

Creative environments in revitalizing urban districts

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Abstract

In the global world of today where people are more mobile some urban districts have tensions between groups of people, and urban policy need to find tools to create prerequisites for a positive development in the new city. This master thesis take the creative economy approach to describe and analyse creativity as a tool in urban districts in transition. Creativity has great potential in revitalizing urban districts since according to earlier research (for example Richards & Wilson 2007 and Florida 2002) it is flexible and has potential to come up with new and useful combinations. I have done a micro-ethnographic research of two urban districts, Nørrebro in Copenhagen (main case), and Söder in Helsingborg (complementary case). Regarding these districts I have explored and mapped the place-specific qualities in the urban creative landscapes and also examined where and how interaction happen. The research is based on relevant theories regarding actors in the urban place; creative consumers (including creative class), creative producers, and critical infrastructure members. Also theories concerning processes of interaction and creativity, as well as creative cities are explored. In the final chapters of this research the empirical data is presented and discussed, and also illustrated in models for a deeper understanding. Urban creative environments are place-specific but this research could work as a model and inspiration in revitalizing urban districts from grassroots level.

Key words: creative environments, creative landscapes, urban development, revitalization, urban districts

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1 Introduction

When I was a teenager, I lived for a couple of years near the district Söder in Helsingborg. It was not the most attractive area in town, but since it was very centrally located within walking distance to the shopping-streets and the beach, I was satisfied living there. This was about 20 years ago now, and after having moved to other places and returning to the city, I notice both with my own eyes and also in newspapers, and overall rumour, that some parts of Söder have become into more deprived areas, where shops have closed down and criminality seems to have increased. There are projects underway to turn the development into a more positive one, and I got curious to explore and understand more about the prerequisites for creativity in order to revitalize urban areas.

The subject is a hot topic with societal relevance, both local and global, since we live in a global world and in some places there are tensions between groups. In order to gain a sustainable and healthy development today's urban society need to find tools to create the prerequisites for a positive development in the new city. Some decades ago the response to problems of economic restructuring was a culture-led regeneration, but now it seems like the response to the challenges of the post-industrial, postmodern economy, lies in the creative sector (Richards & Wilson 2007). Compared to culture, creativity is more flexible, process based and fluid. It is also more egalitarian and the increasing diversity of postmodern society is viewed as a resource for creativity, where ethnic diversity is potential stimulus. (Richards & Wilson 2007) I choose to focus the research in the field of creativity since I think the concept has great potential, as it according to Florida (2002) involves the ability to synthesize and through data, materials and perceptions come up with new and useful combinations.

Earlier research within creativity in cities focus much on how urban policy makers adopt creativity as opportunity for urban development, and discusses the different concepts within creativity such as, creative class, creative industries and creative cities (concepts discussed further in the theory chapter). But, there is a lack of research regarding in-depth understanding of how creativity is constructed in the specific urban landscape, and what are the place specific qualities functioning as prerequisites for creativity. This research contributes with a further understanding of creative urban landscapes from grassroots level, and explores the creative landscapes in two different districts. Since the concepts within creativity are much discussed I think it is time to move towards more research closer to the street. Extended knowledge within this field may help urban policy makers to create the prerequisites for grassroots level creativity instead of top down. In order to contribute to this understanding I hereby start the paper. Next follows a brief background to why creativity is of interest in the urban environment today, and why it is of focus in this research. Then I present an overview of the theoretical framework and method, followed by the aim and overall outline of the thesis.

1.1 Why creative cities?

To understand the urban landscape and ongoing processes it is needed to put the place in a wider context of global development. The historical development from an industrial society into today's global knowledge economy has brought effects on both producer and consumer side in urban districts. The world is becoming more globalized and mobile and both people and companies travel across earlier borders. Faster and more efficient ways of communication and transport are narrowing distances that used to be long, which is effecting urban areas, producers and consumers. According to Sheller and Urry (2006, p.207), these changes are part of what seem to be the "*new mobilities*" paradigm where "*all the world seems to be on move*" and the scale of travelling is enormous. The new paradigm is describing how people, machines, images, information, ideas, dangers and more are "*on the move*" and making and remaking networks in increasingly speed across the world (Sheller & Urry 2006).

The background to the new mobility paradigm is that most parts of the world have been or are in a state of transition from an industrial Fordist economy to a knowledge-based capitalism society. Florida (2014) has spent much of his academic carrier trying to understand this transition and the role of cities and communities in it, and according to him we are now "*living through a great reset with a broad and fundamental transformation of the economic and social order*" (Florida 2010b cited in Florida 2014, p.203). The great flow of the world economy means fundamental shifts in the economic offerings by companies, and purchases by consumers and businesses. The shifts arise from both sides of *demand* and *supply* since companies seek to differentiate themselves in the increasing competition, and consumers seek greater and greater value for themselves as their wealth grows.

Regarding the demand and consumer side the increased mobility has given appearance of a new mobile elite which has links to the creative consumer and the concept of the "creative class" by Florida (2002). Richards and Wilson (2007) explains that as cities and regions compete in attracting these mobile elites and there is a need in profiling their members, their drivers and motivations, it gave rise to the new concept of creative class by Florida (2002). What Florida did was to "popularize the notion of the mobile elites, giving them a snappy label and linking them to specific "sexy" economic sectors" (Richards & Wilson 2007, p.7). When Florida in 2002 came with his book about the rise of the creative class, his arguments seem to have arrived at the right time for many cities and regions having problems with development related issues in the globalized environment (Richards & Wilson 2007). According to Florida (2014), the process of the transition from Fordist economy into knowledge based capitalism society has been traumatic for many manufacturing workers the same way as the industrial revolution once was for the farmworkers. As the concept of the creative class is a crucial part in this research I will further explore and discuss the concept of the creative class in the theory chapter that follows.

One fast growing industry with strong connections to both mobility and urban development is tourism, where urban areas compete on a global market in order to differentiate themselves and

be attractive. The statistical figures clearly show a strong trend where over 1.1 billion tourists take international trips every year, a figure that is expected to rise to 1.8 billion by year 2030 (World Tourism Organization 2015). There is an increasing interest for creative tourism. According to Richards and Wilson (2007) the shift towards creativity could be viewed as part of an evolution in tourist experiences where tourism has developed from *mass tourism*, to *cultural tourism* and now into the *creative tourism*.

In urban places both tourists and residents have changed drivers of what they search from life, since people become more affluent with both money and time and don't need to just survive. There is a new value system that reflects a shift in what people want from life, which is transforming the basic norms regarding work, politics, religion, sexual behaviour and family. (Inglehart 2000 cited in Florida 2002, p.81). The shifts in values and attitudes are driven by changes in material conditions, before we needed to work to survive, but the rise of the affluent and "post-scarcity" economy means we don't have to focus on just staying alive but have wealth, time and ability to do other stuff in life. (Inglehart 2000 cited in Florida 2002, p.81) It should be mentioned in this context that this is the case concerning especially the Western-society, since in the world of today not all people have this situation and are instead still struggling with the everyday survival.

People want to spend their hard earned money, time and selves on offerings providing them with more worth, significance and meaning - more than the commodities, goods and service ever could give. The five economic offerings; *commodities, goods, services, experiences and transformations*, have always been around and not until recently have the final two, *experiences* and *transformations*, grown to be a bigger part of GDP, employment and purchase. (Pine & Gilmore 2013). This development of needs, into experiences and transformations, has effects on urban areas. Cities need to meet and provide prerequisites to their customers' needs, both tourists and residents, in order to stay attractive and retain a competitive position in the global world.

According to Anne Lorentzen (2013), experience economy and creative economy are two notions developed to grasp post-industrialism. She explains three notions, *culture economy, experience economy* and *creative economies* have been developed in order to describe and understand the new megatrend, often to deliver new strategic tools for businesses and governments. The three notions have reached a fame and become part of our daily language and often they are used interchangeably, even in research. (Lorentzen 2013) All three notions share the *search for competitiveness and growth triggers in the post-industrial transition*. But even though the three notions developed in the same period of time, as a response to industrial challenges of the advanced economy, they are different regarding insights, theoretical roots, perspectives and strategic and practical conclusions. For example culture economy focus on the final culture, products and producers, while creative economy focuses on creative processes preceding innovation and production. Further on, there is a more traditional production perspective regarding creative and culture economies as in contrast with experience economy concept which enables a view from the consumption side. (Lorentzen 2013) All three approaches share the approach to innovation, economy and economic development in

suggesting that market value is more than economic optimization and function. (Lorentzen 2013) This research focuses on *creative economy approach* even though it will also touch cultural economy regarding some areas.

There are clear differences as well as similarities between the three approaches. In experience economy the development of the micro-level relationships between producers and consumers are in focus. Here the consumer is seen as the king of a staging system (Lorenzen 2013). Culture economy theory includes a critical stance towards the increasing capitalization on culture, and most of its work is descriptive and deals with the changing industrial and employment patterns on the national and regional levels. Creative economy addresses business, industry and regional development. The approach could be on management issues or firm-level enablers of creativity. In this research I am especially interested in urban creative environment and processes. Next I present the theoretical framework I use to grasp the urban creative environment and also the method for the research.

1.2 Theoretical framework and method

Since the field of creative urban environment is broad and complex I have based the theoretical framework on cities' most important actors: *consumers, producers* and *critical infrastructure members*. I also examine their *interactions* and the urban *place* itself. I present and discuss relevant connected theories such as: the key conceptual approaches to creativity in cities (Richards 2014): *creative class, creative industries* and *creative cities*. I also explore the concept of *interaction* and the link to creativity.

The research design is micro-ethnographic research of two cases. The empirical data collection is mainly done through observations, complemented with unstructured interviews, and newspaper articles for a deeper understanding. The two urban districts of focus in this research are: Nørrebro in Copenhagen, which is the main case, and Söder in Helsingborg which is complementary case. They are in different phases of development of urban districts in transition, and have some similarities in history and localisation. Both places are old working areas, but they have different levels of creative urban development. Söder in Helsingborg is a good case due to it has potential to be developed while Nørrebro in Copenhagen has been transformed during a longer time.

1.3 Aim of study

Through an exploratory study of Nørrebro and Söder, this research aims to describe and analyse creativity as a tool in urban districts in transition. Since there is not so much written about this area it is an exploratory research, where I map the urban creative environment, in order to understand the prerequisites for creativity in urban environments.

To make the aim of the research more concrete I break it down into two research questions in two different levels. In order to get a holistic understanding one research question focus on the actual area and the components of the *place*, and the other question turns its attention to the interactions between *people and companies* in the place.

RQ1: What are the place-specific qualities in the urban creative landscape?

I will investigate the urban districts to get an understanding of the place-specific qualities and what is happening there.

RQ2. Where and how do interaction happen in revitalizing urban environments?

I will explore and map the interactions of and between *people (consumers / residents)* and *companies (producers / entrepreneurs)* in the urban districts. Where do they meet and why are they there?

1.4 Outline of the thesis

Before the research questions can be operationalized it is necessary to get a deeper understanding of relevant theories, and models of the field. The upcoming theory chapter starts with Figure 1 (Zukin 1995 adapted in Collins & Kunz 2007) which works as an outline for the chapter. The figure's different parts, and various theories within them, are presented. The subheadings are: "Consumers", "Producers", "Critical infrastructure members", "Interaction" and "Place – creative cities". The theory chapter ends with a model over creative landscapes (Figure 5) working as a bridge to operationalize and gather the empirical data. Next follows the method chapter where the choice of cases, research design, operationalization and fieldwork is described. In the chapter about the empirical study, the data collected in the fieldwork are presented and organised after the themes found through observations, also illustrated in a model. In the final concluding chapter the results are deeper analysed and discussed, and presented in a revised model. Lastly the societal relevance is lifted and suggestions for further research is made.

2 Theory

Creative economy is a broad and diverse field of new economic drivers, including subjects such as *lifestyles, power of place, processes of interaction and creativity, and casual relationships*. In order to cover the most essential parts of the field and those topics relevant for this research, the theoretical framework will mainly focus on the key conceptual approaches to creativity in cities. According to Richards (2014) these are *Creative industries (producers)*, *Creative cities (places)* and *Creative class (consumers)*. Since the *Critical infrastructure members* are also part of creating the place I will add this area as a factor to explore. In order to capture the scope of the research, *interaction* and the link to *creativity* will also be included. Throughout the text, factors of relevance for the dynamics of creative cities will be handled, including tourism, networks and clusters. To illustrate the disposition of the theory chapter I use the Figure 1 below, which is a modified version of a conceptual design application (Zukin 1995 adapted in Collins & Kunz 2007). I will go through the relevant theories and ongoing discussions concerning the different parts of the circles. Starting with outer circles, moving to interactions and ending with place. The theory chapter will conclude with a figure summarizing the components of the creative landscape that will work as a model for gathering the empirical data of this research.

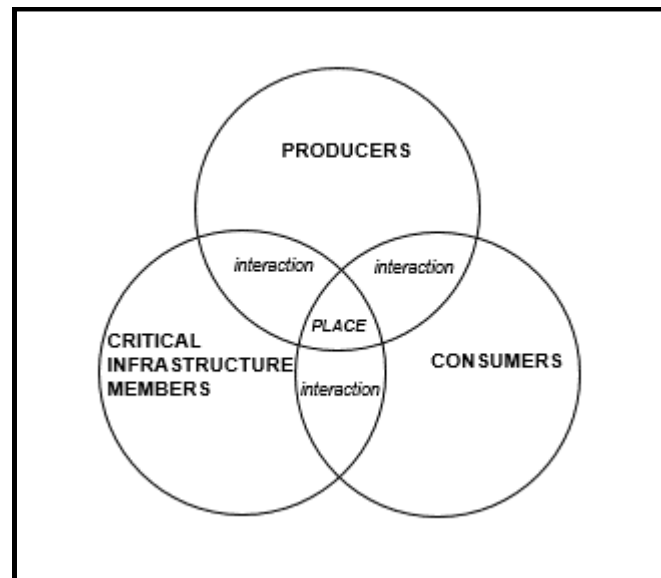


Figure 1. Modified version of Conceptual design application (Zukin 1995 adapted in Collins & Kunz 2007)

Figure 1 grasps the interactions of the *producers, consumers* and *critical infrastructure members* in the development of a *place*. In this model all parties are involved and there is focus on *interactions and contradictions*. According to Zukin (1995) the urban environment could be

described as a flow of interactions and culture as continual negotiation (Zukin 1995, p.290) where the growth of cultural consumption such as art, music, food, fashion, tourism, fuels cities' symbolic economy and its ability to produce symbols and space. Research in urban spaces, with a focus on urban tourism-related functions lack comprehensive and micro-level studies (Collins & Kunz 2007), and this research will contribute to micro-level studies in urban area, although not directly focusing on tourism related issues. Even though this research aims to cover all parts of the Figure 1 the main focus will be in the middle of the figure, the urban *place*. That is where the creative landscape generates the prerequisites for creativity which may lead to sustainable urban development.

The theory chapter will now continue to explore theories and ongoing discussions within the different parts of the Figure 1 and we start with the *consumers* of a place, which includes visitors, residents and the creative class.

2.1 Consumers

In order to grasp the blurred mix of consumers in cities we first examine who they are, and then we focus on the much discussed concept of the creative class. Lastly we examine why consumers actively chose certain urban places.

2.1.1 Who are the consumers in urban place?

Consumers of an urban place are a blurred mix between residents and visitors, and the creative class can be included in both definitions. In the global world of today where we are more mobile, the distinction between visitors, tourists, and residents is vague. As Maitland (2010, p.183) argues, established attempts to separate tourists from residents is not clearly helpful when aiming to understand interactions between those who use the city and the city itself. Instead Maitland (2010, p.183) suggests to think in terms of “*a range of city users with a series of demands, behaviours and practices which reflect their widely different incomes, power and urban preferences*”. Consumption demands and behaviours overlap between some visitors and residents, and tourism and tourist activities are evolving and cannot any longer easily be separated from activities of residents and other users of cities. (Maitland 2010). Richards has similar view (2014, p.132) saying “*there are no clear boundaries between tourism and everyday life, between local and visitor and no clearly identifiable creative tourism infrastructure or target market*”.

Due to the new mobility tourism could be viewed as a continuum of mobilities. As mentioned in the introduction, one big reason for this development is the new mobility in the global world. Sheller and Urry (2006) think that mobility represents a new paradigm within social science, including the movement of people, information and capital. This new paradigm has effects on how people live and move and thus also effects consumers of urban space. One view is to see

tourism as a continuum of mobilities ranging from short term to long term: business people and professionals come to cities on temporary assignments, academics take up short term posts, and creatives make films (Fainstein et al. 2003 and Maitland & Newman 2009 cited in Maitland 2010). In many ways their activities and behaviour overlap those of well off business and leisure tourists. Migrants take temporary jobs for long hours and low pay. They will share similarities with students in town to study, from weeks to years, and with backpackers and drifter tourists, travel on low budget and taking temporary jobs. In this way residents and tourists consume city the same: they enjoy the same activities as visitors. (Fainstein et al. 2003 and Maitland & Newman 2009, cited in Maitland 2010). To summarize, earlier research informs that consumers of cities are both residents and visitors and it might be more suitable to categorize the city users into *groups of different incomes, power and urban preferences*. In this research we focus on the creative economy approach and on the creative class which comprises both consumers and producers.

2.1.2 Creative class

“Today, people are increasingly concerned with what life is all about. That was not true for the ordinary individual in 1885 when nearly the whole day was devoted to earning the food, clothing, and shelter needed to sustain life.”

(Nobel Prize-winning economist Robert Fogel, cited in Florida 2002, p.82)

The *creative class*, together with creative industries and creative cities, is one of the key conceptual approaches to creativity in cities (Richards 2014). Figure 2 below gives an overview of the different approaches, where we now focus on the creative class approach

	Creative industries	Creative cities	Creative class
Focus	Creative production	Creative milieu	Creative consumption
Form of capital	Economic	Social and cultural	Creative
Creative content	Arts, media, film, design, architecture, etc.	Creative places, artistic production	Atmosphere and ‘cool’
Key sources	DCMS (1998)	Landry and Bianchini (1995)	Florida (2002)

Figure 2. Modified version of key conceptual approaches to creativity in cities (Richards 2014)

Concerning the creative class in the Figure 2, it is noted that focus is on the *creative consumption* where the form of capital is the *creative*, the content is the *atmosphere and “cool”*, and a key source is *Florida (2002)*. Florida’s (2002) concept of the creative class and his book, *“The rise of the creative class”*, has received tremendous attention from various sources. Besides city marketers and policy makers Florida’s concept of the creative class also received attention from business executives wanting to motivate knowledge workers and searching for the latest trends. Also Academia has given much attention to Florida’s creative class, and his

work has been, and still is, much discussed and criticized in the academic field (for example: Pratt 2008; Richards & Wilson 2007; Storper & Scott 2009; Krätke 2010; Colomb 2012).

So what defines the creative class and why are they of importance? Florida (2002, p.68) describes the creative class as “...people who add economic value through their creativity. It thus includes a great many knowledge workers, symbolic analysts and professional and technical workers, but emphasizes their true role in the economy”. According to Florida (2002) the creative class organize themselves into groupings and common identities based on their economic function, and their preferences regarding consumption, culture and socially comes from this. He also describes their values which can be clustered into; *individuality, meritocracy, diversity and openness*: Members of the creative class prefer self-expression and don't want to adjust to group-oriented norms. They like to create individualistic identities reflecting their creativity. Further they support *challenges, hard work, and achievements* and are motivated by being good at what they do, and no longer find their status in their wealth, and try to downplay it. Instead they focus on the value on *merit*. The creative class strongly favour *diversity and openness*, and environments and organizations where they feel anybody can fit in. (Florida 2002, p.77-82) They are of interest since according to Florida regions and cities need to attract and retain creative people, (the creative class), who can stimulate innovation and build up technology-intensive industries that engines the economic growth (Richards & Wilson 2007). For cities these creative people are important not only as production of creativity but also as *consumers*, since according to Florida the creative class is not just important for production of creativity but also the biggest consumers of it (Richards & Wilson 2007).

Krätke (2010) deconstruct the notion of the creative class, and gives critic to Florida's three different occupational groups of creative class; “*the super creative core*” (e.g. natural scientists and economists), “*the bohemians*” (e.g. photographers and musicians), and the “*creative professionals*” (e.g. technicians and brokers). Krätke (2010) claims the last group, “the creative professionals”, which includes financial and real estate professionals, doesn't have significant positive impact on urban development. Based on his empirical study he claims that instead of Florida's concept of a creative class a concentration of technologically and scientifically creative occupational groups (e.g. research and development) has much positive impact on the regional economic development. Regional economic success is also dependent on the development of networked regional innovation system involving both these creative occupations and also other groups of skilled workforce. (Krätke 2010) He claims regional economic development is dependent on all working people, some groups of creative occupations are reasonable to focus on, as the groups mentioned above and also “artistically creative workers”, but it doesn't mean the traditional working class and lower ranked service class are not contributing.

While Florida (2002) argues the creative class is crucial for urban growth and they are drawn to destinations by *atmosphere and cool*, Storper and Scott (2009) claim the creative class will go where the jobs are as they have typically invested in their education and skills, and move to places with good potential of using it. Instead urban growth starts with production, jobs and labour, and hence not the creative class (Storper & Scott 2009). Similarly Pratt (2008) argues

that it is not the creative class and the creative consumption that are the reasons behind economic progress and urban change. Instead they argue it is the cultural industry that is the motor and linking production and consumption. Pratt (2008, p.107) also claims the idea of the creative class is not new, that it is a “*revival of “hi-tech boosterism and place marketing”*”. He argues that the creative class is used as magnet for high-tech industries aiming for the right labour, with the consequence that cities must adjust to the values and manners of the creative class, and that the concept of the creative class and their values has been shown to be reductive to occupation. This is quite strong critique of the concept of creative class and shows that urban growth is complex enigma for social science.

Regarding drivers of urban creative growth, the case of Berlin described by Colomb (2012), also illustrates other drivers than the creative class. Colomb (2012) informs that regarding urban development and the growth of cultural industries in Berlin, it has developed largely unplanned, and it was initially not driven by the Senate in the city. Instead the creative development has been facilitated by affordable living and working spaces, a liberal and tolerant culture, and also helped by already existing concentrations of cultural producers such as artists. As the municipalities in Berlin become aware of the possibilities of the culture industries they started to develop initiatives to support the development. (Colomb 2012) This is in contrast of Florida’s view that the creative development comes from the creative class, which the municipalities should create the conditions to attract. Instead Colomb (2012, p.265) argues that the “city marketers are always running after, rather than setting the pace for such trends”.

Socio-cultural qualities of a place are important to attract the creative class as well as for the wealth of the whole population. For an urban destination to attract the creative class it is important to signal that it meets their values. According to Richards and Wilson (2007, p.8) the *combination of atmosphere, street culture, openness, diversity and environmental quality* which can be summarized as the “quality of place” is of importance for the creative class. Krätke (2010) agrees that the socio-cultural qualities of place, such as: a vibrant cultural life, cultural and social diversity, tolerance and openness, are important for urban regions to be attractive. But he adds that improvements regarding these factors would be relevant for the whole urban or regional population since it gives a quality of life in general. Similarly Lorenzen (2013) argues that even though the consumer perspective of a place enables a holistic approach to place development it also raises the question of to whom place development is made for? The creative class is not all there is, and the class is not well defined (Lorenzen 2013).

2.1.3 The creative consumers of a city – Why are they there?

Why do visitors now look for creative and active experiences in cities and do not continue to be passive consumers of cultural icons as before? Maitland (2010, p.176) explains that for some visitors, an important element in a city is the possibility to *experience and feel part of everyday life*. These visitors do not seek the recognized tourist attractions or tourist areas but instead what they perceive as the real life of the city. For these visitors the everyday and mundane activities of citizens are also markers of the real, “*off the beaten track*” areas, not planned for tourism,

are valued as offering distinctiveness. In a case of visitors in London described by Maitland (2010), the visitors enjoy the metropolitan “buzz” together with the feel of an old place. Similarly, Richards (2014) points out the common argument that creative experiences are unique for the individual consumer which makes their experiences of cities distinctive. There is a link to the search for *authenticity* and avoidance of the plastic tourist areas that once was viewed as the goal for visits. Richards (2014) explains that these areas, off the beaten track, gives the cities possibility to offer the practiced travellers an experience that is distinctive because it is “everyday”. And it is not that the tourists don’t ask for experiences to remember since as Richards (2014, pp.131-132) explains: the mundane can seem more extraordinary than a spectacular icon apparently planned for tourism consumption.

Visitor’s interest in the mundane offers both new opportunities and challenges for city marketers. The distinctiveness of the everyday provides possible tools for cities to compete through differentiation and also to avoid the high costs of touristic events and attractions. But in creative tourism the unplanned and unexpected is valued the most, and the fact that creative tourism is embedded in social networks and relationships also creates challenges for cities to manage. (Richards 2014) One way of expressing the trend of everyday and off the beaten track is the idea of “*living like a local*”. According to Richards (2014) local people are framed as the gateway to the local culture, since the locals can show visitors how to creatively find their way in the city, and maybe to find the places where only the locals go. Now it would be easy to think that the solution for attracting visitors is to refocus from symbolic and iconic buildings of urban areas to the “off the beaten track” areas. But the dilemmas of the “off the beaten track” is that once they are advertised and promoted as undiscovered, they are likely to lose much of their appeal for their visitors (Richards 2014). The question is whether tourism marketers can find new and subtler ways of making potential visitors aware of these places? (Richards 2014) In order to get a more holistic picture of what attracts and stimulates in an urban place we change focus to the producers, the creative industry and entrepreneurs, which is the next circle in the earlier Figure 1 structuring this theory chapter.

2.2 Producers

In urban growth through creativity the production side is important, not least since it is closely linked to innovations. Scott (2010 cited in Heebels & van Aalst 2010), informs that many studies assume there is a direct link between creative industries and economic development. The production side is crucial regarding local networks and learning, and its contribution to innovation. The link between learning, inspiration and knowledge exchange in clusters and innovation in economic development in cities should be explored by zooming in the entrepreneur in these clusters (Scott 2010 cited in Heebels & van Aalst 2010).

In this chapter we zoom in the entrepreneur together with other producers in urban cities. In the three key conceptual approaches to creativity by Richards (2014) the production side is described as the *creative industries approach*, see Figure 3 below.

	Creative industries	Creative cities	Creative class
Focus	Creative production	Creative milieu	Creative consumption
Form of capital	Economic	Social and cultural	Creative
Creative content	Arts, media, film, design, architecture, etc.	Creative places, artistic production	Atmosphere and 'cool'
Key sources	DCMS (1998)	Landry and Bianchini (1995)	Florida (2002)

Figure 3. Modified version of key conceptual approaches to creativity in cities (Richards 2014)

Concerning the creative industries in the Figure 3, it is noted that focus is on the *creative production* where the form of capital is the *economic*, the creative content are *arts, media, film, design architecture* etc., and a key source is *DCMS* (UK Department for Culture Media and Sport). I will go through the different themes in Figure 3 and start by defining creative industries.

2.2.1 Definition of the creative industries

There is a discussion about the definition of creative industries. According to Richards (2014, pp.122-123) “*the creative industries sector was broadly defined as including advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, software, toys and games, TV and radio, and video games*” (DCMS 1998 cited in Richards 2014, pp.122-123). Tourism is also often mentioned in connection to creative industries. One reason is the growing links between tourism and creative industries, e.g. film and gastronomy, which could be further explored especially in those areas where the crossovers are beginning to arise, e.g. media, advertising and design (Richards 2014). In recent years there has been an increasing number of studies concerning the relationship between tourism and creative industries, which also underlines the increasing attention paid to *creative tourism* by policy makers (Richards 2014). The discussion about definition of creative industries has continued as the range of cultural forms and media has grown in recent years. One example is the transformation of graffiti into “street art”, which has provided several cities with new tourist attractions. (Richards 2014).

The swift from cultural industries to creative industries might open up a more positive feel. According to Pratt (2008) until 1990’s no one used the term creative industries, it was first after the UK Creative Industries Task Force produced its first mapping document that creative industries turned up (DCMS 1998 cited in Pratt 2008, p.113). Previously the term cultural industries was used, sometimes indicating commercial activities and sometimes not. Politically creative industries could be distanced from cultural industries, the latter indicating old labour and the former indicating new labour. The terminology *creative* is politically moveable,

“*creativity is universally seen as positive characteristic: who want to be uncreative?*” (Pratt 2008, p.113). Pratt (2008) describes that creativity provides a positive feel as compared to the ambivalence of culture which could be viewed as high culture and exclusion and antipathy to business. He argues that “*cultural industries always existed in tension with the arts*” (p.113). According to Pratt (2008), to be entrepreneur and to be creative seem to overlap, both suggest risk-taking, bold and out-of-the box thinking, doing things differently, and the creative economy ensures that economic, commercial and individualist dimensions are emphasized.

2.2.2 Creative industries as response to challenges

It is becoming increasingly popular to use the *creative approach* as a response for urban challenges of today. The case studies of Plymouth (Meethan & Beer 2007), South Africa (Rogerson 2007), and Singapore (Ooi 2007), presented in Richards and Wilson (2007) all use the creative approach as a tool to solve their challenges. The three cases come from their own problems of setback: loss of jobs in Plymouth, swift from manufacturing jobs towards jobs within knowledge industry in Singapore, and post-apartheid reconstruction in South Africa (Richards & Wilson 2007). The common factor regarding these three cases is that creative industries are viewed as a solution to make urban growth happen: “*Culture is now seen as the magic substitute for all the lost factories and warehouses, and as a device that will create a new urban image, making the city more attractive to mobile capital and mobile professional workers*” (Hall 2000:640 cited in Meethan & Beer 2007). The case of South Africa by Rogerson (2007) showcases that also in the developing world there is an awakening interest of creative industries and tourism. In South Africa these both sectors are identified as priority economic sectors at a national level of government (Rogerson 2007).

But not all are positive to the creative industry approach in urban regeneration strategies. One of the critical voices comes from Pratt (2011) that is critical to the positive view of a creative city and seeks to create a more nuanced approach to creativity, culture and cities, one that is situated and not universal. He seeks to map an approach not only looking for urban growth, but also redistributing strategies (Pratt 2011, p.123). He argues that literature seeks to counter-balance the simplistic optimism of many participants and policy makers, and that scholarships indicates that firms in cultural and creative economy have many differences from “normal” firms. According to Pratt (2011) they are typically small and temporary. He argues that the workers are often freelance and work on short-term contracts where individual skill and expertise together with reputation is critical in getting a job. As a contradiction Pratt (2011) brings up that on one hand these “creatives” is the attractive image of corporate enterprise which may seem to be a liberal utopia, but it has a dark side concerning work conditions with no social support and where training and social reproduction is the workers’ responsibility.

Pratt (2011, p.128) is also critical to the creative industries approach as a tool for solving social and economic problems in urban areas. He is stating that women, black and ethnic minorities are less represented in the creative industries compared to all industries which means that the creative economy reproduces the most regressive social and economic structure. He describes

it the following way “*Far from the creative city and the creative worker being the meretricious and liberal solution to urban change and future growth, it looks more like a neo-liberal hell*” (Pratt 2011, p.128). There is always two sides of a token and it seems Pratt (2011) has described the darker side of the creative turn regarding the creative industries.

2.2.3 Who are the producers in urban space and why are they there?

“Trends that feed creativity and harness it tend to dominate and persist – they have evolutionary survival value in the creative economy – while those that don’t end up in history’s dustbin”

Florida (2002, p.117)

For creative producers it is not just payment they value from their work, in fact other factors such as location and community are important. According to Florida (2002) even dramatically changing economic conditions seem to have little effect on what most people, and especially creative people, want out of their work. Motivating creative people has always required more than money, and more on intrinsic rewards tied to the creative content on their work. Money is of course necessary, but not sufficient. (Florida 2002)

Creative producers view place and locality as important factors, and there are benefits of clustering with similar industries. Creative industries tend to cluster which indicates that local ties remain important despite the globalisation processes (Heebels & van Aalst 2010, p.347). A description of cluster is made by Hallencreutz, Lundequist and Malmberg (2004, p.37): “*a cluster is a system of actors - within a competence area or around a specific core product – that together create added values that are bigger than what the individual actors would have managed to create on their own*”. According to Florida (2002) the creative producers say they need to live in places that offer *stimulating, creative environments*, and many will not consider taking jobs in certain cities and regions. Some people from the creative class use location as their primary criterion, they pick a place they want to live and then focus their job search there. (Florida 2002) Some advantages of agglomeration are: possibility to share costs e.g. infrastructure, a local market with specialised competence attracts more specialists, and a local environment stimulating learning and innovation occurs. When many actors from the same or related branches gather it can trigger processes that creates learning, flexibility, dynamic and innovation. In these environments there will be increased possibilities of contacts with actors that has new technics or business models, and its common that information and knowledge flow quicker to all present. A local culture with specific norms, values, and informal rules are developed, and “tacit knowledge” can be transferred from one actor to another. “Tacit knowledge” means knowledge you can’t read, only learn in practice usually by working with people that already has this knowledge. (Hallencreutz, Lundequist & Malmberg 2004, p.35)

Successful creative businesses attracts similar businesses, often in industrial areas. Hallencreutz, Lundequist and Malmberg (2004) describe that when a business is located in a place and gets successful it is common that it is accompanied by many companies alike or related in the same place. It could be that people from the business quit and start own similar business or that the company inspires others. Another factor is that businesses that have settled down seldom move, instead they grow through attracting resources e.g. companies and workers from outside. The local cluster becomes a kind of brand. Clusters are not forever but often they live long and restructure themselves in another form if problems occur. (Hallencreutz, Lundequist & Malmberg 2004) It has been shown that old industrial areas often find a new function with creative clusters of entrepreneurs, either through specific cluster policies or through more autonomous processes (Heebels & van Aalst 2010). One example of this is from the case of Berlin where the river bank have become centre for music and media industries, and fashion designers have gathered in Prenzlauer berg (Colomb 2012). The creative clusters provides areas with new vitality, but also evokes new fields of tension between art and commerce and between economic development and inclusion and social welfare. It should be mentioned that focus on stimulating creativity and creative clusters is criticized for being elitist and exclusionary. (e.g. Peck 2005 cited in Heebels & van Aalst 2010, p.347)

To be a successful company in today's learning economy, innovation (defined in paragraph 2.4.1) and continuous learning are crucial factors, and communication in form of face-to-face meetings and "buzz" are viewed important in this regard. Hallencreutz, Lundequist and Malmberg (2004) inform that some of the factors that are viewed as important today for successful companies and dynamic business-life are: innovativeness and continuous learning including in the everyday activities, how companies develop and reproduce knowledge e.g. through contacts, interactions, and flows of information and knowledge (often of more importance than material flows), and geographical proximity between actors that facilitates exchange of information which is crucial for innovation and learning. Personal meetings seem to still be of importance when people exchange more complicated information. From these factors you could make the conclusion that knowledge related characteristics in a local environment are of more importance for the development of companies than physical resources. (Hallencreutz, Lundequist & Malmberg 2004) A similar view have Asheim, Coenen and Vang (2007) describing that there is a link between face-to-face meetings, "buzz" and innovations, and that face-to-face meetings and buzz are necessary topics to reach and transmit the valuable "tacit knowledge" (described earlier in the text). In the learning economy of today innovations depend on this kind of knowledge, and it is embedded in a local context, a firm, a network or a person (Lundvall et al. 2002 and Polanyi 1996/1997 cited Asheim, Coenen & Vang 2007) According Asheim, Coenen & Vang (2007, p.656) an explanation of why communication in forms of face-to-face and "buzz" are important today is the "new and broader understanding of innovation as interactive learning", where cooperation and social capital is emphasized.

Creative industries benefit from both informal "buzz" and face-to-face communication, which are two different ways of communication. According Asheim, Coenen and Vang (2007) the importance of face-to-face and "buzz" depends on the industry: for analytical industries, such as high-tech industries, informal buzz situations are less important than face-to-face meetings

(communication in physical presence with two or more people in a way allowing contact). They also claim that “the only group that may exchange knowledge in “buzz” situations (and not only information), are people employed in creative industries (media, film, advertisement, fashion, etc.) which draw on a “symbolic knowledge base”. But also face-to-face are of importance for the creative industries, both regarding information and knowledge exchange. (Asheim, Coenen & Vang 2007, p.667) The differences are described as face-to-face has a formal context and aim of transmission of complex tacit knowledge, in contrast to “buzz” which has informal context and aim of exchange of group-based information. Typically “buzz” situations may be found in informal places where people can meet e.g. pubs, bars, hotel lobbies (Maskell et al. 2004 cited in Asheim, Coenen & Vang 2007, p.667). In the kind of places where networking and information transfer occurs, and not knowledge transfers (Asheim, Coenen & Vang 2007, p.667). A strong argument for clustering is that they require and benefit from face-to-face contacts.

2.3 Critical infrastructure members

We now turn to the critical infrastructure members, which includes professional place promoters, local councils and chambers of commerce. This group is together with the producers and consumers, also an important part in the development of an urban place, and the third outer circle of Figure 1 presented in the start of this chapter.

2.3.1 The power over a place

Often the group that has the power to impose a cohesive vision of a space is also able to claim that space, which is called a framing process. The framing of cities as culture centres started already with the aestheticization of modern spaces that came with the City Beautiful movement (late 19th and early 20th century), and continued with the development of e.g. business parks in the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s. (Zukin 1995) The goal of such visions is typically to separate the city’s “higher functions” from the chaotic, decay and poverty. But to gain the power of framing it is needed to persuade, since there is not many people thinking planners or public officials create cohesive visions of public life. Visions that includes an escape from the social decay will persuade. Zukin (1995) describes that public spaces are influenced by the symbolic economy, which owes more to Disney World than to the African market of 125th street (Authors note, in New York), and public spaces are often represented as consumable goods, retail shopping and sites of pleasure. During the time around 1990s when the death of cities came as a result of fiscal crises, cultural strategies that from the beginning was a result of economic development, now changed into strategies towards stimulating economic growth. (Zukin 1995)

The infrastructure members are crucial due to their power of pushing the development of the city in different directions. According to Zukin (1995) there is a need for cultural and economic exchanges in the diverse population, which creates unpredictable spaces of freedom. She claims

that urban qualities such as markets, restaurants, parades and landmarks, function both as sites and sights of new common identities, which people appreciate. “It is this transcendent narrative of opportunity and self-respect that lends hope to a common public culture” (Zukin 1995, p.294). But there is a risk that the dream of the common public culture will never come true if cities, “led by their downtowns, continue to be ghettoized by public rhetoric and private investment” (Zukin 1995, p.294). Similarly Pratt (2011, p.129) argues that there is not a simple “magic bullet fix it” and policies must be developed and handled in relation to their own situation. “Local conditions require of policy makers a more inventive, or creative, response based upon hard evidence rather than hope and rhetoric” (Pratt 2011, p.129). He suggests to think beyond the creative city and appreciate the diversity of practices and objectives making up the creative city to become the base of a learning process.

2.4 Interaction

Producers, consumers and critical infrastructure members in an urban place are linked together through interactions, please see Figure 1 in the beginning of the theory chapter. The topic of interaction and what it may lead to is highly relevant for this research since one of the research questions is: “*Where and how do interaction happen in revitalizing urban environments*”, and in the fieldwork I explore and map the interactions of people in the chosen urban districts. The potential outcomes of interaction are creativity and innovation, which is also of societal relevance since creativity and innovation is by many viewed as a key driver in the knowledge economy (for example: Florida 2002, Richards & Wilson 2007). I will in the upcoming sections explore the concepts interaction, creativity and innovation and their relationship.

2.4.1 The relation between interaction, creativity and innovation

Interactions and the flow of knowledge coming with it, are important prerequisite for creativity, and possible innovations. According to Florida (2002) knowledge and information are the tools of creativity, and innovation is its product. Since the concepts of creativity and innovation could be mixed up I use Carayannis and Gonzales’s distinction (2003:587 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.83) to make it clearer: “*Creativity is a necessary (but not sufficient) factor enabling innovation*”. So what is counting as an innovation? Well, beyond being something new it should also include acceptance and use: “*Innovation is the introduction of new creations or bringing the meaning of new creation into common use by society*” (Richards & Wilson 2007, p.6). It is well motivated to ask what an innovation is since there are many illusions about the concept and it is difficult to catch (Hall & Williams 2008). The following definition of innovation is made by Kanter (1983:20-1 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.5):

“*...Innovation is the generation, acceptance and implementation of new ideas, processes, products or services.... Acceptance and implementation are central to this definition; it involves the capacity to change and adapt*”.

Similarly, Pratt (2008, p.113) agree that ideas have no value until they are applied and operationalized, since to be creative in a vacuum is not productive. An idea needs production, and goods need to be distributed and consumed (Pratt 2008, p.113). But, even if you are more interested in the possible outcomes of it, such as creativity and innovations, you need to look into the field of interaction to gain the full understanding of the process.

2.4.2 Interaction and diversity

To gain a deeper understanding of the process from interactions towards creativity you can explore the creative people and how they interact. Hall and Williams' (2008, p.84) describe the creative people like those thinking outside the box, using imagination and at the same time being goal oriented. But creativity is seldom coming just from one individual, instead it seems to be initiated by *interactions* among people, especially from people working together. These inter-personal interactions, where people share their knowledge inspires new perspectives and thinking. To maximise group creativity you draw on various perspectives and the thinking should be flexible and open (Hall & Williams 2008). Key features of a creative group are: individual differences, diversity of thought and perspectives, and diversity of thought and skills (Harvard Business Essentials 2003: 84-5 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.84). It is in the balance between different and convergent thinking the creativity of the group can be optimised. Usually the creative process starts with divergent thinking and that some individuals go in other direction than the established one, in this process the process of convincing others about the new idea is crucial in order to make sure the idea has potential. (Hall & Williams 2008). Diversity and external influences seem to be important in the interaction and creation of new ideas, and in the upcoming section we discuss this subject further.

The outcomes of the interactions will benefit from a group of diverse people, and their exchange of knowledge, which could be planned as well as unplanned. Richards and Wilson (2007) argues there is little doubt today that external influences tend to inspire to new ideas. Florida's (2002) concept of the creative class and their values of openness and tolerance shows similar view. As an example it was shown in a case of London, that ethnic entrepreneurs are often a source of creative ideas and innovation (Shaw 2007 cited in Richards 2014, p.127). Similarly Binkhorst (2007, p.142) describes that it would be a benefit to include knowledgeable tourists in the tourism development process: "to co-create relevant and creative innovative tourism experiences". Innovations comes from consumers together with local entrepreneurs and inhabitants, which are having the needed experience and knowledge to develop products (Binkhorst 2005 cited in Binkhorst 2007). As can be seen from the list of drivers of innovation (further down), social diversity is also recognized as one of the key drivers. In order to generate new creative ideas people need to exchange ideas, knowledge and information which is done through e.g. absorbing the flows of knowledge. According to Hall and Williams (2008, p.71) flows of knowledge can be either planned e.g. through collaborative agreements, or unplanned inform of knowledge spillovers. Knowledge spillovers can occur in different forms, such as: through observation, through "buzz", (Author's comment: "buzz" is discussed earlier in the

chapter), or professional gossip, or through purchases of services or equipment (Hall & Williams 2008, p.71). It is through the interactions between different people exchanges of knowledge and information occurs which may lead to new creations.

2.4.3 Drivers of innovation

Even though there is no magic formula for innovations some factors are more stimulating than other, and relaxed meeting points seem to be one of them. According to Richards (2014, p.127) tourism and leisure are often crucial background in the cultural scene because of the informal nature of exchange connected to social interaction and spare time. Lange (2006 cited in Richards 2014, p.127) has examined the role of “culturepreneurs” when they are forming projects, exchanging knowledge and stimulating innovation in creative “hot spots”, often clubs or bars where the leisure consumption are shifting towards work. The drivers of innovations are complex and vary over space and time (Hall & Williams 2008, pp.22-23). This complexity is seen in the review of empirical evidence of main drivers of innovation by Carayannis and Gonzalez (2003:595-7 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.22), of which some will follow below:

- “propitious organizational environment for converting tacit ideas and knowledge into explicit proposals for improvement: open and frequent dialogue”;
- “the right mix of people and *esprit de corps* manifested in teams that work together effectively”;
- “sense of urgency”;
- “response to need, or the classic notion that ‘necessity is the mother of invention””;
- “supportive management willing to take risk...”;
- “availability of risk capital”;
- “effective compromise between political and economic power, and the existence of social control”;
- “innovation networks and clusters”;
- “social diversity and a free flow of ideas”.

To be mentioned is that Carayannis and Gonzalez also identified inhibitors of innovation such as; “resistance from elites as innovation may be viewed as disturbing status quo”, “resistance to change – failures of courage and imagination”, “pervading sense of comfort and conservatism”, and “lack of courage by government representatives...” (Carayannis & Gonzalez 2003:595-7 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.22). For policy makers to encourage innovation they should as Doel and Hubbard (2002:263 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.170) argue, “*Replace their place-based way of thinking with focus on connectivity, performance and flow*”.

2.5 Place – creative cities

Lastly, and highly related to the aim of this research, we will now discuss urban creative places, which is the inner circle of the Figure 1 in the start of the chapter. Urban creative places can also be defined as “*creative cities*” which is one of the three key conceptual approaches to creativity by Richards (2014), see Figure 4 below.

	Creative industries	Creative cities	Creative class
Focus	Creative production	Creative milieu	Creative consumption
Form of capital	Economic	Social and cultural	Creative
Creative content	Arts, media, film, design, architecture, etc.	Creative places, artistic production	Atmosphere and ‘cool’
Key sources	DCMS (1998)	Landry and Bianchini (1995)	Florida (2002)

Figure 4. Modified version of key conceptual approaches to creativity in cities (Richards 2014)

Concerning creative cities in Figure 4, it is noted that focus is on the *creative milieu* where the form of capital is the *social and cultural*, the creative content are *creative places and artistic production*, and a key source is *Landry and Bianchini (1995)*.

In the context of attractive creative cities it should be mentioned that where the creativity really is needed is in the development of the co-creation of place between host population and their mobile visitors. Lorentzen (2013) argues that that creative economy, together with cultural and experience economy, may be overoptimistically recommended as development strategies in less favoured regions where neither sufficient demand nor critical mass of producers exists. Inspiration from the three approaches could be used, but more basic needs for infrastructure and jobs should not be overlooked. Richards (2014, p.137) also supports this view, when describing that one of the biggest challenges facing cities adapting the creative approach is the possible division between the international, mobile population of tourists, the temporary residents and the relatively stable local population. Richards (2014) claims this is where creativity is needed to develop relationships between locals and tourists, not just to attract consumers, but to develop co-creation of place between the host population and their mobile visitors, or occasional fellow citizens.

2.5.1 Creative milieu with relations and atmosphere

Regarding the cultural capital in urban places there is a trend from tangible towards intangible products. In other words there has been a shift from tangible culture and heritage (such as monuments and museums) towards intangible culture and creativity factors (Richards & Wilson

2007, pp.17-18). Richards (2014) explains that there has been a development of different forms of creativity such as; *creative industries*, *creative cities strategies* and *creative tourism*, and the shift from tangible to intangible competitive advantage is still in ongoing. Regarding tourism the trend is moving towards relational forms, based on embedded knowledge and creativity. (Richards, 2014) There has been a shift from the “patronage and subsidy” of *high culture* (Culture 1.0) towards more focus on *creative industries and symbolic production* (Culture 2.0), and now as a growing new field; *the co-created culture* (Culture 3.0) (Sacco 2011 in Richards 2014). According to Richards (2014, p.133), “...trends indicate that creative and relational capital have begun to play a role alongside cultural capital as arbiters of tourist taste and choice”. The creative capital could be viewed as an extension of the more static cultural capital into intangibility, but maybe more of interest is the growing relationality of tourism in cities. (Richards 2014, p.133). It could also be mentioned that one of the reasons why creativity is now more popular than traditional “high culture” is that the creative sector is closely linked to innovation and change (Richards & Wilson 2007, p.14). One example of this view is the new role of student communities in cities, where students has role of generators of landscapes of creativity (Russo & Sans 2009). The trend of informal and relational aspects in urban creative areas will be further examined in the following paragraphs.

In the global competition urban creative cities want to have a creative landscape highly attractive to the creative entrepreneurs as well as the creative class. Even though there are some qualities that seem highly valued by consumers and producers of urban places there are also differences depending on experience. For example the experienced traveller may not be so interested in the formal cultural sights (they have probably seen them already), and regarding the creative entrepreneurs there is a difference of what is valued in the creative landscape depending on the phase of entrepreneurship. In a study by Heebels and van Aalst (2010) it was shown that for the new entrepreneurs the environment was important mainly as source of inspiration in contrast to the more experienced entrepreneurs where the surrounding was more as a visiting card to showcase for their firm. Both groups used the environment to reproduce and strengthen their creative reputations. They combine the look and feel of the built environment, with the feel of presence of other people in the neighbourhood, and most entrepreneurs thought it was important of being in a dynamic place with other creative people and with experimental and tolerant atmosphere (Heebels & van Aalst 2010).

2.5.2 Creative landscapes with intangible and tangible elements

Urban creative landscapes contains both opportunities and threats, and are closely linked to processes of interaction and innovation. Urban policy should consider the opportunities offered by creative landscapes, but be aware of risks such as gentrification processes, loss of value of original landscape and heavy specialisation of areas (Russo & Sans 2007). It is a dynamic and complex concept since according to Zukin (1991:16 cited in Russo & Sans 2009, p.162), “*landscapes of creativity may be conceived as the result of emerging patterns of production, consumption and spatiality from the pursuit of free-form expression and idiosyncratic, symbolically charged models of interaction by collectives of city users*”. Creative landscapes

should not just be consumed as another good, instead Russ and Sans (2007, p.177) argues it should “*be shaped by dynamic processes of innovation and interaction...*” The Figure 5 below illustrates well the creative landscape and its parts.

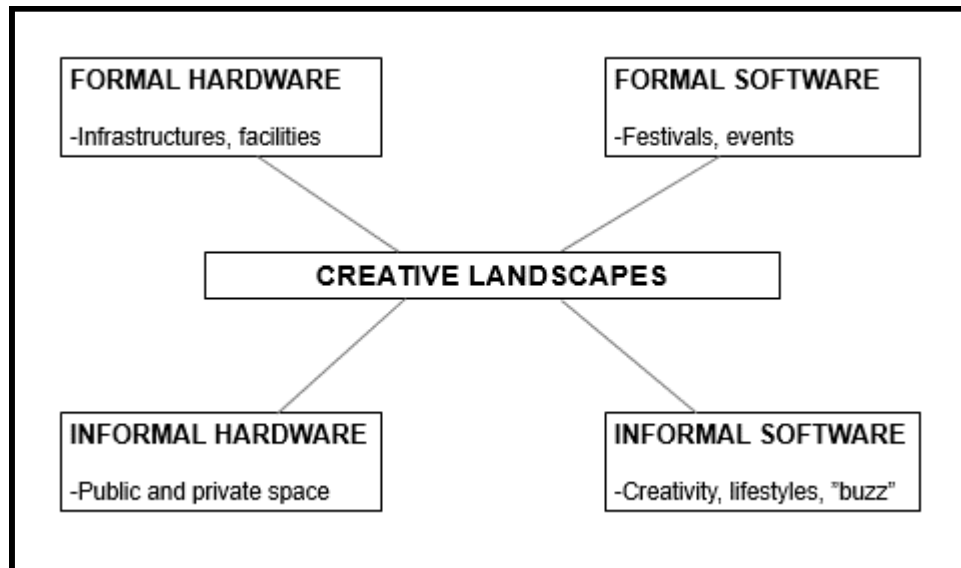


Figure 5. Factors influencing urban creative landscapes (based on Russo & Sans 2007)

I will next go through the different corners in Figure 5 above. The elements of the creative landscape can be ordered on two coordinates regarding their nature: *hardware* – *software* on one side and *formal-informal* on the other. The *hardware* elements include physical infrastructures, e.g. infrastructure of consumption and production of culture and leisure. *Software* is the fluid supply of intangible experiences e.g. activities, events and anything concerning creative expressions and symbolic representations of a place. *Formal* quality of a landscape means institutional supply of culture, and *informal* elements means individual or non-institutionalized collective expressions; sports and lifestyles, collective sharing of cultural values. It could also be everyday practices and attributes of places e.g. multiculturalism. (Russo & Sans 2009) In some cases the boundaries can be blurred but it helps to nuance the creative landscape that, “*situates buyers and sellers in a brief, socially recognized transition or transaction*” (Zukin 1991:28 cited in Russo & Sans 2009). To conclude the word “creativity” means the actors must be active both concerning production and consumption it includes “*dialectical processes of innovation and interaction between different stakeholders*” (Russo & Sans 2009, p.163) Figure 5 above contains both tangible and intangible elements in creative landscapes. I chose to use this model when operationalizing this research into gathering of empirical data, a process which will be further described in the upcoming method chapter.

3 Method

The method chapter starts by presenting the background to my choice of cases for the study, and why I chose to focus on Nørrebro in Copenhagen and Söder in Helsingborg. Next I present the research design which is a micro-ethnographic research, and data gathering through observations, unstructured interviews and newspaper articles. Finally the analysis process of this research is presented.

3.1 Selection of cases

I chose to study two different cases of urban districts in transition. The two cases will contribute with a greater understanding since they are in different phases of development of urban areas in transition. Due to their differences they also complement each other and improve the chances of finding interesting patterns related to my research questions, and in the end to gain quality in the findings of the research.

To include two cases in this research should be enough since it will say something about the areas investigated. Regarding how many cases you need in order to make a good piece of research I use the findings from Silverman (2013, p.156) that the crucial issue seem to be thinking about one's theoretical priorities, and if the research design is driven by those there shouldn't be cause for complaint. And that the word "case" could be replaced with "instances" and the word "generalization" with "extrapolation" (Silverman 2013, p.157) since ethnographic research is different from surveys and interviews. It contains a setting with hundreds of instances that the researcher observes and dozens of individuals that she meets dozens of times during the observation, and the researcher is interested in the *behaviours* taking place (Gobo 2008 cited in Silverman 2013, pp.155-156) So making ethnographic research will include many events and people in the same observation.

The two urban areas of focus in this research are Nørrebro in Copenhagen (Denmark), and Söder in Helsingborg (Sweden), which have some similarities in history and localisation. Both places are old working areas, but they have different levels of creative urban development. Söder in Helsingborg is a good case due to it has potential to be developed while Nørrebro in Copenhagen has been transformed during a longer time. In the daily newspaper Helsingborg's Dagblad (Zillén 2016a) the district Nørrebro is described as one of the ten best places away from the tourist street Strøget in Copenhagen. The street Jægersborggade at Nørrebro is described as a street that has changed character from slum, with drug dealers, to a friendly street with lots of small companies and restaurants (Zillén 2016b). A similar positive portrait of the

district Nørrebro is presented by the guidebook Lonely planet (Bonetto 2015) I used during the fieldwork. Nørrebro is described as “... one of Copenhagen’s most vibrant neighbourhoods, jammed with design studios and boutiques, indie cafes, cult-status restaurants and thumping late-night bars. It’s also home to the strangely bewitching cemetery Assistens Kirkegård” (Bonetto 2015, p.98). To summarize media nowadays describe Nørrebro as an area that is attractive to visit. This has not always been the case. I did a brief search of what has been written about Nørrebro in Swedish daily newspapers, and I found that some years ago a lot of negative information was written about the district, which makes the neighbourhood interesting to study in this research.

I got curious to find out what generated the shift from an insecure area where people avoid going outside towards a district which is described by a guide book and media as attractive to visit. A brief overview of the development of Nørrebro, based on the newspaper articles I found of relevance will follow:

- 2007-2009 the newspaper articles regarding Nørrebro describe riots, disorders and shooting accidents. Examples of incidents are the demolishment of the Youth house at Jagtvej 69 which occurred March 2007, and the consequences of this demolishment with bad riots over the neighbourhood (Schön 2007), demonstrations and occupation of the social democrats party headquarters (Nya gatukravaller utbröt i Köpenhamn sent i natt 2007), and arrestment of 193 people (94 frigavs i Köpenhamn 2007). One year after the demolishment of the Youth house it was new disorders and 9 people arrested (Nio greps i oroligt Köpenhamn 2008), visitation zones in larger parts of Nørrebro (Dansk polis häver visitationszoner 2008). Articles from 2009 describe Nørrebro as a war zone with Blågårds Plads as the heart, serious gang fights between Hells Angels and immigrants with shooting incidents and death victims, and where people avoided going outside (Höglund 2009; Olofsson 2009; Polisen siktar in sig på gängens pengar 2009).
- 2011-2012 there are both negative and positive newspaper articles about Nørrebro. The negative articles are: 65 people arrested during a demonstration (Demonstranter greps på årsdag 2011), a man was shot and stabbed (Man skjuten i Köpenhamn 2011), personal robberies have exploded (Våg av rån i Köpenhamn 2011), and a women that had earned millions running brothels (Bordellmamma tjänade miljoner 2011). The positive articles are: Nørrebro as a tourist attraction with swarms of bikers (Cykeln bästa färdmedlet tycker köpenhamnarna 2011), and a young professional musician that are about to move to Nørrebro (Zaar 2011). An article from 2012 presents that Nørrebro, and especially Blågårdsgade, has two sides: The neighbourhood is Copenhagen’s most lively area with mix of restaurants, clubs, immigrant stores, bikes, dogs and beer drinking young people, and the other side is with gang-wars and tourists that have been beaten up due to they look like Hells Angels. Results of these attacks are that the organisation “Vi tager gaderna tilbage” made a manifestation and the local police station re-opened at Nørrebro (Dareberg & Fürstenberg 2012)
- Newspaper articles from 2013 and 2016 show that the price for living and rents has increased at Nørrebro: During the third quarter of 2013, 8-10 percentage of the

apartments at Nørrebro were sold at a price over the price-range (Bättre bud på danska bostäder 2013), and a new supermarket were about to open at Nørrebro since it is a hipp place, but since the rents were to high they chose the area Amager instead (Satz 2016).

Turning into the second case, Söder in Helsingborg, the article by Lindquist (2013) with the telling name “Dödskampen på Söder” meaning “The death struggle at Söder”, (Author’s translation), describes the situation. According to the article it is an area that some decades ago was idyllic with shops, restaurants, banks and atmosphere. Then the area was neglected, a telling example from the article is when Söder many years ago needed new street lamps and got those lamps from the north part of the city, which in turn got new street lamps. Around year 2000 a project called “Söder i förändring” meaning “Söder in transition” (Author’s translation) started and some renovation took place (e.g. Furutorpsplatsen and Mäster Palms plats) but then nothing happened, decay came and now something effectual needs to be done. (Lindquist 2013). As mentioned in the introduction chapter I have noticed the same development of Söder as described by Lindquist (2013), which is one of the reasons for this research. Looking into more articles about Söder I see the following themes:

- Some articles are about the current situation were Helsingborg is described as a divided city and Söder is more resource weak (Gravlund 2010), some positive development with associations of Campus, student-residents, lively markets and multicultural, but at the same time with new demarcation lines (Wagner 2008). A study from 2008 presented in the newspaper by Åkerlundh (2008) showed that the traders in Söder are very proud of their neighbourhood, and look bright on the future. One outcome of the study is that the soul of the neighbourhood should be kept when taking new initiatives for the area.
- There are also articles about criminality: big gangs have been fighting during three occasions in Söder (Dujmovic 2016), burglary and their victims (Olofsson 2015), and that police will start to work with new methods in Söder (Oldberg 2011).

Both areas are within a feasible distance for me as a researcher to make daytrips and make observations which was also one of the reasons for the choice. It was an advantage for me to study the cases of Söder and Nørrebro since I am very familiar with the two towns these districts are situated in. Even though not the specific area in detail, especially not Nørrebro. And in some areas of my focus I felt that I didn’t really know the peoples culture, especially not where it was a lot of people from other cultures than my own.

3.2 Research design

The research design is micro-ethnographic research of two cases. The empirical data collection is mainly done through observations, complemented with newspaper articles and unstructured interviews for a deeper understanding. I will next go through my different methods of data collection.

3.2.1 Observations

“It becomes a philosopher and an analyst of his time to go out and use his feet now and again. Strolling still has its uses”

(Bauman 1992, p.155 cited in May 2011 p.162)

In order to capture the scope of my research in an efficient way I chose the method of observations in two different urban areas of interest. The reason why I chose method of observation was that in order to gain an understanding of the creative urban districts I needed to experience it. I would not get the full picture through textbooks, internet or surveys. Knowledge comes from experience and careful research through which we gain our understandings (May 2011, p.164). This view is different compared to natural science and positivist oriented research. There might be areas people don't want to talk about and that is not directly to be found in for example text books. It might be that people don't always do as they say. Doing observation is said to make no fixed assumptions about what is important, instead the researcher immerse in day-to-day activities of the people they try to understand. (May 2011, p.163)

Another word for observation is *ethnography* which is based on observational work in particular social settings (Silverman 2013) Anthropologists were the first ones in favour of ethnography and they argue that if one really should understand a group of people one must engage in observation during a longer period of time (Silverman 2013). According to Kawamura (2011) ethnography tells a story about a group of people, but it is also a process and method of research. It is much used to research the acts of human beings and also the reasons of these acts (Kawamura 2011). The researcher listens to and involve in discussions, and interviews people about acts hard to make direct observation on and also collect documents. In this way she develop an understanding of that group's culture and then formulate a detailed report of this environment. (Bryman 2011, p.378).

Ethnographic and qualitative research is commonly described as interpretive or *hermeneutic* since it involves how the perceived reality is explained, translated and interpreted (Kawamura 2011, p.46). This process could be described by the *hermeneutic circle*. According to Ödman (1994) the hermeneutic circle could be illustrated by doing puzzles: At first the pieces are in a big chaotic pile, and you wonder where to start. Then you pick some pieces, make some experiments, and suddenly two pieces fit, and at last the whole puzzle is ready. During this time something happens to you, it is hard to leave the puzzle, which is asking for context and completion. All the time during making the puzzle you must go between the *parts* (pieces) and the *whole* picture, or else the puzzle will not be ready. When the last piece is done all pieces hang together in an obvious pattern, and the puzzle turn into a picture. This illustrates the hermeneutic circle and how we from a plan-less start, because we seldom have access to the overall picture, try to make small entities that together creates a bigger picture. We go from the parts to the whole and from the whole to the parts. Without anticipatory notion about the whole we would just have the pieces' forms to our help and the puzzle would never be ready. There is a mutual dependency between the part and the whole. (Ödman 1994). This process well

describes this research and how I after each observation got one more piece that I tried to put in relation to the whole picture. After I had gathered all the empirical data it was quit quick to see the patterns of the pieces since I had during the process of gathering the data already started to relate all pieces to the whole picture.

Another dimension of the hermeneutic circle is that we have a *pre-understanding* with us and go between *understanding* and pre-understanding in order to get the whole picture. According to Ödman (1994) the preunderstanding that we bring with us is grounded in historical pre-understanding, since we can't understand without having understood. He also describes that it gives us direction in our search and will form what aspect we put in the object for our search. The pre-understanding is closely connected to our intentionality that we can be both aware of and not aware of. (Ödman 1994) Regarding observation one of the disadvantages is that the researcher is the instrument (May 2011, p.170) and the findings will depend on that person, and the matter of pre-understanding and intentionality also emphasize the importance of aiming to be objective while observing and making analysis of the empirical data. The two dimensions of the hermeneutic circle including an example of interpreting a text, are illustrated in the below Figure 6.

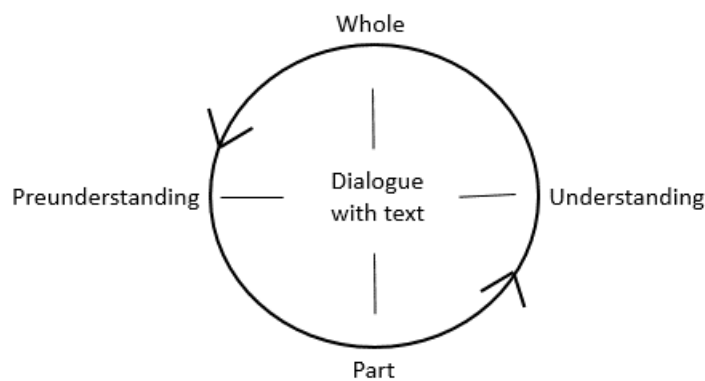


Figure 6. Modified version of the hermeneutic circle: basic version (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008)

It would be nice to think that the interpretation we do will be definitive, but it will not. According to Ödman (1994) our understanding for a certain aspect will just mirror a moment in our development, and the interpretation will be reformulated many times during our life. We freeze a moment of our understanding that is all. (Ödman 1994). If I would do the same research again in some years' time it might be a different result since my understanding might have changed. The researchers' role is to rebuild the characteristics of what they observe, which exposes the researchers own perspectives. It could be useful in developing new theories but the findings most commonly are only relevant to the actual case studied and not generalizable to other cases or useful to test theories.(Kawamura 2011)

Ethnography is a research method where the researcher involve in a social environment during a longer period and regularly observe the acts of people in this milieu. But when writing a master thesis there is not likely the amount of time needed for a full-scale ethnographic study

with a long time in the field. What you can do instead is a *micro-ethnography* (Wolcott 1990b cited in Bryman 2011, p.379) then you focus on a certain aspect of a theme during a shorter period of observation. It could be some weeks or months, part time or fulltime, in order to study the theme. Since the research is made during a shorter period of time it is a micro-ethnographic research. This research is part of a master thesis and has a limit in time resources, thus it involves a total amount of ten observations, complemented with nine unstructured interviews.

After I had gathered empirical data from observations and unstructured interviews I also looked for useful and relevant newspaper articles about the two districts of my research, Söder and Nørrebro. According to Kawamura (2011) it is common in ethnographic research to complement observations with documents concerning the field of study. Data collected from different published or unpublished articles and documents together with unstructured interviews can provide important information (Kawamura 2011). I used the database retriever and searched for articles about Nørrebro and Söder in Swedish newspapers. The reasons for not also including Danish newspapers in the search is that my language skills in Danish are not sufficient for a proper analysis, and due to time limits a professional translation was hard to organise. Since the document analysis are made to complement the main method of observation, using only Swedish newspapers should be sufficient in this research. I picked those articles relevant to get a clearer picture of how the areas are described and what has happened there. In total I ended up with a selection of 25 newspaper articles that I examined for a deeper understanding for what I had observed and got information about in the interviews.

Out in the field I had an overt access without worrying about people knew what I was doing, but it still included some ethical questions such as, how to explain my research questions for the people I observe, what will happen to my data and how to ensure confidentiality and anonymity? (Silverman 2013, p.184). During the observations I usually informed people that seemed curious that I was collecting data for my research. And typically they gave me some useful information in form of some more details about the area. Regarding the observations and insurance of confidentiality and anonymity I did not gain information of names or other personal data of the people I was observing. It was impossible to let the people I observed agree on their participation, since they mostly did not notice me and just passed me by. During the fieldwork I have tried to not to intrude people's privacy for instance I aimed to not capture people on my pictures, at least not so you can identify them. For me it was a balance to be open with what I was doing but at the same time not to disturb and make people to question me. To gain access to a place and getting entry into a group that you study is always a problem, and to know about the people's customs, traditions, norms and beliefs will facilitate the entry (Kawamura 2011). In this sense it was an advantage for me to study the case of Söder and Nørrebro since I am familiar with the two cities (Helsingborg and Copenhagen) these areas are situated in. Even though not the specific area in detail especially not Nørrebro.

The fieldwork of observation took place during the time period 21st of March to 5th of April 2016. I did in total ten different daytrips of observations, whereof five observations in Söder and five in Nørrebro. Each observation lasted about three hours, and I aimed to make the observations during different times of the day and to include weekends as well as weekdays. In

this way I observed different kind of activities, atmospheres, and people in the destinations. I noted that I varied my engagement during the observations. I aimed to make a *non-participating observation*, meaning observing situations in a passive way, with distance, from outside. (Bryman 2011, p.388). There is also the choice of *participant observation* where the investigator establishes a relationship with a human association in its natural setting in order to get an emphatic understanding of the social scene. The observation can also be in stages between (Bryman 2011, p.388). During the hours making observations I most often had non-participating observation but I sometimes switched to be more participating and interact with people and the environment. According to Bryman (2011, p.391), it is common that the researcher has different kind of participation during the study, which also is viewed as something totally ok, since it means the researcher has flexibility in handling people and situations. You could also use a *structured observation* which is a quantitative method where you systematically collect data where you want to record a situation instead of understanding it. Since the aim of this research is to understand the creative urban area the qualitative approach of observation is suitable. Figure 7 below illustrates the different roles for the participating observer.

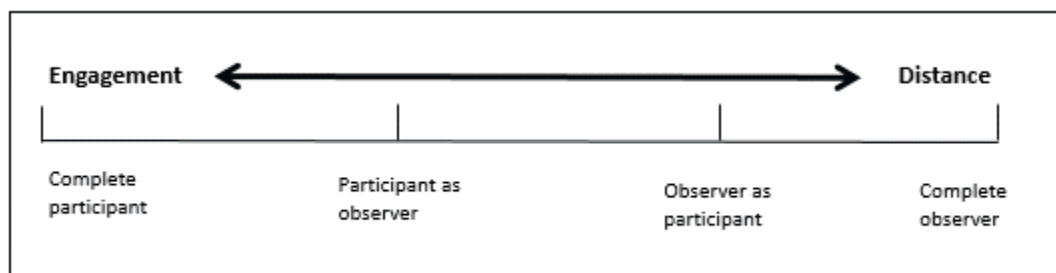


Figure 7. Golds classification of roles for the participating observer (Bryman 2011)

The method of observation is not that simple as it may first appear. Initially I planned to stay longer days than the approximate three hours per observation, but after those hours I was overwhelmed by immersing myself in the area and note taking. May (2011, p.170) describes the method as it may appear to just be going out in the field and look, listen, experience and put it down in notes. But it is also fair to argue that participant observation is the most personally demanding and analytically hard method of social research. (May 2011, p.170). While observing you become a human wall with your eyes and ears wide open. In participant observation you are not simply observing you are also participating and getting involved with those you study. An ethnographer is an objective observer placing herself among the insiders, physically she is in, but emotionally she is detached but a separation in one's mind is sometimes difficult to maintain because mind and body are connected into one. (Kawamura 2011) And when the fieldwork stops the big work of analysis just starts (May 2011, p.170).

Observation as a method has some disadvantages that the researchers should have knowledge about. One is that the researcher is also the instrument, and it is therefore important that the researcher is aware about objectivity (May 2011; Kawamura 2011). During my observations and especially concerning my notes I aimed to take one step back and just write down clear facts. It might seem simple but as Kawamura (2011) describes, the researcher is also part of the

social world she is investigating, and therefore it is often said it is difficult to maintain objectivity in participant observation. Further, the findings of the research will depend on the person doing it (May 2011; Kawamura 2011), which is closely related to hermeneutic (described in earlier paragraph). Another disadvantage is that to observe is time consuming and that you need to take much notes on what normally seem to be everyday and mundane (May 2011, p.170) . If your research questions are not clear you can find almost anything. Lastly I want to mention that neither do you through observations solely find out *why* people do as they do, then you need to complement with interviews which I also did and will discuss next.

3.2.2 Unstructured interviews

For me it was helpful to complement my observations by asking some questions to people I found of interest, and I used short unstructured interviews to get a clearer picture of the topic. To complement observations with the use of unstructured interviews is fine according to Kawamura (2011). She informs that this kind of interviews are used during fieldwork to expand the field observations since it allows researcher to gain extra information regarding different phenomena's observed through asking questions. The interviews I made were of various length, with different kind of questions and also in different languages. This is perfectly ok since Kawamura (2011) describes that this kind of interviews is totally unstructured without a planned order, questions, wording, and it can be in any sort of language. Here the interviewer can answer any questions and make clarifications, and also delete questions between interviews. (Kawamura 2011)

It was after I had done most of the observations I felt a need of complementing the quiet observing by asking some questions, for a deeper understanding. During the last three observations (1st April – 5th April) I made nine smaller unstructured interviews of people I found of interest. Concerning all interviews except one, which I will return to, I discovered the people during my observations and did not book them in advance. Five of the interviews were made in Söder and four in Nørrebro. The people I interviewed were working or consuming in facilities in the areas where I noticed atmosphere of creativity or “buzz” in various degrees. The interview with the owner of Nicecream was an exception to the other: I read about it in the daily newspaper Helsingborgs Dagblad (Zillén 2016b) in an article about ice-cream in Copenhagen, and since he was working in a street of interest for my research I approached him during my next observation and ended up making the interview two days after that. The interviews were unstructured and took between 5-20 minutes depending on the situation, the interviewee, and the kind of business. Most of the interviews were made in English, but at Söder I also made some interviews in Swedish. I asked the interviewees whether they wanted to be anonymous or not. None of my interviewees wanted to be anonymous, but some interviewees only gave me their first name.

3.3 Analysis process

The construction of the observation protocol facilitated the analysis process, since I already during note taking needed to start thinking about under which headline the note belonged. This process was helpful since regarding observation the data collection and data analysis must occur almost at the same time (Hamilton & Hamilton 2008 cited in Kawamura 2011, p.57). The layout of the observation protocol was following the corners of Figure 5 (earlier presented) illustrating factors influencing urban creative landscapes, which made me focus on relevant elements during the observations. I could fill in *place-specific qualities* and *places for interaction* under the correct headline in the observation protocol and in this way I had also in large part operationalised my research questions (to get a clearer picture I needed to also complement with unstructured interviews).

The four subheadings in the observation protocol were:

- **Informal software;** individual / non-institutionalized collective expressions / sharing of cultural values, and fluid supply of intangible experiences e.g. atmosphere, “buzz”, lifestyles, and creativity.
- **Informal hardware;** individual / non-institutionalized collective expressions / sharing of cultural values, elements including physical infrastructures e.g. infrastructure of consumption and production of culture and leisure such as bars, cafés, parks.
- **Formal hardware;** Institutional supply of culture, elements including physical infrastructures e.g. infrastructure of consumption and production of culture and leisure such as buildings, university faculties and facilities, student residences.
- **Formal software;** Institutional supply of culture, and fluid supply of intangible experiences e.g. activities, events, educational activity, and international level network.

To facilitate note taking and to make the observation more concrete each headline were also divided into two sections; *intangible* and *tangible*. In this way I could for example make intangible upcoming events more concrete through make a note and maybe also take a picture of a poster of an event program. Another headline in the observation protocol was *thick description* where I for each observation I made, noted for example: weather, time of day, the overall atmosphere and sense of the place. The thick description puts the observation in a bigger context which may help to explain some factors observed. (Kawamura 2011)

It is impossible to take notes on everything and the prepared observation protocol helped me to stay focused on the most relevant areas for my research. To take detailed field notes is a central part of ethnographic research, and they should be finished immediately after each excursion into the field since the human memory fade away quite quickly (Kawamura 2011). I first

planned to make notes directly in the observation protocol in form of printed paper, but I noticed already during the first observation it felt smother to conduct the field notes in my smartphone. Pretty much directly after the observation I then wrote the notes from the phone directly into the observation protocol at the computer. This way of note taking goes well in line with principles formulated regarding how to be efficient with field notes; to make notes as fast as possible after seeing or hearing something of interest and then to make more fully notes latest in the end of the day for observation and then bring in details as place, people, happening and timing (Bryman 2011, p.397). To further deepen the observation and help my memory, I also complemented my field notes with a careful selection of the pictures I took during the observation.

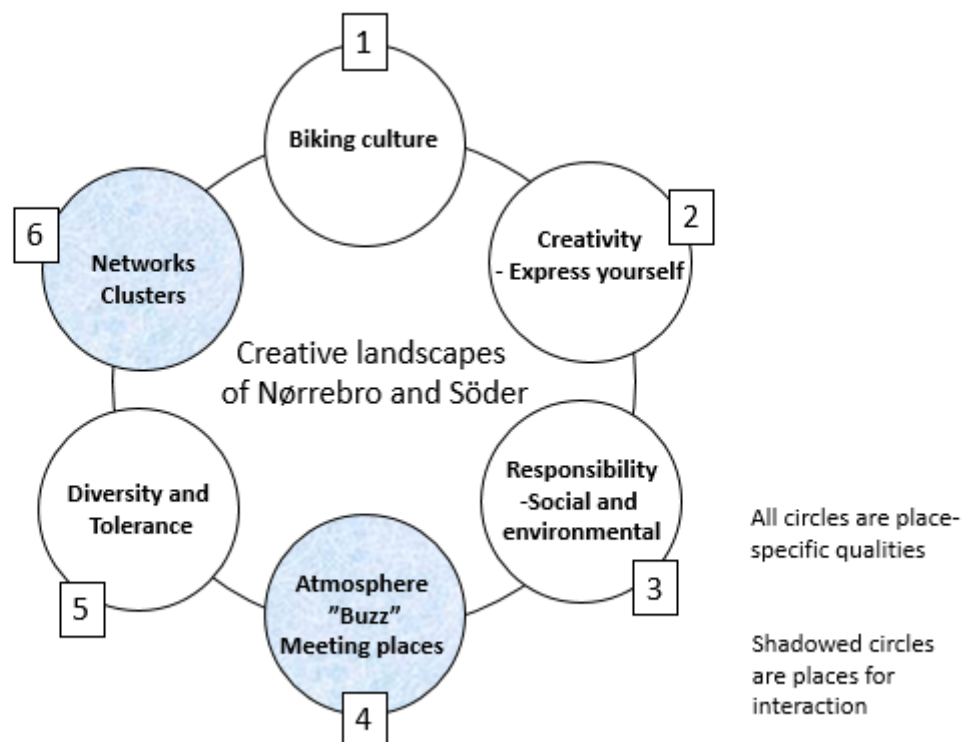
To use pictures as help for memory as part of the researcher's notes has been used by qualitative researchers such as Alan Bryman (Bryman 2011, p.405). Using my phone taking the notes I believe also decreased the risk of Hawthorn effect since it is quite common behaviour that people text on their phones every now and then. Hawthorne effect is when the research subjects becomes aware of the researcher and might change their behaviour and not any longer do their everyday behaviour. Ethnography should occur within a natural setting with natural behaviour for those studied, meaning the researcher should try to be invisible, and observe without being observed and without affecting. (Kawamura 2011) During most of the time I observed I think nobody knew my role as a researcher observing, and I aimed to fit into the destination and not draw ant attention towards me. Sometimes when I took pictures of mundane things such as posters on the street I noticed some people looked curious at me as they wondered why I took that picture. To write down notes from time to time out in the field and then use the notes to write full accounts shortly after leaving the field of observation is one way of making notes that I found feasible, which is an ok way of doing it according Kawamura (2011). Also regarding the interviews I made notes directly during the interview, and then transcribed them as soon as possible after leaving the observations field, usually later the same day or the day after.

After I had gathered data in form of filled in observation protocols with pictures, unstructured interviews and newspaper articles, I aimed to understand what I had experienced. Through spending many hours in these districts and through interaction with people there, I learned that there are many small stories going on in what first seems to be mundane. Different parts of the districts have different atmosphere and various small events of interaction between people, which I think was interesting to understand and connect to the urban creative landscape. I examined the material and looked for patterns and regularities, which I transformed into categories and relationships that allow interpretation of that data. This way of working might possibly then lead to building a new theory (Kawamura 2011). In the data presentation and analysis phase I did not continue to follow the Figure 5 of the creative landscape. Instead I made subheadings out of the themes I discovered through the data, related these themes to theory, and formed a model to summarize my conclusions. Regarding what kind findings you could expect I think it is useful to remember that ethnography is a process that try to describe and interpret social expressions among human beings (Kawamura 2011), and the analysis and result will depend on the researcher's interpretations of the data collected. The intention of descriptive research is to document what happened such as activities, events and interactions (Kawamura

2011). So could I now claim this research is showing the truth? As the case with all research methods, if you look to find “the Truth” you will be disappointed, but what you will find is another mean to gain a better understanding of the environment and ourselves (May 2011, p.189). In order to get that understanding concerning this research we now turn into the next chapter where I present and analyse the empirical data of the research.

4 Empirical study

There are strong themes reoccurring in most of the observations in the main case Nørrebro. The same themes were quite obvious also in many of the interviews, and also found in the newspaper articles. Regarding the second case, Söder, these themes are not so strong but there are elements of them. The themes are: (1) biking culture, (2) creativity – express yourself, (3) responsibility – social and environmental, (4) atmosphere, “buzz” and meeting places, (5) diversity and tolerance, and (6) networks and clusters. In order to present the empirical data in a clear and structured way I chose to use these themes as conceptual subheadings in the chapter. Under each subheading I first present the empirical data from the case of Nørrebro, followed by the empirical data from the case of Söder. All the themes are place-specific qualities in the creative landscapes of Nørrebro and Söder, and two of the themes: (4) atmosphere, “buzz” and meeting places and (6) networks and clusters, are also closely connected to interaction. Please see Model 1 below illustrating the themes and working as a disposition of this chapter.



Model 1: Reoccurring themes in creative landscapes of Nørrebro and Söder. (Author Sara Hedström 2016)

I will next continue to go through the data and make analysis concerning the different subheadings starting with number one in the Model 1, the biking culture, and going forward

right following the model. Further conclusions and discussion related to these themes are then made in the concluding chapter 5.

4.1 Biking culture

From all observations, and also from an interview and an article, I saw a strong biking culture in Nørrebro. In Nørrebro the physical infrastructure and facilities (e.g. bike roads and bike stores) encouraging biking together with the informal collective expression of biking as a lifestyle are part of the urban creative landscape (see earlier Figure 5). The biking culture in Nørrebro also contributes to a stronger creative landscape because of what it brings with it, such as a more relaxed atmosphere and closer contact between people, which means more opportunities for interaction and creativity. Regarding the case of Söder I found smaller signs of what could be a potential start of a biking culture.

4.1.1 Nørrebro

The very first note I made during observations in Nørrebro is, "*Lively atmosphere with bikes on the road*". (Observation 1) People seem to use bikes in their everyday practices and as a way of living: travelling to work, picking up kids, and transporting stuff. (Observation 9) These observations are supported by one interviewee that informed me that he was biking 45 minutes each direction everyday to his work, and that he went early to skip the traffic (Informant 5). The biking culture is also described in the newspaper article: *Cykeln bästa färdmedlet tycker köpenhamnarna* (2011). According to the article it is now the bicycle girl from Copenhagen, instead of the little mermaid, that is promoting the city Copenhagen. The article also describes there is a broad movement in Copenhagen that views biking the most normal way of transport, and that it is for everybody, including older people and people with suits.

With the biking culture follows amenities and supportive business. I observed many different kinds of bikes (Picture 3), both parked and passing by in the street. Often the bikes are equipped with wagons, for men and women to transport kids on their bikes, in front, in back, or both if you have many kids. (Observation 1 & 9). The second time I observed in Nørrebro my first note was, "*Biking as a way of lifestyle, as transport, and going around in the city*". This time I saw one woman biking with a quit big dog in a wagon in front of the bike, and one man biking with a cat in a cage in a wagon at the back of a bike. I saw people transporting flowers, parcels, and various bags on their bikes. The biking culture is also shown by signs on windows saying, "*Please don't park your bike here*", which was common. In many places lots of bikes were parked (Picture 1). (Observation 3) Nørrebro has many different kind of bike related stores (Observation 1 & 9). Even though people there seem to use their bikes in the practical everyday life, I also observed people practising biking as a sport. I saw a small group of sport cyclists

quick by passing by on the street (Observation 7)

The biking culture facilitates face-to-face contact and interaction between people. It gives less cars on the streets, a relaxed atmosphere, more space to walk, and less noise from traffic. (Observation 9) The relaxed atmosphere should not be underestimated since it is often a crucial background in the cultural scene, due to informal nature of exchange connected to social interaction and spare time (Richards 2014, p.127). I observed face-to-face contact and interaction between a biker and a person that was standing on the street. It was a young woman giving out brochures arguing to stop animal abuse and to say no to fur, that talked directly to a man that stopped with his bike due to red light, they had a friendly conversation in the street. I interpret this conversation and interaction would not have happened if the man were travelling with car instead of bike, and that the biking culture in Nørrebro creates opportunities for interactions between people. (Observation 3) Since I was walking when conducting the observations I also felt this myself making the following note, *“The people I met on bikes meant a closer contact / meeting compared to people passing by in cars”*. (Observation 1) The increased face-to-face contact and interaction that the biking culture brings with it is important for both creative producers, creative consumers and visitors of a place.

The biking culture seem to be supported by the municipalities. I saw bikes for rental parked at Blegdamsvej (Observation 7). In Elmegade a big part of the street are marked for bikes (Picture 4), Jægersborggade and Blågårdsgade hardly have any cars, just those that bring stuff to and from the stores. There is a big sign over Nørrebrogade with the Danish text *”Nørrebro cykler for ren luft”*, which in English is *“Nørrebro bikes for clean air “* (Authors translation), and drawing of a family biking (Picture 2). According to Zukin (1995, p.294) urban qualities (such as markets, restaurants, parades and landmarks), function both as sites and sights of new common identities, which people appreciate. The biking culture seem to be part of a common identity of the people in Nørrebro. A culture they seem proud over, and also practical way of transport.

Pictures from Nørrebro related to biking culture



Picture 1 and 2. Lots of bikes parked, and sign over Nørrebrogade with the text *”Nørrebro cykler for ren luft”*. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 3 and 4. Example of a popular bike, and Elmegade where a big part of the street is marked for bikes. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.1.2 Söder

In Söder I did not find a special biking culture. I did not see so many bikes during my observations, neither passing by nor parked. Most people were walking, travelling by bus, or by car (Observation 2). Söder has though some small signs of what could be an upcoming interest for biking: I noted a Christiania bike parked at Thure Röingsgata (Picture 5) (Observation 10), and the cycle support store at Furutorpsgatan seemed busy during the times I passed by.

Picture from Söder related to biking culture



Picture 5. Christiania bike parked at Thure Röingsgata in Söder. (Picture by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.2 Creativity – express yourself

There are many signs from people in Nørrebro expressing and sharing their values, feelings and also frustration in a creative way. It can be through street art, graffiti, demonstrations or other activities. These kind of creative collective expressions, are informal software in the urban creative landscape (see earlier Figure 5). Through these expressions various people in Nørrebro meet, interact and form new creations. Other creative expressions are when creative producers open up stores offering products reflecting their values, and what they think was missing before, such as vegan and different kind of ecological stores. In Söder I did not find the same kind of creative expressions of values, but there were some creativity, also from grassroots level.

4.2.1 Nørrebro

The most obvious form of creativity and expressing values are in street art on building walls, but there are also other forms. In some places there are street art and graffiti over the whole wall and it could also include messages from different groups, maybe sometimes from the creative class, see pictures 8-12 below (Observation 3). The creative class prefer self-expression and like to create individualistic identities reflecting their creativity (Florida 2002, pp.77-82). As you can see on the picture 10 below it is written “*Magtvej*”, this street art is located at Jagtvej (Observation 5), and I interpret the message as values of frustration of the demolition of the Youth house that was located here before. Similarly I interpret the following street art messages as expressing values, feelings and political stands of groups: Street art on buildings close to Griffenfeldsgade saying “*Palestina for ever*”, and also at another building “*Fuck Israel*”. (Observation 9) The street art in picture 12 I interpret could express values from the creative class as they get kids. It is from a house next to a playground and on the picture it is a mum with babies, showing her breasts, and the text “*Mælk det er dejligt*” (Observation 5). Other forms of creativity are shown as for example a sofa made of pallets” (Picture 6), and paintings without clear messages such as graffiti on a wall (Picture 7). At Elmegade some entrance doors are creatively painted. (Picture 13), seemingly just to make it nice. (Observation 7).

Another way of expressing values are through ones business. One interviewee at Nørrebro shows that his business idea expresses his values, when he says, “*The main reason of producing and selling vegan ice cream is to help the cows and to make a difference for the planet, the store is a platform for that*”, and if he wouldn’t be working with producing and selling ice cream he would be an organic farmer (Informant 5).

In Nørrebro it seem to be quite common to express ones values also through demonstrations and manifestations. During one observation I found a poster informing about a planned demonstration 28 Feb. 2016, “*For the right to have rights*”, supported by Somali Communities, Freedom of Movements, No borders, Trampoline House, Camp-centre for art on migration politics, Nørrebrohallen, Refugeeland, taking place from Nørrebrogade to Nørreport to Christiansborg. (Observation 3). From the articles I read about Nørrebro I found many

demonstrations, manifestations and also riots of people in Nørrebro. I interpret these events as people are expressing their values, even though in some of the cases in a destructively way (e.g. the riots and demonstrators burning cars). Articles showing these kind of expressions are e.g.: “Copenhagen streets: Blågårdsgade /Blågårds plads – Trendy street with tradition” (Dareberg & Fürstenberg 2012) describing that as a result of criminality the organisation “Vi tager gaderna tilbage” made a manifestation, and the article “Demonstrators were arrested at the anniversary” (Demonstranter greps på årsdag 2011) informing there was a demonstration at the anniversary of the EU-riots 18th May 1993 where 65 people at Nørrebro got arrested by the police.

Pictures from Nørrebro related to creativity express yourself



Picture 6 and 7. Sofa made of pallets, and graffiti on wall. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 8 and 9. Street art including communication at Nørrebrogade. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 10 and 11. Graffiti and Street art at Jagtvej. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 12 and 13. Street art next to playground, and paintings at doors in Elmegade. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.2.2 Söder

Compared to Nørrebro the neighbourhood Söder has less clear expressions of creativity, for example I did not find street art or graffiti in Söder. Söder has though a lot of creative activities and courses such as “Folkuniversitetet’s” courses: Swedish language for new groups of people in Sweden, creative courses for people on their way to a real job. (Observation 2) There are also two schools with focus on music at Karl Krooks Gata, one Business school and one school for younger students. (Observation 4) Some art exhibitions are available e.g. in the library (Picture 17) (Observation 10), and according to a poster also one in Folkets Hus, at Södergatan, by ABF in cooperation with other organisations (PRO, HSB, Verdandi, and Afasiföreningen (Picture 15) (Observation 6).

Regarding the future planning of creativity and possibilities to express oneself it seem that some creative institutions are sold or moved. “Folkets hus” will be sold according and article with the headline, “Which people’s house” where it is described that the municipal support is missing and it is now for sale. The article informs that the building is of cultural importance for the city but since it is an old working class house maybe the other buildings are more important for the establishment regarding Söder. (Andersson 2016). In the interview with a Tattoo artist at Söder he said that “Kulturhotellet” was here and disappeared, also “Salongen” so rather that it has been a peak and now it dies out. There is more alive at Gåsebäck, and it will move further out from the establishment where it can be undisturbed. (Informant 1)

A place that seem to have got more resources the latest years are Mångkulturellt Center, a place with much creativity and where people can express themselves. They focus on music, and to be open to people from different backgrounds. (Observation 8). Here people can make creative expressions in form of music, art, dance, yoga, and events (Picture 16). (Observation 2 & 10). The place is initiated and driven by Folkuniversitetet, and they also make concerts such as, “Playing for change Sweden” (Picture 14). In the interview with informants 10 and 11 at Mångkulturellt Center, it is described as a meeting place for mainly adults to come and e.g. produce music. They also have an incubator model, Major Tom, with song writers that meet and pitch once a month. The thought is that people can come and learn about music and the people that work their care and have a relation to the people. According to the interviewees it is hard with creativity when the city is involved, but there is money. In Mångkulturellt Center the teachers are musicians and not just teachers. (Informants 10 & 11)

Pictures from Söder related to creativity – express yourself



Picture 14 and 15. Poster informing about upcoming concert by "Playing for change", and poster informing about Eastern program by ABF. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 16 and 17. Studio in Mångkulturellt Center, and art exhibition in library. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.3 Responsibility – social and environmental

Once you start looking a little deeper in Nørrebro you find the theme of social and environmental responsibility. In Söder there is also social responsibility in various ways, but in contrast to Nørrebro, I did not note much of environmental responsibility. To take responsibility is an action that is reflected in Nørrebro in various second hand stores, many different ecological products, meeting places and services for people with low income or immigrants and more. These acts of responsibility seems to unify people with similar values, who meet and interact with a common interest, which may lead to further creativity and development. These actions are also a collective sharing of cultural values and everyday practise, so it is an informal software of the creative landscape (see earlier Figure 5)

4.3.1 Nørrebro

In Nørrebro there are many signs of both environmental and social responsibility. The messages on stickers inside the bathroom-door at "Kaffe Plantage" illustrate well some of these lifestyle

values in the neighbourhood: “Go Vegan”, “Imod discrimination”, “For dyrs lighed”, (Picture 20). In the area I found many ecological stores (e.g. ecological textiles at Blågårds Plads) and cafés, and also a lot of social stores (e.g. Charity shop at Griffenfeldsgade and a big Red Cross store at Nørrebrogade). During observation I also found social responsibility written out on the building of a company, the company “Logic & Co” has text on their building saying, “Håndværk, bæredygtighed, social ansvarlighed” (Picture 18), and a sticker on a car saying “Ta en lærling – det gør vi”. (Observation 1). I also saw signs of church related social responsibility such as a posters in window of Stengade 40, from “Kirkens Korshær”, informing times of day shelter and night café, counselling, and Job guidance for EU migrants. (Observation 5). The social responsibility values are also described in the newspaper article about the demolition of the Youth house at Jagtvej in Nørrebro when a young woman says the Youth house stands for tolerance, creativity, and engagement where all have been welcome and poor families have been able to eat cheap (Schön 2007).

Even though there are a lot of signs informing that there are strong values of social responsibility the signs of caring for the environment are even clearer. The message in street art written on a house at Nørrebrogade is very telling “One man’s trash another man’s treasure” (see earlier Picture 9). (Observation 3). Other strong messages regarding the environmental values are: the text on a woman’s bag, “Recycle or die”, and the text on a window at Jægersborggade, “We pity the fools who don’t recycle” (Picture 21) (Observation 9). It is not just in texts the values are shown since in the whole area of observation there are many second hand stores (Observation 3), and ecological food in stores, cafés and ice-cream places. In the interview with the owner of the vegan ice-cream shop; “Nice-cream” at Elmegade, he said he would be organic farmer if not working with vegan ice-cream. And that he does this business to help the cows and make a difference for the planet. He also informed that since many people with allergies and special needs come, he tries new things so all can eat. (Informant 5). At the same street, Elmegade, there is also an eco-vegan store (Picture 19) and ecological kiosk. (Observation 7)

Another street where both social and environmental values are quite obvious is Jægersborggade. Here are many stores and cafés offering ecological goods and food. The newly opened store “Beyond Coffee” sells fresh mushrooms grown at ecological coffee grounds at Nørrebro. In the interview with the Project leader and Project worker working in the store they informed me that they work with sustainability and a new concept which fits there, since people are open to new ideas and it’s close to the farm. (Informants 6 & 7) On this street the social value of equality between men and women concerning taking care of kids was very obvious. I many times observed families of man, woman and baby where the man carried the baby or the stroller. This pattern was especially common on this street but it was obvious in most parts of Nørrebro. (Observation 5). There is for example many men on bikes transporting kids e.g. one man had two kids in a wagon in front of him and one kid on the back when going on the bike. (Observation 9) The values regarding responsibility seem to be recognised by common people which is illustrated by the article of Satz (2016), describing that a new supermarket with business idea of selling food wastes, were recommended to settle in Nørrebro. Then the supermarket did not settle in Nørrebro due to high rents.

Pictures from Nørrebro related to responsibility – social and environmental



Picture 18 and 19. The text “Håndværk, bæredygtighed, social ansvarlighed” written on house wall of company “Logic & CO”, and sign of ecological and vegan store at Elmegade. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 20 and 21. Stickers inside bathroom door at “Kaffe Plantage”, and text on a window saying “We pity the fools who don’t recycle”. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.3.2 Söder

In Söder I found social responsibility in various forms, but regarding values of environmental responsibility I did not make any notes at all. There might be signs of environmental responsibility that I have missed, but I would not describe these values as being typical in Söder. I would say Mångkulturellt Center is a sign of social responsibility as the interviewee describe it as youth center for grownups, and a place where people can come and produce music, and that they care and have a relation to the people coming (Informants 10 & 11). The concert, “Playing for change Sweden” by Mångkulturellt center, is a social responsibility event, and the

poster on the wall inform that it is a concert for Africa (see earlier Picture 14). (Observation 2) There are many social responsibility in connection to the church in Söder. The café in Gustav Adolf church at Gustav Adolfs torg offer low priced coffee (5 SEK / cup), and is a multicultural meeting place where pensioners and also SFI groups come (Informant 3) (Picture 24). (Observation 8) A poster is informing about another meeting place between people of different background which is organised by Hannah’s House, the women’s group at New Hope (a network of members from different Christian churches) in order to help and support refugees, practising Swedish, help with homework, cooking and talking. (Picture 23) (Observation 4). During my last observation two people from the organisation IM, “Individuell Människohjälp”, informed people about their work and asked them to become members. (Observation 10). Also bars work with responsibility: a poster at Sam’s bar inform that drugs are not welcome (Picture 22). (Observation 4)

Pictures from Söder related to responsibility – social and environmental



Picture 22 and 23. Poster at bar informing drugs are not welcome, and posters at Bollbrogatan informing about women’s group Hannah’s House. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 24. Sign informing about a café inside the church. (Picture by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.4 Atmosphere, “buzz”, and meeting places

Meeting places often generates a special atmosphere and “buzz”, which is not tangible, and hard to present in concrete facts. It is still very important aspects regarding especially Nørrebro which is often described as a vibrant and hipster neighbourhood. Physical meeting places are more concrete, and also place for interaction between people which may lead to creativity and innovations. So this place-specific quality is highly relevant for urban creative environments. In the creative landscape meeting places are part of the infrastructure (formal hardware) and the “buzz” and atmosphere is key in the informal software (see earlier Figure 5). I will in the upcoming paragraphs describe my gathered data from observations, interviews and articles and try to grasp these qualities of Nørrebro and Söder.

4.4.1 Nørrebro

Nørrebro typically has a lively atmosphere with people interacting, planned or unplanned, in the street and other places. One illustrating example from one of my observations is when I passed by the bridge Dr. Louises Bro and comes towards Nørrebrogade a lot of people sat together on benches, enjoying the sun, drinking coffee, beer, and eating. Often in pairs, but also alone or with more people in the group. (Observation 7) These kind of informal interacting between people in the street and elsewhere is quite common in Nørrebro. During my fifth observation I had similar experience at another part of Nørrebrogade: people were in many places sitting in groups of 2-6 people, eating and talking. People sat outside by the street in chairs and sofas belonging to cafés, on benches, and also on cement blocks. Jægersborggade and Stefansgade close by also had lively atmosphere and “buzz” with people, locals and tourists, sitting outside in groups and talking, eating and such. In Nørrebro overall, it seems like it is not useful to separate tourists from residents when aiming to understand the interactions of the city users, as Maitland (2010) suggests, and it does not seem to be any clear boundaries between everyday life and tourism, as claimed by Richards (2014, p.132). It can also be that areas such as Nørrebro are viewed as “off the beaten track” and “ordinary”, which according to Richards (2014, pp.131-132) is what some tourists seek as a reaction to the standardization of cities today.

Even though the whole neighbourhood gives a feeling of a lively atmosphere, some streets are more “hot-spots” than other. One of the streets with much atmosphere, “buzz” and people interacting is Jægersborggade. People meet and interact with each other and the creative producers in the many stores, cafés, bars, and restaurants. There are both a lot of tourists and locals on the street. Many stores and services are ecological and responsible e.g. ecological hair dresser, and many second hand clothes stores. This street seem to be a meeting place for creative producers and creative consumers, and here is room for informal and not planned meetings and interactions in the street and its localities. During my observation some people worked on computers in cafés, a couple drank coffee and played a table game outside a café, and I also saw people passing by where some stopped and interacted with somebody they seemed to know. People looked in general wealthy and many looked trendy and cool in some way, (e.g. women

with long coats, sunglasses, and “low heal male shoes” and men with big beard, short hair and sneakers), and there were many men with babies in baby carrier on their stomach. It was crowded in many stores and cafés. There were not many children or young teenagers in age 6-16 years old, nor many older people. (Observation 7) The sign on a restaurant table saying that their guests should try to be quiet after 10 pm not to disturb the neighbours, informs us that the street is lively also during the night. When I in an interview asked why they chose to start their business in Jægersborggade I got the answer that there is a lot of people coming to that street, which appeals, and also that the new concept fits there, since people are open to new ideas. (Informants 6 & 7). This kind of atmosphere with face-to-face meetings and “buzz” are attractive to creative producers, and the argument made by Informants 6 and 7 are reasonable since there is a link between face-to-face meetings, “buzz”, tacit knowledge and innovations (Asheim, Coenen & Vang 2007).

Another lively street where a lot of trendy people seem to meet is Elmegade. During one of my observations there were a lot of people around 20 years old, multicultural, locals and tourists, some with “different clothing”, “cool look”, and sunglasses, standing in a line about 100 meter queuing for a sneaker sale. Music was played and people stopped by wondering what was going on. (Observation 9) This kind of events also generates business for e.g. food trucks. During my interview with the owner of an ice-cream store at Elmegade, a food –truck owner enters the store and informs about this event and that it is much going on. (Informant 5). (See also later text about networks and clusters) Asking the same interviewee why he started his business in this place (Elmegade) he answered: “...I knew Nørrebro is hipster and open for new ideas”. (Informant 5). Further up at Elmegade, by Sankt Hans Torv, there is also a lively atmosphere with much people interacting. The café, “Kaffe Plantage”, is a meeting place both inside and outside for locals as well as tourists. During my observation there were some music, noise from coffee machines and grinders, and people talking. I saw people socialising with people they knew, and also making new contacts. As in cafés at Jægersborggade some people were working on their computers or doing stuff with their phone. Some people were reading the papers. It was a cosmopolitan atmosphere with many people speaking English, and many people looked wealthy there. Maybe this café is functioning as meeting place of Creative class. (Observation 9). Also at Elmegade there is the café Laudramat where it was a lively atmosphere with people playing Backgammon and discussing loudly when I visited, it seemed to be a place where many tourists as well as locals meet (Observation 1)

Blågårdsgade and Blågårds Plads also has a special atmosphere. Compared to the previous mentioned streets, it is more multicultural atmosphere here, and some people with an attitude, and a style that stands out. At Blågårds Plads you find a little ceramic studio and a Thai restaurant next to it. At Blågårdsgade many people are around 25 years old, there is not much traffic, instead much people walking and biking on the street. Here are many studios, a guitar store, ecological stores, halal meat store, and fruit stores together with a mix of cafés. During my observation people stopped by and talked in groups outside a bike store (Observation 7), which is a kind of interaction that is typical for these streets with lively atmosphere. This area has attributes that may create innovations since “social diversity and a free flow of ideas” is one of the key drivers of innovation (Carayannis & Gonzalez 2003, 595-7 cited in Hall & Williams

2008, p.22). In a newspaper article by Dareberg and Fürstenberg (2012), a person interviewed describes the neighbourhood around Blågårdsgade as Copenhagen's most lively area. But in the same article it is also informed that the place has another side as well with gang wars and where tourists has been beaten up due to they look like Hells Angels. Close to Blågårdsgade is Griffendalsgade, which seem to be a street with much creativity in the atmosphere. Here I found various places for consumption such as bike store, Thai restaurant, expensive looking boutique, Ping Pong bar, Afrocafé, and Beauty salon. And around the corner of the street I found Rantzausgade with a very small lamp store "Markos kælder" in a basement (Picture 28). Stores like this seem to pop up unexpected and from grassroots level, which is an attractive factor in the creative tourism where the unexpected is valued the most (Richards 2014)

A meeting place where tourists and locals are interacting is the hostel, café and bar, "Mellemrummet" at Ravnsborggade (Picture 29). Here is multicultural lifestyles, "buzz", and interactions between people in the café. During my observation a bigger group of people in their 20's sat together in the entrance, drinking beer and discussing, and it was a lively atmosphere. A little girl run around in the facilities and people were coming and going all the time. People there laughed a lot, a warm and lively atmosphere. (Observation 7). Interaction between tourists and locals in meeting places like this can be beneficial for product development and innovations since consumers together with local entrepreneurs and inhabitants, are having the needed experience and knowledge to develop products (Binkhorst 2005 cited in Binkhorst 2007), and when they meet and interact knowledge exchange occurs. The same street also have Nørrebro bryghus, a skate park among the houses, and many antic shops which has lifted out chairs on street (Picture 25). Also in this street you find a lively atmosphere with people sitting outside in cafés and bars, and during my observation a group of people with a basketball and creative hairstyles passed me giving the street further "buzz" (Observation 1) The atmosphere in this street and in Nørrebro might be so nice that the people here don't search for the city centre. A Shop Manager at Ravnsborggade said: ... "I think many people who live here are tired of going into the city centre and they stay here and eat instead" (Informant 8).

During observations I also come across buildings where it seem to be a lot of atmosphere and "buzz" during different times. At Stengade 18, hidden between long rows of houses with apartments, on a seemingly "quiet street", is a "cool place" where bands are on stage during evenings and nights. The building is covered with strong colours of street art, and I found agendas of upcoming band performances (Picture 27). (Observation 5) Assumingly there is "buzz" in the evening. Another place is Verdens kulturcenter at Nørre Allé 7, where signs and posters are informing about meetings and upcoming activities. Here is a supply of experiences, and opportunities of face-to-face contact, and co-creation of place between locals and tourists. (Observation 7) Maybe this atmosphere and "buzz" are what the young professional musician want when moving to Nørrebro, as presented in the newspaper article "The beat is important" (Zaar 2011). The article informs that most of the young musician's jobs are in Copenhagen where there is many jazz clubs and good music. It seems Nørrebro is having a good atmosphere for being creative, which is attractive for creative producers that want to live in places that offer stimulating, and creative environments (Florida 2002).

There are also meeting places including kids. During one of my observations it suddenly opened up an open place called “Byoasen” in the middle of the big houses. As I entered the area it showed to be quite big and include activities such as to do cultures, interact with small animals, such as rabbits, hens, and goats, or enjoy the playground. There were some kids and adults in the playground, and it seemed to be events and activities there (Picture 26).

Pictures from Nørrebro related to atmosphere, “buzz”, and meeting places



Picture 25 and 26. Ravensborggade is a street with lively atmosphere and “buzz”, and “By Oasen” with a little zoo among the houses. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 27 and 28. Stengade 18 where bands perform, and small basement store “Markos kælder”. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 29. Hostel Mellemrummet at Ravnsborggade. (Picture by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.4.2 Söder

The liveliest atmosphere in Söder is around the typical meeting places of the residents in Söder, such as the market place at Gustav Adolfs torg and the area around it. Söder has another character than Nørrebro, it is less hipster but still with a lively atmosphere around some meeting places, which may generate creativity.

While some areas of Söder were very calm other parts were usually lively, and with multicultural atmosphere. In these livelier parts of Söder there were much interaction between people both in the street, in stores and in restaurants. It is typically much people around Alfo Gross, a big grocery store (containing much food from Middle East, and also more traditional Swedish food), located by Gustav Adolfs torg, and also the market place at Gustav Adolfs torg where traders offer fruits, vegetables, flowers, clothes and more. There are usually also people around Money Transfer stores close to Gustav Adolfs torg. (Observation 6) At Carl Krooks gata is Afghan Shop (Picture 31) situated where it is a multicultural atmosphere and often people inside. The goods in the store are typically from areas around Afghanistan. (Observation 8) Close to this store are other multicultural stores and restaurants such as Arabic pastries, Lebanese restaurant, and Kebab place, where it is typically some people both inside and outside. (Observation 2) On the other side of the square, in Södergatan, there are also a few places where it was often a lot of people and multicultural atmosphere. Between Furutorpsgatan and Nedre Nytorpgatan there were people around the various stores, there is a restaurant with big water pipe as a sign, low price stores (including a bazar), an Arabic meat store and more. (Observation 6). There are usually people both inside and outside restaurant Damas, and inside the restaurant Shawarma. Further north on Södergatan there is a Polish store where there usually are some people inside, seemingly from Poland (Observation 8). The same street also has a swimming hall and gym where it is a lot of people with different backgrounds and a lively atmosphere in the afternoon. I noted that it was very quiet around the fish wagon at Gustav Adolfs torg, which is providing fresh fish, and at the facilities of Svenska kyrkan, Arbetsförmedlingen and Migrationsverket. (Observation 6)

By the library and close by in the intersection Bollbrogatan and Carl Krooks Gata, there are often people where many seem to know each other and stop by and talk. There is not many cars here and people are walking, biking and interacting. There are many young people, and from various ethnic backgrounds. A few salons around the intersection seem to have some people inside and outside their business: an Afro Salon, a Beauty salon in a basement, a tattoo salon and a hair salon (Observation 6) In the interview with the part owner of the Beauty Corner situated in a basement, and asking her why they chose this location, she told me: "...a lot of people around her, the library and restaurants, so we can be discovered and spread." (Informant 9). I interpret this as the area around there has some tendencies of "buzz". Close by there are some places for young people such as the "IT gymnasium" (Södergatan) and also Mötesplats Kalifornia. The meeting place Mångkulturellt center, is also close by this area. (Observation 2).

Some places in Söder give a feeling of a depressed atmosphere. One of these places are Söderpunkten, which also takes a lot of space. It has been under renovation for a long time. Some other facilities around have signs in their windows informing that it is for rent. Mäster Palms plats (Picture 30) is often also quit empty even though the new Hotel Radisson Blu at Carl Krooks gata close by is giving some atmosphere to the area. The hotel has though another clientele than other places for consumption and interaction in Söder. It is a meeting place but there is not so much residents from Söder. Inside the hotel there is a cosy atmosphere with a lot of people, people from the town and also tourists. I had expected more student life in the area of Söder, but even though Söder has student residents (e.g. Bryggaregatan), and also the new student house Helsingborg (Picture 32), there was not a feeling of student life in the area during my observations (Observation 6)

Pictures from Söder related to atmosphere, "buzz", and meeting places



Picture 30 and 31. Playground at Mäster Palms plats, and "Afghan Shop" and Arabic bakery at Karl Krooks gata. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 32. The new student house “Helsingborgen” at Furutorpsgatan (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.5 Diversity and tolerance

Both Nørrebro and Söder has a diversity of people from different backgrounds and cultures. In Nørrebro there are more people expressing alternative and obviously self-expressive lifestyles than in Söder, but similarly the diversity of people creates a special dynamic in the atmosphere. Diversity and tolerance are related to urban creative environments because creativity is often generated through different thinking, a thinking “outside the box”. It is also part of the urban creative landscape as informal software where multiculturalism is an attribute of the place and everyday practice (see earlier Figure 5). I will next present my findings from observations, interviews and articles regarding this place-specific quality. It was hard to take pictures regarding this theme, and regarding the area of Söder I don’t present any pictures here.

4.5.1. Nørrebro

In Nørrebro I observed multicultural, cosmopolitan lifestyles and various religions. Sometimes it was very obvious such as regarding Fælledvej, where one side of the street have many immigrant stores, and the other side of the street have a lot of life-style stores such as: tattoo studio, and a shop with clothes which is also a meeting-point (Observation 7). I had an informal discussion with a man in a café telling me, “*It is very good here! A collective. Nørrebro is perfect, no problem, Danish, Swedish, Kurds. There is a lot of tourists in the area!*” (Informant 4) A statement pointing at the diversity in the district, which is also a key driver of innovations (Carayannis & Gonzales 2003 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.22). Walking in the street I observed various kinds of people from different origins and with different religions, e.g. women from Middle East wearing hijabs, families with backpacks and kids on bikes, joggers, bikers, people with prams, tourists speaking English, both elderly and young people. Some people stand out with a big hair and headphones. At Jaktvej I met man at different times having big tattoos over their heads. From clothes and appearance I got the impression many people in Nørrebro seem to be from trendy middle class, but some people appear to be poor and some

look very wealthy (Observation 5)

The diversity of people also brings many different kind of stores and restaurants such as: Arabic meat stores, Hijab stores, Chinese gift store, Turkish Restaurant, Jewelleries from Dubai, “El Hassan’s” bike store, and water pipe stores (Observations 3). A place where the diversity is celebrated is Verdens kulturcenter located at Nørre Allé 7, which is a meeting place with activities and events with focus on the multicultural focus (Pictures 33 & 34). Regarding tolerance in Nørrebro the district has had problems with gang wars between Hells Angels and immigrant gangs, resulting in that people have been worried to go outside (Höglund 2009; Olofsson 2009; Polisen siktar in sig på gängens pengar 2009). As a result of the attacks of tourists the organisation “Vi tager gaderne tilbage” made a manifestation (Dareberg & Fürstenberg 2012). Since one of the drivers of innovations are “response to a need...” (Carayannis & Gonzales 2003 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.22) it might be that some forms of creativity and innovations in Nørrebro has happened since it was a need of a change in the area, in order to stop the gang wars. The organisation “Vi tager gaderne tilbage” I interpret as created by people in Nørrebro that had enough of gang wars and organized themselves as a reaction. This might have resulted in a step towards a development of better tolerance and diversity in the area.

Pictures from Nørrebro related to diversity and tolerance



Picture 33 and 34. Sign of Verdens kulturcenter at Nørre Allé 7, and poster of activity at Verdens kulturcenter. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.5.2 Söder

In Söder there is a multicultural atmosphere with many people from different origins e.g. Middle East. There are also many stores and restaurants offering goods and food from various countries. Examples are the popular restaurant Damas where I also saw a man sitting outside and smoke water pipe giving a multicultural atmosphere, and restaurant Shawarma which is serving e.g. kebab and falafel, both at Södergatan. (Observation 10) In some stores in south

Carl Kroks gata the people working there did not speak Swedish or English but seemingly Arabic and Afghan languages (Author's interpretation), similarly in the Polish store at Södergatan the people working there spoke mainly Polish (Observation 2).

Two quit popular multicultural meeting places are the library in Stadsparken, where you find many people in different ages and with various background, and Mångkulturellt Center, which is located in a basement at Mäster Palms plats. The latter is a meeting place for young adults with various backgrounds, a creative meeting place which seem to grow. The interviewees at Mångkulturellt Center say, "*Now they invest here, it has evolved naturally, the music, but also the dance and the yoga. It is international and multicultural.*" (Informants 10 & 11). (Observation 10)

4.6 Networks and clusters

It has been shown that the creative class and creative producers like to join networks and clusters which is also generating exchange of knowledge and new ideas. So in order to stay creative and maybe also to make innovations the tendencies of networks and clusters are of importance. In the urban creative landscape social or professional networks or clustering are part of the informal software (see earlier Figure 5). Next we look into my findings from observations, interviews and articles concerning networks. Regarding Söder there are also signs of networks and clusters but there are no pictures illustrating this theme regarding Söder.

4.6.1 Nørrebro

In some of the interviews I made there are clear signs of networks in Nørrebro. One illustrating example is that during the interview with a person working with vegan ice-cream a man working with a vegan food truck enters the store and want to borrow something. He also wonders if the interviewee comes later to eat, and informs that it is much going on today. According to the interviewee they always borrow each other's stuff and he describes that this man has a food truck, goes around in the city, and now he will sell food for the line outside the sneaker sale (Authors comment: a line of about 100 meters of people at Elmegade, close to the ice-cream shop where the interview took place) Entrepreneurs in the street, Elmegade seem to cooperate, since according to the interviewee the other local producers in the street come with their kids to his store (Informant 5). One interviewee describes Nørrebro as "a collective" (Informant 4). To cooperate and interact are positive for creative environments since inter-personal interactions where people share their knowledge may inspire new perspectives (Hall & Williams 2008, p.84)

The street Jægersbrogade seem to have a network of creative producers and creative consumers. In the interview with new entrepreneurs in the street they describe people on the street as warm and welcoming, and the interviewees say their boss knows some shop and restaurant owners in the street but they don't yet. (Informants 6 & 7). I interpret the word "yet" as hopeful and that they have expectations on the street. An example of the warm atmosphere on the street is the big sign on a door of a closed down flower shop, communicating with both old customers and other people working in facilities on the street, that she (the former shop owner) will miss them and wanted to say goodbye, and hope to see them again (Picture 37). I saw much interactions between producers and consumers on the street and got the feeling they were often familiar with each other. Some telling observations will follow: I saw a female entrepreneur greeting her friend, a man with his little family strolling on the street. The family went inside the store and the man and the female entrepreneur talked about a book in the store. It seemed they both were both members of creative class. Another example is from a café in the street, where it seemed a female young guest there knew the café workers real good; I asked about the way to a place and they asked her, she spoke English and it seemed she knew everything about the area. It might be that the creative producers on this street have gathered. I saw a sign in an empty basement of what kind of business they preferably saw entering there. Maybe they have a goal of having a good mix of amenities on the street?

In Jægersbrogade as well as other places in Nørrebro it seems like similar businesses have gathered and cooperate. When a business is successful it is common that more of similar or related companies also locate close by (Hallencreutz, Lundequist & Malmberg 2004). I interpret that there are clusters of producers in some streets in Nørrebro, such as Jægersbrogade, and that some of them have become brands. During one of the observations I noted an example of co-creation of the street image of Jægersbrogade: a tourist couple (seemingly from Asia) asked about the price of a gold sprayed pineapple in a window, and it was not for sale. The entrepreneur said she also wanted to have more of them and sell them but she hasn't started it up yet, but they could buy one in the next street's grocery store... I got the impression that one of the reasons the pineapple was of interest for these tourists to buy was that it was in the window of this trendy street, as an evidence of it must be cool. (Observation 5)

During the observations I saw signs of what I interpreted as could be from the creative class. Some examples are: people with an appearance and outfit that stands out, informal meetings in the street between people such as a man with dreadlocks and a woman that had shaved her hair. (Observation 1). At Jægersbrogade people in general look wealthy and many look trendy and cool in some way. During observation there I typically saw women with long coats, sunglasses, and "low heel male shoes" and men with big beard, short hair and sneakers, and many men with babies in baby carrier on their stomach. (Observation 5) Other signs of values of the creative class are the street art on a wall at Nørrebrogade saying, "*dine penge mig i røven*" (See earlier picture 8) which in English means that "your money is not of interest for me" (Authors translation). According to Florida (2002, pp. 77-82) the creative class are motivated by being good at what they do, and no longer find their status in their wealth, and try to downplay it. There are also tattoo studios, and graffiti / street art between windows of expensive clothes store and elsewhere. (Observation 1). I saw signs of what could be communication from one creative

to another, e.g. a sign of that there is six ceramist women working in a basement studio (Picture 35). (Observation 1) During one observation I saw a building with a sign of “The girl pearl’s - pigeclub”, which I interpret as a club for women (Picture 36).

Nørrebro also has International level network and expressing of values. At Griffendalsgade there are facilities of ”Radical Venstre”, in a building called “Solidaritets huset”, (Picture 38), a building covered by street art, much posters and messages. Another network that was marketed on a poster on a wall is “Transform Danmark”; a network for alternative thinking, telling the program of International Transform Conference 2016 (12 March). (Observation 5)

Maybe Nørrebro has other networks that were not available for me to notice during observations? It could be a network of musicians there since from the article by Zaar (2011) it is described that a 21 year- old professional musician has most of his jobs in Copenhagen where there are many jazz clubs and good music, and that he will move to an apartment in Nørrebro. (Informant 5). There could also be organisations that work as a kind of active networks as the organisation “Vi tager gaderne tilbage” that made a manifestation described by the article of Dareberg and Fürstenberg (2012).

Pictures from Nørrebro related to networks and clusters



Picture 35 and 36. Sign in window of ceramic studio informing that six female ceramists work there, and club for girls. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)



Picture 37 and 38. Sign on door of a closed down flower-shop at Jægersborggade, and “Solidaritets huset” at Griffendalsgade. (Pictures by Sara Hedström 2016)

4.6.2 Söder

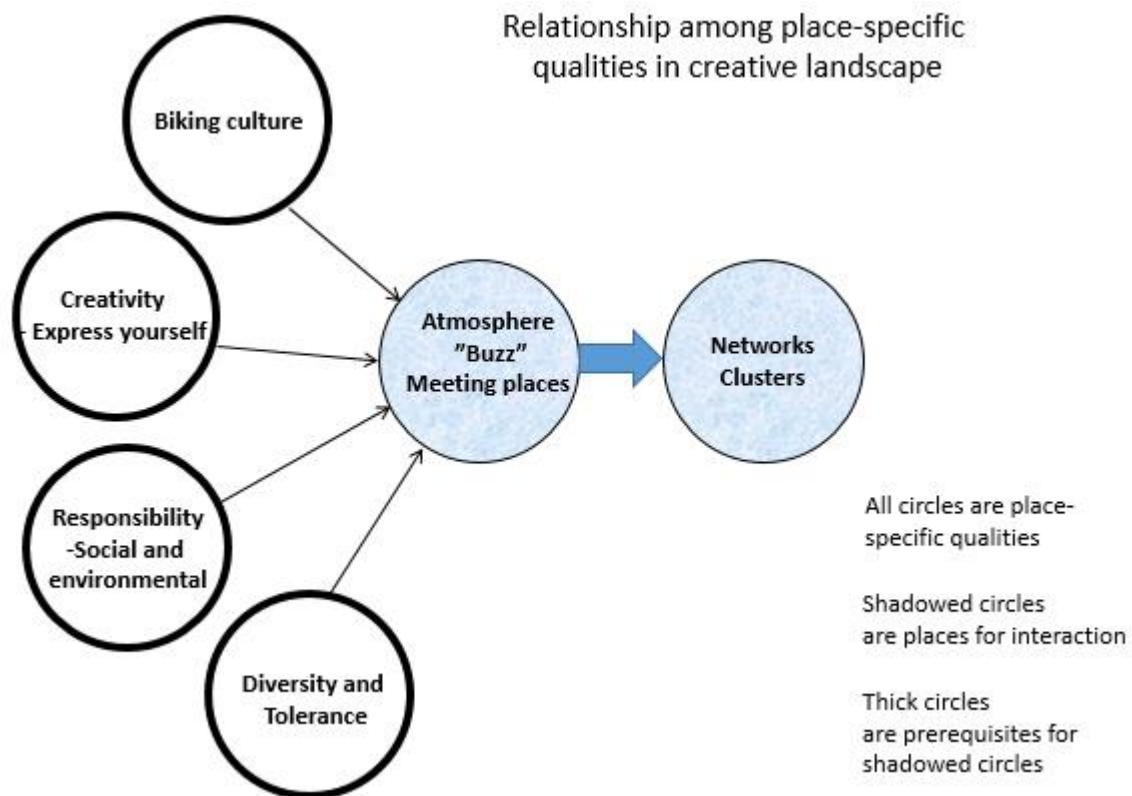
In Söder I found small signs of networks. From the article by Åkerlundh (2008) it is described that according to a study the traders in Söder are very proud of their neighbourhood, and that the soul of the neighbourhood should be kept when making initiatives in the area. I interpret it as traders working in the area feel Söder is a community. It is possible that there also is a network of musicians at Söder since one interviewee informed me that he has friends that are about 25 years-old and musicians, they are poor so they live in Söder (Informants 10 & 11). My interpretation are that musicians in Helsingborg area might gather in Söder. Further, Radisson Blu is regularly a meeting point for professional networks (Observation 2), and close by the hotel, at Mäster Palms plats I observed two people from the social responsibility organisation IM (“Individuell Människohjäl”), informing people about their work and asking for people to become members. (Observation 10). Students could be a possible network in Söder since there are student houses in the area but during my observations I did not notice student life. (Observation 10)

5 Conclusions and discussion

In this concluding chapter I present and discuss the main claims of the study in dialogue with relevant theories, including answers to the research questions and aim of the study. Finally the societal relevance of this research is lifted, and I give suggestions for further study

5.1 Conclusions from analysis of empirical data

To build an understanding of creativity as a tool in urban districts in transition, I have mapped the urban creative environment in the two different cases, Nørrebro in Copenhagen and Söder in Helsingborg. I organized the empirical data after the six reoccurring themes I found strong in the urban creative landscape of Nørrebro (the main case). Those themes are: (1) biking culture, (2) creativity – express yourself, (3) responsibility – social and environmental, (4) atmosphere, “buzz” and meeting places, (5) diversity and tolerance, and (6) networks and clusters, (illustrated in earlier Model 1). These themes are place-specific qualities of the creative landscapes, and answers the first research question: “*What are the place-specific qualities in the urban creative landscape?*” Through analysing the data it was clear that two of these place-specific qualities: (4) atmosphere, “buzz” and meeting places and (6) networks and clusters, are also places for interaction and the answer of the second research question: “*Where and how do interaction happen in revitalizing urban environments?*” Concerning Söder the themes are not so strong, but since the themes are stronger in Nørrebro I also found patterns that I illustrate in Model 2 below. As seen from the model below some of the place-specific qualities lead to some other qualities



Model 2: Relationship among place-specific qualities in the creative landscape (Author Sara Hedström 2016)

The interactions between people occurs in meeting places, networks and clusters. Meetings are planned or unplanned and can occur in different kind of places such as in: streets with “buzz”, cafés, restaurants, cultural institutions, stores, studios and salons. Seemingly of importance to create a good environment for creativity is to have the right atmosphere and “buzz” that draws the creative people (consumers and producers) to the place. So what is generating the right atmosphere and “buzz” that attracts the creative people? The research shows that regarding Nørrebro the four themes to the left in the Model 2: biking culture, creativity – express yourself, responsibility – social and environmental, diversity and tolerance, generates *stimulating atmosphere, “buzz” and meeting places* to attract and inspire the creative people in Nørrebro. As illustrated in the Model 2 these people can then gather and cooperate in networks and clusters, which may generate further creativity.

Next I present and analyse the six place-specific qualities found important in urban creative environments, and my arguments for why they are relevant and how they are connected to urban creativity.

Biking culture

Biking culture is a lifestyle in Nørrebro that is important for the urban creative environment because it facilitates face-to-face contact and interaction between people. It is part of the urban creative landscape both regarding the physical infrastructure such as streets made for biking and facilities such as bike stores, and also as informal collective expression of biking as a lifestyle. It also has the effect of fewer cars on the streets, and a more relaxed atmosphere. A relaxed atmosphere is found to be important background in the cultural scene due to the informal nature of exchange connected to social interaction and spare time (Richards 2014, p.127). Also the increased face-to-face contact and interaction that the biking culture brings with it is of interest for creative producers, creative consumers and visitors of a place. For the creative producers the link between face-to-face meetings, “buzz” and innovations are crucial, and necessary to reach and transmit the valuable “tacit knowledge” (Asheim, Coenen & Vang 2007). Regarding the creative consumers, e.g. the creative class, the atmosphere and street culture are part of the “quality of place” which is important for them (Richards & Wilson 2007, p.8). And for visitors the biking culture is of interest because of some visitors want to *experience and feel part of everyday life* (Maitland 2010, p.176), and at the same time there is a trend moving towards relational forms of tourism (Richards 2014), which the interactions make possible. In Söder there is not a biking culture today, but there are some signs that biking could increase in the near future.

Creativity – express yourself

To be creative and express yourself is common in Nørrebro. The most obvious form of creativity and expressing values are in street art and graffiti on building walls, but there are also other forms of expressing values, for example through demonstrations and manifestations. These kind of creative collective expressions are informal software in the urban creative landscape, and through these expressions people meet and interact and form new creations. Sometimes these expressions include messages from different groups such as the creative class. To have a climate of expressing values attracts the creative class since according to Florida, (2002, pp.77-82), the creative class prefers self-expression and does not adjust to group-oriented norms, and they like to create individualistic identities reflecting their creativity. Some people reflect their values in entrepreneurship and for example open up a vegan ice-cream store or offering ecological products. In Söder there are less clear expressions of creativity, for example I did not find street art or graffiti in Söder. Söder has though a lot of creative activities and courses such as “Folkuniversitetet’s” courses and activities from Mångkulturellt center.

Responsibility – social and environmental

In the district Nørrebro there are many signs of both environmental and social responsibility, and it seems like people are proud of it. For example there are many second hand stores, that also seem crowded, and many cafés, restaurants and stores have an ecological theme.

Responsibility – social and environmental, seems to unify people with similar values, who meet and interact with a common interest, which may lead to further creativity and development. These actions are also a collective sharing of cultural values and everyday practise, so it is an informal software of the creative landscape. I interpret these values also could be part of the socio-cultural qualities, such as social diversity, tolerance and openness, which are important for making urban regions attractive (Krätke 2010), and these kind of aspects are important for the creative class (Richards & Wilson 2007, p.8). So this place specific quality contributes to making Nørrebro attractive for the creative class and others. In Söder I found social responsibility in various forms, but I did not find any examples of values of environmental responsibility. An explanation might be that people in Söder in general are less wealthy than many people in Nørrebro, and wealthier residents may prioritize environmental issues more.

Diversity and tolerance

Diversity and tolerance are clear values seen in Nørrebro. I observed multicultural, cosmopolitan lifestyles where people express alternative and conscious lifestyles, and also various religions. The comment from one of the interviewees saying, “*It is very good here! A collective. Nørrebro is perfect, no problem, Danish, Swedish, Kurds. There is a lot of tourists in the area!*” (Informant 4), I interpret as there is diversity and tolerance in the district between locals, tourists and immigrants, which serves as a sense of pride. This is an important part of creative environment and also potential innovations since, “*Social diversity and a free flow of ideas*”, are key drivers of innovations (Carayannis & Gonzales 2003 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.22). It is in the balance between the different and convergent thinking the creativity of the group can be optimised (Hall & Williams 2008, p.84). Diversity and tolerance is informal software in the urban creative landscape, where multiculturalism is an attribute of the place and everyday practice. Similarly in Söder there is a multicultural atmosphere with many people from different origins, but in contrast to Nørrebro there are not as many alternative, and obviously self-expressive lifestyles in Söder.

Atmosphere, “buzz” and meeting places

Atmosphere, “buzz” and meeting places is a place-specific quality where people meet and interaction takes place, which is a prerequisite for creative development. A positive environment where tacit ideas and knowledge can be converted into explicit ideas for improvements is one of the main drivers of innovation (Carayannis & Gonzalez 2003:595-7 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.22). Regarding Nørrebro, meeting places with atmosphere and “buzz” are generated through the above mentioned place-specific qualities. Nørrebro typically has a lively atmosphere with people interacting, planned or unplanned, in the street and other meeting places. Some streets seem to be a meeting place for creative producers and creative consumers, and there is room for informal and unplanned meetings and interactions on the street.

The atmosphere in Nørrebro with face-to-face meetings and “buzz” attracts creative producers, creative consumers and visitors to the place. The argument that people are open to new ideas in Jægersborggade in Nørrebro (made by Informants 6 & 7, see chapter 4) seems reasonable, since according to Asheim, Coenen & Vang (2007) there is a link between face-to-face meetings, “buzz”, “tacit knowledge” and innovations. Florida (2002) describes that the creative class are drawn to atmosphere and cool, and Maitland (2010) informs that visitors enjoy metropolitan “buzz” together with the feel of an old place. I noted a lot of laid back meeting points in Nørrebro, and according to Richards (2014) it seems like relaxed meeting points, such as within tourism and leisure, is one stimulating factor for innovations. Some of the meeting places I noted seemed to be creative “hot spots”, often clubs or bars where leisure consumption shifts towards work, and where “culturepreneurs” exchange knowledge and stimulate innovation (Lange 2006 cited in Richards 2014, p.127). Regarding Söder, the liveliest atmosphere is around the typical meeting places of the residents in Söder, such as the market place at Gustav Adolfs torg and the area around it. Söder has a different character than Nørrebro, it is less cool but still with a lively atmosphere around some meeting places, which may generate creativity. In contrast it should also be mentioned that some areas in Söder create a depressed feeling, with hardly any people and closed down stores. In the creative landscape meeting places are part of the infrastructure (formal hardware) and the “buzz” and atmosphere is key in the informal software.

Networks and clusters

Social or professional networks or clustering are an important place-specific quality where interaction takes place, and part of the informal software in the urban creative landscape. Through the empirical study I found some people, mainly in Nørrebro but also in Söder, gather and cooperate in networks and clusters, which is an outcome of meeting places with atmosphere and “buzz”. In Nørrebro entrepreneurs working with vegan food at Elmegade cooperate regarding amenities and businesses, and similarly regarding entrepreneurs on the street Jægersborggade, there seem to be a network of creative producers and creative consumers. To cooperate and interact generates creativity since, according to Hall and Williams (2008, p.84), creativity seldom comes just from one individual; instead, it seems to be initiated by *interactions* among people, and especially from people working together. It is through these inter-personal interactions that people share their knowledge which may inspire new thinking and perspectives (Hall & Williams 2008, p.84).

At Jægersborggade as well as other places in Nørrebro it seems like similar businesses have gathered and cooperate. Hallencreutz, Lundequist and Malmberg (2004) explain that when a business is located in a place and gets successful, it is common that it is accompanied by other companies alike, or related, in the same place. Explanations for this process could be that people from the original business quit and start their own similar business, and that companies inspire other companies. Another factor is that businesses that have settled down seldom move; instead they grow through attracting companies and workers from outside. The local cluster becomes a kind of brand (Hallencreutz, Lundequist & Malmberg 2004). In Söder I found small signs of

networks; the traders there might cooperate since they say they are proud of the area (Åkerlundh 2008), there might also be a network of musicians (Informants 10 & 11) and also professional networks that meet regularly at Radisson Blu Metropol Hotel.

Different categories seem to create networks and clusters in various ways, but regardless of how, it is beneficial to cooperate and cluster which should be encouraged by urban policy that want to optimize the urban creative landscape. The creative producers in Nørrebro seem to cluster based on their locality while the clusters of musicians that seem to be in both Nørrebro (Zaar 2011) and Söder (Informants 10 & 11) may gather in a different way. Since they have another form of business it might be that they gather in these districts by their housing and then perform in various facilities and streets in the districts. Independently of how you network and cluster it still generates benefits. An advantage of clustering is that the actors together create values that are bigger than they could do by themselves (Hallencrutz, Lundequist & Malmberg 2004, p.37). Some advantages are: they can share costs such as for infrastructure, a specialised competence attracts more specialists, and they get a local environment stimulating learning and innovation. When many actors from similar or related branches gather it may also start processes of learning, flexibility, and innovation. A local culture with specific norms, values, and informal rules are developed, and “tacit knowledge” can be transferred from one actor to another. (Hallencrutz, Lundequist & Malmberg 2004, p.35) Networks and clusters are one of the drivers of innovation (Carayannis & Gonzalez 2003:595-7 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.22) so for policy makers to encourage innovation they should as Doel and Hubbard (2002:263 cited in Hall & Williams 2008, p.170) argue, “*Replace their place-based way of thinking with focus on connectivity, performance and flow*”. To conclude I would recommend urban policy makers to encourage place-specific qualities in the urban creative landscape that generates meeting places with atmosphere and “buzz”, where people can meet and interact, which also in turn may generate networks and creative clusters that can create further creativity.

5.2 Societal relevance

Urban cities are part of the global world and the “new mobilities” paradigm where people and companies travel more (Sheller & Urry 2006, p.207); instead of the old industrial society, most parts of the world are in a state of transition into a knowledge-based society (Florida 2010b cited in Florida 2014, p.203), where many people as they get better wealth want to do other things in life than just survive (Inglehart 2000 cited in Florida 2002, p.81). In urban cities there is typically a mix of different groups of people and in some districts there are tensions between the groups. Some groups of people can feel excluded from society and react destructively, sometimes with criminality. I described in the introduction how the district of Söder seem to have experienced more crime in the last 20 years. A development Söder share with other districts in Sweden, evidenced by the newspaper headline, “Rule of law cannot retreat. Although the stones are raining.” (Rättsstaten får inte retirera. Även om stenarna regnar 2016). This newspaper article is about suburbs in Sweden where people feel excluded from society and criminal gangs aims to be in charge. So it is an important topic where all tools aiming to contribute to a better urban environment should be explored.

Regarding the case of Nørrebro the situation has changed from a district of crime and gang wars, where people preferred to stay at home and not go out, to an urban district recommended to visit in the guidebook Lonely Planet (Bonetto 2015). This transformation of an urban district, could be deeper explored and learned from. Through analysing the empirical data of the case of Nørrebro, I found place-specific qualities contributing to the positive development of an urban creative environment. I recommend urban policy aiming to work on transition of urban districts in need of positive development, to explore these districts' place-specific qualities and, together with grassroots level in urban districts, work towards a transition. The urban creative environment is place-specific but this research could work as a model and inspiration. In the new urban city we need to find tools to stop exclusion of people, and aim to make all people feel they contribute and are an important part of the society. Creativity has potential in this area since it is flexible, fluid and process based, and here diversity is a potential stimulus (Richards & Wilson 2007), and it can come up with new and useful combinations (Florida 2002).

Existing literature within creative economy focuses much on policy makers adopting a creative approach as an opportunity to increase tourism and to attract the creative people (consumers and producers), but this research focuses on the street level, the grassroots level, which I think needs to be further explored. The creative class, creative producers and visitors are of course important for development and wealth of cities, but also the grassroots creativity could bring advantages, such as people feeling included and getting jobs. I recommend to make similar studies in other urban districts to explore and map their creative landscape and test Model 2. So eventually it might be generalised and end up with more detailed theory that could be used to make better recommendations for urban policies. Ultimately the model could be used like a tool for urban policies to revitalize urban districts, such as suburbs in need of a positive change, from grassroots level. What is there to be further built on and could creative economy approach contribute to generate this positive change?

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Interview list

Informant 1: Jonas Pedersen, Tattoo artist

Informant 2: Hamajun, Shop Manager

Informant 3: Tushe Berisha, Waitress

Informant 4: Ahmet, Chauffeur

Informant 5: Fannar Mår Björgvinsson, Owner of ice-cream shop

Informant 6: Mikkel Lustrup, Project leader

Informant 7: Ebbe Korsgaard, Project worker

Informant 8: Cæcilie Holm, Shop Manager

Informant 9: Ranya Fayad, Salon part-owner

Informant 10: Christofer Björk, Music Operations Manager

Informant 11: Andross Quinate, Musician