match report commented on ‘a heavy northerly bringing sheets of rain which at times completely obscured the players’. This became a familiar experience over the following century (Swan and Jackson 1955).

These early decisions to set aside the Wellington tenths and the Town Belt are examples of *externally coupled* decisions that exhibit *high compression*. Both were decisions consciously made for the benefit of people as yet unborn over whose behaviour the decision makers were unable to exert policy control. The unintended consequences of these decisions are extensive: the effective confiscation of lands intended to sustain the indigenous people to establish a major sports ground; the transfer of recreation reserve land to private ownership; and the physical density of building within the CBD, for example. As we will shortly see, a continuing chain of unforeseen consequences extends into the present. To appreciate the influences that produced these unforeseen consequences, it is necessary to understand the processes of change initiated by the Fourth Labour government that came to power in 1985.

**The Fourth Labour Government**

The negative effect on the New Zealand economy of the oil shocks of the early 1970s and the subsequent period of stagflation discredited the effectiveness of Keynesian economic management which had been pursued by successive governments since the 1930s. The Labour government which came to power in 1985 instead embarked on a programme of economic rationalisation based on,

...the *recipe of radical market liberalization and privatization* – combining a belief in extreme fiscal conservatism, in capital markets as efficient suppliers of capital, in demand management entirely by the finance ministry or central bank, and in the private sector as inherently more efficient, and more effective in supplying most goods and services that the public sector.

(Wade 2001: 1)
This ideology demanded a reduction of the extent of state intervention in the economy. It was argued that the state must withdraw from the economic process to allow public good to be created by private interest through the normal operations of the market. State assets were therefore commercialised or sold – including New Zealand’s national airline, its passenger and rail freight system, its ports and airports.

Competition with former state-owned monopoly services was also encouraged through extensive deregulation. This in turn led to the upgrading of neglected infrastructure as competing enterprises demanded more comfortable and efficient facilities for their passengers than the previous state monopolies had provided.

But this was not a government consisting solely of New Right reformers. They were also consumed by other, perhaps contradictory visions. They were strongly influenced by green agendas. Their 1991 Resource Management Act was apparently the first statute in the Western world to bring together in a single instrument all the laws governing land, air and water resources and concentrating on the environmental effects of human activities and subjecting their exploitation to the test of sustainability.

They were also active in race relations, initiating a process of historical inquiry and review of settler and military land confiscations and a programme of compensatory asset transfers to Maori. They also took action to place under direct Maori control lands and assets held in trust for them, but administered separately. This included the remaining Wellington tenths lands including the site of Athletic Park.

They were also consumed by cultural nationalism. They believed that they were, …presiding over an era of emerging national self-consciousness. Obviously our sense of identity as New Zealanders in the Pacific/Asian region is served by greater understanding and development of our own national culture. PDT 1985: 7)

They conceived of developing an iconic new ‘Pacific Cultural Centre’ which was intended to redefine New Zealand’s identity as a Pacific nation. It would be a ‘vigorous national symbol’ (PDT 1985: 8); ‘an expression of New Zealand as a distinctive Pacific culture’ (PDT 1985: 8); an exemplification of ‘a twenty-first century nation in which cultural diversity is able to flourish’ (PDT 1985: 7). A new site for this institution was found on the Wellington waterfront and detailed planning began in 1988.

All these fields of central government policy were characterised by complexity and visibility. They depended for their implementation on expert knowledge demanding a high professional involvement and policy discretion and a low incidence of unintended consequences. They all engendered significant public awareness and were implemented under accountability regimes that ensured their visible outcomes were achieved. However, their full impact was to be registered in interaction with the unintended consequences of the previous policy measures I have described and against a background of activist local body politics.

Wellington’s Activist Mayors

Since the 1990s and into the early years of this century, Wellington has had a series of activist mayors. The first of these, Fran Wilde, had served as a Cabinet Minister in the Labour government of the 1980s before winning the Wellington mayoralty in 1992. As mayor, as the Council’s own account asserts, she

…began the process…that saw the Capital emerge from its reputation as a sleepy town of public servants to become the vibrant city of today. (WCC 2001: nnp)

She initiated the city’s first strategic plan, set up the fibre optic network that now runs
through the central city and led a feel-good internal marketing programme epitomised by the enduring brand ‘Absolutely Positively Wellington’.

More significantly, she oversaw the development of Wellington’s new District Plan. This plan, which regulates land use and development within the city’s territorial boundaries, was the first required to meet the standard of sustainability set out in the newly enacted Resource Management Act 1991. Its principal feature was the rezoning of peripheral land on the suburban fringes of the city from suburban to rural and, in emulation of Wakefield’s planners, the establishment an Outer Town Belt. These sustainable zones, the plan stated, were intended to ‘effectively establish clean edges to the City’; safeguard ‘important landscape values for the City as a whole’; and ensure ‘the general containment of the City’ (WCC 2001).

This resulting limitation of suburban sprawl reinforced the concentration of people and resources within the area of land between the Town Belt and the harbour edge. New population growth has had to be accommodated through the reuse of existing built infrastructure in the central city through the extensive conversion of warehouse and commercial buildings into apartments. Meanwhile, Wellington now has the greatest proportion of open space land per capita of any New Zealand city at 17.3 ha for every 1000 persons.

Wilde was succeeded as Wellington’s mayor in 1995 by Mark Blumsky, a former shoe retailer who described himself as ‘a salesman for the city’. He determined to re-image the city and upgrade and market its attractions, in part for the benefit of the retail sector which had supported his candidacy; and in part to establish the city as a visitor destination for domestic and international travellers with an interest in lifestyle consumption. To this end he conducted a search for appropriate development models. He was much influenced by the downtown development strategies adopted by North American cities such as Washington DC and Baltimore. These emphasised the importance of public/private development partnerships, and the creation of safe, clean, well signposted city quarters with a leafy ‘European’ street culture and a concentration of cafes, restaurants, comparison and boutique retailers, entertainment and cultural attractions.

Blumsky’s second policy borrowing was from Melbourne, Australia. Since the 1990s, Melbourne has actively supported the development of infrastructure, sponsorship and marketing for major events. It now hosts over 1000 events annually. Blumsky followed this model, managing his event strategy initially through a semi-autonomous Trust that also managed the city’s tourism marketing and was supported jointly by the Council and by a special levy imposed on CBD retailers. By the end of Blumsky’s second term in 2001, Wellington had become New Zealand’s third most popular visitor destination with significantly increased retail spend, the highest hotel occupancy rates in the country and the highest yield tourists.

Its retail and tourism sectors were growing more rapidly than the local economy as a whole as the following chart in Figure 1 shows (TW 2001: 6).

![Figure 1](image-url)
The success factors that underpinned this performance arose from a combination of the policy directions of the historic and recent past that I have already described.

Containment: The ‘containment of the city’ enforced by the establishment of the inner and outer Town Belts and the rezoning of previously suburban land sparked a trend in the 1990s to inner city living that has created Wellington’s lively, retail, entertainment and café scene and inaugurated a night-time economy based on leisure consumption. This has helped to create the ‘thriving, street-level art, music and technology scene’ that was prominently featured in the marketing of Wellington as a vistor destination and which also caters for the requirements of Florida’s ‘creative class’. These green zones also extended available ‘outdoor recreational opportunities’.

New Right Reforms: The decade of privatisation and deregulation initiated by the Fourth Labour government freed up inner city land for redevelopment – the port and the railyards for example. Deregulation led to the upgrading of neglected infrastructure. Wellington’s International airport, for example, had been accommodated for 70 years in a 1930s converted hangar. This was replaced in 1999 by a $116 million terminal development suitable for servicing the regional tourism hub that Blumsky was committed to establishing.

Cultural Nationalism: The tangible outcome of the Fourth Labour government’s cultural nationalism was the opening in 1998 of the new Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa established on vacant port land at the southern end of a large-scale development of Wellington’s old port as a leisure and entertainment zone. Visitor numbers in its first year of operation exceeded three million compared with projections of 750,000.

Race Relations: Reconciliation policies led, among other things, to the empowerment of the Wellington Tenths Trust. At the expiry of the final 21-year term, the Tenths Trust declined to renew the lease for Athletic Park and reclaimed the land for their own use. The advent of professional rugby after 1996 also raised expectations about the facilities appropriate for players and spectators for the new era. Fortuitously, surplus land in the central city railyards became available for redevelopment as the American-based owners of the former state rail network downsized passenger and freight services.

As a result of these complex factors, a new colosseum-style stadium was developed in the central city, anchoring the northern end of the harbourfront development. It has proved a popular venue for rugby, cricket and entertainment events and has been praised by architectural critics as ‘one of the most cost effective and visually attractive international standard stadiums in the region’.

Like a shimmering disc on Wellington’s dramatic hill-backed caldera waterfront, the Westpac Trust Stadium adds a powerful visual experience to the New Zealand capital’s distinctive physicality and increasing urban style. Bold in its form and restrained in its materials, the stadium’s single tier continuous seating bowl is designed to produce a sense of atmosphere and enclosure, yet provide uncompromised views for spectators…. The envelope of the building … gives interest and rhythm to the large external form which is now a commanding sculptural landmark on the western edge of the central business district and government precinct.

(Architecture Australia 2000)

The city that Kerry Prendergast inherited as Mayor in 2002 and that Richard Florida subsequently endorsed in 2003 has therefore developed from a variety of diverse elements, some deliberately constructed, others the results of unintended consequences. Certainly its current character cannot be explained away as the outcome of the ‘creative class’ attractors defined by Florida’s ‘Creative Cities’ indices.

And there have also been elements of serendipity involved. Who could have predicted that an obscure and dishevelled proof-reader on Wellington’s evening newspaper could
have developed from a director of splatter comedies featuring exploding sheep to mastermind the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy which has been awarded 27 Oscars and set new box office and attendance records internationally? It is an improbable study in professional development.  

But Jackson is not the only game in town. Civic agencies have worked over the past five years to support the development of industry clusters in design, special effects, earthquake engineering and fashion (Rendle 2002: 4). Development of the creative industries continues to be a central strategic focus for Wellington civic agencies (WREDA 2002: 2 and WCC 2001: 15). Tertiary institutions are also gearing their training and research programmes to the needs of these industries. And it may be that the long-term effects of these policies will prove more durable than Florida’s prescriptions.

---

### Footnotes and References


Clemenger, 2000, ‘Wellington: A City Looking for a Future’, presentation to the City Council, April


Florida, Richard. 2004(b), ‘Europe in the Creative Age’, February 2004


David Hamer, ‘Wellington on the Urban Frontier’, David Hamer and Roberta Nicholls (eds), *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914*


Prendergast Kerry and Poole, Garry. 2003, ‘Report on a Study Tour to the U.S., Report to the WCC Arts and Economy Committee’, September
Notes

1 The data in detail are as follows:

Table 1: Average Annual Salary for Occupational Sectors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Group</th>
<th>Average Annual Salary ($US)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creative Class</td>
<td>48,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>27,799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Class</td>
<td>22,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture Class</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2 The settlement grew rapidly. A total of 1079 settlers came in 1839 on 9 ships. They were carefully selected by the Company as a small cross section of the English class structure - mostly farm and general labourers, building tradesmen, dress makers, and domestic servants. No one living on charity was allowed and everyone had to pass a medical. An age limit of 30 years applied. Married couples were preferred. Politically active dissidents were not accepted.

3 In 1983, Peter Jackson decided to make a self-funded 10-minute film originally called Roast Of The Day. Four years later it had morphed into a full-length comedy accurately renamed Bad Taste. The New Zealand Film Commission took the film to the Cannes Film Festival where, to their surprise, it was sold to 30 countries. Jackson made two further films in the same genre and established a cult following in a number of English speaking markets. In 1994 his drama Heavenly Creatures adapted the real-life story of two teenage matricides which earned Peter and his wife Fran Walsh an Oscar nomination for Best Screenplay (they lost to Pulp Fiction). This and a subsequent feature The Frighteners, created sufficient faith in his abilities for New Line Cinema to invest in a trilogy of films based on J.R.R. Tolkien’s Lord Of The Rings. At Jackson’s insistence, it was agreed that the trilogy would be made in New Zealand with Jackson’s Wellington studio as its production base. These facilities have since been expanded through the addition of a Council funded sound studio which was the production base.