Declining Cities/Developing Cities: Polish and German Perspectives
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Reconfiguring Europe: Expert knowledge, EU-projects, and the formation of "creative cities"

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Abstract. Understandings of the "decline" and "development" of urban systems will be considered as modernist concepts of "catching up" with recent meta-narratives – such as "creativity" and "knowledge-based" urban developments. They imply economic fields to target, which recently have been most visible by highlighting knowledge- and creativity-based urban approaches. Nowadays cities, especially European ones, compete among each other – not only factually in the fields of innovative talents and financial investments, but also in the field of production of relevant scientifically based knowledge of the city. The task of this article is to ask how cities are negotiated in European research projects these days. The leading question is what kind of methods are established in order to position cities by categorizing and labelling them as "declining" or "developing"?

The production of knowledge about cities is based on expert cultures and their scholarships, which is very often rooted in urban and regional knowledge cultures. It will be critically asked, how can the case structures of cities be regarded as a specific way to deal with the distinct locality within the context of posttraditional knowledge frames? How can a city articulate its singularity?

The article addresses the analytical and methodological problem of dealing with parallel-running (socio-economic and socio-spatial) processes in cities, while overall comparisons of cities in the enlarged EU play a more important role and systematically suppress individual pathways.

1. Participating in the EU – Problems, Questions, and Outlines

1.1 Problems and Questions

The achievement of visibility, recognition, and attention for cities has been based on economic location factors for a long time. In post-traditional knowledge-based European societies, being on the enlarged European map is associated with various forms of self-description, place-making and new forms of positioning (Lange and Stüber, forthcoming): economically, socially, functionally – but more and more knowledge- and creativity-based. The shift from material-based forms of production to immaterial-forms of production especially goes along with opportunities to brand, label, and narrate anew the novelty of a nation, a state, a city, or a region.

To a large extent, new forms of expert-based knowledge play a crucial role in the way that cities describe and position themselves in a rapidly changing European urban environment. But not only local-based self-descriptions play an increasing role, as external knowledge in particular is seen as a growing tool to strategically influence the cities' perspective. In this way, new thematic fields have been applied to large cities, and creative and knowledge-intensive industries are especially seen as new strategic future-based concepts (Cooke 2002). These concepts have played a major role for cities in their phases of transformation, during which a complex process of deindustrialization has been observed to dominate, and new fields of employment have been targeted. Urban and economic decline should be overcome by the invention of new forms of development, mainly creative and knowledge-based industries. This process is not only accompanied by new factual strategies on future-based economic fields, but mainly by the production of new scientific, consultancy and advisory knowledge on the way cities can be understood, and problems identified, operationalized and potentially developed (Howells 2002).

From this perspective the paper asks about the way in which new forms of knowledge are produced and disseminated, and what kind of

methodological formats are established in order to legitimate these kinds of expertise *about* the urban. The process of knowledge production is framed and accompanied by various forms of enabling legitimacy, either by specific methods, scientific networks, or financial, network, and publication resources. Increasingly, it is not only various scholars, but organized project-based research networks, often funded by the EU, that contribute to this production process (Bresnen, Goussevskaia, and Swan 2004). These knowledge networks also work toward legitimacy. They are funded by either state-based universities, private or corporate universities, or in particular the EU. These research programmes have a high degree of public visibility, scientific legitimacy, and policy recognition.

In order to understand these network-based projects as a new form creating knowledge and expertise, it is important to highlight how distinct, transferable knowledge is produced, disseminated, and condensed for policy-makers, stakeholders and the decision making processes.

Looking closer at the way these knowledge forms are consciously produced, disseminated, and distributed into local and regional political arenas, it is first of all important to understand the modes of production and their ways to reach legitimacy. Furthermore, it is important to understand the methodologies that have been applied in order to produce the communicative basis for the formulation of new urban creativity and knowledge-based strategies. Rankings, groupings, and other forms of comparability play a major, if not decisive role, in clustering, positioning, and placing cities on a European map. Creative and knowledge attributes especially are applied in order to promote newly emerged markets, segments, and branches of industry. In this manner, several problems can be addressed.

1.2 Outline

Chapter 2 asks to what extent creative knowledge industries can be seen as an overall narrative in the stimulation of urban development? It will be asked how creative industries and their core creativity-based segments can be considered as unique, place-specific industries, when they are based on distinct logics of their local cultural, historical constitutions? “Creativity”, “creative city policies”, and “creative-knowledge-based

urban developments" are critically presented as new forms of societal development intended to overcome urban decline, and aiming to stimulate transformation and reenable urban evolution. Furthermore, this chapter critically asks the question, how have "creativity and knowledge-based" policies recently served as semantic, discursive, and communicative tools for organizing exit opportunities out of urban economic decline, and stimulating new urban development? Apart from the growing factual knowledge basis of new forms of production (Kunzmann 2004), it is becoming more and more important to understand the interrelation between the creation of knowledge, and the process of its constitution in postindustrial economies. It will be asked, to what extent do various scholars and research networks influence the representative body *about* the present state of the city? What are the analytical indicators, methods of benchmarking, and modes of representation within competing the arenas of European cities nowadays, in which cities struggle to position themselves in first place? When only top-rank positions count – for urban politicians, stakeholders and others – what kind of effect does this "culture of positioning" have on how this "relevant" knowledge is produced?

Chapter 3 will briefly present empirical and insight material from which conclusion to these questions may be drawn. The material stems from an EU comparative project entitled ACRE – Accommodating Creative Knowledge – as well as one of its case studies, the city of Leipzig. This empirical material will serve as a background which can be queried to uncover the applied methods and the methodological approaches, as well as their modes of inventing forms to deal with a substantial paradox: the singularity of a city (such as Leipzig or any other city), in the context of EU-based efforts to compare, rank, classify, and categorize cities under new creativity- and knowledge-driven paradigms?

Chapter 4 deals with communicative resources such as language, knowledge, and scholarly cultures and their effects on structures and the structural power to form relevant and robust knowledge *about* the city.

Apart from these diagnoses, an alternative model of analysing cities will be introduced and briefly presented as a concluding statement in chapter 5. Referring to case-sensitive approaches of distinct pathway analysis, the recently presented concepts of the "city habitus" are

introduced in order to put forward for the singularity of a city as a means to overcome neoliberal formats, such as rankings. The article concludes by asking for a more relational understanding of the urban as a distinct category from which to make conclusions concerning not only the distinct paths that a city follows, but also how it places and positions itself on the European landscape.

2. Creativity and the City

2.1. On the Relation between Creativity, Knowledge, and the City

Talking about the city as a privileged field of creativity seems almost redundant, at a time when creativity is often seen as the decisive human power, and would thus appear in every human action. Still, it is worth looking closer at the relations between the two and the way they are mutually constituted. Apart from celebrating the creative city as a wonderland, a critical perspective is applied in the following in order to deconstruct major narratives of hand-knit, quickly made causalities between them.

The international – mainly anglophone – discussion in the past few years has been dominated by a delirious, imaginative, and self-projected representation of the so-called creative city (Landry 2001). Almost unquestioned, it is supposed to be the solution to all urban problems: economic stagnation, urban shrinkage, social segregation, technological ageing, global competition, and more. New efforts by public-private alliances, real estate managers, and also urban professionals focus on place-marketing, and therefore often tend to work toward establishing the creative city as a future reference model for urban development (Jessop 1998; Drake 2003). Within the framework of the so-called creative city concepts, strategies of place-making refer to it to simultaneously address community building and neighbourhood integration issues (Fürst, Lahner, and Zimmermann 2004). With regard to the contextualization of the production and formulation of place beyond its

geographical fixation that is found within the debate on so-called creative cities, only a few systematic and critical approaches can be named (Jessop 1998). Critical diagnosis of the societal use of "creativity" and its representatives has been presented by Bröckling, Osten, Peck, and Lange (Bröckling 2004, 139-144; Osten 2003; Peck 2005; Lange 2005c, 2007).

The emergence of new creative industries in other European metropolitan regions is accompanied by new entrepreneurial agents in the field of creative and culture production (Lange 2005a, 2005b). Very often, in the context of economic stagnation, failed growth expectation, and fiscal collapse, new cultural entrepreneurs in creative industries – the so-called culturepreneurs – might demonstrate suitable context-sensitive efforts to establish new markets and to construct new professional fields. "Context-sensitivity" takes into account the specificities of place and the particular ways that certain milieus or economic segments are constituted. Yet, from an analytical perspective, these agents are confronted with structural paradoxes that are inscribed in their entrepreneurial practices. As a major focus group of the so-called creative city, they might be seen in the following as representatives of new modes of labour, with their adjacent governance practices in the field of creative industries.

Broadly speaking, creative industries have been to a large extent analytically related to urban development (Hospers 2003), to urban competitiveness (Florida 2005; Youl Lee, Florida, and Acs 2004), as well as to organizational changes within small and medium enterprises (Grabher 2004; Wilson and Stokes 2005; Rae 2004; Scott 2006; Neff, Wissinger, and Zukin 2005), and to other processes; these all take into account the fact that new combinations of innovative "knowledge" restructures anew economy, public administration, entrepreneurship, and its socialities. Gernot Grabher in particular has focused on the inner-organizational dimension of the emergent network-based project ecologies, and their entrepreneurial and socio-spatial practices in these industries (Grabher 2004; DeFillippi, Grabher, and Jones 2007). Rapidly changing project-based constellations within flexible network formations pose some structural constraints, not only on enhancing learning among temporary team members, but also on sustaining what is understood as "traditional," long-standing learning cultures (Cameron and Quinn 1988,

8). Apart from learning processes, several structural paradoxes are closely related to creative industries and their entrepreneurial agents.

Major paradoxes include (a) the need to reconcile tensions between the work ethos and human resource practices in creative and more routinized activities, and (b) the need to balance the advantages of flexible and temporary organizations with the advantages of tight integration. Two paradoxes play a crucial role in the articulation of work practices: the "globalization paradox" and the "identity paradox." The "globalization paradox" addresses the ambivalence of these newly emerged creative milieus and their territorial embedding practices. The ability to operate practically worldwide, socio-spatially integrated "communities of knowledge" has gained increasing importance in providing the necessary embedding ground for these translocal knowledge workers (DeFillippi, Grabher, and Jones 2007). The "identity paradox," on the other hand, addresses the ambivalence between individual or collective careers, identities, and reputations. Inventing static concepts of entrepreneurs is not very productive, because mavericks and outsiders, as well as independent creative artists are the major protagonists in this market (ibid.).

2.2. Places, Spaces, and Place-Making

A specifically geographical reading of the emergence of a flexible workforce in creative industries as a result of socio-economic transformation processes has to bring the spatial dimension to the fore. Central to the understanding of space and place is the seminal work of Doreen Massey. First of all place is to be seen as constituted through human relations and practices, actions repeated in daily routines, or habitualized in everyday life. These everyday spaces of action, do not, for example, take place in a fixed and predetermined empty "container" waiting to be filled, but rather are produced communicatively and constantly contested. Secondly – and this goes far beyond the first point – place, in its turn, influences the social forces that have created it. It is not just a passive product, but becomes a constitutive agent of new social relations. Thirdly, place is seen as "relative and relational" (Massey 2005), rather than as a "bounded" location. It is constituted through

interconnections with, rather than through oppositions to, other places. Finally, place is not seen as stasis, but as a point of negotiation and mutual constitution of space and time. All of the above leads to an understanding of place as the nodal point of interrelations through space and time. This by no means obliterates power relations as a constitutive element of this interrelatedness, but on the contrary enables to examine them.

Based on the conceptual framework of Doreen Massey, the German urban sociologist Löw (2001) has developed new theoretical tools that can be further applied to the empirical analysis of the diverse social formations of new agents and their place-making strategies in an urban system. Here, space is to be understood as the result of an act of synthesis based on the specific strategies and tactics of individual protagonists. The term "spacing" describes the active process by which an individual relationally orders social goods and bodies (Löw 2001, 158). Based on this understanding, space constitutes itself as a process through the synthesis of these social goods and bodies, by means of perception, memory, and feeling. In the postindustrial city, individual strategies of differentiation are symbolically and culturally formulated. The socio-spatial structure expresses itself ever more strongly in local politics, through which the individuals not only create a symbolic difference, but also attempt to arouse attention through positioning tactics anchored in the location. Focusing on the applied practices and action patterns in the field of creative industries, milieu and scholarly models can be highlighted. Seeing the spatial dimension as a conceptual background for understanding urban practices by different agents around the action field of creative industries, urban space can be deconstructed according to the way it is negotiated, coded, divided, and communicated, according to professional demands, administrative logics, as well as milieu-specific demands.

2.3. Knowledge and Space: Experts as Place-Makers

In capitalist industrial societies, according to Gibbons, Nowotny, and Scott, a fundamentally new mode of knowledge production has emerged (Gibbons 1994; Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons 2001). This mode had

Table 1. *Modes of knowledge production*

	“mode 1”	**“mode 2”**
Characteristics of knowledge	– Bounded to societal subsystems – Long duration – Universal, free of context – Explicit	– Reflexive, connected – Short half-life – Local, bounded, and contextualized – Implicit “tacit knowledge”
Institutional forms	– Working in isolated action settings – Monodisciplinary – Traditional hierarchies – Durable organizations – Separation of science and practice	– Working in networks and project groups – Inter/trans-disciplinary – Flat hierarchies – Temporary organizations – Networking of science and practice

Sources: after Matthiesen and Bürkner (2004); Gibbons (1994); Nowotny, Scott, and Gibbons (2001).

been caused by the differentiated ways of knowledge production, as a part of the extension of communication technology and the changes toward communication (or rather information) societies.

According to them, the emergence of a new form of knowledge production is an indicator of a fundamental change in the structure of society (Bender 2004, 149-158). Since the mid-1990s, attempts have been made to describe this process using the terms “mode 1” and “mode 2.” While mode 1 involves being institutionalized in the form of a subsystem separated from the rest of society, and finds the solutions to problems out of this context in a disciplinary way and in organized hierarchy, mode 2 operates specifically, transdisciplinarily, heterarchically, reflexively, and in an application-oriented way. In addition, mode 2 operates using locally oriented definitions of problems. Mode 1 creates spatially clearly defined organizations and institutions, thus representing a traditional form of knowledge production; whereas in the new constellation of mode 2, work products are not primarily communicated and maintained through institutional channels, but by and among individuals. In the context of these limited-in-time organizational forms, highly specialized project teams work under extreme resource pressure. These teams, together with innovative scientists – specialists in particular

technologies – symbolic analysts, economists, consultants, and patent agents, as well as planners and politicians, work to achieve highly competitive forms of development. Thus, being the competent bodies in processes of the mode 2 type, humans represent the main resource of knowledge production (Bender 2004, 151).

With Orlikowski, knowledge is "enacted – every day over time – in people's practices" (Orlikowski 2002, 250). Working in transnational contexts also means that people are confronted with other social and cultural contexts, so they have to "improvise new practices as they invent, slip into or learn new ways of interpreting and experiencing the world," and thus "continually reconstitute their knowing over time and across contexts" (ibid., 253). Knowledge employees – and also urban geographers, among others – who work in international contexts embody geographic and cultural diversity, mentioned by Im and Orlikowski (Im, Yates, and Orlikowski 2005, 254), and they differ not only in expert and product knowledge, but especially in their local milieu and institutional knowledge. This is why Orlikowski points out that there are several boundaries – "temporal, geographic, social, cultural, historical, technical and political" – that international knowledge workers are confronted with (Orlikowski 2002, 255). So international companies and research networks today are anxious to providing their employees with international experiences in order to acquire cultural knowledge, and to learn to cope with these boundaries in their everyday and work lives. From these findings, the materiality of knowledge can be inferred: knowledge is subject to increasingly rapid changes, and is not tangible but personal. "It immigrates or migrates, depending on the carriers of the respective knowledge, and on their networks" (Matthiesen and Bürkner 2004, 75-77).

As a result of the increasing competition for economic locations, in the course of which a pool of highly qualified employees seems to be a guarantor for regional competitiveness, resource "knowledge" is becoming a decisive location factor (Meusberger 2000; Cooke 2002). However, due to the unequal global distribution of knowledge sources, in addition to the question of the number and quality of scientific institutions such as universities, research institutes, technical colleges, and others, the question of access to knowledge and, thus, the question of suitable embedding conditions for experts, into their respective local

context, as well as of their local interaction, is gaining new importance. In this regard Orlikowski (Orlikowski 2002, 256) mentions three practices, "aligning effort, learning by doing, and supporting participation," which describe how people "coordinate on complex projects, knowing how to develop capabilities for doing product development and knowing how to innovate within global operations."

Because they are embedded into local, regional, and global networks, local agents "know how things work on site" (implicit local knowledge). Thus, they know how and with which constellation of agents to address and tackle problems. By exchanging knowledge with others and, ultimately, by using and implementing this experiential knowledge, knowledge spillover occurs. Thus under conditions of mode 2 knowledge production, "on-site" opportunity structures, which serve as points of contact for an intensive face-to-face communication, seem to be indispensable. Skilful agents – forming suitable constellations (such as public-private partnerships) and using network communication – are able to efficiently bridge gaps in the market, to develop innovations, to establish successful forms of marketing, and in the end to keep up with global innovative trends. With the construction of a mission statement, urban planners, consultants, and politicians, as well as employers hope to create a specific urban identity that speeds up the face-to-face communication and cooperation in the city, and within the company.

3. Evaluating "Creative Leipzig"

3.1. Decline and Development of Socio-Economic Fields in Leipzig

As a former major commercial, trade fair, and cultural platform in the heart of Europe, as well as a city that became heavily industrialized in the GDR, the city and region of Leipzig have faced substantial ongoing multilayered transformation processes since 1990. With a current population of approximately half a million inhabitants, the city has had to develop new, future-oriented knowledge-based economies, as well as service industries that have had to be implemented and adapted to meet the needs of the existing regional workforce (Lange et al. 2007).

Parallel to the implementation of the new market system, a rapidly established housing market challenged urban policy from the early 1990s onward. As a result, new urban structures involving large suburban single-family housing areas, as well as newly renovated fin de siècle houses from the turn of nineteenth century in the inner city, and large quantities of derelict industrial plants have led to the description of Leipzig as a structurally "perforated city" (Lütke-Daldrup 2004).

The rapid decline in manufacturing industry, and the loss of more than a hundred thousand jobs in the 1990s could not be compensated for by the new job opportunities arising from the state-subsidized large infrastructural, transportation and modern manufacturing projects; the city's expected demographic and economic growth prospects failed in the late 1990s. High rates of long-term unemployment, social imbalances between the new elites and the less qualified marginalized groups – especially the city's youth – represent the major social problems facing Leipzig today. The brain drain of young and relatively well qualified women, especially in the 1990s, must be seen as a reaction to rare job opportunities in the regional labour market. Over the course of this development, disillusionment with local politics because of disappointed expectations, forced the public administration from the mid-1990s onward to strengthen and to reconsider Leipzig's urban, cultural, and economic potential. Newly defined urban policies and cluster strategies intended to create and extend existing strengths led to ambitious goals (such as the application for the 2012 Olympics, which ran until 2005). Since 2000, a small but steady growth in population has taken place. These positive demographic developments are an exception in eastern Germany, but cannot be explained away by positive developments in the labour market: to this day, approximately 18-20% of the workforce has remained officially unemployed.

3.2. Leipzig and its Representation in the ACRE Project

With regards to Leipzig's part in the ACRE project (Lange et al. 2007), there are two relevant empirical points: Firstly, the city of Leipzig will be presented briefly as a individual case, based on its distinct historical background. Secondly, in respect to quantified data sets that aim to provide a result relating to the degree of creative- and knowledge-based economies, the influence of small creative cells will be

highlighted. These existing creative networks have been so far undetected by the first approach, although they play a decisive role in how the city is recognized worldwide. Apart from the first perspective, a second dimension has to be unfolded: the in which way experts, such as urban scholars and others, produce a scientifically legitimated representation of the degree of "creativity" and "knowledge" in European cities. Therefore, I assume that not only should the methodological and theoretical be seen as fields of negotiation, but also we should include the way in which methods, theories, and expertise cultures are communicatively and interactively established. Distinct forms of performance, modes of negotiation, and modes of communication determine these cultures; in brief, expert systems shape urban representation by their rootedness in scientific scholarship.

The process of producing a creative-knowledge city region in scientific terms is followed by numerous systematic steps: First of all, the degree of creativity and knowledge in the case of Leipzig in the ACRE project was based on the number of occupations in related creative- and knowledge-oriented fields of employment, the number of companies, and the turnover (gross domestic product) of selected industries and segments. These indicators have been applied to "quantify" the individual creative and knowledge potential of a city.

Second, these single indicators have been framed by historical, social, and demographic description that should provide a "thick description" of the path development of the city. The historical position should provide the answer, if the observed potential of the creative and knowledge-based assets nowadays refers to its historical roots, or if they have been applied and invented without having roots and grounds of origin in the city-region. Thirdly, the "thick description" of a single city, a narration so far based on historical indicators, has been integrated in the sample of 12 cities.

3.3. The Current Situation in the Creative- and Knowledge-Intensive Industries in the City Region of Leipzig

In 2005, the city of Leipzig had approximately sixty thousand employees in the creative- and knowledge-intensive industries, and the surrounding counties had slightly more than twelve thousand such

employees. Between 2000 and 2005, more than approximately seven thousand jobs have been created in this field, especially in Leipzig; that is 14.77% more than in 2000. Nevertheless, this growth could not compensate for the loss of 39,660 jobs between 2000 and 2005 in other economic segments of the city-region of Leipzig; the surrounding state of Saxony lost 12.73% of its workforce. Growth in creative industries was taking place in the core area of the city-region – the city centre of Leipzig – while losses were registered in the neighbouring counties of Delitzsch, Muldentalkreis and Leipziger Land (Lange et al. 2007).

3.4. Profile of the City of Leipzig – Official and Hidden Potentials

Although huge federal and state financial investment has been directed into forward-looking fields of knowledge (mainly in mobility, R&D, high-tech infrastructure, and communication technologies), the research effects – such as the number of patents, and the amount of research funding – do not yet fully justify the financial investment. The weak ratio between the number of inhabitants and the number of highly qualified, skilled engineers in comparison to the neighbouring cities of Dresden and Chemnitz, demonstrate in particular that further efforts must be undertaken by public authorities and corporate companies, in order to attract highly qualified, creative human resources into the city of Leipzig. Furthermore, creative industries in general have not yet been identified as a strategic field of action by local government in the city of Leipzig. With respect to the positive factual performance in this field, primarily in the media industry, integrative public-private partnership strategies between educational institutions, R&D facilities, cultural production, and a coherent urban and economic policy have also not yet been registered. In order to position creative industries as a, if not the, potential future economic field, a further integration into Leipzig's cluster policy, as well as into the creation of the metropolitan region known as the "Saxon Triangle," appears to be needed.

Existing creative scenes (core creative producers in the field of design, art, painting, fashion, film, music, architecture, photography, and other) play a crucial, though not very visible role in the everyday life of

the city of Leipzig. Numerous creative agents in Leipzig – despite being internationally renowned – are not yet seen or labelled as "ambassadors" for Leipzig, although they contribute to the attractiveness and quality of the cultural, intellectual, and everyday life in Leipzig. These heterogeneous entrepreneurial scenes and creative milieus can be denominated as diverse cultural urban dimensions, so that they contribute to the attractiveness of the cultural economy in Leipzig. Their precarious socio-economic status reflects the instability, project-orientation, and the flexibility required of this economy.

4. Modes of "Producing" Creative-Knowledge Cities – the Expert Perspective

4.1. Production of Representation; or, It's the Stats, Stupid!

Although historical path developments, regional policy implications, national policy guidelines, and unexpected regional circumstances have been mentioned within the representational body – in this case the reports produced by each research team – the most important sources of information are national and European official statistics. Looking closer at the knowledge resources that play a decisive role in the production of scientific and political legitimacy, it is very obvious that large quantifiable data sets especially serve as an informational background for the comparison of cities. Single-factorial indicators such as gross domestic product (GDP), employment and unemployment rates, levels of foreign direct investments, and others provide an "objective" unquestionable ground from which conclusions on city performance can be made. These highly aggregated data, often single indicator-based approaches, serve as analytical tools to group, categorize, and rank cities as pearls on a hierarchical chain. The process of grouping, categorizing, and ranking cities systematically ignores the impact of specific individual path developments, the impact of nondisplaceable local circumstances, unforeseeable political happenings that may have tremendous impacts on the city's evolution, and the level of development or stagnation that led to the

emergence of a singular city profile. The nature of knowledge and creativity are in particular not adequately identified in respect to their influential effects on the performance structure of the city's "Gestalt."

In brief, the methodological approach of single-indicator based comparisons presupposes the possibility to compare variables that have an incomparable ground: the singularity of a city and its distinct differences. In posttraditional knowledge-based societies and urban systems, the value of creativity and knowledge is hardly measurable, and is evaluated on the basis of quantifiable indicators, when taking the specific value and the nature of creativity seriously. Very often so-called hidden champions play a decisive role in defining the profile of a city and its recent potential for identification. In the case of Leipzig, a relatively small number of artists who had silently resided in the Academy of Fine Arts during the socialist period, later transformed an old style of painting to a new leading painting style, recognized worldwide, which is now association with the city as the "New Leipzig School" (*Neue Leipziger Schule*). In the course of this success story, a cluster of supply services, from galleries to material services, emerged – which in themselves have no statistical relevance to employment, gross domestic product, foreign directs investment levels, or other indicators. On the contrary, it has propelled a new image of Leipzig around the globe, and infiltrated an artist- and artist-related-network.

4.2. City-Regional Trajectories

Within the proceeding project, urban regions have been located along four dimensions. Their position can be seen as hypotheses (see figure 2). The economic dimension is here represented by the strong presence of heavy industry, the "societal" dimension is represented by the region's status as a decision-making centre, the third dimension refers to the stability of this decision-making status, as when we compare old and new capital cities.

The key highlighted distinguishing factors separate older, historic cities from others, and distinguish between those whose development has been strongly shaped by policy intervention from those where this has not occurred. Older capital cities also tend to be cultural and educational

Table 2. *Typology of cities with different background conditions for creative and knowledge intensive industries*

Role as a political or economic decision-making centre (national or International nationally known as a hist.-cult. centre / Economic profile: Innovation and technology policy after 1990 ↘		Economic profile by 1990s					
		With heavy industry and/or seaport activities		More mixed industrial economy, specialised in engineering and high-tech		Early srevice profile, diverse industry	
		active	not active	active	not active	active	not active
Acquired before 19th century	yes	Lepzig	Riga	Munich	Budapest Milan	Dublin Amsterdam	
Existing from 19th century	yes					Barcelona	
	no		Sofia				Helsinki
Not a major decision-making centre	no			Toulouse Birmingham			Poznań*

* not active at the state level; more active at the local level

Source: ACRE Report Work package 3, 2007 (S. Mustard, A. Murie, C. Chapain, Z. Kovács)

centres, and to carry forward important traditions in these fields. However they do not have a monopoly on positive attributes or the skills, diversity, and inventiveness associated with successful modern cities, which have often flourished partly because older cities were more closed to new ideas and enterprises. The picture that can be derived from this classification should help to evaluate the starting conditions for the creative- and knowledge-based industries by the early 1990s. Some two thirds of the research's urban regions are decision-making centres. More than a half of the cities are internationally known as historical-cultural centres.

It is symptomatic that heavy industry remains important for the economic profile only in the postsocialist cities (Sofia and Riga), with Budapest and Leipzig already standing one step ahead in industrial restructuring. Those of the western European cities, which have previously been known for their industrial or seaport activities (Birmingham, Barcelona, and Amsterdam) have passed the stage of radical economic restructuring much earlier, and are in the process of leaving this category. Innovation and technological policy after 1990 is the only parameter in this picture which reflects the effort made to achieve restructuring in recent years. The matrix shows that policy efforts (especially those which are successful) are much more evident in the Western cities (with the exceptions of Helsinki and Milan). The question of whether it is success that stimulates efforts for regulation and improvement, or whether, on the contrary, efficient policies provide the conditions for economic success, remains open. Furthermore, the placing of cities in one category does not explain their relationships to the other, less important evaluated categories.

4.3. Knowledge, Power, and Urban Scholarly Cultures in Europe

Apart from the use of official statistics as an objective way to categorize pathways and socio-economic performances of cities, specific forms of knowledge seem to have a great influence on the way cities are relative to each other. While one might assume that these relational positions depend on transparent comparable figures, a rather subtle

process in the way cities are positioned can be detected: Not only do different statistical data sets, and different spatial demarcations (along urban, regional, or city-regional dimensions) lead to different pictures of the research units, but also the way that these differences are verbally, aesthetically, and strategically articulated among project teams lead to various forms of their integration into the body of knowledge, and so into the body of our understanding of European creative cities.

Furthermore, strong differences can be detected in how project teams position themselves and perform within research networks. Cities with positive employment situations, such as Milan, Amsterdam, and Barcelona emphasis a Western type of creative urban dimension, by referring to historical conditions. On the contrary, cities such as Poznań, Riga, and Sofia have developed a rather different urban understanding of performing and practicing "creativity"; especially in socialist times, the label "jazz club" could have been considered a synonym of "officially accepted counter culture," where creative and politically motivated articulation took place. It can be assumed that these silently accepted creative practices were not openly communicated, or in the course of time associated with a specific (not to say non-Western) communicative way of expressing and articulating this style. Looking especially at the articulation of culture and creativity in cities, distinct western and eastern European ways of articulation can be addressed. Especially within liberal capitalist societies, Western cities had early established modes of self-promotion and self-marketing, aimed at improving visibility and attention worldwide.

On the contrary, since the fall of the iron curtain, eastern European cities have been often neglecting the socialist era – its buildings, styles, and values – and refer instead to either the glorious presocialist times, or to a breathtaking super-modernity with sharp socio-economic effects, in order to visually hide the ruptures of the era of transformation (an example of this is Moscow). Highlighting this ambiguity of the post-socialist era, as well as its possible individual trajectory in respect to Western-based understandings of urban development, is a tricky endeavour. It may confront the much stronger Western position (with its scientific networks, and national and international financiers) and its view of urban development, with the less powerful and less influential scientific perspectives of the weaker states – in this case the recently integrated states of eastern Europe.

Research in an enlarged Europe is therefore considered a playground with a hidden power agenda: acceptance in EU-funded (or other) network projects is not only accompanied with an agreement to fulfil its outline, but it is also based on an agreement to "contribute," to "participate," to "network," but not to differentiate or to opt for difference – not to say separation.

Another relationship seems to be important: the socio-economic success of cities such as Milan, Barcelona, and Amsterdam goes along with the emergence of prominent scholars in urban and regional studies who originate from these cities. These scholars have established a body of knowledge of cultures in scientific community worldwide. In particular, the recent trend to brand a prosperous city with the label of "creative city" or "knowledge city," has enabled the scholars of these regions to speak for "their" region, and to participate in the city-regional success.

Some illustrations of this are found in the success of the California School, closely linked with the tremendous socio-economic success of the Silicon Valley area; in the booming film and TV business in and around Los Angeles; or in the rise of the "third Italy" debate – not only connected to specific manner of doing geographical research in north Italy, but also to a wider debate on "regionalism." The formation of a "school" is often based on the factual presence of positive regional economic development. A "school" on the model of the California School cannot be found in cities such as Detroit, Riga, Leipzig or others.

4.4. Does Language Separate or Unite?

The ideology of forming an integrative knowledge body based on EU-funded research networks operates on the basis of a single language: English. Although the EU finances a huge body of translators, in practice it is English that dominates as the working language within research projects. Robert Hassink (2007, 1282) recently summarized a growing debate in spatial studies about how in "recent papers, editorials, and commentaries the growing use of English as the main language of communication in academic human geography" has been discussed critically. Many institutions and their associated journals in many

non-English speaking countries have decided to use English as their only language, in order to become more attractive internationally. This has led to a hegemonic situation, and forced many non-English speaking countries to change their attitude toward this dominance. The perspective that the Anglo-American viewpoint is dominating and thereby narrowing the discipline by suppressing diversity is considered to be poorer and less capable of understanding an increasingly complex world in which diversity matters.

Transferring this briefly diagnosed situation to the work practice in the case of the EU-project ACRE, the use of English seems to be an unquestioned presupposition that everyone agreed to silently, or else has not yet reflected on. One might think differently about this situation, when "fine differences" of urban cultures are verbally articulated in interviews and later analysed or interpreted in qualitative empirical surveys. In a nonessentialist understanding, the contemporary globalized worlds are articulated with their distinct translocal language, style, and habits, thus guaranteeing an empirical access to a deeper understanding of the constitution of the specific variety of "urban." This would require a quasi-ethnographic approach involving participant observation.

On the contrary, one might argue that first of all a common language opens up the opportunity to exchange thoughts, perspectives, and approaches at all. Within such a global or European community, there should be a literary space sufficient to articulate individual perspectives, different approaches, and different outcomes toward leading (Western-based) positions. But access to conferences, research networks, papers, and publications is based on hidden anglophone alliances regulating these approaches. So Hassink (2007) concludes that "geographical discourse has been geographically partial." He refers to Gutierrez and Lopez-Nieva (2001, 67), who indicate that "so-called international journals are to a limited extent truly international, as the lion's share of their authors stem from the UK and the US." They calculated that these two countries account for 73.4% of the authors between 1991 and 1997, whereas Germany and France each have scores of around 0.5%. The dominant use of the English language has thus produced a global human geography which is – on the contrary – still fragmented into national and linguistic communities with their own, from a global point of view, unheard positions and perspectives.

The major argument related to the ACRE project is that this English-speaking research network has not yet established an analytical perspective, and that there is a still unclear relationship between urban cultures, language, and their representation in the scientific products of the research network. In the case of understanding creativity- and knowledge-based urban development, it is obvious that in social networks in particular, tacit and network knowledge becomes more and more important, and thus the value of language increases. To conclude: if you want to understand creativity-driven urban development in, say, Riga, you have to speak the local language, although agents could also operate worldwide and prefer to speak English. To become an insider in the creative milieus thus requires not only the ability to speak the local language, but also to have an insider position within scientific communities in order to guarantee the dissemination of your acquired knowledge. The predominant use of English both unites and separates. A reflective (not to say supervisory) proceeding within research activities might be needed in order to catch the "fine differences," which are articulated between the lines and often get lost when specifics are either translated or squeezed into an predominant concept of, for example, creativity or knowledge. This is especially relevant when looking at urban development and urban decline in the transnational perspective.

5. Critique is not Enough, or a Proposal as a Concluding Statement

This explorative article started with the question of how urban decline and development are negotiated in EU-funded transnational research networks, when analysing the impact of creative- and knowledge-based economies on the degree of urban competitiveness. The question was framed by theoretical concepts such as projects ecologies (Grabher 2004) and mode-2 (Bender 2004, 149-158), in order to reflect on the way that relevant knowledge is produced within research networks. The approach tried to understand the production of knowledge *about* cities and not just *of* cities. This approach opened the opportunity

to critically ask for the relation between the representation of the urban as well as its production by scientific scholars, and the specific local conditions articulated in reports, and in direct verbal interaction. Based on a critical methodological reflection applied in the scientific reports, as well as on language as a means to communicate between project members, the following results can be suggested in conclusion, in reference to the case of Leipzig and the EU project ACRE:

1. By attempting quantitative comparisons in the field of creative and knowledge intensive industries, reasonable indicators for the specific articulation of "creativity" and "knowledge" are rare, and often do not touch upon its specific nature.

2. Referring to the EU-funded project ACRE, it can be observed that creative and knowledge-intensive economies especially have to relate their work performance to specific local contexts, as well as to international standards. The ambiguous situation of local rootedness and global connectivity requires new competences and new forms of network knowledge for entrepreneurial agents, in order to successfully survive in the target market – or even to access the market at all. This is relevant for cultural entrepreneurs as well as for spatial researches. Analytically, it can be stated that cities have produced individual forms of representation of the urban that is implicitly rooted in local and regional research cultures, and their scholarship (for example, the so-called California School).

Epistemologically speaking, it can be concluded that a systematic research outline should have been implemented in European research networks in order to have the chance to supervise this relationship, as well as the impact of scholarship, knowledge cultures and their distinct forms (and traditions), in order to represent the "urban" at all. It is of minor importance to highlight the fact that most of the internationally known leading scholarship is located in growing and developing regions, and not in declining, shrinking, stagnating regions.

3. It can be observed that the use of the English language unites as well as separates transnationally oriented research networks such as the ACRE project. Although each of the participants employs fluent English, the influence of distinct local traditions of expertise and of knowledge resources about the forms of representation in each city (not to say the "product") should not be underestimated in its relevance. Habitual and

verbal everyday cultures, and the use of language to express specific circumstances are factors that have to be taken more strongly into consideration when dealing with less-established economies, such as the newly emerging creative industries. Furthermore it can be concluded that any form of representation is associated with power relations and that – in the case of Leipzig – small informal networks of professional and semiprofessional creative professions in particular do not yet have a common form of representation or institutionalized lobby that promotes these economies.

Finally, and without aiming to raise criticism, it is intended to integrate a new reflexive perspective in transnational project cultures, based on the assumption that national scholarly cultures and their knowledge competences have had, so far, much less problematic influences on the representation of the urban. Knowledge about cities as well as of cities plays an increasing role in the formulation of city marketing and city branding strategies (Lange and Stöber, forthcoming). Furthermore this type of reflexive city knowledge becomes more and more relevant in relating single-city activities to the wider transnational context, as well as to the city networks and their cooperative structures. Nowadays expertise about the urban is required alongside new competences to properly articulate and adequately express urban potentials, in order to be able to highlight the distinct local specifics, as well as the internationally comparable assets. Briefly, one has to understand the local as well as the international language *about* the city, although they might both be the same spoken language.

When addressing the increasing relevance of new knowledge forms of the city as a heterogeneous, but at the same time globalized or homogenous object, recent debates have introduced the concepts of the "habitus of the city" (Lindner 2003; Matthiesen 2005; Berking and Löw 2005, 9-24). For instance, Lindner asks for the emergence of "landscapes of taste" that make distinct locations visible by means of cultural practices and their material products. He concludes that these landscapes of taste are by no means without prerequisite or instantly producible, but are highly influenced and infiltrated by specific local economies and cultural traditions.

Basically, the authors refer to Bourdieu's concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1982) in order to analyse the local dispositions, norms and prefe-

rences that are inscribed in a city, those which are historically rooted and can be seen as a ensemble of preferences of taste, lifestyles, aesthetic preferences, conventions, and routines, which first of all articulate the singularity of a city. Thinking further about these perspectives, it becomes obvious that the constitution of a city depends also on its reflexive knowledge about its origin. The singularity of a city seems to become more important in globalized and homogenized worlds.

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