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Thematic Section:
Creativity Unbound – Policies, Government and the Creative Industries

Edited by
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Creativity Unbound – Policies, Government and the Creative Industries

By Can-Seng Ooi & Birgit Stöber

Creativity has been conceived as the currency for economic growth for many researchers, urban planners and policy makers (e.g. Caves 2000; Florida 2003b; Howkins 2001; Landry 2008). Countries from Sweden to Singapore have devised strategies to release the creativity in the people. The so-called creative industries have brought together different businesses, ranging from computer games to theatre plays, onto a common platform for spurring economic growth. The creative industries are considered central to a country's innovation system. As argued by Trüby, Rammer, & Müller (2008), there are three ways that the creative industries contribute to the whole economy. One, the creative industries is a major source of innovative ideas and contributes to an economy's innovative potential and the generation of new products and services. Two, creative industries offer services which are inputs to innovative activities of other enterprises and organizations. Three, creative industries are intensive users of technology and demand alterations and new developments of technology, spurring innovation impulses to technology producers.

The promotion of the creative industries is also a political project. Governments stand behind the vision, leading to society being socially and economically engineered to bring about the creative society. Regulations must be shaped to encourage the spurts and flows of creativity in the populace. Members of society must be convinced that the future lies in editing videos on a computer screen rather than putting together products along an assembly line, for instance.

The rhetoric of economic development from creativity is seductive to the public. It assumes a "democracy of involvement" (Neelands & Choe 2010: 288). Considering that most people consider themselves capable of finding solutions in their everyday life and they have ideas and opinions on issues, the discourse of creativity and the creative industries encourages everyone to aspire and become more self-directed in their economic participation. Creativity is seen to be universal and everyone – privileged or not – can take a shot at becoming economically successful by being creative.

The creative industries harness creativity and this means that creativity is assumed as manageable and productive (Bilton 2010). The idea that outcomes of creativity can be unpredictable and destructive has been replaced by the view that creativity can be harnessed and controlled. But creativity need not be an asset and can be rather destructive (Jacobs 2005). Some art works, for instance, are known to be annoying or even destabilizing (e.g. graffiti as street art, Salman Rushdie

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and his book Satanic Verses). It is because creativity is now framed as manageable, it can also be exploited for wealth creation. The emphasis is on "productive creativity," meaning that it is a "more disciplined form of creativity with professionalism and purpose" (Jacobs 2005: 9). In other words, there is a disciplining effect from the promotion of the creative industries. This disciplining effect is also elaborated by Poettschacher (2010). He argues that the celebratory message on the creative industries introduces a language that respects the rules of economy, allowing creative individuals into the world of business, giving the impression that they could work within the realm of traditional economic rules. Famous creative entrepreneurs such as Bill Gates and George Lucas are celebrated as creative geniuses in businesses (Bilton 2010; Poettschacher 2010).

As creative ideas come from individuals, the talent pool must be expanded before a society can exploit the creative economy. Governments are at hand to build the talent pool and also offer possibilities for creative individuals to find work and enjoy life. One way to expand the talent pool is to educate its workforce. Education systems around the world want their pupils to become good thinkers and creative solution finders. For instance, even in authoritarian China, the Chinese government is reforming the country's education system to meet the challenges of the economy. Reflecting official views, journalist Li Hong writes:

> The entire national education system, from primary and secondary schools to colleges, deserves a reshuffle to keep with the times. […] Old shackles of thinking still depress creative ideas. From preschool pupils to graduates, students have to wage an unrelenting battle against towering homework assigned by their tutors. […]All in all, a flourishing country needs contagion of tradition-breaking and epoch-making minds to fire up. (Li 2010)

Regardless, there can be consequences when citizens are encouraged to break traditions and think out of the box. Tension can arise when a more experimental, vocal and independent population challenge authoritarian regimes. For instance in Singapore, the government has to find more nuanced sophisticated ways to manage a growing section of the population that wants even more space for social and political expression. The consequence is to back-track on some of its creative industries initiatives; instead of lessening censorship, censure becomes harsh on unflattering political messages (Ooi 2010).

Educating creative people and building up the necessary infrastructure to foster creativity takes time. Another strategy to ensure a large supply of creative workers is to import such workers. Creative workers are highly mobile and these creative individuals supposedly want to live and work in places that are culturally vibrant, tolerant of diversity and technologically advance (Bille 2010; Florida 2003a). As a result, cities and countries are branding themselves accordingly (Dinnie 2011). For instance, since 2004, Berlin has an avowed gay mayor who actively promotes the city as a creative, diverse and tolerant place (Ooi & Stöber 2010).

As governments attempt to shape their creative economies, the results have been mixed. The papers in this special thematic section deal with creative indus-

tries policies and their consequences. A number of salient and exciting areas are addressed. The creation of the creative industries, for instance, has consequences for the arts and culture. Ooi examines the case of Singapore. The arts are considered the essential core in the creative industries in the city-state however he demonstrates the fine arts are systematically being subjugated under the other more lucrative and economically productive creative industries. As a result, fine artists are embracing market logic into their practice and changing their conception of aesthetic quality.

The film industry is a promising creative industry. Strandgaard Pedersen and Mazza in this collection examine the Copenhagen Film Festival and the Festa del Cinema di Roma. Their case shows why film festivals are similar around the world, and each new festival is desperately looking for their uniqueness. In this context, while authorities may want to promote the film industries, players in the game are learning from one another, film festival organizers are picking up best practices and seeking legitimacy from their peers. Governments may throw money into creative industries, industry players however anchor themselves with their international peers.

Urban planners are pimps! Ek starts his paper with this provocative statement. By examining the urban regeneration project in Helsingborg (Sweden) H+ and SHIP, he argues that the public has little influence in shaping their own environment, in spite of the claim that the regeneration process is democratic and for the people. Given the authority and resources by politicians, urban planners construct and present their ideas on renew spaces in systematic and yet overwhelming ways that leave little space for influence from the public. The creation of the creative physical space means managing the infinite creative impulses of people and insidiously pushing a tacit agenda across.

The city of Berlin has a fast growing creative industry that has become the object of the city's development policies and place marketing. Lange uses Berlin as a reference case to articulate the gap between "state-led planning" on the one hand and the organisational practices of self-governed creative scenes on the other. His vital question is: What are the spatial-organizational driving forces of creativity in Berlin – can they be steered by public administration? In the course of his paper Lange demonstrates that creative industries are characterized by growing culturepreneurship embedded in a distinct urban environment. This is mainly a way of self-governance, he states.

Also in Denmark, the creative industries have emerged as a legitimate concern in national cultural and economic policy. With focus on the fashion business Riegels, Skov and Faurholt Csaba explore the way in which that particular industry has been enrolled in the cultural industries policy in the country. Inspired by Actor Network Theory, the authors analyze the Danish fashion industry as a mobilization of resources and institutions. The authors' argument is based on the observation that there is considerable slippage between fashion understood as cultural

phenomenon and fashion understood as clothing-derived industry. This ambiguous situation can be seen as productive. In sum, the authors argue the Danish cultural industry policy is eventually "compelling" because it manages to transform the Danish apparel industry and eventually putting the nation on the global catwalk.

Stöber reflects on the question of strategic development and region building through culture and creative industries. In her paper, she argues that in region building processes, "culture" often gets instrumentalized in order to strengthen the economic (regional) projects. This tendency seems to get even more intensified in the context of framing "the cultural economy as [a] driving force in many urban and regional economies" (Pratt 2009:272). In her paper, Stöber focuses on two examples from Northern Europe, the existing Danish-Swedish Øresund link and the planned link between Denmark and Germany across Femernbelt. Even though there are some clear differences between these cases, a strong link between the physical link and an official regional and cultural discourse is exposed.

The paper by Holst Kjær with the title "Meaningful-Experience Creation and Event Management" focuses on the management and organisation of the Copenhagen Carnival 2009. The Copenhagen event is, according to Holst Kjær's analysis, not only a co-creation by voluntary culture workers and service staff, but also a co-creative space for sponsorships, small enterprises and a scene for artists, students and grass-roots. As ethnologist and folklorist Holst Kjær discusses the carnival as Post-Colonial Edutainment and examines the link between the low-budget, annual event Copenhagen Carnival and the recent debate within cultural policy and experience economy in which events are perceived as essentials when adding value to a city's image.

This collection of articles points to the importance of government and policies in promoting the creative industries. The papers also point to the futility and limitations on what governments and policies can do.

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Subjugated in the Creative Industries: The Fine Arts in Singapore

By Can-Seng Ooi

Abstract

The arts and culture are considered core in a creative industries strategy. But the promotion of the creative industries brings about revised notions of creativity. These revised notions are being applied to the arts. Creativity is now seen to be largely manageable. All individuals are made to believe that they can be creative. Not only that, creativity is seen to be a money spinner. Workers should tap into their creativity and bring about innovations in the work place. Pupils are taught to tap into their creativity and to think outside the box. Such views on creativity galvanize the public and enthuse many people into the creative industries. Such notions of creativity contrast against the fine arts. Regardless, as this paper examines the situation in Singapore, shows that fine artists in the city-state are finding themselves internalizing a market logic and have tied their art practices to economic value. Fine arts practices will not be as lucrative or popular as their counterparts in the other creative businesses; they will remain poor cousins in the creative industries. Essentially, the fine arts are being subjugated in the creative industries and the Singaporean art world is being changed.

Keywords: Cultural economy, arts in Singapore, creative economy, art world

Introduction

Richard Florida's concept of the 'creative class' and his theory that creativity is a major driver of economic development (Florida 2003) has in recent times gained increasing salience. Shortly after David Cameron was elected prime minister of the UK, he appointed Florida as his government's 'new guru' (*The Economist* 2010). The focus on the creative economy in the UK, which started more than a decade ago by the previous Labour government, remains a priority in the current coalition government. Other countries, ranging from China to Canada, have also followed suit and started pursuing similar creative industries strategies (e.g. see Hutton 2003; Tallon & Bromley 2004; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt 2005; Bayliss 2007; Tan 2008; Trueman, Cook, & Cornelius 2008). The UK Department for Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) has provided the seminal definition of the creative industries: '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' (Department of Culture, Media and Sports 2001: 5). This definition is now used by many researchers, policy makers and consultants around the world (e.g. Creative Metropoles; Cunningham 2002; Economic Review Committee-Services Subcommittee Workgroup on Creative Industries (ERC-CI) 2002; Uricchio 2004).

Despite the embrace of these ideas, what actually constitutes creativity remains ambiguous. The ambiguity has nonetheless spurred the imagination of politicians, the public and industry (Caves 2000; Leadbeater 2000; Howkins 2001). The pursuit of the so-called creative industries brings together seemingly disparate business enterprises (e.g. movies, architecture, museums, art auction), products (e.g. paintings, designer furniture, computer games, advertisements), occupations (e.g. interior designers, sculptors, video editors) and creative processes (e.g. experimental performances, creative writing, fashion creation) (see Caves 2000; Howkins 2001; Florida 2003; Gibson & Kong 2005; Hartley 2005; Galenson 2006; Handke 2007; Markusen, Wassall, DeNatale & Cohen 2008; Trüby, Rammer, & Müller 2008; Neelands & Choe 2010).

The myriad of differences are glossed over by the idea that creativity is the foundation of all these businesses. For example, if we take a pure economic perspective of the cultural industries (or the so-called arts and culture cluster), mass entertainment such as popular musicals and rock concerts have considerable commercial potential for 'wealth and job creation'. This is less true of the fine arts, which are often less profitable, and often needs to be supported by the state or subsidies and grants. Only a few contemporary fine artists, like Damien Hirst, Yue Minjun and Olafur Eliasson, are able to exploit their intellectual property and become famous and wealthy. The fine arts, for the most part, tend to generate small-scale productions that attract acolytes rather than the larger public. Commercialization and popularization are even frowned upon (Adorno & Horkheimer 1972; Goodall 1995; Abbing 2002; Cuno, de Montebello, Lowry, MacGregor,

Walsh & Wood 2006). In spite of this non-commercial propensity, the fine arts are still considered the epitome of creativity and a core sector in the creative economy (Howkins 2001; Robertson 2005; De Jong, Fris, & Stam 2007).

Defining the fine arts into a cluster within the creative industries also reflects the re-thinking of public support for the arts. In the age of 'neo-liberal globalisation' (McGuigan 2005), economic sustainability and independence are central even for public goods. Besides that, the advent of public private partnerships has led to a rhetoric of boundary-demolition; common interests and mutual benefits can be found in bringing together profit and not-for-profit organizations, public and private institutions (Remer 1996; Wetenhall 2003). The inclusion of the fine arts in the creative industries strategy encourages or pressures fine artists into changing their not-for-profit mentality. If businesses have taken on social responsibility and become more engaged in society in the name of corporate social responsibility, why should the fine artists not take on more economic responsibility to further their practice? There are however fears that many artists and cultural institutions will become less engaged in cultural development when they chase commercial success (van Aalst & Boogaarts 2002; Cuno, de Montebello, Lowry, MacGregor, Walsh & Wood 2006). Studies on public private partnership have also shown that public and non-commercial interests are more likely to be compromised as market logic overwhelms public goods (Wetenhall 2003). So, by framing the arts and culture into some kind of industry, there is a tendency for cultural policy focus to shift from cultural development to economic development (Wise 2002).

This paper looks at the categorizing of the fine arts into the creative industries in Singapore. Singapore follows the UK definition of creative industries, and has grouped the creative industries into the following clusters or domains:

> *Arts and Culture*: performing arts, visual arts, literary arts, photography, crafts, libraries, museums, galleries, archives, auctions, impresarios, heritage sites, performing arts sites, festivals and arts supporting enterprises.
>
> *Design*: advertising, architecture, web and software, graphics industrial product, fashion, communications, interior and environmental.
>
> *Media*: broadcast (including radio, television and cable), digital media (including software and computer services), film and video, recorded music and publishing. (ERC-CI 2002: iii)

The arts and culture are considered core to the creative industries. The Singaporean government maintains that the fine arts are important for the cultural development of the city-state. As will be shown later, the authorities are providing increasing support for the arts and culture, with state sponsorship for artists and art lovers continuing to rise. In fact, financial support for the arts in Singapore has never been more generous. But as this paper will show, the process of subsuming the fine arts into the creative industries has also resulted in its subjugation. When compared to other creative businesses, such as advertising, developing computer games and architecture, the fine arts community is inevitably pressed to become

more economically productive with their creativity. Using measurable indicators, the media and design creative clusters are shown to be lucrative and thus, it is argued, worthy of continued state support; in light of this, fine artists are made to feel the weight of having to 'quantify' their contributions to society. This can be a difficult challenge, as the the fine arts by its very nature, with its premise of high ideals, does not lend itself to empirical gauges of usefulness in simple bottom-line terms. But the official view is that the fine arts cannot be allowed its sacred cows where state investment is concerned; the arts must also be 'accountable' if it is to be given tax-payer money.

The case for fine arts is not helped by many prejudices that exist against the arts, as reflected in the general population in Singapore (Ooi 2010a). Parents are reluctant to encourage their children to pursue a professional arts career, the view being that art creation is not work and artistic integrity is secondary to social engineering programs. These contrast to the other creative businesses, which are perceived as more lucrative, tangibly valuable and not socially troublesome.

This study is part of the project, Creative Encounters, supported by the Danish Strategic Research Council. Data was collected from April 2007 through various means, including documents, media reports, observations and in-depth interviews with 66 stakeholders in the Singapore art world. The 66 respondents in Singapore include 35 practicing artists, 10 of which are also art teachers and another 10 have other jobs to supplement their income. 13 respondents are administrators, decision makers or curators in the public sector (state-supported agencies, museums and schools), 15 persons run private art spaces (galleries and art complexes) or write art reviews. Three are art collectors.

After this introductory section, I will review the literature on the politics entailed in creative industries policies and the underlining theoretical positions on the economics of creativity. This review will situate Singapore's creative industries strategy in the international context. The case of Singapore will then be presented. The case will highlight the efforts by the Singaporean authorities in promoting the arts and culture. With the emphasis on the fine arts – such as painting, sculpture-making, ballet and theatre – this paper shows how the fine arts are being compared with the other creative clusters. The final section summarizes the paper and concludes that the fine arts are being subjugated in the creative industries in Singapore.

Poetics and Politics of Creativity in the Creative Industries

As alluded to earlier, the advent of the creative industries embraces a neo-liberal economic position; even common public goods and services have economic value. If goods and services are valuable, these values must be articulated economically or at least quantitatively. The current glowing image associated to creativity and the creative industries stems from several areas, all embracing a neo-liberal economic view of value. In the case of the creative industries, creativity has economic worth. At the microscopic level, creativity is seen to be essential in creating

material wealth. Creativity can be monetized because creative ideas and processes can be protected and economically exploited through patents, copyrights and trademarks (Howkins 2001). A painting as a creative product, for example, can be sold and the image of it can be further monetized through copyrighted reproduction in the form of postcards and posters. At the macroscopic level, the creative industries also contribute to the general economy. For instance, Müller, Rammer and Trüby (2008) explain three ways on how the creative industries may become part of a country's innovation system. One, the creative industries are a major source of innovative ideas and contributes to an economy's innovative potential and the generation of new products and services. Two, creative industries offer services which are inputs to innovative activities of other enterprises and organizations. Three, creative industries are intensive users of technology and demand alterations and new developments of technology, spurring innovation impulses to technology producers. Likewise, artists for example, can help enterprises and organizations in their innovation by providing inspiration and ideas for new products and designs (see Throsby 2001; Towse 2003).

Another positive aspect of the creative industries is the assumed 'democracy of involvement' (Neelands & Choe 2010: 288). Creativity is, as observed by Neelands and Choe in the UK, part of New Labour's 'social-market construction' (Neelands & Choe 2010: 293f). The rhetoric of creativity and the creative industry recognizes the poorer in society and encourages them to aspire and become more self-directed in their economic participation. Creativity is seen to be universal and everyone – privileged or not – can take a shot at becoming successful by being creative. Creativity then evens out the competition and levels the playing field. It is an individual resource that provides hope and possibilities for all individuals to excel economically.

The promotion of the creative industries also assumes the manageability of creativity (Bilton 2010). The idea that outcomes of creativity can be unpredictable and destructive has been replaced by the view that creativity can be harnessed and controlled. But creativity need not be an asset and can be destructive (Jacobs 2005). In many societies, artists are accepted for being quirky and even irreverent. Many assume a role as the conscience of their society and want to make social political commentaries through their works, often with messages that can be controversial and which may even promote anti-establishment ideas and behavior. There is, however, and in even greater abundance, a whole slew of sleek, popular and lucrative creative products such as glossy advertising campaigns, spectacular architectural designs and computer games in which the creative industries are seen to be simply harvesting creativity for mass consumption. In other words, creativity is manageable and can be exploited 'benignly' for wealth creation. The emphasis is on 'productive creativity', meaning that it is a 'more disciplined form of creativity with professionalism and purpose' (Jacobs 2005: 9). But many fine artists find it a compromise of principle to pander to a mass market, if it will mean

watering down their work into something less daring, controversial or polemic than they intend.

Taking a critical instead of a neo-liberal economic perspective, Poettschacher (2010) argues that the language of business is a Trojan horse in the promotion of the creative industries. The fulsome and enthusiastic proffering of the creative industries provides 'communicative camouflage' (Poettschacher 2010: 362), by disguising the risks, unpredictability and costs of dabbling in creative projects. The celebratory message on the creative industries introduces a language that respects the rules of economy, allowing creative individuals into the world of business, giving the impression that they could work within the realm of traditional economic rules. Individuals such as Richard Branson and Steve Jobs are celebrated as creative geniuses in business (Bilton 2010; Poettschacher 2010). Many artists in Singapore, as will be shown next, will find that they have to embrace the language of business and pursue the logic of the market, as policy makers measure their credibility through quantitative ways.

Cultural Policy in Singapore

In 2001, the Singaporean government set up the Economic Review Committee (ERC), consisting of seven subcommittees, with the aim of developing strategies to ensure the continuous economic prosperity of the city-state. The ERC Sub-Committee Workgroup on Creative Industries (ERC-CI) seeks ways to 'fuse arts, business and technology' (ERC-CI 2002: iii). The city-state must 'harness the multi-dimensional creativity of [its] people' for its 'new competitive advantage' (ERC-CI 2002: iii). This report includes specific plans to develop the arts and culture, media and design sectors. (ERC-CI 2002; Ministry of Information, Communication and the Arts (MICA) 2008; National Arts Council (NAC) 2008). Unlike earlier cultural development strategies (Advisory Council on Culture and the Arts 1989, Ministry of Information and the Arts (MITA) 2000; Singapore Tourist Promotion Board 1996), the vision of making Singapore into a city for the arts in 2002 is framed within the creative industries context.

Policy 1: The Importance of the Arts in the Creative Industries

Cultural development first received policy attention in 1989 (Advisory Council on Culture and the Arts 1989; Lee 2007; Ooi 2010b). A number of other cultural policy incarnations have since been proposed. For instance, in 2000, the Ministry of Information and the Arts (MITA, predecessor to MICA) envisaged Singapore as a 'Renaissance City' (MITA 2000; Tan 2007). In the Renaissance City report, it argues that 'the ability to imagine, conceive and realize something new, to create something meaningful and valuable that never existed before is the single most prized quality of a work of art. The highest creative achievements in endeavours like engineering, architecture and even science are described as being "state-of-

the-art"'(MITA 2000: 32). Singapore workers should have the creativity of artists. The then Deputy Prime Minister stated in the Renaissance City report that:

> Creativity cannot be confined to a small elite group of Singaporeans […] In today's rapidly changing world, the whole workforce needs problem-solving skills, so that every worker can continuously add value through his [sic] efforts. [… and] the arts […] can be a dynamic means of facilitating creative abilities. (MITA 2000: 32-3)

The arts are thus seen as central in inspiring and training the citizenry for the creative economy. The arts and culture are thus considered as being at the core of Singapore's creative economy.

Policy 2: Cultural Development in Singapore

The vision of Singapore as a city for the arts is being realized. In the 2011 budget, the arts were allocated S$365 million (€183 million) every year up to 2015, a doubling of resources from previous years. From that sum, S$40 million (€20 million) will go to promoting the arts in the heartlands of Singapore (Chia 2011). In September 2010, the government set up a 19-member group to develop a new strategy to enhance the arts and culture in Singapore. Previous strategies have invested heavily in institutions and infrastructure. For example, the Yong Siew Toh Conservatory of Music was set up at the National University of Singapore in 2001, local art schools – the Nanyang Academy of Fine Arts and the LASALLE College of the Arts – have been expanded and their profiles increased. The School of the Arts, a dedicated pre-tertiary arts school, opened in 2008. In the mid-1990s, the Singapore Art Museum, Asian Civilisations Museum and the National Museum of Singapore opened. The National Art Gallery will open in 2013. Esplanade – Theatres on the Bay, which opened in 2002 has become a lively art venue. The newly formed Arts and Culture Strategic Review steering committee will concentrate on the 'softer' aspects of the cultural industry. The aim is that by 2025, 80% of residents will attend at least one arts and cultural event a year; it is, at present, only 40% . The intention is to make Singapore the most livable city in Asia and for the arts and culture to be embraced by all Singaporeans (Chia 2010a). There are already a number of cultural festivals, including the Singapore Biennale, Singapore Arts Festival, Singapore Writers Festival and Singapore Film Festival. Arts festivals and performances have not only become more abundant but have become more accessible; for instance, the Esplanade offers hundreds of free concerts annually.

The Relative Position of the Arts in the Creative Industries

While there is no doubt that the arts are getting attention in Singapore, the inclusion of the arts and culture into the creative industries in 2002 has exerted various pressures on the fine arts community, leading in turn to various tendencies. These include getting fine artists and the fine arts community to become more economically productive, to start measuring and quantifying their contribution to society

and to avoid 'disruptive' creativity. In creative businesses that are less cerebral and more aesthetic, for example the manufacturing of designer furniture, controversies in the creative content are rare as the creative expression seldom incorporates any message that may threaten the social political order; professionals in these areas are relatively well-paid and, more significantly, better regarded. Let me elaborate.

Tendency 1: Pressure Towards Productive Creativity in the Arts

Using the infant industry argument, the Singaporean government supports the different sectors in the creative industries. For instance, the Prime Minister announced in September 2010 that his government will spend about S$3.2 billion (€1.6 billion) annually on R&D for the next five years. The sum is about 1% of Singapore's GDP (Chua & Chua 2010). The sum indicates Singapore's commitment to become a 'knowledge-based, innovation-driven economy' (Chua & Chua 2010). The design and media clusters are seen as lucrative and are generously supported by the government. For instance, the Economic and Development Board (EDB) has allocated S$500 million (€250 million) to develop the digital media industry for 2006 and 2010 (Balakrishnan 2005). Subsequently, another S$500 million (€250 million) is intended to be made available for the period from 2011 to 2015. Media production companies, such as Electronic Arts (makers of the computer game *The Sims*) have already set up studios in Singapore. EDB has a joint venture with LucasFilm and consequently an increasing amount of production work on George Lucas's movies, television programs and games will be done in Singapore (Tham 2010). In April 2010, the Minister of MICA announced a new initiative to attract animation projects to Singapore, with the government willing to fund up to S$5 million (€2.5 million) for each project. The project must however have a local Singapore partner (Tan, W. 2010). In contrast, between 2003 and 2009, the Singaporean government has increased its funding to the arts via the National Arts Council, the Esplanade and the School of the Arts from S$55 million (€28 million) to S$99 million (€50 million) (MICA 2010: 41). Generally, the arts receive less support than the other creative clusters. The other creative clusters are more deserving because they are more lucrative. In fact, workers in the arts and culture cluster are less economically productive. The Singapore Department of Statistics compared the relative 'productive creativity' of the three creative sectors, in terms of value-added per employee (DesignSingapore Council 2008; see Table 1).

Arts	S$ 40 000 (€20 000)
Design	S$ 67 000 (€34 000)
Media	S$ 81 000 (€41 000)

Table 1: Services Value-Added per Employee (2005)
(Source: DesignSingapore Council 2008: 56)

Thus in comparison, the cultural sector is not generating as much revenue as the other creative sectors, it is also not receiving as much in grants. The economic 'laggards' in the cultural cluster are found in the fine arts; members in the fine art community know that they are not as economically productive as those producing rock concerts and auctioning antiques. But being part of the creative industries means the fine arts will inevitably be compared to the other creative enterprises. Members in the fine arts community have to constantly remind themselves that they are in the business of cultural development, not economic development. In the Renaissance City 2.0 report, which integrates the arts into the creative industries, it is stated that Singapore must:

> maximize the potential of the existing and new arts infrastructure by developing our software [human skills] and enhancing the level of integration with the business and people sectors. At the same time, [MICA] agencies must shift away from the 'arts for arts' sake' mindset, to look at the development of arts from a holistic perspective, to contribute towards the development of the creative industries as well as our nation's social development. (ERC-CI 2002: 14)

The Singaporean authorities acknowledge the importance of the arts in Singapore and in their contribution to the creative industries but they also want artists to move away from their 'arts for arts' sake' mentality. In other words, fine artists should learn from the design and media sectors, that is, to exploit their creativity enough to make money.

Tendency 2: Visibility and Quantification of the Value of Art

The arts and cultural scene in Singapore is getting more vibrant, according to some measures. For example, between 2003 and 2009, ticketed attendance of performing arts events increased from 1 million to 1.4 million (MICA 2010: 16). Non-ticketed attendances increased from 11 million in 2006 to 19 million in 2009 (MICA 2010: 18). The number of visitors visiting museums in Singapore tripled from 2 million in 2003 to 6.7 million in 2009 (MICA 2010: 19). While the number of visitors to museums have increased, many officials working in public art and history museums lament during interviews and discussions that they are facing increasing pressure to attract even more visitors (see also Ng 2011). Increasing the number of visitors to the museums is a quantitative measure of the museums.

As mentioned in the last section, the fine arts are being encouraged to become more economically sustainable; if they can achieve this, they will receive greater approval from the authorities and the public. This encouragement can be rather coercive. For example, in 2008, organizers of the Singapore Arts Festival were lambasted because ticket sales were meager; only 22 000 tickets were sold, as compared to about 35 000 tickets in previous years (Chia 2008b). The dismal result was said to be a combination of programming and pricier tickets (Chia 2008a; Ong 2008). The then minister of MICA, Lee Boon Yang, defended the S$7 million (€3.5 million) spent on the festival, stating that the 2008 edition of the festival

was not a failure. The tickets sales were lower but the standard was high and many shows were sold out (Goh 2008). In 2009, however, the Singapore Arts Festival saw a 180-degree turn-around. Average attendance at ticketed events crossed the 90% mark, as compared to less than 75% in 2008 (Chia 2009). NAC chief Lee Suan Hiang explained that the success was due to a number of factors, including cheaper tickets, timing and also a change in the direction of the programming; the 2009 edition 'took a more crowd-pleasing slant' (Chia 2009). The last point is instructive, as the extent to which it is considered a triumph of populist taste over the more recherché fine arts will arguably influence future policy.

Policy makers do acknowledge, however, the special needs of the fine arts. They are explicit with this understanding in my interviews with them. The arts will always need a helping hand. So for instance, since 2005, in an attempt to make the arts relevant in business and in public spaces, many buildings in Singapore have incorporated art works. The mushrooming of permanent art installations in buildings in the city is a consequence of a scheme by the Urban Renewal Authority (URA). Under the scheme, developers are able to increase the Gross Floor Area or built-up area on a piece of land (URA 2009). As a result, some local artists have benefited from the scheme, for instance, Victor Tan has his stainless steel wire sculptures incorporated into the landscaped rooftop of Orchard Central, a premier shopping mall. Individuals and companies can also enjoy tax benefits if they donate art works to an approved public institution (e.g. Singapore Art Museum, National Park Board, Land Transport Authority) or adopt a public work of art (National Heritage Board 2010). New subway stations in Singapore are well endowed with art installations. Such schemes not only help the art community but also make art works visible to the public.

More direct help is also provided to the art community, in terms of grants for art projects and art housing. Since resources are limited, competition arises in the community and it can turn ugly. For example, art housing is a major problem in Singapore because of high rental prices in the city-state. Many art groups and artists do get assistance from the NAC under the art housing scheme. The scheme is being revamped because some artists are not perceived as using their cheap spaces productively by fellow artists and the NAC (Nanda 2010). When one visits the Telok Kurau Studios, a government-supported art complex, for instance, the place is often quiet. Artists often lament that their colleagues use their studios as store rooms. They also complain that there was hardly any interaction to enliven the artist community in the complex. The bickering amongst artists in the complex has led to the NAC to rethink its art housing programme. As a result, artists are concerned that the authorities will want to see more tangible results from artists enjoying state-sponsored art housing (Neo 2010). To the authorities, there must be more accountability. The revised art housing scheme is being finalized and is likely to include these elements: Artists who are in the profession for a longer period may not receive priority in obtaining a space; artists will be asked to pay rent at

'market prices' but will be given a cash subsidy to help offset the higher rents. The NAC wants to evaluate individual artists more quantitatively and maintain control over who use the spaces. Under the new system, artists are encouraged to become more commercial-minded, being mindful that their practices should pay for themselves. Artists should wean themselves away from state support. Their creativity should become more 'productive' over time. To many fine artists I interviewed, the NAC should be more concerned with cultural development; the NAC's gauge of success, as pegged to length of time in the profession and economic viability, does not bode well for the future of the fine arts in Singapore. Good art does not necessarily translate into economic success, however long one may be in the profession. Such quantification is problematic in measuring the worth of an artist.

Attendance numbers, commercial success and visibility of art works are quantitative or at least more tangible measures. Improvement in these measures will be welcomed. As a result, fine artists are under pressure to be creative enough to be popular and make money too. Most of them find jobs to supplement their income. For cultural institutions, they organize events, exhibitions and festivals that are more popular and commercial. The fine arts are being treated as, and becoming more like, the many businesses in the other creative clusters where commercial success and popularity is essential. If success cannot be counted monetarily, it does not count. Effectively, the fine arts community is inadvertently absorbing the economic logic of making computer games, advertising campaigns and the like. For computer games and advertising campaigns, their activities are primarily profit-oriented; for many artists I interviewed, they similarly now see their practice along profit-oriented lines. Their worth is tied to commercial success (besides aesthetic growth).

Tendency 3: 'Disruptive' Creativity is Still Unwelcomed

Designer lamps, popular, g-rated animation movies and most other media and design products do not usually engage in making strong local political and social statements (Ooi 2010b). Controversies from artists and art works are however part of a maturing arts scene. Cultural products, ranging from paintings to literature, can be insidiously political (Zipes 1991; Bell, Haas & Sells 1995). But pushing the social political limits in artistic expression has its limits in Singapore. In attempting to attract tourists and foreign professionals to Singapore, the city-state has allowed bar-top dancing, tolerated homosexuality (although homosexual acts are still criminalised in Singapore) and opened two casinos (Ooi 2010b). While some Singaporeans are concerned with the liberalization of the social spaces in Singapore, the authorities see it as necessary. Singapore should not be a nanny-state. Citizens should be allowed to experiment and take risks (Lee 2007; Ooi 2010b). There are now more spaces for social and political expression in Singapore. But this is only part of the story.

The then-Minister for Community Development, Youth and Sports, Dr Vivian Balakrishnan, maintained that the government is willing to listen to different views from 'responsible people' but the government will have to 'maintain the integrity and security of the State' (Chua 2008). The Singapore government is 'hypersensitive to any threats against our racial and religious harmony' (Chua 2008). This hypersensitivity is extensively felt in the arts community. For fear of disruption to the stable environment in Singapore, the government continues to control the mainstream media and is wary of social political activism (Lee 2007; Tan 2007; Ooi 2010b). Some artists make social and political statements that are not flattering to the authorities. Their works may be censored or banned. In 2010, there were a few incidents of artists rubbing up the wrong side of the authorities. For instance, a local drama group, Drama Box, in using a forum theatre format, wanted to stage three short plays in public spaces, in its attempt to engage the community with important social issues, including homosexuality, sex education and religious radicalization. Drama Box did not get the licence to perform outdoors from the Media Development Authority (MDA). The forum theatre format encourages audience members to interject and act in an ever emerging play (Tan, C. 2010). The topics were considered sensitive and since the endings of the plays remain open, the MDA stated that the plays should only be staged indoors. Most artists disagree with the decision and felt that theatre groups should be allowed to reach out to the community.

Another theatre group, Wild Rice, saw its funding from the NAC cut by more than ten percent in 2010. Wild Rice is known to make social and political commentaries that criticize the Singaporean government on issues of race, religion, homosexuality, censorship and media regulation. The cut came about because the NAC would not support 'projects which are incompatible with the core values promoted by the Government and society or disparage the Government' (Chia 2010b). A group of theatre practitioners petitioned the authorities, stating that: 'NAC's priority should be directed towards developing Singapore's potential as a world-class city for the arts, and not towards developing the potential of a statutory board [NAC] – entrusted with public money – as an organ of social control.' (Chia 2010b). When asked about the case, Elaine Ng, Director of Arts Development at NAC said, 'given the limited pool of resources, we have to prioritize our funds to areas and arts groups which need greater support from us'. NAC chief Benson Puah admitted that the cut in Wild Rice's funding was based on the theatre group's actions over the years and NAC wanted to send a message. He said

> The cut could have been much more severe, but it was just a gentle message to be sent that the conditions have to be complied with. The difference [compared to the past], of course, was that we didn't fudge it [i.e. being transparent and open], which was probably the first time such a clear statement was made, explaining the reasons for the cut […]. (Chia 2010a)

As a consequence, many artists continue to exercise self-censorship (Gomez 2002; Ooi 2010a; Ooi 2010b). Creative expressions in the media and design clus-

ters tend towards commercial gain; in the arts, expressing the emotional concerns of the people is considered more important. But such expressions can disparage the authorities. From the view of the authorities, such forms of creativity are disruptive and unproductive. Despite the attempts at promoting the arts and culture, part of its growth is stunted because of the political regime. Many artists do not want their creativity to be dictated by commercial success or political expediency. But in Singapore, many artists have to work within a regime that is narrower than many more democratic countries. There is an explicit push for them to be less 'disruptive' in their creative practices.

So paradoxically, the government wants the fine arts to prosper like the other creative clusters but at the same time, the authorities are wary of allowing the fine arts to mature and engage with society. In other words, there is an explicit attempt at advancing the arts and culture but only in terms of its economic independence and popularity. Art practice that may resonate with the public through social and political messages are discouraged. The promotion of the arts is therefore only half-hearted, and in effect, a form of selective grooming.

Tendency 4: An Increasing Respect for the Arts but with Still a Long Way to go

With increased resources given to the arts and more publicity given to celebrated artists, the status of artists in general is improving. Over the years, my respondents have observed that family, friends and the public increasingly accept that being an artist can be a proper profession. One artist recalled that when she wanted to be an artist some twenty years ago, her mother threatened to commit suicide. The artist took up her art practice only after a successful career in advertising. The relatively low status of the arts in Singapore has a social historical context.

One, there is an apparent disregard for, or at least uncertainty on how to appreciate and handle, the intellectual property of artists in Singapore. Many artist respondents find that they are competing with mass produced ornaments and paintings, those sold in IKEA, for instance. Artists and gallery executives recall stories of visitors or potential customers who are surprised with the prices of the works of art and many of those visitors frequently draw comparisons to cheap decorative works. Visual art works are largely appreciated for its decorative value, not its aesthetics. In 2007, a furor broke out in Singapore when public art installations were destroyed during building renovations and renewals of public spaces. An iconic mural depicting aspects of Singapore along Orchard Road, Singapore's main shopping street, was destroyed without any consultation with the artist (Chew 2007). Similarly, Singapore Power, a statutory board that provides public utilities, removed four of six stoneware water features, an art installation by Delia Prvacki, from its headquarters. Art works are treated as ornaments, not as embodiments of the intellectual property of artists. Attitudes began to change after the 2007 furor, but the ornamental view of art works is still prevalent.

Two, the ability and intelligence of artists are questioned in the Singaporean education system. It does not encourage pupils to become professional fine artists. For instance, pupils who perform better in school are streamed into the sciences. Taking art as a subject, on the other hand, is often considered a 'soft option', a term used by an Art teacher in a secondary school interviewed by me, for weaker pupils (Ooi 2010a). Doing arts and cultural activities in school is often considered a peripheral, extracurricular activity. The non-core view of the arts is also reflected in the two tertiary-level arts schools in Singapore: LASALLE College of the Arts (popularly known as LASALLE) and Nanyang Academy of Fine Arts (NAFA). NAFA was founded in 1938 and offers programs in fine art, music, dance, interior design, fashion design, video production, 3D design, advertising, animation and interactive media, amongst others. LASALLE was set up in 1984, with the aim of providing contemporary art education in fine art, design, media and performing arts. All students in these arts schools will start with a common foundation year. There is a tendency for those who excel in their first year to continue with the more commercially-oriented creative industries programs, such as animation, graphic design and fashion. The fine arts are a 'residual' program for students who do not qualify for the others (Ooi 2010a).

Three, there is a tacit view that art practice is for the economically desperate. The fear that artists are 'free-riders' is institutionalized in the Singapore system. While Singapore promotes the free-market economy, it is not willing to do so for street performers, for instance. In the last two decades or so, the Singapore government has been changing its regulations on street performances or busking. When it was first allowed in 1992, performers must obtain a licence, belong to a cultural institution, perform only in a handful of selected places at allocated times and all proceeds must be donated to charity (Pang 1994). The strict regulations arose from the fear that busking would become a form of 'disguised begging'. The restrictions have been loosened since but a licence is still required. The licence can only be obtained after vetting by the NAC. Performances are allowed only in selected spots. The fear that busking is a form of begging is still central in the popular mindset (Pang 1994; Dhaliwal 1997; Koh 1998; Tan 2009). It is believed that anyone who is desperate can turn to performing in public to get money. Similarly, as reflected in the education system, people go into the arts only as a last option.

In spite of the attempts at promoting the arts in Singapore, fine artists are still struggling to get recognition for their profession and products. The Singaporean system does not encourage creative individuals to go into the arts and the public are not educated to appreciate artists and their works.

Consequences and Conclusion

Cultural development in Singapore is a long and slow process. The goal however is not one of a freewheeling experimental space for artists and art lovers to generate a vibrant creative scene. Instead, the authorities have devised an increasingly

nuanced scheme to manage the fine arts within the established economic, social and political scheme in the current regime. As elaborated earlier, there are a number of tendencies under the current situation of grouping the fine arts into the creative industries. Firstly, there is pressure for the fine arts community to become more economically productive with their creativity. Secondly, accountability of value in the arts is mandatory in receiving state-support. Visitor numbers, visibility in public, ticket sales and the like are used to evaluate artists. Such quantifications are meant to account for the usefulness and productivity of the arts. Such quantifications also tend to ignore the universal and innate value of the arts and that aesthetic quality cannot be quantified (Kavolis 1964; Carey 2005; Cuno, de Montebello, Lowry, MacGregor, Walsh & Wood 2006). Thirdly, with the increased funding from the authorities, the authorities have now a bigger economic tool to control the arts community, in terms of deciding what projects and who to support. This financial tool complements the earlier blunt mechanism of censorship and public chiding of wayward artists in Singapore. Finally, the arts are getting more recognition but challenges remain. This is the view expressed by many artist respondents. Most parents remain apprehensive of encouraging their children into an arts career. Doing art is still seen as an activity for leisure and fun, not for making money.

The invention of the creative industries, as highlighted earlier, brings about revised notions of creativity. These revised notions are being applied to the arts when the arts are grouped into the creative industries. Creativity is now seen to be largely manageable. All individuals are made to believe that they can be creative. Not only that, creativity is seen to be a money spinner today and in the future. Creativity is productive and lucrative. Creativity is to be celebrated and in the rhetoric of the creative industries, creativity can be harvested and managed. Workers should tap into their creativity and bring about innovations in the work place. Pupils are taught to tap into their creativity and to think outside the box. Such views on creativity galvanize the public and enthuse many people into the creative industries (Ooi 2010b). Such a rosy picture of creativity and the creative industries ignores the fact that many creative ideas did not succeed. Successful businesses need more than ideas to work, e.g. financial support, a viable business strategy and good marketing.

In the context of the fine arts, many artists do not see their practices as businesses. If they do, these artists and their works may lose credibility in the eyes of their peers and public! To many, commercial and popular works do not constitute quality art. But by assessing the fine arts with the same instruments in evaluating the media and design-for-profit creative clusters, aesthetic values are contrasted against commercial value. Many members of the fine arts community still celebrate their works in aesthetic terms, but as they become subsumed into the creative industries, these members have also inadvertently or otherwise found themselves internalizing a market logic and have tied their art practices to economic

value. Many fine artists will find that their practices will not be as lucrative as their counterparts in the other creative businesses; they will remain poor cousins in the creative industries. The fine arts are being subjugated in the creative industries when the fine arts have to 'compete' with the other creative clusters on economic and popularity terms.

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International Film Festivals: For the Benefit of Whom?

By Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen & Carmelo Mazza

Abstract

Film festivals have become a widespread phenomenon over the last fifty years and are leading events establishing the reputation of film professionals and constitute a well-established field in itself. Studying the cities of Copenhagen and Rome the authors are asking why the public authorities of these cities establish their own film festivals in an already saturated field of international film festivals? The focus is on the strategic responses and work made by two late adopters of film festivals – Copenhagen and Rome and their international film festivals, CIFF and 'Festa del Cinema di Roma' (FCR). The comparative case study is based on qualitative data and methods. It investigates how the two festivals establish, legitimate and position themselves within the existing, institutionalised field of international film festivals. Combining the classical work on early and late adopters in the diffusion of ideas and practices (Tolbert & Zucker 1983) with forms of legitimacy (Suchman 1995) and institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006), it is demonstrated how different and sometimes conflicting demands from various stakeholders, like public authorities and the film industry, have shaped the frames used to position and legitimize the film festivals.

Keywords: Film festivals, late adopters, legitimacy, institutional work

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Introduction

Why do authorities in Copenhagen and Rome establish their own film festivals when there are plenty of film festivals already? Events and awards ceremonies have become an increasingly fashionable and widespread phenomenon appearing across industries in the form of trade fairs, professional conferences, technology contests and so forth (Lampel & Meyer 2008; Moeran & Strandgaard Pedersen 2011). Well-established and broadly publicized events and awards in culture industries, including for example the Oscar (motion pictures), Grammy (music), Tony (theatre) and Emmy (television) events and awards, have become global cultural icons, signifying popular and critical success (Caves 2000; Anand & Watson 2004). Events and award ceremonies are occasions for the industry to meet and celebrate themselves and their products (Ruling & Strandgaard Pedersen 2010), building identities (Anand & Watson 2004) and creating distinctions and classifications (DiMaggio 1987; Strandgaard Pedersen & Dobbin 1997) through nominations and awards giving (Mezias et al. 2011).

Film festivals are seen as a specific type of events and award ceremonies, operating as leading events establishing the reputation of film professionals and as a meeting place for the film industry, mediating between art and business. Film festivals appear to constitute a well-established field in itself with a quite crystallized structure. In countries with a tradition in the film industry, cities with film festivals have been present for the last 6-7 decades or more (e.g. Venice in Italy, Cannes in France, Berlin in Germany, and Moscow in Russia) and specialization among festivals has been an emerging feature profiling festivals on the basis of the participating movies, directors and actors. Nobody knows exactly how many film festivals exist today on a global basis, but estimates have been made that more than 3500 film festivals exist. Such a structured and mature field constitutes an interesting domain for studying how new entrants (or late adopters) legitimate their existence and justify the need for yet another film festival. The focus is on the strategic responses and efforts made by two late adopters of film festivals – Copenhagen with Copenhagen International Film Festival (CIFF), launched in 2003, and Rome with 'Festa del Cinema di Roma' (FCR) launched in 2006 – in their attempt to establish themselves as legitimate players within the international film festival field.

First we present the theoretical framework to frame the issue of late adopters and the strategic dilemmas and issues of legitimacy they face within such an institutionalized field. Second we present an account of the emergence and development of the international film festival field and its institutionalization. Third, we present and discuss the two cases of late adopters within this field and analyze how conflicting demands from various stakeholders, like public authorities and the film industry, have shaped the frames used to position and legitimize the film festivals, which we then conclude on.

Theoretical Framework

The institutionalization and diffusion of organizational forms and practices has been a significant object of analysis for many institutional contributions for the last three decades. Instrumental arguments (Dowling & Pfeffer 1975), social and cognitive arguments (DiMaggio & Powell 1983; 1991; Scott 1995; 2008; Czarniawska et al. 2005, Greenwood et al. 2008) have been developed to understand why certain forms and practices are adopted by organizations. Several attempts and suggestions have been made to define the various stages in the process leading towards institutionalization and diffusion of practices (e.g. Tolbert & Zucker 1983; Strang & Meyer 1994; Greenwood, Hinings & Suddaby 2002). These theoretical contributions end up emphasizing the role of the external environment and of social norms in enhancing the diffusion within the organizational fields by means of isomorphic pressures.

Institutionalization and diffusion have been largely investigated from a 'practice perspective'. In this approach, the research agenda is concerned with understanding how given practices – such as, among others, TQM (Westphal, Gulati & Shortell 1997), health care procedures (Scott et al. 2000), caesarean birth (Goodrick & Salancik 1996), multidivisional forms (Davis, Diekmann & Tinsley 1994) – are circulated and become widely adopted within a particular organizational field. Yet, within this array of research, differences existing among the adopters and the time profile of the adoption have received only a scant attention. A significant exception is provided by Tolbert and Zucker (1983), whose seminal paper on the adoption of Civil Service reforms in US cities in the early 20th century, first raised the issue of the presence of different logics behind the adoption of institutionalized practices. They outline how timing affects the rationale of adoption and envision a two-stage model, wherein the authors distinguished *early adopters*, their decision depending on 'the degree to which the change improves internal process', from *late adopters*, who adopt certain practices 'because of their societal legitimacy' (Tolbert & Zucker 1983: 26). This two-stage model brought legitimacy and history back as main determinants of diffusion patterns. Mazza, Sahlin-Andersson and Strandgaard Pedersen (2005) have provided further descriptions of the different rationales inspiring early and late adopters of management practices by studying the diffusion of MBA educations in Europe.

Late adopters are seen to be inclined to conform to institutionalized forms and practices so displaying symbolic alignment with taken for granted practices paying less attention to substantial impacts on effectiveness and overall performance. In this sense, late adopters can be seen as prone to conservative strategic responses (Oliver 1991) in order to minimize the potential conflicts with the external environment. This argument resonates with other arguments like liability of newness and power dependence. Liability of newness would suggest that late adopters choose a conformity profile since acquiescence may reduce the risk of sanctions (Oliver 1991). Power dependence would suggest that alignment with the external

environment could help attracting the needed resources by reproducing the existing dependency patterns with suppliers (Oliver 1991). In both cases, late adopters' rationales are driven by symbolic and rhetoric (Green 2004) alignment rather than by the expectation of performance improvement.

In spite of the impressive body of literature on institutionalization and diffusion of practices (for overviews see Scott 2008 and Greenwood et al. 2008), we suggest that the late adopters' rationales for change still deserve a more careful academic scrutiny. In particular, the specific case where late adopters are also new comers in a given organizational field has been largely neglected. It is the case where an organization enters in a new field being late at adopting given practices. Existing research have so far neglected to investigate how pressure to conformity for organizations already acting in a field and deciding to (late) adopt institutionalized practices may differ from how pressure acts upon organizations which are entering in a new field.

We deal with two late adopter cities, Copenhagen and Rome, and their newcomer film festivals, CIFF and FCR, operating in the already institutionalized field of film festivals. We argue that late adopters face an inclusion-exclusion dilemma when trying to establish themselves within an institutionalised field. This dilemma has also been framed as 'optimal distinctiveness' (Brewer 1991) and studied, among others, by Alvarez et al. (2005) and Svejenova et al. (2007). Such cases are interesting since they link the selection of forms and practices to adopt (i.e. the diffusion issue) with the creation of the legitimacy of late adopters in the field. The latter dynamic provides an additional rationale for the late adopters' decision. Besides liability of newness and resource dependency, we argue that legitimization plays a major role in framing the strategic response to environmental pressures by late adopters.

Legitimacy makes certain forms and practices desirable, as they are congruent with existing social norms and values (Dowling & Pfeffer 1975; Suchman 1995). Legitimacy also makes organizations understandable to themselves as their existence is explained by established cultural accounts. Finally, legitimacy makes organizations taken for granted so that deviance from socially constructed patterns – such as economic profitability and performance – can go unnoticed and survival ensured despite economic failures (Meyer & Zucker 1988). Following Suchman (1995) legitimacy is 'a perception or assumption in that it represents a reaction of observers to organization as they see it' (Suchman 1995: 574). In this sense, legitimacy, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder(s) and in some cases they may have conflicting views and opinions on what is to be considered legitimate. Legitimacy is therefore a key concern for late adopters' (new comers) rationalization and theorization of their courses of action in an organizational field.

According to this approach, late adopters, such as Copenhagen and Rome and their film festivals CIFF and FCR, have to adapt to the existing conventions and isomorphic pressures and, resemble the other organizations existing in the field. In

this way, they can be accepted as legitimate players and attract resources (Meyer & Rowan 1977). Capturing the concerns of legitimacy facing the two festivals we build upon Suchman's (1995) taxonomy. He describes three types of legitimacy organizations fight for: a) *pragmatic*, resting 'on the self-interested calculations of an organization's most immediate audiences' (Suchman 1995: 578), b) *moral*, resting "not on judgements about whether a given activity benefits the evaluator, but rather of judgements about whether the activity is 'the right thing to do' (Suchman 1995: 579) and c) *cognitive*, resting not on evaluation but rather on taken for granted-ness; as Jepperson argues, 'one may subject a pattern to positive, negative, or no evaluation, and in each case (differently) take it for granted' (Jepperson 1991: 147).

We focus on certain specific features of legitimacy that we find are significant in the case of new film festivals. First, within pragmatic legitimacy we investigate how the film festivals in Copenhagen and Rome aim to attract support of main constituencies by appearing as 'responsive to their larger interests' (Suchman 1995: 578). In this sense they had to be constructed providing ex post rationalizations and ad hoc justification of their existence as tools to improve city marketing and increase reputation as hosts of large media events as well as tourist inflows. Second, within moral legitimacy, we focus on how the two film festivals had to profile themselves in an original way in order to distinguish themselves from the existing film festivals and so create a distinct identity within the field. By creating an identity of their own, these festivals aim at gaining the status of regular events within the city's cultural landscape. From a legitimacy perspective, this means to become unchallenged givens, things that is literally unthinkable to be otherwise (Zucker 1983). Film festivals in Copenhagen and Rome may have an ambition of becoming unchallenged givens though they have been only running for few years (respectively since 2003 and 2006). Finally, we assume a strategic action and agency perspective (DiMaggio 1988; Oliver 1991) within the institutional view of diffusion of forms and practices in order to investigate how these festivals have been constructed by the work of key actors involved. Such a strategic action perspective has been applied by other scholars under various headings like 'social skills' (Fligstein 1997) 'institutional entrepreneurship' (DiMaggio 1988; Rao, Morril & Zald 2000; Seo & Creed 2002; Maguire, Hardy & Lawrence 2004; Boxenbaum & Battiliana 2005; Strandgaard Pedersen, Svejenova & Jones 2006), 'institutional work' (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006; Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca 2009; Boxenbaum & Strandgaard Pedersen 2009) outlining the role and relevance of such institutional entrepreneurs and their activities.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) illustrate how actors may pursue different, sometimes competing, institutional strategies to legitimize organizations. Institutional strategies are defined as 'patterns of organizational action concerned with the formation and transformation of institutions, fields and the rules and standards that control those structures' (Lawrence 1999, quoted in Lawrence & Suddaby

2006: 218). The kind of institutional work undertaken by the actors involved is categorized, following Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), as *a) creating institutions, b) maintaining institutions and c) disrupting institution*s. The authors provide a theoretical taxonomy of the type of institutional works that can be undertaken by actors in the different operational contexts. The case studies of the two film festivals in Copenhagen and Rome allow us to investigate how the different forms of institutional work are undertaken by various actors – like public administration, local government, film industry, other events, private investors, local citizens and other constituencies – involved in the creation and maintenance of the festivals.

In the next sections we will first present the data and methods for the study. Then we outline the emergence and institutionalization of the international film festival field. After this, we describe the two cities as late adopters of film festivals within the international film festival field and the legitimization processes and institutional work they have undertaken in the creation and maintenance of the festivals. Finally, we compare and discuss the findings and draw some conclusions concerning late adopters with regard to institutional work, legitimization and stakeholders.

Data and Methods

The study is a comparative case study of two cities and their film festivals – Copenhagen International film festival (CIFF) established in 2003 and Festa del Cinema di Roma (FCR) established in 2006. Both cities are *late adopters* and as such newcomers to the field of international film festivals. They are also *capitals* in their respective countries, both having *a long tradition for film production, cultural policy and public subsidies*. The two cases studied are built on data collected from archival sources, following Ventresca and Mohr (2002) and generated through field observations and interviews from the first five years of the life of the two festivals.

For the Festadel Cinema di Roma (FCR) we have collected data on the 2006 to 2010 editions of the FCR festival from the website (www.romacinemafest.org) which extensively reports information both on the festival and the preparatory stages. We have reviewed official publications concerning the festival (e.g. festival programs, flyers, festival news papers etc.) directly issued by the festival organization in order to capture its profile and self-presentation to the public. We have collected articles on the festival published by the two main (in terms of circulation) Italian newspapers – Il Corrieredella Sera and La Repubblica – and the related daily supplements on Rome to capture the statements of the city, local government and public authorities as well as other stakeholders involved. We also conducted four interviews with festival managers in charge of strategy and planning, human resource management, film selection and procurement. Interviews were used to integrate archival data and provide further information on the festival

mission and its operational procedures. The interviews were useful in tracing the evolution of the festival organization related to the refinement of strategy and positioning. Finally, we also visited the Festival in 2007 in order to have a 'live' view and first hand experience of the operations and the different elements of the festival.

For the Copenhagen International Film Festival (CIFF) data about the festivals from 2003-2006[1] were collected from the website (www.copenhagenfilmfestival.com) for information about the festival organization, program, rules and regulations, awards, key-figures from previous festivals and so forth. Official publications (festival programs, festival news papers etc.) issued by the festival organization were also gathered and analyzed. Newspaper articles on the festival were collected by an extensive database search on the Info media database including all Danish newspapers. This search resulted in 139 articles covering the years (2002-2007), which provided background information on the founding context, history, changes and critical incidents in the life of the festival. Five interviews have been conducted with: two representatives from the Danish Film Institute (DFI) involved in the founding and funding of the festival; a festival manager, two festival experts and CIFF participants on the perceived role and profile of the CIFF film festival. In 2007, we visited the festival in order to have a first hand experience of the festival, its operations and physical presence.

Data on the film festival field relies primarily on archival sources consisting of data from The International Federation of Film Producers Association (FIAPF) reports and FIAPF homepage, books on the history of film and film festivals (Blum 1953; Griffith & Mayer 1957; Dayan 2000; Jacobsen 2000; Touran 2002; Cousins 2004; Ezra 2004; Elsaesser 2005; De Valck 2006), together with insights generated from several field visits to international film festivals (2007-2009), observations and interviews with festival organizers, festivalgoers and film industry professionals.

The Film Festival Field[2]

Europe appears to be the cradle of the film festival phenomenon (Harbord 2002; Elsaesser 2005; de Valck 2006) born in the context of the particular geopolitical situation in Europe, during the 1930s, (leading up to World War II) and the new political order in Europe, during the late 1940s and early 1950s, (in the wake of World War II). The world's first major film festival was founded in Italy under the Fascist government and held in Venice in 1932. It took, thus, almost forty years from the first public screening in December 1895 by the Lumiére brothers to the worlds first major film festival was founded. The way the Venice festival was run soon gave rise to criticism that films from Italy and Germany were favoured even though the first editions have hosted films from several countries. According to Turan (2002) and supported by Mazdon (2007),

> In 1937, Jean Renoir's 'La Grande Illusion' was denied the top prize because of its pacifist sentiments, and the French decided if you wanted something done right you had to do it yourself (Turan 2002:18).

This became the birth of what we today know as the Cannes film festival. Cannes won out as the preferred site for the film festival after a competition with Biarritz on the Atlantic coast (Turan 2002; Mazdon 2007). The film festival in Cannes was originally scheduled to take place for the first three weeks of September 1939, but the festival was cancelled, because of the German invasion of Poland, September 1 1939 and the Cannes film festival did not start up again until 1946 (Turan 2002: 18-19).

Another early adoptor or 'first mover' within the film festival field is Moscow and the Moscow International film festival (MIFF) that was founded in 1935 and, thus, is the second oldest film festival in the world, after the Venice film festival. MIFF was, however, not continued until 1959, and has been redesigned several times – in 1959, 1969 and 1989 – and from 1959 to 1995 it was held every second year in July alternating between Karlovy Vary and Moscow. Since 1995 it has been held annually. This means that up to World War II only three film festivals were established, respectively Venice (1932), Moscow (1935) and Cannes (1939). The other early adopting cities and major international film festivals - like Locarno, Karlovy Vary, and Berlin and so forth - are a post-war phenomenon dating back to the late 1940s and early 1950s (for an overview of early adopters of film festivals see table 1.).

1932	Venice International Film Festival (Italy)
1935	Moscow International Film Festival (Russia)
1939	Cannes International Film Festival (France)
1946	Karlovy Vary International Film Festival (Czech)
	Locarno International Film Festival (Switzerland)
1951	Berlin International Film Festival – Berlinale (Germany)
1952	The International Film Festival of India (India)
1953	Donostia – San Sebastian International Film Festival (Spain)
1954	International Short Film Festival Oberhausen (Germany),
	Sydney Film Festival (Australia)
	Mar del Plata International Film Festival (Argentina)
1956	The Times BFI London Film Festival (England)
1958	Bilbao International Festival of Documentary and Short Films (Spain)

Table 1. Overview of early adopters of film festivals[3]

Table 1 shows that film festivals started out as a European phenomenon, but soon proliferated and diffused to other parts of the world (India-Asia, 1952; Sydney-Australia, 1954; Argentina-South America, 1954) [4] and from 1954 specialization start taking place with 'International *Short Film* Festival Oberhausen' and 'Bilbao International Festival of *Documentary and Short Films*' (Italics by authors). These early adopters have been the festivals that have come to define what an international film festival is and as such the film festival model that late adopters have

had to relate to later on. Nobody knows exactly how many international film festivals exist today, as the number keeps changing every day, but an estimated figure is more than 3500 festivals on a global scale.

Harbord (2002) links the creation of European film festivals to European post-war regeneration and rebuilding and she argues that the origins of such major film festivals are marked by two different discourses:

> One is a broad historical project of rebuilding Europe, a rebuilding of the social infrastructure ravaged by the Second World War, and a consolidation of Europe as a significant player in a global economy. Importantly, by the post-war period, culture has become a means of representing the status of place and facilitating local economies through cultural events. The other discourse, from film societies and guilds, is concerned with the definition of film as a form, with the aim of broadening categories of definition in contrast to the studio format of Hollywood film. (Harbord 2002:64)

The relevance of these two discourses – one discourse concerned with *identity building* in relation to either nations or cities and, another discourse concerned with *defining film as form* – will be further explored in the analyses of the two cases as issues a city and festival have to relate to.Thus a festival can be instrumental in building the identity of a city but founding a festival must, however, also entail a search for recognition as an 'international film festival' within the film industry and the field of international film festivals. The evolution of such film festivals has a history and institutionalized practices have been established and defined by the early film festivals (like Venice, Moscow and Cannes) as well as other regulating bodies (like FIAPF) in the film industry.

Regulation and Accreditation of Film Festivals

Film festivals are accredited as International Film Festivals by The International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF)[5] founded in 1933. FIAPF is a global organization representing the interests of the film production communities worldwide with 26 national producers' organizations in 23 of the world's leading audiovisual-producing countries (FIAPF 2008:3). According to FIAPF (2008),

> The FIAPF international film festivals' accreditation system was created as a response to demands from the film industry that a Minimum Standard of quality and reliability be defined for international film festivals: one which international festival organizers must pledge to uphold and apply when they become FIAPF-accredited. (FIAPF 2008:3)

De Valck (2006) states that FIAPF 'decided during the Berlin film festival of 1951 that the boom in national and regional film festivals had to be channelled to prevent festival (award) inflation' (De Valck 2006:19). Cannes and Venice received immediate FIAPF accreditation (in 1951) and, Berlin followed in 1956 (Jacobsen 2000:18). According to FIAPF (2008:4) *'by international film festival, FIAPF, understands an event:*

- bringing together films of the world, many of which originate from countries other than the organising country, that are being screened in front of audiences including a significant number of accredited international industry, press and media representatives as well as general public,
- taking place for a limited duration of time, once a year or every second year, in a prior defined city.'

FIAPF began their accreditation and classification system with 'Competitive Film Festivals' like Cannes, Venice and Berlin and other early film festivals.[6] Over the years the FIAPF classification system was expanded to include more festivals and different categories like 'Competitive Specialised Film Festivals' (26 festivals and among these for example Brussels International Festival of Fantastic Film); 'Non-Competitive Film Festivals' (6 festivals and among these for example Sydney Film Festival); and 'Documentary and Short Film Festivals' (5 festivals and among these for example Tampere International Short Film Festival).

In order for a film festival to apply for and to be considered for accreditation by FIAPF a festival has to comply with 'the FIAPF Festivals' Minimum Standard'. FIAPF describes its accreditation this way:

> The accreditation delivered by FIAPF gives the producers, distributors and sales agents, the guarantee that they will commit to festivals with a true international dimension, endowed with a strong and structured organization, involving industry professionals. FIAPF regulations stipulate a framework of protection between rights holders and festivals for the presentation of screened films. For example, a maximum number of screenings, the obligation to request any additional screenings, the obligation to ask for the permission of the rights holders in case of cuts required by the censorship authorities, the right of withdrawal of the film in this case, the return of the print within 15 days after the event. […] To guarantee an optimal level of services, accredited festivals are visited by FIAPF on a regular basis. (FIAPF 2008: 4)

FIAPF appears as a central actor and 'authorizing agent' (Lawrence &Suddaby 2006) concerning the field of international film festivals. Jacobsen (2000) claims, that FIAPF has had a quasi monopoly on international film festivals for many years (Jacobsen 2000:18). Following Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), FIAPF has been active in *creating institutions* via construction of the rule system and defining the boundaries of membership through accreditation and the FIAPF 'Minimum Standard', hereby defining the relationship between a legitimate actor and the field of international film festivals. FIAPF has also been active in the creation and specification of categories of types of film festivals, thus creating a classification system (DiMaggio 1987). In the role as the important 'authorizing agent' FIAPF, today has a central role in *maintaining institutions* and in keeping their definition of the international film festival circuit.

Late Adopters in the Field – Two Cities and their Film Festivals

Copenhagen and Copenhagen International Film Festival (CIFF)

The first edition of Copenhagen International Film Festival (CIFF) was launched in august 2003. However, the idea for the festival was conceived already in 2002. One of the prime drivers behind the initiative was 'HovedstadensUdviklingsråd' (The Development Council for the Wider Copenhagen Area), who in the wake of the international success for Danish film, decided to donate money for two purposes. First, they donated money (Euro 70 000) for a regional film commission for the 'Öresund region' to attract international production of film, TV and commercials to the Öresund region. Second, they donated money (Euro 70 000) to support the new CIFF and money (Euro 35 000) for the film festival for children's films ('Buster') (Dabelsteen 2002). CIFF also received money (Euro 65 000) from the Danish Film Institute (DFI) and were promised another Euro 70 000 on top of this amount of money. Apart from this financial support CIFF also received money from the municipality of Copenhagen (main contributor with Euro 500 000) and the Ministry of Culture (donating a yearly amount of Euro 150 000 for a four year period), so that the festival altogether received approximately Euro 900 000 in public subsidies. On top of this financial support CIFF was also met with moral and political support from prominent politicians in Copenhagen (Hjort 2002). With this support of the local authorities, CIFF is tacitly expected to cooperate in the branding of the city (Ooi & Strandgaard Pedersen 2010).

Right from the beginning CIFF, however, was met with some criticism. In particular, the director of the Odense Short and Documentary film festival aired some critique of the timing of CIFF, as the festival director feared that CIFF would take focus away from the Odense Short and Documentary film festival (Dabelsteen 2002). Apart from this critique other critical voices in the film industry doubted if Denmark needed yet another film festival as Copenhagen already had Gay & Lesbian Film Festival, founded in 1985, 'NatFilmfestivalen' ('The Night Film Festival') founded in 1990, 'Buster' (Children's films) founded in 2000 and CPH:DOX (on documentary films) also founded in 2003 (Eising 2004).

Nevertheless CIFF also received substantial support from various prominent stakeholders in the Danish film industry as well as industrialists and politicians (Politiken Weekly 2002). CIFF was established as a foundation and hired a festival director, Janne Giese, who had also been one of the prime drivers behind the initiative. With regard to positioning, CIFF on one hand was 'inspired by the large international film festivals like Berlin, Cannes and Venice', but on the other did not want to compete with these festivals, but instead collaborate with the existing Danish film festivals (Giese 2002).

An argument for establishing CIFF came from the Mayor for Culture in the Municipality of Copenhagen (Martin Geertsen), stating that,

> When we are good at doing something, as we are in the case of filmmaking, we should not be afraid to boast and show it. The festival will create experiences and provide energy to the city and expand the international pulse already existing in Copenhagen. … The goal is to make it the best Scandinavian film festival and a major international event. (Dabelsteen 2002)

With regard to the profile and positioning of the film festival, Henning Camre, at that time director of the Danish Film Institute, reasoned that,

> 'the new Danish film festival has a chance as they have decided to focus very strongly on European film. No other film festival has done that.'(Dabelsteen 2002).

The first edition of CIFF ran August 13-20, 2003 with 10 series and more than 150 film (from Spanish Western comedies to Dutch musicals). An international jury, headed by the Greek film director Theo Angelopulos and membering film directors Jan Troell, Jutta Brückner, Marion Hänsel and Bille August,[7] lead a competition with 14 international films and awarding the 'Golden Swan' designed by Line Utzon.[8] Apart from the focus on European films a special series on African film was shown. The festival director, Janne Giese, commented the opening this way,

> 'Any major city with self respect ought to have a film festival. I cannot understand, why we have not already had one long time ago.' (Ritzaus Bureau 2003)

In the first edition no real film market was established (Lange 2003a). On top of the public money, CIFF was also to attract private money but failed in getting a main sponsor and had to cut down on some of the activities, among other activities, the film market (FyensStiftstidende 2003). The Danish Film Institute had to come up with yet another Euro150 000 in support and guarantee in the case of a deficit (Straarup 2003a).

CIFF started out with a goal of 30 000 tickets sold, then adjusted it to 20 000 tickets, but finally ended up with only around 15-16 000 tickets sold of which approximately 5000 tickets were handed out for free. The blame for the lack of attention from audience was given to the weather. The festival director, Janne Giese, estimates that the festival lost about 10-15 000 tickets because of the heat wave in August (Lange 2003b). Concerning key figures for CIFF see table 2.

	2003	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007/2008**[9]	**2009**
No. of films	153	111	117	148	no info	180
EU ratio	75%	74%	100%	93%	no info	-
Screenings	269	240	235	300	no info	-
Accredited	290	364	400	no info	no info	-
Tickets	16.688	23.814	22.571	25.273	no info	37.000

Table 2. Copenhagen International Film Festival (2003-2009)[10]

Table 2 shows that ticket sales increased and so did the number of screenings and accredited. After the first edition (2003), the issue of festival rescheduling came up again to avoid the criticized overlap with Odense film festival (Straarup 2003b). It was, however, not easy to agree on scheduling a new date for CIFF as

several conflicting interests were raised. The international film festival schedule leaves little room in the busy festival calendar and, the cinema theatre owners wants to fill their theatres during the low summer season, whereas CIFF wants to get away from the warm and low season (Ritzau Bureau 2003; Jensen 2003). In addition, after the first season changes occurred in the composition of the board of CIFF. Zentropa CEO Peter Aalbæk Jensen (and one of the strongest critics of CIFF) together with Nordisk Film CEO Kenneth Plummer, entered the board of CIFF in order to strengthen the relations to the Danish film industry. The head of the program was also changed (Ritzau Bureau 2004). Since 2004, Jacob Neiiendam has been in charge of the program and in 2005 he further strengthened the European profile of CIFF (Ritzau Bureau 2005). The changes of the festival were directed at pleasing the film industry, not in promoting the city image.

From very early on, and in particular articulated by Zentropa CEO Aalbæk Jensen, a merger of CIFF and Natfilmfestivalen was suggested (Bjerre 2004). CIFF organizers declare that they are positive, whereas Natfilmfestival organizers are more sceptical concerning this suggestion. Nothing happens, however, with regard to merging the two festivals and, CIFF and Natfilmfestivalen (as well as Buster and CPH:DOX) continue their business as usual. Every year the politicians bring up the suggestion about merging the two film festivals, but very little happens.

In spring 2005, CIFF, however, embarks on collaboration with Buster, in particular on the sponsoring and marketing of the two festivals (Eising 2005a). Another initiative, Copenhagen Screenings is launched in July 2005. Copenhagen Screenings is an initiative that invites 170 foreign film buyers to Copenhagen, creating a kind of local film market, however, promoting Danish films. The initiative is carried out in collaboration with The Danish Film Institute, Trust Film Sales and Nordisk Film International Sales (Enggard 2005).

From 2006, CIFF also changes its schedule and moves from August to September in the hope of attracting more festivalgoers (Eising 2005b). Festival director, Janne Giese, argues that now when CIFF is placed after Venice, Toronto and San Sebastian better quality films are likely to be given free for CIFF and other festivals (Eising 2005b). In 2006, CIFF also embarks on a new sponsor strategy and manages to attract three main sponsors (Irma, Café Noir and Nokia Nseries) together with a media partner, the daily newspaper Politiken (Solgaard 2006) and Lars Von Trier's film 'The Boss of Everything' is the opening film that year.

In Spring 2007, the collaboration between CIFF and Buster is extended in the way that CIFF takes over the responsibility for Buster and it seems in reality to be a merger between the two festivals (Thielst 2007). The 2007 edition of CIFF looks now like a grand international film festival with large posters in town, a big screen on the square in front of the city hall, a red carpet in front of the central festival theatre ('Imperial'), press, lots of films, sponsors, visiting filmmakers, local (Danish) stars, a permanent staff of around 25-30 people and around 80 volunteers. But still too few tickets are sold and too little attention attracted from the audience.

Again this year, the annual suggestion from politicians about merging the two major festivals is reiterated and that time with much more success than the previous years.

During fall 2007, it is announced that the politicians want to merge all four film festivals taking place in Copenhagen (CIFF, Natfilmfestival, Buster and CPH:DOX). After a series of meetings and negotiations, the two foundations behind the two festivals ('Natsværmerfonden' and 'Fonden Copenhagen International Film Festival') are merged into a new foundation ('Fonden de Købehavnskefilmfestivaler') responsible for the festivals from fall 2008. The four festivals are merged into three festivals – Buster (Children's films) taking place in September, CPH-DOX staying in its current position in November and, CIFF and Natfilmfestival are merged into one festival, CPH:PIX, taking place in April. Head of the Royal Danish Theatre, Michael Christiansen is appointed chairman of the new foundation. A managing director is found, former head of actors at the Royal Danish Theatre, Mikkel Harder Munck-Hansen and his job is to lead the three festivals and create a new profile for the newly merged festival. In Spring 2009, the managing director Mikkel Harder Munck-Hansen, however, resigns after critique about lack of knowledge about the film industry and, June 1, 2009, and he is replaced by a new managing director, JørgenRamskov, former CEO of Nimbus Film and Head of the section for Production and Development at The Danish Film Institute. On a budget of DKK 6 million (Euro 900 000) CPH:PIX opens April 16-26 2009 with 180 films and 37 000 tickets sold.

Rome and La Festa del Cinema di Roma (FCR).

The Mayor of Rome 2001-2008, Walter Veltroni provides the following statement concerning the main rationales behind FCR,

> The festival is the proof that out of so many cities, Roma really is 'the cinema'. And not just because of its marvellous legacy of history and culture, or its incomparable blend of architecture and space, or harmony and time, but because it is capable of linking this tradition to projects for the future, and turning its strengths and universal appeal into economic investment.

Rome is one of most frequently mentioned cites in the film history and has been the stage of several Italian film masterpieces, among others, 'Roma cittàaperta' by Rossellini and 'La dolce vita' by Fellini. Nevertheless, Rome had until recently no film festival and no major events besides some premieres of movies taken in the city. But by the initiative of Walter Veltroni – who, as editor of L'Unità, made the decision of creating a film supplement of the newspaper, starting a trend in the entire Italian press – Rome filled this gap in 2006, in a wave of cultural initiatives located in the big Auditorium, owned by the local government, run by the FondazioneMusica per Roma, designed by Renzo Piano and opened for the Millennium jubilee.

The decision to launch FCR, thus, appears to be part of a wider city marketing strategy promoted by the local government and supported by Roman politicians.

In Rome, the majority of the main cultural spaces is owned by the local government and the related institutions are led by politicians directly appointed by the local government. This is also the case of the foundation Musica per Roma managing all the Auditorium events. In 2006, FCR was created as a division of the Musica per Roma running the Auditorium. The first edition of FCR, in 2006, was organized around a task force model consistent with the idea that FCR was a specific event in the agenda of Musica per Roma foundation. For the second edition, in 2007, an ad-hoc foundation, Fondazione Cinema per Roma, was created. The Fondazione Cinema per Roma has about 25 employees, almost all of them coming from the FondazioneMusica per Roma. The decision to form the ad-hoc foundation followed the success of the first edition and the confirmation of Walter Veltroni as Mayor of Rome. The foundation's logo was designed by Renzo Piano as a gift to the institution running the Auditorium. The mission of the foundation is,

> to create, promote and exploit cinema and audiovisual culture in general in harmony with the needs and demands of cultural, social and economic development in the metropolitan area of Rome, the Lazio region and the whole country.

FCR was the film event Rome had never hosted in the past. However, FCR was, at the same time, the opportunity to challenge one of the major criticisms for the centre-left coalition governing Rome since 1993; namely that the periphery is neglected and all the events are concentrated in the central area of Rome. For this reason, FCR's main events were located at the Auditorium (which is outside the central area) and FCR hosted many events with the goal of bringing films and stars to the periphery. From this perspective, FCR aimed at being a popular event, addressing common people, different from star-based events such as Cannes or Venice with their rituals and glamour at *la croisette* or at the *Lido*. In the words of GoffredoBettini, (President of the Cinema per Roma Foundation),

> (the event) is designed for the public at large and quality cinema in one, the perfect forum for dialogues and exchanges between film lovers, film experts and trade professionals'.

It is also signified in the choice to take the word festival out the event name. FCR is thought of as a 'Festa' (Feast) rather than a 'Festival' in order to underline an event for the public at large rather than a competition for a prestigious award. As the latin says 'in nomen omen' (the destiny is in the name), and the label 'festival' defines an event for the film industry and a celebration of stars. Festa sounds as a popular word, looking at the participation of people and, in the mind of the founders, spreading throughout the entire city involving its inhabitants. A Festa is thought of as an event for the audience just as much as for the industry. This mission of FCR is also signified by the way the jury is composed; it consists of 50 non-professional cinema-goers, selected during the year, and guided by a well known director and different from the traditional festival jury composed by industry professionals (e.g. directors and actors).

In 2006, FCR hosted 14 films in competition, 22 premieres and 8 out of competition special events, the most important on India. FCR also hosted a business section ('The Business Street') centred on events taking place in the Via Veneto area (used by Fellini in 'La dolce vita', perhaps his most famous film abroad) and a film market ('New Cinema Network'). In order to display FCR mission to involve the whole city in the event, a special section 'Alice nellacittà' presented films and exhibitions for children in different areas of Roma. In the first edition in 2006, FCR hosted about 480 000 visitors, showed 117 films from 33 countries, sold 102 000 tickets and accredited 6837 professionals (including 2.462 journalists and 447 participants in the Business Street). More significantly for FCR mission, 78 schools and more than 16 000 children and teen-agers have been involved in the 'Alice nellacittà' events. Key figures for the FCR editions are reported in table 3.

	2006	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**
No. of films	117	102	97	177	172
Nationalities	33	46	34	51	53
Screenings	650	670	615	no info	no info[1]
Accredited	6.837	7.010	7.558	7.720	8.598
Tickets	102.000	110.000	115.000	102.000	118.000

Table 3. Festa del Cinema di Roma (2006-2010)[11]

During the Festa, up to 150 people are mobilized. The strategy to involve people for the Festa days followed the idea of involving the population of Rome. Most of these people are volunteers contacted through the 3 Universities in Rome and through non-profit organizations. In this way, the aim of the foundation, to gather highly motivated, film-loving people, is maintained. As said by an interviewee,

> The foundation is managed like a family. Though the Festa requires high professionalism, everything is in the hand of very young people. This is quite a unique case in Italy.

The budget is funded 50% by private investors (primarily banks) and 50% by public institutions, especially the local government of Rome, the Province, Lazio Region and the local Chamber of Commerce. This funding structure makes FCR highly dependent on the political balances in Rome. It is perceived a potential weakness of FCR that it is not yet fully institutionalized to survive in case of deep political turmoil at the level of government. This is further accentuated by the fact that FCR has been highly criticized for not being needed for city marketing and for not solving any problem of the periphery.

Timing of the event was also a highly debated issue concerning FCR. Timing reflected the strategic positioning of FCR as a third major film festival in Italy. The issue was raised by Venice in 2006 and by Turin in 2007 (chaired by the internationally acclaimed Italian film director Nanni Moretti). The choice of mid-October was implicitly signalling a competition with Venice, traditionally scheduled at the end of August. However, the reason behind the mid-October choice was again related to city marketing. Due to the warm temperatures in early fall, October is one of the months with the highest number of tourists in Rome. At the

same time, Rome is full time working – schools are open and university courses have started – and FCR takes place in a city full of tourists and young students. Furthermore, in terms of time, October is far enough away from the other major European film events (Berlin in February and Cannes in May). Thus, FCR is able to host important commercial premieres pushing for media coverage.

From a strategic positioning perspective, FCR has not complied with all features characterizing the grand film festivals accredited by FIAPF. First, FCR is, unlike Venice and Cannes not a 'competitive film festival' as defined by FIAPF, since competition is not the main issue of the event. The award (called Marco Aurelio) is not the focus of FCR, which gains attention from the premieres, important guests and city-based events. This is also reflected by the choice of a non-professional jury mentioned previously.

Second, people involved in the selection of films for FCR are not working in exclusivity. Many of them have experiences from working at other festivals (especially Locarno and specific sections of Venice). This implies a kind of cross-fertilization among festivals even though organizing a film event is considered by one of our interviewees a 'standardized enterprise'. FCR benefits from cross-fertilization due to its implicitly hybrid nature: a Festa and not a Festival, low relevance of competition, high relevance of commercial premieres and prestigious guests.

Finally, after several editions, FCR organization is still 'under construction'. The first edition was organized around a task force model consistent with the idea that FCR was a specific event in the agenda of Musica per Roma Foundation. For the second edition, an ad-hoc foundation was set up to plan and execute the festival, as mentioned above. In both cases, the single sections of the Festa (premiere, competition, special events, Alice nellecittà) enjoyed high managerial and organizational autonomy. This is also encouraged by the role played by the President, whose political exposure (as a member of the Senate and among the leaders of the new Democratic Party) did not allow him to have any operational involvement. So managers could settle their own practices in line with their previous festival experiences and the demands of the industry.

After the general election taking place in April 2008, the institutional environment of FCR changed dramatically. During the electoral campaign, the right-wing candidate to be the Mayor of Rome, Gianni Alemanno, strongly criticized FCR and suggested a severe fund reduction and threatened to cancel the event. When elected, his position got softer and funds and support were granted to FCR. However, the team of founders resigned and the newly appointed chairman, Gianluigi Rondi – a well known movie critique with a long lasting experience in the field – presented a festival focusing more on the domestic products and less on the US star system. The overall size of the event is not changing – a slight decrease in the number of films and visitors has been balanced by an increase in media coverage while the budget did not reach the 2007 level. As for the immediate future, dark

clouds still remain on FCR, once again raising the issue of time-competition with Venice. At the same time, the film festival in Turin, headed by Moretti, has gained visibility by directing attention to US films, exemplified by presenting, as the main event in 2008, the 'premiere' in Italy of 'W', the controversial movie by Oliver Stone on former US president George W. Bush. In spite of this, FCR has survived the critiques, competition and political issues surrounding the festival and keeps growing as shown in table 3.

Discussion

A comparison between the two cities and their film festivals shows some similarities as well as differences (cf. table 4). First, Rome and Copenhagen are both capitals in their respective countries but different in terms of their number of inhabitants. With 2.7 million inhabitants Rome is almost three times as big as Copenhagen with about 1.1 million inhabitants. *The size of the festivals* (measured by the number of tickets and by their budgets) is also very different (CIFF operates at around 10 per cent of the budget of FCR and less than 7 per cent of the FCR tickets) not entirely following the difference in size of their hosting cities, which is one to three. Thus, in the starting point Copenhagen and CIFF seems much less ambitious than Rome and FCR in terms of the number of resources allocated to the festival. However, measured in terms of the number of films CIFF (with 153 films) is larger than FCR (with 117 films), whereas in terms of screenings FCR (with 650 screenings) has more than twice the number of screenings as that of CIFF (with about 269 screenings) and more than twenty times the number of accredited (FCR 6.837 and CIFF 290 accredited).

The two festivals are, however, also comparable on other dimensions, showing similar traits (cf. table 4). Both festivals are categorized as *international film festivals (IFFs)* and they have been launched for rather similar reasons and in tight connection with the development projects of the *two capital cities*. Interestingly, the two cities have relevance and exposure vis-à-vis the film industry. Danish filmmakers are experiencing an unprecedented success in the film industry and Rome is still the core of the Italian film industry and a shooting location for European and US films. Both film festivals are *publicly subsidized* and about 50 per cent of their budgets consist of public money.

As late adopters in the field, *the strategies for gaining legitimacy* of the two cities and their festivals can also be compared. As for the two specific features of pragmatic and moral legitimacy the two cases are effective examples of how latecomers *attract main constituencies* by appearing responsive to their interests. FCR was launched as a response to claims of the periphery to host events formerly concentrated in the central area of the city. CIFF was an attempt to link city marketing with the increasing success of Danish film industry. In both cases, the main constituencies – the local administration, authorities, tourism bodies and film in-

dustry associations – are involved in the creation of CIFF and FCR. The extent to which the interests of the main constituencies are actually pursued and realized may later become the main argument *against* the legitimization of the festivals depending on how these interests are pursued and played out in the longer run.

	CIFF	**FCR**
City population:	CPH: 1.1 million	Rome: 2.7 million
Status in the field:	Late adopter	Late adopter
Date of foundation:	2003	2006
Size of festival:[12]		
Budget:	1 million Euro	12,6 million Euro
No. of Films:	153 films	117 films
No. of Screenings:	269 screenings	650 screenings
No. of Tickets:	16.688 tickets	102.000 tickets
No. of Accredited:	290 accredited	6.837 accredited
Public subsidies:	appr. 50 per cent	appr. 50 per cent
Inst. entrepreneurs:	Public authorities	Public authorities
Main motive:	City branding	City branding
Identity:	IFF (‘European film)	IFF (‘Festa’)
Significant others:	A-film festivals and ’local competition’(Natfilmfestival/Odense)	A-film festivals and‘local compettion’ (Venice/Turin)
Strategy for legitimacy:	City marketing-Danish film success	Rome-periphery
Main constituencies:	Politicians, municipal administration,business and trade organizations,film industry associations	Politicians, inhabitants of Rome, universities and non-profit organizations

Table 4: Comparison of the cases

Interestingly, constituencies are profiled differently in the two cases. For FCR, constituencies are the local administration, local universities and non-profit organizations that take part in the festival by providing human resources and logistic support. In the FCR case, the final constituencies are the inhabitants of Rome, who are asked to be part of the ‘Festa’ and are less directed towards the film industry. For CIFF, the main constituencies are the politicians and municipal administration, business and trade organizations together with some parts of the Danish film industry. In this sense, Copenhagen was seen as in need of an international film festival to provide Copenhagen as a city and Danish film with visibility and a

market for ideas and exchanges among international filmmakers in the field and as less of an audience event.

From the moral legitimacy perspective, Rome and FCR has tried to attract as many visitors as possible in order to enter very quickly into the picture of the main events in Rome. A similar strategy has been pursued by Copenhagen and CIFF in relation to the existing specialized festivals in Copenhagen. Interestingly, what the two latecomer festivals did was on the one side to build an identity positioning themselves in relation to existing festivals. On the other side, they tried to gain wide media coverage in order to quickly gain taken-for-granted status. Even though criticism was raised on the necessity of the festivals no one really dared to put their existence at stake as they were already part of the city landscape. This is at the core of taken-for-grantedness, accomplished by size and promotion, in the FCR case, and by the involvement of various important stakeholders in relation to the film industry, in the CIFF case. The most recent outcome for CIFF, after pressure from the filmmakers in the film field to reduce the number of film festivals in Copenhagen, has been the merger (effective by 2008-2009) between existing film festivals (CIFF, Natfilmfestival, CPH:DOX and Buster) to remove some of the timing issues affecting the first editions. In the FCR case, the outcome of taken-for-grantedness is not yet entirely established. During the recent campaign for the new Mayor of Rome – and after Veltroni ran for president in Italy but lost to Berlusconi – the relevance of FCR and its original purpose has been posed. What seems to be at stake is FCR's original local purpose versus its international relevance in order to secure its survival.

In both cases, we argue that being latecomers has shaped the strategy for legitimacy of the two cities and their festivals. First, the issue of timing has played a major role in the definition of the festival. The way they have been positioned within the overall EU film industry and IFF circuit has been an important object of reflection in the festivals' start-up. Second, the identity building process has been central since the latecomers need to enter the field with a well-defined identity and communication strategy. CIFF and FCR needed this well-defined identity and communication strategy in order to gain legitimacy within the international film festival field and criticism from potentially competing festivals. These challenges, and the related responses to field pressures, we would argue, are distinct for late adopters, supporting our theoretical argument of a distinction between early adopters and late adopters in their strategies for legitimacy.

The case studies of the two film festivals in Copenhagen and Rome also allowed us to investigate how the different forms of institutional work associated with creating and maintaining institutions are undertaken by the several actors – i.e. public administration, local government, private investors, and other constituencies – involved in the festivals. Interestingly, being latecomers seems to create similarities also in the institutional work undertaken by festivals in order to establish themselves in the field. Being latecomers in an institutionalized field both

festivals benefited from the existence of pre-defined models for IFFs, which meant that the two festivals could be founded and constructed within a fairly short time span. The challenge, however, for this type of designed and top-down driven festival – created by politicians, local authorities and tourism bodies – seems to be to anchor and root the film festival in the wider public – in order to be perceived as a legitimate player if not a taken for granted institution.

Concluding Remarks

Studying the cities of Copenhagen and Rome we asked why the public authorities of these cities establish their own film festivals in an already saturated field of international film festivals? The paper approached this issue by focusing on the inclusion-exclusion dilemma, that late adopters and new comers face when trying to establish themselves within an institutionalised field (e.g. Brewer 1991; Alvarez et al. 2005). On one hand they have to adapt to the existing conventions and isomorphic pressures and resemble the other organizations existing in the field, in order to be classified, recognized and accepted as a legitimate player and hereby attract resources to the organization. On the other hand they have to profile themselves and create a distinct identity within the field. We assumed a strategic action and agency perspective (DiMaggio 1988; Oliver 1991) within the institutional view of diffusion of forms and practices investigating how the festivals have been constructed by the work of the key actors involved. The kind of institutional work undertaken by the actors involved were categorized, following Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), as a) creating institutions, b) maintaining institutions and c) disrupting institutions, however with the main focus on the first two.

First, we showed that within field of international film festivals early adopters, like the festivals of Venice, Cannes and Berlin, together with other field actors, like FIAPF, seemingly have managed to define the field and invent tradition (Ranger & Hobsbawn 1983) and, create and institutionalize a model for international film festivals that appears to have become an ‘unchallenged given’ (Zucker 1983) and thus, provides a prominent example of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006).

Second, we demonstrated that the film festivals in Copenhagen and Rome share an ambition of becoming significant players within the field of international film festivals, though they have been running just for a few years (respectively since 2003 and 2006). We saw how the film festivals in Copenhagen and Rome aimed to attract support of main constituencies by appearing as ‘responsive to their larger interests’ (Suchman 1995: 578). In both cases public authorities – city mayors, city councils, regional organizations, ministry of culture – seem to be central in relation to the founding of both festivals. The rationale of these authorities for establishing a film festival in their cities were to a large extent driven by ambitions of branding the city – ‘put it on the map’ as a cool city and attract tourists

and 'the creative class' (Florida 2002) – and hereby in the longer run improve the economy of the city. We also saw that both festivals are heavily subsidized by public money in spite of the fact that the two festivals operate on very different budgets. CIFF operating on a budget of approximately 1 million Euro, whereas FCR operates on a more ambitious budget of about 13 million Euro. About 50% of the budgets for the festivals come from public money. In this sense the festival management as well as the political authorities have had to be constructed providing ex post rationalizations and ad hoc justification of their existence as tools to improve city marketing and increase reputation as hosts of large media events as well as tourist inflows.

A major challenge for a film festival therefore seems to be to respond to the demands from the two major constituents – the city and the film industry. This goes back to Harbord's point about the two discourses surrounding film festivals (Harbord 2002) as one concerned with building the identity of the city an another concerned with defining film as form. The dual challenge can be formulated in terms of how to make the film festival work for the city and how to make it work for the film industry. Furthermore the challenge is often complicated by the fact that neither the city nor the film industry has unitary positions or interests.

Third, we investigated how the two cities and their film festivals had profiled themselves in order to distinguish themselves from the existing festivals and create a distinct identity within the field. In this process it seemed critical for the two late adopting film festivals to have a clear communication and identity strategy. By creating an identity of their own, these festivals aim at gaining the status of regular events within the city cultural landscape. From a legitimacy perspective, this means to become an unchallenged given that is literally unthinkable to be otherwise (Zucker 1983). Here the issue of festival scheduling in both cases turned out to be very important. Huge and protracted debates and controversies took place before dates for the festivals were negotiated and decided. Much of this discussion was of a strategic nature, related to and directed towards other festivals, local as well as international, which thus could be identified as their 'significant others' – role models and prime competitors. In both cases the festivals were concerned about the so-called A-film festivals (Berlin, Cannes, Venice, Toronto etc.) and tried to place their festival away from them. In the case of FCR, 'local competition' with Venice was clearly a special concern. In the case of CIFF 'local competition' was also relevant, but a bit more complex as the city of Copenhagen already had three other film festivals ('NatFilmsfestival', 'Buster', 'CPH:DOX') and furthermore some other Danish film festivals to attend to (notably the Odense film festival where CIFF had a controversy over the dates).

It takes time to build an international film festival. Both FCR and CIFF are still in the process of positioning themselves, shaping their profile and, reconfiguring their festivals. Doing so we have focused on some specific features of legitimacy that we find are significant in the case of new international film festivals. Follow-

ing Tolbert and Zucker (1983) that the rationale behind the adoption of certain practices is different in the cases of late and early adopters, we have focussed our study on late adopters. Combining their work with the concept of 'institutional work' by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) and forms of legitimacy by Suchman (1995), we find that *timing of adoption play a major role concerning legitimacy strategy and the forms of institutional work to be undertaken*. The two case studies of film festivals support the argument that analyses on the diffusion of practices and institutionalization should include time as a major descriptive factor.

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Notes

1 Figures from 2007 has not been obtainable as the festival was reorganized 2007-2008.

2 When we in the following use the concept film festivals we base our definition and data on The International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF) 2008.

3 This list is based on film festivals accredited by FIAPF (2008). This means, for example, that The Edinburgh International Film Festival in Scotland, established in 1947 and one of the

longest continually running film festival in the world is not included as it is not accredited by FIAPF.

4 The first North American film festival is claimed to be the Columbus International Film & Video Festival, also known as 'The Chris Awards', held in 1953. The Chris Awards was followed shortly thereafter by the San Francisco International Film Festival held in March 1957 whose emphasis was on feature-length dramatic films, but neither are accredited by FIAPF.

5 http://www.fiapf.org.

6 In their 2008 catalogue of accredited international feature film festivals FIAPF lists the following 12 film festivals in the category of 'Competitive Film Festivals': Berlin International Film Festival; Mar del Plata International Film Festival; Cannes Film Festival; Shanghai International Film Festival; Moscow International Film Festival; Karlovy Vary International Film Festival; Locarno International Film Festival; Montreal World Film Festival; Venice International Film Festival; Donostia San Sebastian International Film Festival; Tokyo International Film Festival, and Cairo International Film Festival (FIAPF, 2008).

7 Bille August had to cancel last minute and was substituted by Danish film director Ole Roos.

8 Apart from the 'Golden Swan', a Lifetime Achievement Award was handed out to LivUllmann, and two Honorary awards to Theo Angelopulos and Lars Von Trier.

9 Figures from 2007 and 2008 has not been obtainable as the festival was reorganized 2007-2008. Figures for 2009 is for the new festival CPH:PIX a merger between CIFF and Natfilmfestivalen.

10 Source: CIFF website.

11 Source: FCR website.

12 Festival figures are from their opening year.

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Creating the Creative Post-political Citizen? The Showroom as an Arena for Creativity

By Richard Ek

Abstract

The aim of this article is to give a tentative illustration of how a creative, post-political citizen is imagined and encouraged to unfold within the frame of a city renewal project. As a starting point, the article outlines an exploratory framework structured through the analytical concept of *postpolis*. Postpolis is a term that offers an illustration of the distinguishing qualities of contemporary urbanity in a principal and schematic way. Postpolis here has three cornerstones: the idea of post-politics (the thesis that today politics is out-defined and replaced by governmental practices that leave little space for public influence and participation), the notion of biopolitics and the claim that planning is a governmental practice that is substantially influenced by business management approaches. The illustrative section of the article gives an overview of the empirical illustration H+ and SHIP. H+ is an urban regeneration project in the city of Helsingborg, in southern Sweden. As the largest urban regeneration project in Sweden to date, it will run for 30 years and affect about a third of the total area of the city. The showroom SHIP, which has been constructed in connection with this urban project, presents both what can be done and what is encouraged in tandem with an investigation of the functions, tasks and design of this showroom. The article thus initiates an ethnographic study of the showroom as a planning servicescape, in which the future citizen of Helsingborg is superimposed on the bodies of the visitors.

Keywords: Creativity, postpolis, performativity, urban regeneration, planning, showroom, democracy

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Introduction – Pimp my City with Creativity!

It is highly unlikely that a city planner or an urban developer would regard him- or herself as a pimp for a specific city. It is, after all, not a very nice characterisation. But I begin with a provocative rhetoric because I want to engage immediately with the reader. The shift in planning philosophy that David Harvey at the end of the 1980s characterised as a shift in emphasis from the management and distribution of welfare resources to an emphasis on growth-oriented projects that were often speculative in nature (Harvey 1989) is now complete. Planning the city today is all about planning the consumer city: planning for consumption and economic growth. Cities in Europe and beyond are branded as places to consume, as destinations and centres for culture (to consume) and places to be consumed in (Miles 2010). The planning apparatus and the urban development and marketing discourses that permeate this apparatus can therefore – if not figuratively at least metaphorically – be regarded as a city pimp.

If we continue with the pimp metaphor, who are the 'Johns' the pimps want to attract? City marketing has traditionally been seen as a marketing practice with three objectives and target audiences: to attract new inhabitants of the city, to attract business investments and new companies and to attract tourists. But given that the shift towards growth-oriented speculative city development is now complete, this marketing picture no longer applies. As economic competition among cities becomes increasingly taken for granted, and the dominant notion is that it increases all the time, drastic measures are both legitimised and implemented. In practice, not every potential new citizen is welcome and not every business is attractive. Every tourist is welcome, however, even though some tourists, e.g. cruise tourists, are more welcome than others.

This decision about which potential citizens are welcome, as well as which kinds of businesses and companies are especially desirable to attract to the city, is based on global city development and urban regeneration discourses that travel in the cultural circuit of capitalism outlined by Nigel Thrift (2005). These discourses pivot on concepts that contain a semantic that is somewhat magnetic, vague and ambiguous but at the same time seemingly usable in a plethora of urban growth contexts (Magnusson 1994). One of these concepts is 'creativity', which in city management circumstances is perhaps primarily connected to the thesis on the creative class outlined by Richard Florida (2002). A large number of urban regimes (Stone 1989) have turned towards Florida with the plea to 'pimp our city!' More cities have followed the advice laid out in his books and of other marketing and creativity gurus in the consultancy field of city development and city branding (Kotler et al. 1993; Landry 2000 and 2006). As a result of the discourse's influence on the importance of creativity in city development, creative industries and businesses and supposedly creative people have been the prime target of urban policy and development and as the continuation in the city planning apparatus. The city is possible to 'pimp' through an inflow of creative

people and, as this article will stress, through the creation of a creative citizen in a more general, biopolitical sense.

The aim of this article is to give a tentative illustration of how a creative, post-political citizen is imagined and encouraged to unfold within the frame of a city renewal project. As a starting point, the article outlines an exploratory framework structured through the analytical concept of *postpolis*. Postpolis is a term that offers an illustration of the distinguishing qualities of contemporary urbanity in a principal and schematic way (Tesfahuney & Schough 2008). The concept does not imply that the city is no more, or that the metaphysical foundation of the polis does not apply ('post' does not signify a state of order 'after' polis), but that nowadays the city is in some fundamental sense qualitatively different from what traditional notions of polis have maintained (Soja 1989: 5).

The section that follows this introduction outlines the framework of the creative citizen through specific planning practices and technologies. Three aspects and subsections are highlighted. The first of these aspects is the idea of post-politics: the thesis that politics is now out-defined and has been replaced by governmental practices that leave little room for public influence and participation. The second subsection argues that the post-political contemporary is really biopolitics taken to a new level of intensity and extension (Dean 2007). The third subsection discusses how city planning, development and management have changed as a governmental practice in the last twenty years or so. Here, particular attention is directed towards how business management approaches and technologies have been imported and applied in the city planning apparatus. Space is also reserved for discussing how planning has remained a post-political practice, despite attempts to open up this governmental practice to the influence of citizens.

The third section of the article gives an overview of the empirical illustration H+ and SHIP. H+ is an urban regeneration project in the city of Helsingborg, in southern Sweden. Being the largest urban regeneration project in Sweden to date, it will run for 30 years and affect about a third of the total area of the city. In connection with this urban project, an exhibition hall – the showroom SHIP – has been constructed. In this exhibition space, the future urbanity of Helsingborg in general and the H+ project in particular is materialised and visualised through different modalities of representations and performances. The fourth section is methodological and empirical in nature. First, brief recapitulations of Foucault's understanding of subjectification and Butler's idea of performativity are conducted and discussed in relation to the empirical illustration. The starting point here is that in the SHIP locale, the future (creative) citizen is discursively subjectified through performativity. Thus, a short visit to SHIP results in a presentation of what can be done and what is encouraged in tandem with an investigation of the functions, tasks and design of this showroom. The paper thus initiates an ethnographic study of the showroom as a planning servicescape in

which the future citizen of Helsingborg is superimposed on the bodies of the visitors. The article ends with a concluding summary.

Postpolis

Post-politics

The concept of post-politics stems from Slavoj Žižek's reading of Jacques Rancière's work on political theory and the beginning of politics, the foundation of *polis*, in Aristotle (Rancière 1999). He differentiates between 'the police', 'politics' and 'the political'. The police is defined as a 'set of procedures whereby the aggregation and consent of collectivities is achieved, the organisation of powers, the distribution of places and roles, and the systems for legitimising this distribution' (Rancière 1999: 28). As a definition, Rancière's 'the police' is close to Foucault's notion of governmentality, a societal order that strives for the saturation of social space, a sutured society (Swyngedouw 2009: 606). Politics is whatever breaks with or stands in an antagonistic relation to the police, the configuration of societal order, and the expression of disagreement with the police order (Rancière 2000, 2001, 2004). The political is the discursive place in which politics is enunciated and the arena for the encounter between the logic of the polis order and the logic of politics (based on equality and disagreement). The political is thus a rare event in that it requires the presence of the principle of equality, although it can emerge from anywhere – like the disruption of the normalised social order can happen anywhere due to the fact that society never becomes totally sutured (Dikeç 2005). Politics is not simply the organisation of society or the usually assumed place of government, but the alternative to any police order (Rancière 2003). Further, politics is not only understood as technological approaches to decision-making and problem-solution in those governance constellations that thrive in the contemporary planning sphere (Swyngedouw 2005).

Slavoj Žižek sees the fact that the police order is mixed-up with politics as a sign of the times (Žižek 1998). In post-modern post-politics, the police order no longer merely 'represses' the political and tries to contain it and pacify the 'repressed', but much more effectively 'forecloses' it:

> In post-politics, the conflict of global ideological visions embodied in different parties which compete for power is replaced by the collaboration of enlightened technocrats (economists, public opinion specialists…) and liberal multiculturalists; via the process of negotiation of interests, a compromise is reached in the guise of a more or less universal consensus. Post-politics thus emphasises the need to leave old ideological divisions behind and confront new issues, armed with the necessary knowledge and free deliberation that takes people's concrete needs and demands into account. (Žižek 1999: 198)

Post-politics is thus the administration and the management of people and society. Žižek explicitly argues that post-politics is 'the growth of a managerial approach

to government: government is reconceived as a managerial function, deprived of its proper political dimension' (Žižek 2002: 303 in Swyngedouw 2009: 609, see also Žižek 2001). Žižek's interpretation of the post-political contemporary as a political theology echoes both the neoliberal theology of Fukuyama (1992) – it seems as though Fukuyama was right after all – and the conservative theology of Carl Schmitt (1976, 1985), which maintains that there is no longer a primary distinction between friend and foe (Vogt 2006) (there is also an affinity with the political agonism of Laclau and Mouffe). Instead, divisions between enemy and friend are replaced by an emphasis on every individual as a micropolitics of the everyday (Dean 2005). In the individualised, neoliberal contemporary, the requirement for the political decreases, i.e. the possibility of raising a particular issue to the level of the universal as a principal question (Dean 2009). In a post-political reading, homelessness, as an example, becomes an individual problem with a technical solution, whereas in the political proper, (to Žižek and others) homelessness is a structural, political problem that needs a political solution. Radical political change thus becomes impossible to imagine (when politics is emptied of its content). Yes, everything can, and is, criticised, but without taking the form of antagonism (Diken 2009a).

The post-political label thus functions as an umbrella concept; a dominant logic or explanation to a multitude of societal trajectories. To Diken and Laustsen, (asylum) politics becomes (risk) management, a sort of post-politics articulated within a wider discourse of securitisation (Diken & Laustsen 2004 and 2005). In short, politics becomes a game where the rules can be changed all the time (Diken 2009b). Likewise, to Dahlstedt and Tesfahuney (2009), contemporary society works like a casino in which the rules of the post-political game are based on taking chances or risks in order to gain personal benefit in the short term. In this post-political game, the two forms of nihilism – a passive, reactive nihilism that expresses itself in ideas about the end of history (the credo of post-politics) and an active, affirmative nihilism that expresses itself in the spirit of the credit and profit maximisation – are united. Common to both forms of nihilism is that the Earth, life and humanity are subordinated, instrumental and economic values (ibid.). Life in the post-political contemporary is managed for another purpose, a higher purpose, than life itself. Here, post-politics shows itself as biopolitics taken to a new level.

The Biopolitics of Postpolis

In the post-political contemporary, when politics is foreclosed, bare life becomes the main object of politics as the post-political sovereign dissolves distinctions, thus creating zones of indistinction with the purpose of optimising the management of life (Agamben 1998; Diken 2009a). Here, the post-political relies on either including people in a consensual pluralist order or excluding people in a radical way (the inclusive exclusion) outside the consensus/post-political body

(Swyngedouw 2008). Post-politics therefore brings with it a paradoxical violence; a violence of a society bent on neutralising negativity, dissent and revolutionary forces (Diken 2009a) that have been caught and developed by an authoritarian liberalism (Dean 2007). This is the violence of bio-power, and, as Foucault's writing informs us, is not a new phenomenon. By looking at the post-political through a biopolitical raster, an opportunity to approach matters of subjectification in the post-political contemporary unfolds. Rancière declares:

> Politics is a matter of subjects or, rather, modes of subjectification. By *subjectification* I mean the production through a series of actions of a body and a capacity for enunciation not previously identifiable within a given field of experience, whose identification is thus part of the reconfiguration of the field of experience… Political subjectification produces a multiple whose count poses itself as contradictory in terms of police logic. (Rancière 1999: 35-36, original emphasis)

As is well known, Foucault's interest in subjectification had a more central role in his later work on ethics (Foucault 1978, 1985a & 1985b). The process of self-making requires both breaking away from and approaching the discourses and norms that makes one a subject. Subjectivity is thus an effect of regimes of power/knowledge, perhaps especially the technologies of the self-like confession that people engage in. People scrutinise their behaviour and thinking by comparing themselves with the legitimate norms and ethics in society (ibid., see also Foucault 1997). Change is manifested in speech through avowal. Confession has had different functions throughout history (as Foucault illustrates in his investigation of the history of sexuality), but in the end subjectivity is explicitly understood as an ethical project. Discourses do not determine subjectivity. Rather, people construct themselves by choosing ways of actively governing themselves (Dean 1999). This construction is unfolded as a dialectic between subjectification and desubjectification, where desubjectification strengthens and energises subjectification. However, as this oscillation between subjectification and desubjectification is only implicitly postulated in Foucault's work and is therefore generally disregarded in works on subjectivity (Ek et al. 2007).

The construction of subjects, even if it is an agent-based construction, still needs to be seen through the lenses of biopolitics. To Foucault, bio-power found its forms in the 17th century as a power over life in two basic forms. The first concerned the body, its disciplining, optimisation, docility and the increase of its usefulness in systems of economic control. The second focused on the population (propagation, birth and mortality) (Foucault 1978: 139). To Foucault:

> This bio-power was without question an indispensable element in the development of capitalism: the latter would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes… If the development of the great instruments of the state, as institutions of power, ensured the maintenance of production relations, the rudiments of anatomo- and bio-politics, created in the eighteenth century as techniques of power present at every level of the social body and utilised by very diverse institutions (the family and the army, schools and the police, individual medicine and the administration of collective bodies), operated in

> the sphere of economic processes, their development, and the forces working to sustain them. (Foucault 1978: 140-141)

Observing the rise of a neoliberal ideology at the beginning of the 1980s, Foucault, together with some colleagues, continued to formulate the history of biopower as a more nuanced history of social regulation, where a 'liberal' political economy qualified/legitimised the Western practice of biopower (Hannah 2000: 22). The concept of governmentality was born from this work, as the ensemble 'formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections … that allow the exercise of [the] very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security' (Foucault 1991: 102). Governmentality became a concept for the conduct of conduct in the late 20th century in its neoliberal form, with an emphasis on the individual as consumer rather than citizen in constant interaction with market forces rather than with state apparatuses (Rose 1990, 1999, 2006; Barry et al. 1996; Dean 1999; Miller & Rose 2008). Practices like city planning become embedded in the liberal conduct of conduct and unfold as discursive practices that aim to influence the citizen's formation of a subject. In sum, city planning is a biopolitical practice with the intention of creating a set of norms that then influences the process of subjectification at an individual level. However, this conclusion makes it necessary to investigate the practice of planning the postpolis further.

Planning the Postpolis

The planning apparatus and planning as an applied practice have changed in fundamental ways in recent decades. As this has been discussed at length in planning theory (see for instance Jensen and Richardson 2004) a summary is sufficient here. First, from a policy perspective spatial planning has become more ambitious and active when it comes to creating conditions for economic growth, even if the consequences of these actions have been spatial disparity and uneven development (Hudson 2001). The planning apparatus has become more business- and market oriented (Brenner 2000). For instance, private and corporate interests are invited to be a part of the spatial policy making and planning (Stubbs et al. 2002). A large number of new planning organisations – that are public-private in nature rather than purely public – have been founded (McGuirk 2000) based on the assumption that organisational solutions other than the public organisation are more capable of delivering a spatial policy and planning outcome that meets the requirements of a highly competitive geo-economic situation (Sparke 1998). New organisational solutions and approaches like multi-level governance and networking have emerged in the wake of these planning trajectories (Peters & Pierre 1994), and several tools or techniques of ordering stemming from the sphere of private business, leadership and marketing have been applied within the

planning apparatus: visioning, SWOT-analysis, bench marking and city marketing and branding.

City marketing and branding are especially interesting in this context. City marketing, or place marketing in general, has been around for quite some time, at least since the 1850s (Ward 1994). Despite this, relatively few cities were marketed until the beginning of the 1970s, when practically every city started to unleash marketing campaigns (Burgess 1982). Success stories like those of New York and Glasgow became examples that many cities tried to copy and apply (Ward 1998: 47). Of course, as specific representations of a geographic area, these marketing practices contain a poetics of power in terms of who is omitted, who is represented, how and so on. In several respects, the place marketing material became hyperrealist images that preceded the actual physical territories in a Baudrillardian way (Clarke & Bradford 1989), saying more about the epistemologies of the marketers than the ontologies of the marketed spatialities (Barke and Harrop 1994). More recently, place branding and city branding have become new and fashionable concepts that also indicate a new approach towards the city in city planning. Rather than marketing the city as a city, it is branded as a brand. An urban branding process is about creating a brand that can serve as a framework for the city in its marketing process. City branding is therefore a more ambitious effort to sell a geographical area, based on branding techniques like brand loyalty and brand equity that have been incorporated from the private business sphere (Coaffee and Rogers 2008). But of course a problematic politics and poetics of representation do not only exist as whole cities. The city's population is also branded or marked as burnt offerings to tourists and the global creative business life of liquid modernity.

The fact that city branding as a planning practice has increased in scope has opened the way for branding experts and consultants like Simon Anholt (2007 and 2010) and enhanced the impression of planning practices as post-political. Planning has always been an issue for planners and experts within the different fields of city planning and development, not least due to its technological, and even technocratic, characteristics (Gunder 2010). In a way, planning practices embody the situation that Habermas (1984 and 1987) wanted to address with his theory of communicative action (the colonisation of life-worlds by instrumentality and rationality). His ideas have therefore been used by planning theorists calling for the argumentative turn in planning (Fischler 1995) and a communicative planning theory (Healey 1997). Even though communicative planning theory has had some influence on planning theory (for a critique, see Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998: 1977), there has not been a corresponding development in the planning apparatus:

> Although these moves are welcome attempts to encourage more people to become involved in the day-to-day decision-making processes of local planning authorities and could therefore be described as 'bottom-up' to some degree, they are nevertheless undertaken within an institutional, political, and legal framework that

> remains 'top-down'. There is a degree of flexibility apparent, but when planners attempt to transpose stakeholders' desires into practical policy outcomes, experience has shown that it is the hierarchical regulatory and institutionalised planning context that wins the day. (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998: 1978)

There are attempts, though, to make planning a practice that genuinely invites and includes the civil society, and there are opportunities in planning development project processes for the public and for civil groups to express their opinions on the issues at hand. But the research that has been conducted indicates that in practice public participation is often arranged and orchestrated in such a manner that the control of the process is always in the hands of the planning elite (Mitchell 1996 & 1997; Stevenson 1999; McCann 2001 & 2002). While there is a genuine ambition among (at least some) planners to engage the public – the citizens in the city – it is always on the terms of the planning practice and not on the terms of the political. In other cases (reasonably), dialogue with the public is something that is required by law, rather than something that is done out of a true interest in public opinion.

But by and large there is still an honest desire to engage the city population. The question is how? Here, I argue that the showroom fits in as a benevolently intended arena for interaction between planners and the public. At least in a Scandinavian context, showrooms (also an innovation from private business life) initially worked as exhibition halls that reflected a technological endeavour, as in the case of the exhibitions associated with the building of the Öresund Bridge (Ek 2003). These exhibitions spaces were permeated with visualised technology, or what could be described as a visual orgy of a future society entwined through a multitude of material and non-material modes of representation: computer animations, digital databases, aerial photos, films, photos, models, sounds and artefacts. In sum, these exhibition spaces of visual and panoptic gluttony became technological vision machines (Virilio 1994) that left little opportunity for people to interact with each other without such mediation. SHIP is not technological to the same extent, but is more based on 'social' (i.e. socio-material) mutual interaction between people/subjects. However, the crucial question is how this interaction is arranged and how the showroom is designed and functions. We will look at that in more detail after the presentation of the H+ project and SHIP.

Concluding Remarks on the Framework of Postpolis

To round up this attempt to frame postpolis as an analytical concept, it can be said that postpolis is the city in which politics is based on the principle of *krematistikos* (pecuniary) rather than that of *oikos* (economise on resources). In the postpolis, the traditional primary function of the *polis* to harbour the *agora* and constitute a societal contract in order to create the qualified life (*bios*) no longer applies. Instead, the primary function of postpolis is growth (often expressed as the common good) through the mobilisation of all kinds of resources (often through accumulation by dispossession, see Harvey 2003). In this respect people are assets

(Schough & Mekonnen 2008), and when people are assets politics is no longer necessary and can be defined as something else, e.g. a moral issue (a question of right or wrong), as a concern for the market (an economic decision) or as a question of blood ties (Mouffe 2005). In practice, post-politics is unfolded as the management of biopolitical subjects. Planning is thus no longer about planning *in* society or the planning *of* society, since the *society* of polis becomes overshadowed by the principle of *krematistikos*. As Schough and Mekonnen (2008: 142) so cunningly paraphrase Margaret Thatcher: 'there is no such thing as an (urban) society'. Rather, planning is about creating a biopolitical subject that possesses certain qualities that make them useful in the postpolis of *krematistikos*. Creativity is such a quality and is both required and desirable. Indeed, planning practice finds its raison d'être in: 1) attracting creativity in the shape of people, investments and companies; 2) creating physical surroundings that facilitate the appearance of creativity; and 3) encouraging people to foster their creativity as an inherent part of the subjectification process. In the continuation of this article the latter two points are addressed further: empirically through the case of the urban renewal project of H+ and its showroom SHIP and methodologically through the performativity approach as laid out by Judith Butler (1990 & 1993).

H+ and the Showroom SHIP

As has already been indicated, the purpose of the H+ project is to transform and develop Helsingborg's central southern district over a time span of 30 years. About one million square metres of former industrialised harbour will be renewed. The key to the transformation is the construction of the Söder Tunnel and the re-routing of the south-bound railway underground, which will open the central southern district to the sea and increase its attractiveness in several ways. About 4000-5000 new apartments are planned for, which implies about 10 000 new inhabitants in the area. About 37% of the area will be reserved for activities like business and trade. The H+ project is embedded in a city vision of Helsingborg as a tolerant and dynamic urbanity. The vision is based on five key concepts: availability, mosaic, sustainability and good health, experimentalism and cross-bordering co-operation. Likewise, the project's environmental profile is laid out in five (different) key concepts: the resource-effective city, healthy and attractive environment, availability and urban mobility, water and green areas and sustainable urban lifestyle. The project also has a more strategic, regional purpose, namely to strengthen the northern part of the Öresund region and make Helsingborg a clearer and heavier counterpart to the region's southern centre consisting of the cities of Copenhagen, Malmö and Lund. Also here we find five specifications in the shape of slogan concepts. In a regional context, the H+ project is expected to play an active role in the region by being a creative centre, a regional destination with its share of attractions, including activities and

businesses with a regional sphere of action and to contribute to the realisation of a fixed connection to Denmark (Helsingborg City 2010). Another strategic ambition of the project is to reduce segregation in Helsingborg. The northern part of Helsingborg is the affluent part of the city, while the southern part is associated with exclusion, unemployment and misery. To some degree this picture is mirrored in socio-economic statistics, but not as much as in the public perception of the city as strongly divided (Högdahl 2007).

SHIP is presented as an arena for creativity and an exposé over the future of southern Helsingborg. It is a specially designed locality or showroom for the H+ project's exhibition 'Think H+'. The intention is that the engaged citizen, or anyone else, will be able to receive the latest news regarding the H+ project. SHIP has been in existence since the autumn of 2007 and is also a designed office hotel where small, innovative companies can rent office space and meeting facilities. A café is included in the building, offering fair trade beverages.[1]

Pictures 1-4 All pictures from SHIP's website.[2]

The Performative Power of the Showroom

Judith Butler's work on performativity does not need any extensive recapitulation. As a theorist interested in the disruption of dominant understandings of the subject, she is a creative interlocutor of Foucault. In particular, Butler's 1997a and 1997b are ambitious attempts to develop Foucault's idea further (Gregson & Rose 2000; McKinlay 2010). In *Gender Trouble* (1999: 185, original emphasis) she states that:

> In other words, acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance, signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organising principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally con-

> structed, are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that is has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality.

In another of her books, *Bodies that Matter* (1993) Butler develops this theory of agency by stressing that performativity is not a distinct act or event, but the 'reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names' (Butler 1993:2). As performativity is a reiteration of norms that simultaneously dissimulates the norms or conventions of which it is a repetition, it cannot be understood as something that is outside the process of iterability and repetition and performed by the discourse rather than the subject per se. Language is thus in itself performative (Butler 1993: 30, original emphasis):

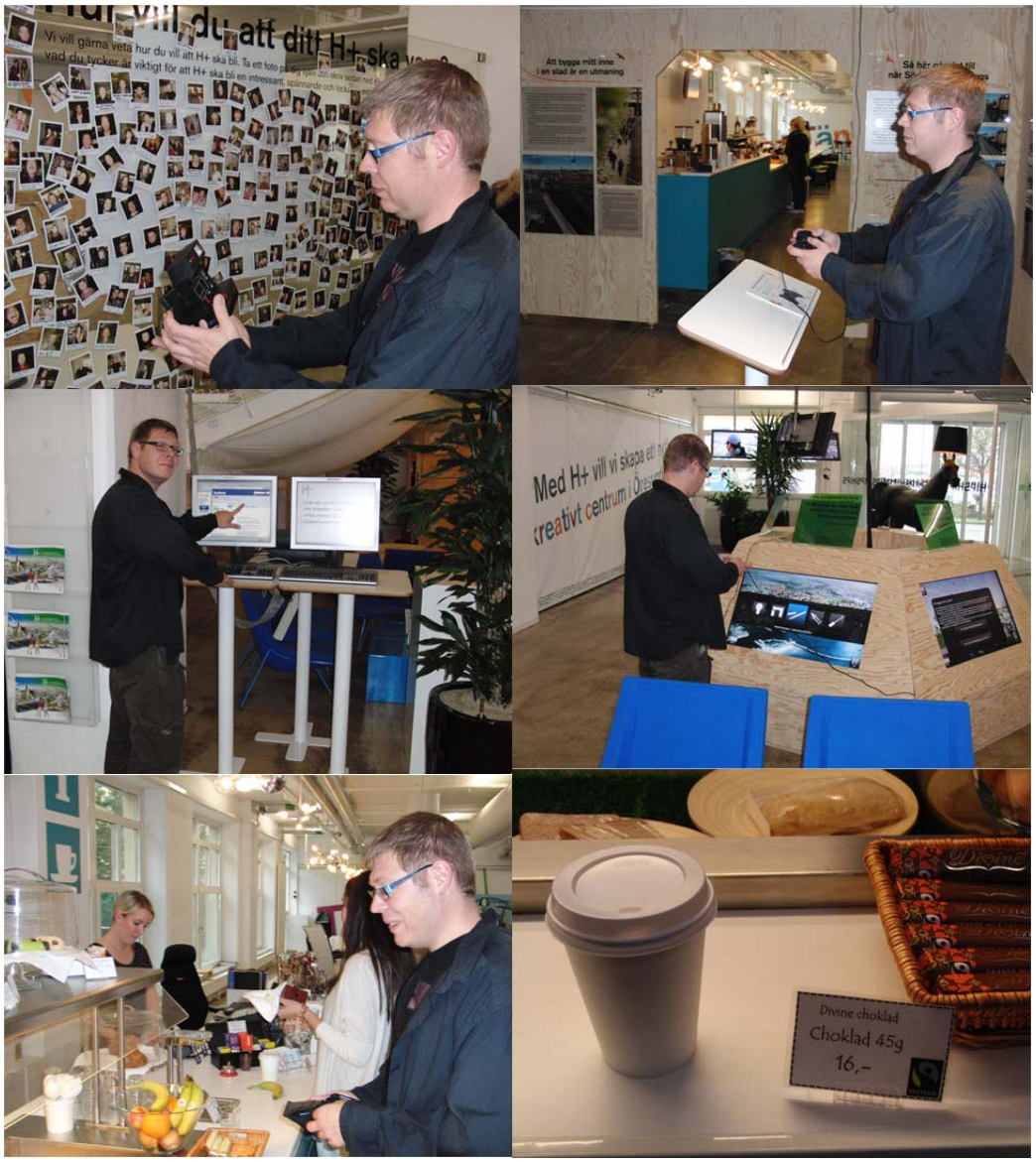
> If the body signified as prior to signification is an effect of signification, then the mimetic or representational status of language, which claims that signs follow bodies as their necessary mirrors, is not mimetic at all. On the contrary, it is productive, constitutive, one might even argue *performative*, inasmuch as this signifying act delimits and contours the body that it then claims to find prior to any and all signification.

Generally, interpretations of Butler's account of performativity have been divided into two camps. The first camp has discerned a potential for a new gender politics through the performative reconfiguration of gender norms, while the other camp has been more pessimistic about the possibilities for change (Mahtani 2004; Lloyd 2010). What can be read from this is that there is always room for manoeuvre within the discourses and systems of norms in which the performativity of agents is embedded, even if these possibilities of change and subversion can never be taken for granted. At the same time, there is a corresponding risk that non-normative performances may reinforce normativity (Salih 2002; Lloyd 2010).

Performativity and the effects of performative action must thus always be seen as contextual, in terms of discourse and power – as well as spatially – where there is always the potential and capacity for norm-breaking identity construction. In this case, the showroom SHIP becomes a milieu or framed space that both enables and encourages specific performances at the same time as it disables and discourages other forms of behaviour and performances. Given that in some respects SHIP can be seen as a servicescape in a planning and urban renewal context, it also resembles a performativity-space that reflects the entire ontological register.

It then becomes crucial to actually observe what is going on in this 'planning space'; this servicescape for the engaged citizen who is interested in being part of the redevelopment of the city of Helsingborg. In view of this, a shorter ethnographic investigation was therefore conducted in which I was primarily interested in searching for: a) opportunities and limitations relating to creative conduct and b) to what degree the design of the showroom allowed for active political engagement with the concretised planning vision. Assuming the role of a

general visitor, I visited SHIP with a colleague and a camera in order to document the activities that were on offer and those being carried out by other visitors. In particular I looked at whether political conduct was possible, and if it was, what kind of political conduct was encouraged? Even though capturing practices and performances through visual representations is not particularly easy, pictures were taken to illustrate what was being done during that particular visit and in order to visually enrich the narrative account of the ethnographic visit.



Pictures 5-10 (pictures 5-9 taken by Ola Thufvesson, picture 10 by the author)

My first reaction was that having a cup of coffee was actually the most exciting event – although this is probably an unfair remark. SHIP does offer plenty of opportunities for creativity, at least in a general sense. Meetings can be held at SHIP that have the potential to be creative, students can work undisturbed, there is

free access to wireless Internet, and there are other ways of socialising. It is mainly a popular place for students, since it is close to the university campus and is clearly an arena for social encounters. Theoretically, as an arena for sociality SHIP offers the foundation for what Richard Florida regards as creativity, namely innovative work that results in economic outcome. Here, for instance, it is possible for the recently established marketing agency to work out innovative marketing campaigns and brand technologies. SHIP is also an arena that matches accounts of the desired prerequisite for creativity – a milieu that encourages and facilitates unexpected meetings (Törnqvist 2004, Tufvessson 2006). In other words, opportunities for creative conduct seem quite good.

But we have to ask ourselves to what degree it is possible to engage in the materially and semantically expressed geographical vision of H+ in a creative way. We have to closely scrutinise the creative activities that can be carried out in order to reveal the possibilities of performing as a political citizen. In this context the impression was different. What you could do was to practically contribute and legitimise the established urban vision, although questioning the vision per se was not very easy. It was also possible to contribute to the collective visioning on the glass wall, and to say what you thought about the future of H+ and Helsingborg. The wording on the glass wall says 'What do you want your H+ to look like? We really want to know what you want H+ to be like. Take a photo of yourself and then write down your hopes and dreams for how H+ can become an interesting, exciting and attractive meeting-place for all citizens in Helsingborg' (my translation). In order to do this, however, the camera has to work; something that it did not do during our visit. Actually, practically none of the interactive technology worked, which made it difficult to assume any kind of political stance, negative or positive. As I have visited SHIP several times I know that the flawed technology was not limited to the specific day this investigative visit was conducted. The technology never seems to work, because for some reason it is not very well looked after by the staff.

Pictures 11-12 (photos taken by the author)

To conclude this section I would argue that the showroom has a performative power on the people who visit it, in the sense that it is practically difficult to do anything (although the coffee machine always seems to work). The visitor can of course study the information about the H+ project, look at the models of the future city of Helsingborg and read the different planning documents that are displayed here and there in the locality. In this sense the showroom is primarily a planningscape where the visitor can passively receive information from the planner experts about the future of the city. The showroom thus works in a similar way to fashion and retail showrooms by offering a space in which to show off.

Conclusion - Or an Attempt at Wrapping Something up that has Just Started

As stated at the beginning, this article reflects the initiation of a research project, which means that the ideas evoked in it are necessarily tentative. There are two main trajectories of thought that I would like to follow-up in this conclusion, both of which are analytical and questioning in nature. The first trajectory of thought, or lines of though-flight if you wish, is the postpolis concept as an umbrella term with which to catch the current state of the *polis* (see also BAVO 2009). Clearly, there is both a pedagogic and an analytical challenge in connecting highly abstract politico-economic and politico-philosophical ideas and theories with empirical and ethnographic work (see further Latham 2003). As in many other cases, the spectacular (highly theoretic-philosophical) is also to be found in the mundane, in the non-speculative rhythm of urban change (Massey 2005). The spectacular (here in theories that border on, for some at least, conspiratorial thoughts) is also to be found among the best intentions of planners, architects and politicians who embody the planning apparatus that reproduces and strengthens the post-political and biopolitical contemporary.

This leads us to the second trajectory of thought in this conclusion, which is that the H+ project and the showroom SHIP are socio-material constellations that have been mobilised (with the best intentions) by the planning apparatus in the city of Helsingborg, but that in an analytical vein nevertheless enhance the post-political tendency. First, there are no indications that the SHIP showroom encourages a performance that facilitates the unfolding of the political in Rancière's meaning of the word. The activities that are offered and organised in the showroom mainly express and perform a neoliberal and market-oriented agenda. For instance, the repeated lunchtime events deal with topics like how to start your own business, how to be an entrepreneur, how to create a brand and so on. The creativity that is fostered at SHIP is the kind of instrumentalist creativity that is inherently connected with profit, business and the entrepreneurial discourse stressing innovation and the invocation of ideas with a market potential. The emphasis on creativity is thus relentlessly contextualized in a post-political

framework. Creativity here is not about reinventing the societal, reclaiming the political or developing the community approach, but is about nurturing and fostering the individual (biopolitically) as an entrepreneur, employee or owner of an enterprise in the creative industries.

Critically, and tentatively, we must ask ourselves what the relationship is between the post-political and creativity. In the post-political contemporary, political creativity is of no value but has to be channelled into something post-political, as it is that kind of creativity that fosters the biopolitical subject as a person that orients and navigates from an ontology that puts the individual before the societal (as in the entrepreneurial discourse). The showroom (as in other arenas in the postpolis) works both ways here, in that it fosters economic individuality and hinders political collectivity (to use Rancière's vocabulary). It also sets up a simulacrum that gives the impression of actual influence over the future urbanity of Helsingborg. By taking a photo of yourself and writing down your hopes and dreams you have done something substantial! Being creative within a simulacrum is not something that threatens the post-political contemporary (Diken 2009a). In short, the showroom becomes a place for shiny, happy people who are distanced from the role and function of the place-engaged political subject and who are instead associated with the cappuccino-subject of the postpolis contemporary.

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Notes

1 http://www.helsingborg.se/templates/StandardPage.aspx?id=75059&epslanguage=SV
2 http://www.helsingborg.se/templates/StandardPage.aspx?id=75059&epslanguage=SV

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Re-scaling Governance in Berlin's Creative Economy

By Bastian Lange

Abstract

The paper aims at discussing the issue of governance in respect to creative scenes, a central structural element of the creative economy, exemplifying the case of Berlin. Berlin has a fast growing creative industry that has become the object of the city's development policies and place marketing. The core question is: What are the spatial-organizational driving forces of creativity in Berlin - can they be steered by public administration? I am using Berlin as a reference case to articulate the gap between 'state-led planning' on the one hand and the organisational practices of self-governed creative scenes on the other. I attempt to demonstrate why a perspective change in terms of *re-scaling* is necessary, in order to respond to the particular practices of emerging industries and their societal form 'scenes'. By *re-scaling* I mean the conceptualization of governance in different non-hierarchical organisational as well as spatial scales, based on the observation that scenes are considered to be a central element of the functionality of creative industries.

Keywords: Governance, Berlin, Creative Economy, scenes, scale

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Governing Creative Industries?

Taking the difficult historical background as a point of departure, Berlin can be considered as a relatively peripheral metropolis, as a politically divided city with parallel institutions till 1990. Subsidized economies on both sides, few manufacturing industries on the western side and less competitive industries on the eastern side, Berlin's start in the European arena after 1990 has been framed by structural and economic weaknesses, less-service oriented public institutions and public policy, and entrepreneurial mentalities always awaiting federal subsidies (Büttner, Lange, Jähnke & Matthiesen 2004).

Till today, Berlin demonstrates the paradoxical co-presence of cramped knowledge sites, some excellent science clusters, as well as highly attractive cultural scenes, on the one hand and, severe reduction politics within the realm of universities, research and development on the other. This results in a mostly self-encumbered lock-in situation, which progressively endangers any creative steps into a 'knowledge-based future' for the metropolitan area as a whole. The transformation into an independent and less-subsidized urban economy has led to stable 18-20 % unemployment rates (McKinsey 2010), growing social segregation, and slow but detectable urban polarization (Häußermann & Kapphan 2002).

The city administration of Berlin defines creative industries as a profit-oriented segment covering all enterprises, entrepreneurs, and self-employed persons producing, marketing, distributing, and trading profit-oriented cultural and symbolic goods (Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft 2008) This way, commercial sections of publicly financed cultural institutions such as museum shops are also part of the creative economy's business sector. Creative industries in this understanding include advertising, architecture, the art market & design, film & TV, software & telecommunications, music, the performing arts as well as the publishing & book market.

The report on Creative Industries counts 22 934 creative enterprises, predominantly SMEs, earned over 17,5 billion Euro in total revenue in 2008 (Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft 2008: 24). This means companies from Berlin's creative industries make up around 20% of Berlin's gross domestic product. More than 8% of those employees who are required to pay national insurance contributions (excluding freelancers and independent contractors) work in the various submarkets of Berlin's creative economy. With approximately 160 000 employees – including freelancers and independent contractors - creative industries are pertinent to Berlin's job market. In the last couple of years, the number of employees subject to social insurance contributions is declining, while the number of people working freelance and self-employed is obviously increasing to 39 percent of the creative economy's working potential.

Creative industries cannot only be defined as branches e.g. of design, architecture, music, fashion etc., but also as distinct 'markets negotiating symbolic

goods'. Paul Hirsch firstly introduced this perspective. He defined creative industries as 'producing cultural products that means nonmaterial goods directed at a public of consumers, for whom they generally serve an aesthetic or expressive, rather than a clearly utilitarian function' (Hirsch 1972: 641). Similarly, DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones (2007) defined 'cultural economy' through 'economic activities in which symbolic and aesthetic attributes are at the very core of value creation' (DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones 2007: 512). The notion of negotiating symbolic goods addresses not only the tremendous attractiveness of new work in these markets but also the high degree of visibility stretching far beyond its economic potential. 'Markets negotiating symbolic goods' though refer to the production and the exchange of relevant cultural symbolic values, defining symbolic goods for identificatory socio-cultural processes at the micro and the macro level. The question how to promote the very special nature of what is considered 'creative industries' is of major importance for public administration as well as private companies since few years.

The following paper focuses on one central diagnoses in creative industries: creative scenes play a major role exchanging, evaluating and distributing relevant knowledge in and between creative markets. That allows on the one hand asking for the logics, paradoxes and practices of the functionality of these very informal socio-economic interactions. On the other hand, scene practices will be conceptually linked to a broader understanding of governance as such, as it is exemplified by Kooiman (Kooiman 2003).

I will exemplify these perspectives at the case of Berlin in order to evaluate some connotations of the concept of governance. The paper aims at discussing the issue of governance in respect to creative scenes, a central structural element of the creative economy, mainly neglected when speaking about creative industries as such. Berlin has a fast growing creative industry that has become the object of the city's development policies and place marketing. The core question is: What are the spatial-organizational driving forces of creativity in Berlin – can they be steered by public administration? I am using Berlin as a reference case to articulate the gap between 'state-led planning' on the one hand and the organisational logic of creative scenes on the other. I attempt to demonstrate why fundamental *re-scaling* is necessary, to respond to that particular logic of emerging industries and their societal form 'scenes'. By *re-scaling* I mean the conceptualization of governance in different non-hierarchical organisational as well as spatial scales, based on the observation that scenes are considered to be a central element of the organisational logics of creative industries.

The Plan of the Paper

First the following paper asks for new forms of governance (Section 2) within the framework of creative industries. I will contextualize governance approaches by

focussing on their spatialities. Furthermore, I will use the differentiation of governance (governance, co-governance and hierarchical governance) proposed by Kooiman (2003), in order to open the often-rigid definition of the term governance, as it is presented by political sciences.

Secondly, special emphasis is paid in regard to new geographical scales as well as new institutional settings as a consequence of the distinct formation of markets. Thereby specific professional demands, network behaviour as well as new constellations of creative agents in creative industries play a major role and are discussed on greater length (Chap. 3).

Thirdly, Chapter 4 presents Berlin with central parameters as well as it prepares the application of network governance approaches to the case of Berlin's creative industries, mainly the field of design production.

Fourthly, empirical sketches, based on various empirical fieldwork and research approaches will be presented and reflected along the proposal presented by Kooimann (2003): (self-governance, co-governance and hierarchical governance). Major emphasis is put on the aspect of self-governance with so-called 'creative as well as professional scenes' in creative industries. Principally speaking, I try to vote for an opening of relatively rigid governance approaches. Political sciences tend to apply their concepts mainly on well sorted and well established fields of action and has avoided to apply governance approaches on emerging markets, as it is the case in many sub segments of Berlin's creative industries (e.g. design or art and music).

This perspective is highly needed because new forms of urban management come to the fore in the field of creative industries: informal alliances between private and public stakeholders, self-organized networks to promote new products in new markets and context-oriented forms such as branding of places, represent new forms of managing the urban. Thereby, cities are the sites of agency for the negotiation of future markets.

As a point of reference I will present three examples from various empirical studies taking place in Berlin since 2004. Based on the very nature of creative industries and especially 'scenes as embedding ground for doing creative businesses', I will ask how governance processes and formations are re-scaled in the case of Berlin: 1) the city administration's limited attempts to govern the creative economy, 2) co-working spaces as a particular form of self-governance in the creative industries and 3) the UNESCO Network of Creative Cities as inter-urban cooperation model.

Governance

Defining Governance the Traditional Way

Besides the standardized understanding of governance (democracy theory, participation theory etc.), as it is common in political sciences I shall apply a more inte-

grative perspective that takes into account the specific local circumstances as well as the intrinsic logics of creative industries. First of all a traditional way of understanding governance concepts and modes has to be formulated: Governance is seen as collective action by private, public, and corporate agents regarding public goods, spatially relevant resources, cultural values and action resources (Healey 2006; Heinelt 2004). In general what is meant by the use of the concept 'governance' is a mode of decision-making which does not only follow top-down patterns, but that includes these as well as horizontal or bottom-up processes. The groups of players (decision-makers) are usually represented by a triangular scheme, with state, economy and civil society on its three points forming collaborative strategies by handling unequal spatial resources. This concept allows the examination of collective action as well as the spatial positioning.

Looking closer at the state-led-approaches in Berlin, creativity has been a constant 'message' in Berlin city marketing since the late 1990s. What professionals see in it, is the possibility of create a symbolic distance between the Berlin of World War II or of the Wall and the 'New Berlin' as the campaign of the 1990s was called. Creativity seems a very fertile ground for re-defining a city's identity, as its connotations are only positive: dynamism, youth, growth, emotions, experiences, fantasy etc. Tourism services in the form of information offices are something very common even in the smallest German town. Active marketing policy, including campaigns of all types, is usually to be found in regions or larger cities. In Berlin it is the private-public-partnership organization called BTM (Berlin Tourismus Marketing) responsible for promoting Berlin as a tourist destination. The main city marketing organization is Berlin Partners, another public-private-partnership, where the city of Berlin, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the Berlin state bank, almost 150 mostly medium size companies, but also universities and other educational organizations participate in a broad network of partners. Their scope of action is very wide: it includes promoting Berlin as a business location and a political decision-making centre, as a city of creativity, technology and education, but also assist potential investors and enhance export. Besides these two larger organizations, the administration itself, both at federal, state and municipality level pursue their own city marketing policy, have their own contacts and political agendas. Organizations such as the Berlin Trade Fair Centre, that has their own place marketing, add to the complexity of the picture. Creativity is central on the agenda of all the institutions mentioned above. Through its connotations of young and diverse, creativity suits perfectly well the city that defines itself through the same terms.

From the administrational side, there have been further attempts to identify, support and market the city's creative potential. The Berlin Senate (local government) and especially the Department of Economy, Technology and Women's Issues has initiated a project called Projekt Zukunft (German for 'project future'), aiming at creating networks among media and IT business on the one hand, and at

linking them with science, politics and the administration on the other. Through marketing and information campaigns, public-private-partnerships, publications or events, it promotes economic and cultural innovations. The fields targeted here range from information technology, telecommunications, e-government and up to the cultural economy. As a fully institutionalized administrative body, 'project future' distributes financial aid for future-oriented economic fields and their agents. This administrative mode is closely connected to fordistic principles: it redirects money. A closer look demonstrates that the field it is supposed to support represents a rather unspecific portfolio: technology support, marketing, providing information via databases etc.

Initiated by the state-led public administration, the department of economics paved the way for a network called CREATE BERLIN. It is an association of designers and was founded at the beginning of 2006 only a few months after the UNESCO awarded Berlin the title of 'City of Design'. CREATE BERLIN is an initiative both by and for Berlin Designers. It unites creative minds and design producing talent from agencies, companies and institutions in Fashion Design, Product / Interior Design and New Media / Graphic Design as a network spanning all design disciplines. As ambassador of Berlin Design, CREATE BERLIN presents the creative variety of the Berlin Design Scene and promotes with national and international engagement the economic potential of Berlin's design industry and strengthens Berlin's reputation of a unique and aspiring design metropolis and of 'City of Design', as awarded by the UNESCO.

Especially the last example highlights state-led-development approaches that focus on informal, more flexible forms of organization. Especially these intermediary structures see their role as a 'national' and 'international' promoter of the city's local "economic potential" and 'reputation' – both notions directly linked with the idea of place marketing – thus aspiring at becoming a more recognised prime player in governance structures. Nevertheless, these efforts make it necessary to reconsider the notion of governance as such and especially in the field of creative industries.

Defining Governance for the Creative Industries

Governance strategies in the field of creative industries have to be seen as negotiation-based approaches by new and often less established young agents in city regions. For a traditional understanding of governance (and their apologists) this becomes difficult. Negotiations are necessary in forming alliances and social networks guaranteeing visibility and attention in respect to public administration as well as within the private sector. But how stable are alliances, when do I talk about 'alliances' as such and who contribute to an 'alliance'?

At the same time, formalized and established public-private networks are often critically discussed because of their distant attitude toward these creative agents and their informal networks. On the contrary these newly established networks

within creative industries, being new, often lack evaluation and transparency (Balducci 2004; Kunzmann 2004). The emergence of creative industries as such represents new structural elements, such as a high degree of informality (Neff & Stark 2003). New forms of urban management are needed, in order to cope with these highly instable economies and the individual demands of their proponents: What I see today in many cities are informal alliances between private and public stakeholders, self-organized networks promoting new products in new markets and context-oriented forms such as branding of places, represent new forms of managing the urban. Thereby, cities are the sites of agency for the negotiation of future markets, making it necessary to reconsider its governance.

In addition to the more traditional way of understanding governance, major attention will be raised to understand the institutional set-up and self-understanding within emerging economies, especially in creative industries. I will analyse the novelty of 'new governance modes' within the framework of newly established geographic scales. Thereby it will be possible to look closer at socio-spatial relations that are not equally given, but negotiated and debated by different actors, interconnected through multi-scalar power relations that create up/down or inside/outside dichotomies. These relations are constantly questioned, contested and renegotiated – in a rather more antagonistic way than the consensus of governance suggests. These spatial relations are relations of structural power (with subsequent inequalities) and are constantly re-drawn as 'maps of power' or 'power geometries' (Massey 2004).

Governance refers thus to new relationships between state and society that imply a blurring of traditional boundaries of governmental agency (Jessop 1995; Rhodes 1996; Stoker 1998). Recent definitions of the term governance e.g. by Balducci, Kunzmann & Sartorio focused on the following dimensions, from where to analyse the specific local governance mode and its practices: 'rationale and initiators; boundaries; legitimization; envisioning; communication and social learning' (Balducci, Kunzmann & Sartorio 2004: 2-4). Apart from a standardized understanding of governance (democracy theory, participation etc.), like it is common in political sciences this integrative perspective takes into account the specific local circumstances of creative industries. Common context-free definitions popular in political and social sciences are considered less relevant. Based on this premises, steering and organizational modes of creative industries have only recently been analytically related to organizational changes within micro and small enterprises (Grabher 2004; Rae 2004; Neff, Wissinger & Zukin 2005; Wilson & Stokes 2005; Scott 2006; Lange 2007), all taking into account that new combinations of innovative and creative 'knowledge' restructures economy, public administration, entrepreneurship and their spatialities.

Stemming on these approaches I will argue that creative industries will be considered as new organizational forms that are modifying and creating new forms of governance arrangements in its institutional as well as scale dimension (Lange &

Kalandides 2008). In the same way, it will be focussed on the way conflicts and power relations between well-established and less established actors interplay. After presenting conceptual prerequisites, three different sketches of new governance modes will be discussed in the case of Berlin. They will be organized along the criteria, introduced by Kooimann (2003): Self-governance (1), co-governance (2) and hierarchical governance (3) will be used to demonstrate different modes of governance in the case of Berlin's design market (Kooiman 2003).

(1) By self-governance I highlight distinct practices of micro-entrepreneurs to organize themselves in informal innovative and creative milieus.

(2) Co-governance denotes to more institutionalized forms of cooperation in formalized though temporal networks.

(3) Hierarchical governance refers to the traditional forms of top-down practices between state, public administration and private segments of creative industries.

Creative Industries as Emerging Fields in Territorial Perspective

New Agents in Paradoxical Circumstances

The emergence of new economic fields is accompanied by new entrepreneurial agents in the field of creative and culture production (Lange 2005b, a). So-called culturepreneurs, in creative industries might demonstrate suitable context-sensitive efforts to establish new markets and construct new professional fields. By 'context-sensitive' I mean approaches that take into account the specificities of place and the particular ways that certain social milieus or economic segments are constituted. Yet, from an analytical perspective, these agents are confronted with structural paradoxes that are inscribed in their entrepreneurial practices (Thelen 2003; Zhang 2004; DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones 2007; Kosmala 2007). As a major focus group of the so-called creative city, they might be seen in the following as representatives of new modes of labour with their adjacent governance practices in the field of creative industries.

When speaking about new modes of labour and the procedural forms of market access by new agents I look at how they are confronted with structural paradoxes of their social and work practices. Very generally speaking, two paradoxes – among others – play a crucial role in the articulation of their work practices: the 'Globalization Paradox' and the 'Identity Paradox'. The first addresses the ambivalence between local-based creativity and transnational networks of production systems as well as localized production networks that are driven by an ethos of creativity and adhere to an 'artistic mode of production'. The latter, the 'Identity Paradox' addresses the ambivalence between individual or collective careers, identities, and reputations. Inventing static concepts of entrepreneurs does not lead further, because mavericks and outsiders as well as independent creative artists play the major role in this market (Steyaert & Katz 2004).

The 'Globalization Paradox' addresses the ambivalence of these newly emerged knowledge milieus and their territorial embedding practices. Being able – thanks to airline carriers such as Raynair or Easyjet – to operate worldwide, socio-spatially integrated 'communities of knowledge' (Wenger 1999) gained more and more relevance and thus provide the necessary embedding ground for translocal knowledge workers. Based on these substantial paradoxes, different governance modes can be presented, highlighting the degree of irritation, the different interests, and separated logics of action, when promoting creative and knowledge industries and their creative agents: structural paradoxes demonstrate how the institutional set-up 'creative industries' is constituted and how difficult it is to invent marketing and place-based strategies to promote creative industries.

Spatialities – Governance of Place

Governance options in the case of creative industries need a conceptualization of space that goes beyond the understanding usual applied by city administration. Creative production not only *happens* in a particular place, but its players *constitute* space by various forms of social interaction, which in its turn *is constitutive of* creative production. Depending on what I am looking for (and partly on the disciplinary focus), I discern at least three approaches to understanding the spatialities of creative industries: Firstly, that cities are the sites of creative production which take place in urban space (cities as sites); secondly that creative players themselves constitute space through their communicative practices (constitution of creative space); and thirdly that creative places are produced and marketed (places as products).

Cities as Sites

The role of special proximity in the creation of urban economic clusters and subsequently the synergy effects it enables, have been a matter of long scientific debate (Amin 2004; Hadjimichalis 2006). Amin and Thrift question the *de facto* validity of this position, which, in their opinion, views cities as 'isolated sites' despite global flows of information, capital and people (Ash Amin & Thrift 2002). How can cities, they argue, be seen as independent entities outside their role as nodal points of international trajectories? Aren't places always interdependent (Massey 2004) and aren't business relations across the seas sometimes more important than the ones next door? This understanding of space resolves the globalization paradox, because it conceptualizes the local and the global, not as contradictory, but as mutually constituted.

Proximity alone and always is not enough to explain why places matter. There are particularities in the creative industries that may speak for the importance of place and proximity (Lange 2007). I would argue here that this is inscribed in the particular economic mode of at least three points: *scale, hybridity* of space-time, *informal* economic exchange. Creative entrepreneurs very much dependant on

milieu-specific knowledge, which is offered through the particular *hybridity of time and space*, which Florida calls 'third places' (Florida 2002). Semi-public places (cafés, clubs, galleries, etc.) become the privileged spaces of information exchange that may lead to new job offers, participation in projects or financial sources to be tapped. This knowledge exchange is particular important as micro-entrepreneurs are dependant upon '*informal*' economic forms for their existence (Hadjimichalis & Vaiou 1990; Vaiou 1997): exchange of services instead of payment, pseudo self-employment instead of steady employment, non-declared home work etc. The identity (individualization/static entrepreneurship) and difference (innovation/standardization) paradoxes describe well the ambiguity of the community.

The Constitution of Creative Space

The re-insertion of space into academic thought through the spatial turn also saw several attempts at a redefinition of the term. A re-conceptualization of space as 'relative and relational' allows us to approach places differently, look at the ways they are constituted and contested, their interrelations and finally the many ways they influence the same powers that constitute them.

The way that creative players constitute space (and place imagery) can be found in several discourses, for instance concerning the private/public divide (Bahrdt 1961/2006) or in connection with gentrification. The classical theoretical model of gentrification sees several phases in the process (Smith 1979). According to this, artists, the pioneers of gentrification, move into areas of cheap housing, raise the symbolic value of it, which then is translated into higher land values. These in turn make it impossible for the artists to afford living there, so they make place for higher-income groups – the gentrifiers. The creative industries are thus trapped in the difference paradox: are they supposed to keep their cutting edge and probably not be able to afford the gentrified neighbourhoods or can they standardize their output and become part of the mainstream?

The gentrification model, which has many variations, has been criticized for being normative and for applying the specificities of a particular place (Neil Smith was initially examining Lower East Side in New York, see Smith 2005) to other areas (Kalandides 2007). Research in the Prenzlauer Berg area in Berlin (Bernt 2003; Holm 2006) have produced more ambiguous results, where the pioneer seemed to be the state itself, though its urban renewal policy. The creative industries may have followed instead of having led the way. Whether creative industries are actively used for the 'upgrading' of an area – paradoxically finally annihilating themselves – or simply the followers of gentrification processes, it remains a hard task for urban managers to find a balance between urban renewal and displacement. Yet, there can be little doubt that creativity can be used discursively to 'label' an area. As part of particular urban governance policies it can be

instrumentalized to symbolically and physically upgrade areas considered 'problematic' – or even sell the city itself.

Places as Products

That places are seen and treated as products is not a new issue. What has changed though is the degree to which place branding/marketing with its new repertoire of managerial and strategic tools, which draws heavily on the professionalization of private sector experience, has been dominating urban policy around the world in the recent years. In particular for post-industrial places the creative industries have been a fertile branding ground. A fast, definitely oversimplifying look at the whole discourse on creativity may help discern what is at stake here and why creativity is so popular among Berlin marketers.

Firstly, and this is important for city marketers, managers and other urban professionals not only in Berlin, but worldwide, 'place matters' – again. Our cities as already mentioned above are not interchangeable, but have particular characteristics that when identified and influenced properly can help them position themselves internationally, create distinctiveness and a competitive advantage in the presumed international competition. Secondly, in a post-industrial western world, knowledge and innovation are recognized as basic growth motors, that may give new chances even to cities with a weak industrial basis, such as Berlin. Thirdly, creativity has strong connotations of a particular ('artsy') lifestyle with a subtext of freedom, individuality etc. Space and time become hybrid as work and leisure blend. Berlin's highly cultural and hedonistic atmosphere seems to sum that up perfectly. Fourth, 'culturepreneurs' are 'flexible' and 'entrepreneurial'. They represent a new paradigm of a post-fordist society and are thus excellent for city marketing and in attracting businesses. Berlin has been re-branded from the city of the 'old' German protectionism to the city of the new millennium. Finally, diversity and tolerance become economic entities. They are drawn out of a political discourse to become a-politicized and central in attracting a new kind of elite, the 'creative class'. Berlin as a multicultural and gay-friendly city scores high in both fields.

New Institutional Settings – The Network Governance Perspective

Intersections of Market, Agents, and Networks

As introduced earlier, one of the key urban, cultural and economic developments in creative and knowledge industries is the emergence of a new hybrid of both cultural and entrepreneurial agents, the so-called culturepreneurs (Lange 2007). For comparable observations see Davies and Ford (Davies & Ford 1998), McRobbie for London (McRobbie 2002), Lange for Berlin (Lange 2005b); Ellmeier for Vienna (Ellmeier 2003). While this new development has led to a

substantial reconsideration of 'entrepreneurship' in respect to space on the one hand (Steyaert & Katz 2004), it has also led to a new line of thinking with regard to the notion of economic progress and professionalization within entrepreneurial networks on the other (Rae 2002; Sydow, Lindkvist & Defillippi 2004).

The term culturepreneur is a compound of culture and entrepreneur and was first suggested by Davies and Ford (Davies & Ford 1998: 13), following Pierre Bourdieu's typological notion of an entrepreneur as someone who embodies various forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986: 241). Davies/Ford (op. cit.) first have characterised this type of people who, in structural terms, are communicative providers of transfer services between the sub-systems 'business related services' and 'creative scene' and, in doing so, seem to satisfy a necessary demand by operating in flexible social networks. In brief: they form new modes of self-governance.

The formation of the new social networks by new professions demonstrates the unintended rise of distinct segments creative industries – at least from the point of view of the government. This opens the opportunity to examine the nature of its emergence since top-down support initiatives by the state or public administration did not exist between prior to the year 2000. So most of the factual micro-entrepreneurial professions emerged without external support. In this ambiguous situation, the newly invented catchword of a 'new entrepreneurship' alludes to individualized marketing strategies, self-promotion and social hardships, but also to skilful alternation between unemployment benefit, temporary jobs, self-employment structures and new temporary network coalitions as practiced by numerous young agents in the field of cultural production. Social capital becomes an existential value for exchanging relevant information. Performing intense 'multiple and constantly shifting transaction structures in cultural-products industries means that much of the workforce becomes enmeshed in a network of mutually dependent and socially coordinated career paths' (Scott 2006: 13). It was in 2006, that this work ethos has been celebrated ironically with the term 'digital bohème' (Friebe & Lobo 2006)

Professionalization – Self-governance of Professions

Creative industries are often based on 'communities of practice' (Lave 1991), i.e. groups or networks of professionals who cooperate, exchange views and ideas, and inform each other about trends of professional, political, and practical concern. Though new creative professions lack official associations and formal representatives of their profession, and thus operate mainly in informal networks such as scenes, it is of major importance to reflect on the degree of self-governance, mainly that of their profession. The fate of these interaction and communities of practices is shaped and partly driven by professionalization for the simple reason that they have to survive economically. Thus, professionalization has become a limiting context restriction that can in particular restrict creativity.

Professionalization can be viewed in a narrow and a wider sense (Mieg 2008). Professionalization in the narrow sense denotes the transformation of an occupation into a profession, that is an occupation with certain autonomy in defining and controlling the standards of the work of its members. Professionalization in the wide sense denotes the transition towards paid work that is subject to binding quality standards. In this wide sense, people and activities can be professionalised, gaining in professionalism.

Professionalization is a main subject of the Anglo-American sociology of professions that developed in the beginning of the 20th century. The discussion had long been occupied by the focus on the medical and laws professions and the attempts to define professions in contrast to occupations. Today, this approach is considered as fruitless. At the latest since the work by Freidson (Freidson 2001), research in the sociology of professions turned towards the notion and phenomenon of professionalism. Freidson understands professionalism as a third organisational logic of work besides the market logic and the logic of planning or bureaucratic administration. In contrast to market and planning, professionalism means self-organisation and self-regulation of experts.

The paradoxes of creativity (DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones 2007) – mentioned earlier in this paper – can also be re-considered from the perspective of professionalization research. The so-called difference paradox of 'crafting or standardizing policies' relates to the two linked sources of professional competence: on the one hand individual skills and competencies that are – on the other hand – built up and evaluated by the professional community. The distance paradox of 'whether to couple or decouple routine work' also refers to a phenomenon that is common in professionalization research: the coupling of private life and profession – simply because of passion for the kind of professional work. Perfect examples are doctors' families, especially in land doctors. The globalization paradox of 'whether to reconcile or separate local and global arenas of activity' and the identity paradox of 'creating individual or collective identities, reputations and careers' can be considered as expressions of the fact that individual professionals are members of a potentially global profession. Similarly professional knowledge tends to be shared globally.

In creative industries, professionalization serves several functions (Lange & Mieg 2008): a control function, an evaluation function, and an expert function. The inherent *control function* of professionalized work currently is one of the main topics of discussion in the sociology of professions (Freidson 2001; Evetts 2003). Professionalized action is generally subject to the self-control of professionals. In professional work, other common forms of organizational or institutionalized control are substituted by self-control. Professional self-control is also at work in organizations: new forms of human resource management even assume self-control from employed professionals. Here organizational control takes on the

form of 'control at a distance' (Fournier 1999: 280) – that is internalized self-control.

The second function, *evaluation*, is closely linked to the first one. If there is today an enduring source of legitimization for professions, then it has to be based on the institutionalized control of evaluation standards for particular professional work. Classical professions (such as the medical profession or sciences) as well as new professions or professional groups (such as in the field of web design or patent auctions) attempt to define standards for professional work in their domain and to establish systems of evaluation that also include standards for professional training. Thus, professions have certain basic, socially accepted monopoles of defining work in their domains. These monopoles are variable and subject to the dynamics of changing jurisdiction in the 'system of professions' (Abbott 1988).

The third function, the *expert function* of professionalized work, plays a decisive role in the domain of creative industries from two perspectives. I see not only an external expert function (towards clients and the public), but also an internal one (in the network). The internal expert function serves to differentiate and legitimate evaluation processes by identifying those professionals who set new quality standards and – equally important – who are renowned trainers or coaches in that particular professional domain. The attribution of the 'experts' in the field also determines the direction of 'collective' competence development of local creative economies (as professional groups). Though professionalization has to be considered as a process. Professionalization involves the transformation of trust regulation (from trust in single experts to trust in qualifications), the transformation of learning (from erratic individual learning to a more academy-like training) and the transformation of quality control (from individualized trust to quality reflections in globalized professional networks).

Empirical Sketches – Three Approaches of Berlin's Attempt Dealing with Creative Industries

The following sketches follow the terminology of Kooiman (2003), as introduced earlier: hierarchical governance, co-governance and self-governance.

Hierarchical Governance – Governing Creativity?

The Berlin administration is constantly involved in the organizational logic of the creative industries, which confront it with several structural difficulties, limitations and thus complex paradoxes. The growing number of creative individuals, the high speed at which create milieus mutate and their need for autonomous action make it almost impossible to exercise control over them. Administrations mostly operate through a hierarchical understanding of governance, but are often forced to stand back as observers, creating a governance paradox.

Creativity has been a constant 'message' in Berlin city marketing since the late 1990s. What professionals see in it, is the possibility to create a symbolic distance between the Berlin of World War II or of the Wall and the 'New Berlin' as the campaign of the 1990s was called. Creativity seems a very fertile ground for re-defining a city's identity as its connotations are only positive: dynamism, youth, growth, emotions, experiences, fantasy etc., thus it is often hard to tell what the product of efficient place marketers is. Groups that are targeted through such campaigns are 'firms, workers and residents' as Schrock and Markusen put it (Schrock & Markusen 2005: 51). To understand why these groups are targeted and through what institutions that take place, a closer look into Berlin's particular situation is needed.

From the administrational side, there have been serious attempts to identify, support and market the city's creative potential. The Berlin Senate (local government) and especially the Department of Economy, Technology and Women's Issues has initiated a project called Projekt Zukunft (=project future), aiming at creating networks among media and IT business on the one hand, and at linking them with science, politics and the administration on the other. Through marketing and information campaigns, public-private-partnerships, publications or events, it promotes economic and cultural innovations.

A closer look demonstrates that the field it is supposed to support represents a rather unspecific portfolio: technology support, marketing, providing information via databases etc. The wide range of support for new technologies highlights paradoxical circumstances. When, in the past, public administration had to support one company with 1000 employees, today, it has to demonstrate responsibility for 1000 companies with one 'self-employee'. Besides, creative agents mostly represent a generation of 25-40 year olds, often associated with quickly changing trends in style, taste, habitus, location preferences, etc. Seeing it as a typical generational behaviour with high rates of residential mobility, changing workplaces etc, why should an urban administration invest in these fluid, self-seeking, experimental life-worlds? The future orientation of the well formulated and suitable 'project future' appears to be caught in the trap of creativity. Distributing money in highly risky, less established and unproved entrepreneurial and creativity-based endeavours of emerging projects leads to constraints especially for young agents. How can a young, aspiring creative entrepreneur convince an administration whose logics of distributing its resources are rooted in the fordistic past?

Co-governance: Co-working Spaces as a new Form of Re-scaling Labour

In recent years a new socio-spatial phenomenon has gained wider international attention in sub-branches of creative industries: so called co-working spaces, most prominently introduced by the *betahaus* in Berlin. There, highly mobile creative workers have articulated increased need for temporary workspaces while being contracted in project teams (Grabher 2004). Co-working space means renting a

work environment for some days or a few weeks and sharing office spaces with similar workers. To a growing extend this work space is offered by local entrepreneurs providing micro-work space on a contract basis. This (service) opportunity is accompanied by access to local based creative milieus, networks and the distinct local particularities, propelling entrance into creative scenes (Lange 2007). Distinct knowledge resources (local, network, cultural) can be detected in order to understand 'embeddedness' as a decisive element for these self-governance modes of work in creative industries.

Described as "a movement to create café-like community/collaboration spaces for developers, writers and independents" (http://blog.coworking.info/), these self-organised social hubs stand for a set of values that are being shared by a growing number of creative individuals in urban settings: They strive for independence in the way they make use of time, space and talent, yet long to be connected to other like-minded people – and not only on a virtual basis but in spaces of everyday physical encounter; they want to break out of the restricted and often solitary working conditions of office spaces or private homes and instead establish models that foster professional activities in a leisure-like atmosphere; they want maximum global flexibility including spending time in other creative cities (where similar co-working spaces exist) without being cut off from the local community sharing their mindset. Co-working spaces reflect the collective-driven, networked approach of the open-source-idea translated into physical space. The creative sharing of space can be seen as an optimistic and self-governed reaction to the often precarious living and working conditions of today's creative workers, especially in transformative and crisis-driven times. The spaces themselves are often remains of traditional industries breakdown and as such significant carriers of societal transformation (Wellmann 2009).

Self-governance – Self-regulation of Professions

The emergence of so-called 'culturepreneurship' is first of all an expression of the overall 'paradox 'of creativity: traditionally separated societal spheres of culture and economy have only recently been bridged with the presence of creative industries. Furthermore the enormous rise of micro entrepreneurs in Berlin can be seen as a tentative answer to the specific paradoxes of creativity: e.g. how do young entrepreneurs solve the 'Globalization Paradox' as well as the 'Identity Paradox' when they are confronted to either opt for individual or collective careers, identities and reputations? The key to an answer is the self-governance of culturepreneurs.

Creative industries have only recently been analytically related to organizational changes within micro and small enterprises (Grabher 2004; Rae 2004; Neff, Wissinger & Zukin 2005; Wilson & Stokes 2005; Scott 2006; Lange 2007), all taking into account that new and often 'paradoxical' combinations of innovative

and creative 'knowledge' are inscribed in the process of restructuring economy, public administration, entrepreneurship and its socialities anew.

An example is the network, Create Berlin, which describes itself as 'an initiative both by and for Berlin Designers. Create Berlin unites creative professions and design producing talent from agencies, companies and institutions in Fashion Design, Product / Interior Design and New Media / Graphic Design as a network spanning all design disciplines. As ambassador of Berlin Design, Create Berlin presents the creative variety of the Berlin Design Scene and promotes with national and international engagement the economic potential of Berlin's design industry and strengthens Berlin's reputation of a unique and aspiring design metropolis and of 'City of Design', as awarded by the UNESCO.

There are several interesting aspects in this self-description: Firstly it focuses on informal, more flexible forms of organization, very much like the players identified in new governance models – also emphasized by the inclusion of both 'companies' and 'institutions'. Secondly, Create Berlin sees its role as a 'national' and 'international' promoter of the city's 'economic potential' and 'reputation' – both notions directly linked with the idea of place marketing – thus aspiring at becoming a prime player in governance structures. And finally, it is recognized here that place-making occurs through 'energies' or people's actions. The birth of Create Berlin can be seen as a reaction of the designer scene to their exclusion from traditional state-regulated forms of power. It is one of the forms of self-organisation mentioned above, to ensure that young, small and marginal businesses are taken seriously as equal players in economic development and city marketing policies.

A central element of the functionality of these forms of self-governance is their reliance on creative scenes as a form of embedding contexts for their entrepreneurial activities. The empirical results highlight agents and their informal institutional frameworks, both of which are confronted by a rise in individual entrepreneurialism, self-realization and socio-economic insecurity. Their applied entrepreneurial strategies display practices as well as knowledge of network sociality (Wittel 2001) seeking to minimize critical and risky existential life situations. Symbolic innovation is carefully distributed in various social contexts, evaluated by colleagues, friends and rivals and suitably adjusted to meet market standards. This evolutionary process by which new agents gradually achieve professional standards, step by step, is marked by the extent to which it is rooted in flexible, creative and sub-cultural milieus (Lange 2008).

Not only do the spatial practices of urban pioneers provide insights into the new urban policies of responding helpfully to analyses of communal culture, but they also allow for what Angela McRobbie named 'cultural individualisation' (McRobbie 2005: 81 ff), which means the observation of the playful (self) production and performance tactics of these individuals on the urban stage. On the other hand, the spatial practices and entrepreneurial activities are treated as signif-

icant changes in a reconfiguration of work organization in respect of space and place, and focus on how these subjects operate in precarious existential life situations.

Conclusion

The core question of this paper was: What are the spatial-organizational driving forces of creativity in Berlin and can they be steered by public administration? In more detail: What does this diagnosis mean for our understanding of governance in respect to scale, when most of the dynamics take place in rather informal and quickly changing translocal working environments?

Berlin's particular position in the context of creative industries can be seen as a direct result both of its own economic/political restructuring of the post-reunification era and as part of a worldwide reorganization of work in symbolic economies. The dynamics of creative industries in Berlin can be best described by their self-governance, including a struggle for new forms of professionalization. It is now widely accepted in the Berlin administration that context-improvement ('urbanity', city branding) seems to be the only legitimate form of 'helping' creative agents. Visions of 'potential areas for cultural enterprises to locate' (e.g. clusters), as described by Ebert & Kunzmann (2007), seem to be detached from the reality of the evolution and 'paradoxical' practice of creative industries in Berlin and trapped in traditional forms of economic development derived from the industrialized past.

By referring to the heuristic framework by DeFilippi, Grabher and Jones (2007) and their perspective of paradoxes it was possible to shown that existing governance approaches ignore creative agents rather than consider them for governance options. By emphasising the case of Berlin I demonstrate that creative industries are characterized by growing culturepreneurship, an expression of a new flexible form of work and entrepreneurship, embedded in a distinct urban environment. This is foremost a way of self-governance.

The dynamic pattern I observe in the context of Berlin's creative industries concerns the various modes and importance of self-governance (such as CREATE BERLIN). These modes express the governance of new professional standards targeting creative 'objects' that are of a rather different constitution, perpetually changing, continually instable, highly mobile and operating in temporary projects. The type of the 'culturepreneur' is one possible answer to this growing hybridization, a flexible and precarious urbanite caught between the paradoxes of different systems: on the one hand a state and administrative body that by and large follows a rather standard approach to organize, plan labour directly on ground within a given territory. On the other hand the reality of a market that is abandoning it and constitutes itself far beyond the administrative borders. Reacting to this discrepancy culturepreneurs create their own relational spaces of interaction where bor-

ders blur: competition and cooperation, exchange and isolation, private and public, work and leisure co-exist and are hard to tell apart. They invent forms or self-organization to gain access to power structures, based on informal conglomerates and extensive networks.

To sum up these empirical sketches: Based on an integrative and relational analytical perspective, the production of space ('spacing') allows me to analyse the forms, practices and strategies of appropriating, defining, using, and coding urban space by either creative and knowledge-intensive agents, corporate companies, stakeholders, and public administration. By using the analytical categories of 'place and space' from a social constructionist perspective, it is possible on the one hand to understand the performances and social practices that characterize the individual entrepreneurial presence as well as their strategies to control their professional field of action. Furthermore, they demonstrate their perspective on acting on markets, their corporate identity, formulated as a spatially rooted temporal narrative.

On the other, widening the perspective by examining the spatial practices of either new and self-organized intermediaries, or fully-established institutionalized agents such as public administration, matchmaking or misfits constellation can be analysed according to the relevant and used communicative resources, strategies as well as modes of qualification that enables defining, accessing, establishing the 'markets' of creative industries.

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Culture Unbound
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Translating Fashion into Danish

By Marie Riegels Melchior, Lise Skov & Fabian Faurholt Csaba

Abstract

With their association to enterprise and innovation, creative industries have emerged as a legitimate concern in national cultural and economical policy in many countries across the world. In Denmark, the fashion business, in particular, has been hailed as a model for successful (post)industrial transformation. In this paper, we explore the birth of Danish fashion from the ashes of the country's clothing manufacturing industry, suggesting that the very notion of Danish fashion is indicative of – and enabled by – a development towards a polycentric fashion system. The intriguing idea that fashion could emanate from Denmark and secure growth, jobs and exports even outside the fashion business has taken hold among policymakers, and compelled the government to embrace fashion as a national project. In investigating the emergence and rising stature of Danish fashion, particular at home, we first establish a theoretical frame for understanding the cultural economic policy and the motives, principles and strategies behind it. Then – drawing inspiration from Michel Callon's "sociology of translation" with its moments of translation: problematization, interessement, enrolment and mobilization – we identify the actors and analyze their strategic roles and interrelationship through various phases of the development of Danish fashion. Callon's actor network theory (ANT) is based on the principle of "generalized symmetry" – originally using a single repertoire to analyze both society and nature. We adapt this principle to study the realms of market, culture and politics within a common analytical framework. In our analysis, the state responds to industry transformation, interprets it and develops its own agenda. But it can hardly be said to develop policies *for* the industry. On the contrary, we suggest, fashion is mobilized to lend its luster to the nation, its institutions and politicians.

Keywords: Fashion, cultural nationalism, cultural industries policy, Denmark, translation

Introduction

During the past decade or so, governments around the world have embraced the cultural or creative industries as policy objects (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt 2005; Kong 2000; Pratt 2005). The main impetus for the development of government strategies and policy in this realm has been to mobilize culture to promote economic development. The conception of creative industries and its subsequent diffusion has been linked to both the rejection of forms of cultural policy grounded on subsidy of fine arts as well as a set of subtle moves to legitimize and retain them (Hesmondhalgh 2008; O'Connor 2007). But the term is increasingly identified with a turn towards enterprise and innovation, which establishes creative industries as a legitimate concern in national cultural and economical policy (Keane & Zhang 2008; O'Connor 2007). Denmark is no exception from this global trend.

In this article we explore the way in which the fashion industry has been enrolled in the cultural industries policy in Denmark, to the point that it is seen as the prime example of the cultural and experience economy. We take our inspiration from actor network theory, and more specifically from what Michel Callon has called a "sociology of translation" (Callon 1986) in two ways: Firstly, we analyze the Danish fashion industry as a mobilization of resources and institutions which has resulted in a hybrid, but relatively stable network. In this respect, we see translation as a continuous process. Secondly, we adopt actor network theory's principle of generalized symmetry, in this case not so much between nature and society, as between different domains in society – culture, economy, and politics. Among these, the connection between the fashion industry and policy has been almost entirely overlooked. Yet, as we will argue it is extremely important, not only because it offers recognition of an emergent designer fashion industry sector, but also because it mobilizes new ways of representing the nation. The article is based on the assumption that the study of the general must be informed by the specific. The empirical material we present is very local down to the ethnographic detail of names and dates. Thus, we believe that the Danish cultural industries policy's focus on the fashion industry can inform a general understanding of creative and cultural industries policy.

Our analysis of the approximation of government and fashion industry goes through what we term – again, drawing on Callon – four moments of translation: problematization, interessement, enrolment and mobilization of allies (Callon 1986). The first moment, problematization, is represented by the industry's adjustment to deindustrialization and the emergence of a designer fashion industry sector. This liberated fashion's image-production capacity from a struggling manufacturing industry. The second moment, interessement, is represented by the government's gradual reinterpretation of the cultural sector. Out of this process the fashion industry emerged as the model innovative industry, worthy of support.

The third moment, enrolment, represents the stabilization of networks that occurs when actors accept their mutual roles. This occurred through the establishment of the Danish Fashion Institute in 2005. However, this has not led to inertia, but rather to an ongoing mobilization in response to changing government initiatives. The fourth moment, mobilization of allies, is characterized by leading politicians attending fashion week, endorsing Danish fashion designers and professing their excitement about fashion. It signifies that the fashion industry has come to play an important role in what we term cosmopolitan nationalist discourse. Fashion lends its luster not only to individual politicians, but to the post-industrial nation. Preceded by a section in which we establish an analytical framework for the study of cultural industries policy, the four moments of translating fashion into Danish provide the structure of the present article.

Our argument is based on the observation that there is considerable slippage between fashion understood as cultural phenomenon and fashion understood as clothing-derived industry. In many ways this ambiguity is productive. In news stories, for example, it allows images of catwalk models to signify a whole textile and clothing sector, although designer fashion is only a small segment of what is a highly diverse industry. At the political level it allows the fashion industry to signify a postindustrial cosmopolitan "fashion nation," a representation which politicians and governments have found increasingly attractive.

The Danish fashion industry consists of approximately 620 companies registered by *Statistics Denmark* as "wholesalers of clothing" (Deloitte 2008). These companies employ more than ten thousand people. In 2009, the industry had an annual turnover of DKK 21.3 billion, ninety-two percent of which came from sales to the three largest export markets, Denmark's neighboring countries Germany, Sweden and Norway (DFT 2010: 2). Fashion is considered to be the fourth biggest exporter among manufacturing industries, based on export profits of Danish clothing, textiles and leather goods.[1] The industry is dominated by three companies, Bestseller,[2] BTX Group[3] and IC Companies,[4] which jointly account for approximately 75 percent of total export profits. The remainder is made up of small companies, typically privately owned and owner-managed, mostly with less than ten full-time employees.[5] The persuasive ranking as the one of the largest exporting industries, albeit in a highly de-industrialized economy, is often invoked as evidence of the success of Danish fashion. However, these statistics are poorly tuned to measure the changes they are intended to prove. For example, they do not include employment within media, modeling, styling, event organization, research and analysis or lobbying, even though we might expect such jobs to be significant for a designer-driven industry. Moreover, we might question whether clothing exports represent an appropriate performance indicator for a creative and experience-based industry. It is only by looking behind the figures, discourses and network alliances that we can understand the mutual mobilizations of the nation for fashion, and fashion for the nation.[6]

Cultural Industries Policy

Culture industries policy must negotiate tensions between fields of culture and economy, or, perhaps, more accurately, the institutions which divide and define them. As Jean-Christophe Agnew stated:

> Aestheticism and economism effectively cartelized the social world by dividing cultural exchange and market exchange into separate disciplinary jurisdictions. As a consequence, the juncture of these two aspects of life vanished from view, and the deep and unacceptable division within market culture reemerged as the deep but eminently acceptable division between the market and culture. (Agnew1986: 6-7)

To frame and analyze some of these tensions, we will first address the object and objectives of cultural policy and then turn to different modes and models for the government of culture and cultural industries.

In a historical analysis, Tony Bennett groups the objectives of cultural policy into three broad and overlapping categories: the symbolic, the social and the economic. The symbolic use of culture refers to state support to cultural activities representing the power and virtues of a nation, people or political system. Absolutist monarchies used culture as means to bolster the power of the king, whereas art and culture later came to represent an abstract form of sovereignty vested in a democratic citizenry. The social use of culture represents efforts to steer the conduct and ways of life of the population. Historically, governments have "acted upon the social" through prohibitions as well as cultural provisions (Bennett 2001: 3093). Thus, the development of cultural institutions in the 19th century, such as public libraries, museums, art galleries and concert halls, were parts of a larger scheme to civilize and enlighten lower strata of the population. Today, both symbolic and social aspects of cultural policy mostly reflect democratic principles of equal cultural entitlements. But according to Bennett, social and civic aspects of cultural policies have recently been overshadowed by economic interests and concerns. He links the unprecedented significance of economic aspects of cultural policy to the demise of manufacturing sectors and the rise of cultural and media industry in the wake of globalization, revolutions in information technology, and changing relations of work and leisure.

Andy Pratt offers a more fine-grained and schematic framework for mapping cultural policymaking. He argues that notions of culture are constructed through a number of intersecting discourses providing particular means of mobilizing the notion and defining its object (Pratt 2005). Pratt, like Bennett, identifies three main approaches to cultural policy. They both have "economic" and a "social" categories, but Pratt calls his third category "ideological/political", rather than "symbolic." Two of the three subcategories under "ideological/political", "humanist" and "aesthetic," seem to fit under Bennett's label of the social. The "humanist" stance emphasizes the uplifting and civilizing properties of certain forms of culture, linking "great art" to transcendent experiences and values. It is Pratt's "nationalist" subcategory of ideological/political discourse that comes closest to

Bennett's notion of symbolic uses of culture. It concerns the way notions of cultural particularism and achievement function in the construction of national identity. In Pratt's analysis, economic discourses of culture revolve around the issue of whether culture should be a private or public good. Here Pratt posits four approaches; the first construes culture as a private good, traded as cultural commodities and analyzed by policy-makers according to their direct or indirect impact on the economy. In this neoliberal line of thinking, public investment in cultural activities is justified if returns, such as urban regeneration, export earnings or national identity, exceed administration costs. Conversely, culture can be seen as a public good when it makes sense to provide it collectively, that is, when cost structure allows a good to be consumed by many at no extra cost, as in the case with radio. The two remaining economic discourses on culture identified by Pratt are rational choice approaches and its variant model of merit goods. The former explains government support for arts and culture in terms public consent; the latter deals with government policy towards goods that merit support although the public does not necessarily demand or value them. The social dimension in Pratt deals mainly with the institutional texture of policy making. Unlike Bennett, Pratt does not question culture as an object of state policy, but regards it as an arm of welfare policy akin to health and education.

We now turn to mechanisms employed in governing the cultural realm. In their influential analysis of the "arm's length" principle in public support for the arts, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey addressed the limits of government and proposed a typology of four modes of support for the arts (Hillman-Chartrand & McCaughey 1989). The "arm's length" principle is a central feature of pluralist democracies to prevent undue concentration of power and conflict of interest. The role of the state ranges from a hands-off donor-driven "facilitator" model to a hands-on "engineer" model. In the former, associated with the US, the arts are supported indirectly through tax deductions to private and corporate donors. The latter, in which the state owns the means of artistic production, is known mainly from totalitarian regimes. In between, we find the "patron" and "architect" models, which allow culture a degree of autonomy from both market and state. The patron model, associated especially with Great Britain, gives expert councils the authority to prioritize and channel public support, whereas the architect model involves a more active role for the state, but not state monopolization of the cultural sphere. Their analysis expresses concerns that the arm's length principle, best ensured in the patron model, is under threat.

> In the absence of any other system that is clearly superior, is not the arm's length arts council the most effective guarantee that in a democratic country the arts will not be crushed under the tyranny of present-day commercial, moral or political concerns? (Hillman-Chartrand & McCaughey 1989: 3)

Aiming to escape the state/market dualism, Pratt suggests a scheme with three basic forms of governance, adding to market anarchy and state organizational hierarchy, the notion of heterarchy or self-organization. Self-organization represents

"a new balance point," but should not be identified with either "patron" or "architect" models. Instead, Pratt suggests that heterarchy is linked to new forms of coordination emerging in the wake of the transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism, and represents a rather unexplored territory within cultural policy.

In a more radical break with traditional models, Keane and Zhang criticize the arm's length principle, which they find too closely aligned to static and conservative conceptions of culture (Keane & Zhang 2008). Instead, they adopt Potts and Cunninghams' four model scheme, which they see as a more dynamic understanding of cultural industry's role in the international knowledge economy. Potts and Cunningham's model includes the "welfare model", based on the assumption that support for cultural industry must be justified by non-market or cultural value and must be transferred from other areas of the economy. The second "normal" model insists that the cultural sector is an industry (leisure or entertainment) as any other and should be treated as such. The two remaining models consider creative industries to play a positive role in the economy. The growth model assumes that they are of particular importance because they facilitate growth in other sectors. The final, emerging "creative economy" model goes even further in viewing creative industries as a crucial part of the whole economy's innovation system, a catalyst for growth and processes of change (Potts & Cunningham 2008). Keane and Zhang advance the creative economy model, not only for economic reasons, but also for its role in promoting cultural vitality and diversity (Kean & Zhang 2008).

Before we analyze Danish fashion in the light of the positions and objectives that emerge from the triangle of culture-market-government, we need to take a closer look at the industry's transition from a manufacturing sector to a design-based cultural industry.

Problematization: From Clothing to Fashion Industry

It is only quite recently, that the words "Danish" and "fashion" have come to form a natural compound, "Danish fashion" ("dansk mode"). Significantly, it was not until 2009 that the industry's trade association was renamed from The Federation of Danish Textile and Clothing (Dansk Textil og Beklædning) to Dansk Fashion and Textile (Dansk Mode og Textil). Until a decade ago, the industry shied away from using the term fashion, and designated itself as a clothing or apparel industry. For example, in Denmark in the 1950s, fashion was regarded as a foreign, elite and female phenomenon. Both consumers and industry were at the receiving end in a monocentric fashion system (Davis 1992: 201; Pouillard 2008). Fashion salons (modelsaloner) in leading Copenhagen department stores had licensing agreements with Paris haute couture houses, such as Dior, Chanel and Balmain, which enabled them to purchase sketches, patterns and the right to reproduce haute couture designs for a local clientele (Mortensen 1993). Ready-to-wear manufacturers also kept an eye on international fashion, although they did not see

themselves as style arbiters. They did not, for example, present regular new collections of style, color and fabric. Neither did they produce a whole range of coordinated outfits, but concentrated primarily on single products, such as slacks, blouses, sweaters or women's jackets (Melchior 2008).

What happened in the 1960s was a profound transformation of the global fashion and clothing industry. Some describe it as "democratization" (Lipovetsky 1994; Breward 2003; English 2007), since fashion morphed from a privileged domain of artistic creators into an exciting, modern phenomenon that all manufacturers and consumers could participate in. As a consequence of this development, Danish manufacturers faced more imports, which made the domestic market increasingly competitive and forced them to seek export markets. This gave professionally trained fashion designers a central role during the 1960s, either as employees in the manufacturing industry supplying designs or as owner-managers of their own companies. Led by fashion designers such as Søs Drasbæk, Margit Brandt, Mugge Kølpin, Lise-Lotte Wiingaard, Lars Hillingsø, Sysser Ginsborg and Lennart Råholt, this was the first golden age of what since then has been termed "Danish fashion" (Melchior 2008). The designers of this era became known for a modern, yet functional style of fashionable clothing for young adults – women and men.

The following decades, however, brought bleak times to the Danish clothing industry. As result of the recession following the 1973 oil crisis, European Economic Community accession, and rise in imports of low cost apparel from Asia, Danish clothing manufacturers were struggling for survival. In what was to be a losing battle, some companies joined the unions' effort to preserve Danish jobs in the clothing industry, whereas others closed their factories and outsourced production to low-cost countries. By 1997, the industry's process of deindustrialization was almost complete. Significantly, the trade association changed its membership regulations to accept "whole-sellers of clothing," which as a membership group subsequently came to outnumber manufacturers during the 1990s.

After the vibrant 1960s, the following decades were short on visions for Danish fashion. The erosion of the manufacturing industry, the bedrock of the Fordist welfare state, was so overwhelming that, even in the mid-1990s, most newspaper headlines were pessimistic about the future. Nobody had predicted the emergence of a designer fashion industry sector, concentrating on design, branding and marketing. Instead of controlling their own manufacturing, these fashion designers relied entirely on global manufacturing and reaped the benefits of the increasing standard of low cost international suppliers, especially in China and India (Gibbon & Thomsen 2002). In fact, outsourcing opened up a multitude of new design possibilities, including elaborate styles with sequins and embroidery, which would have been prohibitively expensive to produce in Europe (Skov 2003). Leading Danish fashion brands such as Munthe plus Simonsen, Bruuns Bazaar and Day Birger et Mikkelsen incorporated Indian embroidery and color schemes and for

some years "ethnic bohemia" was seen as the Danish fashion identity (Melchior 2008). Both Bruuns Bazaar and Munthe plus Simonsen were able to get registered on the official show list of the French fashion trade organization during the biannual fashion week in Paris (in 1999 and 2000, respectively). For the emergent sector, this was an important recognition, signifying that Danish fashion had reached an international level. Further recognition came in 1998, when Danish fashion designers got their own trade fair, CPH Vision, which was held in a redeveloped industrial building in the old meat-packing district of Copenhagen. Until then, Copenhagen Fashion Week had for decades presented both women's, men's and children's wear under one roof in Bella Center, Copenhagen's leading exhibition centre. The new fashion fair was initiated by Jan Carlsen, former head of sales at the Bella Center. He became one of the mediators and institutional entrepreneurs who, while not formally belonging to the industry (for example counting in industry statistics), institutionalized a framework that was conducive to the development of the local fashion world and the international recognition of Danish fashion. Established as a Scandinavian fair for design-driven and street fashion companies, CPH Vision changed the face of the fashion week by presenting small independent companies as the industry's frontrunners.[7]

CPH Vision thus cemented the divide between price-driven companies, representing the bulk of the industry and exports, mostly located in provincial towns in the west of the Denmark – the mid-century center for textile and clothing manufacturing – and design-driven, mainly small companies, located in the capital, but capable of attracting media attention with catwalk shows and other hyped events. This split between "Copenhagen," the capital, and "Jutland," the provincial region, came to shape the industry's alliances and power struggles in the following decade. The first moment of translation had taken place: A fashion design industry sector had emerged as a postindustrial success story.

Interessement: Cultural Industry Policy Discovers Fashion

As long as the clothing industry has existed, it has been subject to government regulation aimed at improving industry performance or protecting labor. However, it is only in the past decade that the fashion industry has been the subject of cultural policy. It would seem as that policy makers stumbled across the fashion industry while looking to replace the old welfare model of cultural support with ways of linking cultural industries to innovation systems able to sustain post-industrial economies (cf. Keane & Zhang 2008). In Denmark, the inscription of the fashion industry into the cultural industries policy has not taken place under the heading of creative industries as in the UK (and many other places), but as "the cultural and experience economy." Also, unlike the UK, the policy area has not been limited to 'designer fashion', but to the industry as a whole (Greater London Administration 2002).

The Danish variety of cultural industries policy has been developed collaboratively by the Ministry of Business Affairs and the Ministry of Culture through a series of studies and ensuing initiatives. The first report was published in 2000 during the reign of the Social Democrat and Social Liberal Party coalition under the title, "Denmark's creative potential. A cultural and business political review" (Danmarks kreative potentiale. Kultur- og erhvervspolitisk redegørelse). Drawing heavily on American business pundits and management consultants, Joseph Pine and James Gilmore's 1999 book *The Experience Economy*, the report pointed to the need to link cultural and the commercial sectors in order to reap future economic potential in terms of new jobs related to creativity and design, export growth and business development (KUM & OEM 2000: 5). Denmark's potential for future growth was seen not in selling products alone, but in selling stories, experiences, and identities to the consumers. The report did not single out the fashion industry, but made reference to fashion designers as "market and commercial oriented entrepreneurs" (KUM & OEM 2000: 71) and categorized the clothing industry among the cultural industries (KUM & OEM 2000: 37). For the first time, fashion was represented as central to the policy goal of a profitable linkage between of design and business.

The Liberal-Conservative coalition government which came to power in 2001 continued and extended this policy discourse. In the 2003 collaborative report by the Ministry of Culture and the (merged and renamed) Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs, "Denmark in the cultural and experience economy – five new steps ahead" (Danmark i kultur- og oplevelsesøkonomien – 5 nye skridt på vejen), fashion was included as an independent area of interest, while the word "clothing" was omitted (KUM & OEM 2003:8). The report highlighted the importance of creativity, design and innovation for sustaining competitiveness under conditions of globalization (KUM & OEM 2003:14). Expressing the government's vision for exploiting synergies between culture and commerce, the report proposed initiatives, such as intensifying the international branding of Danish design and advancing professionalism of design-based companies, including fashion companies (KUM & OEM 2003: 17). Although it is clear that the report zooms in on the design-driven segment of the fashion industry, it is never completed dissociated from the rest.

Later the same year, FORA, a newly established research and analysis unit in the Ministry of Economics and Business Affairs under the leadership of senior official Jørgen Rosted, adopted a new activist approach to industrial policy. Instead of seeking to distribute resources evenly in the whole field, as had previously been the case, specific industries – pharmaceutical and electronics in addition to fashion – were singled out as high-performing innovative sectors worthy of support. In the report, "Comparison of Danish and foreign framing conditions and innovation systems in the fashion industry" (Sammenligning af danske og udenlandske rammebetingelser og innovationssystemer inden for modebranchen) FO-

RA endorsed the Danish fashion industry as a success story because even though the industry only employed half the workforce of fifteen years previous, it had doubled its turnover and export profits in the same period (FORA 2003: 17-18).

In presenting the fashion industry as an exemplary case for how to tackle globalization, the report singled out innovation, knowledge sharing/knowledge centers, and design education. Regarding innovation, the success of the Danish fashion industry was seen to be founded on the ability to control costs, termed "price innovation." Another success factor was user-driven innovation, a central theme of FORA's work in the coming years, defined as the ability to follow consumer demand instead of competitors or market reports. By defining these two types of innovation, the report aimed to include the whole fashion industry, rather than just the designers. But in the process, creativity and design were relegated to the background as innovation was reduced to either cost reduction or sophisticated market research (Skov 2008). With regards to knowledge sharing, the report cited the international example of the Flandern Fashion Institute (established 1998) and the development of the Antwerp fashion scene, in view of implementing a similar strategy. With regard to education, the report stated that the Danish fashion industry lacked a high level of systematic and research-based knowledge in its work with innovation. It would appear that the authors did not have much faith in the design schools, even though they were preparing for an academic upgrading to university status, which they obtained in 2010.

FORA went on to conduct an international benchmark study, published in 2005 under the title "User-driven innovation in Danish fashion – the fifth global fashion cluster" (Brugerdreven innovation i dansk mode – den 5. globale modeklynge). In fact, the headline "the fifth fashion cluster" was to become Denmark's first official fashion policy. The authors argued that Denmark should not compete with the leading world cities, Paris, London, Milan and New York, but aim to be recognized in fifth place, as a leading second-tier fashion city (FORA 2005). This goal was extremely ambitious, given the strength of the industry was in the mid-market segments – a fact also documented in the report. FORA both acknowledged and glossed over the regional divide between "Copenhagen" and "Jutland;" for example, it did not state whether it was only Copenhagen or the whole of Denmark which should aim to be the fifth fashion cluster. Instead, the argument went that in order to operate as a single cluster; the industry needed a network organization.

Although FORA's focus on innovation was not limited to cultural industries, its policy definition was formative for the government's large 2007 initiative for the cultural and experience economy, including four sector specific "experience zones," private and public partnerships based on a series of multi-stakeholder projects. The "fashion zone" was the first to be established.[8] It is striking that two of the four experience zones, the fashion zone and the food culture zone, are devoted to old strongholds of Fordist Denmark – manufacturing and agriculture. The two remaining experience zones, devoted to music and computer games, represent

more typical cultural industries. None of the cultural activities or institutions that had been favoured by traditional cultural policy were included in the new experience zones.

It should be clear that the government reports reviewed in this section have been more preoccupied with the ways in which the fashion industry could legitimize and advance its own policy agenda, than with identifying the fashion industry's own visions or policy expectations. Even so, industry actors have collaborated in the translation process, by adopting the language of policy documents, and addressing the concerns of the reports. As it was, the government's interest was to have extensive consequences for the fashion industry, nowhere with more enthusiasm than in the Danish Fashion Institute.

Enrolment: The Danish Fashion Institute

On November 1st 2005, the Danish Fashion Institute (the acronym DAFI quickly caught on) was founded by representatives of fashion industry and media.[9] As the organization only mustered support from a limited number of companies, it was through the intervention of government officials that the initiative was realized, seven months after the publication of the FORA report which recommended the establishment of exactly such a network organization. Additional support came from the fur industry, which is big in Denmark. The alliance with the fur trade was brought about by special circumstances. After breaking away from the long-standing Nordic marketing collaboration and establishing a national brand "Kopenhagen Fur," the Danish fur industry devoted a substantial share of its global marketing budget to promoting Copenhagen as a fashion centre (Skov 2005). By contrast, the government alliance has proved more durable for DAFI.

Many countries have a "fashion council," for example, the British Fashion Council, founded in 1983, or the Swedish Fashion Council, founded 1979.[10] As the name indicates these organizations have a representative function vis-à-vis national industries. By contrast, a "fashion institute" usually designates a technical training or design school, such as the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York or the Institut Français de la Mode in Paris. By comparison the Flandern Fashion Institute, established in 1998, was a new kind of institution. Although the Flemish textile and fashion industry were the first to promote Antwerp fashion designers, the institute is also committed to external partnerships in its promotion of the city of Antwerp, its fashion museum and design school. DAFI represented an even higher degree of detachment from both industry interests and educational responsibilities.[11] In a phrase, used at the founding meeting, DAFI was established "for" and "by" the fashion industry.[12] Its mission, directly based on the 2005 FORA report, is to coordinate industry activities and promote Danish fashion. The organization finances its staff and activities through a combination of membership fees (in 2005 there was 60 members of DAFI; by 2008 the number had increased

to 109 members) and government funding.[13] This made it possible to employ project manager, fashion TV anchor and magazine editor Eva Kruse as director (since 2007 on a full-time basis). By 2009, DAFI employed seven people.

The establishment of DAFI was a challenge to the trade association Dansk Fashion and Textile, which had the legitimacy of more than three hundred company-members, but had not been alert to the developments in cultural industries policy. DAFI's first activity was to position itself as the coordinating body of the biannual fashion week, promoting it under the name of Copenhagen Fashion Week, in spite of the fact that the trade association had used the name Copenhagen Fashion Days since 2004. While the trade association organized the major trade fair of the week, DAFI took it upon itself to coordinate the fashion show schedule, assign models to the different shows and publish a fashion week catalogue distributed to buyers and press and established a main show ground symbolically placed in the main entrance of the Copenhagen City Hall. DAFI also took charge of communicating the event to the public by broadcasting fashion shows on huge screens in public places, running an Internet-based fashion TV station during fashion week, and publishing a fashion week newspaper, *Dansk Daily*. The trade association eventually accepted this division of labor, although for a long time it held a grudge against DAFI's creaming off media attention. In the eyes of its members and the public, it is DAFI's work for Copenhagen Fashion Week which first and foremost has legitimized the organization (Melchior 2008).

The second task DAFI set itself was to define Danish fashion. It was already anticipated in the FORA reports that in order to stand out internationally, a Danish fashion cluster needed to compete on specific Danish competences, including cultural competences (FORA 2005: 60-62). DAFI's project was seen as a necessary step to establish a national branding platform, rather than a cultural debate or creative experiment, which would have involved the whole community of fashion professionals. Hence a report – *Danish Fashion. History, Design, Identity* - was commissioned from a group of design school researchers.[14]

The problem of defining a national fashion identity was by no means simple. The erosion of manufacturing industries has set design aesthetics afloat, to the point that ethnic styles from other places in the world had been seen as quintessential to Danish fashion. In many ways, the designer fashion industry sector was opposed to the egalitarian and practical values that had dominated the Danish welfare state until then. But the "Danish Fashion" study zoomed in on long-standing continuities in Danish fashion and design, just as it found that international perceptions were still colored by the 1950s boom of Danish and Scandinavian furniture design (Rasmussen 2006). The report pointed to accessibility as a common denominator for Danish fashion, both in terms of wearability and moderate prices, arguably, brought about by home market conditions, as Danish consumers' average spending on clothing historically has been less than neighboring countries (Melchior and Olsen-Rule 2006). Although this might seem as a difficult condi-

tion for a nation that aims to be a major fashion centre, following the report, accessibility has been endorsed as a democratic, and even ethical, characteristic of Danish fashion. The fact that Danish fashion designer brands range at low prices, compared to their international counterparts, has sustained an export niche for affordable high fashion. Although the "Danish Fashion" report introduced more sophisticated ways of thinking about national identity in fashion, DAFI's attempt at developing and implementing a national branding strategy petered out. But, according to Director Eva Kruse, interviewed in 2008, it was still on the organization's agenda to define how Danish fashion can be branded in order to receive international recognition.[15]

The need for funding steered DAFI in a different direction. In the autumn of 2007, for instance, Danish Fashion Institute arranged a conference on corporate social responsibility in the fashion industry, sponsored by the Ministry of Economics and Business Affairs. This initiative was brought on by an acute crisis following the media exposure of dangerous working conditions and child labor among the suppliers of leading Danish and Swedish retailers. But DAFI's ethical turn, which made headlines for Copenhagen Fashion Week in 2008 and 2009, was also a preparation for the up-coming UN climate conference COP15, held in Copenhagen December 2009. It led to an alliance with Norwegian-initiated project NICE (Nordic Initiative Clean and Ethical) which operates in Nordic and Baltic countries, and the organization of a one day "Fashion Summit," during the UN conference, albeit outside the official program (Skov and Meier 2011). In addition, DAFI has been involved in a number of smaller projects, from supporting entrepreneurs to consolidating the place of fashion in the cultural economy.

By way of conclusion, DAFI can be said to be a highly responsive organization, with its radar directed at multiple opportunities for public funding. Occasionally, this external focus brings out grudges from its hinterland, especially from the part of the industry that identifies its purpose as selling clothes. But in the five years it has existed DAFI has also been acknowledged for attracting more media attention and government funding to the industry than it has had before. At the face of it, DAFI's activities might look like industry self-regulation of the type Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) defined as the arm's length principle. In reality, the relationship is far more interventionist. Turning to Pratt's categories, Danish fashion perhaps represents an example of heterarchy, or self-organization, as a new balance point between state and market.

The enrollment of DAFI in the translation of Danish fashion shows how a network organization can be closely attuned to the new requirements of cultural industries policy. Firstly, the government has come to exercise a significant influence on the fashion industry, without market intervention, industry regulation or direct subsidy. Secondly, DAFI, with no clear mandate from its members, but a huge field of potential allies can move from one project to another without limitation in issues or number of projects, as long as external funding is available. Un-

like a trade association, or indeed, the industry itself, DAFI has the potential for enormous expansion. Thirdly, as the government's policy agenda draws heavily on fashionable management concepts, such as "network organization," "experience economy," "user-driven innovation," and "corporate social responsibility" which are replaced at regular intervals, the willingness of DAFI to take on new projects advances government legitimacy and increases its chance of being seen as successful. It is ironical that the fashion industry has been the test case of the new cultural industries policy, because the fashion industry has traditionally supported market principles. Yet, under the aegis of liberalization of the cultural sector, an, until recently, liberalist industry is now a major recipient of government support. Perhaps the radiance of government recognition is to strong that the industry could only bask in its light. Or perhaps the industry is so fragmented that it is incapable of unified action. At least it has not taken an active role in pushing its own needs and visions onto the political agenda.

Mobilization of Allies: Fashion Lends its Luster to Denmark

As the fashion industry's post-industrial growth had been established as a national success, and designer fashion as its legitimate signifier, politicians also began to talk about Danish fashion in a new way, which we analyze in this section and see as a fourth translation moment. The politicians who have been spotted among the front row celebrities at fashion shows include changing Ministers of Culture and of Economics and Business Affairs, but there are several others.

In February 2009 even Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen[16] of the liberal-conservative ruling government attended the Copenhagen Fashion Week in a show of support for the industry under the financial crisis. After a meeting with managers of seven fashion companies, DAFI's director Eva Kruse took him on a guided tour of the fair which ended up at the catwalk show of prominent fashion brand Bruuns Bazaar. Joining the prime minister in the front row were two other cabinet ministers, the administrative leader of the Ministry of Culture, the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen and two other Copenhagen mayors. By his own admission unacquainted with the world of fashion, and unable to name the brand of his own suit, the Prime Minister described the show as "really exciting" and "a completely new experience." As his political regime has promoted systematic mistrust of any kind of taste expertise, the fashion press took his statement as a friendly recognition of their field. Soon after, in an interview with Tyler Brûlé in Monocle, the trendy magazine on global affairs, business, culture and design, the prime minister singled out fashion as a significant national industry and image for Denmark. According to the prime minister, the fashion industry, along with other creative industries, is important for Denmark because it combines manufacturing and design (Brûlé 2009: 48).

The prime minister's appearance at Copenhagen Fashion Week and in Monocle was not only evidence of the importance of fashion in the government's strategies and visions for Denmark. It also showed that fashion has emerged as a stage on which politicians can seek visibility for themselves. As Hesmondhalgh and Pratt have suggested, we need to consider government actions beyond those which formally declare themselves cultural industries policy (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt 2005: 2). This involves the ways politicians and government officials can borrow a bit of the glamour of the fashion industry at the same time as they state their support for the cultural industries.

Copenhagen's Lord Mayor until 2009, Ritt Bjerregaard, a former European Commissioner, and leading member of the Social Democratic party, has also been a regular at fashion shows, just like some of her fellow Copenhagen mayors. Under her administration, the City Hall opened its doors for the fashion industry. With attendance of more than 65 000 people Copenhagen Fashion Week is obviously an attractive event to give hospitality. The municipality valued Copenhagen Fashion Week as a showcase for Copenhagen as a design and fashion capital. But for Bjerregaard, bringing fashion week into the City Hall also represented a new style of government. From a closed-door bureaucratic base of operations, the City Hall turned into a place for fun and surprising events. For this reason it was important for Bjerregaard also to involve the general public in Copenhagen Fashion Week.

Just as Bjerregaard made fashion a vital element in the image of Copenhagen, she presented herself as a keen observer of fashion. Bjerregaard, in her late 60s and famous for her controlled appearance, made a point of wearing Danish fashion design on official occasions. Without losing sight of the ethical problems in the fashion industry – in particular she has expressed concern about underweight models and anorexia – she enthusiastically endorsed Copenhagen as a creative fashion city. In an interview of the fashion week newspaper *Dansk Daily*, Bjerregaard stated her view of the connection between local creativity and business:

> I think Copenhageners are really inventive and have a uniquely fresh attitude when it comes to fashion. They mix the weirdest things. My eyes are always wide open with fascination when I see tube socks with miniskirts, for instance, and a lot of Copenhagen-based designers are able to convert these quirky trends into something that everyone can use. (Interview in *Dansk Daily*, February 2, 2009: 8).

On the basis of these two examples, we argue that fashion helps politicians tell new stories about the people of Denmark and Copenhagen. In contrast to the Fordist welfare state which had to contain all the class tensions of an industrial economy, in the post-Fordist era, the nation is imagined as a homogeneous community of sophisticated consumers-cum-producers. The conditions of such a highly globalised industry as fashion make it hard to isolate and evaluate national performance. But this ambiguity is exactly what makes fashion feed into a kind of cultural nationalism, which endorses the nation's symbolic command of the world, through statements in media, policy and industry such as the following:

Denmark is "the fifth fashion cluster;" Copenhagen is "a European metropolis;" the Danes are "creative and enterprising;" Danish fashion designers have whole factories in India and Madagascar working "for" them, and their catwalk shows are "just like Paris and London."

It is telling that among all the politicians that stated their support for the Danish fashion industry, the nationalist party (Dansk Folkeparti) members have neither been seen nor heard. To be sure some fashion designers have voiced moderate criticism of Denmark's anti-foreign policies, but that would hardly have kept influential populist nationalist politicians from the catwalk if they had wished to be there. We therefore propose that there are two parallel nationalist discourses in Denmark. The one represented by the nationalist party takes a defensive stance, not only against immigration but any kind of adulteration of Danish culture, for example the adoption of English as an academic language. The second discourse is what Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Ritt Bjerregaard plug into when they talk about Denmark as a fashion nation. We term it cosmopolitan nationalism. It is a kind of nationalism because it does not promote cultural diversity; it is hard to find ethnic minorities in the Danish fashion world. Also, the boundary between Denmark and the rest of world is still imagined as a gigantic threshold – a single Danish fashion designer's catwalk show in London can be cause for national celebration.

For the nationalist party the nation is old, and must be protected and preserved against the threat of globalization. But according to cosmopolitan nationalism the nation is more like a renewable resource which can be reinvented in interaction with global society. If fashion is a system for regularized transience (Best 2006: 12), or a "catwalk economy," geared to the regular packaging and launching of novelties (Löfgren 2005), this fourth translation moment shows how it can provide a paradigm for the kind of flexibility governments wish to foster. What is more, as fashion operates by the logic of seduction and contamination, rather than that of accumulation (Lipovetsky 1994), it readily bestows its luster on anyone who comes into contact with it; a touch of fashion and the dusty old nation is as good as new.

Conclusion: Nation on the Catwalk

In this article we have analyzed four moments of translation which have shaped the Danish fashion industry into a post-industrial, politically interesting, project-oriented, nationally significant cultural industry. Each adjective refers to a moment of translation: the emergence of a designer fashion industry and growth of exports after the Danish factories had closed down; the government's selection of the fashion industry as an exemplary case for design-based innovation with long-term economic potential; the establishment of the Danish Fashion Institute as a free agent closely aligned with shifting government initiatives; and the inclusion

of the fashion industry in cosmopolitan nationalist discourse, enabling the glamour of the catwalk to rub off on individual politicians and the nation as a whole.

If we are to define the Danish model of cultural industry policy in Keane and Zhang's terms, it seems to fall between a "growth model" and "creative economy model," although neither fully captures the rationale behind the policy (Keane & Zhang 2008). Investment (in terms of funding, policy measures and attention) is justified not so much through either effects in facilitating growth in other sectors (except from perhaps branding Denmark) or igniting innovation, as establishing the fashion industry as a beacon showing other industries and nations the Danish path to prosperity in a globalized economy. As suggested, we have doubts about the extent to which economic objectives, rationales, calculations and analysis can explain the Danish government's "enlistment" of the fashion industry in the service of building a creative nation. The Danish government's growing interest in and efforts to shape the Danish fashion industry cannot be understood only, even or primarily, as an investment in future fashion industry jobs or export earnings. But as Bennett suggests, the categories whereby we might understand the objectives and rationales behind cultural policy overlap (Bennett 2001).

While government policy towards cultural industries are explained and justified by economic goals and discourses, our case suggests that the symbolic and social aspects are strongly at work beneath the economic rationales and rationalizations. The social aspect of the cultural industries policy lies in the description, and prescription, of the Danish population as creative and enterprising. The symbolic aspect of demonstrating political visions and power differs radically from previous times when cultural power was enshrined in solid buildings, monuments, and institutions. The new image of power is taken from the transient and flimsy world of fashion – the hyped launching of a new collection at the forefront of international trends, willfully forgetting that in a few months it can be found on the sales racks. In short, the Danish cultural industry policy is compelling because it translates fashion into Danish by putting the nation on the catwalk.

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Notes

1 Based on 2003 figures, the fashion business (i.e. the export of clothing, textile and leather goods) with export profits of DKK 30 billion DKK made it the fourth biggest export manufacturing business, behind electronics and machine equipment (92.1 billion DKK), agricultural products (DKK 67.9 billion) and medicines (DKK 32.1 billion)(FORA 2005: 14).

2 Bestseller A/S (est. 1979) had in 2007 an annual turnover of 10.4 billion DKK and employed in Denmark 2.654 persons. The company represents ten different fashion brands for children, women's and men's wear and operated 1.740 own concept stores in 2007 (www.bestseller.com).

3 BTX Group A/S (est. 2005 when the capital fund EQT bought Brandtex A/S, est. 1935) had an annual turnover of DKK 3.2 billion and 1.593 employees in 2008. The company owns 19 different fashion brands aimed at both children, teenagers, women and men (www.btx-group.dk).

4 IC Companys A/S (founded in 2001 through the merger of fashion companies InWear A/S (est. 1969) and Carli Gry International A/S (est. 1973). The company represents 11 different fashion brands for women's and men's wear. In 2006 the company's annual turnover was 3,023 billion DKK; it employed 2.200 people and operated 259 concept stores. The company is the only Danish fashion company publicly listed on Copenhagen Stock Exchange (www.iccompanys.dk).

5 According to a Deloitte report on the Danish fashion industry from 2008, 32 percent of the Danish fashion companies have 4-9 full-time employees (Deloitte 2008:17).

6 The first version of this article was first presented at the conference *Government Encounter* at Copenhagen Business School, May 4th-5th, 2009. We are grateful for comments and suggestions made by the participants, and in particular by our discussant, Dr. Joanne Entwistle, London College of Fashion.

7 Interview with Jan Carlsen by Marie Riegels Melchior, October 10th, 2005.

8 The funding of the "Fashion zone" has reported to be 17 million DKK, partly from the Ministry of Economics and Business Affairs and partly by other government organization with an interest in promoting the Danish cultural and experience economy (Press release from the Ministry of Economics and Business Affairs, June 21st, 2008).

9 The founding group at its inception in 2004 consisted of five persons: a fashion investor (Annelise Ryberg), a fashion journalist (Frederik Bjerregaard), a fashion designer and promoter (Rasmus Nordqvist), a fashion magazine editor (Ane Lynge) and a fashion photography agent (Thomas Hargreave). By 2005 it consisted only of three persons, and newcomer, Eva Kruse emerged as the leader.

10 In April 2010 a Copenhagen Fashion Council was formed to co-organize Copenhagen Fashion Week in an attempt to overcome fragmentation and rivalry in the business.

11 However, the board of directors represents a mixture of constituencies and interests. In the first board of directors Tom Steifel Kristensen was chairman (marketing director of Kopenhagen Fur, the cooperative of Danish breeders and fur processors). Other members of the board were: Henrik Theilbjørn (CEO of IC Companys A/S), Mads Nørgaard (owner and design manager of a Copenhagen-based fashion company), Karen Simonson (owner and head designer of a Copenhagen based fashion company), Anne Mette Zachariassen (Principal of the industry school Teko Center Danmark), Anders Knutsen (former CEO of Bang & Oluf-

sen, chairman of the board of directors at the food and ingredients company Danisco A/S and Copenhagen Business School) and Thomas Hargreave (owner of a photo agency and founding member of Danish Fashion Institute).

12 Field notes by Marie Riegels Melchior, November 1st, 2005.

13 The membership fee is approximately DKK 10 000 per annum. In 2006, Danish Fashion Institute (DAFI) received support from the Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs (DKK 500 000 for the planning of seminar activities), and the National Agency for Enterprise and Construction (DKK 1.5 million to establish and run a think tank for the Danish fashion industry). In 2007, DAFI received 100 000 DKK from the Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs to host a seminar on corporate social responsibility in the fashion industry. In 2008, the Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs paid DAFI DKK 226 000 to host a seminar on implementing user driven innovation in the fashion industry, and Copenhagen city council supported initiatives at Copenhagen Fashion Week over the next three years with DKK 1.8 million (Director Eva Kruse, Danish Fashion Institute in interview with Marie Riegels-Melchior, July 16th, 2008).

14 The team was led by Head of Research, Thomas Schiødt Rasmussen, (The Danish Design School), with PhD Candidate Marie Riegels Melchior (The Danish Design School and The Danish Museum of Art & Design), and Research Assistant Nikolina Olsen-Rule (The Danish Design School) as researchers. The report was a flagship project for the newly established fashion research platform, MOKO, an abbreviation of Modekonsortiet (The Fashion Consortium).

15 Director Eva Kruse, Danish Fashion Institute, in interview with Marie Riegels Melchior, July 16th, 2008.

16 In spring 2009 Anders Fogh Rasmussen stepped down as Prime Minister to become Secretary General of NATO. He was replaced by Lars Løkke Rasmussen, who has not demonstrated any particular interest in fashion.

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Fixed Links and Vague Discourses: About Culture and the Making of Cross-border Regions

By Birgit Stöber

Abstract

It has been en vogue for official bodies to focus on 'culture' as a strategic factor for the development of spatial entities such as cross-border regions in the making. This focus places high expectations and a strong belief in the power of 'culture'. In this paper I will argue that in region building processes the focus on 'culture' is often due to an overriding wish to develop an economic well-functioning region. Moreover, it seems like 'culture' is used as a tool to distract people from a critique of bigger infrastructure projects that such developments entail. In order to strengthen these arguments, the paper will focus on two examples from Northern Europe, the existing Danish-Swedish Øresund link as well as the planned link between Denmark and Germany across the Femernbelt. In the course of the paper, focus will be on central bodies or actors that are taking up the issue of culture within a regional context. Hence, the concept of governance, particularly that of networked governance structures as well co-governance will be briefly discussed. All in all, the paper shows the 'fragmented complexity of agency and the multitude of actors related to region building' (Paasi 2010:2300).

Keywords: Culture, region building, governance, Øresund, Femernbelt

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I. Introduction

> Culture can be considered a strategic factor contributing to the development of the Baltic Sea Region in several aspects as a value in itself, as a factor of the region's development and as a factor for developing and building society's identity, both at the national and the transnational level. (European Union 2010)

The starting point for this paper is the observation that the planning and building of new physical infrastructures often is accompanied by top-down steered, complex regional and cultural discourses. Building a bridge or a tunnel does not only mean a faster handling of traffic, often these constructions also evoke official narratives on human connectivity, cultural potentials and coherent regions.

In the introductory quote 'culture' is described as strategic factor for the development of the artificial mega project Baltic Sea Region, which places high expectations and a strong belief in the power of 'culture'. It seems to be en vogue to focus on 'culture' as a tool and strategic factor for the development of spatial entities. That we can see not only in the official documents of the Baltic Sea Region program (see above), but also in a wide range of official EU documents as well as in national party and policy programmes both in the UK, Scotland, Denmark and other countries. In this paper I will argue that in region building processes the focus on 'culture' is often due to an overriding wish to develop an economic well-functioning region. This tendency gets even more intensified in the context of the recent focus on 'the cultural economy as driving force in many urban and regional economies' (Pratt 2009:272). Moreover, 'culture' often seems to be misconceived as a 'soft instrument' for social engineering. Another observation to discuss in this paper is that a heightened focus on culture in region building processes often occurs where/when politicians need more leverage to convince the resident population of the meaning and necessity of bigger infrastructure projects.

In this context, there are a couple of questions that occur such as: Do we need these regional and cultural framings, even though the linking between a concrete infrastructure and cultural/regional discourses might not necessarily be conclusive? Who benefits from such discourses?

In order to strengthen and elucidate these arguments and finding possible answers, this paper will focus on examples from Northern Europe. While the fixed Danish-Swedish Øresund link will be mentioned, the planned fixed link across the Femarnbelt between Denmark and Germany will primarily be focused on. These two cases, the Øresund case and Femernbelt case, have some similarities and some definite differences. Both cases are connected to Denmark and are part of a wider European transport project; officially they are also part of the Baltic Sea Region, but they are placed in two very different areas, the first in an urban, densely populated area, the second in a rural and structurally rather weak area. But in both cases, we can see a strong link between the physical link and an official regional and cultural discourse.

The paper starts with a brief reflection regarding the question of strategic development and region building through culture and creative industries. Thereafter follows a brief presentation of the case of Øresund region before focusing on the Femernbelt region case with its central bodies and actors that are taking up the issue of culture within a regional context. Here I draw on qualitative interviews with decision makers, people actively involved in cultural life and other relevant people located in Northern Germany and Denmark (see Stöber 2011).

In the course of the paper, the concept of governance, particularly that of networked governance structures and 'co governance' will be briefly discussed. All in all, the paper ties in with Pratt's request 'to examine the concept of culture, the making of culture, and the governance of culture' (Pratt 2009:273) and ends with the attempt to answer the questions posed above as well as giving perspective to the regional and cultural discourses.

Methodological Thoughts

This paper explores the vital and complex role to which culture is credited by many different stakeholders.

In order to detect the dominant discourses altogether sixteen semi-structured interviews were conducted in the years 2009/2010 and analysed by drawing on discourse analytical approaches inspired by Fairclough and Wodak. In the course of the analysis five different overall themes were identified (knowledge and perception of the respective area, the (non)issue of regional identity, experiences with people within the area, expectations and wishes regarding the regional project, the role of culture within society). In this paper the main results that are published in another context (see Stöber 2011) are supplemented with analytical observations and interpretations of print material such as press releases and other publications of relevant institutions and organisations.

II. Region Building and Culture

As argued elsewhere (Stöber 2004) regions can be understood as products of social processes and hence as social constructs. This idea of 'region as a social construct' is 'nowadays almost axiomatic' as Paasi (2010:2297) writes. However that approach does not mean a charter for 'anything can be constructed out of nothing'. Rather, Paasi emphasizes the importance of multiple practices, discourses and relations for region building, all with their historical anchorages in cultural, economic, and political contexts and struggles (see Paasi 2010:2298). In other words, as dynamic, material and immaterial manifestations of social processes, regions are never without their own history, nor do they happen in a vacuum. Therefore both history and geography must be taken into account.

In the context of region building processes, 'all forms of mobility in which things and people interact' (Passi 2010:2299) and thus infrastructures of all kind

are vital. These infrastructures can both be of concrete material (bridges, tunnels, highways, wires etc.) as well as of professions and relations. To Zukin (1995) the latter are the 'critical infrastructures' which can be companies, educational institutions, mass media, etc., since they and their members produce the images by which people come to define themselves in relation to others and are key actors in the development of a territorial consciousness.

Furthermore, material culture and symbols are as important as 'politicians, entrepreneurs, journalists, teachers, and voluntary associations' (Paasi 2010:2298) as all of them are also involved in the making of regions and 'crucial in the process of articulating meanings related to region' (ibid.).

This theoretical reflection shows the 'fragmented complexity of agency and the multitude of actors related to region building' (Paasi 2010), which leads us to the concept of governance. Following Allen and Cochrane (2007) a regional project can be looked at with the concept of multi-level governance in mind. This concept is 'borrowed from political science and, in particular, from debates generated by the experience of the European Union and, more specifically, the working of the structural funds' (see Allen & Cochrane 2007:1166). The notion of multi-level governance suggests 'that it is not just governments that matter, but also the relationships between, and the interdependence of governments and non-governmental organizations and agencies' (ibid.).

Culture is seen as a location and growth factor (see Quenzel 2009) as well as a tool that promotes cohesion through a common language, which furthers society's development (Matarasso 1997). The strong focus on culture and creativity within regional building processes is also reflected by the large number of transnational projects, for instance the entire Baltic Sea Region, which is co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), and which has as its aims cross-border cooperation, transnational and international cooperation. Among those are projects that focus on the 'development and promotion of creative industry potentials in medium-sized cities of the Baltic Sea Region' (s. Urban Creative Poles), on the improvement of the innovation potential with a focus on the film industry (s. First Motion), as well as on 'promoting the innovative Baltic fashion industry throughout the Baltic Sea Region' (s. Baltic Fashion - Interreg 1VB BSR), and many more.[1] However, it has been pointed out that there may be larger imperatives behind the motivations for cross-border cooperation, in which 'the real objective for some of the participants in European cross-border region collaboration has been to get access to EU funding rather than to build cooperation' (Keil & Löfgren 2011:6). Also Perkmann (2007) is 'raising the question whether these initiatives exist only because this type of resource is available', but states: 'The evidence suggests this may be the case for some, but certainly not all CBRs in Europe' (Perkmann 2007:868). However, from an American point of view this phenomena is seen as 'a Robin Hood type of programme whereby strong regional

and national economies pay into the fund and lagging regional economies receive these to support redevelopment' (Stough 2010:625).

The following section presents examples that show a clear discursive interdependence between culture, region building and development processes.

III. Fixed Links, Vague Discourses - Øresund and Femern

In the literature we already find a wealth of discussions on the connection between the bridge across the Danish-Swedish Öresund and the building of a region (see Andersson & Matthiessen 1991; Matthiessen 2000, 2004; Bucken-Knapp 2001; Stöber 2004; Tangkjær 2000, 2010; Löfgren & Nilsson 2010). Whereas the material on the fixed link between Germany and Denmark is rather limited today, that is easily explained by the fact that this infrastructure is still in the planning with the horizon of being finished by the year 2020. Nevertheless, in the existing material (Bredo 2009; Keil 2009; Matthiessen 2011) we already see a strong discourse on the issue of region building, not only related to themes like labour market, traffic and logistics or sciences, but also culture.

Øresund

Before elaborating on the Femern region project, the following section gives a brief insight into the Øresund region. Since summer 2000 the fixed link between Denmark's capital, Copenhagen and Sweden's third most populous city, Malmö enables people to cross the Øresund either by car or train faster than before. However you define the region, it is 'the most densely population agglomeration in Scandinavia' (Hospers 2006). Since the establishment of the bridge between the two countries the linking between creativity and regional development has been of central importance in the political argument for the Øresund regions development (see Tangkjær 2010). And even before the bridge was established much effort was made to evoke the idea of not only a functional region, but rather a culturally coherent region. In other words, it seemed not sufficient enough only to focus on the establishment of a well-functioning Danish-Swedish labour market within the region, rather, historical and cultural narratives were produced and activated in order to promote the idea of a culturally coherent region. As an example the then Copenhagen Mayor and Malmö Mayor often evoked the common history 350 years ago, when Southern Sweden was part of the Danish Kingdom. In a newspaper essay both Mayors tried to show that 'the Øresund region is not a hypothetical consequence of the Øresund Bridge, but an inherent reunion of what naturally belongs together'.[2]

Also in the Øresund region initial EU funding for cross-border cooperation was given in order to foster sustainable cultural growth. But as soon as the running period was over, most of the projects were closed down. One example discussed in another context more in depth (see Stöber 2004) was the cooperation between

Danish television TV2 Lorry and Swedish television SVT Sydnytt. In 1997 the Øresund Committee initiated several cooperations across the Sound and asked among others these two public service television stations whether they could work out cooperation. Through the Committee the two television stations received European financial aid and where thus able to invest both in their own digital link, which allowed direct communication for each transmission and facilitates exchange of material and the establishment of a permanent regional 'foreign correspondent' (Stöber 2004:146). When Interreg-funding expired in summer 2001, the Danish-Swedish cooperation closed down. Today, ten years later, we rarely hear or see any specific news about Southern Sweden in the Danish news except for sports.

However, physical linkage has brought increased travel, trade, and in the case of the Swedish city Malmö, economic growth and new workplaces within the high-end service sector.

A decade after the bridge is built, the operating company Øresundsbro Konsortiet counts around 24,400 commuters who cross the bridge every day to go to work on the other side (see Øresundsbro Konsortiet) – mostly from Sweden to Denmark. And the heavy rhetoric around an 'identity region' is nearly vanished, although in recent public opinion polls we can still find the question 'to what extend do you feel yourself as an Øresund citizen?' (see Øresundsbro Konsortiet 2010). The answers differed a lot between Danes and Swedes; while 20 percent of the Swedish respondents feel to a 'high degree' as an Øresund citizen, only around 8 percent of the Danish respondents agreed on the 'high degree' of attachment. Whereas, around 58 percent of the Danish respondents answered 'not at all', 25 percent of the Swedish respondents answered the same. These numbers as well as several observations show that the identity issue in the context of Øresund Region does not matter notably and reconfirms earlier studies stating a 'lack of an Øresund-feeling' (see Hospers 2006:1029), which can lead to the paradox situation that 'outside the region the Øresund integration project is widely seen as a "best practice", whereas it is received with low enthusiasm within the region itself' (ibid.).

After having glanced at the Swedish-Danish border region, we now move southwards where the fixed link across the Belt between Denmark and Germany, the Femern belt link, is planned to be opened in the year 2020. We already see a rhetorical linking between the concrete infrastructure and cultural/regional discourses as well as activities targeted at building a region with a cultural and popular anchorage.

Femern

> There are many claims on Fehmarnbelt's regional geography and many players are now expressing an interest in working together across national borders. (Femern A/S)

The idea of building a fixed link between Germany and Denmark goes back to the 14th century (see Torfing et al.). But first in the 1980s and 1990s, when the Danish Great Belt Bridge and the Øresund Bridge linking Denmark to Sweden were under construction, the Femern Belt fixed link could be 're-launched as the "missing link" that could help realise the old dream about a beeline road connection between Scandinavia and Germany' (Torfing et al. 2009). As Matthiessen and Vestergaard (2011:4) write: 'With the fixed Fehmanrbelt link, one of the world's mega projects in terms of logistics will be completed. "The missing Scandinavian links" will no longer be "missing"'.

The location of the Femern Belt link will be between the Southern part of Danish Zealand and the Northern part of Schleswig-Holstein in Germany, 'two sparsely populated areas' (Aulin 2010). Keil and Löfgren describe the area as 'characterised by encompassing two peripheral rural areas in the economic backwater of the growth regions of Europe' (Keil & Löfgren 2011) and further they state a lack of any 'natural' ties and a sole dependency on an infrastructural link.

Map over Femernbelt (source: Fonden Femern Belt Development)

Nevertheless, the official expectations are high: 'The Femern belt connection does not only become a physical connection, but also a commercial, educational as well as cultural bridge that builds the base for a Femern Belt Region.' (see Fonden Femern Belt Development) This statement stems from the Femern Belt Committee that 'has brought together a large number of public and private actors in a multi-level governance network that was highly successful in lobbying and preparing for the construction' (Torfing et al. 2009:297) of a Femern Belt link.

Cultural (policy) governance does not only take place within constitutional institutions, rather within a cooperation of representatives from all three sectors: state, market and civil society.

In the following focus will be on three central bodies or actors taking up the issue of culture within a regional context: firstly, Femern A/S, a subsidiary of the Danish, state-owned Sund & Bælt Holding A/S and the company in charge of the physical construction, which already has experiences both from the construction of the fixed links across the Great Belt and the Øresund, secondly, Femern Belt Committee, a cross-border board of ten German and ten Danish members, among them politicians as well as representatives from municipalities, unions, nature protection and tourism organizations and thirdly, the Danish embassy in Berlin, which has been a strong advocate for the Femern Belt Region.

In autumn 2009, the Danish embassy in Berlin dedicated a special issue of their quarterly published magazine 'Kennzeichen DK' to the project 'Cultural Bridge Fehmarnbelt'. Here we can read:

> On the local level the bridge should not only be a traffic artery, but an instrument fostering new regions and neigbourhoods. (…) By experience we know that an intensive cultural exchange goes along with a closer cooperation between people. That again stimulates trade, research and the labour market in general. (see Bredo 2009)

The quote reflects the strong rhetorical link between culture and economic growth supported by activities on other relevant levels too.

Since the end of 1991, Danish and German partners have received financial grants under the EU INTERREG community initiative in order to strengthen cooperation across the national border. These grants have also applied to the cultural sector. One example that can be mentioned is the project 'A Cultural Bridge across the Belt' from 2003. Within the framework of the INTERREG IIIA programme, the project focused on the historical relations between Danes and Germans and consisted of a touring archaeological exhibition. To date, over 70 projects have received financial support from INTERREG I-IIIA, most of which relate to promotional activities for business and industry, education, the labour market and tourism (see Stöber 2011). One of the newly approved INTERREG projects is that of 'KulturLink'. The three years project is administered by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Lübeck, a self-governing body of the business community in Schleswig-Holstein, in cooperation with Danish municipality of Naestved. 'KulturLink' is a

> strategic project that is supposed to build a base for finding, creating and developing joint cultural identities between citizens and cultural actors as well as institutions (…). The idea is to create a 'mental bridge' before the actual traffic link across the Femern Belt – and so use culture and art as driving force for further regional development.[own translation] (Naestved 2010)

It could not be articulated more explicitly: 'using culture and art as driving force for regional development' places a high premium on culture as an instrument and tool in order to reach other goals, namely the development of a weak and less attractive area. This analytical reading became substantially confirmed in the course of a couple of meetings in the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011 with responsible staff of 'KulturLink'. Here it was obvious that the personnel equipped with responsibility and EU money[3] did not possess a clear idea of how to approach the complex issue of culture within a cross-border area. Rather, it seemed to be a superimposed task due to official discourses and international tendencies seeing culture first and foremost as instrument within an economical development project (see Pratt 2009). In this context you could be enticed to refer once more to Perkmann (2007) and his remark 'whether these initiatives exist only because this type of resource is available'. But as he also states: 'The evidence suggests this may be the case for some, but certainly not all CBRs in Europe' (Perkmann 2007).

However, up till now the only concrete KulturLink initiative is a contact between two music schools (Danish Guldborgsund and German Ostholstein) that resulted in an exchange between guitar orchestras in January 2011 and the declaration of more cooperation, workshops and exchange activities in the future.

The wish to develop the Femern Belt Region by means of culture or creative industries is emphasized by different stakeholders. But going through the few available data on the existing creative industries in at least the German part, the industries' potential is limited at the present time. Therefore the Schleswig-Holstein parliament suggests opening up existing support programmes for clientele from the creative industries. Since 2005 cultural policy is part of the Schleswig-Holstein Premier's portfolio; a fact that is presented as an upgrading of cultural policy within the federal state government's general policy. In that context, strengthening the link between culture and economy is emphasized strongly, particularly with the idea of creating new public-private-partnerships and other financing alternatives. In Danish cultural policy the idea of financing culture both with public and private money is strongly implemented already since a couple of years. Moreover, the Danish minister of Culture pays attention to the experience economy, which means a much broader field than creative industries, and its importance for regional and national growth.

Comparing parts of Germany with parts of Denmark policy wise is problematic, since both countries have very different state structures. Regarding the Femern belt area the federal state Schleswig-Holstein has its own Premier, the Southern part of Denmark has no particular representative. In other words, the Schleswig-Holstein Premier has no direct partner with whom to discuss, negotiate and de-

cide. That is a problem, according to German ambassador in Copenhagen, that can only be solved by 'puzzling out something' (in an interview with the author). This statement confirms the observation by Keil and Löfgren, who noticed that in cross-border regional cooperations 'less attention has been paid to the fact that these networks also represents "clashes" of different national politico-administrative cultures' (Keil & Löfgren, 2011).

However, in early 2011 Copenhagen's Mayor of Culture and Recreation visited her approximate counterpart, Hamburg's Mayor of Culture and Media, in order to exchange experiences and expectations for cultural collaboration. At this meeting the Copenhagen's Mayor of Culture and Recreation stated that 'culture builds bridges between regions' (see Femern A/S 2011a). Furthermore she posed that 'culture should not be an alibi that can be used to promote the Fehmarnbelt Region if genuine cultural collaboration doesn't exist' (ibid.).

The Issue of Public Rooting

Strengthening public rooting seems to be an important issue particularly in cross-border region building processes. For instance, one of the Øresund Committee's explicit tasks is according to their own webpresentation to 'promote integration within the region through culture and citizen participation'.

Also in the Femernbelt set-up the ambition seems to be to include both Danish and German citizens. Femern A/S, which was appointed by the Danish Transport Minister in April 2009 as a result of the 'act about planning a fixed link across the Fehmarnbelt and associated hinterland infrastructure', has the main task to be in charge of preparation, investigations and planning in relation to the establishment of a fixed link across the Fehmarnbelt. Although the main field of operation is rather technical the company is also engaged in communication activities such as public meetings, publications and recently a blog communication. In order to include the public in the communication (not the decision!) about the question whether the link between Denmark and Germany should be a bridge or a tunnel, a blog was open for the public for the duration of fourteen days (14-30 Jan 2011). During that time altogether 91 comments were posted that according to Femern A/S should all be sent to the Danish minister of transport. Looking through the comments 68 comments were written by Germans and 13 by Danes and it becomes obvious that the main question about the link's nature only was of minor interest. Rather the majority of the bloggers communicated their concern, dislike and frustration regarding the infrastructure project in general. The concerns were related to unsatisfactory cost-benefit analyses, to high costs in general, to the potential loss of workplaces, to environmental damage related to the construction works and the general necessity of such infrastructure. As one blogger wrote: 'the answer to the question is: neither bridge nor tunnel.' (see Femern A/S)

This blog is not the only place where indifference, reluctance and even resistance towards the Femernbelt project is communicated. In their newsletter

Femern A/S referred in April 2011 to a commissioned study that informed about an opinion poll regarding the general attitude toward the Femernbelt project. While 46 percent of the people on the Danish side had a positive general attitude toward the project, only 33 percent of the respondents in Northern Germany shared this opinion. On the Danish side 17 percent of the respondents were against the Femernbelt Fixed Link; this opinion was shared by 19 percent of people in Northern Germany. The majority of the German respondents (46 percent) reported having a neutral attitude toward the fixed link.

However, in German regional media the infrastructure project and its political (democratic) anchorage are discussed with a rather more controversial tone[4]. In this broad context, the discourse on culture can be seen as an attempt to smooth ruffled feathers by shifting the focus away from the intrusive, concrete infrastructure project, and the concerns it raises, to a more inclusive, harmless regional project, hence 'this is a case of culture being used instrumentally to achieve other ends' (Pratt 2009:278).

Summary and Outlook

The paper presents some central aspects regarding the expectations surrounding the use of culture as a strategic tool for region building and development. Examples from the two cross-border regional projects, Øresund and Femernbelt, show a discursive link between the building of a region and culture in a broad understanding. Different stakeholders communicate the wish to develop cross-border regions by means of culture or creative industries. That might partly be due to an assumed zeitgeist - building a region by means of culture and creativity is en vogue, partly in an attempt to deflect from unwished resistance towards the main infrastructure constructions. In that context, it is striking how few people from cultural life or creative industries are actively involved in cross-border region building discourses or activities. The growth effect of culture is less being thought about than talked about. Rather the two cases show a very clear picture of top-down steering with co-governmental elements. All in all, the paper illustrates the 'fragmented complexity of agency and the multitude of actors related to region building' (Paasi 2010:2300) that is particularly characteristic for cross-border regions.

Coming back to the questions posed in the paper's beginning: do we need these regional and cultural framings and discourses? 'We' might not need these framings, since all people I interviewed either already use the areas because of a personal interest and do not care about the official labelling or are rather indifferent to such cross-border regional constructions. What we can see in the cases considered is a concept of culture being presented as an engine of change and growth. Yet it is ill-conceived, as no one can explain how culture as a 'force' is actually going to work in delivering the envisaged future. Meanwhile, public reception to such rhetoric remains, at best, lukewarm. So, who benefits from such cultural-

regional discourses? Based on my interviews and observations these discourses are mostly beneficial for politicians both on regional and EU level, since these might enable them to argue for the necessity of large-scale projects, to raise money (e.g. EU subsidies) and to pave the way for private investors and thus economic upswing. Culture is thus being treated as attractive dressing for underlying economic imperatives.

There is no doubt about the importance of culture for people locally and for the social and cultural development of the region. Culture can be seen as glue and stimulant for the growth process, but should not be misused for the political and/or economic project 'region'.

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Notes

1 For instance CREANET, Cultural Tourism 2011 (Interreg IVA Central Baltic), Kreativ Metapol (Interreg IVA Öresund), Creative Growth, Creative Metropoles, and Creative Cities (Interreg IVC).

2 By using a modified version of a quote of former German Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt on the occasion of the fall of the Berlin Wall the two Scandinavian Mayors equated the opening of the Øresund Bridge with events in German history and activated an internationalized, political discourse of unification.

3 The EU subsidy accounts for 655 878 Euro.

4 Against the background of recent grassroots movements in Germany against major infrastructure projects (see 'Stuttgart 21'), a certain nervousness among politicians can be assumed.

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Meaningful-Experience Creation and Event Management: A Post-Event Analysis of Copenhagen Carnival 2009

By Sarah Holst Kjær

Abstract

A carnival is a cultural event within the experience economy, and can be considered an activity of added value to a city when creating place-awareness for tourists and residents. 'Culture' is used as a way to regenerate post-industrial and run down places, when studying EU – as well as Nordic – cultural policy reports. This might be too much to expect from the cultural sector though.

Amongst other external factors, cultural policy ideals co-create and affect the experiential content of an event in various ways. Thus studying a carnival one has to include external and internal factors in order to evaluate their meaningfulness in the total experience of the event.

One way to investigate what a meaningful experience is can be to apply a cultural consumer perspective. How different consumer segments directly and indirectly inform the event organisation and how the consumer's cultural preconceptions judge the event is vital when an event organisation designs and improves its experience concepts and experience setting. Thus, the way the carnival's venue and activities are culturally received is closely linked to the management of the organisation's external and internal resources. The goal of an event organisation is to produce meaningful and appealing experience concepts and perform them in real time. But how is this organised in practice?

This article evaluates the production of the Copenhagen Carnival 2009 and is based on ethnographic material. Through a model of Value Framework for Experience Production by the Dutch experience economists Albert Boswijk, Thomas Thijssen & Ed Peelen (2007) I analyse how the practical organisation, technical solutions and cultural assumptions of a carnival are part of an event organisation's work-process when creating a spectacle. Furthermore, the organisation of voluntary professional culture workers and the navigation in a metropolitan, political and institutional context is examined through the management concepts of routine, creativity and co-creation.

Keywords: Consumer Perspective, Exotic Experience Concept, Theme Park, Ordinary City, Urban Experience Industry, Cultural Policy, Passionate Organisation, Culture Workers

Background and Aim

Since the beginning of the 1990s Scandinavia has undergone a cultural turn: 'culture' in its broadest definition has been instrumentalised in order to increase market value and improve the brand effects of a city. On a global scale culture is viewed as an attractive capital: places rich in it thrive by means of society's different sectors which are able to capitalise on it, writes the American management theorist Richard Florida (2008:59). His book *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (Florida 2003) has been extremely influential in current cultural policy making both on a national and supra-national level (McGuigan 2009). Florida's thesis resonates clearly in for example *A Creative Economy Green Paper for the Nordic Region* (Fleming 2007) and in the KEA European Affairs' report *The Impact of Culture on Creativity* (2009).[1] In a post-industrial society culture is supposed to produce a creative city with tolerant people. Not all places have site-specific or spectacular cultural expressions to draw from, however. More frequently a grass-roots, commercial and/or cultural policy informed experience industry occupies large parts of the leisure landscape of cities and regions, inventing events, venues and festivals of all kinds.

In the experience-based society, 'cultural events' – narrowed down to festivals, carnivals and parades, are often promoted as means to strengthen a city's image, by adding experiential and cultural value to a particular place. The goal is to form a 'cool city' or as Florida writes; to attract tolerant, creative and young people. These people are drawn to places with vibrant music scenes, street-level culture and active nightlife (after McGuigan 2009:294). Those places which are not able to offer in-between events of the urban or regional landscape and hence give vibrancy to a place's more established experience industry, have difficulties in attracting both tourists and new residents (Larson & Fredriksson 2007:177, 179). The norm is – perhaps optimistically – to create high-profile and globally oriented events with the purpose of bringing wealth, ideas and opportunities to a local community (Gotham 2005). But as the English cultural policy researcher Jim McGuigan (2009:299) argues, it might be too much to ask for if more or less subsidised culture should solve 'deep-seated economic and political problems in the post-industrial society'. Cultural policy, he explains, has, with the influence of Florida's hypothesis on the regenerated cultural city, replaced economic policy.

Richard Florida's ideas also influence scholarly theories of business events that are passed on to event managers. Still, there is a gap between the ideals of the cool city and the production of the event's actual cultural content. Supported by a local city council, it seems political important to support the drivers of the creative economy – such as stimulating demand and providing education and skills. The political focus-point on cultural education and training is important in the co-created event, because culture then will be cheaply produced by for example school children and their families. But this might also affect the 'coolness' of the

event and hence the attractiveness to a creative, global and young consumer-segment.

Copenhagen Carnival 2009 was a local cultural event consuming, performing and addressing the global in a carnivalistic experience design. The act of consuming global and exotic artistic expressions, such as dance and music performances, were produced by children and young people who were encouraged to get the right training and become new artistic and creative talents. The political hope was that later on, young people will settle – live, work and stay, because the place exhibits resourcefulness through culture (Hjemdahl, Hauge & Lind 2007:23f).

With a post-event analysis and a 'second generation experience economy' perspective, the empirical material is investigated: ethnographic observations and an extended interview with the CEO Morten Sørensen were done in the summer of 2009.[2] The Copenhagen Carnival points to questions about how event management is done in practice: how a cultural concept of a carnival is themed; how the actual experience setting of the event is designed, and; how the happening is created and sustained by volunteering children and adults, and by professional culture workers – these are additional aspects that need to be organised by the event manager.

In four analytical sections, I discuss how a cultural consumer perspective can add knowledge to the event's experiences and how the (co-)creation of the physical experience setting and the cultural content come about: In what ways does an urban, low-budget festival make use of professional culture workers, trained at the city's other cultural institutions? Guided by the ideal of offering the guest a meaningful experience of a fully themed, absorbing and transforming environment, how does the event manager arrange the work of the organisation in order for everybody to have a clear understanding of what makes an event happen in real time? But I begin by asking why it is at all necessary to approach meaningfulness in the context of the experience economy and the experience industry.

Meaningful Experience

Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen (2007:157) define the 'experience economy' as experiences added to goods and services, especially in the tourism, experience and leisure industry. Staging, conceptualising, branding and storytelling are essential tools to create market value and differentiation for products and physical environments.

This definition, they argue, nevertheless belongs to the first generation of the experience economy, often illustrated by the American experience economists Joseph Pine and James Gilmore's famous book *The Experience Economy* (1999). According to the critique of Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen (2007:157), this type of experience economy offer 'simple instruments with which physical experience setting can be tested'. These 'simple test instruments of the setting' investigate the

customer's perception of the theme/story of the concept; the five sense engagement of the environment; what makes the event memorable; and whether or not the setting is perceived as harmonious or has negative cues.

In the first generation experience economy, one might claim that the frictionless and pleasant consumption of goods and services plays a central role, next to the ideal of a memorable and interesting consumer experience. Returning to Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen (ibid.), what they consider new in the second generation experience economy is the question of *how* e.g. an event organisation can develop not only experience concepts, but meaningful-experience concepts. In a consumer perspective, they argue, a customer desires more than entertainment in his or her leisure time: What does it actually mean to have a meaningful experience, who decides this, and how can an organisation work systematically in order to create it? Thus, moving away from the memorable – what is not memorable – they want to customise and adapt experience creation to what the guest (as segment, cultural individual and social member) finds to be a 'meaningful experience'. They explain:

> The first stage of meaningful-experience creation is to conceive and bring about new concepts in a creative way. Letting go of existing propositions and traditional ways of thinking is difficult in a business setting. At the same time, it is important to learn from earlier meaningful experiences. What didn't work, what did work and why? [...] Ideas ultimately need to converge, to come together in the design of a meaningful experience. This is a generally cohesive description of the meaningful experience that is to be co-created, which will bring about a transformation in the way one thinks, relates and acts (Boswijk, Thijssen & Peelen 2007:149).

In order to create meaningful experiences, they consider the method of 'co-creation' – or an unusual mix of collaboration forms – as fitting for the experience industry. An innovative and entrepreneurial approach far from 'traditional business thinking' is also what the Danish experience industry researchers Per Dramer and Lars Bo (2007:96, 107) find important. They illuminate how meaning is produced and what defines the opposite of traditional ways of thinking in a business setting: In order to produce new (combinations of) experiences, an organisational routine behaviour needs to be dismantled regularly and replaced with new forms of collaboration. Furthermore, the strategy of renewing oneself has to be examined continuously. The way to survive in the experience industry is to understand what the consumer perceives as true, valid and genuine (and the opposite). An 'authentic experience' – here defined as the feeling of experiencing something unique and incomparable – is a dominant ideal in this type of industry, they explain. This description points to the concept of meaning.

'Meaning' might be new to in the experience economy but is a classic concept in the humanistic disciplines. According to the early writings of the cultural theorists Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel (1964:66), it can be defined as 'importance and relevance to an audience'. The meaning (or non-meaning) of the consumer's experience is not exclusive or 'individual' but intertwined with a range of general

meanings: political, ideological, social, cultural and commercial. In times of individualisation, though, and when promoting the customer's experience and the strategy of customisation as tools for experience improvement, it is nevertheless important to stress that when talking about a consumer perspective, we are not talking about single individuals and what they may or may not feel and think. Rather, in order to improve, one should expect an ideal individual who sums up and presents sophisticated social and cultural common sense which can be resourceful in the production of experiences.

As Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen (2007:145f) explain, a meaningful-experience concept takes its point of departure in the first generation experience economy – the memorable experience of theme/concept, the activation of the five senses, and the harmony and elimination of negative clues in the experience setting. But the goal is now further to understand and create cohesion – or totality – in a built environment in correlation with the consumer experience. One is interested in creating *the essence* within the experience industry, namely the 'sixth sense' which – if you asked a magician – is the synthesis of the five senses that come together as a 'magic' experience. Designed with a ritualistic importance for sensation, meaning and imagination (O'Dell 2006), this almost cultic approach to experience creation is about offering absorption and importance to the customer.

Value Framework for Experience Production

Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen (2007:145–146) create four stages when producing meaningful-experience concepts. The model could be called a Value Framework for Experience Production. It should guide the event manager and the organisation to make use of different values carried by different actors, when producing meaningful experiences. The four stages are: (1) *Customer perspective* on the organisation's performance and the finding of opportunities to offer the customer meaningful experiences; (2) *Internal business perspective, core competences and technology* – the resources which will enable a meaningful experience environment for the customer; (3) *People and culture* – the organisation's people and culture necessary for offering experiences in such a way that the customers and the market indeed will have and receive a meaningful experience as expected (or imagined); (4) *Innovation and creativity capacity* – the external partnerships of co-creation that the organisation needs in order to renew itself.[3] This model is relevant for understanding the different aspects of creating the Copenhagen Carnival. In the following analysis I will frame and discuss the event through these four stages.

What will come out of the analysis is not only a confirmation of the model's productiveness. In general, ethnographic studies of events – their ways of creating and choosing experience concepts and experience settings, and how this totality is perceived by guests – are not always part of the event organisation's innovation

and creativity capacity.[4] Still, ethnographic details of event-making are necessary because events are about being present and engaged. These details will add to the model by describing the actual challenges and practical intersections between the model's four stages, when managing and bringing about the event experience to the consumer and, when performing in real time and on a low budget.

Copenhagen Carnival

CEO Morten Sørensen took over the leadership of Copenhagen Carnival in 2008. He changed the organisation, which was originally a flat, democratic organisation structure with over thirty grass-roots organisations and without any defined leadership. The carnival was initially launched in 1982. Still, up to 2008, there was only one annual account available to the new manager. In other words, the organisation was weak and practically bankrupt. Still, in 2009, the event attracted 230 000 visitors over a three-day period. It jumped to be the biggest carnival in Northern Europe, and the profit made in 2009 was large enough to establish a foundation and pay debts and bills. The organisation had become solvent, and expanded further into another event: a reggae beach party at a public beach in the city. Commercial partners, decision-makers from the city council, public caretakers of parks and beaches, a number of professional culture workers and 600 volunteers of global dance and music troupes, different public children's institutions, grass-roots organisations and commercial partners were involved in organising, co-creating and performing the Copenhagen Carnival 2009. But what had happened since the manager arrived?

Copenhagen, like other western cities, had become a 'new' post-industrial city and tourism had come to town: The urban purpose is to absorb oneself into leisure consumption of themed restaurants – Thai, Mexican or Italian, or themed experiences – bowling, climbing or beaching (Burstedt 1999; Strömberg 2007). New urban development strategies were supposed to transform the 'ordinary city' into cityscapes of the spectacular, exotic and magic (Amin & Graham 1997).

Thus, Morten Sørensen received and kept the experience concept of 'a carnival' that was *hot stuff* at the beginning of 1980s but had slowly changed its value when the global media world became part of everyday life. Still, in the post-industrial experience society, could the carnival enjoy a renaissance as a meaningful-experience concept? Sørensen left a flat and indecisive organisation structure. Instead he put together an experienced team of urban culture workers to orchestrate volunteers, theme and event technology through the experience concept of a carnival.

Accordingly, striving for a meaningful customer experience is a process result of (more than) four stages in the Value Framework for Experience Production but can be summed up as a form of event architecture mastered by the event manager: Developing a meaningful consumer experience follows a definition of 'event

management' which involves studying the complexity of the brand; identifying the target audience – or the experiencing consumer; taking decisions on the event's experience concept and experience setting; planning the logistics by coordinating technical and human resources; and finally; ensuring investments by being able to produce an evaluation or a post-event analysis.[5] Of course, things need to be planned in advance, but things also happen in the course of events and have to be handed with knowledgeable improvisation. A bullet-proof manual to ensure the order of things was non-existent when Sørensen took over, and improvisation became one of the event manager's core competences when organising on a low budget and hence he had to use co-creative, external and internal resources to the fullest.

CEO Morten Sørensen's goal, he explained, was to increase the 2009 visitor figure of 230 000 to one million within a time-frame of ten years. Whether or not this is a possible expansion is difficult to predict. But in order to grow, all aspects of the event had to be evaluated. In 2009 the primary guest segment was 'the Scandinavian nuclear family', which had certain thematic and stylistic consequences for the design of the experiences and the event setting. This segment would be sufficient to sustain the festival, but might also interest-wise contradict and exclude another possible segment: 'the young, global party guest' – or actually more or less the same global segment as Richard Florida speaks of, when he defines the cool city of 'high-human capital individuals, particularly young ones' (after McGuigan 2009:294) with taste, talent and tolerance who would prefer a well-designed dance party with interesting fusions of global and western music. Was it possible to accommodate both segments, for instance, at daytime and night-time and, in this sense, obtain the fullest use of the experience setting?

1) Consumer Perspective

Conventional Consumers?

With regard to cultural events, and also in the case of the Copenhagen Carnival, it is expected that experience consumers travel long or close distances in order to pay for expected – but sometimes also rather predictable – experience products. In a sceptical and value-based debate about meaningful experiences, 'local culture' is promoted as an ideal and preferable experience, though in danger of losing its unique expressions, traditions and authentic characteristics to a 'McDonaldization of society' (Ritzer 2008). When trying to accommodate the idea of an average western consumer's standards for service, accommodation and experience activities, the experiences on offer are at risk of becoming routine, it is argued. Still, idealistic guidelines such as 'every city with self-respect' should compete with other cities by establishing spectacular events in order to create an attractive place image and extend the tourist season is also part of the debate (Larson & Fredriksson 2007). The cultural theorist David Harvey (1988) has also critiqued this image

trend as the rise of 'voodoo cities' where local decision-makers are more occupied with masking and staging their cities in order to turn them into spectacular façades of (mega) events, but are less interested in the afterlife of the establishments built, and of the cultural and social messages which could create meaning-value for local citizens and their guests.

But are customers' expectations really that conventional? When discussed in a consumer perspective, how can one find those consumers who can actually help an event organisation to improve the offered experiences to become even more relevant and meaningful to them? Many consumer surveys are above all designed to gain access to the guest's understanding of how his or her basic needs are accommodated through the infrastructure, facilities and services of the experience setting. Often it is impossible for the guest to suggest anything else but improvements of these essential logistics. Consumers are not asked to dream or imagine, and point to how an event could contribute to creating, for example, meaningful social relationships, strengthening a person's identity or broadening understandings of different cultural worlds (Hjemdahl 2003).

Defining Experience

Still, according to Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen (2007:145f), what the event organisation needs to do in order to survive is to follow the consumer's perspective on the meaningfulness of the experiences offered. But what is an experience?

The definition of 'experience' is about having a personal experience of heightened awareness and undergoing uplifting sensations organised around the stimulation of the five senses (sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste). But a meaningful experience is also supposed to direct one's senses to the 'sixth sense' namely to the sense of 'a carnival' or to the visual, mental and sensory pre-conceptualised cultural signs from this type of world. Thus, the logic of the carnival should correspond with the recognition of a carnival. But the cultural recognition can also surprise or fail, depending on how well the concept is controlled, organised and thought through: A carnival could also – unintentionally – correspond with the recognition of a rainy day and a drowned feather costume falling apart.

In order to access the customers' cultural recognitions, an event can be studied from a phenomenological perspective,[6] or how people describe the sensory ways in which they learn about cultural symbols, but also how they engage with an event's materiality. What does it mean to feel, sense and bodily master being amongst a large crowd of people, hustling and bustling one's way around, getting drawn in many directions, being interrupted, surprised by, or engaged in a variety of emotions, moods and impressions? The experiential effects and affects designed are supposed to create the impression of the exotic carnival, and not, for example, of the bad Scandinavian weather. The visitor's experience is supposed to be guided to something interesting – both expectable and surprising.

The consumer perspective (1) and external partnerships of co-creation (4) are discussed together in the following section, because, applying the model of Value Framework for Experience Production, event-designing a meaningful consumer experience is also about understanding trends in the western consumer's (cultural) desire motives.

Carnival as Post-Colonial Edutainment

Mapping out meaning empirically includes the concept of 'edutainment', a point of contact between education and entertainment where the consumer is more than entertained and instead engages with the experiential and existential content of an event (Kjær 2009). The event was branded and designed as a 'carnival' and hence would have to live up to the consumer's visual and media-based preconceptions of the Latin American samba carnival as it is displayed primarily in Rio, Brazil. However, for Copenhagen Carnival to deliver what culturally is perceived as relevant 'carnival edutainment', it had to find opportunities to bring about meaning in practice. The external partnerships of co-creation, by which the Copenhagen Carnival was able to renew itself, were to work with the concept of authenticity and invite 'real' samba troupes to the event.

Despite being in the context of Copenhagen, with its Scandinavian climate, as an ordinary city with pale people, there was something more 'carnivalistic' about the event: The cultural imaginations of 'Rio' were in many ways turned upside down and became an imagined façade of the colourful and exotic combined with sudden rain, umbrellas, hobby set pieces and Scandinavian children and youngsters in body paint. There was a friction between the cultural imaginations of an authentic carnival when moved outside its site-specific (imaginative) origin of Rio and into a Danish wet summer park. One could always hope for nice weather conditions, but this would most likely not affect the consumer's comparison between the event and its exotic origin.

When viewed in a post-colonial tourism perspective, the Copenhagen Carnival borrows signs from the mysterious, exotic and colourful while, at the same time, domesticating and consuming 'the foreign' in a homely event setting at pleasant distance – not too strange and not too homelike (Kjær 1999). When the exotic is not too outlandish but 'safe', western tourists have learned to desire the exotic as a positive, enriching and inspiring, cultural experience.[7] In a consumer perspective, these historic conditions affect the present-day tourist experience, but might not be realised or verbalised as anything else but a "hidden programme" of learning or the consumer's 'desire motives' to engage with what is perceived as an inspiring cultural event (Boswijk, Thijssen & Peelen 2007:145).

When the CEO took over the leadership of the organisation, the consumer experience of the event was mostly – aesthetically and educationally – pointing in the direction of school children's and enthusiasts' hobby activities, rather than to cultural imaginations of a site-authentic carnival. The dance troupes performing at

the Copenhagen Carnival parade were consequently a result of several Copenhagen-based county schools and leisure associations with children, men and women who manufactured their costumes and rehearsed their music and dance performances during the year. This form of volunteering co-created the event and was necessary from a social and economic viewpoint.

Old and New Consumer Segments

The question was whether or not Copenhagen Carnival would be able to attract new segments, e.g. global (party and creative) tourists to an event that could be perceived as an out-of-context, 'pale copy' of the original. Would these tourists instead travel to an authentic scene of a carnival, or could they, when the CEO evaluated the possibility of attracting new segments to the event, be incorporated in the carnival? When interviewed Morten Sørensen said that he was of course aware of the 'authenticity factor' in the sense that he knew the carnival could be perceived through cultural preconceptions: Copenhagen as a site for a samba carnival was not the media-informed consumer's natural line of association. The authenticity factor – next to the educational purposes of training children and youngsters – decided why the organisation had chosen to invite real samba troupes from Latin America. Sørensen explained the considerations he had when conceptualising the event as close to 'authentic':

> We invite real samba troupes from Brazil to participate, train the children and perform in the big parade. This is a great form of integration between different nationalities, but I am fully aware that if we want to compete on a global scale and attract foreign tourists we have to be very professional and move away from the hobby-based expressions which have dominated the Copenhagen Carnival in the past. There is no doubt that world music, samba and carnival had its heyday in the 1980s in Denmark. At that time – as it is today – Copenhagen Carnival was mostly a family and grass-roots orientated event which may not appear spectacular from an aesthetic or artistic point of view. The carnival in Rio is virtually the only point of reference the audience has, but there are several ways to develop a carnival concept – Southern European Middle Ages; Postmodern Music Mix; International Sustainability or Global Awareness are just some of the conceptual styles that can be further developed into new experiences.

It seems that Copenhagen Carnival has a flexible event-design structure which can be revised, redesigned and reinterpreted into new, related themes accommodating new consumer segments. These new, or additional, consumer segments could thus result in a redefinition of the carnival concept: for example, a more postmodern event with aesthetic references to popular culture consumption of mixed music could solve the inauthenticity challenge of the event location, but may well turn out problematic in a funding perspective: Another external and co-creative partner, namely the city council's cultural department, which almost by rule considers cultural events as educational opportunities to train youngsters and children (Hjemdahl 2003). The actual experiential design of Copenhagen Carnival 2009 balanced between offering old and new segments, what they, and tax-funding de-

cision-makers, perceived as meaningful edutainment. Furthermore, in the context of the 2009 event, the carnival's attention was adapted to the large family segment of the Metropolis Area of Southern Sweden and Eastern Denmark, which could be expanded by strategic marketing. If the CEO chose 'business as usual' the event would still be a success from a management and organisational routine perspective (Dramer & Hansen 2007). The event manager probably did not have to facilitate other consumer segments or change the experience design of carnival edutainment in order for the event to survive. But the modernisation of the cultural content and the ambition to design new experiences for new segments, adding unique and site-specific cultural expressions to urban spectacle, could easily be left aside in this process.

Hybrid Cultures

The post-analysis of the event was nevertheless to continuously question and redesign the carnival's exotic theme, aiming at facilitating the nuclear family segment in the daytime, while offering consumer experiences to a young party segment in the experience design of night-life clubbing. Copenhagen Carnival wanted to evaluate the possibility of becoming an international festival and not only a local event which consumed the exotic at a comfortable distance. Maybe the carnival, in the process of designing unique experience concepts, could also avoid the consumer's pre-conceptual dichotomy of authenticity and inauthenticity?

Since the Copenhagen-based geographical locality of the event could not really compete with consumer imaginations of a *real* carnival, one could choose, for example, 'internationality' as the event's experiential reference point. This concept could be materialised and consumed anywhere – even in the neighbourhoods of the ordinary Scandinavian city. Accordingly, the Swedish art historian Per Strömberg (2007) stresses that the tourism and experience industry should be courageous enough to test the kind of possibilities that actually arise from the mix of borrowing out-of-context experience concepts, such as a carnival, while mixing this with local, western culture. Strömberg explains that, instead of *copying* cultural expressions – failing or succeeding according to the consumer's understandings of real and fake, it is more relevant and coherent to investigate how 'hybrid cultures' can be designed in order to create unique, aesthetic expressions.

An example of possible hybridisation was provided by Morten Sørensen in the interview. It was about challenging the western consumers' preconceptions of what Caribbean music is:

> The carnival tries to create awareness of not only traditional Caribbean music – which is packed with imaginations of beaches, palm trees and oil drums. We also search for post-modern Caribbean music that, to Europeans, offers surprising and new versions of the techno-genre. To a western audience that is already very familiar with this genre, this is a great reason to come to the carnival instead of travelling thousand of miles to watch an unknown underground band in Jamaica. Instead we are bringing the band to you – and you would probably not have found it if you had searched yourself, anyway.

A 'mixing strategy' can produce an event's new cultural content: postmodern can be mixed with traditional; global with local; north with south; alternative subculture with established high-culture or electronic with acoustic (Willim 2005). But this might only be meaningful to a relatively small (and elitist) consumer segment such as 'the creative class' of Richard Florida's consumers which are expected to not only add vibrancy and regeneration to run down places but also demonstrate 'a particular set of class interests' for example cool and hip pleasures and places (McGuigan 2009:298). Additionally, this type of segment has to have extensive knowledge in order to enjoy the fusion of musical genres or the launching of underground and upcoming music from distant countries. It might simply be too risky or avant-garde to experiment with hybridisation, when the event is already facilitating a large family segment which has accepted – and even created – the cultural content of the event. Thus, a post-modern, mixed and cool event could contradict the local decision makers' traditional focus on subsidising (the not yet so cool) young people's cultural education. This case demonstrates how an event's cultural content can be influenced by the local focus on subsidising drivers of culture and hence *not* promoting the (class-distinct) cultural consumption described in the general and maybe over-simplified culture policy ideals on how culture can become an instrument to regenerate cities by adding to a place's coolness.

2) Internal Business Perspective, Core Competences and Technology

Theorising the Experience Setting

How can an event organisation ensure and enable a meaningful experience through the totality of a themed and conceptualised environment. Following the Value Framework for Experience Production on the internal core competences of a business (2), how can the event accommodate the experienced and media-informed consumer through the event technology of the experience setting?

A 'carnival' in its theoretical – and classic – definition by the Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1941/1993) is a social situation where people of different social backgrounds, cultures, ages and stations in life are considered equals. The 'carnivalesque', he argues, presents the encouragement of people to engage in a social meeting point where the grotesque (the transformation of bodies, the display of flesh, eroticism, drunkenness or bodily movement) is allowed. In the crowd and behind bodily masks and décor, this social situation is characterised by turning the fixed roles of everyday life upside down. The carnival thus allows people to become somebody else and to play with social hierarchy – or, as is the case with the Copenhagen Carnival: to play with cultural fantasies of the colourful, exotic, global and worldly on a local scale, taking the mundane everyday life of the city as its point of departure. Still, one could argue that the norms of ease in the leisure life of the Scandinavian nuclear family were dominating the experience

setting more than the cultural expressions of, say, 'the carnivalistic grotesque' or new, aesthetic and mixing music concepts.

In 2009 the nuclear family segment was provided for by things such as exotic family take-away dinners and children's playgrounds themed in 'UNICEF ways'. Sørensen explained how they tried to avoid mass-produced consumption – or McDonaldization – in the experience setting:

> We have a global market square at the venue with handmade, sustainable and organic toys and household articles from abroad which can be purchased. In order to boost the symbolism of the exotic and global, rather than the local and western, commercial partners' sponsor consumer products and those companies with a sustainable and global profile are preferred. In this sense, we do not accept all types of sponsorships.[8]

An experience setting is supported by cultural, visual and aesthetic expectations of what a carnival experience 'is' (Anderton 2009). It is also vital for the production of the event's themed totality that the culture workers in the organisation have core competences in how specific cultural signs and symbols are communicated through the design of event materiality. From the immediate point of being at the venue, an experience concept is only relevant – and functioning – if it directs the mental and bodily comprehension of a single – but cultural – individual to the idea of the event.

Producing Event Materiality

Returning to the model of Value Framework for Experience Production, the experience setting, or the event materiality, is a result of the internal core competences and technology of the organisation by which the totality of the experienced environment is achieved (2). But the creative capacity the organisation needs in order to renew and maintain the carnival (4) has to come from the outside the carnival itself, as was the case when samba troupes were invited to teach the children and perform in the parade. But turning to the internal business perspective, a low-budget organisation like the Copenhagen Carnival has limited resources for training and hiring professionals. Thus, the experiential content of the event is highly interrelated to the model's People and Culture (3) or to the cultural and human resources necessary, in order for the event to deliver to an audience in real time and in such a way that the carnival becomes a convincing experience. Hence, the four stages in the Value Framework for Experience Production are not easy to distinguish when studying the field of event practice. In what follows, I will nevertheless investigate how practice and theory can add further knowledge to the model.

Theme Park and Ordinary City as Venue Matrix

The ideal experience setting – a carnival, an urban beach or a shopping mall – should be so well-designed that if you asked for an entrance fee, people would be willing to pay just to be there. Hence, the 'feel' of an experience environment

should be constructed and manipulated in the exact same way as in a theme park (Shaw & Williams 2004).

When studying the experience setting ethnographically, it becomes clear that Copenhagen Carnival is produced through a number of *ad hoc* solutions or through improvised, professional competence of abstraction. This means that the culture workers have the core competences to think imaginatively, when turning props and things at hand into carnivalistic ritual, performance and artistry. Morten Sørensen describes it like this:

> When I became the CEO, I already had an extensive network of technicians and organisers who work with cultural performances every day. The carnival does not possess stages, props and decorations, furniture, light or sound systems. We rely on the established cultural institutions – or rather, their dedicated staff and their passion for producing culture in their free time. But we also rely on the city council's attitude towards Copenhagen being of European standard when providing us with technical systems for water, electricity and infrastructure at the public parks and beaches. The standards are only now becoming better! Nevertheless, how the venue will finally appear and what kind of decoration it will have, is part of great improvisation. I have thirty ideas for decoration and props that would underline the theme of the carnival. But whether or not it is a Caribbean pirate ship or a fairytale castle that arrives on a truck, I don't know before the driver is actually there. I mean, the decoration I would want to borrow might be on stage at the Royal Danish Theatre that particular weekend. I would be very nervous if I couldn't trust my network of culture workers to understand what a relevant prop is and be imaginative in order to substitute a first ideal thought.

Working on a low budget and with volunteers not only requires confidence in the professional network and how it is able to manage itself. Most important, though, is how the design of the carnival's thematic concept is based on meaningful aesthetics and symbolically relevant props, which are directly linked to the core competences of the culture workers, their sense of quality, efficiency, experience and training from the established cultural institutions of the city.

Copenhagen Carnival is themed as exotic and colourful. Still, an important part of the event involves controlling the venue space. The rhythm and pace of the crowd and the location of hubs of activity and recreational experience are supposed to offer the visitors a positively defined, culturally imagined and real-time-produced meaningful experience.

In a Scandinavian context, the carnival aims at presenting a surprising experience concept, but when it comes to organising the venue, geography and space have to be predictable to the guest and hence dominated by the organisation's routine behaviour. Morten Sørensen explains:

> It is true that we want to create an experience of the exotic, but in order to fulfil the Scandinavian expectations of safety and hygiene, the feeling of being in a predictable environment is very important. There are also aspects of the carnival that might be acceptable elsewhere but which we do not acknowledge. For instance, we have designed the venue in order to increase the tolerance level of homosexuality. This might sound weird but in different world-music genres, reggae for instance, some utterances might be homophobic. In many ways, we try to strengthen the audience's and participants' open-mindedness. In 2009 we located a reggae stage next to a bar

> hosted by the Copenhagen World Outgames, which is an international homosexual sport olympics. We want to show that in Denmark homophobic behaviour is not accepted. The good carnival for us is a balance of Scandinavian standards of safety; a tolerant mentality; and artistic and symbolic connotations of the global.

The experience setting, according to Sørensen, should result in a balance of home and abroad, the predicable and unpredictable, the ordinary and extraordinary (Morgan 2009). There is an ideological vision behind the design of the venue – especially the (Scandinavian) ideal of cultural and social tolerance. Thus, the production of a 'carnivalistic Scandinavian space' consists of an integration ideology which the city council and tourist organisations additionally welcome: It is considered a good image to market and profile the city as tolerant, open and friendly. Interestingly enough this type of tolerance resembles the Richard Florida inspired European culture policies where one of the ways to define an attractive place is by assuming a correlation between cultural tolerance and economical prosperity, often illustrated by a place's high level of diverse groups and especially gay-friendly communities (McGuigan 2009:294).

Returning to the design of the carnival's experience setting, the 'theme park' is a matrix which can be applied to the organisation of experience hubs, market place, stages, and bars. The theme park originates from the romantic English garden which, historically, gave the society's elite the possibility to become part of a cosmopolitan culture without leaving the comfort of their home city. Invented in the eighteenth century, the romantic garden was designed to sharpen the experience of sensing through its astounding effects: its sceneries, surprises and props were organised in fairly fixed ways, and regardless of the fact that the garden design was spread to parks all over Europe. The romantic garden was supposed to deliver fresh attractions behind every corner. Walking from surprise to surprise, following the winding paths and brooks, and when crossing bridges, one would engage in an exotic mix: a Greek temple, a Chinese house, a hermit's grotto and a Norwegian log cabin. Enjoying ancient sculptures, smelling unusual plants or listening to the sound of a waterfall are just some of the sensational technologies of the romantic English garden. This garden design of the exotic is a good example of how today's experiential venues often are organised. During the nineteenth century the romantic English garden became the blueprint for urban parks and private gardens, and stayed in power when theme parks – from open-air museums to Disney Worlds and adventure lands – were established (Löfgren 2002:21–26).

A map of the romantic English garden could easily be applied to the venue of the Copenhagen Carnival. Walking from surprise to surprise, resting, consuming and experiencing different forms of performances and activities; moving along if the attraction gets boring, or getting drawn to other spectacles – al this organises the sensations that can be experienced in this particular venue matrix. Thus, following the Value Framework for Experience Production for the event organisation's core competences and technology (2), this cultural heritage of the theme park is a way – in practice – to produce and conceive an experience environment.

There will always be perspectives, angles and dimensions that are difficult to plan, but today this blueprinted experience space forms the general expectations of how to consume events.

But much of the experience setting also evolves around 'the urban' or, as some urban geographers would define it, 'the pulse of the ordinary city': Traffic lights; the opening hours of the shops; work and leisure time; church bells ringing; surveillance cameras; the electricity that lights up streets and squares – these are all technologies which organise the flow of people, regulate their behaviour and aim at controlling social interaction (Amin & Thrift 2002). Following this 'ordinary city' structure, the carnival is in many ways ordinary in its people-flow technology. In order to offer the consumer transparency, guidance and security at the venue, public legislation, rules and routines need to be followed. Sørensen states in his post-analysis:

> One cannot run an event without thinking in worse-case scenarios: What if it rains and it did – do we have enough indoor space to facilitate wet and hungry people? What if people do not – and they didn't – understand that they should clean up after themselves? Do we have money set aside to pay for extra cleaning? What if somebody gets ill from the food? How do we handle bad publicity? What if our guards are not trained and a chaotic situation occurs? It would be naïve *not* to plan for worse-case scenarios and try to organise ourselves out of it in advance. This is why security and hygiene – or actually Maslow's hierarchy of basic needs[9] – is the model for designing trust and a relaxed atmosphere. I think we signal that important little extra if people can orientate themselves to the bathrooms, the Samaritan tents and feel secure when they meet professional – and hence friendly – guards. Although most of our staff are volunteers it is important that the guards are well trained. I am happy to pay full price for a well-organised safety crew and would never leave that to amateurs. Imagine this type of event *not* being safe. We could just as well close up and find something else to do.

Copenhagen Carnival organises the crowd in a circular way in order to create comfortable flow and rhythm. Morten Sørensen explains, in addition, that the venue is supposed to be 'considered filled with people but without anyone disturbing each other'. The bodily competence of being in a crowd, that is, quickly decoding where other people are headed, knowing – or feeling – a sense of direction, turning left or right, can in many ways be organised through the practical organisation similar to the structure of the ordinary city (Kjær 2010). Still, basic essentials are not sufficient when producing a setting people would be willing to pay an entrance fee to experience (Shaw & Williams 2004). Thus, surprising or transforming experiences can be organised through the matrix of the romantic English garden.

These organising principles are not tacit but produce the cultural and social content of space: the attractions at the Copenhagen Carnival are located in a logical order and through an understanding of what kind of content will communicate with which segments. Thus, children and families are expected to be interested in certain attractions (parade, dance, hobby and food) during the day, while the young party segment is supposed to experience the venue space at night-time and

engage in music concerts and bar life. Still, at night-time, the venue space must not feel secluded or empty. The balance when organising the venue is to facilitate old and new segments' experience of high and low levels of relevant and customised experiences, while their need for safety, food and edutainment is also fulfilled.

3) People and Culture

Managing Culture Workers

Personal connections, a collaborating network and shared aims create the professional network behind Copenhagen Carnival 2009. A well trained group of culture workers – stage technicians, property masters, sound and light technicians, chauffeurs, marketing people and event-makers – have a day job at tax-funded theatres, stadiums, exhibition venues and concert halls. These culture workers transgress the different sectors of urban experience industry by their voluntary work. On a practical level, this group makes cultural events happen, but the urban environment with its traditional culture industry provides the resources – props, manpower; technical equipment – to the alternative experience industry, simply because the technicians and organisers share the same professional network.

When the CEO took over the leadership of Copenhagen Carnival, he created a horizontal organisation with vertical lines to responsible team-managers and their groups who administered the event's different thematic areas: decoration/aesthetics; music/parade programme; market/merchandise; media; legal permits; and food and beverages.

The event organisation, according to Morten Sørensen, is founded on simple principles: (A) *Cultural resource transference* (directly and indirectly) from the external partnership institutions (established culture industry, sponsorships, co-creative grass-roots) to the event. This transference is organised by the carnival's responsible team managers: the event should democratically facilitate and include everyone with a good and relevant idea in relation to the experience setting. This could be university projects on littering and recycling; kindergarten projects on dance and masks; restaurants with an exotic theme; or performance groups who create various appropriate experience hubs at the venue. These projects are necessary for the event to renew itself, but they are not copyrighted or bought by the carnival and can be reused by the artists, performers and institutions in other event settings. (B) *A low-cost event but not low content quality*: The event's experience setting, its decoration, milieus and infrastructure, are achieved by professional culture workers who borrow resources from their conventional workplace, and the logistics is created by the responsible team managers. These two principles are the result of (C) *A passionate organisation*: Since the carnival is low-budget, the event teams cannot exist without the single individual's passion to create and erect parts and totality of the event. A 'passionate organisation' follows here the imper-

ative found in the tourism and service sector where it is literally expected that the employees' work performance has emotional and dedicated components. Superficial or theatrical acts of e.g. good service, friendly smiles or helpfulness are not enough. Instead, in order for the business to compete, the employees have to feel 'deeply' about their message and their reason for being there, i.e. they need to possess a competence of having 'self-aware intentions' so that both the employee and the business understand the work situation as win-win (Ooi & Ek 2010:304). This type of creative workforce – or 'creative class' is exactly what is viewed as necessary in the Richard Florida inspired culture policies when producing a place's vibrancy and a cool city brand. The trend in current culture policy where 'creativity' is equivalent with 'wealth creation' (McGuigan 2009:295) might even be perceived as a compliment to (prior and traditional) local and national decision makers: during the years cultural politics has promoted the subsidisation of upcoming talents but also financed the educational training of culture workers in the public sector, which the carnival and the city now (hopefully) capitalise on. Thus, in a post-industrial society the leading justification for subsidising culture is no longer art for art's own sake, but for the sake of wide-ranging wealth creation.

Low-budget Creativity

The 'simple principles' offered by the Copenhagen Carnival's CEO can add to an understanding of Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen's (2007) model of Value Framework for Experience Production: In order for the event to be experienced as meaningful to the customer (1), the organisation's people need to be driven by a certain emotional structure, namely a business culture of self-driven passion with core competences regarding how an event will be perceived as complete by the consumer (3). In order for the event teams to perform and activate external partnerships of co-creation (4), they additionally need a network competence to acquire the resources from the city's established cultural and institutional sectors. All these core competences should lead up to the event's business model: to deliver a spectacular consumer experience and perform a sustainable organisation regardless of being low-cost and volunteer-based.

The team managers, thus, should possess creative core competence which, in this context, means that they should know how to transfer – spin off and capitalise – experiential resources from their responsible thematic area to other thematic areas within the organisation. Being trained professional culture workers, they should be able to focus on the consumer's immediate experience, i.e. understand the kind of products and performances which can create edutainment value for the guests, add value to the carnival as an event, and create awareness among a larger public. Morten Sørensen gave an example:

> A DJ volunteered to perform at a night-time show. He was paired with a pyrotechnic who was going to create a great fireworks display on Saturday night. The team manager of the music and event programme was responsible. However, this was first of all a case for the group manager – in charge of legal permits, which could have cho-

> sen to keep the permission to do the fireworks a purely technocratic matter. And there is a lot of that! A lot of permits for hygiene, safety, traffic, alcohol, noise – you name it! Still, because the team managers are experienced, they knew that a party climaxing with a big fireworks display could also become a media story *precisely* because of the safely issues. In this case we got a great media story – and hence free marketing – on how the carnival's fireworks would be so dominant that it could cause safety problems at the city's airport and affect its flight logistics. On a practical level – or because all the managers know every aspect of the organisation, the team manager in charge of media was provided with all the information on both safety and party in order to create a good story. This is an example of how the organisation is always structured around producing good stories and creating spectacles. Or, in other words, we aim at capitalising on everything. And also the things that would normally cause distress and irritation.

Expertise, experience and knowledge transference between the carnival's thematic areas and their team managers are essentials in an event organisation. The ambition to make things happen, or engaging the professional culture workers with the carnival's interests in the spectacular and attractive, has to be meaningful, challenging and rewarding for their sense of a good story, a great party or an event coming together, but possibly also for their career as culture workers.

Working on a low budget and with tight public legislation, forces the organisation to be innovative when capitalising on all possible stories which could market the event. At least this is the working model of the carnival's CEO. In this sense he follows a widespread notion of 'creativity' which can be outlined as a playful, original and surprising capacity, enhanced by rigid rules and strict budgets which otherwise, as Sørensen explains, would cause distress.

There is nevertheless creative potential in distress. This definition of 'creativity' might originate from the German sociologists and critical theorists Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. In their influential book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944/2007) they argue that to be creative is a counter-cultural performance against the establishment and thus to bring about a set of alternative and surprising world-views. Returning to the example provided by Sørensen, what may linger on from this progressive or old-fashioned argument, depending on how one sees it, is the way in which 'creativity' is conceptualised, promoted and protected in an event organisation which is supposed to be sustainable both as a business and as a rejuvenator of cultural expressions. In the event organisation, the romancing of low budgets and the voluntary working conditions becomes the costless culture worker's imaginative and playful potential. It can be interpreted as a core competence of passion but is also the event manager's rhetorical and practical way to *art up* an event sector that, in order to deliver the spectacular, should be able to challenge conventional ways. But it might even be strategically wise when the CEO communicates the instrumentalised ways of creativity production to local decision makers because these ways resembles the trend in current culture policy where 'creativity in artistic practice and business management are roughly the same kind of thing' (McGuigan 2009:297).

Co-creation and Marketing of an Event

In exotic feather costumes, a group of women are dancing samba in the half-time break of a football match in Copenhagen. On the pitch of the Danish national stadium, The Park, the performing women are accompanied by the sounds of a drum troupe to which they unfold their samba dance rhythms. On this 31st of May 2009, the football game is a first division match and the stadium is packed with fans and supporters. The contesting clubs decorate the stadium with their colours, rituals and songs. Despite the warm reception from the football fans, the performing samba troupes still appear a bit odd, out of context, or at least something that would not normally happen during a half-time break. Why isn't it the customary cheerleaders and club supporters who entertain the audience? How has this cultural fusion between a Danish football match and the performance of the samba-dancing women come about?

The Copenhagen Carnival used its network of people and was well-connected in the city's different experience sectors. The principles of 'co-creation', which the Swedish market economist Lena Mossberg (2003) defines as a collaborative way of two and more businesses and/or entrepreneurs to fuse their (in this case, intangible) experience products, were used in order to create a marketing opportunity and bring about unexpected experiences. The idea of co-creation is, among other things, to access new markets by launching a product in unusual places and through unusual combinations. Thus, the feather-clad women were *of course* a live performance marketing event, promoting the Copenhagen Carnival 2009 which simultaneously took place at the public park which surrounds the stadium.

The fusion between the half-time break in the football match and the carnival troupe was furthermore a low-cost marketing strategy. A deal was done over the telephone by two stage technicians – one at the commercial sport event and one at the low-budget carnival. Marketing the Copenhagen Carnival to the 38 000 people in the audience on that particular day was certainly more lucrative for the carnival organisation than it was for the football event. This promotion shows how co-creation is not always about win-win, but – when creating urban spectacles – also a gesture or a helping hand from a more resourceful organisation which helped the carnival to renew, not the concept, but the market. In an urban context, the city's institutionalised and/or commercial experience industry indirectly co-creates the carnival's alternative event, through a well established, albeit informal, network of professional culture workers, technicians and organisers.

4) Innovation and Creativity Capacity – External Partners

Event as Urban Vibrancy or Political Challenge

A low-budget event organisation needs to collaborate with political decision-makers in order to survive and renew itself. I have given examples of the special

culture policy interest of the carnival's cultural training of children and in how the event setting promotes Copenhagen as a tolerant city.

But in order to also be acknowledged as a legitimate tool for the cultural policies focusing on creating vibrant cities or regions, the event organisation needs to incorporate political awareness, language and terminologies. The goal is to gain access to the local city council's funding but also to its metropolitan services, such as sanitation, electricity and infrastructure. A city council is an important – but highly difficult – external partner to work with, because the logistic needs of an event are spread out over a number of departments. In addition, there will be economic priorities and local politicians might not be as well informed about national or supra-national cultural policy to recognise how different events could create attractiveness in a city's image. In this sense an event might support the cultural activities of a place, but not be recognised for its part in the economic value chain (Larson & Fredriksson 2007:180-182).

Still, it might not only be culture policy researchers, such as Jim McGuigan (2009), who understand it as far fetched when culture is promoted as the instrument to solve deep-seated economic crisis in the post-industrial society. This thesis could also appear strange to local decision-makers because the Richard Florida inspired culture policies mainly are concerned with the cultural consumption of aestheticism and portray places in intangible terms of 'magic' and 'vibrancy'. To put it roughly this language has to do with business and religion but not with cultural education of either citizens or culture workers. Thus, in current cultural policy reports there may be a distance between visions of vibrancy and how to achieve them in practice. This might discourage decision-makers from supporting an event organisation, despite its qualified staffs' performance on culture production.

Large parts of the alternative experience industry are defined as weak, have difficulty surviving from year to year and creating sustainable profit from sponsorship and partnerships in order to reproduce. Especially the event sector often relies on individuals, volunteers and enthusiasts, who have limited training, and the organisation is often missing out on important knowledge transference when new volunteers are recruited. According to national and supra- national culture policy reports, the experience industry thus lacks professional skills in managing, marketing, event designing and financially running its business. The ambition is to politically support the right framework conditions, e.g. tax-funding, educational and infrastructural solutions. Thus, finding and promoting effective tools for managing, organising and marketing the sector is highlighted as a culture policy strategy (De Paoli 2006:15f). In local decision-making this business language might be difficult to adapt to the cultural practices of urban- and regional everyday politics. The overall vision of why a city or region should need a strong experience industry when competing globally and in the post-industrial era might be lost at the level of policy practice.

Conclusion

Through a model of Value Framework for Experience Production I have analysed how the event organisation, its technological solutions and cultural assumptions can be difficult to separate in the field of practice and when producing experiences. Nevertheless, this model clarifies the external and internal resources necessary when an event organisation works to create spectacular and hopefully meaningful-experience concepts. I have discussed event management as a particular form of leadership which has to promote an improvisational structure. When it comes to experiential concept it has to be inventive, but needs to perform routines when it comes to the experience setting of consumer safety and comfort. When creating meaningful experiences in a low-budget organisation, culture workers' improvisation and *ad hoc* solutions are vital.

This article has investigated the event management and organisation of the Copenhagen Carnival 2009. I have outlined the Copenhagen Carnival as an example of how a low-budget event is indirectly supported by the established and commercial urban experience industry and not least by its staff of culture workers. The carnival is thus co-created by voluntary culture workers and service staff, but also by international and national women, children and men who produce the event's cultural content by staging, organising, dancing, playing and consuming the exotic. The carnival is furthermore a co-creative space for sponsorships, small enterprises and a scene for artists, students and grass-roots who display their cultural expressions in an experience setting which is similar to the matrix of a theme-park and an ordinary city.

In order to survive, an event has to have qualities of the new (annual) thing and a co-creating live effect on the guests. Copenhagen Carnival has a flexible event structure which can be revised, redesigned and reinterpreted into new, related themes, addressing new and old consumer segments. Improving an event depends on the consumer's recognition of, but also surprises in, an event environment. This is important for the event management to analyse. Hence, in order to transform experience concepts into experience settings – or transform ideas into materiality – the event manager first of all needs to clarify the consumer's perspective – his or her different social roles, cultural understandings and specific desires to be offered more than entertainment.

An annual event such as Copenhagen Carnival exemplifies the recent debate within cultural policy and experience economy in which events are perceived as essentials when adding value to a city's image. This is underlined by a post-industrial, business and scholarly, focus on the creative class producing and consuming 'the cool city'. Inspired by the American management theorist Richard Florida, current Nordic and European culture policy argue that culture can be capitalised and solve deep-seated economical problems in the post-industrial society. Culture has become equivalent to societal wealth creation, but this might be too ambitious and over-simplified. Nevertheless, if these current culture policy reports

are viewed as ways to renew the (traditional) culture- and experience industry, for example by bringing about meaningful-experience concepts, defined as so good that people will be willing to pay for them, the reports might add value to this sector. But a city council with its duties to culturally educate citizens and delivering framework conditions for the culture- and experience industry might go against these ideals. Additionally, a city's metropolitan functions may be difficult to access to the alternative experience industry. This is challenging when viewed from the event organisation's ambition to renew and sustain the event. But it is also problematic if current culture policy desires for event professionalism and culture-business are not met, or if an event's ability to create urban vibrancy is not considered part of a place's value-creation chain.

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Notes

1 See also e.g. this relevant cultural policy report: Econ Pöyry AS/InFuture AS (2008): *Innovasjon i opplevelsesnæringer* (Econ-rapport no. 2008-118). Please note that in the following article I will refer to these reports as the "current culture policy".

2 Morten Sørensen is the CEO (2008–) of the foundation Fonden CPH Carnival.

3 They build on Quinn's (1988) model of "Competing Values Framework" (after Boswijk, Thijssen & Peelen 2007:146f).

4 But see for instance Bjälesjö 1999; Ristilammi 2001; Hjemdahl, Hauge & Lind 2007; Kjær 2009.

5 Definition from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Event_management (11.04.02)

6 For a clarification of the different phenomenological concepts such as situation, interaction and experience, see Jackson 1996.

7 For post-colonial literature and the discussion on colonial influences on present-day tourism see e.g. Pratt 1992; McClintock 1998; Edensor 1998.

8 This is a different experience setting strategy from a purely commercial (culture) event such as the Swedish music festival Way out West, located in the city of Gothenburg. Large companies like Ramlösa, Nokia and SJ (Swedish Rail) sponsor the event and receive experience hubs at the festival venue in return. Commercial messages are wrapped into leisure lounges and the experience focus is not on the Way out West concept, but on the sponsor's consumable products. In a commercial event, a particular musical culture and its artistic visions are sometimes toned down for the benefit of sponsored products which nevertheless could be storylined into appropriate experiential and conceptual themes, but in many cases are not. Thus, in commercial events, the overall experience theme of an event is sometimes considered secondary (Kjær 2008).

[9] In the event industry it is a widespread practice to work according to the theory of the American psychologist Abraham Maslow and his model of "the hierarchy of basic needs", developed in the 1940s. "Basic needs" are defined as physical/bodily needs, security, social aceptance, appreciation, and self-realisation.

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