

Innovation Systems Research Network
Case study report: Halifax Regional Municipality
Summary overview: integrative paper

Draft: November 2009

Jill L Grant
Dalhousie University¹

The Social Dynamics of Economic Performance in Halifax

Abstract

This paper provides an overview of key findings on the Halifax case study of a national project investigating the *Social Dynamics of Economic Performance*. It summarizes the results of 91 interviews conducted between 2006 and 2008. It suggests that the Halifax case supports the hypothesis that the quality and social dynamics of place contribute to economic performance; however, the findings indicate that theoretical premises about the role of social and cultural diversity in stimulating innovation may not obtain for smaller cities. In some industries in Halifax overlapping social and professional networks contribute to the development of trust within communities that prove relatively socially homogeneous. Despite a legacy of political and social conservatism, Halifax has a dynamic developing cognitive-cultural economy. Halifax is a popular destination for young Canadians, with a vital music and arts scene, a beautiful natural environment, and well-respected post-secondary institutions. At the same time, however, job growth has failed to keep pace with the labour supply in some sectors; hence Halifax cannot retain all of the talented people who may wish to live in the city region.

Overview of the Halifax economy:

Halifax is a mid-sized Canadian city that serves as the economic hub of Atlantic Canada. Between 2001 and 2006 its population grew 3.8% while the country as a whole expanded by 5.4% (Spencer and Vinodrai, 2009). As Table 1 shows, Halifax has a well-educated population more likely than the Canadian average to be engaged in a creative occupation. While almost one in five Canadians immigrated to the country, over 90% of Halifaxians were born in Canada: thus the city lacks the ethnic diversity of larger centres. Incomes are lower than the Canadian average, but residents of Halifax are slightly more likely to be employed than other Canadians.

¹ I am grateful to the research assistants who made this work possible: Robyn Holme, Aaron Pettman, Jeff Haggett, Jesse Morton, Rebecca Butler, and Karin Kronstal. Funding for this research was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada under MCRI grant 412-2005-1001 led by Dr David Wolfe of the University of Toronto.

Table 1: Halifax population characteristics (Source: Spencer and Vinodrai, 2006, 2009)

Characteristic	Halifax 2001	Canada 2001	Halifax 2006	Canada 2006
Population	359,185	30,007,085	372,855	31,612,890
% foreign born	6.8%	18.2%	7.4%	19.8%
% BA or higher	21.1%	15.4%	24.0%	18.1%
Employment rate	63.0%	61.5%	64.5%	62.4%
% in creative occupations	37.4%	29.2%	38.0%	33.2%
% science tech occupations	7.1%	6.4%	7.0%	6.6%
% employment in clusters	21.7%	22.1%	19.0%	22.1%
Average employment income**	\$30,614	\$31,757	\$48,092	\$51,221

**Note 2001 report cites average employment income; 2006 report provides average full time employment income.

Originally settled in 1749, Halifax owes its history and character to its excellent port. Today the port provides multi-modal service for 11 container lines (Port of Halifax, 2009). While shipping volume decreased in the last decade, Maritime services remain an important cornerstone of the local economy. The harbour plays a major role in the tourism sector in the city as well: the port welcomed its 2 millionth cruise ship visitor in the summer of 2009.

Since its early days the city served as a centre of government and military activities. Governments are major employers in the city: As the provincial capital, Halifax is also the site of several federal government departments for the Atlantic region. Canadian Forces Base Halifax employs over 14,000 personnel. As Table 2 indicates, over 24,000 people work in health care services at the many hospitals in the city. With six universities and several colleges, the city has a large work force in educational services. The city hosts the largest shopping centres in Atlantic Canada and has become a major centre for tourism and hospitality activities.

Table 2: Some industry characteristics in Halifax 2006 (Source: Spencer and Vinodrai, 2009, p 8)

	# labour force	% of labour force	Average FT income
23 Construction	11,590	5.5%	\$43,687
31-33 Manufacturing	11,015	5.2%	\$52,069
44-45 Retail trade	25,045	11.9%	\$34,778
61 Educational services	16,355	7.8%	\$51,708
62 Health care & social assist.	24,485	11.7%	\$46,462
72 Accommodation & food service	14,750	7.0%	\$25,189
91 Public administration	23,375	11.1%	\$59,645
All industries in Halifax	210,135	100%	\$48,092

As of the 2001 census, Halifax had five industrial **clusters**: Maritime, ICT Services, Business Services, Higher Education, and Logistics. By 2006 Logistics had declined in size (shedding 675 jobs to total 10,890) and no longer qualified as a cluster. Two new clusters had appeared: Biomedical and Creative / Cultural. Halifax added a cluster over the five year period while some Canadian cities and the nation as a whole lost industrial

clusters. The Maritime and Biomedical clusters grew more than 25% in the five-year period between censuses, while the Creative/Cultural and Higher Education grew about 15% (see Table 3). Employment in the Biomedical industry increased by 445 to 2165, while the Creative / Cultural sector added 3615 jobs to reach 9140 people. (Spencer and Vinodrai, 2006, 2009)

Table 3: Industrial clusters in Halifax 2001 and 2006 (Source: Spencer and Vinodrai, 2006, 2009)

	Location quotient 2001	Location quotient 2006	% growth from 2001-2006
Maritime	1.59	2.02	26.6%
Biomedical	[1.06]*	1.14	25.9%
ICT Services	1.46	1.47	6.2%
Business Services	1.49	1.36	8.2%
Creative & Cultural	[1.00]*	1.14	15.3%
Higher Education	1.75	1.57	14.8%
Logistics	1.20	[1.06]*	-5.7%

* not identified as a cluster in the year indicated

Development policies:

In 1996 the province of Nova Scotia amalgamated the city of Halifax, city of Dartmouth, town of Bedford, and Halifax County into Halifax Regional Municipality (known as HRM or Halifax). Creating a regional municipality was designed to reduce administrative costs but also to improve the national and international competitiveness of the city region. The Greater Halifax Partnership (GHP) formed the same year as a public-private partnership to promote the region. It initiated several campaigns, including an advertising initiative branding Halifax as a “Smart City”. Gertler and Vinodrai’s (2004) study for GHP revealed that Richard Florida’s (2002) ideas about the role of creativity in economic development had begun to influence development policy in the city region: the report indicated that Halifax scored highly on Florida’s Talent Index, Bohemian Index, and Tech Pole Index. Local authorities invited Florida to address business leaders in 2004 (HRM, 2004).

At the behest of the municipality, the Halifax Chamber of Commerce (2004) organized an economic summit to offer recommendations about development directions for the city region. The Chamber’s report discussed themes such as attracting and retaining talented people and the role and impact of post-secondary institutions. It advocated interventions, such as enhancing the qualities of place, to improve the city region’s performance on Richard Florida’s indicators. It suggested that GHP may need to broaden its traditional focus to economic development.

The city region adopted several important development policies in the period from 2005 to 2009. With GHP support, a blue-ribbon panel of business leaders, university presidents, and government staff advised HRM on policy for a new economic strategy to promote greater economic growth (MacDonald, 2005). The resulting economic strategy

adopted by HRM (2005a) pursued creative cities and smart growth agendas, urging investments in social and cultural infrastructure and other changes to encourage talented and creative workers to come and stay in Halifax. Under the direction of a steering committee of government representatives, and following focus groups and interviews with individuals, management consultants prepared an immigration strategy for the region (HRM, 2005b).

Council adopted two other plans in 2006. The regional plan was approved (HRM, 2006a) after several years of public consultations led by a community-based planning advisory committee. It advocated smart growth planning principles and set in motion implementation strategies to promote interventions to enhance the attractiveness and potential for growth in the urban core. Staff produced the first cultural plan for the region the same year. It “challenges the notion that Culture drains public resources; new public agendas are highlighting Culture as a pillar of economic and community growth. The Cultural Plan delivers this new message and marks the beginning of a long-term policy shift” (HRM, 2006b, 4).

In 2007 consultants hired by GHP offered advice on strategies that the region could use to attract and retain creative young people (Next Generation Consulting, 2007). Consequently, GHP helped to found (and fund?) an organization called Fusion Halifax set up to help young professionals meet and network². Fusion Halifax set up several action teams around themes such as sustainability, health and wellness, diversity, and urban development. The urban development group became a vociferous force promoting the region’s new urban design plan for downtown in early 2009 (Fusion, 2009).

HRM’s urban design plan (HRM, 2009a) was approved in June 2009 following three years of consultations. Toronto-based consultants worked with staff and a task force comprised of residents, business community representatives, HRM councillors, design community representatives, and representatives from heritage and cultural advisory committees (HRM, 2009b).

In sum, various plans in HRM show the influence of creative cities and smart growth thinking. Consultation processes used for the regional plan and for the urban design plan were most broadly based and participatory; others tended to involve constituencies particularly focussed around their thematic issues. The plans produced in 2005 are currently under review. While the current recession is reinforcing the perception that government needs to act to promote growth, a close reading of various plans in Halifax suggests that the fundamentals of economic development policy change remarkably little over time despite the overlay of new theories and discourses.

² Fusion Halifax employs staff members, hosts regular events for its members, and produces buttons and other materials to distribute in its lobbying efforts. However, membership is free to those who wish to join. Its funding sources are not public knowledge.

Halifax case study: the social dynamics of economic performance

Halifax is one of 15 Canadian communities being profiled by a national study of the factors that contribute to innovation and economic performance in city regions (Wolfe and Gertler, 2006). Between 2006 and 2008 researchers in Halifax conducted interviews with 91 respondents around three research themes (Table 4). The next sections summarize the key findings not in the sequence of the themes, but in the sequence that the team conducted the research. The text responds to the integrative discussion questions posed by the research team.

Table 4: Halifax case study interviews and respondents

		Interviews (respondents)	Supplementary interviews	Total respondents
2006	Theme 3: civic governance	26 (27)	4	31
2007	Theme 2: talent attraction	26 (28)	0	28
2008	Theme 1: knowledge flows	25 (26)	5	31
	Total	77 (81)	9	90

Theme 3: Civic governance

For logistical reasons, the Halifax team began by conducting the theme 3 research first. Interviews were completed in the summer of 2006. The aim of the research was to consult associations and government representatives involved in economic, social, and cultural development activities in the city region. Representatives of 13 associations and 13 government agencies or departments were interviewed. A graduate student conducting her master's project on one of the development success stories mentioned by respondents did four additional interviews to supplement her study (Grant, Holme, Pettman, 2008; Holme, 2006).

5. What new governance mechanisms have emerged in your city to undertake "strategic planning" exercises or what we have called the strategic management of the urban economy?

As Kronstal and Grant (2009) note, respondents suggested that Halifax remained relatively conservative and traditional in its approach to governance. Although the city region established many new organizations (like the Greater Halifax Partnership) and community-based committees (like the Urban Design Task Force), those responsible for the direction of economic development in the region remained attuned essentially to business interests. Although the varying economic, cultural, regional, immigration, and urban design plans voiced concerns for social, economic, and cultural matters, respondents indicated concerns that the immigration strategy and the cultural strategy lacked sufficient means for implementation. While the city region committed financial resources to bringing the economic development strategy to fruition, social and cultural agendas failed to receive the investment necessary to advance them.

6. How socially inclusive are these governance mechanisms and to what extent do they link up economic, cultural and social development agendas?

The merger of the Greater Halifax Partnership and the Halifax Regional Development Agency in 2007 improved HRM's ability to engage in strategic management. GHP has proven effective in linking local government with business interests in a way that effectively promotes economic development and investment in the region. By creating organizations like Fusion Halifax the GHP has moved towards engaging young professionals and linking economic, social, and cultural development agendas. Several initiatives at GHP seek to more fully engage immigrants and help them integrate into local social and economic networks (GHP, 2009).

At the same time, however, many social and cultural associations and interests remain excluded from the development agenda and from civic governance mechanisms. Development authorities consider social and cultural agendas in a utilitarian way: they advance them where they see them as contributing to economic growth. Social development and cultural development are treated not as ends in themselves but as means to ends. The advocates of social and cultural development perceive themselves as marginalized and excluded in discussions of economic development policy and priorities. The civic governance mechanisms set up to advise council on economic development policies have excluded many social and cultural sector interests.

Theme 2: Attracting and retaining talent

Given the limited resources available, the team could not consider talent attraction in all clusters. Based on comments received from respondents in the 2006 interviews, the study team decided to investigate three industry sectors: built environment consulting (business services), music (creative / cultural), and health research (biomedical / higher education). Employers, workers, and representatives of intermediary organizations in these sectors were interviewed about the factors affecting the decisions of talented and creative workers. (Kronstal et al., 2009)

3. What are the primary foundations for attracting and retaining talent in your city? (Economic conditions, Quality of place, Subsidiary considerations?)

Respondents indicated that the availability of jobs in the city region is a key factor in their decisions to come to or stay in Halifax. Many respondents talked about friends, family members, or colleagues who would like to live in HRM if jobs were available. Employers indicated that they found it relatively easy to recruit talented workers to the city region because of the quality of place (both natural and built environment), quality of life (pace, lack of traffic, affordability), and the amenities in the region. (Grant and Kronstal, 2009)

Within the music sector and the health research sector respondents suggested that a strongly supportive social environment gave Halifax special appeal for talented workers. The work environment within these sectors proved highly collaborative; workers are highly creative with limited resources. Respondents also noted that Haligonians are friendly and welcoming. Several respondents indicated that the city region could be more welcoming and inclusive of immigrants: issues such as recognizing foreign credentials and finding employment for spouses were seen as hindering talent attraction.

Respondents commonly commented that Halifax was the “right size”: not too large, but not too small. As a smaller city with attractive and relatively affordable amenities, Halifax was seen as a positive contrast with larger centres. Good air connections to Europe, the American east coast, and central Canada gave the city an advantage over others of comparable size. (Grant and Kronstal, 2009)

4. How prevalent is labour mobility among firms within and between sectors/clusters in your city and what role does it play in circulating knowledge and reinforcing cross-sectoral ties and knowledge flows?

Sectors differ in the degree of labour mobility. The size of the sector and employment incomes may affect mobility. Those in the music sector indicated that creative workers typically have to find multiple employment opportunities to make ends meet. Few music sector workers earn a living wage from music. Many take multiple roles in the industry, or find employment in other sectors. Where alternative employment may occur in related sectors, then knowledge flows do occur. For instance, some musicians also teach music; some work for venues that employ or promote musicians. (Grant, Hagggett, Morton, 2009a)

Mobility seemed limited among health sector workers not because opportunities do not arise but because workers seemed highly committed to their research agenda and content to remain in place. While some workers may relocate to gain access to better funding in larger centres, those interviewed generally appreciated the lifestyle possible in Halifax.

Labour mobility is relatively high in some occupations in the built environment consulting sector. Some skills are in high demand, so that workers demand a salary premium and can work where they want. Such employees play important roles in transferring knowledge between firms. Talented workers in occupations that are over-supplied (like junior architects) may have lower incomes and less job mobility.

The research team found few specific examples of cross-sectoral knowledge flows in the sectors profiled. It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that knowledge flows occur between higher education and other clusters, as they are often linked by research projects, by students making the transition to workers, and by high profile workers joining the higher education workforce. The small size of Halifax provides many opportunities for people to meet those working in other sectors.

Theme 1: Knowledge flows

In 2008 researchers conducted interviews for theme 1. Three industries in two sectors were profiled: music (creative / cultural sector), built environment consulting (business services), and advertising (business services). Student researchers focussing on the music sector conducted additional interviews with music industry representatives. (Grant, Haggett, Morton, 2009b)

1. What are the primary sources of innovation in key sectors/clusters of your city region? How do knowledge flows occur, in other words, what evidence is there of knowledge flows across sectors/clusters? How important are the local versus the global dimensions of knowledge flows?

The study focussed on only two clusters; thus the ability to generalize the findings is significantly constrained.

The primary source of innovation in the music industry is individual musicians working within a social context that encourages and rewards creative performance in somewhat unpredictable patterns. Changing technologies of distribution have altered the dynamics of the industry in ways that favour smaller cities like Halifax where the costs of living are relatively low but the density of opportunities and connections in the music community is relatively high (Grant, Haggett, Morton, 2009a).

Respondents in the built environment consulting industry indicated that they followed what their competitors are doing and sometimes collaborated on projects to gain knowledge. They watched developments in the field to identify new ideas or strategies to bring to their clients. In general, the companies reported few independent innovations in products or processes. Some developed new services. Some design firms indicated that the city region provided few opportunities for innovation or creativity and reported that they looked for projects outside Atlantic Canada to find the creative challenges employees craved.

Advertising firms varied markedly in their approaches to innovation and knowledge exchange. Some firms highlighted their particular creativity and saw the quality of their employees as key to innovation and to market success. Such firms were competing internationally for contracts, and winning international awards for their work: their innovation and creativity drew new clients to them. Other firms worked primarily with others in their firm or with a limited number of partners, and depended on long-term relationships with clients for project. Some firms had developed patented processes for addressing client needs.

Knowledge flows differed among the industries studied (Grant, Haggett, Morton, 2009b). Knowledge sharing and mutual learning proved especially important in the Halifax music scene where musicians work together to “jam” and challenge each other (Morton, 2008). The same held true in the health research sector. By contrast, respondents in the

advertising industry indicated little interest in sharing knowledge: they criticized other local firms' approaches and work. They looked to firms in other places for collaboration. While knowledge sharing within the local context is vital to innovation in the music scene it plays a lesser role in the advertising business. In the health research sector, knowledge sharing occurs both locally and globally.

In the built environment consulting sector firms often compete with each other for projects. When they believe it improves their odds of winning contracts, they collaborate with other firms and share information. Workers moving between companies bring knowledge and skills. Larger or more complex projects generate partnerships with well-known firms in larger cities: such collaborations contribute global knowledge to the local scene. Larger firms in Halifax proved more likely to describe themselves as innovators than did smaller firms.

2. Is there any evidence of a new cognitive-cultural economy emerging in your city that links across the creative/cultural industries, design industries and higher order business services (KIBS)?

Researchers chose to profile music and advertising because respondents earlier in the study indicated that these were areas where Halifax was experiencing international success: perhaps the city region is developing an incipient cognitive-cultural economy? For instance, the ability of some Halifax based advertising companies to win international commissions and awards garnered recognition for the city region and helped the firms attract talented workers. Rapid growth in some of these firms brought talented and creative workers from larger centres (like Toronto) that traditionally were seen as the hub of the industry and thick labour markets for workers in the field. Technological innovations via the internet make design and creative work possible anywhere. Some companies that began in Halifax have stuck with their roots and have not relocated despite international success. However, respondents suggested that the shortage of educational programs in advertising, copy writing, and art direction limited the local talent pool and prevented growth of the industry.

The small size of the regional market may inhibit the growth of the music sector, although musicians increasingly rely on the internet and touring to earn a living. Nonetheless, Halifax has established a national reputation as a centre of popular music (Brooks et al, 2009; Grant, Haggett, Morton, 2009a).

While the research revealed strong connections between design firms and cultural / creative industries in the city region, respondents did not identify many connections with other knowledge-intensive firms. Advertising and built environment consulting firms straddle the boundary of knowledge-intensive and creative industries. They work with clients from other sectors but offered few examples of knowledge sharing across sectors.

Respondents identified few cases of knowledge sharing across sectors. The innovations described were based within the sectors profiled. If researchers had examined Maritime

industries or ICT Services they may have discovered more examples of cross-sectoral sharing.

Testing hypotheses:

Interviews conducted with respondents in Halifax supported some of the project hypotheses but offered little evidence to substantiate others.

Theme 1: Respondents revealed dense and overlapping social and professional networks that contributed to building trust, collaboration, and knowledge sharing in many sectors. They confirmed a mix of local and non-local ties and a range of economic actors participating in social and professional networks. However, they offered little evidence that would demonstrate that economic performance depends on local knowledge circulation between industries or clusters. [Note: Our analysis of theme 1 results remains preliminary. The results may reflect the particular clusters selected for analysis.]

Theme 2: Respondents agreed with the theory that the economic performance of the city region depended on quality of place and cultural dynamism (at least inasmuch as that implies a dynamic arts and culture environment). By contrast with the hypothesis, however, they implied that social homogeneity (rather than diversity) contributed to the region's appeal and effectiveness in integrating newcomers (at least those from within Canada). Although they described Halifax as not always inclusive, tolerant, diverse, or open, they nonetheless found it a welcoming environment. Their views suggested that the appealing lifestyle and affordability of the city region may compensate for other missing social dynamics that contemporary urban theory values.

Theme 3: The hypothesis of the study suggests that economic performance depends on the ability of city regions to generate new forms of associative governance and collaborative leadership. Respondents indicated that Halifax remained conservative and traditional in its governance mechanisms. Although council appointed advisory committees to assist in planning and policy exercises, those engaged in economic development processes were almost entirely from business and government. Social development and cultural development interests were marginalized in decision making. Policy and decision makers have yet to fully appreciate the potential role of the cognitive-cultural economy despite some of the statements in recent policy documents. The success of agencies like the Greater Halifax Partnership represents a continuation of growth machine dynamics rather than new forms of associative governance.

In many ways the economic success of Halifax challenges some of the hypotheses of the project. The city region benefits from its coastal setting, affordable housing costs, laid-back lifestyle, friendly people, and rich arts and culture environment. Talented and creative workers looking to avoid the hectic pace and competitive life of larger urban

centres like Toronto and Vancouver see Halifax as an attractive option. They recognize its weaknesses but appreciate the comfortable scale and socially supportive work places they find in the city region. Its vibrant creative sectors make it attractive to an educated population. Strong universities and colleges contribute to innovation in the region, and to the social ambience of the city. Students flock to Halifax despite high tuition rates, at least in part because it is a “party town” replete with live music and vibrant bars: their presence in the city creates potential talent that employers can recruit to contribute to economic performance.

While the research revealed signs of an emerging cognitive-cultural economy in Halifax, local authorities have done relatively little to acknowledge its potential role or to invest in its growth. Current government policy focuses on issues such as infrastructure investment and construction. While these contribute to long-term growth, local authorities cannot continue to sideline other important issues of social and cultural development if they hope to protect Halifax’s long-term economic performance and competitiveness.

References:

Brooks, C., Cooper, P., Corcoran, M., Carter Flinn, S., O’Meara, J., & Powell, C. 2009. Cities of song: get into the groove in these hot cities for music lovers. *CAA Magazine*, Summer, pp 26-33

Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class, and How it’s transforming work, leisure, community, and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books

Fusion Halifax. 2009. Action teams. Available at <http://www.fusionhalifax.ca/en/home/FUSIONactionteams/urbandevelopmentteam/wearthebutton.aspx>

Gertler, Meric and Tara Vinodrai. 2004. *Competing on Creativity: Focus on Halifax*. A report prepared for the Greater Halifax Partnership. Available at http://www.greaterhalifax.com/en/home/about_the_partnership/creativity.aspx

Grant, Jill L., Jeff Haggett, and Jesse Morton. 2009a. *The Halifax Sound: Live music and the economic development of Halifax*. Available at http://suburbs.planning.dal.ca/Docs/Creative%20Halifax/Halifax_Sound_Final.pdf

Grant, Jill L., Jeff Haggett and Jesse Morton. 2009b. *Halifax City Region Study, Report on Theme 1: Knowledge flows*. Available at http://www.utoronto.ca/isrn/city-region_initiative/CityDOCS/CaseStudyMaterial/Halifax_JG_1.pdf

Grant, Jill L., Robyn Holme, Aaron Pettman. 2008. Global theory and local practice in planning in Halifax: the Seaport redevelopment. *Planning Practice and Research*, 23(4), 517-532

Grant, Jill L and Karin Kronstal. 2009. Smart city/ cool city: attracting and retaining talented and creative workers in Halifax. Available at http://suburbs.planning.dal.ca/Docs/Creative%20Halifax/smart_city_cool_citypdf.pdf

Greater Halifax Partnership. 2009. Halifax connector program. Available at http://www.greaterhalifax.com/en/home/about_the_partnership/services/connectorprogram.aspx

Halifax Chamber of Commerce. 2004. *Halifax Economic Summit, Final Report*. Available at <http://www.halifaxchamber.com/default.asp?mn=1.9.56.314>

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2004. Richard Florida's world tour arrives in Halifax. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/regionalplanning/Florida.pdf>

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2005a. *Strategies for Success: Halifax Regional Municipality's Economic Development Strategy 2005 – 2010*. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/EconomicStrategy/EconomicStrategy.html>

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2005b. *Halifax Region Immigration Strategy*. Business case and strategic action plan. (Prepared by Christa Hornberger, Halifax Global Management Consultants) Available at http://www.halifax.ca/Council/agendasc/documents/ActionPlanSept05_WebRes.pdf

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2006a. *Regional Plan*. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/regionalplanning/FinalRegPlan.html>

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2006b. *HRM Cultural Plan*. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/culturalplan/documents/CulturalPlan112007.pdf>

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2009a. *HRMbyDesign. Urban Design Plan*. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/CapitalDistrict/RegionalCentreUrbanDesignStudy.html>

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2009b. Project team. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/CapitalDistrict/UrbanDesignTaskForce.html>

Holme, Robyn. 2006. *Social networks in the Seaport redevelopment in Halifax*. Master's Project, School of Planning, Dalhousie University, Halifax.

Kronstal, Karin and Jill L Grant. 2009. *Halifax City Region Study, Theme 3: Inclusive communities and civic engagement*. Available at http://www.utoronto.ca/isrn/city-region_initiative/CityDOCS/CaseStudyMaterial/Halifax_JG_III.pdf

Kronstal, Karin, Jill L Grant, Rebecca Butler, Jeff Haggett. 2009. *Halifax City Region Study, Theme 2: Social foundations of talent attraction and retention*. Available at http://www.utoronto.ca/isrn/city-region_initiative/CityDOCS/CaseStudyMaterial/Halifax_JG_II.pdf

MacDonald, Betty. 2005. Economic development strategy update. Report to HRM council, 8 September. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/Council/agendasc/documents/EconomicStrategy.pdf>

Morton, Jesse. 2008. “*There’s a reason why I love this town*”: exploring the Halifax music scene. Available at http://suburbs.planning.dal.ca/Docs/ISR/N/Music_Halifax_IP_FINAL03.pdf

Next Generation Consulting. 2007. *Attracting and retaining talent to Greater Halifax: Executive summary*. Available at http://www.greaterhalifax.com/site-ghp2/media/greaterhalifax/Measuring_the_Halifax_Handprint_Executive_Summary.pdf

Port of Halifax. 2009. Choose Halifax. Available at <http://www.portofhalifax.ca/>

Spencer, Greg, & Tara Vinodrai. 2006. Halifax: Innovation Systems Research Network City-Region Profile 2001. University of Toronto.

Spencer, Greg & Tara Vinodrai. 2009. Halifax: Innovation Systems Research Network City-Region Profile 2006. University of Toronto.

Wolfe, David and Meric Gertler. 2006. Social dynamics of economic performance: innovation and creativity in city regions. Available at http://www.utoronto.ca/isrn/city-region_initiative/CityDOCS/MCRISummary.pdf

For information on the Halifax case study findings visit:
http://suburbs.planning.dal.ca/related_ISR/N.html

For more on the overall project, visit:
www.utoronto.ca/isrn