Building the Innovation Economy

City-Level Strategies for Planning, Placemaking, and Promotion

Case study: San Diego

October 2016

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Executive summary

Many cities around the world are seeking an enhanced presence of the emerging innovation economy in order to grow a new base of jobs, adjust to industrial change, or to leverage technology to address sustainability, resilience, and social cohesion. In the current cycle, cities are focusing investment and promotion on new ‘innovation districts’, locations within the city where the innovation economy may develop and expand, although not all cities have the endowment, ecosystem or expertise to host them.

As part of a collaboration between ULI and the City of Rotterdam, this case study of San Diego was developed in order to review and explore the ways in which cities can foster an innovation ecosystem and build a long-term strategy to establish themselves as centres for innovation. San Diego was selected as a case study city, along with Munich and Tel Aviv, because its innovation economy is now re-urbanising and its leading governance institutions are actively building a new identity around innovation and global opportunities.

Three overriding research questions informed this case study:

• What roles are played by city governments, landowners and investors in building an innovation economy, creating new innovation districts, and sustaining them over time?

• How does land use, placemaking and real estate help support the innovation economy, and how can it contribute to making a city more liveable and attractive?

• How does branding, communication and promotion of the city's innovation focus help build identity and successfully attract investors and businesses?

Innovation is fundamental to San Diego’s DNA, and over more than 60 years the Californian city has built a robust ecosystem leveraging its military, medical and environmental industries. Collaborative anchor institutions and networking platforms have played a critical role in establishing an open innovation economy spearheaded by IT, life sciences, maritime, cybersecurity and cleantech sectors. The city’s innovation culture is distinguished by an unusually high degree of trust, pooled knowledge, and dedicated business and civic leadership.

San Diego’s innovation economy previously took on a suburban ‘campus’ character, but with housing densification in downtown having accelerated, the city centre now has renewed appeal for a younger workforce. The walkable East Village has emerged as a new centre of gravity for innovation, and a series of private projects are underway in the I.D.E.A. District, led by visionary developers and planners. This district provides a powerful example of how progress can be achieved where land ownership is diverse, suitable product is scarce, and where centralised planning and large public redevelopment funds are absent.

Areas of successful leadership in San Diego’s innovation economy and district development

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<thead>
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<th>Strategy</th>
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<tr>
<td>Develop a Strategy as a City of Innovation</td>
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<td>Manage externalities that arise</td>
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<td>Adapt through the cycles</td>
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<td>Develop innovation brand as a broad identity and shared narrative</td>
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<td>Invite others to feel and experience the innovation culture</td>
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Innovation has been in the DNA of San Diego, California, for more than 100 years. The city’s early economy was defined more by military, medical, and environmental activity than by industry, and the progressive philanthropy of the Scripps family shaped much of the city’s development before 1945. The alternative values of San Diego’s early settlers were conducive to discovery and entrepreneurship, and by the 1960s, San Diego was home to 200 research and development (R&D) firms in aeronautics, biology, electromagnetics, oceanography, optics, physics, and chemistry, among others.

Over time, San Diego has benefited from several catalysts that have supported its leadership in key industries: the presence of the U.S. Navy as a federal ‘customer’ since the First World War, the deal to attract the aviation industry in the 1930s, the establishment of the University of California (UC) San Diego campus in 1960, and the founding of the civic platform CONNECT in 1985. These factors have contributed to and promoted the city’s diverse innovation assets.

Today, San Diego is home to one of America’s most diverse innovation-driven economies. With a metropolitan population of 3.3 million and a gross domestic product in excess of $200 billion, six sectors stand out in its regional economy:

1. **Information technology/telecoms** is an area of genuine global leadership, and the sector has significant crossover with the military economy in and around the city. Today this sector is the single biggest employer of the region, with 67,000 workers. Three-quarters of the city’s innovation startups are in information technology (IT), and it absorbs 22 per cent of its venture capital (VC) funding.

2. **CleanTech** has emerged on the back of the city’s long-standing drive to attract non-polluting industries to preserve its exceptional landscape. With 800 companies and 25,000 jobs, the sector raised $150 million in VC funding alone in 2015.

3. **Life Sciences** cluster developed through a combination of philanthropic and federal investments (notably during the ‘war on cancer’). Today, it has an economic impact of nearly $32 billion, driven by the city’s 80 research institutes, with 51,000 jobs and $550 million in VC funding.

4. **Cybersecurity** is a major specialisation because of the city’s close ties to the federal government. The U.S. Navy Space and Naval Warfare Systems Command (SPAWAR) employs over 3,000 cybersecurity professionals. More than 100 local companies have expanded into the consumer market, and the industry has around $2 billion of impact.¹

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¹ San Diego’s innovation ecosystem

**Figure 1:** Downtown San Diego

*Photo by Leandro Neumann Ciufla, CC-by-SA 2.0*
Maritime benefits from the large U.S. Navy presence, which is responsible directly or indirectly for 22 per cent of all jobs. It fuels demand in high technology research— including a resurgence in federal spending since 9/11. About 40,000 people are employed in industries classified as maritime technology or with a maritime component, referred to as the Blue Economy, and the cluster creates total revenue of nearly $15 billion.²

Action Sports is a smaller but important emerging cluster, with over 600 firms that draw on the region’s expertise in physics, chemistry, and synthetic materials. This cluster has produced firms such as Callaway, GoPro, TaylorMade, and Underwater Kinetics.³

As a result of the cross-interaction of these highly innovative sectors, San Diego has the highest patent intensity and is the 7th largest VC funding recipient in the United States.⁴ Along with San Diego State University and UC San Diego, the city now boasts 80 research institutes, including:

- Sanford Consortium for Regenerative Medicine
- Sanford Burnham Prebys Medical Discovery Institute
- Scripps Research Institute
- Scripps Hospital and Metabolic Institute
- Scripps Institution of Oceanography
- Salk Institute for Biological Studies

These institutions, combined with San Diego’s innovation culture, help shape a strong innovation ecosystem. The ongoing cultivation of the ecosystem in San Diego helps to grow the innovation economy, which translates this knowledge, ideas and interaction into products and services that drive economic growth and create jobs.

San Diego’s innovation culture
San Diego benefits from a distinctive innovation culture with several pertinent features:

- Social capital and trust within the city's business, education, civic, and philanthropic communities. These closely located communities have pooled knowledge and resources for particular economic goals, helping San Diego to build a critical mass of actors (scientists, venture capitalists, and so on) in the innovation system, attract federal investments, and adjust the industry sector mix in each new economic and federal spending cycle.

- Collaborative business leadership.
  The Chamber of Commerce, the Economic Development Corporation (EDC), and CONNECT (which works on behalf of entrepreneurs and innovators) have shown sustained commitment over many decades to increase business interaction and collaboration, promote the city, and attract federal and private investment.

- Civic leadership. San Diego has an unusually horizontal civic culture that is multi-functional and cross disciplinary, circulating good ideas from many sources.

Such leadership has stemmed partly from the city’s relative remoteness and its widely shared values of risk-taking and inclusiveness. Recently, Civic San Diego has played an influential role in stimulating downtown redevelopment projects.

- Place assets. San Diego’s climate, beach environment, and quality-of-life advantages have been central to the attraction of talent.⁵ The city’s location on the border with Mexico has also enabled productive binational collaboration with Tijuana over the past five years, in a joint effort to achieve scale and attract investment.

The spatial character of San Diego’s innovation economy
From the 1960s, San Diego’s innovation economy began to stretch along a corridor that extends north of downtown along the coast, in a move promoted by the Chamber of Commerce and Mayor Charles Dail. UC San Diego and other research institutes were established north of the city centre, in the northern Torrey Pines Mesa area, in locations chosen for their aesthetic charm and the abundance of large tracts of publically owned land conducive to science parks and labs.
Since the term of Mayor Pete Wilson (1971-83), San Diego has been pursuing a strategy of controlled growth and downtown revitalisation — spurred on by the Center City Development Corporation (CCDC), the downtown redevelopment agency, and the Downtown San Diego Partnership (DSDP), the city’s business improvement district. However, progress on several large commercial projects has been slow. For example, the Navy Broadway project was first conceptualised in 1986, but as of 2016 the project continues to be delayed by multiple concerns. Tech and life science companies have preferred to cluster around universities. The reluctance among citizens to move from a low-investment, low-return equilibrium towards a higher tax, higher investment model has partly contributed to the slow pace of change.

In more recent years, attempts to densify parts of downtown San Diego have occurred to respond to increasing demand for vibrant city centre living from a younger workforce. Many new multifamily residential and hotel towers have been developed, along with a museum, convention centre, library, Petco Park, and waterfront beautification. The delivery of more than 5,000 units in the current real estate cycle has helped the downtown population grow from 17,000 in 2000 to around 40,000 in 2016, with much more growth expected.

Although job growth downtown has been slow in comparison to other centres, since 2011 the growing concentration of educated and millennial workers drawn by the many amenities and the diversity of the area, along with several incubators, has begun to catalyse an increase in startups downtown. In 2016, more than 110 startups are located downtown.

This re-urbanisation is beginning to challenge the ‘dormitory’ character of much of downtown, which still sees 70 per cent of downtown residents commute to the suburbs for work. But the suburban model is still popular with many types of researchers and knowledge workers. In addition, Downtown San Diego has not been widely perceived as having an inventory of old or authentic warehouse or building stock to capture the imagination of young innovators. The absence of large high-spec floor plates suitable for collaborative working has also been a deterrent to innovation economy firms. Despite the lack of immediate product, the city is nonetheless keen to leverage downtown for the next cycle of innovation.\footnote{7}
2. Re-urbanising the ecosystem in a new innovation district: The I.D.E.A. District

The Upper East Village has emerged as San Diego’s new centre of gravity for innovation and is a major area of employment and residential densification. Part of the Upper East Village aims to concentrate innovation economy functions in a walkable, central district on some of downtown’s last undeveloped land — and has been inspired by Barcelona 22@, London’s Tech City, and San Francisco’s SOMA districts. Originally an area for light crafts and manufacturing, the neighbourhood experienced urban flight and decay in the 1970s but has gradually become popular for artists and designers in recent decades, without deliberate city guidance.⁸

A series of projects is currently underway in the area, driven by the private sector, with advocacy support from the Downtown San Diego Partnership (DSDP) and with planning facilitation from the city government. Unlike many other innovation districts, the neighbourhood has no centralised planning model or zonal designation. Instead, the impetus has mostly come from visionary developers and planners forming effective alliances and building a common language and vision. The projects are taking place in what is named the I.D.E.A. District.⁹

The I.D.E.A. District seeks to combine innovation, design, education, and arts functions in a mixed-use urban setting of 38 ha — with the potential for 13,000 new jobs upon completion, alongside new housing (for 4,000 people), retail, and entertainment functions. The area has many plots of empty or under-used land but also has several notable landowner anchors, including San Diego City College, New School of Architecture and Design, and Thomas Jefferson School of Law. Another new anchor for the district is the Urban Discovery Academy, a charter elementary school that has relocated. There are also plans, now close to fruition, to attract a suburban academic institution to set up a downtown campus.

Within the I.D.E.A. District is the ‘Makers Quarter’, developed by a separate consortium named L2HP and involving a team that has a history of innovation-based real estate development in San Diego. This project operates in close alignment with the overall objectives of the I.D.E.A. District.

Figure 4: Location of I.D.E.A. District and Makers Quarter within San Diego’s East Village

Figure 5: Junction in the I.D.E.A. District
The quarter is a five-block development project on sites owned by the Navarra family, who own Jerome Furniture. Jerry Navarra acquired all of the Makers Quarter property over more than 20 years, and in 2011 he decided to hold a competitive-bidding process to find a master developer to help create a legacy project. The project draws on the ‘maker movement’ of the area (especially its past history for light crafts) to offer a work/live/play environment for startups, tech companies, and defence contractors, and a residential mix of young talent, downsizing 60-somethings, and young families. At completion, Makers Quarter will contain approximately 2.5 million square feet of development, including 800 residential units and up to 1 million square feet of creative office space.

Subsequent development projects are developed on a case-by-case basis, subject to securing tenants and financing. One of the first investments has broken ground recently: the IDEA1 mixed-use development (due to open in August 2017), a joint venture between I.D.E.A. Partners and Lowe Enterprises, on a site owned by the Community College District. The six-storey project across a whole city block will offer entrepreneur-focused housing with coworking and socialising spaces, the first wave of retail and restaurant facilities, and a ‘HUB’, a 12,000 square foot courtyard that connects residential and work spaces and the larger community through a multi-use public square and entertainment facilities.

IDEA1 is meant to showcase the placemaking and design principles that are possible, anticipate future market demands, and act as a catalyst to attract further investment and new tenants to the area. It does include some creative office space, but timing in the market and available financing has meant that this part of the ecosystem has been the slowest to take hold. One of the main challenges for companies seeking to locate on the site is the relatively higher rents - due to the need to amortise the cost of new construction—and the lack of any tax incentives. Challenges in attracting tenants to sign up have in some cases prevented lenders from being prepared to finance construction. As the market evolves, IDEA1 will easily accommodate a greater mix of retail, office, and housing within the same envelope.

2.1 The catalytic role played by developers, investors, and the city government in the I.D.E.A. District

The I.D.E.A. district is being led by developers David Malmuth and Pete Garcia of I.D.E.A Partners. These two developers are experienced at constructing large keynote buildings and district-scale projects in San Diego and California. They entered into partnership to transform the area and attract highly educated creative professionals and entrepreneurs.

The big success of I.D.E.A. Partners has been the creation of a genuinely shared vision for the area in conjunction with DSDP, Civic San Diego (the successor agency to CCDC), local businesses, residents, potential tenants, and other developers—all of which have come to share conviction in the potential of a downtown innovation district. The team members engaged in very effective outreach and communication to develop consensus around these planning principles.

The role of the city government

Although the city government has not been a lead partner on this project, it has become a strong supporter in the second cycle of development. Pressure on public finances has caused public redevelopment funding to be eliminated in recent years, primarily because of policy changes at the California state level and a growing demand for scarce public resources to be used throughout the city, not focused on downtown. Additionally, the lack of strong public planning or finance tools and the elimination of tax-increment financing as a potential financing option have been big hurdles to overcome.

Instead, the projects are entirely privately funded, with the city specifying zoning and basic planning requirements for the area. One of the major challenges is to achieve re-zoning from residential to commercial use to allow tech companies to move in. The permitting process is managed by Civic San Diego and involves a series of approvals (including from the Downtown Community Planning Group) and a public hearing. In the past, this process has created significant delays, but the permitting process has been improved to provide investors with more transparency and more certainty about what can be developed in which sites.
2.2 Land use, real estate, and placemaking in the I.D.E.A. District

In the I.D.E.A. District, 80 per cent of the land is privately owned and the rest belongs to the city of San Diego, San Diego Community College District, and the Salvation Army. This diversity of ownership has made it essential to begin with an agreed planning framework.

The district’s conceptual land use plan is based on a floor area ratio of 5 and dedicates 50 per cent to workspace uses, 40 per cent to residential (with 10 per cent affordable and 5 per cent student housing), and 5 per cent each for retail and hospitality sectors. A key feature in the future will be a dedicated 30,000 square foot incubator, as well as a new 4-acre park.

Some projects have had to be adapted to feature mostly residential units in order to receive financing because capital markets have been unwilling to finance without pre-lease. More recently, Cruzan Development's DiamondView Tower, a Class A office building, has achieved rents that demonstrate that tenants are prepared to pay for good-quality space at a rate that warrants new construction. This result is backed up by new office developments, including 7th and Market and Market and Park.

**Placemaking**

In terms of placemaking, the principle of the district is to develop a critical mass (greater than 1 million square feet) of creative office space with residential and retail uses, artistic and cultural interventions, education and community resources, and green space.

The emphasis on walkability, open space, and a high-quality public realm is at the very forefront of the project, as is the preservation of San Diego’s own ‘sense of place’ that is oriented towards living outdoors. The district relies on a connectivity plan that will supplement the existing trolley-bus and Bus Rapid Transit networks. Shared parking solutions, traffic calming on key streets, and car- or bike-sharing arrangements are all actively being pursued.

The I.D.E.A. District is premised on the principle of re-using existing real estate where possible, and with new projects to ensure that a range of architects are commissioned to ensure diversity and differentiation. Many of the pop-up outdoor and event spaces—such as SILO and Quartyard—will be replaced by buildings eventually, once it has become clear what the next generation of district residents are looking for.

New office development is being designed specifically with the creative economy and high-tech functions in mind (for example, large open floor plans, coworking, workshops, and warehouse-style space). The design is premised on the idea of ‘bringing the outdoors in’, with full integration with pocket public parks and spaces in mixed-use compact environments.

Initial housing supply in the district is focused on small units (up to two bedrooms), with an emphasis on access to coworking space, and added features such as fitness spaces and roof-top pools.

The digitisation of the district is another important priority in the first stage of redevelopment. There are plans to provide district-wide wi-fi, public media screens, and various public-private mechanisms to invite digital players into the district.

**Table 1: Land Use Plan of I.D.E.A. District**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Residential</th>
<th>Condominiums</th>
<th>Affordable Residential</th>
<th>Student Residential</th>
<th>Hotel</th>
<th>Retail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project %</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Land (sq ft)</td>
<td>676,000</td>
<td>227,000</td>
<td>216,000</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>32,500</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>68,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAR</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit Size (sq ft)</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Units</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>192</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>10,700</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: I.D.E.A. District*
2.3 Branding, communication, and promotion: San Diego and the I.D.E.A. District

Although Downtown San Diego has become relatively more attractive to businesses and residents over the past 20 years, the narrative about its future economy and environment has been slow to emerge. Historically, San Diego’s innovation brand had a largely suburban and campus character, and the city’s brand is dominated by its reputation for climate, scenery, and easy living rather than for breakthrough ideas or brainpower.

San Diego is now making very active steps to tell a new unified story about its identity and its culture of innovation. The OSDP and the regional Economic Development Corporation have helped convene a brand alliance of 60 organisations, including big corporations such as Qualcomm as well as large public institutions such as the Port Authority and the Regional Airport Authority. The city is assessing its position in global rankings and indices and is targeting more appearances in global media outlets. Meanwhile, a new communications department has been created to house all public information officers under one roof rather than in separate departments. In 2016, the department launched InsideSanDiego.org, a website that posts positive news stories in line with San Diego’s brand.

**Internal communication**

One of the communication challenges locally is an internal one to communicate the urgency of creating and nurturing an innovation district in a city where satisfaction with quality of life is so high, and where citizens have to be convinced that the city centre can be a place of creativity and vitality.

To facilitate this re-urbanisation, San Diego’s approach is very distinctive for its focus on small-scale community and business spaces before bringing larger development projects forward, as a way of creating value and a sense of place. The idea is to invert the traditional model and build the demand first before the main development itself.

After an initial attempt in 2011 to activate and ‘liberate’ a park at East Village Green only had limited impact, the I.D.E.A. Partners and SLP Planning chose to adopt a different style of communication with the local community — an organic approach called tactical urbanism.
In 2013, the partners synchronised the new master plan with social media, a movie story, and the artistic transformation of a warehouse in order to generate a real sense of disruption in the district. The plan was designed to invite people to experience their neighbourhood differently, test what they enjoy, raise awareness, and enhance the area’s potential as a creative melting pot. Local attendance and interest in the pop-up art show was surprisingly high and reached across a diverse demographic.

That effort was followed by the transformation of a dis-used car repair site into an explicitly temporary art venue called SILO. That venue has been complemented by Smarts Farm, which provides community and learning space in a garden workshop; FabLab, a low-cost workspace that offers high-tech production equipment; and an incubator and event space for community and local business called Moniker Warehouse. Two years ago, three graduate students from the New School of Architecture and Design developed a parking lot at the gateway to the I.D.E.A. District into a 12,000 square foot beer garden/community gathering space/dog park called Quartyard. Utilising shipping containers and simple landscape moves, and showcasing local musical talent, these young entrepreneurs fashioned a temporary space that has become the heart of the neighbourhood.

The creative activation of the public realm, supported by the smart use of video marketing, helped create new buzz and new belonging in the district, and interest and enthusiasm from the city government. In so doing, the initiatives have created the appetite for the first office projects in the district to come forward, with interest from downtown and suburban firms. In 2016, construction started on the larger residential, workspace, and retail amenities—including Broadstone, a large residential development. Office developments are anticipated incrementally until 2020. Within the next 15 years, Makers Quarter may include up to one million square feet of office space, 800 residential units, 175,000 square feet of retail and hospitality space, and 60,000 square feet of public space.

At the same time, the city also makes an important public play of the fiscal impact of the wider development, which is calculated to translate into around $20 million per year in net revenues to the city — in property tax and sales tax.
The premise of the tactical urbanism approach in San Diego, is that:

- The testing of new ideas is the best way to understand what different ‘customers’ want from an innovation district. These users should be at the heart of defining what the district should be about and become.

- Short-term promotional and showcasing initiatives, made possible by streamlining or circumventing planning processes, can create long-term change for a district.

- The power of art can be leveraged to communicate the character and aspiration of a new district.

- Well-maintained public space will create the platform for real estate and quality of life to succeed.

**External promotion**
The promotion story for the I.D.E.A. District is also about attracting external talent — ‘tomorrow’s workforce and entrepreneurs’. The projects are positioned to be capable of attracting the leading talent by providing what is currently perceived to be in short supply in San Diego — namely, high-amenity, walkable communities in downtown. The I.D.E.A. District is branded as the catalyst to enable San Diego to become even more desirable to highly educated graduates by leveraging its urban assets.

As expressed in the I.D.E.A. District’s vision statement:
It will not be enough to rest on our past business success, great weather and beautiful environs. We have to intentionally plan for and work towards:

- A future that will see breakthrough products, services, and experiences at the confluence of design and technology

- A future that will be dependent on producing high-paying jobs to attract and retain young, creative and highly educated citizens to ensure our competitive position moving forward

- A future that will witness the increasing importance of cities as the major engines of innovative ideas and businesses

- And, a future enriched by art, entertainment and recreation, the hallmarks of all great liveable and vibrant cities.20
San Diego's experience highlights the importance of investing and fostering an innovation culture over several cycles, by building channels of co-operation and communication between business, education, civic, and philanthropic communities. Can-do and collaborative leadership across industry sectors and public-private divides has helped facilitate the sharing of know-how and the effective commercialisation of research, which many other cities can learn from.

San Diego is a city whose many innovation assets and specialisations lack visibility in the global marketplace. The I.D.E.A. District is an important litmus test of the city’s capacity to facilitate re-urbanisation and renew its 100-year DNA as a city of innovation. Despite several constraints, the district has so far been very successful at producing consensus around a shared vision, and testing and growing appetite among residents, tenants and other users of the neighbourhood.

### 3. Conclusion

#### Areas of successful leadership in San Diego's innovation economy and district development

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<td>Adapt through the cycles</td>
<td>Leverage city DNA and expertise in promoting innovation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Develop innovation brand as a broad identity and shared narrative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Invite others to feel and experience the innovation culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes


5 Walshok and Shragge, Invention and Reinvention.

6 Ibid.


10 799 14th St., San Diego, Google Maps street view, www.google.co.uk/maps/@32.7136556,-117.1519603,3a,75y,35.13h,86.09t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sdZCviwKDOo6a8U_odBEPg!2e0!7i13312!8i6656!6m1!1e1.


19 The I.D.E.A. District, ‘Economic Analysis’.
