

BE CREATIVE : CITY PLANNING IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Abstract:

Changing economic and living conditions in the late 20th and beginning 21st century lead to significant transformations which affect city planning notably. One phenomenon of present city development are the so-called Creative Cities, which can be found primarily in Europe and North America. With the help of a case study conducted in Dublin (Ireland), the paper presents characteristics of a Creative City and its connection to the knowledge society. The study shows that two different interpretations of the term 'creativity' exist in the planning context in Dublin, leading to different strategies of city development. With the help of the digital media cluster *The Digital Hub*, one dimension of those strategies is elaborated.

keywords: creativity, city planning, knowledge society, digital media, Dublin

1. Introductory remarks

What is a city? And what is the connection between a society and its cities? These are contemporary questions, but they have a long tradition. Not only did Max Weber and Georg Simmel as prominent sociologists talk about cities (Weber, 1920; Simmel, 2006 [1903]), already Platon talked about the connection between the state of a society and the state of its city (Platon, 2003).

My paper focusses on present developments of cities in Europe. With the help of a case study conducted in the city of Dublin (Ireland) I show some characteristics of current city planning and their influence on the city. To start with, the theoretical and methodological backgrounds of the study are presented to provide the framework for the then following presentation of the findings of the study. This framework implies a short outline of some of the aspects of the transformations within European societies. The focus lies on the changes in the field of work and on two potentially guiding principles of Western societies.

2. Societies change

A lot of analyses have been conducted in order to grasp the changes that

contemporary societies undergo. Focussing on the late 20th and beginning 21st century in Europe and North America, I will state those theoretical approaches that are primarily relevant for my study. Those include (1) the transformation of working conditions and demands, (2) the growing importance of knowledge for contemporary societies, and (3) the rise of creativity as an apparent guideline for life and work. The first two aspects are closely connected, whereas the third aspect is more concerned with what can be called a guideline of (social) life.

2.1 Transformation of working conditions and demands

When talking about social changes, the transformations in the field of work generally get special attention. In order to fully understand the development of Dublin, it is necessary to recall some of the central changes and their explanations. In this paper, I focus on the developments in Europe and give some illustrative examples from Germany, being the country I know best.

The industrial sector dominated the economy of most of European countries at least until the 1970's. Technological progress and the decline of natural resources led many countries to re-think their economic orientation. Germany's Ruhrgebiet can be taken as a classic example: It is a region located in the West of the country, having had a strong industrial orientation with its focus on mining. Since the late 1950's, the region has had to face major economic, social, and ecological problems when the mining industry collapsed – and those mines that did not shut down had to depend and still depend on major state-subsidies.

Mining is just one field that was effected by the changes to a great extend. Factories with a focus on manufacturing had been working places for the majority of people living in cities. The advancements in the modes of production led to a declining demand for (manual) workers – new fields of work had to be developed to cope with growing unemployment. Simultaneously, the need for services grew, and so did the services sector. To state an example: In Germany, the secondary sector including industrial fields accounted for 49,4% in 1970, the tertiary sector for 41,5% of the employments. In 1998, the tertiary sector had grown to 63,3%, while the secondary sector declined to 33,8% (Rürup & Sesselmeier, 2001, p. 248). Including a fourth sector, which acknowledges the importance of information, it is predicted that this informational sector will account for over 50% of the employments in 2010, with a relatively stable tertiary sector and a continuously declining secondary sector (Rürup & Sesselmeier, 2001, p. 251). Having stated one example of a specific European country, it has to be said that developments in other countries certainly vary. But in Western Europe and North America, they do show similar characteristics.

In many contexts, these developments are termed postindustrialism (Bell, 1973). Although there exist a lot of arguments criticising this term (e.g. Castells, 1996),

I will use it for now because it indicates one aspect that is central for this paper: industrial production loses importance and is pushed aside by something different.

Such transformations in the different working sectors imply changing working conditions and demands. More enterprises concerned with the different dimensions of services exist, meaning a higher demand of people with special skills working in those places. Additionally, the need of e.g. a factory site with sufficient space for stockrooms and machines decreases, and the access to resources as water, coal, etc. becomes less important, too. Therefore, it is possible for enterprises to be located quite close to the city centres.

Of course, not all factories were in need of huge spaces for their production, and there are also enterprises of the services sector that are located far outside the city centres. In order to highlight the changes taking place and their influence on cities, I will nonetheless (over)emphasize this distinction. I want to explain why: According to Bell, the postindustrial society is based upon services – and with that, "it is a game between persons" (Bell, 1973, p. 127). This does not necessarily imply face-to-face interaction; but depending on the respective field, that form of interaction is important. Following Bell's definition of the services sector (e.g. Bell, 1973, p.127f.), which includes the fields of public service and education, it is obvious that there exist a high dependency on direct contact between people. This is why I stress the spatial aspect of the growth of the services sector: Interpersonal communication is a lot easier when the enterprise is located in or close to the city centres.

Still following Bell, information becomes the central resource (Bell, 1973, p. 127); the example of the German society, stated above, illustrates the (economic) importance of occupations dealing in one way or another with information.

This leads to the second aspect, the role of information and knowledge in contemporary societies, which is central to the development of the city of Dublin.

2.2 Knowledge as important resource in contemporary societies

This paper aims at giving a rough outline of some argumentations concerned with the growing importance of knowledge and, connected, the necessary change of the mode of interaction in those societies. In doing so, I refer to some of the important thinkers of what is so often called the knowledge society.¹

¹ In this context, I skip discussing the complex connection of and differences between information and knowledge. Referring to information and communication sciences, I consider information as being the necessary elements of knowledge, which in turn is necessary to be able to handle information.

As shown above, Bell considered information as having become a central good. Therewith describing a specific form of society, he picked up what Robert E. Lane had described and termed as "knowledgeable society" (Lane, 1966, e.g. p. 649) several years before.

Another important figure is Manuel Castells who "propose[s] to shift the analytical emphasis from *postindustrialism* [...] to *informationalism*." (Castells, 1996, p. 204) The reason is his focussing on how societies organize their production systems.² According to Castells, an informational society does so by "maximizing knowledge-based productivity through the development and diffusion of information technologies" (Castells, 1996, p. 204). In this sense, knowledge is both outcome of and resource for the work with information.

Following this line of argumentation, the working sphere of contemporary Western societies is to a large extent organized around knowledge and information. Skills needed for a growing number of occupations include the use of information technologies like computer software and databases. Accumulating and using knowledge becomes central for such diverse fields as finance, education, and media.

In this sense, knowledge becomes a guideline for certain societies, by now especially for those in Europe and North America.³

2.3 Creativity : a resource for all?

Having formulated one central guideline, knowledge, I now turn towards a guideline of social practices that is not so directly connected to the fields of work: creativity.

Back in the 18th and 19th century, creativity seemed to be an exclusive competence of artists. The romantic movement – with representatives such as Clemens Brentano, Friedrich Schlegel, and Caspar David Friedrich – can be taken as example for a development in societies that appointed a social group as being creative: The artist as a genius, creating pieces of art and literature with the help of his/her talent and thereby expressing the inner self. Creativity is therefore located in the fields of art, it has hardly an economic dimension, neither does it affect the everyday practices of the rest of the society. In this sense, it is an elitist concept.

The solely aesthetic dimension of creativity starts to transform in the middle of

2 To contrast Bell and Castells, one might say that Bell focused more on production modes than on the organization of production systems and the communication culture.

3 Certainly, the impact of such a transformation on the social structure of a society, including questions of social inequality and segregation, is highly important. Nonetheless, because of the special focus of this paper, they cannot be dealt with at this point.

the 20th century. In the field of psychological research, the ability of people in general to create things began to be acknowledged. Later on, more and more social spheres became connected with the concept of creativity; finally, it also entered the economic field as a key word.

Today, different theories exist describing the role of creativity in contemporary (Western) societies. I focus on those which consider creativity as a prominent guideline of social and economic life, therewith (re)shaping the social structure of society in a certain way.

Andreas Reckwitz coined the term 'creative subject' (Reckwitz, 2007) to grab two things: (1) The (poststructuralist) concept of the subject, prominently elaborated by Judith Butler (cf. Butler, 1990), describes a relationship between the discourse, the society and the individual person. It understands the person as essentially influenced and shaped by the discourse; in the discourse in turn, there exist several conceptions of the subject, each with certain societal demands. Over time, changes occur concerning the hegemonic concept, meaning that the importance of certain societal demands change as well. (2) Following this concept, Reckwitz identifies creativity and the creative subject as the hegemonic form in contemporary Western societies. In this sense, Reckwitz is not so much concerned with the nature of creativity but with its effects on societies. Creativity serves as a demand, it is a norm highly ranked within the respective society.

With a similar conclusion, but a very different starting point and methodology, Richard Florida formulated in 2002 what he called "the rise of the Creative Class" (Florida, 2004 [2002]). Taking the changes in the field of work as his starting point,⁴ Florida pointed out that the number of people professionally using their creativity – understood as "the ability to create meaningful new forms" (Florida, 2004, p. 5) – grows rapidly in the USA. Based on that observation, he announced a new economic class: the Creative Class (Florida, 2004, p. 8). Though still smaller than the Service Class, he considers it as having a major impact on the US-economy and as being "the norm-setting class of our time" (Florida, 2004, p. 9). To his mind, creativity is a human ability that everyone can use for life and work. In this sense, everyone can potentially become a member of the Creative Class. Additionally, Florida considers creativity as a central value of contemporary Western societies. By calling the Creative Class norm-setting, he therewith states creativity as a significant (social) guideline for the whole society. This is a major distinction to what I described above as an elitist concept, the assumption that creativity is something innate of a special group of people.

4 When elaborating his concept, Florida explicitly refers to Bell (1973) and Drucker (1993) to describe the economic changes and the shift towards a knowledge-based economy (Florida, 2004, p. 67).

It is interesting how Florida describes the structure of this class: the members are unified by the characteristics of their occupations – being paid for creating and using something new – and divided in two subgroups: the super-creative core and the creative professionals. The first group comprises those whose occupations are characterised by problem-identifying and -solving, while the latter includes those who mainly use the new solutions and products (Florida, 2004, p. 67-70). Despite the similarities within the class, Florida states a lack of class-consciousness (Florida, 2004, p. 315); this is an interesting difference to e.g. the Working Class in the 19th and 20th century.

Florida's theory is important for the analysis of contemporary cities because he identifies certain cities as especially attractive for members of the Creative Class (Florida, 2004, p. 7). An analysis of those cities led him to the theory of the three T's: talent, technology and tolerance were identified as key factors (Florida, 2005).

Similar to Simmel's assumption that large cities influence the mental life of their inhabitants (Simmel, 2006 [1903]), Florida assigns cities the ability to be "cauldrons of creativity" (Florida, 2005, p. 1). This is when I now turn towards city planning in the 21st century and my case study of Dublin.

3. Cities change – the concept of the Creative Cities

The term 'creative' as city-label has reached more and more European and North American cities by now.

It was in 1998 when the UK-government published a study concerning the characteristics of what was called the creative industries, the *Creative Industries Mapping Document*. Since then, the term has entered the public and academic sphere, describing a field of work that is concerned with arts and culture in a broad sense, while at the same time having an undeniable economic dimension (cf. Hartley, 2004; Howkins, 2004; Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999). In that respect, the creative industries imply what is known as cultural industries, adding a strong(er) economic orientation. In some cases the terms are used interchangeably – that depends on the relative theoretical point of view (cf. Hesmondhalgh, 2002).

Two years after the UK-report, Charles Landry published his book on the Creative City (Landry, 2000) after having worked on that topic for some time. In this book he discussed the question why some cities were more successful than others in coping with changes and in developing further – concluding that using the potential of a city in a creative way is the reason. A Creative City in this respect is a city which is planned in a new, innovative way – and Landry claims to be able to give instructions for what he calls "urban innovators" (as the book's subtitle indicates). The book can be regarded as the starting point for a broad

discussion around the so-called Creative City. When Richard Florida published his book on the interdependence of cities and the Creative Class in 2005, the term finally entered both the public and the academic sphere.

More and more cities started to call themselves creative, but it served also as an attribute coming from the outside.⁵ Sociologists, registering this phenomenon, started to work on it; this resulted in a growing number of publications (cf. Carta, 2007; Heßler, 2007; Heßler & Zimmermann, 2008; Sako Musterd, 2005). All these publications capture aspects of the phenomenon, but what they hardly do is assessing the following questions: What is meant by 'creativity' when it comes to a city and its planning processes, and what implications do these planning processes have on the city itself? In order to fill this gap, I conducted a case study in Dublin, the capital of Ireland.

4. The case of Dublin

In the Republic of Ireland⁶, the changes towards a knowledge society were different to those in e.g. Germany. The country remained dominated by the industrial and agricultural sector for a longer time than other European countries and was often considered as remarkably poor. After joining the European Union (EU) in 1973, subsidies reached the country and the economy started to boom. In 2005, Ireland was one of the richest countries in the EU, having been described as the "celtic tiger" because of its fast economic development (cf. Breathnach, 1998). Dublin as Ireland's capital became more and more attractive for people from within the country and from abroad, both as a place to work and to live. The country has a comparatively low tax on enterprises; this is considered as one reason why a considerable number of enterprises from the services sector moved to Ireland, *Google* being only one example. By now, approximately two-thirds of the workforce is employed within the services sector. The Irish government also encourages enterprises in the field of Research, Development, and Innovation (RD&I) to settle in Ireland, the Industrial Development Agency Ireland (IDA) seeing a "clear commitment to supporting the RD&I sector" (Industrial Development Agency Ireland, 2009) in the Irish government's strategy papers.

Despite this development, Ireland is still lacking some elements of a 'true' knowledge society. For example, the supply of information technologies is not granted; e.g. there are still major lacks in broadband internet supply. Expressed

5 The German monthly journal "Der Spiegel" can serve as an example: In 2007, a special issue on Creative Cities, including Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Helsinki, was released which described the specific characteristics of these cities.

6 In the following, I speak of Ireland, meaning the Republic of Ireland, though knowing that this means to ignore the complex political situation on the island.

in percent, the Dublin region is leading when it comes to the access of personal computers in private households and internet. But even here, deficits still exist. Nonetheless, Ireland can be described as a country on the way towards a knowledge society. In the context of city planning and development, such a process is especially interesting: What role does a city, in this case Dublin, play for a society that is changing in this respect? Does a connection exist between knowledge and creativity as guiding principles of contemporary Western societies?

In the following, I give a short overview of the methods used in the case study before turning to the findings. Those will be elaborated and illustrated by using one example of Dublin city planning strategies, being the Digital Hub Development Agency.

4.1 Methodology of the case study

In order to explore the planning strategies of a Creative City and their influence on the city itself, I chose a European city that calls itself creative: Dublin. In this sense, the term serves as a self description, even though the city is referred to as creative from the outside as well (e.g. Landry, 2000, p. 1). Four different methods were important to my study, and I combined them: (1) ethnographic fieldwork, (2) qualitative interviews, (3) archival data analysis, and (4) recently developed – in some ways experimental – tools of visual ethnography. In the following, I will describe the four methods a bit more detailed:

(1) Within one year, I spent three months in Dublin, to begin with two months in a row and then one. This time was used to do ethnographic fieldwork. I tried to explore the city as much as an inhabitant as possible, using participant observation to find out about important places and streets, about ways of moving around and using the city. Additionally, I focused on the (material) transformation of the city, documenting the ongoing changes. The impressions were formulated in fieldnotes.

(2) I conducted 10 qualitative interviews with both city planners (six interviews) and people working in the creative industries (four interviews). The interviews were guideline-oriented, and those with the planning experts were additionally conducted as expert interviews.

(3) In order to analyse planning documents and strategy papers of Dublin's planning authorities, I used the archival data analysis. The documents were checked for certain important key words and, if found, the context was analysed. Furthermore, I extracted the central planning visions and strategies.

(4) To capture the changes and the material and spatial transformation of the city, I took pictures of selected parts of the city (photographic documentation).

The selection was led by information I got both from the planning documents and from the interviewees. In order to better document and understand the changes that the city is going through, I looked for older pictures and picture postcards of Dublin in three national and local archives (National Photographic Archiv, Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin City Library & Archive). A choice was made according to those parts in Dublin that are of special importance and with reference to the year the picture was taken – I concentrated on pictures from the 1950's to 1980's.

4.2 Findings

Using my data I can show that in the case of Dublin, creativity is used as a key word for the planning of the city. It has a double meaning: On the one hand, it is connected to an aesthetic connotation. On the other hand, it means (technological) innovation and the fabrication of knowledge. In the following, these concepts will be introduced (s. subsections 4.2.1 to 4.2.3). Finally, one area in Dublin, *The Digital Hub*, is used to illustrate the effect of this emphasis on knowledge on the materiality of the city.

4.2.1 City planning in Dublin: creativity as a vision

The analysis of the planning documents, above all the *Dublin City Development Plan 2005-2011* which formulates overall strategies, shows that the city positions itself among other "innovative and creative cities" (Dublin City Council, 2005, p. 35). Both "complexity" and "diversity" (Dublin City Council, 2005, p. 35) are identified as fundamental characteristics of such cities which are to be expressed with the help of the materiality of the city. 'Creativity' serves as a vanishing point and is left blank – meaning, there is no definition of creativity in the document.

What can be found though is a description of important economic fields: Financial Services, Digital Media and Culture are, with others, identified as "key growth sectors" (Dublin City Council, 2005, p. 47). Their need of a specific infrastructure and therefore their spatial influence are reflected and integrated. Additionally, the document accentuates the importance of mixed use (Dublin City Council, 2005, p. 81; p. 141) and the possibility to plan the city in order to give space to e.g. artists who contribute to the cultural dimension of the city (Dublin City Council, 2005, p. 79).

Planning documents that are concerned with planning strategies and processes on district level show similarities in leaving the term 'creativity' mostly undefined. The context often gives an idea of what is meant by it in the respective document and district.

The analysis and the interviews with representatives of the Dublin City Council show that creativity is used as a guideline for the future planning of the city. Several interviewees show a familiarity with Florida's concept of the Creative Class; in some cases it is described as providing a useful terminological framework. However, it is claimed that the phenomenon and the strategies proposed by Florida are not new but already known and used by the persons in charge (cf. interview CO1).

I now turn to what I call the two dimensions of creativity. Having an undefined term of creativity as a planning guideline on the superordinate planning level, the term is filled with content on the district level.

4.2.2 Creativity as arts and culture

Having identified the romantic movement in the 18th and 19th century as an important reference point for the concept of creativity (s. section 2.3), arts and culture can still be regarded as main fields associated with creativity. This is also coherent with a common understanding of creativity expressed in everyday life. The *Dublin City Development Plan 2005-2011* identifies Culture as one central growth sector. Cultural and creative industries are assigned economic importance for the city (Dublin City Development Board, 2002, p. 96), additionally being meaningful elements of the city's development towards a Creative City. All district planning strategies imply the dimension of arts and culture, but one district serves as major reference point: Temple Bar. This inner-city quarter has established itself as the cultural quarter in Dublin, having undergone a process of gentrification since the 1970's. By now, it is a place for cultural events as well as it provides subsidised working space for artists. When it comes to situating this cultural dimension of the Creative City geographically, Temple Bar is the place. The interviews show that creativity is interpreted as having an aesthetic dimension – the quarter is said to have a "concentration of cultural facilities", accounting for "so much creativity" (interview TB1). Creativity has an aesthetic, cultural meaning; and it is necessary to strengthen it in the context of the discussion around the knowledge economy (cf. interview TB 1).

4.2.3 Creativity as innovation

Contrary to the aesthetic dimension formulated above, the second way to understand creativity is to interpret it as (technological) innovation. For example, a representative of the Dublin City Council describes the city's strategy to foster the economic development of the city: to establish what is called a "creative/knowledge alliance" (interview CC1). The services and knowledge

sector are supposed to take a major role in this context. As described above, Dublin has already become attractive for enterprises from both of these sectors; for example, the *International Financial Services Centre* (IFSC) is located near the former port in the Dublin Docklands, *Google* having its European headquarter not far away. As it is the case with culture, the services and knowledge sectors are described as important for becoming a Creative City in the development plans. With focussing on these economic fields, the representatives concentrate on members of the Creative Class – financial occupations being part of what Florida calls the "creative professionals", media occupations being included in the so-called "super-creative core" (Florida, 2004, p. 328). These professions are concerned with developing and using knowledge – by identifying occurring problems, finding (new) ways to solve them, and applying what was developed, often with the help of information technologies. Linked with that is the perspective that creativity is equivalent to innovation.

Interviews show that the strategies focusing on this economic transformation are not entirely top-down-processes. In fact, the representatives noticed the existence of those enterprises (cf. interview CO1) and started promoting this development.

Having a closer look at what has been done by now to realise the planning strategies, *The Digital Hub* stands out. It is a city planning project that aims at attracting digital media companies by establishing a centre of knowledge and providing adequate infrastructure facilities. In the development plan, *The Digital Hub* is characterised as "a centre of excellence for knowledge, innovation and creativity focused around digital media enterprise" (Digital Hub Development Agency, 2003, p. 3). Although in this case it is distinguished between these three terms, the analysis of the entire documents and the interviews show that they are mainly used interchangeably. Therewith, *The Digital Hub* can serve as an example for a cluster of a certain part of the knowledge society.

To explain the influence of those planning strategies and conceptions on the spatial and material dimensions of the city, I will now exemplarily describe the characteristics of the area where *The Digital Hub* is located.

4.3 The Digital Hub: a place for the knowledge society

The development of several districts in Dublin illustrate how the two meanings of creativity influence city planning and how that in turn affects the city's materiality. *The Digital Hub* is an interesting example for these effects. It is a small inner-city area, founded by the Irish Government in 2003, and situated in one of the oldest parts of Dublin, the Liberties. Here, the *Guinness* brewery had its former brewery buildings, and parts of them are now used by *The Digital Hub*. Most of the brewery buildings are protected as historical monuments, and

this has at least one major implication: The buildings themselves cannot be changed, but the interior. Two pictures illustrate the resulting difference in outer and inner appearance of one part of *The Digital Hub*, called *The Digital Depot*:



outer appearance: *The Digital Depot* (area around the windmill), Thomas St, Dublin, Ireland
© Anna-Lisa Müller (2008)



inner appearance: *The Digital Depot*, Thomas St, Dublin, Ireland
© Digital Hub Development Agency (2007)

Altogether, from the outside, the district appears to be quite run down. This is an impression that is confirmed by the representatives I interviewed, and they stress the importance of *The Digital Hub* for this area as a mode of renewal (cf. interview DH1). By now, the changes have only taken place inside the different buildings; perspectively, new buildings are planned, but they could not yet be realised (cf. interview DH1). Transforming primarily the inside and not the outside has had, as it is the impression of the representatives of the Digital Hub Development Agency, positive effects on the integration of the initiative in the local community (cf. interview DH1).

The integrative community development strategy (cf. Digital Hub Development Agency, 2003) is also expressed in strategies to work together with local schools and community projects. One reason for the cooperation is the anticipated urban regeneration of this district; another is to educate future work force in the field of digital media and therewith enhancing Dublin's and Ireland's position as a knowledge society.

Turning to the inner appearance of *The Digital Hub*, I now come to the connection between the facilities and the people working there. What the Digital Hub Development Agency does with this project is providing a certain infrastructure. The characteristics of this infrastructure highly depend on what is identified as the demands of the digital media field. This is: office space, supply with information technologies including broadband, meeting spaces, inner-city location (cf. interview DH2). The latter aspect, the distance to the city centre which should be as close as possible, can be connected to the role of cities in the knowledge society which I described above (s. chapter 2): Communication becomes central, and cities serve as places for (face-to-face) interaction. The infrastructure offered therefore implies office spaces in different sizes and with varying equipments in a district close to the city centre. To meet the assumed needs for places to meet, discuss and relax, *The Digital Depot* for example is equipped with meeting rooms in different sizes and a café. Apparently, the demands identified by the Agency match those of the people working there. Being provided with such an infrastructure is named as one of the most important reasons for moving to *The Digital Hub* by a representative of a digital media company (cf. interview CI1).

Up to now, the effects of the changes towards a knowledge society are hardly visible in the material appearance of this particular area. But the existence of such a working place close to the centre of the city does have effects on the structure and the materiality of the whole city. The need for living space that matches the demands of the people working in the knowledge sector rises; sufficient supply with information technologies is required; the wishes for recreational activities have to be met to name only three aspects.

Having shown the effects that the change in a society has on cities and their

development, I conclude this paper with some final remarks.

5. Conclusion

The phenomenon of the Creative Cities is strongly linked with changes in contemporary Western societies. Having identified central aspects of knowledge societies, I used Dublin as example to show two things: (1) Dublin is explicitly oriented at becoming a place for the knowledge society in order to positively develop the city in an economic and a social sense. (2) Additionally, it uses the concept of the Creative City as a planning guideline. With that, creativity serves as a key word in planning processes and development strategies.

Using my data, I can show that creativity, used in the planning processes, has a double meaning: On the one hand, it is connected with an aesthetic connotation. On the other hand, it means (technological) innovation and the fabrication of knowledge. With the help of the latter connotation, it is possible for the planning authorities to integrate the vision of the Creative City in the conception of the Irish society as a knowledge society.

Applying the Creative City concept implies using the two different understandings of 'creativity'. By interpreting the term as (technological) innovation, the connection to the knowledge society is emphasised even more. Using the term with an aesthetic connotation, the focus lies on the field of arts and culture. Both have different, but equally strong effects on the materiality of the city.

With the help of one area, *The Digital Hub*, one dimension with its effects on the city was elaborated. The analysis of *The Digital Hub* shows that the orientation on becoming a knowledge society affects the city planning and therewith the development of the city. Beyond that, the example showed the complex connection between existing space, planning guidelines, and the implementation of planning strategies.

Interviews

CC1: interview with a representative of the Dublin City Council, Dublin, 16th Sept 2008

CI1: interview with a representative of a digital media company, located in the Digital Hub, Dublin, 20th Sept 2008

CO1: interview with a representative of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, Dublin, 25th Sept 2008

DH1: interview with representatives of the Digital Hub Development Agency, Dublin, 16th Sept 2008

DH2: interview with a representative of the Digital Hub Development Agency, Dublin, 26th Sept 2008

TB1: interview with a representative of the Temple Bar Cultural Trust, Dublin, 8th April 2008

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