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2010

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MPRA Paper No. 58231, posted 3. September 2014 08:03 UTC

Creative city concept in local economic development: the case of Finnish cities

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Abstract

This article provides an overview of the approach to and application of the creative city concept in Finnish local government. The discussion revolves around how local governments have utilised the creative city concept in local economic development. The empirical part focuses on local governments' approaches to creative city with special reference to two cases: the cities of Helsinki and Tampere, which are at the forefront of the Finnish creative city movement. The analysis shows that only a few small and remote local communities have given creativity, culture and arts a major role in their economic development policy, whereas larger cities are increasingly incorporating the creative city concept into their development strategies. Finnish local governments' approach can be described as institutional, even if the business-oriented approach is gradually gaining ground, as exemplified by the case of the city of Tampere. In all, it appears that so far the idea of creative city has been applied in Finnish cities on a partial and ad hoc basis.

Key words: creative city, local government, Finland, Helsinki, Tampere

University of Tampere, Finland 2010

INTRODUCTION

The concept of creative city is based on a conviction that creative industries and creativity as a generic attribute of social life form an integral part of post-industrial economy and thus provide opportunities to generate business and jobs and to increase the attractiveness of local communities. As a part of this trend arts and culture have become an important topic in industrial development (Zukin, 1995; Monclus and Guardia, 2006; Freestone and Gibson, 2006, 22; Verwijnen, 1999; Benneworth, 2004). Such a cultural turn finds its motivation from a search for new directions for post-industrial societies and communities. They need to find alternatives to widely shared high-tech fantasies and conventional service sector developments, which provide ever fewer advantages and returns on investments in an increasingly competitive and quickly changing global scene.

One of the most important elements in the background of the idea of creative city is the development in production technologies and the utilisation of means of production. The industrial mode of development based on mass production is slowly changing into a post-Fordist logic in which added value is sought from social, cultural and human aspects of production and interaction. The emergence of a creative class as a driving force in economic life, the expected growth of cultural industries, the increased role of innovativeness in economic life, and environmental concerns reflect the emerging logic of creative economy (Florida, 2005; Atkinson and Easthope, 2009; Scott 2006). Real-life developments of creative city movements were pioneered by Anglo-American countries and countries of the British Commonwealth, such as the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In this paper this matter is discussed in the context of one of the Nordic countries, namely Finland.

OBJECTIVE AND METHOD

The objective of this article is to provide an overview of the approach to and application of the creative city concept in Finnish local government. The discussion starts by outlining the evolution of the creative city paradigm and its connection with local development. A

special issue discussed in the theoretical framework is how local governments may approach the creative city concept in local planning and strategic development.

In the empirical section local governments' approaches to creative city development is discussed in the Finnish context. The first part of the empirical section is a descriptive outline of the case of Finland, and the second part is based on the case study method (Yin, 2008) applied to two cases, the cities of Helsinki and Tampere, which are at the forefront of the Finnish creative city movement.

REMARKS ON CREATIVE CITY PARADIGM

Creative city is a fairly vague concept mainly because there is no simple answer to the question of how to conceptualise creativity in the context of local development. To put this concept into its historical context, it is best to see it as a recent phase in culturally oriented urban planning and development, as outlined by Freestone and Gibson (2006). In this sense it is part of the process of intensification of the relationship between creativity and local economic development, articulated in such movements and trends as the City Beautiful movement, cultural zoning along functionalist principles in urban planning and community-based cultural development, as illustrated in Table 1. In this framework the recent creative city scheme brought a new perspective to creativity in urban development and to the discussion about location decisions of creative industries (Florida, 2002).

Table 1. Development of culturally oriented planning and development paradigms. (Freestone and Gibson, 2006, 23; see also Freestone, 2000.)

Period	Paradigm	Theorists / planners	Exemplifications
1900-1910s	City as a work of art	Daniel Burnham	The models of Paris and Vienna; City Beautiful movement; Plan of Chicago; the plan for Canberra
1910-1950s	Cultural zonation	Harland Bartholomew, Patrick Abercrombie	Functionalist urban planning; cultural centres; neighbourhood civic facilities
1960-1970s	Flagship facilities	Robert Moses	Lincoln Centre, JFK Centre, Sydney Opera House
1960-1970s	Cultures of communities	Jane Jacobs	Community arts facilities; heritage movement; community-based cultural development; social planning
1980-1990s	Culture in urban development	Management of progressive cities, Pasqual Maragall, Sharon Zukin	Development of cultural industries; festivals; Cultural capitals of Europe; Barcelona, Bilbao, Baltimore, Glasgow, Manchester
1990-2000s	The creative city	Charles Landry, Richard Florida, Allen Scott	Arts and cultural planning strategies; cultural precincts; cultural tourism; Huddersfield, Helsinki, Berlin

The point of departure of the creative city is the utilisation of the opportunities of art and culture in urban economy and in the development of local communities. The field of cultural activities and creative industries is illustrated in Figure 1. Local culture and cultural industries form the fundamental layers of creative city. These have connections to other sectors as well, as the cultural mode of development may be assumed to affect all sectors in the same way as industrial logic affected all realms of society since the dawn of industrialisation.

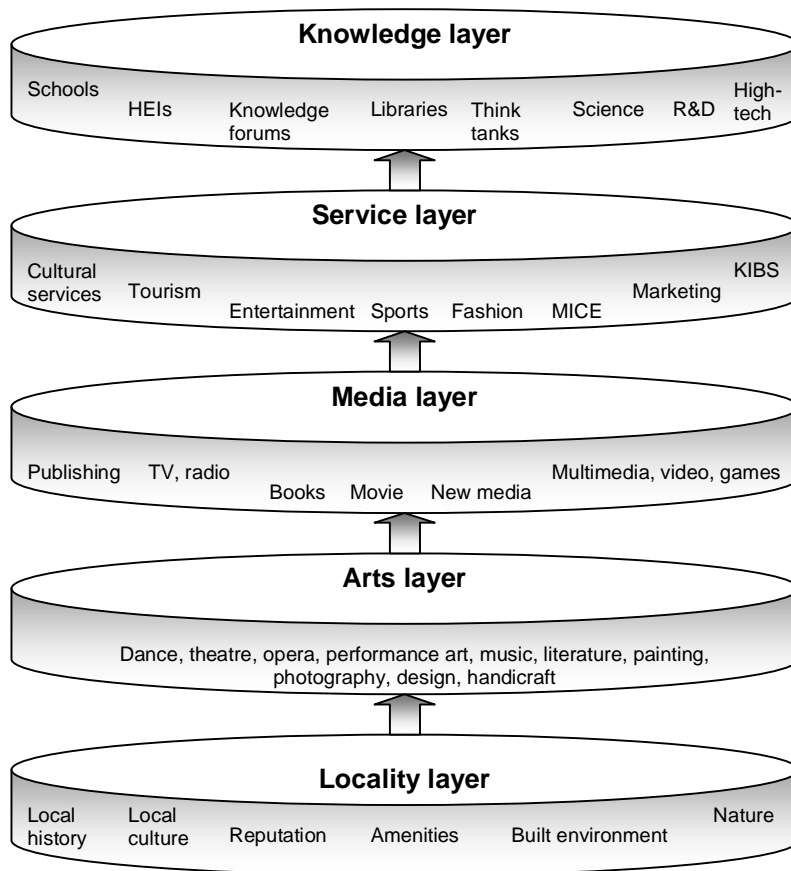


Figure 1. Layers of creative industries.

For a city to become an agglomeration of vibrant cultural life is essentially a spontaneous process. Numerous cities have inherent cultural strengths that may be utilised successfully in local economic development. Parisian fashion, London theatres, Nashville country music and Hollywood films serve as examples of cities with world-class reputations and attractiveness revolving around cultural industries (Scott, 2006, 10). Yet, if defined within such a narrow cultural framework, only few cities could become globally attractive creative cities. This is why there is need to emphasise that creativity and cultural capital can be increased and utilised in various ways in the development of cities. (Hospers and van Dalm, 2005; Landry, 2006.)

There is globally a wide range of creative city-inspired developments in which creativity has not been reduced to arts and cultural services. It may extend sector-wise to a wide

range of services and high technology. Yet it has even broader meaning, for in the urban context creativity ultimately means a vibrant sense of place, readiness to challenge existing institutions and practices, and the ability to free the imagination for a better life (Landry, 2006; Scott, 2006). Creativity may, thus, mean different things to different regions and cities in their strategic positioning and development. This diversity becomes apparent when comparing such renowned creative cities as London, Barcelona, Bilbao, Vancouver, Toronto, New York, Baltimore, Los Angeles, Palo Alto, Brisbane, Osaka and Kanazawa. (On creative cities, see Landry 2006; Florida, 2005; Scott, 2006; Azua, 2006; van den Berg et al., 1999; Bontje and Pareja, 2007; Hospers, 2003; Sasaki, 2003; 2004; Ward, 2006).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT APPROACHES TO CREATIVE CITY

Both Florida (2002; 2005) and Landry (2006) emphasise creativity in a broad framework in which arts and cultural industries form only one aspect, even if an important one. In this sense the creative city turn in the evolution of culturally oriented urban development paradigms reflects broad understanding of how creativity relates to all industries and various aspects of urban development, including tolerance in urban lifestyle, urban creative milieus and lively and inspiring city centres. A creative city scheme has often been realised by city governments as either as investment in physical infrastructure for the arts or the promotion of the arts to boost cultural tourism (Palmer, 2000). Such an approach has sometimes led to tension between locals and professionals working in prestigious enclaves or masses of visitors to attractive cultural amenities. Such tensions have occasionally raised doubts and criticisms regarding the dominating growth machine-oriented creative city approach.

To systematise this picture, we may distinguish three approaches to creative city adopted by local governments, as illustrated in Figure 2. This scheme helps to identify how local governments' strategic actions relate to the resource base and key stakeholders. Each approach also reflects a different degree of local government intervention.

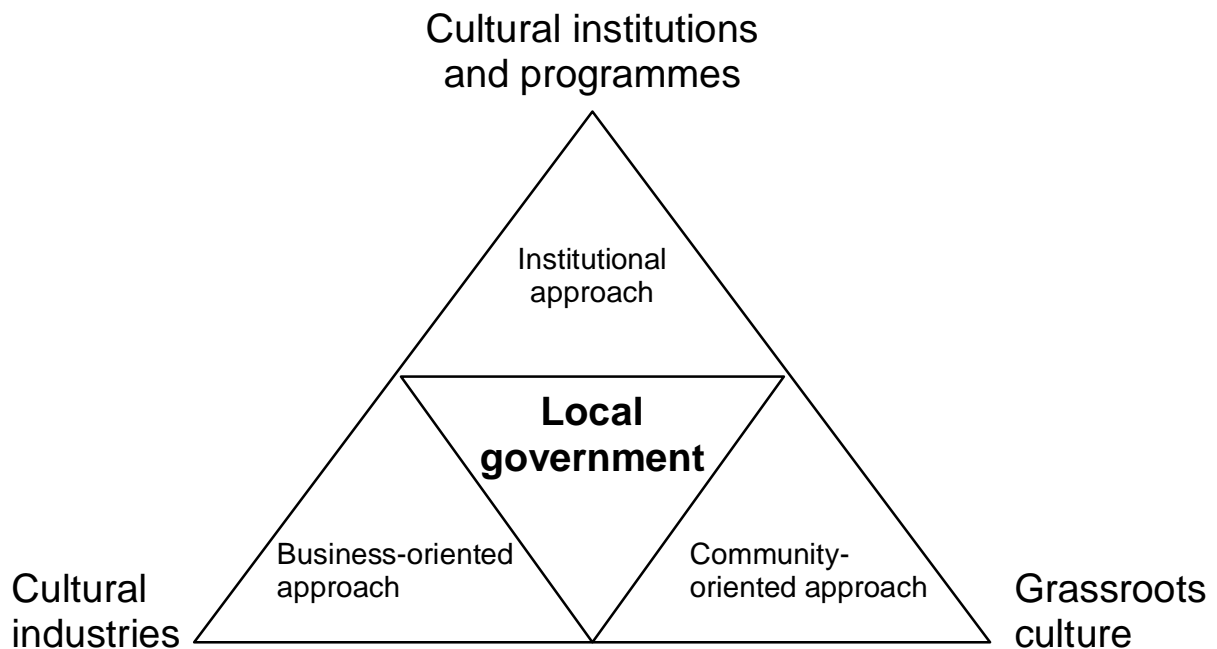


Figure 2. Three approaches to creative city.

The institutional approach emphasises special programmes and cultural institutions, thereby implying strong government intervention in creative city development. In the *business-oriented approach* the spontaneous development of cultural industries is in focus, even if the role of local government as a facilitator continues to be important. Lastly, the third paradigmatic form, the *community-oriented approach*, is based on the evolutionary development of culture and creativity in local civil society. Here the local government profile is lower, while the key actors are local artists and cultural figures. Note that these are only ideal types in the Weberian sense. In reality local approaches may be combinations of various approaches, such as in the Finnish context in the cases of Kaustinen, with spontaneous development combined with institutionally supported cultural entrepreneurship, Tampere, which combines institutionalism with a business orientation or Helsinki, in which strong institutional support for cultural institutions is combined with spontaneous development in culture and creative industries.

CREATIVE CITIES IN FINLAND

A glance at the creative city movement in Finland

In Finland interest in the creative city gained various local expressions long before the idea of creative city arrived on the global agenda. Some of the early adopters were actually rural communities. In the category of small local communities the village of Kaustinen with some 4,400 inhabitants is one of the most successful small local communities that were able to make culture both its brand and an important part of local economic life. Folk music has long local roots in Kaustinen and on that basis local developers started to organise the annual Kaustinen International Folk Music Festival in 1968 (see <http://www.kaustinen.net/>).

Other cases in which a cultural event is an important role in the reputation building of a small local community include Kuhmo (Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival), Sodankylä (film festival), Ikaalinen (Sata-Häme Soi music festival), Urjala (Pentinkulman päivät cultural summer event) and Rääkkylä (Kihaus festival). Creativity and culture have also an essential role in Santa Claus' Village in Rovaniemi, Lapland and Moominworld on an island at Naantali, which are small-scale theme parks thus representing conventional tourist attractions. In Northern Finland the town of Kemi gained media publicity due to its big snow castle and related cultural events. Tuusula and Järvenpää in the capital region are examples of towns which have a role in Finnish cultural history and which still today have many attractions that form part of their cultural capital, such as Ainola, the home museum of late Finnish composer Jean Sibelius in Järvenpää. A unique community of artists flourished along the shores of Lake Tuusulanjärvi at the turn of the last century with famous authors, poets and painters, providing vital input in the construction of Finnish cultural identity.

Another group of cities with some cultural historical relevance are a small number of coastal cities with old town areas with idyllic wooden houses, such as Porvoo, Rauma and Kokkola. Usually, however, middle-sized cities with high cultural profiles and a heavy

reliance on culturally oriented local development are those that have persistently developed some large-scale music festivals, such as Savonlinna, which has become famous for its international opera festival held in Olavinlinna Castle since 1912 (after a long pause during the wars and economic depression the opera festival was reinstated in 1967) and Pori, which is known for the International Pori Jazz Festival organised annually since 1967.

Even if cultural attractions are included in the place promotion and tourism of practically every small and middle-sized local governments, focussed creativity-inspired business strategies have evolved only slowly among them. One adopter of this thinking is the city of Lahti which in the late 2000s started to develop creative city networking by setting up LuovaLahti.fi –portal (CreativeLahti), which is a meeting place for creative industries and actors in the cultural field.

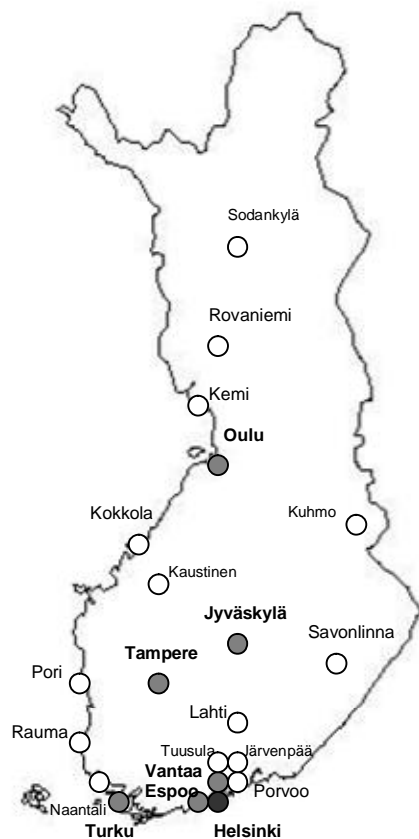


Figure 3. Some creative cities and towns in Finland.

As regards larger cities there are five urban centres that are generally considered the growth centres of the country and the major hubs of the Finnish economy, those of Helsinki at the centre of capital region (capital region includes also two other large cities, Espoo and Vantaa), Turku at the coastal area, Oulu in the northern part of the country and Tampere and Jyväskylä, which both are university cities in the central part of Finland.

The cities of *Oulu*, *Jyväskylä* and *Tampere* can be characterised as innovative high-tech oriented university cities. This also dictates how they approach creativity in their development policies. In fact, they reflect to some extent a typical approach among Finnish cities, as many of them carry cultural and technological aspects side by side in their development discourses, which may be an expression of their general response to the strengthening of symbolic economy (Kainulainen, 2005, 322). *Turku* is a historic city and a former capital of Finland. It is known in Finland particularly for Turku Castle. In fact, the Castle together with Turku Medieval Market have become an important part of the city's cultural image. However, the creative city aspirations of the city of Turku became broadly recognised mainly after its nomination as European Capital of Culture for 2011 together with Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. This nomination is based on the Capital of Culture programme of the European Union. This nomination gave great impetus to the city of Turku, which pursues international visibility through its Turku 2011 programme. The idea is not to focus only on the year 2011, but to improve the general preconditions for culture, thus aiming at long-term impact. (See <http://www.turku2011.fi/>).

A special case among middle-sized university cities in Finland is the city of *Tampere*, which has a richer cultural image than most other Finnish cities. It is particularly well-known for theatre and music, but the city government tries to keep the cultural profile of the city multifaceted and deliberately avoids too narrow branding (Kainulainen, 2005, 319-320). More importantly, Tampere set up a Creative Tampere programme in 2006, which is the largest creative city-oriented business development programme in Finland at the end of 2000s. This programme will be briefly described later in this article.

The capital region is the cultural centre of urbanised, modernised and internationalised Finland. *Helsinki* is the only true metropolis of the country with about half a million

inhabitants. Its largest neighbouring cities are *Espoo*, which is a centre of technical higher education and the home of many head offices, and *Vantaa*, which as the host city of Helsinki-Vantaa Airport is one of the Finland's logistic hubs. Nevertheless, the city of Helsinki stands out as the most attractive city in the southern part of Finland with a metropolitan atmosphere, historic sights, prestigious cultural institutions and a wide range of cultural services and amenities. Some recent developments of Helsinki's creative city policy are briefly outlined in the next section.

The case of Helsinki: a design capital

Helsinki is the capital of Finland with some half a million inhabitants. It is a Nordic metropolis with a fairly active cultural life, closely resembling those of the other Nordic capitals, most notably Stockholm in Sweden and Copenhagen in Denmark. It has in international comparison quite a lot to offer in such areas as music, theatre and design. It has also invested a lot in logistics and tries to enhance its role as a MICE city (meetings, incentives, conventions, exhibitions). It is also paying increasing attention to the performing arts and festivals. In all, as the capital of Finland and as the location of the nationally most important cultural institutions – the Finnish National Opera, the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, the Finnish National Theatre, the Helsinki City Art Museum, the Finnish National Gallery, the Museum of Contemporary Art (Kiasma) and so forth – Helsinki dominates the cultural industry in Finland. Due to such a position and the fact that culture is an increasingly important aspect of economic life, Helsinki has become an active promoter of arts and culture. In monetary terms, the city government spends almost 200 euros per capita on arts and culture. The cultural sector accounts for some 3 per cent of the city government's budget. There are over 1,000 employees in this sector in the city administration. (City of Helsinki, 2008).

Helsinki has made a lot of investments into cultural centres and facilities, such as the Finlandia Hall. The City of Helsinki has also set up a network of eight cultural centres, each centre having a special profile, even if they usually offer some standard services and facilities, such as library, Workers' Institute, auditoria and some other services. (On culture and arts in Helsinki, see City of Helsinki, 2008). One of its recent creative city-

inspired investments that reflect the ongoing industrial restructuring just like many similar sites in different parts of the world is the transformation of an old cable factory complex into a cultural centre known today as Cable Factory (Kaapelitehdas). It provides working facilities for numerous artists and musicians and small cultural undertakings. A special locus of innovativeness and creativity in Helsinki is Arabianranta or Helsinki Virtual Village, an area located in a suburb of Helsinki. In fact, Arabianranta is known as one of the most important Living Lab sites in Europe. Yet Arabianranta is not only a residential area with wireless local area network, but a leading centre of design excellence and industry, with the University of Art and Design Helsinki at its core. (Helsinki Virtual Village, 2008; Anttiroiko, 2009.)

In 2000 Helsinki belonged to a network of European cultural capitals including eight other cities. This was a time when the city started to pay more attention to cultural industries. Being European Cultural Capital was seen mainly as a tool for city marketing, for Helsinki had a burning desire to shed its cold and distant image and to gain a fresh reputation as a lively and inviting European cultural city. A similar kind of impetus, though with slightly lower profile, was given to the city when the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (Icsid) chose Helsinki in November 2009 as the World Design Capital for 2012. The nomination itself is not particularly widely recognised in the world, but in Finland this nomination received considerable media attention and gave most welcome support to the city government in its efforts to create an image of a design city. Design has become more prominent in recent years, which is also due to partnerships between the public and private sectors and the art community. One of the expressions of partnership in this field is the establishment of the Design District Helsinki at the centre of Helsinki, which is an area with design and antique shops, fashion boutiques, museums, art galleries, restaurants and showrooms (<http://www.designdistrict.fi/>). In 2005 a new association, Designkortteli ry (Design Quarter Association), was established to promote activities associated with this design district (<http://www.designforum.fi/designdistrict>).

In recent years Helsinki has become more concerned about its competitive position and international relations. It is involved in various kinds of international collaboration. A good example of high-profile creative city projects is *Creative Metropolises: public policies and*

investments in support of creative industries launched in 2008, in which culture and business development professionals from 11 European city governments collaborate with the aim of learning and sharing information on the development of cultural industries and especially on designing a public support system for creative industries. The cities involved in this three-year project are Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham, Helsinki, Oslo, Stockholm, Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius and Warsaw (<http://www.creativemetropoles.eu/>). Helsinki's main challenge is to increase its international visibility and to continue its active cultural policy as the flagship of the Finnish creative economy.

The case of Tampere: from e-economy to cultural industries

Tampere is an inland city with some 200,000 inhabitants. It is one of the largest industrial cities in the country, which since the 1980s has restructured its economic base in order to proactively meet the challenges of the decline of manufacturing. Tampere has, in fact, been successful in transforming its traditional industries into modern thriving business. One of the first steps in this process was the establishment in 1986 of Technology Centre Hermia, which subsequently has grown and gone through various reorganisations. An indication of the city government's commitment to information society development was the establishment of the eTampere programme for 2000-2005, which was a large-scale partnership programme aimed at fostering local information society through several sub-programmes, most of which focused on high-tech business (Kasvio and Anttiroiko, 2005). Another indication of the city government's search for future growth opportunities is BioneXt programme for 2003-2010, which aims at promoting business in the fields of biotechnology and life sciences.

In the 2000s the idea of creativity appeared in the strategy of the City of Tampere, which aims at being an international growth centre of good services, know-how and creativity. In the urban development this strategy had already got one expression in the form of transforming an old factory into a cultural and entertainment complex in the Finlayson area and in the efforts to improve the visual image of the city centre in the latter half of the 2000s.

A more important expression of this strategic line emerged around the mid-2000s in the form of the Creative Tampere programme 2006-2011 (Luova Tampere), which articulates local policymakers' and developers' conviction that the city government's industrial policy cannot be based only on narrowly defined high-tech orientation. Since the early 2000s Tampere has applied programme-based business development policy and with the experience of eTampere and BioneXt the same idea was continued in Creative Tampere, which forms the core of the city government's business development strategy. Creative Tampere was and still is the largest programme of its kind among Finnish cities. It is worth emphasising that it is an expression of a kind of local network-oriented institutionalism, even if creative industries are in the focus of the programme.

Creative Tampere is a business development programme which aims at facilitating new business, services and creativity. It aims at profitable business and new jobs through know-how and expertise created and applied in Tampere. In order to make this happen, the programme serves as an accelerator that provides funding for pilot and kick off projects that will generate new business and hopefully become national and international success stories. The programme is divided into three thematic areas: (i) strengthening creative industries, (ii) creating innovations and platforms for nurturing innovations and entrepreneurship, and (iii) enhancing the attractive city. (On the programme, see <http://www.luovatampere.fi/>)

The city of Tampere planned to invest some 1.2 million euros per year, 7.2 million euros in all, to the programme 2006-2011. Total project volume is expected to reach 40 million euros. The success of the programme depends ultimately on the ideas of local entrepreneurs and developers and the implementation of the projects. Currently of 354 project ideas submitted to the programme some 77 projects have been financed, making about a project base of about 24 million euros (seed money plus finance by other public sources and by applicants themselves; outside funding making up 83%). Within the programme over 70 new companies have been established. (On the programme, see <http://www.luovatampere.fi/>)

According to an evaluation report the overall impression of the programme is positive (Viljamaa 2008). It has been able to improve the innovativeness and flexibility of participating organisations and increase inter-sectoral collaboration. Another great positive impact has been on increased networking and sub-contracting. The programme has also helped to generate new business. In addition, Creative Tampere has had wider impacts that go beyond the individual participating organisations. The most important of these are positive image followed by the programme's impact on an atmosphere conducive to creativity and on promoting entrepreneurship, as illustrated in Figure 4.

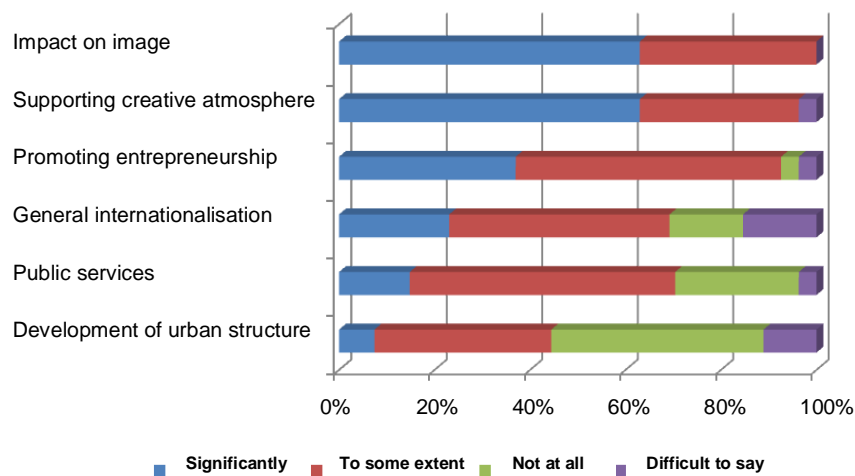


Figure 4. General external impacts of projects in Creative Tampere programme. (Viljamaa 2008, 24.)

To what extent the programme helps to make international breakthroughs in and having long-term impacts on creative industries, as expected by policymakers and developers, remains to be seen.

DISCUSSION

The creative city movement has many expressions in Finnish local communities. Small local communities are inclined to utilise famous summer events or some unique cultural attractions as the core of their place promotion activities. Music festivals especially have such a role for many local communities. An explanation for this may be the fact that many

rural municipalities hardly have expertise and resources to put effort into the design and implementation of culturally oriented development policies, but have to focus in their day-to-day development in keeping up their basic public services and providing support to existing local business. In such a situation culture is usually given only a marginal role as a part of local economic policy. (Kainulainen, 2005.) In this respect municipalities with active and successful cultural policies such as Kaustinen and Savonlinna are exceptions on the Finnish scene. These municipalities have developed cultural events and institutions for decades. They also illustrate how the pioneers of the creative city movement were strongly associated with cultural policy and 'arts layer' of creative industries.

There is another important fact that characterises Finnish cities: the creative city concept in general is still fairly weakly incorporated into local economic, political and social development. This may be for certain historical reasons. Finland industrialised and urbanised rapidly in the 20th century and the reliance on industrial development policy remained strong until the 1980s. The critical turning point was a growing interest in high-tech industries, especially in larger cities, which became the leading economic sector in the 1990s, boosted by Nokia Corporation. This was the time when national development was tightly framed by the concept of information society. Path dependency may have been one reason why it was difficult for developers to find a rationale for a paradigm shift towards creative city.

An important factor behind the relatively weak commitment to the creative city has been the fairly simplistic framework within which this concept has been understood and approached. Its strong and one-dimensional 'cultural' orientation led to the neglect of its wider economic aspects, not to mention its social and democratic dimensions. Indeed, many Finnish cities and towns have cultural strategies which naturally touch upon creative city-related developments. For example, the city of Hyvinkää has a cultural strategy for 2008-2013 which focuses on strengthening the preconditions for creativity, the role of culture in urban environment, and the organisation and coordination of cultural affairs of the city government. Some cities have developed selected aspects of creative city in service sectors. For instance, the city of Vantaa published its creative and cultural

education plan for preschools and primary and secondary schools in early 2006 with the aim of providing all children with equal opportunities to participate in the cultural and artistic life of the city. The development of cultural institutions, such as concert halls, cultural centres and public libraries, has also been visible part of the measures of Finnish local governments in their attempt to utilise culture in community and economic development.

To give an overall view of this field we may classify local government involvement in creative city developments on the basis of the scope and approach to creative city policy. Such a tentative typology together with representative local governments is illustrated in Figure 5. Note that Finnish local governments have generally emphasised institutional resources when approaching creative city development due to their central role in local governance and the decentralised structure of the welfare society. Thus the categorisation presented in Figure 5 is far from unambiguous. Rather, it shows only slight differences between local governments in the reliance on institutional resources, business orientation or grassroots culture.

		Approach to creative city			
		Minimal approach: limited role of creative city scheme in local economic and social development	Institutionalist approach: institutional support to special cultural event, attraction or programme	Business-oriented approach: business-oriented programmes, creative industries and commercial attractions	Grassroots-oriented approach: local history and culture and spontaneous grassroots level development
Size of local authority	Largest cities of Finland (>100,000 inhabitants)	Espoo, Vantaa, Oulu, Jyväskylä	Turku, Helsinki	Tampere	<i>(nonexistent)</i>
	Middle-sized cities	Kokkola, Mikkeli, Hyvinkää, Kuopio, Joensuu etc.	Savonlinna, Pori	Rovaniemi, Lahti	Tuusula, Järvenpää
	Smaller local communities (<20,000 inhabitants)	<i>(most of small local communities)</i>	Kuhmo, Ikaalinen	Naantali	Kaustinen

Figure 5. Approaches to creative city in Finnish local communities.

Approaches to creative city have their implications for local governance. In general, there are only few controversies around creative cities, as creativity, culture and the arts have a generally positive meaning throughout the community. Yet, in reality a large part of creative city-inspired development in large cities has led to megaprojects, such as the renewal of harbour areas and transformations of factories and warehouses into cultural centres. Many such projects, such as Canary Wharf in London's Docklands, have been built to attract high-value adding business service companies, which occasionally leads to an urban landscape which is not particularly lively and may be closed, difficult to access or functionally poor at least from the point of view of local residents. (On large-scale waterfront development cases see e.g. Ward, 2006; Knieling, 2004; Ponzini and Rossi, 2010). The question is whether such areas are rebuilt mainly for visitors or professionals, or whether those areas are made accessible and attractive to local people as well (cf. Schwab, 2004). In Finland this tension has sometimes translated into a battle over the demolition vs. preservation of old industrial building complexes (see e.g. Laine and Peltonen, 2003). In some cases Finnish cities with an industrial past have adopted creative city-inspired urban development by converting old factories into business complexes or cultural centres, however, as in the Finlayson area in Tampere or Cable Factory in Helsinki.

Another controversy that relates to creative city development is over the degree of freedom in the use of urban space. For example, in 1998 the City of Helsinki started a "Stop Töhrä" campaign (Stop Graffiti), which aimed at more efficient control of urban space by the efficient prevention and/or removal of graffiti. This move was criticised by many for exercising too much control over urban environment. This is one expression of the criminalisation of the everyday life of the metropolitan lower class or the emerging 'precariat'. From such a point of view the idea of creative class and creative city appear to be only a control strategy, privatisation of urban space and a new sophisticated form of exploitation of people's creative potential. (Viren and Heikkilä, 2006.) Such cases reveal the social tension between unfettered grassroots spontaneity and the planned value-adding creativity of the growth machine. The question is how to approach such tensions and conflicts in relation to the idea of creative city. This translates into a concrete

challenge to overcome one-dimensional growth-oriented conceptions of creative city and to apply this concept within a more inclusive framework.

CONCLUSION

Culturally oriented local development has long roots in different parts of the world, but a new height was reached in the 2000s with the idea that the utilisation of creativity is the source of future economic growth, and that local communities that are able to attract creative people and to nurture their creativity are most likely to succeed in the global competition (Florida 2002; 2005). Paradigmatically this reflects a transition from culturally oriented policy towards a more comprehensive creative city paradigm. This agenda was quickly adopted, especially in Anglo-American countries, but also spread to other parts of the world, especially in the form of transforming abandoned manufacturing plants into cultural centres and harbour areas into entertainment districts.

The creative city movement has long roots in Finland in the sense that some local governments started to integrate their cultural policies with local economic development decades ago, such as the city of Savonlinna with its opera festival, the city of Pori with Pori Jazz festival and the municipality of Kaustinen with its International Folk Music Festival. Such cultural events are usually organised as independent associations but rely heavily on both public funding as well as sponsorships and partnerships. Yet, most municipalities have kept their cultural and economic development policies separate and given the former only a minor role. Among the larger Finnish cities those of Helsinki, Turku and Tampere have been able to boost their creative city development with programmes and nominations: Turku with its Turku 2011 programme, which is based on Turku's role as the European Capital of Culture for 2011; Helsinki as the World Design Capital for 2012; and Tampere with its Creative Tampere programme for 2006-2011. All in all, it appears that so far the idea of creative city has not been applied in Finnish cities in the way that reflects the broader theoretically grounded understanding of this concept. A special challenge to Finnish local governments would be to find a way of encouraging and empowering local communities and stakeholders while still maintaining the strategic leadership, integration and democratic control in local economic development.

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