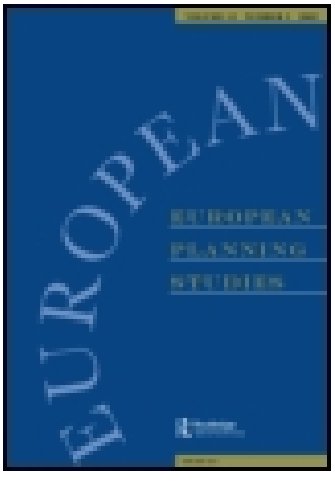

European Planning Studies
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ceps20

The Rise of the Creative City: Culture and Creativity in Copenhagen

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Published online: 02 Jul 2007.

To cite this article: Darrin Bayliss (2007) The Rise of the Creative City: Culture and Creativity in Copenhagen, European Planning Studies, 15:7, 889-903, DOI: 10.1080/09654310701356183

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09654310701356183

European Planning Studies Vol. 15, No. 7, August 2007

The Rise of the Creative City: Culture and Creativity in Copenhagen

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(Received October 2005; accepted April 2006)

Abstract *Culture and creativity as drivers of development are established features of the urban policy agenda. This article examines the interplay of culture, creativity and city planning using the example of Copenhagen, Denmark. Denmark presents an interesting example because whilst it has a tradition for linking culture with urban economic boosterism, recent research has suggested a social emphasis in its more contemporary urban cultural policies. The paper argues that the arrival of creativity upon the urban agenda has abruptly altered this policy context. Both culture and creativity have become central to attempts to stimulate the cultural and creative industries and to promote the city at an international level, attracting investment and the "Creative Class". In tracing this development, the article discusses potential changes to the planning system designed to facilitate Copenhagen's transformation to a creative city and points to the potential impacts of these.*

Introduction

For cities seeking to enhance their competitive position, the use of culture as a driver for urban economic growth is now an established feature of the policy agenda. Cultural industries, ranging from fashion to computer games, constitute a leading growth sector. In addition to generating income and employment, their tendency to cluster within rundown inner city districts often provides the catalyst for area revitalization and regeneration (Scott, 2000; Hutton, 2004; Mommaas, 2004). Cultural amenities, entertainment and lifestyle are moreover seen as essential if a city is to use the "wow factor" to attract educated, talented and professional people and the firms in which they work. To this end, researchers have noted the rise of the "Fantasy City" (Hannigan, 1998), "Consumer City" (Glaeser *et al.*, 2001), as well as the city as an "Entertainment Machine" (Clark & Lloyd, 2000). In short, culture is now both an economic sector embedded in diverse growth industries that can contribute to increased employment and

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ISSN 0965-4313 print/ISSN 1469-5944 online/07/070889–15
DOI: 10.1080/09654310701356183

area regeneration, and a resource crucial to the re-imaging of cities and regions as places for tourists, investment and mobile skilled labour. "Cultural resources are the raw material of the city and its value base" (Landry, 2000, p. 7). Culture-driven urban regeneration now has "a pivotal position in the new urban entrepreneurialism" (Miles & Paddison, 2005, p. 833).

This rise of culture-led economic development to become a part of the urban orthodoxy has been matched by an increasingly sustained critique. Griffiths (1993), Hansen (1993, 1995) and van Puffelen (1996) raise doubts as to the tangible economic benefits of the cultural industries in terms of numbers employed, quality of jobs on offer and income generated. Kong (2000) argues that flagship cultural attractions are costly, requiring high visitor numbers, with the result that only a limited number of cities can achieve success as major cultural centres. For Harvey (1989) the popularity and widespread use of culture in city marketing entails a risk of standardized image-improvement strategies and thus a lack of competitive advantage between cities. Moreover, there has been recurrent criticism of the social costs of urban strategies aimed at satisfying the consumption, entertainment and fantasy demands of mobile investment and skilled labour. For Lund Hansen *et al.* (2001) such strategies result in gentrification and the creation of spaces of middle-class consumption and enclaves of exclusivity; local populations that are not mobile, skilled and talented find themselves subject to exclusion and displacement.

Numerous commentators have mooted local participatory cultural activities as an alternative cultural development strategy (Landry *et al.*, 1996; Matarasso, 1997). Training and participation in neighbourhood-based cultural activities is promoted as a means to "strengthen social cohesion, increase personal confidence and improve life skills, improve people's mental and physical well-being, strengthen people's ability to act as democratic citizens and develop new training and employment routes" (Landry, 2000, p. 9). Griffiths (2006, p. 430) goes as far as to tentatively suggest such social impacts and the development of social capital are now the focus of urban cultural policy; "the narrow economic instrumentalism of the last decade has lost its place as the master discourse".

There is a strong possibility, however, that the rise of Richard Florida and associated debates on the relationship between culture, creativity and the city has overtaken any potential social turn. Florida's work on the factors necessary for urban and regional economic growth unsurprisingly strikes a chord with the regeneration agenda. His argument is often summarized in that economic growth is dependent upon cities and regions attracting creative, young and talented people, not least through a vibrant city life. It has thus been significant in reasserting the belief that cultural inputs translate into economic outputs. For Miles and Paddison (2005, p. 835) "there is no doubt that his work has had a significant impact insofar as it has captured the imagination of policymakers".

This article seeks to examine this intersection of culture, creativity and city planning using the example of Copenhagen, Denmark. Denmark presents an interesting example because whilst it has a tradition for an instrumental use of culture in connection with urban economic boosterism, recent research has pointed to it adhering to a social emphasis in its more contemporary urban policies. The argument presented in this article is that the arrival of creativity upon the urban agenda has abruptly altered this policy context. Both culture and creativity have become central to attempts to stimulate the cultural and creative industries and to promote the city at an international level, attracting investment and, for want of a better term, the Creative Class. In tracing this development, the article

discusses potential changes to the planning system designed to facilitate Copenhagen's transformation to a creative city and points to the potential impacts of these.

Creativity and Urban Development

The role of culture in social and economic development is now well documented (Bayliss, 2004a, 2004b) and does not require in-depth repetition here. Before turning to a discussion of the more recent establishment of creativity as a prerequisite for economic vitality at city and regional level, a short terminological discussion clarifying which industries make up the contemporary cultural economy is perhaps required. For O'Connor (1999, p. 34), the cultural industries are "those industries whose primary economic value is derived from their cultural value". Power and Scott (2004, p. 3) suggest that they are "all concerned in one way or another with the creation of products whose value rests primarily on their symbolic content and the ways in which it stimulates the experiential reactions of consumers". Pratt's (1997) definition of the cultural industries as including literature, publishing, printing, film production, advertising, museums, libraries, nightclubs, theatres and galleries fits in well here. Providing a definitive list of the cultural industries is however difficult as there is "[n]o hard and fast line separating industries that specialise in purely cultural products from those whose outputs are purely utilitarian" (Power & Scott, 2004, p. 4). The increasing popularity of the term creative industries further complicates this conceptual confusion. Coined by the UK government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the creative industries are "those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property" (DCMS, 2001, p. 3). They include advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film and video, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software and computer services, television and radio. Clearly there are disparities between these lists of cultural and creative industries. However rather than suggesting that we are dealing with two different sectors, these disparities are perhaps best attributed to the difficulty of pinpointing an operational definition of a single sector characterized by uncertain and shifting boundaries. The significant difference is more a discursive one between the terms cultural and creative. The notion of the "creative industries" mobilizes "some key buzz words, situating the cultural industries temptingly on a new economic territory" by switching from a word with elitist connotations to one that represents a discourse of management-speak, entrepreneurship and personal potential and aspiration (O'Connor, 2004, p. 39).

Creativity itself rates as one of these key buzz words, given its perceived role as a central element of growth in modern knowledge economies. Bell (1999) tells us that knowledge and information are now the strategic resource and transforming agent of the economy. First, knowledge is the principal activity of the economy. The creation and expansion of work in the knowledge sector (i.e. firms directly producing marketable information goods and services) together with the growth of activities such as planning and marketing that contribute indirectly to output in other sectors are such that information workers dominate the economy. Even the assembly line with its increasing tendency to involve new technology and human-based productivity techniques is moving towards higher-skilled employees. Second, knowledge is also "the source of invention and innovation" leading to economic growth through added value, increasing returns to scale

and capital savings (Bell, 1999, p. xvii). The creation, dissemination and exploitation of new knowledge, new ideas and technologies is a growth dynamo resulting in higher productivity as well as new commercial products and services (Leadbeater, 2004). Thus, economic success is dependent upon knowledge in the form of "complex problem solving, technological innovation, creative exploitation of new markets, and the development of new product or service offerings" (Neef, 1998, p. 2). In this context, Castells (2001, p. 157) identifies talented, highly skilled workers as "the key resource for productivity growth and the key resource for any company". "Knowledge workers" (Drucker, 1999) that are skilled, competent and flexible offer a competitive advantage in that they are "self-programmable" (Castells, 2001) and able to navigate and adapt in a dynamic, information rich environment. Whilst Glaeser (1998, 2000) provides empirical evidence of the association between regional economic growth and talent, Lucas (1988) goes as far as to claim that productivity gains resulting from the clustering of talented people are the driving force behind the growth and development of cities and regions.

Developing these ideas, Florida (2002c, p. 754) similarly argues that "talent, or human capital, is a driving force in regional development" because its availability is an increasingly important location factor for technology and knowledge-based firms. Rather than making location decisions on the basis of traditional factors such as land costs, labour costs, tax rates or government incentives, "high-technology industries are attracted to places with high levels of talent" (Florida, 2002c, pp. 751–752).

> [T]alent is strongly associated with high-technology industry location. Talent and high-technology industry work independently and together to generate higher regional incomes. In short, talent is a key intermediate variable in attracting high-technology industries and generating higher regional incomes. (Florida, 2002c, p. 744)

> The key dimension of economic competitiveness no longer lies in large endowments of raw materials or natural resources or even labor cost advantages. Rather, it turns on the ability to attract, cultivate and mobilize creative assets. (Florida & Tingali, 2004, p. 12)

For Florida, these creative assets, that is talented, high human capital individuals, are embodied in the Creative Class. Accounting for about 30% of the workforce in the US, the Creative Class includes both those traditionally envisaged as creative (musicians, artists, etc.) as well as the knowledge workers of today's economy. It consists partly of a "super-creative core" of "people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment". They "create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content". They are complemented by a "broader group of creative professionals in business and finance, law, health care and related fields" that engage in "complex problem solving that involves a great deal of independent judgement and requires high level of education or human capital" (Florida, 2002b, p. 8). It is lifestyle rather than occupation though that seems to distinguish the Creative Class. As Baris (2003) notes, this is a "group of people whose creativity permeates every aspect of their lives, who thrive on diversity and change, who collect experiences rather than possessions, and for whom the ability to express individuality and find an outlet for creativity is more important than any material gain".

Florida's account of the factors that attract and retain the Creative Class appears to offer a remarkably simple formula for economic development, which reflects their lifestyle choices and revolves around his three T's—technology, talent, and tolerance. Firstly, talent is attracted to tolerant and open regions where people "from any background, race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation can easily plug in" (Florida, 2002c, p. 750). Bohemian cities, for instance, are viewed as open and attractive to talented and creative individuals, "including those who are likely to establish high-technology firms and work in high-technology industries" (Florida, 2002a, p. 56). Secondly, "the creative class want to have interesting and challenging activities available to them. ... They want to live in a place that has a good buzz" (Florida, 2002b, p. 283). Highly educated, talented, high human capital individuals, especially younger employees and those in knowledge industry labour markets "exhibit a strong preference for cultural amenities" and "are drawn to places with vibrant music scenes, street-level culture, active nightlife, and other signifiers of being 'cool'" (Florida, 2002c, pp. 749–750). Rather than shopping malls and sports stadia, the Creative Class seeks out authentic, historic districts; "street level innovation comes out of these 'marginal' neighborhoods, making them vital to nurturing a healthy Creative Class" (Baris, 2003).

There are numerous critics of Florida's recipe for development. In terms of its economic reasoning, Peck (2005) notes that Florida grounds his arguments on the basis of some suggestive correlations, yet fails to specify the causal mechanisms themselves. Malanga (2004) argues that far from being economic powerhouses in terms of for instance employment and population growth, many of Florida's favoured creative cities such as San Francisco and New York are chronic underperformers. In the main though, it is the social costs associated with strategies aimed at attracting the Creative Class that generate most concern. Stressing a connection between creativity, inequality and polarization, Peck (2005) condemns creativity strategies as an extension of market-oriented, neo-liberal development agendas. Urban creativity strategies whereby the local state aims to attract key workers through opportunities for conspicuous consumption in regenerated neighbourhoods conceive of gentrification as a "positive urban process" (Peck, 2005, p. 764). Furthermore, creative cities exhibit the most extreme forms of socio-economic inequality because the Creative Class depends on an array of poorly paid service workers. Rather than compensating the creative have-nots, Florida's libertarian solution is that they should become more creative. Creativity strategies then are "elite-focused" and "leave only supporting roles for the two-thirds of the population languishing in the working and service classes, who get nothing apart from occasional tickets to the circus" (Peck, 2005, pp. 766–767).

Still despite the critiques, creativity strategies have proliferated over the last few years. *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Florida, 2002b) has become a bestseller, a popular manual of contemporary economic development thinking (Gibson & Kong, 2005), and Florida enjoys celebrity academic status reflected in conference tours, corporate speaking engagements and private consultancy work. Peck (2005, p. 760) attributes this to creativity's emphasis upon interurban competition, gentrification, middle-class consumption and place-marketing; it is a "market-friendly urban placebo" that "can quite easily be bolted on to business-as-usual urban-development policies". Other contributing factors are the mobilization of creativity as a positive apple-pie phenomenon, its ostensibly cheap and easy implementation, as well as an absence of alternative innovative urban policies. The end result is a clear and consistent message to policy-makers that "cities with thriving

arts and cultural climates and openness to diversity of all sorts also enjoy higher rates of innovation and high-wage economic growth" (Florida, 2004).

Although the message appears simple, policy-makers are hardly renowned for their role in the development of creative cities, replete with bohemian enclaves, marginal neighbourhoods, and cool street-level culture. Florida (2004) admits that creative environments cannot be planned from above, and his critics argue that especially the production of authentic neighbourhoods through deliberate public-policy interventions is nonsensical (Peck, 2005). Planning for the "anti-intervention, maverick and individualist" creative industries is also problematic as they tend to thrive in social networks and spaces outside of the city's formal infrastructures (Banks *et al.*, 2000; Brown *et al.*, 2000). However, it is still possible to identify some general traits of creative urban environments. Successful cultural quarters, for instance, are typically characterized by opportunities for cultural production and consumption, public involvement and animation, commercial, retail and residential development, good links to the rest of the city, training and support networks, and an integrated planning approach encompassing other policy areas such as tourism, transport and infrastructure (Bayliss, 2004a). Public policy may not be able to directly organize creative environments, but it is at least conceivable then that planning can hope to provide favourable framework conditions for creativity.

The remainder of this article considers the ways in which Denmark's, and especially Copenhagen's, planning and development initiatives are responding to this increasing emphasis upon creativity.

Culture-led Development in Denmark

There is a long tradition in Denmark for urban policy-makers to use culture as a means of promoting urban areas. Holstebro, a small town in Jutland, is credited with inventing the use of culture for re-imaging and development purposes following investments in international, experimental and technologically innovative art forms in the 1960s so as to attract industry and a young, educated labour force. Rather than being a burden on the public purse, culture was seen as profitable and, by the 1980s, culture-led economic development more or less dominated local cultural policies as local politicians prioritized high cultural institutions and flagship projects in the expectation of increased tourism, jobs and trade (Skot-Hansen, 1998a, 1998b). This appeared set to change in the late 1990s. Skot-Hansen (1999) argues that as a reaction both to overstated claims of the direct effect of investment in culture, and the excessive prioritization of eventmaking and enlivenment, growth-oriented policies favouring the prestigious and international began to be rejected in favour of the community-based and the non-spectacular. Likewise Bayliss (2004c) found that the cultural strategies of Danish urban local authorities in 2000 placed most emphasis upon social development objectives such as democratization of cultural activities, personal development and social cohesion in comparison to economic objectives such as employment and income generation and place marketing to tourists, skilled personnel and inward investors.

By the start of the new millennium though central government re-emphasized the economic potential of culture and creativity. First, the cultural sector (art, music, books, theatre, radio/TV, film, toys, printed media, architecture/design, sports, fashion, tourism, advertising, edutainment and content production) is rated as a substantial contributor to the Danish economy. Estimated economic benefits for the year 2000/2001 include

turnover of DKK 175 billion, 170,000 full-time employees, and exports of DKK 68 billion (Kulturministeriet & Økonomi- & Erhvervsministeriet, 2003). Elements of the cultural industry are also among the fastest growing in Denmark. Turnover in the sector as a whole rose by 29% between 1992 and 1998, compared to total growth of 15% in the remainder of private industry. In the music and film sectors, turnover growth rates were as high as 92% and 67%, respectively (Kulturministeriet & Økonomi- & Erhvervsministeriet, 2001). Second, culture is again advocated as means to attract people and investment: "long-term, indirect gains may be considerable because culture helps to generate a vibrant environment, greater quality of life and superior experiences, giving regions and towns a stronger external profile" (Kulturministeriet & Økonomi- & Erhvervsministeriet, 2001). Third, creativity is identified as a factor that "gives goods and services extra value by imbuing them with quality, feelings, values, meaning, identity and aesthetics that consumers searching for experiences will pay extra for" (Kulturministeriet & Økonomi- & Erhvervsministeriet, 2003).

In the Danish context then, whilst research from the last few years has suggested a social turn in local cultural development strategies, the most recent policy developments at central government level indicate not just a return to more traditional economic objectives, but also the injection of creativity into the debate. The paper now turns to Denmark's capital city Copenhagen as an example of how this is influencing development initiatives and planning strategies on the ground. There is no claim here that Copenhagen is chosen because it is representative of west European or even Danish policy. As will be discussed shortly, however, it does serve as an example of the ways in which planning for a city region making the transition to a knowledge economy can be influenced and guided by Florida's discourse of culture, creativity and urban economic development.

Creative Copenhagen

Two main bodies are responsible for the governance of the capital city. In central Copenhagen, the Municipality of Copenhagen undertakes a broad range of tasks, including social welfare, housing, planning and urban development, and leisure, sport and cultural facilities. Metropolitan governance is provided by the Greater Copenhagen Authority, Hovedstadens Udviklingsråd (HUR). Established in 2000, HUR is led by a board of 11 politicians, the mayors being ex-officio members, appointed by the five constituting bodies (municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg and the counties of Copenhagen, Frederiksborg and Roskilde). The idea of a metropolitan authority has long proved problematic for both other local authorities and central government, and for Andersen *et al.* (2002, p. 51) HUR bears the characteristics of a "weak co-ordinating body". Reasons for this are two-fold. First, containing approximately a third of the national population, Copenhagen is already dominant in terms of size alone; strengthening it politically would present an unacceptable challenge to both national government and the rest of the country. Second, political tensions between the social democratic Municipality of Copenhagen and affluent conservative-liberal suburban municipalities have blocked streamlined governance reform. Reflecting this, politically and financially important welfare and social policy areas do not fall under HUR's auspices. HUR's remit does still however include regional planning for the whole of the metropolitan region as well as the coordination of economic development, tourism and culture.

Desfor and Jørgensen (2004) and Lund Hansen *et al.* (2001) have made clear that public policy in Copenhagen over the last 10 years has been strongly influenced by the need to compete successfully on an international stage with the city acting as the nation's "growth locomotive". "Economic growth has become the primary goal of urban policy" and a number of major infrastructural projects such as the construction of the Øresund Bridge, the Metro underground system, and the new urban centre of Ørestad have been implemented (Desfor & Jørgensen, 2004, p. 482). Intended as global landmarks, these would accentuate Copenhagen on the world map, attracting investors to the city. Much effort has also been directed into attempts to develop, and portray, the region as a post-industrial, knowledge-based economy. As the Municipality of Copenhagen likes to claim, the city has evolved from an industrial economy to a service and knowledge economy (Københavns Kommune, 2005a). The growth of the biotech cluster Medicon Valley, a joint venture between local biotech companies, universities and hospitals is a central element of this transition. Several large pharmaceutical firms (e.g. AstraZeneca, H.Lundbeck and LEO Pharma), 109 dedicated biotech firms, 26 hospitals (11 of them university hospitals) and 12 universities are to be found within the region (Coenen *et al.*, 2004). Information Communication Technology is another prominent growth sector; not least the Southern Harbour is characterized by an intense agglomeration of telecommunication firms such as Ericsson and Nokia. For Hospers (2003, p. 158), the region has grown from "a relatively traditional industrial area into a true 'creative hub'".

Parallel to these changes in Copenhagen's physical and economic geography, the areas of culture and creativity have also witnessed considerable developments. Firstly, the city has benefited from major additions to its cultural and recreational infrastructure. Whilst the Opera House is foremost amongst the new attractions, other developments include Arken museum for modern art and an enlarged Statens Museum for Kunst (national art museum). Amager Strandpark, an artificial beach built out from the coast to create a lagoon, opened in 2005. A new theatre on the waterfront, floating harbour stage, as well as concert hall and golf course in Ørestad are on the way. Fixtures on the cultural events calendar include the International Film Festival and the Jazz Festival. Secondly, rapid growth has also been experienced within the region's creative industries, especially fashion, design, advertising, music, computer games and film. Copenhagen County's 83,915 cultural industry employees represented 32% of the nation's total cultural industries employment in 1999, with this concentration likely to be accentuated further in the future (Power, 2003, p. 174).

The following sections examine the policies of HUR and the Municipality of Copenhagen in relation to these cultural and creative resources. Culture and creativity, it will be seen, have become integral elements of the dominating strategies for economic boosterism.

HUR, the Greater Copenhagen Authority

In line with the focus upon economic growth identified earlier, HUR's broad vision for the capital city region in 2017 is that it will be able to attract companies and qualified labour in competition with other international cities. Whilst this general vision can be widely interpreted, the role for culture and creativity is clearly specified: recreational opportunities are identified as essential and the possibilities offered by culture, art and creativity will be exploited to the full (HUR, 2005). Marketing the region as the Nordic centre of culture will increase Denmark's international competitiveness (HUR, 2004). An expanded

offering of prestigious cultural events, architecture, shopping possibilities and other "experiences" will be one of the region's main dynamos for growth (HUR, 2003).

The reasoning behind this vision closely matches the arguments concerning culture and creativity as agents of development outlined earlier. Firstly, an attractive cultural life is seen as a decisive factor in attracting and retaining international firms because highly educated labour demands ready access to café environments, city life, shops and leisure and entertainment opportunities. HUR (2004, 2005) explicitly attributes recent extensive developments in the city's harbour areas to this trend. These include the symbolic architecture of Den Sorte Diamant, the prestige offered by the Opera, Fisketorvet shopping centre, and the transformation of Islands Brygge from derelict and polluted dock to chic urban quarter complete with designer shops, cafés, restaurants, culture centre and harbour lido. As Desfor and Jørgensen (2004, p. 493) note, the waterfront has become a prime location for "[h]ousing, entertainment and cultural facilities all catering to the up-scale market associated with a globally mobile labour force". Secondly, it is argued that the presence of creative industries contributing in part to this cultural life and the knowledge based workers and industries attracted by it further generate an environment of creativity and innovation. Such creative environments then in turn attract other talented groups rich in "Creative Capital" that are inclined to either establish or work in hi-tech industries (HUR, 2005, 2003). Reading between the lines here is hardly necessary to see Richard Florida's influence; indeed HUR (2003, p. 5) spells it out: "If the region has the three T's, Talent, Technology and Tolerance, then according to Florida it will experience the highest growth in the modern economy".

In addition to the value of cultural events and the creative industries in profiling the region internationally to the Creative Class, other economic benefits of the "experience economy" are expected. Direct employment in the cultural sector is predicted to grow, whilst international events are also expected to generate increased local business activity with positive employment side effects within the region's service and retail sectors (HUR, 2004, 2003). Inspiration is drawn here from Copenhagen's hosting of the (albeit violence-affected) UEFA-Cup Final in 2000 and Eurovision Song Contest in 2001, which together generated increased trade of DKK 192 million (Idrætsfonden Danmark, 2000; Catinét Research, 2001).

In light of this, HUR's policy initiatives are somewhat unsurprisingly focused upon mega events and prestigious attractions so as to profile and market the region through culture at an international level. In spite of the considerable investments of recent years in cultural infrastructure, the fear persists that Copenhagen lacks internationally visible flagship attractions, prompting numerous plans for new grand projects. These include a "world-class" aquarium, Legoland style children's leisure park with "international appeal", new natural science museum, and a new elephant centre in the zoo designed by star architect Norman Foster to be opened in 2006. There are calls too for a new arena suitable for sport and music, a new congress centre, world exhibitions with "global resonance" and a cultural network with the other EU Regions of Excellence (HUR, 2003, 2004).

The Municipality of Copenhagen

Globalisation and the free movement of people and investment across national borders, the internet and cities' central role as growth dynamos in the world

> economy have contributed to a stronger focus on the framework conditions that are a fundamental prerequisite for growth. The three T's are of most importance in this debate: Technology, Talent and Tolerance. The three T's are a challenge for all cities in the coming years. This includes Copenhagen. (Københavns Kommune, 2005a, p. 1)

The Municipality of Copenhagen has similar international ambitions for the city that are again explicitly expressed using the rhetoric of the Creative Class. According to the City Plan Strategy, Copenhagen's foundation is the creative people who live there and the city should be a metropolis, where the focus is upon "technology, creativity and tolerance as the driving force behind the city's economic growth and development" (Københavns Kommune, 2004a, p. 8). Access to a creative labour force is a crucial location factor for knowledge firms, the City Plan Strategy argues, and to retain and attract them Copenhagen needs to be an "attractive cultural and leisure city" (Københavns Kommune, 2005a, p. 5). In this respect, the cultural infrastructure of an expanding city centre is advantageous, for it is in the historic core, waterfront areas, and northern section of Ørestad that the majority of facilities are localized and Copenhagen's potential as an international city is identified. Still though, there are calls for larger sports events and a broader range of commercial entertainments, and the Municipality works together with Wonderful Copenhagen, the region's official convention and visitors' bureau, to attract hallmark international events. For instance, the international design festival Index 2005 was intended to "emphasise Copenhagen as a creative city" (Københavns Kommune, 2004a, p. 21).

The Municipality's use of culture and creativity though is not simply limited to city marketing purposes. A second objective is to retain, develop and support the creative industries in "creative innovative environments" (Københavns Kommune, 2004a). Eight mixed industrial areas within the inner city have been designated as suitable for further creative industry development, whilst Refshaleøen (part of Copenhagen port and a close neighbour to the new opera) and Den Hvide Kødby (an underutilized centre for meat processing in the Vesterbro district close to the city's main railway station) are identified as incubators for new creative firms (Københavns Kommune, 2005a). Based upon design, fashion and food, and heralded as Copenhagen's cultural quarter, current initiatives in Den Hvide Kødby include a design centre offering studio and exhibition space, teaching areas, and professional advice. The "dynamic and friction" between meat and fashion is meant to constitute a "unique narrative of Copenhagen's profile as a creative metropolis" (Københavns Kommune, 2004c).

The experiences and lessons learnt from these areas will also guide the development of new planning structures suitable for the sector. Current thinking stems in part from an analysis conducted by the Municipality of life styles in Copenhagen that pays much attention to "catalysts"—project managers and entrepreneurs working in the creative and other knowledge industries (Københavns Kommune, 2004b, p. 6). Whilst only accounting for between 5% and 10% of the city population, their numbers are expected to rise as the transition to a knowledge society continues (Københavns Kommune, 2005a). Fundamental to future economic growth, they favour a city that is dynamic and lively, with identity and a pulse. They seek opportunities to create new projects, declining areas are thus a resource rather than a problem, and they are attracted by the unplanned and the unregulated. Planning for the catalysts then means catering to their search for more experiences, flexible space and fewer rules. Popular catalyst areas include Vesterbro

and the harbour front; "work and home can be the same place for them, and the dream can be living in a giant New York loft" (Københavns Kommune, 2004a, p. 23). This illustrates again the distinct geography of creative Copenhagen. Just as the cultural infrastructure to attract the Creative Class is concentrated within the city's central areas, so too are their preferred working and living areas; for creative industries and entrepreneurs, "localisation in the central city area is the only real choice" (Københavns Kommune, 2005b, p. 24).

The Municipality commissioned report Copenhagen as Creative City (Kontrapunkt, 2004) provides further inspiration for planning for creativity. Two notable proposals are a talent cultivation strategy and a deregulation strategy. In addition to financial support for creative industry start-ups, the talent cultivation strategy recommends that the Municipality become more proactive, for instance through a One Stop Shop advising on the processes of obtaining planning permissions and approvals, because many firms in the creative sector fail to understand its support schemes, funds and regulations. The deregulation strategy calls for a less visible Municipality with fewer restrictions as a prerequisite to establishing the optimal framework conditions for creativity. One proposal is for the establishment of free zones for the creative industries where working environment restrictions are relaxed, for instance by allowing live-in studio workshops, so as to enable creative firms to concentrate on developing their businesses. After 10 years the areas will then be integrated back into the normal planning system, with new free zones established for the capital's next generation of creative pacesetters. A second proposal is for fewer constraints on the use of squares, streets, train stations and parks for concerts and events so as to give creative forces a free hand. To develop Copenhagen as a 24 hour city, there should be more nightclubs, it should be easy to open a night restaurant, and night shopping should be a possibility. Whilst such deregulation might entail a more raucous environment, the report argues that this should be accepted as one of the costs of living in a creative city.

Lastly, these proposals point also to the significance of tolerance to Copenhagen's planned evolution into a creative city. Copenhagen as Creative City promotes the vision of "Being comfortable being different" in that the foundation for creativity rests upon creating an open and diverse city that can accommodate eccentric ideas and eccentric individuals. Openness and diversity though are not intended simply to stimulate creative ideas and facilitate the creative industries, but also to assist the city in its efforts to boost its international profile, attracting investment and a well-educated, creative workforce.

> The city's great diversity is a strength that means Copenhagen distinguishes itself as a tolerant city. Cultural diversity gives the city good possibilities to attract well-educated and creative workers, as well as entrepreneurs in future service industries and high technology sectors. (Københavns Kommune, 2004a, p. 26)

One indication of the city's diversity is that 18% of the population have a non-Danish background. However, the notion that Copenhagen distinguishes itself through its tolerance needs to be carefully considered. Whilst Florida and Tingali (2004, p. 41) suggest that Denmark is a top scorer in terms of tolerance and is "actively working to attract foreign-born talent", the Liberal-Conservative coalition government, in office with the support of the anti-immigrant Danish People's Party, has since 2001 instituted increasingly stringent immigration policies. Immigrants, especially if they lack skills and qualifications suited to the knowledge economy, are by no means necessarily welcomed to the country and, as the Municipality notes, it will be an important task to maintain the image

of Copenhagen as an open and tolerant city (Københavns Kommune, 2004a). It is questionable whether the Mohammed cartoons controversy helped in this respect.

Conclusion

This paper then suggests that the narrow economic instrumentalism of culture-led development persists. Suggestions that cultural regeneration strategies have undergone a social turn seem somewhat wide of the mark. It is clear that culture has not only retained its use as an agent of economic boosterism, but that it has been given added impetus by its incorporation within the economic rhetoric of the creative city. This can be seen at several levels in Denmark. At a national level, government policy seeks to promote the cultural and creative industries in view of their direct economic benefits and their contribution to city and regional competitiveness. In the case of Copenhagen, HUR argues strongly for the provision of cultural flagships and the physical redevelopment of the city as a place of leisure and entertainment so as to attract workers rich in "creative capital" and thus also the companies in which they work. The Municipality of Copenhagen focuses similarly upon an international profile as a cultural, dynamic and tolerant metropolis so as to attract "creative people". Furthermore, it aims to stimulate the creative industries through the development of clusters and incubators. Besides cultivating talent through the more traditional means of increased financial support and improved advice networks, free zones exempt from the usual planning system are under consideration as part of a deregulation strategy to create the optimal framework conditions for creativity. In this context a more social oriented cultural policy is notable only for its absence.

These developments raise at least two questions. Firstly, Peck's (2005) critique of creativity suggests that the focus upon attracting key workers in the new economy entails social costs. Lund Hansen *et al.* (2001) support this position, arguing that in Copenhagen the pursuit of skilled employees is reliant upon state-induced gentrification and the deportation of marginalized inner city residents.

> What at first glance appears to be an unambiguously positive characteristic and goal—the creative city—becomes on closer inspection a dubious ideological smokescreen to cover up the social costs associated with compulsive adaptation to the "requirements" of the "new" flexible globalized economy, including reduced transparency in urban governance, social and geographic polarization and large scale transformation of the urban landscape involving considerable displacement. (Lund Hansen *et al.*, 2001, p. 866)

Whilst the point will not be argued as strongly as this here, it is clear that despite the soft formulation in terms of for instance diversity, tolerance and openness, there is little room in the rhetoric and policies of creativity for the socially weakest groups in the city.

Secondly, there is the issue of whether Copenhagen's parallel focus upon the development of creative milieux and the creative industries is likely to be productive. The point has been made that direct top-down planning is unlikely to generate creative environments. Copenhagen's approach seems to be more aimed at establishing basal favourable conditions for the sector. This can be seen in the suggested free zones in culturally "rich" environments where creativity is meant to flourish in a more *laissez-faire* planning framework, aided by loosely organized economic, technological and professional support

structures that are proactive, flexible and attuned to the sector's needs. If the Municipality succeeds in implementing the proposals, it will be interesting to examine both the concrete form they take and the effects they generate.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to the two anonymous referees for their comments on the first version of this paper.

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