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Jarosław Działek *Editors*

The Impact of Artists on Contemporary Urban Development in Europe

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Monika Murzyn-Kupisz · Jarosław Działek
Editors

The Impact of Artists on Contemporary Urban Development in Europe

Editors
Monika Murzyn-Kupisz
Department of Economic and Social History
Cracow University of Economics
Kraków
Poland

Jarosław Działek
Institute of Geography and Spatial Management
Jagiellonian University
Kraków
Poland

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Preface

Cities, in particular larger agglomerations, have always functioned as focal points of civilisational and economic development, innovation and creativity, enabling regions and countries to uphold or improve their competitive position (Mumford 1961; Ward 1976; Jacobs 1984; Hall 1998; Capello and Nijkamp 2004; Montgomery 2008; Nijkamp and Kourtit 2013). Much of the world's wealth is generated and concentrated in cities. They are home to a large and still growing share of the global population. Consequently, according to Glaeser (2011), despite some of their shortcomings, cities continue to maintain their position as places offering the highest quality of life, providing residential, work and leisure space in the most ecologically and economically efficient configuration. Moreover, contrary to some expectations, technological developments and the arrival of the digital age in recent decades have not weakened the meaning of place and thus the importance of urban environment. Quite the opposite, in fact, the twenty-first century is often referred to as a (new) urban age as we witness the enhanced role of cities as sites inspiring direct human encounters, and hence the exchange of information, new ideas and solutions (Montgomery 2008; Landry 2008).

Almost three quarters of Europeans now live in urban centres (United Nations 2015: 10), making them hotbeds of economic growth and new ideas, but also places of concentration of demographic, social, economic and environmental problems. The issue of agency in urban development has been often underscored in the literature. Leaving aside the issue of critiques and apologetics of the city as an imperfect but still 'the greatest invention' of humankind (Glaeser 2011; Harvey 2012), the book is focused on the intersection of urban development—its contexts, factors and pathways as well as the opportunities and challenges facing it—and artists as a singular type of actors and stakeholders of urban change. As artistic production and consumption has always tended to be a rather urban phenomenon, artists have sometimes been mentioned as a distinct group of urbanites in the urban

studies discourse. Examples of diverse issues linked with the presence and activities of artists in cities tackled in the academic literature have included artists' multiple roles in the urban economy, the impact of artists and art students on gentrification, artists' consumption, artists' location decisions, and the issue of cultural quarters and their historical and current engagement in urban regeneration processes but also in the challenging commercial changes of urban functions and forms. In these areas, artists are presented as a social and professional group which both inspires urban change and exerts an impact on urban functions, image, economy, and social and cultural milieu (i.e. performs active agency), but may also be a tool or, worse, victim of urban transformations.

Still, the existing theoretical concepts referring to or incorporating artists, including the very popular but equally controversial creative class concept of Florida (2002), seem too general and insufficient as full explanations of spatial and entrepreneurial patterns of artists' activities in the urban space or the context and complexity of their impact on urban centres and particular quarters within them (see, e.g., Markusen 2006, 2014; Pratt 2008; Lloyd 2010; Markusen and Gadwa 2010; Musterd and Murie 2010; Krätke 2011; Borén and Young 2013; Silver and Miller 2013). As follows, further research on the issue seems necessary and worthwhile in order to furnish a holistic and comprehensive understanding of artists as a specific socio-economic and professional group contributing to urban change, including their potential to help cities deal with the numerous contemporary challenges of urban development, understood broadly as going beyond the idea of urban economic growth to socio-economic and sustainable development (Mulaert et al. 2013).

Moreover, despite several decades of interest in the topic, many studies continue to underline that little is still known about the geography of bohemia or artists, especially in respect of lesser known urban centres, specific professional groups, and the precise motivations for their spatial choices. In addition, the existing research on the presence and impact of artists on contemporary cities undertaken by economists, geographers and sociologists has mainly been conducted from the perspective of Western Europe and highly developed non-European countries. Until recently, it tended to privilege major world cities over lesser known or more peripheral second-tier urban centres outside the European core or the non-European Anglo-Saxon world (the USA, Canada, Australia). For example, in Poland, as in other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, interest in research linked with artists and their role in urban development is quite recent and initially has tended to focus on the broadly understood creative class, without singling out any unique subgroups within it (Stryjakiewicz et al. 2007; Chapain et al. 2010).

Taking into account the potential spheres of impact of artists on cities, in the preparation of the concept for the book, the diverse roles played by artists as potentially important actors and stakeholders in urban settings were taken into consideration. Artists may exert an impact on the economic, social, cultural and ecological aspects of urban development in roles including producers of cultural

goods and services; employees and entrepreneurs in the creative sector and other sectors; co-operators with service and production firms and institutions representing the public, private or non-governmental sectors; they may play an important role as urban social, ecological and political activists; creators and interpreters of urban heritages, identities and memories; inventors of cultural trends and phenomena or contesters and protestors against them; last but not least, they may act as pioneers and leading actors in the processes of urban regeneration and gentrification, initiators of new, long-term or temporary uses of urban space, and promoters of new approaches to urban development and planning. As residents of the city, they are also consumers of urban amenities, buildings, services and sites. The analyses given in the chapters of the book focusing on specific facets of artists' presence and impact on diverse urban contexts will serve to precise, verify and expand these original suppositions.

The texts presented in the volume, divided into introduction, two main sections and conclusions, include reflections on the presence of artists in twelve cities of different sizes, development paths, cultural milieux, economic standing and location in Europe, both major metropolitan centres (Paris, Berlin, Brussels) and other capital or second-tier cities (Barcelona, Belgrade, Dublin, Leipzig, Ljubljana, Krakow, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Warsaw) (Fig. 1).

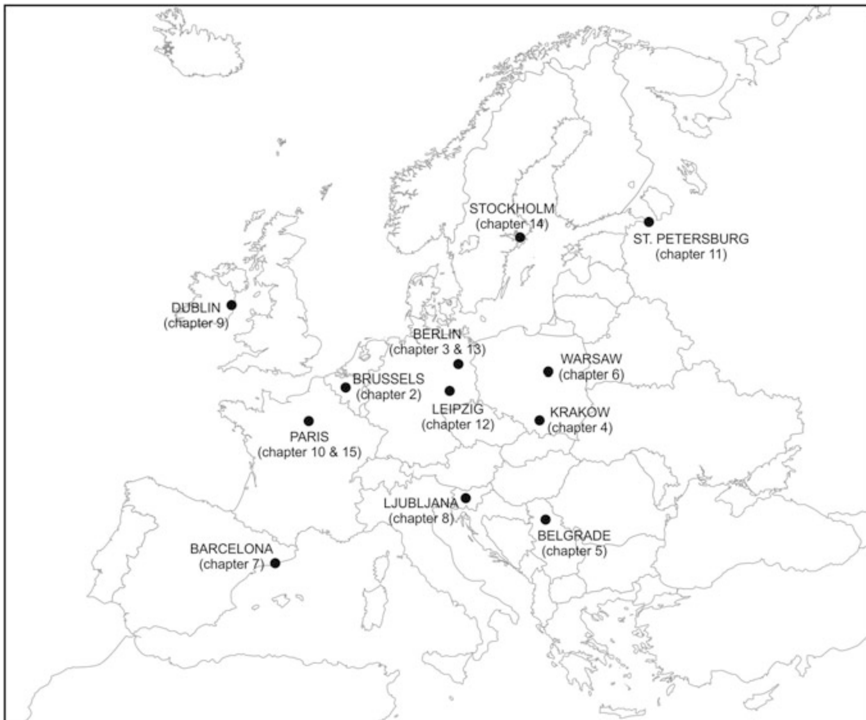

Fig. 1 Locations of case studies presented in the book. *Source* Own elaboration.

The first part of the book focuses on exploration of the main questions linked with artists' presence in cities, such as clusters and concentrations of art institutions and artists, and their links with urban regeneration, gentrification and interpretation of heritage. The authors of the chapters in this section consider the various ways artists and cultural activities agglomerate and whether they indeed have a tendency to concentrate in selected parts of cities, as well as the question of who stimulates and benefits from associating artists and artistic activities with particular areas.

The text by Tatiana Debroux on the quarter of Saint-Gilles in Brussels testifies to the instrumentalisation of artists' presence by municipal authorities in some parts of cities. The chapter written by Mariko Ikeda, similar in tone and focusing on the transformations of the Reuter Quarter in the Berlin district of Neukölln, likewise confirms trends and life cycle patterns of creative quarters already observed. Despite attempts at socially sensitive, careful renewal strategies, the arrival and presence of artists in this area is linked not only with residential gentrification but also with new retail capital and new types of services, leading to profound social changes. In contrast, Jarosław Działek and Monika Murzyn-Kupisz use a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods to consider whether contemporary artists indeed have a tendency to cluster in certain parts of cities and if so whether preferences for areas dubbed as artistic are displayed by a majority of artist populations. Nikola Jocić, Aljoša Budović and Andreas Winkler explore the case of the recent import of creative city policies to one of the neighbourhoods in the Serbian capital. The emergent creative quarter of Savamala in Belgrade shows not only the role of municipal authorities in attracting foreign funding and promoting some areas as creative but also the impact of other local and non-local stakeholders on artists and their activities. Katarzyna Wojnar applies the term 'archipelago basins' to analyse location patterns of independent music activities in Warsaw. In turn, Daniel Paül i Agustí, Joan Ganau and Pilar Riera investigate the impact of artists on cities through the lens of the mutual relationships between theatres and urban transformations. Focusing on the case of Slovenia and its capital, Jani Kozina and David Bole propose a multiscalar approach to the issue of bohemian concentrations, from national down to neighbourhood level, which may help to reveal the complexity of patterns of expansion and dispersion of bohemian agglomerations

In the second main section of the book less often mentioned, more recent or less obvious roles of artists or their potential contribution to urban development are discussed in the context of their impact on temporary uses of urban space and broader involvement in urban planning and fostering new governance models. This part of the volume includes a study of the pop-up Granby Park in Dublin written by Niamh Moore-Cherry, and Clotilde Kullmann's reflections on the use of street art in Paris, referring to the case of the 'Paris 13 Tower Exhibition' organised in 2013. Alexandra Nenko, in turn, draws attention to the importance, value and context of bottom-up artistic initiatives in changing a city's creative milieu in the post-Soviet context of the absence of explicit creative industries and creative city policies. In the next text focused on Leipzig, Silvie Jacobi considers what attracts artists to a post-socialist city which has experienced economic decline and shrinkage in the decades following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Referring to the case of the Berlin

Wall, Martin Barthel distinguishes different forms of engagement by artists in interpretation of urban heritage, which translate into distinct modes of memory. The last two chapters of the book refer to the new, increasingly important strain of literature on the presence of artists in cities, i.e. their potential and actual involvement in urban planning processes, using the example of Stockholm (text by Thomas Borén and Craig Young) and an account of the experiment of collaboration between artists and urban planners, intended to broaden the planning perspectives of the latter, undertaken in a Parisian suburb (text by Elsa Vivant, Nadia Arab and Burcu Özdirlik).

As visible in its structure and content, with the aim of contributing to a better understanding of the complex relationships between artists and cities, the book examines a variety of urban contexts, scales and issues linked with the presence of artists in urban centres. Although understandably not all the issues mentioned above have been tackled by the authors of particular chapters in their analyses of specific aspects of artists' impact and presence in cities, the editors of the book hope that it may nonetheless shed some new light on the intricacies of the links between artists and cities, as well as contribute to the timely, broader discussion on the role of creativity and culture in urban development.

Kraków, Poland
October 2015

Monika Murzyn-Kupisz
Jarosław Działek

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The idea for the book originated during the IGU Annual European Conference in Krakow in 18–22 August 2014, where a session on 'Artists and the Challenges of Contemporary Urban Development' was convened by the volume's editors. Many of the chapters of the book were first presented as papers at the conference, though other authors conducting research which fits the idea of the book were subsequently invited to join to make the publication more comprehensive and geographically diverse. Another great source of inspiration for the volume were other conferences in which the editors had the privilege of participating, in particular the workshop 'Controversies around creativity in cities' at the Berlin Social Science Centre (WZB) on 23–24 October 2014, organised by its research unit 'Cultural Sources of Newness' and led by Prof. Michael Hutter, as well as the Royal Geographic Society Annual International Conference in London (27–30 August 2013), at which a session on 'Artists and Gentrification… and the Urban Frontier' took place. We would like to thank the editors at Springer for their encouragement and support throughout the book development process. We also, of course, want to thank all the chapter contributors, who have been instrumental in creating this collection of texts with a common focus on the intersection of artists and cities in Europe. Finally, we would like to acknowledge that the content of chapters 1 and 4 was created as part of research carried out within the framework of the research project on 'Activities of artists in post-socialist cities: socio-economic underpinnings and implications' conducted in 2013–2017 and financed with a grant awarded by the National Science Centre, Poland, grant agreement no. UMO-2012/05/E/HS4/01601.

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About the Editors

Monika Murzyn-Kupisz holds a doctorate and a postdoctoral habilitation in economic sciences from Krakow University of Economics and an MA in European Leisure Studies (a joint diploma of Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Tilburg University, Universidad de Deusto in Bilbao and Loughborough University). She is an assistant professor at the UNESCO Chair for Heritage and Urban Studies, Department of Economic and Social History at the Krakow University of Economics. She specialises in multidisciplinary research within the broad field of cultural economics, heritage studies and urban studies, with a special focus on heritage, heritage institutions, cultural and creative activities and artists as well as urban regeneration processes, in particular their analysis in the context of Central and Eastern Europe.

Jarosław Działek Ph.D. is a graduate in geography and sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. He is currently an assistant professor at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Management, Jagiellonian University. His research interests include a focus on the social dimensions of local and regional development. He is the author and co-author of a number of books and papers on the following topics: geography of artists and creativity, cultural heritage and social capital building, social capital resources in Poland, perception of natural hazards. He took part in numerous research projects commissioned by local, regional and national authorities.

Contributors

Nadia Arab Lab'Urba, Ecole d'Urbanisme de Paris, Université Paris Est Créteil, Marne La Vallée, France

Martin Barthel Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland

David Bole Anton Melik Geographical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Thomas Borén Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

Aljoša Budović Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia

Tatiana Debroux IGEAT/Laboratoire de Géographie Humaine, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium

Jarosław Działek Institute of Geography and Spatial Management, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

Joan Ganau Universitat de Lleida, Lleida, Spain

Mariko Ikeda Department of Human Geography, Graduate School of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Tsukuba, Tsukuba-City, Ibaraki, Japan

Silvie Jacobi Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries, King's College London, London, England, UK

Nikola Jocić Institute of Geography, University of Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany

Jani Kozina Anton Melik Geographical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Clotilde Kullmann EA-EIREST, University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, France

Niamh Moore-Cherry School of Geography, University College Dublin, Dublin 4, Ireland

Monika Murzyn-Kupisz Department of Economic and Social History, Cracow University of Economics, Kraków, Poland

Aleksandra (Oleksandra) Nenko Institute for Design and Urban Studies, ITMO University, St. Petersburg, Russia

Burcu Özdirlik Lisis, Université Paris Est Marne La Vallée, Marne La Vallée, France

Daniel Paül i Agustí Universitat de Lleida, Lleida, Spain

Pilar Riera Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain

Elsa Vivant Latts, Ecole d'Urbanisme de Paris, Université Paris Est Marne La Vallée, Marne La Vallée, France

Andreas Winkler Institute of Geography, University of Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany

Katarzyna Wojnar Centre for European Regional and Local Studies EUROREG, University of Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland

Craig Young Division of Geography and Environmental Management, School of Science and the Environment, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, UK

Chapter 1
Theorising Artists as Actors of Urban Change

Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jarosław Działek

> *I'm afraid we are a useless lot ... But I—but we—what service are we ... to our fellow men?*
> *My opinion is exactly the opposite of the one he is expressing. I believe that artists are the most useful men in existence.*
> (conversation between sculptors Antoine Bourdelle and Auguste Rodin quoted by Gsell 1911: 387).

Artists as Actors and Stakeholders of Urban Change

The notion of actors in cities may include a broad range of individuals, groups, organizations and institutions including different levels of public authorities and political representatives, diverse private actors such as property owners, firms in various economic sectors (e.g. industry, real estate, tourism, transport, education), households, local and non-local users and consumers of urban amenities, broadly understood local communities, citizens, and citizen groups including local and non-local associations (Samuels 2005; Rutten 2006; Kourtit et al. 2014). As noticed by Madanipour et al. (2014: 7), '[t]he number and range of new stakeholders of urban transformations has increased to include many non-state actors'. These actors may be affected by changes exerted by other forces or perform the role of active agents consciously participating in and influencing the process of urban change to their own advantage (Harvey 2012). Some, such as local authorities and urban planners, may be officially entrusted with local leadership, to foster urban development or social cohesion, while others are informal (Groth and Corijn 2005).

M. Murzyn-Kupisz (✉)
Department of Economic and Social History, Cracow University of Economics,
ul. Rakowicka 27, 31-510 Kraków, Poland
e-mail: murzynm@uek.krakow.pl

J. Działek
Institute of Geography and Spatial Management, Jagiellonian University,
ul. Gronostajowa 7, 30-387 Kraków, Poland
e-mail: jarek.dzialek@uj.edu.pl

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Some are local, others external and supralocal. Their impact may be perceived positively or can be controversial and ambivalent (Harvey 2012; Ehrenfeucht and Nelson 2013). They might be concerned with a specific aspect or sphere of urban life, strive for the achievement of specific objectives, or their engagement with urban change might be spontaneous or even unconscious and unintentional.

In analyses of urban change, particular social and professional groups and subgroups within them are singled out for greater attention, including artists (Zukin 1989), students (Allinson 2006), young professionals (Ehrenfeucht and Nelson 2013), specific new household types termed 'transitory urbanities' (Haase et al. 2012), urban activists and residents' associations (Howe 2009), and commercial actors (Svirčić Gotovac and Zlatar 2015). Some of these are believed to foster economic development, others seen as able to provide solutions to urban challenges and function as 'strategic brokers' who may 'build collaborative relationships between government, local institutions, and community organizations' (Larner and Butler 2007: 78); yet others are held responsible for conflicts and tensions or certain negative development tendencies in cities.

Artists constitute a professional and social group which seems to be particularly attracted to urban environments, especially larger urban centres with traditionally better developed cultural infrastructure, an art market, and greater demand for creative occupations (Heilbrun and Gray 2001; Lloyd 2004; Markusen 2006; Montgomery 2008; Debroux 2009, 2013b; Woldoff et al. 2011; Boichot 2013; Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014a; Schich et al. 2014; Hill 2014).[1] Cities also provide an environment and milieu in which artists can seek inspirations and develop both mainstream and avant-garde artistic activities. As such, artists should not only be seen as creators of urban ambiance, image and cultural offer, but also as inspirers, creators and consumers of urban amenities, direct and indirect contributors to the urban economy, employees, employers, and residents in the city (Markusen and King 2003; Markusen 2006, 2014).

Research focusing on artists' behaviours and activities in the urban space may also be particularly interesting, as some authors on the one hand advocate 'a more substantial engagement of [geography] with art' but on the other propose that it 'could be less oriented towards representations and more toward practices' (Bain 2003: 304). The interest of social scientists, including geographers and economists, in the presence of artists in cities does not, however, only stem from the fact that they are seen as contributors to regional economic growth and income or that through their activities and lifestyle representatives of the artistic world are particularly visible in urban landscape, endowing it with a unique atmosphere. Also of importance is the fact that artists are included in several well known though often disputed contemporary concepts as a group of great importance to current transformations of urban space and the competitive position of cities, including the idea of the creative

[1] Though it also has to be acknowledged that some artists may actually not like to live in urban centres. Quite the opposite, they may be considered counter-urbanites (Mitchell et al. 2004).

city (Landry 2008), the creative class (Florida 2002, 2012), the creative field (Scott 2010) and the creative milieu (Wojan et al. 2007; Meusburger 2009).

The remainder of the chapter is structured in the following way. First the question of definition of artists and artistic occupations is considered, focusing on their particular characteristics and perceptions of them as a distinct socio-occupational group. Then different potential aspects of their impact and activities in cities are identified and discussed.

Conceptual Ambiguities Linked to Artists

Due, perhaps, to the certain aura of romanticism that continues to surround activities and artefacts perceived as artistic, but also to the recent popularity of the concept of creativity (Menger 2014) and its instrumentalisation, there are many possible ways to define an artist as an individual or as a member of a particular, distinct professional and social group, making it a very ambiguous concept (Freidson 1986; Frey and Pommerehne 1989; Karttunen 1998; European Parliament 2006; Towse 2010; Throsby and Zednik 2010; Lena and Lindemann 2014). The term ‘artist’ is frequently and often unreflectingly used in various contexts and meanings in the media, policy-making and scientific discourse referring to individuals possessing certain abilities, engaged in a certain type of activities, or perceived as members of a specific professional, economic and life-style group endowed with the adjective ‘artistic’ or ‘bohemian’.

Attempts at more precise and practical definitions are most often undertaken by researchers who study artists’ spatial preferences and labour markets, or specialists entrusted with creating public policy guidelines on artists’ status. Definitions may take into account the specificity of personal characteristics and talents, motivations for work, behaviours, and subjection to constraints in the highly volatile and uncertain artistic labour market (Towse 2010; Lena and Lindemann 2014; Menger 2014). Accordingly, definitions of artists may entail both relatively objective income and education-related factors and more subjective life-style, reputation, quality of art perception and subjective self-assessment related considerations (Frey and Pommerehne 1989: 146–147; Mitchell and Karttunen 1992; Heinich 2004; Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012) (Fig. 1.1 and Table 1.1).

Identifying artists may first of all relate to official, certified professional qualifications. Using this approach, artists can be understood as bohemian graduates, i.e. professional members of the bohemia (Comunian et al. 2010, 2011) narrowed down to ‘creative arts and design students’ within the bohemian graduates group. Definitions of artists limited to graduates of artistic majors usually include persons who are studying or have studied at academies of fine arts, music conservatories, higher schools of dramatic art, and students majoring in TV and film production, architecture and design, as well as related subjects recognised as such by relevant ministries in particular countries (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014a). This understanding of artists may be also related to the type of cultural capital that

ARTISTS

Professional qualifications

Formal educational achievement

Income and employment

Share of income obtained from artistic activities

Share of working time devoted to artistic activities

Employment in the cultural sector, arts organizations, creative industries

Having a job requiring artistic creativity

Professional recognition

Membership of professional artists' associations or organizations

Presentation and performance at prestigious, professionally recognized venues and sites

Cooperation with prestigious, recognized arts organizations and firms in creative industries

Awards and prizes

Recognition by peers, reputation

Popular recognition

Universal renown, recognition by the general public – fame, publicity, lifestyle perception, demand for the artists' work

Lifestyle and self-perception

Self-identification as artist

Engagement in artistic activities, creating works of art

Pursuing a 'bohemian' lifestyle

objective criteria

subjective criteria

Fig. 1.1 Approaches to defining artists. *Source* Own elaboration

particular individuals have at their disposal. Artists may be described as individuals who have some specific embodied cultural capital linked to artistic skills and abilities, objectify it in the form of artistic goods and practices, and have had their skills and artistic status confirmed by a professional organization or with an art school diploma (the equivalent of Bourdieu's (1984) institutionalized cultural capital).

The 'occupational approach' can also be used in another way taking into account the proportion of a person's income obtained thanks to artistic labour, labour time devoted to artistic activities, employment in a recognized artistic institution or membership in professional artists' groups and organisations. Accordingly, Markusen and King (2003: 4) identify artists as persons who consider themselves artists, declare an artistic occupation for national census purposes, and obtain the largest proportion of their income from art-related work. Such a definition of artists encompasses persons 'who self-identify as artists and have figured out a way to have a career as artists, be it by grants or by commercial contracts or sales of their own original work', and who represent one of the following occupations: 'actors, directors, performance artists, dancers, choreographers, musicians, composers, authors, writers, painters, sculptors, and photographers'. It excludes, however, graphic designers and other artistic workers who may consider themselves artists but are employed full time by non-artistic firms. This category of cultural workers comprised of 'architects, crafts people (makers), designers, graphic artists,

Table 1.1 Selected typologies of artists

Typologies and their criteria	Spectrum of categories within a given typology	Selected references
Specificity of artistic genres	– Creative artists who benefit from full copyrights – Performers who benefit from rights related to copyrights or neighbouring rights – Other artistic occupations of a more commercial nature who may also benefit from some types of copyrights	Towse (2010)
Own understanding of artists' work and identity, societal expectations of them	– Cultural civilizers – Border crossers – Representators	Gaztambide-Fernández (2008)
Extent of integration into existing art worlds	– Integrated professionals – Non-integrated professionals including mavericks and innovators – Non-professionals including naïve, grassroots and folk artists	Becker (1982), Karttunen (1998), Heinich (2004), Throsby and Zednik (2010)
Purpose of creativity and its knowledge base	– Artists striving for originality–artistic and cultural creativity based on symbolic knowledge – Creative professionals striving for creation of new solutions with a commercial potential −economic and technical creativity based on analytical and synthetic knowledge	Florida (2002), Asheim and Hansen (2009) and Suwala (2014)
Rationales of artistic practice	– Artistic rationales (art for arts' sake) – Economic rationales	Eikhof and Haunschild (2007)
Extent of commercialisation	– Providing cultural goods and services subsidized by public funds or sponsored by the private sector below market prices or with no market prices – Providing cultural goods and services on market basis	Tomczak and Stachowiak (2015)
Position in the cultural value/creative production chain	– Core cultural/creative workers – Related cultural/creative workers	Florida (2002) and Markusen et al. (2008)

(continued)

Table 1.1 (continued)

Typologies and their criteria	Spectrum of categories within a given typology	Selected references
Financial situation and social position	– Well-known elite artists with above-average earnings from artistic activities, creative elites – Multiple job holders of artistic and non-artistic jobs, artistic activities supply only a part of the artist's income or are treated as a non-income generating activity, the creative underclass	Jeffri (2004), Gornostaeva and Campbell (2012)

Source Own elaboration

journalists, radio and TV newsreaders, announcers and show hosts, set and lightening designers' may be included in analyses of artists depending on the needs of a given study (Towse 2010: 295). Markusen et al. (2008) refer to these two groups of people employed in the arts and other cultural occupations as 'core' and 'related' cultural workers respectively. Definitions of who an artist is may thus vary depending on what occupations are considered artistic and are selected for the purpose of national surveys and statistics. For example studies on artists using data from the National Household Surveys in Canada include nine occupations selected as 'artistic' following two criteria: artistic nature based on occupation titles and descriptions, and the most common types of professional artists who are eligible to apply to arts councils for funding (Hill 2014: 11).[2]

A distinction is also often made between two main categories of artists: creative artists and performers. The first group includes visual artists, literary authors, playwrights, film and TV scriptwriters, directors, composers, lyricists and choreographers, who can (though do not necessarily) work individually and independently, thus tend to be self-employed 'operators' or freelancers. The second is composed of musicians, singers, dancers, actors, puppeteers, circus performers and other similar artistic performers, who are more often employed by an organization and whose artistic activity needs to be delivered or performed in front of an audience in a more or less organized setting (Towse 2010). The former group benefits from full copyrights to the outcomes of their artistic work, the latter from rights related to copyright or neighbouring rights. The borders between these two types of artists are, however, very unclear, and often impracticable, as one artist may practice different artistic genres and be both a creative artist and a performer at

[2]In other classifications, such as the International Standard Classification of Occupations used in the EU (ILO 2007) or US Standard Occupational Classification (BLS 2009), artistic professions are grouped differently, according to their traditional or non-traditional character, and taking into account whether creative or technical input plays a greater role in the artistic activities of a particular professional group.

the same time. Some artists do not conform to clear-cut categories at all, particularly if they are cross- and multidisciplinary (Karttunen 1998). Moreover, some artistic skills are more independent and universal, while others are linked to specific cultural genres and particular cultural industries.

Yet another different though not contradictory interpretation of the concept of artist has been used in the studies performed under the leadership of D. Throsby for the Australia Council for the Arts since the 1980s. Here, the definition of a professional artist is based not on formal qualifications and official employment but on the criterion of 'professionalism' which 'relates to the manner and standards of an artist's work—is she/he working at the level of commitment to the norms for professional recognition in their particular art form' (Throsby and Zednik 2010: 14). Artists may be recognized in the professional art world in different ways, such as having a piece of writing published by a professional publishing house, being engaged in a professional venue, having a work of visual art shown at a professional gallery, undergoing full-time training, or receiving a grant as an artist within a certain time period. Applying the factor of 'professional recognition' defined above, the term 'principal artistic occupation' is used to refer to writers, visual artists, craft practitioners, actors and directors, dancers and choreographers, musicians and singers, composers, songwriters and arrangers, and community cultural development workers (community artists). Throsby and Zednik (2010) also note that people involved in design (interior, fashion, architectural) or working in the film industry may be considered artists as well. Mitchell and Karttunen (1992) likewise distinguish definitions of artists based on self-definition, production (an artist is a person who carries out 'serious' artistic activities and produces works of art), recognition by society at large, and peer definition (recognized as an artist by other artists), all of which may but need not imply institutionalized or bureaucratized recognition.

Lena and Lindemann (2014: 82) 'point to the importance of one's embeddedness within an artistic network to artistic self-identification'. The definition of artists may thus be limited to persons 'who function within the bounds of the established art world', join artists' associations and apply for funding from arts councils, who may be termed 'integrated professionals'—integrated in the recognized, institutional art world (Karttunen 1998: 8). It may equally, however, reflect a much broader understanding of artists based on subjective self-evaluation, meaning that an artist is a person who perceives her- or himself as such, irrespective of their professional qualifications or of whether they function within or outside the institutionalized realm of art; this thus includes non-professional and amateur artists (Becker 1982; Freidson 1986; Heinich 2004). Such a broad definition was proposed in the UNESCO 'Recommendation concerning the Status of the Artist':

> 'Artist' is taken to mean any person who creates or gives creative expression to, or re-creates works of art, who considers his artistic creation to be an essential part of his life, who contributes in this way to the development of art and culture and who is or asks to be recognized as an artist, whether or not he is bound by any relations of employment or association (UNESCO 1980: 5).

An understanding of who may be referred to as an 'artist' can also be derived from the definition of specific features of activities regarded as cultural or artistic proposed by Throsby (2001: 4). He suggests that they should include the following three characteristics: 'That the activities concerned involve some form of creativity in their production; That they are concerned with the generation and communication of symbolic meaning, and That their output embodies, at least potentially, some form of intellectual property.' Using this as a point of reference, an artist would be an individual who engages in creative activities and produces goods and services which have all of the above qualities.

Leaving aside the related problem of the definition of art, in the popular perception an artist is still a different concept referring not only to a person's involvement in artistic activities or representing an artistic profession but also a certain, to some extent socially unconventional, distinctive lifestyle termed 'artistic' or 'bohemian'. As mentioned by Lloyd (2010: 54)

> there is nurtured in bohemia the conviction that the artistic life constitutes a calling that encompasses the very soul of the producer (…); that to produce art requires a commitment not only to the practical activity of creation but also to the artistic style of life.

This understanding of an artist captures the popular imagination but may also be problematic, as it may exclude individuals whose everyday behaviour does not fully conform to the bohemian image (Trebay 1998; Szívós 2011). It may also lead to confusion and to the dilution of the idea of artist to the even more fuzzy concept of bohemian, evolving and diversifying over time (Brooks 2000; Lloyd 2010). Moreover, for decades many artists have found the 'frivolous' bohemian image associated with their profession problematic and wanted to change it to promote artists as respectable, hard-working professionals as evidenced in the efforts of Montmartre artists in the 1920s (Jackson 2006).

Tensions Between Artistic and Economic Rationales

Difficulties defining who an artist is may also stem from the ambiguity and tension that come from categorizing cultural products, as either the product of efforts which above all require specific skills, or primarily the fruit of the intellectual imagination, with skills being of minor importance (Fendrich 2005). According to Freidson (1986) the fact that artists are associated with intellectual labour and expression of human genius and their work is subject to academic studies, critical analyses and theoretical reflection distinguishes them from skilled artisans.

In analysing artists' activities we must likewise take into account that most of them are driven by a combination of both artistic and economic rationales (Eikhof and Haunschild 2007). Although certain narratives present artists as individual, creative geniuses, they cannot be completely set apart from the context in which they operate. Their artistic work, its production and recognition usually requires that they are embedded and cooperate within broader, structured art worlds

(Becker 1982). Consequently, artists may be characterized in relation to the type of cultural and creative industries for which they supply creative content—based on the utility value of cultural products and services they contribute to producing (ranging from high to low), the degree of commercialization of these products, whether they are intermediate or final products, whether they require clustering or tend to be dispersed, and depending on the scale of the market covered by them (from local to global) (Tomczak and Stachowiak 2015).

Artists employed as professional artistic workers in larger cultural venues, firms and corporations (e.g. opera houses, advertising firms, film studios) are often torn between their own desires, ideas and needs, and the expectations, demands and practices of the institutional structures they work for. Such identity-related dilemmas experienced by professional art practitioners are reflected in antagonisms between their artistic and professional goals, working practices, and evaluations of outcomes of their work (Elsbach and Caldwell-Wenman 2015). They are also connected with the unresolvable question of whether being an artist means fulfilling a unique mission in life and therefore artists should be immune to mercantile motivations, or whether the practice of art is a practical way of making a living. Some artists are consequently resented by their peers as too focused on the material aspect of the artistic profession which compromises their artistic achievements (Freidson 1986), despite the fact that, historically speaking, artists usually created for specific patrons, audiences and markets (Frey and Pommerehne 1989; Throsby 2001).

Aside from economic considerations, other facets of great importance are thus artists' own understanding of their work and identity, and societal expectations of them. According to Gaztambide-Fernández (2008), artists as agents in society, and consequently their roles, may be seen in three main categories: cultural 'civilizers', 'border crossers', and 'representators'. From the first perspective, artists create art for art's sake. They are recognized as unique intellectuals with special abilities and personalities which enable them to create unique works of primarily symbolic rather than utilitarian character and purpose, by which they contribute to civilizational development and modernization, and challenge the public to think in new and different ways. This view of artists as creative geniuses, developed since Renaissance times, differentiates them from skilled artisans, who produce objects of principally utilitarian value. The second approach, referred to as 'art for politics' sake', posits that the main purpose of artists' work is to enable social transformations through the artists' ability to transgress and challenge social borders. Their work is not valuable for its own sake but rather as a tool for 'mobilizing symbols to challenge boundaries' (Gaztambide-Fernández 2008: 245). In the last view of artists and their creative endeavours, referred to as 'art for identity's sake', the value of art works depends on 'how audiences engage with them to represent themselves' (Gaztambide-Fernández 2008: 248), which may be regarded as cultural populism, transforming the artist into entertainer and celebrity.

Finally, artists' professional identities are subject to constant transformation. In this context, longer-term changes in their social status in parallel with the evolution of their attitudes to works of art and ideas regarding the essence of their labour

underway since Early Modern times should also be taken into consideration (Moulin 1983; Freidson 1986). The status of artists has evolved from artisans and respected professionals admired but not elevated to the status of genius, to neurotic, creative geniuses and bohemian outsiders, and finally to postmodern celebrities and businessmen, while the former focus on their skills and handwork was first broadened to include personal recognition and expression, and ultimately to a large extent superseded by the idea of creative curatorship and entertainment (Rothenberg 2014: 212). In turn Lingo and Tepper (2013: 348) distinguish several important changes artists have been forced to face in recent decades. According to them, contemporary artists:

> need to be masters of navigating historically disparate domains … specialization and generalist skills, autonomy and social engagement, the economy's periphery and its core, large metro centres and regional art markets, artistic imaginations with pragmatic, commercial tasks … Moreover, artists are not only navigating these disparate domains, they are also synthesizing and integrating across them.

Consequently, although they may have departed from a specific artistic specialization, contemporary artists are often expected to be flexible and work across sectors and occupational roles. The traditional divisions between high and popular art and between the non-commercial and commercialized art sectors are increasingly blurred and irrelevant, both to art audiences and to artists who 'no longer see working outside the commercial sector as a badge of distinction or authenticity' and are able to reconcile their 'bohemian' and 'professional' identities (Lingo and Tepper 2013: 342). Although some artists continue to focus on individual artistic expression, many see themselves mainly from the perspective of social engagement in their communities as educators, social workers or policy actors. Lingo and Tepper also question the singularity of the narrative presenting artists as victims of a post-Fordist economy and epitomes of precarious labour, arguing that many artists are successful, pro-active, self-directed freelancers, accustomed to exposure to market forces, and able to anticipate and accommodate change, themselves developing new forms of networking, community and collective support.

Artists and the Creative Class

Artists are an integral constituent of the creative class concept (Florida 2002), which has gained much popularity in recent scientific and urban planning discourse but has also often been roundly criticized or at least seriously called into question (e.g. Peck 2005; Markusen 2006; Pratt 2008; Evans 2009; Krätke 2010, 2011; Heebels and van Aalst 2010; Lorenzen and Andersen 2009; Musterd and Murie 2010; Vivant 2010; Borén and Young 2013a; Ryberg et al. 2013). In contrast to conventional approaches emphasizing hard location factors, Florida claims that, in the new economy, creating an array of 'soft' conditions conducive to attracting creative, innovative and enterprising individuals forming a new socio-economic

class is a key stimulant of growth of cities and regions. Artists, also referred to interchangeably as bohemians and engaged in applying artistic forms of creativity, are included in the 'super-creative' core of the creative class, next to its creative core (e.g. researchers, engineers, and physicians), who apply mostly technical creativity, and creative professionals (e.g. managers, financial specialists and lawyers), who engage in 'creative problem solving', applying primarily a generic and managerial form of creativity (Florida 2002). A similar typology was proposed by Asheim and Hansen (2009), who divided the creative class into three groups: artists, who base their activities on symbolic knowledge; scientists, who depend on analytical knowledge; and engineers, who require synthetic knowledge. This echoes to some extent the much earlier typology of Freidson (1986) who considers artists one of the three main types of liberal, 'knowledge-based' professions (next to professions requiring advanced knowledge to solve practical problems, such as doctors and lawyers, and professions which require knowledge to solve theoretical problems, such as scientists). Florida's original 'bohemian index' (2002) included writers, designers, musicians, actors, directors, painters and sculptors, photographers and dancers, who were instrumental in creating the 'creative ecosystem' of cities, making them more competitive. He subsequently expanded this notion of bohemians to encompass (Florida 2012: 38) entertainers, architects and 'the thought leadership of the modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures', who perform the 'highest order of creative work', share a working ethos, and are believed to both create and consume certain bohemian amenities.

Different typologies of the creative class and ways of differentiating artists may also be derived from the definition of creativity. This may be understood as the ability to create new forms and values, both material (i.e. products) and intangible (symbolic values, ideas, etc.) (Stryjakiewicz and Stachowiak 2010). According to Suwala (2014), artists should be 'placed' within the context of creativity as striving for originality, while attributing secondary importance to economic issues. Conversely, creative professionals strive to create new solutions with high commercial potential. It is important, though, to notice that artists as a group are also internally differentiated according to the same scale. Many of them, especially at a certain stage of their artistic development, are highly motivated by a striving for originality and self-expression. Others, particularly those engaged in applied art forms, are by definition more likely to be interested in more practical, commercial uses of their creations. One possible prediction linked with this duality is that artists' understanding of their own creativity may be of great importance for their intended and actual impact on urban space (e.g. more social versus more economic) and on the creation of networks (independent networks with other artists, versus cooperation with cultural gatekeepers and commercial firms in the cultural and non-cultural sectors). Moreover, location preferences and other factors influencing the choice of place of residence and work are certainly different for particular groups within the creative class. Members of the creative class with a symbolic orientation (artists) are more attracted to an area by its 'people climate': openness, tolerance of minorities and availability of public services, especially those linked with culture. For representatives of the creative class with an analytical and

synthetic orientation (scientists, engineers), the 'business climate' and level of technological advancement of particular cities proved to be more important. Similar results with regard to the location choices of artists were found by other researchers (Wojan et al. 2007; Asheim and Hansen 2009; Hracs et al. 2011).

Florida's optimistic assessment suggested that all the above-mentioned groups within the creative class are characterized by above-average earnings and exert a similar impact on socio-economic development in attracting capital, economic activities and well-to-do residents to cities. Critics of this concept point to the fact that the creative class may be strongly differentiated with respect to income and life styles, creating a continuum from creative underclass to creative elites (Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012; Morgan and Ren 2012). Artists may also vary greatly in terms of the genres they represent, the stages of their professional career, or their approaches to commercialization of artistic endeavours. As already mentioned, some are strongly opposed to the commercialization of art and perceive themselves as independent artists with a strong social mission, such as a role in anarchistic squats. Others may have achieved a high professional, social and market status. They fully support themselves with their artistic work and have above-average earnings, qualifying as members of the urban elite. A unique case is the so called 'creative underclass', members of which are more likely to participate in barter-style exchange in the context of cultural 'gift economy' rather than strictly profit-oriented activities, have a strong inclination towards stressing the unique social and cultural mission of artists and feel the need to implement social change, and to contest the existing socio-economic system. Gornostaeva and Campbell (2012) distinguish two subgroups within the creative underclass thus: working-class bohemians, characterized by anarchism, rejection of traditional life styles and possibilities for commercial use of artistic creation, and middle-class bohemians with a slightly higher social status who none the less 'cultivate' the 'ostentatious poverty' life style. Other researchers suggest that although there are artists who are highly successful (also commercially), graduates of artistic majors ('bohemian graduates') frequently find it difficult to function in the labour market and often receive lower wages than graduates of other majors (Comunian et al. 2010).

As underlined by many critics of the concept links between the creative class, creativity, urban space and economic development are much more complex and more closely dependent on the national and local socio-economic context than either Florida's initial proposals or their modifications assumed. Rather than a useful tool for explaining contemporary factors of urban development, then, Florida may have created a theory mainly used to justify and propagate neoliberal urban policies (Peck 2005; Evans 2009; Krätke 2011; Musterd and Murie 2010; Pratt 2011; Borén and Young 2013a) confirming the instrumentalization of artists and artistic image rather than their role as independent actors of urban development. Still, the idea of a creative class surely fostered and speeded up a significant change of urban policy approach with respect to the cultural factors and conditions of urban and regional development all over the world (Pratt 2011), creating both benefits and challenges to artists in terms of their perception, expected impact and functioning in cities. Their inclusion in Florida's concept may also have helped to promote the

recognition of artists by other urban stakeholders as 'legitimate actors with valid demands' (Kagan and Hahn 2011: 20)—for instance to bring about the situation whereby artists' organizations are treated as partners by local governments (Rutten 2006).

Artists as Economic Actors in the City

As stated by Markusen (2006: 1921), 'artists play multiple roles in an urban economy—some progressive, some problematic'. They add to the economic base of the city and its region, 'contributing to regional growth and income to the extent that they draw tourists from other regions, help non-arts businesses to recruit employees, and generate direct sales and incomes through … individual exporting activities' (Markusen 2006: 1931). Conceptualizing cultural (creative) industries as a sector of the economy which supplies goods and services with a high share of creative, symbolic and aesthetic content, artists certainly are a group of workers likely to be employed in creative occupations and other cultural occupations in cultural and creative industries, in particular in their core (core creative arts, other core cultural industries) (Throsby 2008). Put another way, artists participate in the creative industries value chain from creation of original creative goods (initial creative content creators) to their distribution (Pratt 2004). Some are employed in cultural institutions or firms in the creative sector; others are self-employed, functioning as freelancers, creative entrepreneurs and culturpreneurs (Towse 2002; Neff et al. 2005; Norcliffe and Rendace 2003; Molotch and Treskon 2009; Hauge and Hracs 2010; Heebels and van Aalst 2010). According to Silver and Miller (2013), the presence of artists may be associated with rising aggregate local wages, in particular when they are embedded in a 'supportive' local scene in contrast to the general category of creative class professionals, who are linked with lower local wages.

They are often strongly embedded in cooperation networks in the market for artistic and cultural services (Benhamou 2003; Hauge and Hracs 2010; Hracs et al. 2011; Heebels and van Aalst 2010; Comunian et al. 2010; Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012) or other sectors of the 'new' economy such as IT (Landry 2008).[3] The presence of artists and those who supply the needs of artists generates agglomeration benefits—'untraded interdependencies' (Molotch and Treskon 2009 referring to Storper 1997), encourages creativity, and enhances earnings in innovation- and creative-based occupations (Gabe and Abel 2011). In addition, artists often found artistic production spaces which in time become clusters of cultural industries and tourism attractions (Rutten 2006). Although such developments might not be necessarily welcomed, or profit the artists who were their original initiators, they can be economically beneficial to other urban actors or to the city as

[3]They have always been to some extent involved in cooperation networks with non-creative firms in diverse traditional industries, for example in industrial design, though their role in new industries seems to be even more important.

a whole. Artists also contribute to the urban economy by creating tourism offer, either directly or by promoting the city and selected areas of it as tourist attractions (Aoyama 2009; Grodach 2010; Colomb 2012). As such, however, they can also be held partly responsible for negative effects of the development of tourism, such as increasing congestion and hikes in the cost of living in a tourist city. Artistic creatives also participate in the creation of urban landmarks and icons and contribute to projecting cities 'iconically' (Landry 2008), adding to their positive image or challenging negative perceptions of them, which may have economic implications for attracting investors in certain sectors, tourists, and new residents, as well as the real estate market. Similarly, some cities become well known and can promote themselves chiefly thanks to the fame of certain of the creative industries dependent on artistic talent and artists' involvement in them, such as the film industry or fashion design (Currid 2008). Last but not least, artists contribute to the existence of local 'scenes'—particular 'constellations of amenities' in a place which 'define the scene by making available an array of meaningful experiences to residents and visitors' and 'transform an urban area into a theatrical place to see and be seen' (Silver et al. 2011: 229). Artists do not necessarily benefit from the processes of urban change they initiate or participate in, however, but generate profits later reaped by other urban actors, 'lining with gold the pockets of buyers and sellers in the inner-city property market' (Ley 2003: 2542).

As residents and consumers in the city (Jeffri 1988), artists are thought to display specific consumption preferences with respect to housing, leisure and culture. For example, they are important customers of both traditional and avant-garde art and heritage institutions such as theatres, concert venues and museums, as well as frequent users of general cultural infrastructure such as libraries (Bille 2010). Artists may also be important for creating urban consumption patterns and broadly understood urban lifestyles (Czornik 2012). They may likewise contribute to the urban economy by shaping the context of consumption in the city, for example by designing architecture, street furniture and public spaces—impacting on visual aspects of the urban space (Miles 2005), its liveability (e.g. buskers, performances) and providing a 'background' to consumption of non-artistic services.

It is also believed that artists can enhance the productive capacities of other professions and non-artistic sectors by making them more creative, providing ideas and creative input (Styhre and Eriksson 2008). As well as being directly involved in creative industries, artists can help to facilitate the exchange of ideas and creation of informal networks within the city through their role in establishing and developing 'third places' (Oldenburg 1999) such as cafes, art galleries (Molotch and Treskon 2009: 518) and other art spaces (Grodach 2010).

As posited by Markusen and King (2003: 6).

> the presence of a large, diverse pool of artistic talent in a region enables businesses in the region to design their products better, enhance working conditions and employee morale, and market their output more successfully. This occurs when artists sell their services or products to companies in the region. It also happens when artists as buyers of goods and services prompt suppliers to improve the latter's own offerings. In other words artists' creative activity works both upstream (the supply side) and downstream (the demand side).

The indirect contribution of artists to urban development and the creative economy might likewise be conceptualized as their role in the development of the creative milieu, a concept of Törnqvist (1983), who used this term to refer to a clustering of well-educated people, dense networks and linkages in which much of the knowledge was tacit or transmitted informally. Other authors (Wojan et al. 2007; Meusburger 2009) also stress that it is not so much the presence of artists and other creative people per se (including those linked with the university sector) but their serendipitous interactions, especially ones of a face-to-face nature, which are crucial to the functioning of the creative milieu. This is clearly visible in its incorporation in the creative city concept propagated by Landry (2008: xxi):

> In the Creative City, it is not only artists and those involved in the creative economy who are creative, although they play an important role… Yet, creativity is legitimized in the arts, and artistic creativity has special qualities that chime well with the needs of the ideas-driven knowledge economy.

Lastly, the outcomes of artists' creative work are not only consumed locally but may be exported outside the city and its region (e.g. non-local performances, external sale of cultural goods) (Bille and Schulze 2011), and the artists' income may be spent locally. Moreover, by providing consumption activities for local residents that constitute an alternative to imports, they alter the spending patterns of other urbanites. This aspect is not usually measured in conventional studies of the impact of art (Markusen and King 2003; Markusen 2006).

Including artists in a broader and more general debate on the role of culture in aspects of local and regional economic development reflecting a cultural turn in the capitalist economy (Zukin 1995; Miles 2005) thus implies that they can make a positive contribution to short-term spending effects of culture by attracting local and non-local consumers who generate direct, induced and indirect economic effects (multiplier effects) in the local economy and prevent economic leakages, but may also be associated with long-term effects of cultural activities on location choices of people, companies and investors (Bille and Schulze 2011) (Fig. 1.2).

Still, as noticed above, many representatives of artistic professions are badly remunerated and employed irregularly or on a part-time basis, dividing their working time between artistic and non-artistic jobs, and although some of them are members of the urban economic and social elite, many are in the lowest income groups in the city or even the creative precariat, prone to self-exploitation (Jeffri 2004; Comunian et al. 2010; Vivant 2009, 2010; Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012). Many artists have great aspirations and great cultural capital but lack economic capital (Boichot 2013). Only a few will ever succeed in the art market and be able to support themselves solely from creative work (Lloyd 2004). They are also often torn between the artistic logic of practice linked with the notion of art for art's sake and the economic logic of practice characterized by an explicit market orientation (Eikhof and Haunschild 2007), or between 'art as an independent, critical activity and art as commerce and as adjunct to social affairs and entertainment' (Landry 2008: xlv). Their work is often difficult to market and draws on public or private patronage rather than creating direct economic gains. This issue ties well into the

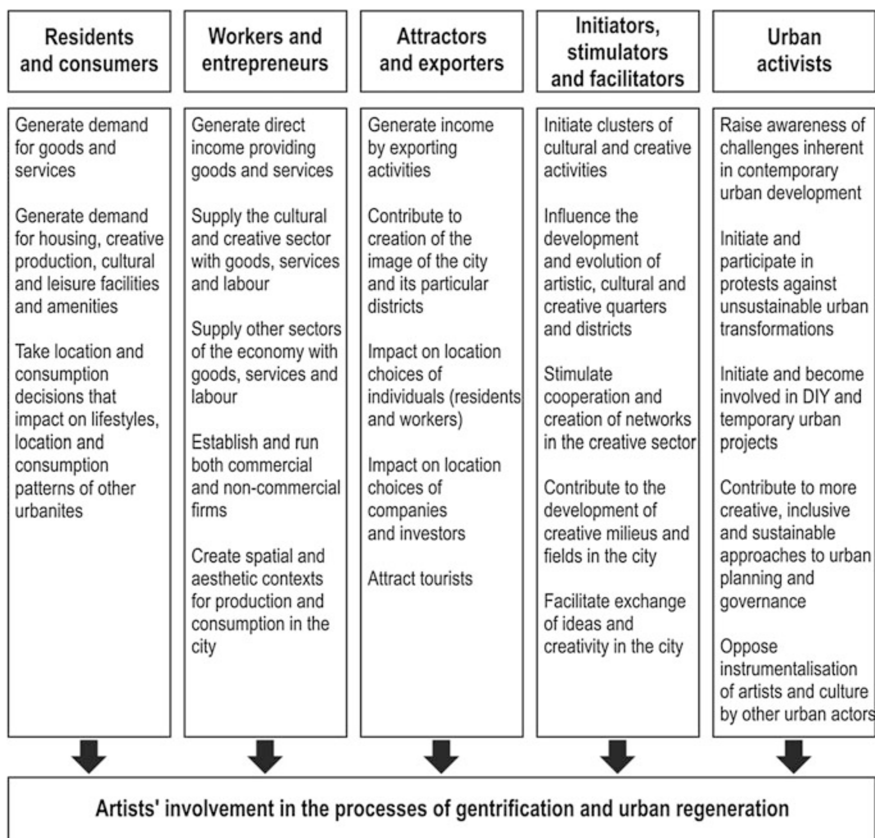

Fig. 1.2 Artists' potential impact on the urban economy. *Source* Own elaboration

question of causality between artists and urban development, as in fact there may also be a neutral or reversed relationship between them. Perhaps artists do not so much contribute to (urban) economic development as profit from it, since the economic prosperity of a particular city usually translates into the availability of more public money for artistic activities, and greater private demand for cultural goods and services (Bille and Schulze 2011).

Intraurban Spatial Choices of Artists

Artists engage with, contribute to and make various other uses of the creative field of the city, to use another concept introduced by Scott (2010). As follows, artists' spatial behaviours create a complex network of professional and private spaces (Brennan-Horley 2010). These include places of residence, creative and

non-creative work, venues for artistic presentations and performances, meeting places for professional or private purposes, leisure spaces, as well as spaces providing artistic inspiration. In this web of flows certain nodes may be created at which different forms of artists' presence in cities overlap. At any one time, sites of visible clustering of creatives' activities may be noticeable in particular streets, urban blocks or entire districts. A tendency among artists to cluster in specific parts of cities has been observed in many large urban centres (Green 1999; Ley 2003; Lloyd 2004; Brennan-Horley and Gibson 2009; Currid 2007; Currid and Williams 2010). Such areas are referred to as artistic quarters (Traversier 2009; Ambrosino 2013; Debroux 2013b), cultural quarters (Roodhouse 2010), creative districts (in particular when they are referred to as areas of residence and employment of the creative class or locations of firms in the creative sector) (Wedd et al. 2001; Zukin and Braslow 2011; Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012), and less often cultural production quarters (Smit 2011) or cultural/creative precincts (Johnson 2009). The fuzziness of the term and its evolution, visible in the trend toward using the adjective 'creative' rather than 'artistic' and 'cultural' to refer to them, reflects not only the changing approaches to the role(s) and value of arts and culture in urban development, but also their differentiation depending on the political and economic context in which they develop and the complexity of relations of proximity and distance which they require and engender (Pratt 2008; Mommaas 2009).

Moreover, in major metropolitan centres such as London or New York a clear historic pattern of the evolution of such areas has been observed (Wedd et al. 2001; Zukin and Braslow 2011). Artistic quarters emerge more or less spontaneously in a certain time period, develop and evolve to reach the peak of their popularity among artists, and then start to lose importance to artists as the latter choose or are forced to relocate to other parts of the city, whether for economic or symbolic reasons (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014b). In the same areas, though with some delay, one may also observe the emergence, development, stagnation and then disappearance or less active presence of other features of the culture production and consumption world such as art galleries, small-scale performing venues and artistic cafes (Molotch and Treskon 2009; Bennett 2010; Currid and Williams 2010).

Zukin (1989) was among the first researchers of this process, analysing the example of New York's SoHo and its changes as the result of activities of artists. By locating and conducting their activities in a particular urban space artists not only implemented significant changes in the built environment but also inspired crucial symbolic (changes of image), social and economic changes. Snobbish representatives of economically stronger classes (bourgeois bohemians, creative professionals) followed the early gentrifiers when in time living in the quarter began to be viewed as prestigious and trendy. This in turn led to increases in real-estate prices and the cost of living and brought in developers eager to redevelop old buildings and convert them into lofts which could be sold at high prices. This was in a way the final stage in the life cycle of the bohemian quarter, as higher prices pushed less wealthy artists to search for new places outside the area.

Apart from SoHo, it is possible to identify four other New York quarters which since the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries have in turn become the trendiest

cultural quarters, undergoing the life-cycle changes linked with gentrification and use of artistic image described above (Zukin and Braslow 2011). Similar invasion and succession processes occur in other metropolises such as London (Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012), Paris (Vivant 2009, 2010) and Berlin (Heebels and van Aalst 2010). Currently they are proceeding faster than ever due to the greater awareness of actors who participate in them, especially developers, who are increasingly eager to promote the emergent 'trendy' addresses for work and residence.

Observation of artistic quarters in different parts of the world suggests that there are different types of such areas. This may also be related to the fact that far from being a homogeneous group, artists have differing needs regarding living and working spaces. Some desire an overlap between the two. Others prefer entirely separate private home and professional studio or other work spaces. The first major type are 'live-work' quarters (Zukin and Braslow 2011), where artists live, work and create, meet others, and perform or show their art. The second type of areas are 'lifestyle' creative quarters, used by artists more to express their artistic identity and lifestyle than for other purposes (Wedd et al. 2001). The latter include places where artists seek inspiration, establish private and professional links, show their own work or admire others' creative efforts (Currid 2007; Currid and Williams 2010; Heebels and van Aalst 2010; Ambrosino 2013), while their places of residence might actually be dispersed throughout the city (Debroux 2013a). Mathews (2008: 2854) introduced a yet different definition of an 'art district' as 'a space that currently houses an artistic collective … carries the historical memory of an artistic collective; or … contains a large number of institutions … that support the profession of a skilled art[ist]'.

According to concepts focused on the geography of artists in the city, they are often attracted by specific features of urban space: type of built tissue and other aspects of urban heritage, social make up, and amenities considered useful to them (Wojan et al. 2007). Artists' intra-urban spatial choices are the outcome of economic as well as aesthetic and symbolic motivations. Given the aspirations and cultural capital of many, especially younger artists, coupled with their lack of economic capital (Boichot 2013), they tend to seek places of residence and art studios and rehearsal space in well located but less prestigious areas (Cole 1987; Green 1999; Ley 2003; Lloyd 2004; Vivant 2010; Zukin and Braslow 2011; Lawton et al. 2012; Gravereau 2013) where they can find affordable, adaptable studio and apartment space (Ryberg et al. 2013). The desire for proximity or accessibility to the urban core is often motivated by the will to maintain contacts with traditional cultural institutions and art schools, whose headquarters are usually located in city centres (Boichot 2013; Gravereau 2013; Debroux 2013a). Preference for the city centre may decline, however, particularly at later stages of the professional and private life cycle (Lawton et al. 2012).

It is also believed that artistic creatives are attracted by the particular aesthetic and social 'authenticity' of certain urban areas (Zukin 1989, 2008; Lloyd 2004; Lawton et al. 2012)—their 'look and feel' (Heebels and van Aalst 2010). They are thought to prefer 'lower profile' areas with historic tenements or post-industrial buildings, in the city centre or historic quarters to newer buildings in suburban

settings (Wedd et al. 2001; Bain 2003; Ryberg et al. 2013). The type of built environment they favour is also thought to be linked with their interest in working-class and ethnic neighbourhoods as contrasting with the middle-class norms and tastes they like to contest (Bain 2003; Cameron and Coaffee 2005). Another feature that may attract them is the romantic perception of certain areas as distinct and authentic urban villages, unspoiled by commercialisation or mainstream metropolitan life (Lawton et al. 2012; Bell and Jayne 2004). Idealisation and symbolic appropriation of areas discovered by artists may lead to alienation of their former residents (Zukin 2008; Harris 2012). Bohemian amenities such as cafes, antique shops and art galleries, tattoo shops, independent music venues, vintage and second-hand clothing shops, 'traditional' food markets and organic food stores (Lloyd 2004; Woldoff et al. 2011; Lawton et al. 2012) catering to artists and their followers may in time start to displace the traditional 'low profile' shops and services formerly used by the non-artistic local clientele.

References to the built environment and social structure of selected areas may become an important element in artistic creation—serving artists as a source of inspiration and artistic identity (Bain 2003; Drake 2003; Jackson 2006). The search for new creative territories is also an attempt by some artists to try to distinguish themselves from traditional, high, too popular or too conservative culture (Zukin 2008; Smit 2011). Spontaneously created artistic quarters where members of a cohort of artists cluster at some point in time are to some extent outside the control of traditional cultural gatekeepers and accept less standard behaviours and aesthetic tastes (Vivant 2010; Slach et al. 2013). Hence some artists' preferences for living in a lifestyle-tolerant setting and their tolerance for others, including sexual minorities and migrants (Florida 2002).

The need for self-expression and acceptance of diversity is also believed to be linked with a wish to live close to other artists (While 2003; Ryberg et al. 2013). In the past artistic colonies tended to attract creatives representing a similar artistic trend (Wedd et al. 2001; Jackson 2006). The proximity of other, like-minded people gives creatives relative artistic freedom, the potential for encounters and exchange of ideas, co-creation, and reflection on each other's works of art. Hence the link between artistic quarters and diverse artistic meeting places such as the ateliers of charismatic artists, artistic cooperatives, leading art galleries, and above all artistic cafes and clubs (While 2003; Borggren 2010; Grodach 2010). The decision to remain in an established artistic quarter might be in turn a reflection of some artists' wish to distinguish themselves from their younger, 'less serious' fellow artists who represent a different artistic style, associated with emerging artistic neighbourhoods (Jackson 2006).

On the other hand, some studies question the significance of soft and lifestyle location factors as decisive for artistic creatives' spatial choices and point to the greater relative importance of other factors such as personal life and hard location factors (employment, costs of living, distance and commuting time, quality of transport infrastructure, etc.) (Marlet and van Woerkens 2005; Hracs 2009; Musterd and Murie 2010; Stryjakiewicz and Męczyński 2010; Lawton et al. 2012).

The Impact of Artists on the Processes of Urban Regeneration and Gentrification

Development of artistic and creative quarters is closely linked with two other phenomena incorporating artists: their impact on the processes of gentrification and their inclusion in the analysis of the processes of urban regeneration.[4] Artists' influence on gentrification has a place in both production- (supply-) side and consumption-side explanations of the causes and effects of this process (Lees et al. 2008). According to the supply-side and rent-gap theory, like other classic gentrifiers, artists are attracted by available building stock, its lower prices and location (Smith 1979, 1996). The consumption- or demand-side view of the process interprets it more as the outcome of particular social and cultural characteristics of gentrifiers as individuals seeking a particular milieu and lifestyle, including alternative lifestyles (Ley 2003; van Criekingen and Decroly 2003; Clerval 2008; Collet 2008). Whether artists are attracted by economic or symbolic factors, their creative presence may lead to a rise in interest in such areas, leading to their aesthetisation, functional changes and improvement of their image. As a result, after a certain period of time artists are followed by new, more prosperous middle-class residents who displace the former, less wealthy members of the local community and often also the artist pioneers themselves (Ley 2003; Dzialek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014b).

Their role in gentrification is however highly ambiguous. Some authors consider them 'shock troops of gentrification' (Makagon 2010); instigators, inspirers, pioneers or catalysts of the process (Ley 2003; Boichot 2013). As stated by Ley (1996: 191): 'The urban artist is commonly the expeditionary force for inner-city gentrifiers, pacifying new frontiers ahead of the settlement of more mainstream residents.' Students in creative majors (aspirational creative class) may also act as early or 'apprentice gentrifiers' (Smith and Holt 2007), particularly as a specific 'artists' neighborhood provides both material and symbolic resources that facilitate creative activity, particularly in the early stages of a cultural producer's career' (Lloyd 2004: 343).

The function and role of artists as marginal gentrifiers may be linked with economic factors or with the soft factors mentioned above such as the importance of marginal niches of improvisational space within the urban fabric for artists and their creative endeavours, the need for a proper milieu for creativity, and the importance of '*off* scenes' (Bain 2003; Törnqvist 2004; Vivant 2010). Some authors also refer to them as brokers and intermediaries of gentrification, providers of information to the real estate market. Others notice that they are barely distinguishable from other classic gentrifiers, though their impact on social changes in the new areas they discover is unintentional and not as harmful. They are more of a proof (testimony) of gentrification than its triggers or catalysts (Vivant and Charmes 2008). An

[4]Though the two processes are not synonymous, there are many similarities between them in terms of the social and functional changes that take place in formerly underused, degraded or problem areas.

important point often made is also that artists are among the social groups most prone to become displaced victims of further stages of gentrification (Ley 2003; Jackson 2006), unable to resist stronger gentrifiers (Lees 2003).

In some quarters artists use empty spaces and do not displace anyone. Similarly, not in all cases are artists victims of further stages of the gentrification process. Sometimes they are among its economic and symbolic beneficiaries. Instead of being instrumentalised by developers, artists may in fact leverage the regeneration they instigate to market themselves (Harris 2012: 230). The ambiguous role of artists in urban regeneration and gentrification might also be linked not so much with displacement of former residents but more with their own key role in reinterpreting a neighbourhood and its heritage, or even creating it anew, often with disregard for indigenous narratives and interpretations. For example in Hoxton in London:

> By indulging in fantasies and performances of the urban pastoral, these artists fashioned a new cultural landscape that not only catered to many of the lifestyle tastes and investment priorities within postindustrial London, but manipulated and downplayed the complex and potentially conflictual histories of the area (Harris 2012: 226).

According to Harris (2012: 227), in this way artists help to reproduce and sustain the 'class-based relations of power that characterize gentrification'. Artists may continue to play an important role in the image of a gentrified neighbourhood long after they have already been displaced from the area, either through the presence of components of the art establishment which they initiated and attracted, such as cafes and art galleries, or through their enduring presence in the local narratives. As mentioned by Mathews (2008: 2873) commenting on the role of the *non-visible* in the process of gentrification, artists are 'incorporated into the identity and image of the space through historical narrative and re-creation despite their physical absence'. Similarly, Zukin (2010: 122) remarks on the fact that visitors and residents to some quarters with an artistic image come to them 'to inhale the aura of a radical, intellectual and artistic past'.

Still, many artists are not so eager to explore downgraded, problem areas in the city and would be dissatisfied with lower standards of living and working environment than non-artists (Trebay 1998). Within a given city there may also be significant differences with respect to the location preferences of different artist groups. Representatives of the creative underclass have a tendency to make use of 'liminal spaces' which ensure relative anonymity, weaker social control (on the part of institutions and majority groups), and the possibility of coexistence of different groups and even engagement in what are only partly legal activities (Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012). Members of the creative elite, in turn, prefer to live in already gentrified quarters or areas undergoing visible gentrification, which offer a mixture of originality and 'authenticity' but are already perceived as safe and rather prestigious parts of the city. Research in the quarters of Prenzlauer Berg and Kreuzberg in Berlin (Heebels and van Aalst 2010) points to the relatively greater importance of existing networks, links and image of place in the location decisions of creative entrepreneurs. Many creatives move to a given quarter to live and work closer to

people they already know. They are less given to actively seeking new contacts. It is different in the case of early career artists, who consciously put more effort into fostering new contacts and links, especially with cultural gatekeepers, hence their more frequent visits to a variety of public places including bars and clubs. For most cultural entrepreneurs in Berlin, meeting places were less important than they were to, say, people in fashion design and new internet media in New York (Neff et al. 2005). For all culturpreneurs the image of place, its perceived authenticity and historic features were of importance as a source of inspiration or their firm's 'calling card', an element of the firm's brand image (cf. Hutton 2006).

Observation of spontaneous processes of artist inflow to problem areas and their perception as positive effects has prompted public authorities in many cities to create programmes which by definition are to attract artists and creative enterprises to selected areas in the hope of transforming them into thriving, lively, revitalized cultural quarters (Montgomery 2003; Bell and Jayne 2004; Cameron and Coaffee 2005; Evans 2009; Roodhouse 2010; Bille and Schulze 2011; Murzyn-Kupisz 2012; Zebracki and Smulders 2012). Tools used by public authorities to achieve this end may include preferential rental rates and grants for artists or development of publicly sponsored studio complexes and artist residency programmes (European Commission 2014). Such attempts are a part of the broader trend observed since the 1980s, whereby culture-led regeneration has become an important element of urban policies all over the world (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993; Evans 2001, 2005; Rutten 2006; Vivant 2009; Leary 2013); the rise of an entrepreneurial or neo-liberal model of urban governance is seen as 'a key impetus' for it (Grodach 2013: 506). It includes a broad scope of interventions, ranging from cultural production to cultural consumption, and from focus on economic rationales to leisure, entertainment and image making. Analyses of how culture might contribute to urban regeneration might include looking at the impact of cultural organizers and institutions, cultural infrastructure and heritage or individual artists and groups of artists (Johnson 2009).

In the early 2000s G. Evans argued that there have already been three phases of urban regeneration linked with culture in Anglo-Saxon and Western European countries, largely overlapping with the evolution of overall approaches to urban regeneration (Roberts 2000):

> the earlier period before the liberal planning and private sector-led phase peaking in the mid-1980s saw the community arts and social action movements engage with urban policy… manifested in the growth of community/arts centres and emerging cultural industries practice… [the] second phase coincided with the embracing of 'private-public partnership' and the arts regenerative role by cultural agencies, in the overt adoption of the economic importance of the arts rationale (Evans 2001: 221).

According to him, the third phase, experienced in the first years of the new millennium, included aspects of both previous periods, combining the focus on economic issues with the concern for social impacts and quality of life. Consequently, the potential role of artists in regeneration may differ depending on the type of regeneration strategy involving culture. In Evans' (2005) typology, it is only in 'culture-led regeneration' that cultural activities and investments are seen as

key catalysts of regeneration. In the second possible 'cultural regeneration' strategy type, culture is present alongside other sectoral strategies (environmental, social and economic), whereas in the third type, referred to as 'culture and regeneration' cultural activities may contribute to urban regeneration but are conducted separately and in parallel with regeneration strategies.

Moreover, culture is used in different ways in urban regeneration depending on the dimension of the process in focus, ranging from physical and economic to social (Murzyn 2006). Accordingly, in physical renewal of built tissue and urban space artists may be involved as members of design and construction teams or suppliers of artworks and architectural designs. They might also contribute to urban regeneration directly, like other owners or tenants, through renovation activities carried out in historic buildings or conversion of underused and dilapidated apartments or industrial sites for residential or studio purposes.

In the economic dimension artists may contribute to enterprises involving creation, innovation, skills and training, and cluster formation, stimulating tourism and the evening economy as well as retention of graduates in the area, including art students. Lastly, they may be involved in the social dimension of regeneration, in rediscovering, shaping and defining an area's identity, discovering and interpreting its heritage, fostering new community networks and civic initiatives, weakening social exclusion, and offering leisure opportunities to the local community, often by involving local community members in art projects and activities. It is by no means a given that either artists or arts organizations play a community development role, however; in many cases this might be unlikely and problematic (Murdoch et al. 2015).

Artists do not necessarily embrace the agenda of culturally-led development, nor do they always profit from it. Although planners and scholars recognize the need to involve artist groups as cultural intermediaries and stakeholders necessary for the success of an economic urban regeneration strategy using cultural activities and creative industries (Rutten 2006), in most cities culture-led regeneration strategies tend to privilege cultural industries or cultural institutions and major cultural events, especially investments and projects promoted as flagships, with the issue of cultural producers remaining distinctly in the background (Leary 2013). Cultural regeneration does not necessarily include a broad representation of local cultural producers (Evans 2001). External architects and designers might be invited to design new infrastructure, while new venues might be more interested in the display and promotion of world-class non-local artists. An area's artistic vitality and creative edge is not necessarily supported: 'Individual producers might benefit from new venues but this does not in itself support the experimental, non-market led production of new work' (Miles 2005: 893). Nonetheless, artists are to some extent beneficiaries of the cultural turn in urban regeneration policies, obtaining commissions for public art, or finding employment and having the opportunity to use new cultural infrastructure such as new gallery spaces, performing venues or studio spaces. As follows, 'benefits of cultural redevelopment are unevenly distributed' (Miles 2005: 894). With regard to their involvement in the processes of both gentrification and broader urban regeneration and formation of cultural quarters, artists may therefore

(consciously or unconsciously) be instrumentalised by actors with greater political and economic power (e.g. various tiers of public authorities, developers) in the neoliberal approach to urban development, who construe them as 'tools' that may be used to create a positive image of less attractive parts of the city to attract new investors, buyers and well-to-do residents or weaken social opposition to gentrification and other negative aspects of redevelopment projects (Vivant 2009, 2010; Lavanga 2013).

The relationship between artists and housing corporations in the Netherlands is a good example of this. Artists may cooperate with housing corporations, in particular in areas with vacant buildings—benefiting from lower rents but being expected in return to provide some community services (e.g. artistic workshops), enhance the liveability of those neighbourhoods (e.g. create new meeting places, build networks between residents) and ultimately help housing corporations promote the areas to middle-class families. Depending on the situation in the local housing market, bringing artists in is seen as a long-term contribution to urban regeneration or as a temporary solution. In either case 'housing corporations appropriate the cultural sector, and particularly artists, in order to heal (…) the areas in question' (Zebracki and Smulders 2012: 622).

The fashion for creative city policies and instrumentalisation of artists in urban development is a phenomenon not restricted to Europe or the Anglo-Saxon world, but has regional versions, as exemplified by recent developments in China, where artists act as initiators of 'artistic urbanisation' in the suburbs or outskirts of urban areas. Villages which are associated with the presence of artists searching for an inexpensive place to live and work are readily incorporated by authorities into urban areas, turned into official art districts, and converted into land available for real-estate development. Xuefei and Meng (2012: 505) therefore remark that:

> 'artistic urbanisation' is a spatial strategy for the local state to reconstitute its control over cultural production and to profit from land leasing and real estate development, a practice which has led to renewed censorship of artists and widespread property speculation.

Other accounts of culture-led urban regeneration in Chinese cities, in turn, point to the fact that artists' links with urban regeneration might be much more complex, reflecting the lack of homogeneity and the stratification within this professional group. For example, recent research conducted into the relations between artists and urban regeneration in Shanghai revealed that artists' attitudes to and involvement in urban regeneration, as well as the nature of their involvement, as either active participants and economic beneficiaries or passive observers, were strongly dependent on whether they were part of the artistic elite or rather members of the 'powerless' artistic underclass. The former maintain close contacts with artistic gatekeepers and major players in the sphere of urban regeneration, such as developers or government officials, and are able to form profitable networks which 'enjoyed substantial power in determining both the physical appearance and the cultural agenda of individual art districts'; the latter 'had no decision power with regard to place-making and local cultural agendas' (Zhong 2016: 169).

Artists' Contribution to Quality of Life and Community Cohesion

Though the themes described above connected with the presence and activities of artists in cities have to date tended to dominate in research and academic narratives, nonetheless several other ways of looking at artists' roles in cities have developed or emerged in recent decades.

Taking into account broader definitions of socio-economic development, it has been acknowledged that art and artists may significantly contribute to improving quality of life in the city. They do so through provision of cultural services, enhancing the liveability of urban areas or involvement in beautifying, diversifying and enriching the visual urban landscape. Apart from their aesthetic contribution, 'architects and architecture can help create an environment which is not only well organized, but poetic and symbolic as well' (Perloff 1979: 16). Artists may add to community cohesion and social inclusion by working in and associating themselves with particular communities, including groups in danger of social exclusion such as selected ethnic groups, sexual minorities, the disabled, the elderly, the unemployed or young people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Perloff 1979). Such cooperation may develop intentionally and be mediated by cultural institutions or other public agencies, be linked with 'artists in residence' projects, or evolve organically and spontaneously, for example when artists share buildings and spaces with other users (Osorio 2013). For instance, creatives participating in artist-in-residence programmes may be engaged with the local community in diverse ways, such as familiarizing the local community with the artists or their work at the host organization's premises or at a community facility, leaving art produced during the residency to the community, involving local communities in the creative process, and helping residents to create a sense of place or develop entrepreneurial skills (European Commission 2014). Some artists work in partnerships with schools, or engage in critical discussions on contemporary culture and urban development (Miles 2005). Others provide artistic instruction and co-create with selected marginalized groups such as migrant women, and display the outcomes of their creative efforts in public spaces (Kagan and Hahn 2011), or initiate and mentor local projects such as community gardens (Kagan 2008). Artist collectives or artists from a given area might also organize events which bring people together to celebrate the community in public spaces, such as neighbourhood parties, music parades, concerts, performances, happenings or local arts and crafts fairs, museum and library workshops (Markusen 2006; Rosegger 2013; Murzyn-Kupisz and Dzialek 2015). Through their activities and art they may foster social participation seen as 'key when facing urban challenges' (Nijkamp and Kourtit 2013: 301).

Consequently, Waters (2000) sees an important potential role for artists in community planning efforts including community art and art workshops in which 'local people help design and construct artworks to improve their environment'. He finds community arts projects and architecture centres 'particularly useful for helping people express their creativity and develop skills, a sense of identity and

community pride' and a way to 'help people to understand, and engage in, the design of local buildings and the built environment' (Waters 2000: 30). Such a positive outlook on the broader role of artists may include their contribution not only to embellishing the physical environment but also to breaking down social barriers within communities and helping them develop a common vision of their neighbourhood. This ties in well with the fact that many artists, both as residents of the city or its particular quarters and as active citizens, are involved in all sorts of not necessarily arts-oriented community groups and grassroots movements such as heritage preservation groups, local initiatives engaged in documenting changes in the urban landscape or intangible heritage, local associations, and pressure groups.

Many artists may, however, be unprepared or disinclined to serve broader community roles, while their impact on the social cohesion of the neighbourhood might not necessarily be positive, though often unintentionally so. First of all, as Osorio (2013: 203) remarks:

> The self-organising of artists and artisans and local social networks are never the result of straightforward, inevitable or necessarily positive processes. Relationships among community members run in every possible direction and are subject to power struggles and ideological battles …

Secondly, in many cases artists are unable to foster stronger links with the local community (Bain 2006: 428):

> artists frequently grow accustomed to dealing with less-privileged members of society, when taking advantage of affordable workspace in low-income neighbourhoods. Despite this familiarity, an almost instinctive distancing seems to occur between artists and the eclectic mix of the homeless, social-welfare households, sex trade workers and immigrant families that can compose the working class communities that artists move into.

In addition some urbanites might consider contemporary artists and architects 'polluters' rather than 'embellishers' of urban space, destroyers of former 'urban villages' and the strong social ties within them, by bringing about residential and functional gentrification or intensification of nightlife (Roberts 2006).

Finding artists who are truly willing and able to work with community groups providing artistic leadership and guidance without dominating them can likewise prove difficult (Waters 2000). Similarly, Juskowiak (2011) recognizes that although artists often foresee the participation of the local community, its empowerment or demarginalization, in particular empowerment of groups in danger of social exclusion, it is hard for artists to act as neutral, 'transparent' facilitators of such processes. They are prone to taking on the arbitrary role either of an appointed representative speaking 'on behalf of the community' or of an 'ethnographer': 'both roles could lead to alienation of the community including the relation to space occupied by them' (Juskowiak 2011: 8). Consequently, artists may also weaken social capital in places where they arrive or display their work, or even create 'artworks reproducing exclusions based on race and gender in defining the public sphere' (Miles 2005: 899).

Artists' potential positive contribution to social cohesion and empowerment in problem areas may be compromised due to insufficient financial resources and the

impossibility to fully commit themselves to voluntary work for the community. Thus, even where instead of the 'creative city approach' a more inclusive 'creative place-making strategy' is implemented as a broader concept promoting partnerships between local communities, public authorities and developers, and recognizing the potential of grassroots arts movements and community arts organizations, its outcomes are not always successful. For example, since art organisations with large budgets and broad audiences tend to base themselves in well-to-do, amenity-rich parts of New York, close to other successful firms in the non-artistic branches of the creative sector, they 'are positioned to serve the creative class rather than play a community development role' (Murdoch et al. 2015: 2). In contrast, organisations with seats in disadvantaged, immigrant neighbourhoods are more likely to serve local audiences but suffer from small annual budgets and rely on part-time volunteering, and consequently, 'lack sufficient resources to affect change' (Murdoch et al. 2015: 10).

An equally ambivalent area of artists' impact is the link between artists and local identity, shaping and uncovering local narratives. Artistic creatives influence not only the built environment, character and vitality of urban places but also the myths and narratives surrounding them. As follows, artists often build 'collective urban memories that constitute places' (Cameron and Coaffee 2005: 429). By doing so they contribute to the local sense of place, identity and pride making local residents aware of and appreciative of their area's past and present. In some cases the local community 'appropriates' artists as a part of the local narrative, as residents are very proud of artworks and activities of artists living in the neighbourhood and 'assume verbal ownership of the artists themselves' (Bain 2003: 314). The presence of artists may, however, equally likely lead to the disappearance of genuine local narratives and cause the downplaying of complex local pasts and their material reflections, aesthetic and symbolic appropriation of local community space, and creation of over-simplified, exclusive narratives (Cameron and Coaffee 2005; Murzyn 2006; Harris 2012). As such, it can lead to displacement and gentrification not only in physical but also in symbolic terms. The fact that 'artists are often accorded authorship in the place making process' is then both 'a social privilege and a social responsibility' they have to deal with (Bain 2006: 429).

Artists as Urban Activists

Yet another different role accorded to artists in some accounts is their function as actors raising awareness of problems and challenges linked with contemporary urban development, including protests against urban transformations considered undesirable and defence of local, non-commercial uses of urban space, whether permanent or temporary, as well as general activism articulating democratic aims and the right to the city. Artists are traditionally believed to be 'defenders of broadly progressive and inclusive social programs' (Markusen 2006: 1937; Levine 2007). They can 'serve as conscience of the society', providing critique of existing policies

and (moral) support for unpopular issues (Markusen 2006). Through their artworks, artists and artistic collectives may present a critical reading of urban transformations and the urban reality that surrounds them. Artists create and participate in

> a variety of social, political and activist forms – installations, interventions, roundtables, performances and multiple forms of collaboration that engage urgent subjects (housing and homelessness, social justice, domestic violence, race and class, forgotten histories and untold stories) in a passionate, of eclectic hybridity (Phillips 2003: 12 cited in Miles 2005: 904).

Art activism is a form of social protest, as 'true' activist art speaks of social injustices, is produced and displayed 'through non-institutional forms of cultural distribution and interaction–art for demonstrations and picket lines, mail art, on city walls or on the sides of buses, art in the middle of shopping malls and crowded plazas' (Sholette 1998). Artistic creatives might also oppose the commercialisation of space by hijacking billboards or creating their own, or by organizing architectural and artistic events in urban spaces, which although temporary may bring the general public's attention to certain issues. This is the most effective way of getting important messages across, since artists use 'that form of dissemination to speak about social injustices with an audience who presumably has little patience for refined aestheticism but does care about war, inequality, political freedom and protecting the environment' (Sholette 1998). In this way artists contribute to making wealthier social groups, public authorities and decision-makers more aware of problems faced by particular quarters and communities, and participate in 'anti-gentrification tactics' and creative sabotage, voicing disagreement with the corporate vision of the neoliberal city (Juskowiak 2011).

Consequently, bottom-up initiatives of resistance to the neoliberal logic of urban development frequently involve artists or are led by them. Their participation in both formal and informal grassroots groups may exert successful pressure on the urban agenda (Groth and Corijn 2005). Artists are often members of broader coalitions of actors protesting against the direction, scale and nature of urban redevelopments including commercialisation and privatisation of urban spaces, growing control of them (e.g. through excessive surveillance) or eviction of tenants in inner-city or gentrified quarters linked with (unclear) processes of privatisation and reprivatisation.

Fruitful if unexpected alliances might be formed between informal squatter communities composed of mainly younger, alternative members whose social and cultural activities challenge dominant social norms, and formal tenants' organisations uniting older, more conservative urbanites fighting eviction and displacement. For example in Poznań (Poland), thanks to the cooperation between the anarchistic squat and artist collective Rozbrat and tenants' organisations

> a broader coalition was simultaneously established to support the evicted and harassed tenants and put pressure on the media and public opinion. The coalition was joined by local artists … academics, and activists … later the group got involved in and initiated more politicized campaigns for revitalisation of public spaces and against gentrification (Polanska and Piotrowski 2015: 284; see also Juskowiak 2011).

The protest thus, although it had initially focused on particular tenement houses and spaces and been directed at the municipal authorities and developers, had a broader impact on public awareness, opinions of and attitudes toward tenants' rights:

> thanks to publicizing violations of the rights of tenants, a large part of public opinion [in Poland] already perceives today's tenants' issues differently, especially in terms of forced displacement and 'cleaning' of houses [making tenants leave by illegal harassment]. This practice is now massively condemned and rarely justification of the right to freely dispose of property is sought (Polanska and Piotrowski 2015: 285).

Experiences from other European cities also show that such protest movements can with time broaden their aims to include important non-place-specific urban issues. This was visible in the Megaspree movement, for example, which was initially formed to deal with the redevelopment of a particular riverside area in Berlin but 'from 2008 expanded its agenda and claims to address Berlin-wide issues of increasing rents, the displacement of low income residents, gentrification and the eviction of alternative, subcultural projects or 'leftist free spaces'' (Colomb 2012: 145). Similarly, in Barcelona artists and artists' groups protest against demolition of buildings with important heritage value or urban regeneration entailing eviction of former (artistic and non-artistic) tenants, by 'occupation of spaces earmarked for demolition' (Swartz 2012). Mayer (2007: 95) comments on a comparable process of creative resistance in American cities with good economic prospects: ''Booming' cities with runaway development and gentrification, low vacancy and high eviction rates have seen massive resistance by coalitions of housing activists, artists' groups and Latino organizations'. Even if most such protests ultimately do not succeed in preventing particular evictions or saving particular buildings, they may nonetheless have a positive impact on urban transformations, forcing investors to consider the social and cultural dimensions of their activities and sensitizing the general public. In this way artists may be associated with broader movements reclaiming the right to the city for all of its residents (Harvey 2012).

Individually or as arts collectives, representatives of various artistic genres may have a key role in making the general public aware of the overlap between some urban problems such as the increasing privatization of urban space and excessive commodification of housing experienced by many major American cities since 1980s and intolerance towards certain minority groups, such as gays, linked with the rise of the AIDS epidemic. An example of this might be activities conducted by the Gran Fury art collective in Lower Manhattan in New York in 1980s, which (Carroll 2007: 42):

> offered a counter-vision to the Right's promotion of privatization and conservative Christian morality … Through its wheatpasting campaigns and direct action protests, the coalition created new meaning for the public space (…), changing the way residents and visitors experienced city streets, as well as how many Americans understood AIDS.

One should also note that the function of artists as critics or challengers of change in urban life and urban development is not a new phenomenon. In the past

artists also often represented grassroots responses to urban change. For example, describing the situation in post-World War I Montmartre, Jackson (2006) remarks on the fact that artists not only helped fellow creatives and the neighbourhood's poor, in particular children, through their charity efforts, but also supported residents of the neighbourhood in their battles 'against' real estate developers and other speculators. As follows, although artists are believed to be harbingers of social change, depending on the circumstances they can also be paternalistic and conservative, fighting to preserve the built environment of the city and its social structures, and actively resisting changes.

An interesting aspect of recent urban protests involving artists and artistic collectives is that they not only challenge one-sided policies, including commercial redevelopment of downtown historic areas, but also oppose their own instrumentalisation and inclusion in unreflective implementation of creative class and creative city policies, as has been seen in cities including Berlin, Hamburg and Toronto (Kagan and Hahn 2011; Colomb 2012). Such dissent is voiced through artistic activities and protests but also in the form of manifestos to public authorities and participation in negotiations with city authorities and developers in an attempt to become legitimate actors in the planning process and making developers face public debate.

Fighting for the right to the city with artistic activities is not only a phenomenon emerging and practised in city centres but also, thanks to 'new forms of cultural production exploded in the peripheries' (Caldeira 2015: 131). For example, artists practicing various genres such as hip hop, rap, 'marginal' literature, graffiti and tagging, which originated in the poor suburbs and peripheries of São Paulo:

> articulated the idea that the city as a whole should be their site of intervention and that they had the right to move around and enjoy the city beyond the frontiers of their [disadvantaged] neighbourhoods … The right to circulate freely and appropriate the whole city became central to the practice and imaginary of this cultural production (Caldeira 2015: 131).

Art and artists are engaged in issues not only of democracy but often also of ecology and environmental sustainability. Many artists openly embrace environmentally friendly lifestyles (e.g. in terms of intra-urban mobility), serving as a reference point for other urbanites. Artistic professionals and entrepreneurs can also set good examples to commercial firms in other sectors by engaging in fair trade and paying attention to ecological issues or even making them central to their creative production process (e.g. designs based on recycled materials) (Dieleman 2008).

Some artists concerned with the environment express their worldviews directly via their art. Artists, in particular those involved in environmental and ecological art practices, can therefore shape the ecological awareness of urbanites and contribute to fostering more sustainable lifestyles (Kagan 2011). Others are able to combine the issues of ecology and social inclusion (e.g. community garden art in public spaces) (Kagan and Hahn 2011). Through their socio-artistic interventions in public spaces and marginalized communities, artistic groups are able to raise questions

connected with day-to-day life. Some of them are longer-term community art projects, others one-off artistic events. In all of them, however, 'the artists' objectives are to help people improve their lives by means of manipulating their social and physical environment: reshape it, distort it and create new and unusual contexts' (Dieleman 2008: 129). Examples of such activities include a 'Touch Sanitation' project by an American artist, M.L. Laderman Ukeles, which consisted in the artist shaking hands individually with all of the garbage collectors working in New York, and activities with marginalized youth in Salvador de Bahia based on the tradition of Brazilian percussion carnival bands initiated by Olodum artistic collective. Moreover, in practical terms, as mentioned by Ball (2011: 299):

> These artists not only comment on environmental issues, they also intercede to halt degradation and nurture environmental health … They question assumption about what is possible, and they work with scientists, government officials, and planners to bring their visions to fruition.

For example, by familiarizing local publics with environmental issues and raising their appreciation of certain natural features of the landscape in their cities, artistic activities have 'the potential to reconfigure the community's aesthetic perception and valuation' of important features of a city's landscape such as rivers and forests as well as propose new sustainable ways of using them for recreation (Ball 2011: 299).

In conjunction with all these dimensions of artists' engagement with urban space and various of the communities which inhabit it, also of importance in the context of urban development and its challenges is artists' involvement in temporary, smaller-scale, do-it-yourself (DIY) urban changes referred to as 'tactical', 'pop-up' or 'guerrilla' urbanism, which has gained increasing popularity, in particular in recent, post-crisis years (Finn 2014; Talen 2015). Their participation in such activities is to a large extent linked with their long established propensity for rediscovering and using marginal spaces in the city, often disused, neglected and overlooked or abandoned by other actors, such as vacant plots, overgrown green spaces or post-industrial brownfields and wastelands. Artists frequently become initiators of reappropriation and animation of such sites, sometimes for imaginative, temporary uses, often within the framework of participatory projects involving local communities (Groth and Corijn 2005; Miles 2005; Colomb 2012). Despite their ephemeral nature, such practices, ranging from architectural events and artistic happenings to community parks and guerrilla gardening, 'might change how planners, designers and managers think about the production of urban open space' (Colomb 2012: 141, referring to Stevens and Ambler 2010: 516) and therefore have long-term consequences. As stated by Hou (2010: 2):

> These instances of self-made urban space, reclaimed and appropriated sites, temporary events, and flash mobs, as well as informal gathering places created by predominantly marginalized communities, have provided new expressions of the collective realms in the contemporary city. No longer confined to the archetypal categories of neighbourhood parks, public plaza, and civic architecture, these *insurgent public spaces* challenge the conventional, codified notion of public and the making of space.

Some of them are just a prelude to expected investment and commercialization of urban sites. Others can influence the long-term course of events, prompting public authorities to consider new options for the functions of such places. All in all they often successfully initiate discussion on the quality and ownership of public spaces in the city, neglect of such spaces by local authorities, alienation from local communities, commercialization, and appropriation by non-local actors such as real-estate developers, and provide opportunities for generating new interactions between urban actors (Hou 2010; Colomb 2012).

Apart from purely guerrilla-type events and unofficial artistic happenings, sometimes artists are invited by local authorities or arts institutions to serve as brokers between them and local communities, providing insights important for informed urban policy making. For example, the artistic actions of The San Francisco Bureau of Urban Secrets conducted with the consent of and in cooperation with the city authorities aim to reduce and discover the causes of 'alienation' of residents from their city by staging events helping residents understand the history and meaning of particular urban spaces, or bringing their attention to the issues of urban sprawl. As mentioned by one of the Bureau's founders, its work focuses on (Przyblyski 2010: 196):

> visualizing … different histories, asking participants to engage in the process of rebuilding the everyday skills of landscape literacy and the ability to read cities as palimpsests of historical and cultural texts that have too often been obscured by the numbing demands of negotiating everyday routines … enabling participants to rediscover the eloquence always already latent in the public realm as a repository of competing histories will reawaken in them a heightened awareness of the ways in which the form and quality of social experience are enabled and constrained by the forms and qualities of public spaces.

In addition to or in the absence of effective public policies, artists can therefore take upon themselves the task of animating local communities and using artistic interventions in public space as a tool for greater civic empowerment, initiating discussions on local needs with respect to quality of life, and making communities more active and thoughtful with regard to their own surroundings. Instances of such involvement of artists in urban life as an attempt at DIY urbanism and participatory urban planning may be found all over the world. For example, 'Partizaning' is an initiative by an artistic group in Moscow which runs a web site and a discussion forum as well as conceives its own artistic projects and actions, such as DIY benches, painted crosswalks, maps and signs to help people navigate the Russian capital, and mail boxes in which they can voice their opinions.

> Partizaning can empower people to reappropriate public space and take responsibility for the unmet needs of their own community, and they can do it with or without government cooperation … Instead of attacking the authorities, they use their collective voice to call for public action on accessibility issues like increased pedestrian rights, a more child-friendly environment, better street signs and stricter parking laws (Zimberg 2013).

Looking from a yet broader angle, several authors find artists well suited to fulfilling broader social and political roles, including contribution to the development of more creative policy and planning, and fostering new governance models in

cities. Artists can challenge existing modes of urban planning, which tend to be top-down oriented or dominated by market forces. Engaging with specific local publics rather than mass audiences can help artists to inspire new solutions to urban problems and help to design good cities and imaginative public spaces responding to diverse needs (Miles 2005). Such bottom-up, grassroots, artist-accompanied visions of urban development are much more likely to be sustainable and take into account less wealthy stakeholders such as former residents of areas undergoing regeneration (Zebracki and Smulders 2012). According to Ball (2011: 311), 'Given their sensitive position as cultural innovators, artists have the right personality type for facing complex challenges, not to mention their ability to think creatively outside the box… [having] an artistic blend of tenacity and mental agility'. Similarly, Kagan and Hahn (2011: 17) remark that 'artists have the ability to influence future development in society by, for example, enabling new ways of thinking that associate the cognitive and the experiential'. Bain (2006: 429) therefore concludes that 'if invited to the urban planning and urban policy-making table, [artists] have the potential to play a more central role in debates about meaning and value in the urban landscape'. Landry (2008, pp. xliv–xlv) also posits that:

> planners, engineers, business people and social workers could all benefit from seeing their worlds through the eyes of artists and the additional power and potential that this can give to projects of any kind. The out-of-the-box lateral thinking and use of imagination present in the arts is perhaps the most valuable thing that the arts can offer the city and other disciplines such as planning, engineering, social services, or to the business communication, especially if allied to other emphases such as a focus on local distinctiveness.

By engaging with local communities and other non-artistic stakeholders, artists can challenge conventional ways of thinking, preconceived notions and prejudices, but in a reciprocal relation should also remain open to challenges to their own artistic approaches and perspectives (Kagan 2008). Rarely can they be considered the only or main experts on complex urban issues. As follows, artists and other creatives should understand their own role as 'facilitators, openers and catalysts of creative processes, rather than their owners, authors, or sole originators' (Kagan and Hahn 2011: 22):

> Sustainable creative cities will require that local contexts and neighbourhoods, and all local communities … be respected as equal partners of artists and other 'creatives'… the search for sustainability imposes certain limits to the autonomy of artists and 'creatives', who can no longer be considered fully irresponsible and individualistic agents…On the other hand… [they] should be given the necessary opportunities and degree of autonomy so as to foster creative local developments.

While it is important to acknowledge all of the above potentially positive dimensions of artists' impact on innovative approaches to social, spatial and ecological problems in cities, an opposite view is also possible. Artists may want to present themselves to potential customers and the general public as unique, politically, socially and environmentally conscious ('warm-glow effect') or simply see involvement in any of the above concerns as a great chance to promote themselves

−hijack social issues for artistic purposes. Some of them are not so much concerned with helping the local community or solving a particular urban problem as eager to capture the attention of the media, engaging in urban development issues for mercenary motives.

Street art in its diverse forms such as murals, tags, stylized writing, sticking and poetic assault demonstrates this issue very well, bringing about both interaction and cooperation linked with common intent and conflict between urban dwellers and street artists. On the one hand, 'the urban landscape of street art provides the opportunity for authentic participation to flourish beyond institutionalized political arenas and street artists … stimulate dwellers to establish a critical relationship with city place' (Visconti et al. 2010: 512–513). It reveals the palimpsestic nature of the city to residents and visitors, helping them to reflect on the urban past and present. It is a reflection of artists' claims for street democracy, contestation of abandonment of cityscapes, and wish to recreate public spaces as common places inspiring a feeling of belonging and community. Residents, art experts and municipal governments might therefore see street art as a positive aesthetic addition to the cityscape or even public art. At times its creation involves residents directly or openly draws on their skills, moral, organisational or financial support.

Street art might conversely be seen by residents as unwanted and offensive. First of all, artists express their subjective conceptions of beauty, emotions and ideological commitments, which might not be in line with residents' aesthetic needs or worldviews. Moreover, urbanites from affluent neighbourhoods 'defaced' by street art might not be happy to be the subject of moral scrutiny of artists who 'contest the hypocrisy of clean walls that pretend respectability while hiding corruption, selfishness, and social inequality' (Visconti et al. 2010: 517). In addition, particular pieces of art work might not be very original but in fact repeat existing global styles, trends and aesthetic codes. Last but not least, artists' motivations might also include egoistic self-affirmation as an end in itself, or opportunistic use of public spaces to promote themselves in the art market without broader social or artistic aspirations. In this case artists use public spaces and local communities instrumentally. Residents can therefore contest street art, its locations, forms and symbolic content, having their own opinion on the issue as well as wishing to influence the course of affairs (for example promoting legalized over transgressive street art (McAuliffe 2012), or accepting some artists as reflecting the 'local sprit' while rejecting others).

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The diverse roles artists may play in the contemporary transformations of cities are reflected in the scope and character of their impact, which range from the strictly economic (direct and indirect support for the development of production and services in other sectors) to the social and cultural (impact on and participation in creation and recreation of patterns of socio-spatial segregation and polarization in cities, impact on the sense of place and belonging, identity and social capital, resistance to and criticism of unsustainable urban changes).

As representatives of different artistic genres, cohorts and stages of professional career, artists may act (among others) as entrepreneurs in the cultural and

non-cultural sectors, creators of a traditional or avant-garde cultural offer and propagators of new urban cultures and life styles. They may also be gentrifiers and pioneers of regeneration of degraded urban areas or 'urban activists' strongly present in actions designed to affect urban change and address social issues. Finally, as other urbanites artists are consumers of urban space making location decisions with respect to their place of residence, venues of leisure and professional activities, characterized, as some scholars claim, by specific motivations and preferences. Whether spontaneously, unintentionally or deliberately, they may significantly transform urban space, influence urban functions, the aesthetic and symbolic meanings of particular urban quarters and entire urban centres, and shape demand for specific areas, goods and services in the city. Accordingly, some researchers see artists as 'key figures' in the development of the creative economy (Montgomery 2005: 27) and a 'key creative group worthy of study' (Borén and Young 2013b: 200). Subsequent chapters of the book testify to the diversity of artists' roles and impacts in cities, providing accounts of artists' presence and activities in different European cities.

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Author Biographies

Monika Murzyn-Kupisz holds a doctorate and a post-doctoral habilitation in economic sciences from Krakow University of Economics and an MA in European Leisure Studies (a joint diploma of Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Tilburg University, Universidad de Deusto in Bilbao and Loughborough University). She is an associate professor at the UNESCO Chair for Heritage and Urban Studies, Department of Economic and Social History at the Krakow University of Economics. She specialises in multidisciplinary research within the broad field of cultural economics, heritage studies and urban studies, with a special focus on heritage, heritage institutions, cultural and creative activities and artists as well as urban regeneration processes, in particular their analysis in the context of Central and Eastern Europe.

Jarosław Działek, Ph.D., is a graduate in geography and sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. He is currently an assistant professor at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Management, Jagiellonian University. His research interests include a focus on the social dimensions of local and regional development. He is the author and co-author of a number of books and papers on the following topics: geography of artists and creativity, cultural heritage and social capital building, social capital resources in Poland, perception of natural hazards. He took part in numerous research projects commissioned by local, regional and national authorities.

Part I
Patterns and Tendencies of Spatial Concentrations of Artists and Cultural Activities

Chapter 2
Artists as Pioneers or Tools for Urban Redevelopment? Inside the 'Village of Artists' of Saint-Gilles, Brussels

Tatiana Debroux

Introduction

Wandering through the streets of the municipality of Saint-Gilles (Brussels) on a May weekend, one might be surprised to run into people studying a map of the neighbourhood in a colourful booklet, and young couples with strollers entering open doors marked by a bright flag or a sticker shaped as a painting mark. They are participants and visitors in a popular event organised every two years by the local authorities, and the houses they are going into host one or sometimes several visual artists. Following the route of the artists' studios, they are not only discovering artworks or the working place of their creator. Visitors also discover the space around the studios, the streets of a municipality which attracts a growing number of inhabitants and consumers every year—members of a so-called urban 'new middle class' (Butler 1999; Ley 1994).

Are the presence of a great number of artists and the transformation of the population and the urban setting of the municipality linked phenomena? Since the 1980s, literature has been an echo chamber for describing of urban redevelopments that have started with the presence of artists. After early case studies involving SoHo in Manhattan, New York City, and the description of the gentrification processes that developed in a former industrial district colonised by artists (Simpson 1981; Zukin 1982), many other scholars have ventured into reporting similar processes occurring in Western cities: in New York and its surrounding towns (Cole 1987), in Chicago (Lloyd 2002), in Canadian cities (Vincent 1997; Ley 1996, 2003; Bain 2003; Mathews 2008), in London (Pratt 2009; Ambrosino 2013), in Paris or Berlin (Grésillon 1999; Vivant and Charmes 2008; Vivant 2010; Boichot 2012, 2014), to name a few.

T. Debroux (✉)
IGEAT/Laboratoire de Géographie Humaine, Université Libre de Bruxelles, CP 130/03, 50, Avenue Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1050 Brussels, Belgium
e-mail: tdebroux@ulb.ac.be

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The multiplication of fieldwork and analyses of the role that artists play in the renewal of neglected urban centres has shown that one must surpass the simplistic image of the pioneer gradually reclaiming of historic zones of the city centre (as described for instance in the 'stage model' popularised by Laska and Spain 1980). If the role of artists is interesting to question, it is because their potential influence on larger and wealthier populations is rooted within more powerful urban dynamics that go beyond the symbolic work artists can perform on the urban fabric. Already in the 1980s and early 1990s, authors insisted on the need to consider the coalition of interests hidden behind the naturalistic explanations of urban renewal implemented by artists (Deutsche and Ryan 1984; Bowler and McBurney 1991).

More than twenty years later, it is worth remembering: not only because gentrification processes are now operating on a much larger scale, involving global capital investments (Lees et al. 2007), but also because since the 2000s a powerful discourse linking urban redevelopment and neighbourhood renewal with creativity and vivid arts scenes has emerged (Landry 2000; Silver et al. 2010). Because culture is said to 'put [cities] on the map' (Montgomery 2003: 3) and foster their economic development, local authorities may tend to develop or to promote artistic activity on their territory.

This chapter questions the different processes linking artists and gentrification based on the case of a small municipality of the Brussels Capital Region, long known as a home to many artists. The aim is not to offer a comprehensive overview of the renewal dynamics happening in this specific European city, nor to draw definitive conclusions about the role artists can or cannot play in the gentrification processes. Several questions will nevertheless be addressed: Why and how this municipality is regarded as an 'artists' village'? Who benefits from the label? How can the presence of visual artists be perceived from the streets and therefore potentially influence location choices of middle class households? Is the biennial organised in local artists' studios only a promotional and social event for artists, or is it more a showcase for the municipality itself? Can we speak of instrumentalisation of artists' presence in the area, when artists are not supported in their daily life and work while artistic activities are used to pursue other interests? Finally, what are the consequences of the renewal processes happening in and encouraged by Saint-Gilles on artistic activities and their future permanence? To answer these questions, empirical quantitative data was gathered and qualitative research was conducted. After describing the data and methodology used, the body of the chapter deals with the presentation of Saint-Gilles as a Brussels municipality that has attracted artists since the end of the 19th century, one that currently experiences processes of gentrification with the vigorous support of the local authorities. It is followed by an in-depth analysis of the flagship event 'Parcours d'artistes' (Artists' Route) which seems to reflect the issue of the use of the artists' presence in local policies.

Looking at the 'Artists' Village': Data and Methods

My interest in the cultural dynamics taking place in the municipality of Saint-Gilles is rooted in earlier research conducted on the level of the Brussels Capital Region (BCR). Collecting and working on quantitative data and illustrating the data with maps revealed strong spatial patterns in the places of art production (artists' houses and studios, Debroux 2012, 2013a) and art consumption (cultural facilities and art galleries, Debroux 2013b) within the nineteen municipalities forming the BCR. Not only does the small locality of Saint-Gilles occupy a singular position on the Brussels' cultural scene today. It has been the case for several decades, and on some levels, for even longer.

In this chapter, several maps illustrate the presence of artistic activity in the municipality by drawing on different kinds of data. First, regarding the current location of artist housing (2008), I had the opportunity to gain access to the members' database of SMart, a growing professional association the main goal of which is to support artistic creation by helping artists with short term employment contracts, as well as the offer of legal advice. To corroborate the long-lasting reputation of Saint-Gilles as a haven for artists, I compared the current geography with the situation of 1901. The historical data came from trade almanacs ('Almanachs du Commerce et de l'Industrie', also known as 'Mertens et Rosez') that inventoried most of the occupations and trade activities including artists, which benefitted from the visibility offered by the almanac. Second, regarding the places of visual art consumption, an inventory of art galleries was produced for 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011. They were collected in the weekly cultural section of the French speaking newspaper *Le Soir* under the heading 'Art galleries'. Third, in addition to these data gathered for the entire BCR, I took part as a visitor to several editions of Parcours d'artistes and I consulted the printed archive of this event that has been taking place in Saint-Gilles since 1988. It offered an alternative view on the distribution of artists and galleries throughout the district. Furthermore, the story of the Parcours' development and its organisation offers also an interesting perspective on the fertile cultural ground in the locality, and its links with local cultural policies. Finally, in order to document the latter and in addition to earlier studies of the event, I conducted two interviews: one with an employee in the Cultural Department of Saint-Gilles, and with its director in August and September 2014.

Saint-Gilles as an Urban 'Village' and a 'Petit Montmartre'

Saint-Gilles is the second smallest and at the same time the second most densely populated municipality of the Brussels Region, with almost 20,000 inhabitants per square kilometer (in 2014, 50,460 inhabitants on 2.5 km^2—IBSA 2015). The area was urbanised at the end of the 19th century around the core of a historic village. Different kinds of buildings formed its urban fabric: middle-class terraced houses in

the East (which is also at a higher altitude) and more working-class housing in the West (i.e. the lower side of Saint-Gilles). Located south of the city centre—traditionally delimited by the traces of Brussels' second wall, also known as the 'Pentagon'—Saint-Gilles shares with the centre its contrasted topography (Fig. 2.1). The river Senne (covered in the 1860s) shaped an asymmetric valley, which was critical in the historical development of the city, its economy and its social dynamics (Vandermotten 2014). At the bottom of the valley the trade activities settled, then the industry. The seats of power, the nobility and the bourgeoisie were located on the slope and in the upper side of the city (Debroux et al. 2011). When Brussels started to expand outside the limits of the former second defense wall during the industrial revolution, its development followed the long-settled dichotomy between the Western and the Eastern sides of the valley, now marked by the canal. The industrial neighbourhoods were gathered around the factories and close to the transportation means (canal, train), while the wealthy industrial bourgeoisie built its houses and leisure spaces in the greener areas of the city. This situation is also reflected in the small territory of Saint-Gilles.

Another important feature of the municipality regarding its socio-spatial structure is that it is home to Belgium's principal train station (Midi Station). As a consequence, Saint-Gilles has experienced several waves of immigration since the beginning of the 20th century. These foreign populations settled first in the working-class part of the municipality, close to the station, before moving to the upper side during the 1960s when the middle-class households left the municipality and took part in the sub-urbanisation processes. Today, the daily departures of high-speed trains connecting Brussels to surrounding major European cities (Paris, London, Amsterdam, Cologne) attract another foreign and highly mobile population. These two phenomena explain a high ethnic and social diversity in Saint-Gilles with 48% of foreign nationalities (compared to 33% for the BCR), however mainly composed of European citizens (for the main population figures, see http://www.statistics.irisnet.be/).

The social mix of the municipality—translated into many kinds of activities, daily markets, small shops and cultural associations—offers a very specific atmosphere that is highly valued in the discourse of new incoming population. Indeed, located near to the city centre, the labour market and cultural venues, Saint-Gilles has been attracting new kind of inhabitants since the 1980s. Lower rents resulting from the state of repair of the old buildings were a valuable asset for the incomers, firstly for the foreign and poor population, and later for young adults starting their careers or who wished to live in a diverse environment.

Local authorities insisted on these dimensions too, echoing the preoccupations of the new middle class (Ley 1996) in their promotion strategies, in addition to active policies aiming at renewing the built environment. On the website of the municipality, one can read 'A few words on Saint-Gilles':

> Located in the heart of the European capital, *Saint-Gilles is often called 'a village within the city'* … It is above all a village where 130 different nationalities coexist. … Small and densely built municipality, Saint-Gilles lives through its neighbourhoods that have each their own identity … The 'Parvis' (square), the historic heart of the municipality that holds

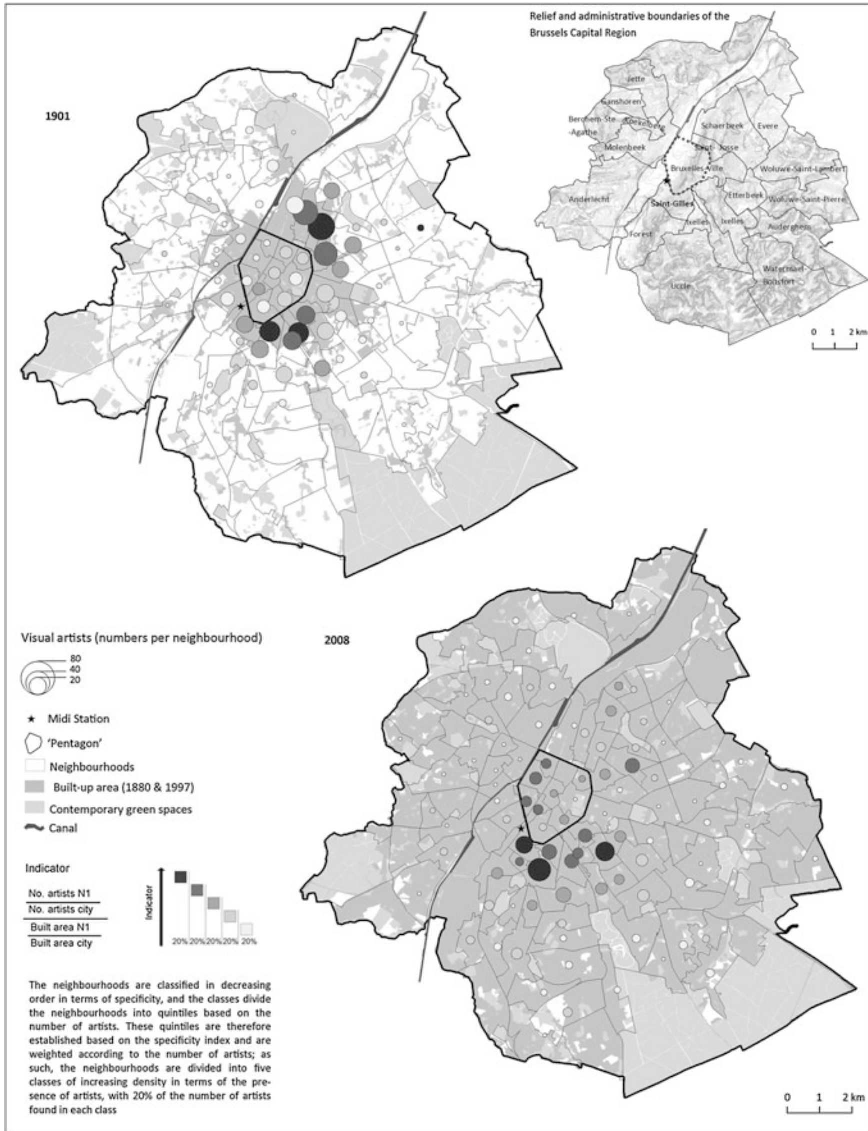

Fig. 2.1 Visual artists at their residence, 1901 and 2008. *Source* Own elaboration based on Almanach du Commerce et de l'Industrie, 1901; database SMartBe, 2008

pace with is daily markets and its typical Brussels cafés. In addition, this neighbourhood houses high places of Saint-Gilles' cultural life … symbols of *a locality regarded for long as a haven for all kinds of artists...*

Multifaceted municipality, it overflows with other treasures, big inclusive events as the multicultural festival … or the 'Parcours d'artistes'; with trendy restaurants and posh

> boutiques…; with the Midi market; with the flea markets on Van Meenen's Square or with the remarkable buildings such as Hôtel Hannon or Horta Museum … Contrasted elements from a municipality open to the world that perfectly personifies the pleasure of living in the city. (Translated from http://www.stgilles.irisnet.be/fr/decouvrir-st-gilles/un-petit-mot-sur-saint-gilles/—my emphasis)

Favorable economic conditions, good accessibility, proximity to the city centre coupled with a great variety of buildings suited for craft or artistic activity explained that artists were prone to move into the locality, which benefitted also from an 'artistic label' inherited from the past. Their presence became part of the new image that the authorities of Saint-Gilles wanted to impose instead of a bad image these poor neighbourhoods had long suffered.

The reputation of Saint-Gilles as an 'artists' village' in particular relies on a long tradition of hosting artists' studios and houses. Figure 2.1 shows the residential geography of visual artists at two different moments, 1901 and 2008. The first map shows two major poles: the oldest and most important was North of the city centre (Saint-Josse and Schaerbeek), the second being located South, in two other fast developing municipalities (Ixelles and Saint-Gilles). The main factors explaining this spatial pattern were economic—being close to the clients but in developing neighbourhoods offering cheap land to build studios—as well as symbolic—located in the extension of the wealthier area, painters and sculptors could assert themselves as a new elite (Debroux, forthcoming).

A century later, the presence of visual artists has changed, as has the overall morphology of the city. Nevertheless, it is striking to note the historic permanence occurring south of the city centre, precisely in Ixelles and Saint-Gilles. Throughout the 20th century, artists have remained in this part of the BCR, even if their numbers have varied over the decades (Debroux 2013a). At the beginning of the twenty-first century however, their importance cannot be denied.[1] Because of the advantages found in these old neighbourhoods related to big workspaces, cheap accommodation, bohemian environment resulting from decayed 19th century middle-class buildings and a certain artistic label contributing to social and professional recognition, a growing number of artists has begun to settle in Saint-Gilles since the 1980s.

Another element of this permanent presence was the establishment of art schools in the first decades of the last century. Apart from the old Fine Arts Academy located in the city centre, new schools opened near the major artist's concentrations: in the Eastern part of Saint-Gilles, an Academy of Fine Arts opened in 1891, followed in 1902 by the painting school Van der Kelen-Logelain and in 1904 by a professional art school, the Saint-Luc school. Nearby, in Ixelles, La Cambre opened in 1926. These schools played a part in the reproduction of artistic geography

[1] Another important aspect on the map of 2008 is the presence of artists in the Western part of the Pentagon. This location is new regarding the historical geography of these occupations in Brussels; it can be linked with the renewal processes that are occurring since the early 1980s around Rue Dansaert.

throughout the century, and they are still important today in attracting young artists, even if their teachings have evolved and diversified.[2]

Eventually, just as local artists contributed to the opening of the Academy of Fine Arts in Saint-Gilles at the end of the 19th century, contemporary artists are often responsible for new initiatives that contribute to the reinforcement of artists' presence. The creation of the association SMart in Saint-Gilles is a good example. Launched nineteen years ago by two musicians, the association counts more than 60,000 members in Belgium today (http://smartbe.be/fr/a-propos/), most of them living in Brussels. Outside of its main business (helping artists with short-term contracts), SMart also supports the development of artistic projects and facilities. In 2011, the association helped with the opening of the Brussels Art Factory (BAF) close to SMart offices, in the lower part of Saint-Gilles (Rue Coenraets). The site offers workspaces for 50 artists and large spaces dedicated to exhibitions or performances.

Yet, in walking through the streets the presence of artists may not be immediately visible, until one gradually remarks upon specific signs such as the glass roof of an old studio, a converted shop window, an invitation to visit a private exhibition, posters or marks of recent events. Cultural activities and the places of cultural consumption may also strongly influence the perception and the reputation of a neighbourhood, which can be recognised as a creative cluster, an art quarter, or a cultural neighbourhood. Although Saint-Gilles hosts dynamic institutions (such as the French cultural centre *Centre Culturel Jacques Franck* or the Flemish *Pianofabriek*, the *Maison des Cultures*, etc.), both public and private, the municipality is not located in the main concentration area of art consumption, but rather at its side (Debroux 2013b).[3]

Perhaps the most visible presence is that of art galleries. If their distribution within the city is not directly linked with that of visual artists (the activities correspond to different economic logics), the geographic distribution of galleries is nevertheless a consequence of the duration of the artists' presence (and the associated art merchants and galleries), as well as implied by the location of the municipality in the wealthier part of the BCR (proximity of wealthier customers). In Saint-Gilles, many art galleries can be discovered by chance walking in the streets or during the exhibitions' opening nights, when guests use public spaces in front of the gallery. Most of these places are located in the upper (Eastern) side of the locality (Fig. 2.2).

Except for well-established galleries linked with the international art market, exhibition spaces in Brussels often have a very short lifetime. Their profiles are also

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[2]In addition to these schools that are intended for (young) adults, Saint-Gilles has two secondary schools well-known for their fine arts sections (Saint-Luc and Sainte-Marie).

[3]Therefore I focus here on the reputation of Saint-Gilles as an artists' neighbourhood, which is very specific to the locality, and on the location of art galleries, which is partly linked.

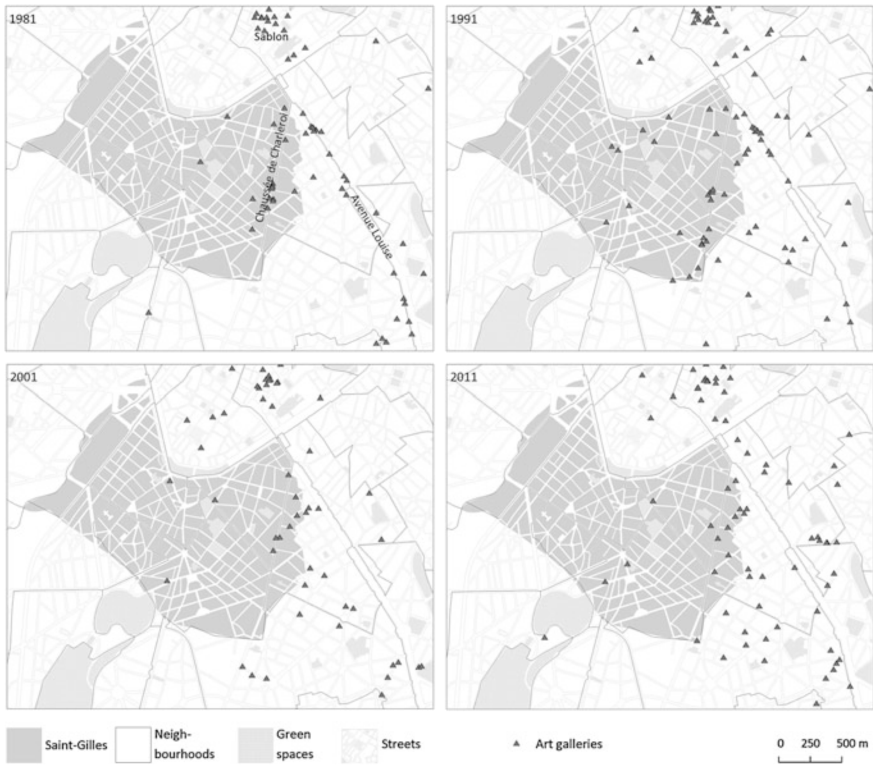

Fig. 2.2 Art galleries in Saint-Gilles (1981–2011). *Source* Own elaboration based on M.A.D. (Cultural agenda of *Le Soir*); UrbIS

very diverse and, according to their status, so seems to be their location within the city. Looking at the overall location pattern of galleries in Saint-Gilles and its surroundings between 1981 and 2011, the dichotomy between the upper and the lower parts of the municipality (East/West) is obvious, due to the commercial dimension of the activity together with the need to attract a wealthy clientele. A quite remarkable feature is the concentration occurring along the Chaussée de Charleroi in the 1980s and even more the 1990s (9 galleries in 1991) leading to its nicknaming by the press as 'the Small Montmartre of Brussels' (quotation of *Le Soir*, 17 January 1991). Starting at avenue Louise, this axis seemed to be an extension of the historic pole of galleries on the prestigious Avenue Louise (12 galleries in 1991). Ten years later, however, almost all of these sites have disappeared. What happened during the 1990s?

Facing the Challenges of Urban Redevelopment: Gentrification in Saint-Gilles

To understand this, we have to go back to 1989 when Brussels became a region according to one of the stages of the federalisation of the Belgian state. The new Brussels Capital Region was given the responsibility for several fields such as land-use planning and urban development, environment, transportation or public works. However, due to labor market structure and Belgian taxation policy, the new region was (and still is) chronically lacking resources to carry out its tasks. In response, the main strategy adopted by the BCR was to attract more affluent residents and therefore, local authorities launched many projects aiming at the improvement of public space and the building of new housing for middle-class households (De Lannoy and Geets 1994). Doing so, they reinforced and encouraged processes of marginal gentrification that were already happening in central areas (Van Criekingen and Decroly 2003). The translation of these policies in the municipality of Saint-Gilles was all the more obvious that its mayor (Charles Picqué, a member of the Socialist party holding the post from 1985 until today) was also designated in 1989 as the Prime Minister of the BCR. Leading urban development policies at both administrative levels, in Saint-Gilles he started what he called 'an ambitious policy to redevelop neighbourhoods' centered on public space improvement, renovation allowances and services to inhabitants, with a clear ambition to change the socio-economic composition of the local population (Breës 2009).

The results of the residential dynamics encouraged by the local policies have been striking on the profile of inhabitants. Many households leaving Saint-Gilles went to poorer areas in the municipalities nearby and crossed the canal towards old and very dense working-class neighbourhoods (Molenbeek notably). Meanwhile, incoming population to Saint-Gilles came from the south-eastern part of the BCR, known to be wealthier or in some places to experience more advanced stages of gentrification (Marissal 1994; Van Criekingen 2006). These changes reflect and are accompanied by the increase of rents and real estate prices in the municipality, in particular in its eastern half where gentrification processes started earlier, and where real estate had greater value. It influenced not only the former inhabitants but also the other functions depending on relatively cheap space to develop. As regarding artistic activities and as observed in Fig. 2.2, while Saint-Gilles became more attractive for new kinds of shops and small economic activities, the latter competed with art galleries, which are a hazardous activity when they start and in need of large spaces at affordable prices. The reduction of the comparative advantage offered by a location in Saint-Gilles together with the turbulent art market of the 1990s explain the relative shrinking of the number of art galleries in the municipality.

The 'revitalisation' programme supported by local authorities was much publicised and was accompanied by other initiatives that involved the local cultural scene. In the official municipal journal, Picqué wrote:

> When we started 20 years ago an ambitious policy to redevelop the neighbourhoods … we didn't forget to offer new spaces and services to the population … We would like to enhance the cultural offer for our inhabitants … Finally, the municipality has always intended to lend its support, would it be modest, to the artists … [They] contribute to the cultural wealth of our municipality, which reputation spreads widely outside our boundaries (Administration of Saint-Gilles 2014: 3—translated).

The cultural argument is interesting. Indeed, more than a simple asset ensuring an urban atmosphere and the possibility of making artistic discoveries, it has also been long associated by the mayor of the municipality with neighbourhood renewal. Culture is seen as an important factor for social cohesion in a municipality that hosts very different populations on a small territory. What's more, in the 'creative era', cultural activities must also generate jobs and they are said to play an economic role worth to consider, if not in Saint-Gilles then in Brussels more generally. But it is also a matter of improving the image of the municipality, as the last sentence of the above quotation suggests.

It is in this specific context of urban renewal that a new cultural event developed in Saint-Gilles with the help of local authorities. This event, known as 'Parcours d'artistes', has strongly reinforced the artistic aura of the municipality, and has been copied by many other neighbourhoods in Brussels.[4]

'Parcours d'Artistes': Making Artistic Activities Visible

In 1988, a local association 'Rencontres Saint-Gilloises' (Saint-Gilles' Encounters), composed of inhabitants and people close to the local administration, decided to highlight local artistic creation by organising visits to artists' studios. The objective was to demystify what it means to be an artist and to bring the public into the workspaces during an event that would increase local artists' visibility.

For three weekends every two years in May, each artist living or working in Saint-Gilles (or each artist who finds an exhibition space in the municipality) can put his/her name in the programme for free. The list is printed in a booklet containing a map of the event that visitors buy for 7 euros in order to enter the studios or the collective exhibition places located in public or private buildings.

Intensely advertised with posters and stickers indicating the places to visit (which are generally visible year-round), the event has always been very successful, attracting many participants (Fig. 2.3). For instance, in the second edition, more than 200 artists took part in the Parcours d'artistes while some 10,000 visitors visited their studios. Ten years later, 200 sites could be discovered in which some

[4]Today, several municipalities in Brussels and beyond organise similar events, often referring to Saint-Gilles as a model (without using the name 'Parcours d'artistes' however, as it is a registered copyright). Schaerbeek initiated its own in 1995, so did Watermael-Boitsfort, then Berchem-Sainte-Agathe (1998), Evere (2000), Jette (2006), Ixelles (2008), Bruxelles-Ville (2009) and Molenbeek (2010).

Fig. 2.3 Advertising for the Parcours d'artistes: color marks on the studios' doors and posters in public space. *Source* Tatiana Debroux (May 2014 and May 2012)

400 artists showed their work. During three weekends of the event, 25,000 people bought the badge and programme.

Looking at the location of studios and other places opened to visitors during different editions of Parcours (Fig. 2.4), the geography of the event is obviously concentrated in the upper half of the locality. Almost each year, the biggest concentrations of studios to visit are located in the spatial entities 'Haut Saint-Gilles' and 'Berckmans-Hôtel des Monnaies'. More precisely, some streets concentrate the artists' studios: the surroundings of the City Hall, Rue de la Victoire and Rue du Métal seem to operate as magnets for visual artists (Fig. 2.5). In these streets actually, the situation is even more significant, because several dots represent collective workplaces where more than one artist works and shows his/her works.

As the programme has developped, the neighbourhood of 'Porte de Hal' has begun to gain importance notably due to the number of art studios located in its eastern part (close to the Parvis and Rue du Fort/Rue Dethy). There are fewer places to visit in the western part of the neighbourhood, and in the lower part of the municipality more generally. How can this be understood, particularly given that the urban infrastructure in this lower area offers larger spaces[5] (warehouses,

[5]Therefore, the maps might conceal an important number of artists working at a same address. Furthermore, between the upper and lower parts of the municipality, there is maybe a functional difference—artists living (and working) in the first, when they mostly work in the latter.

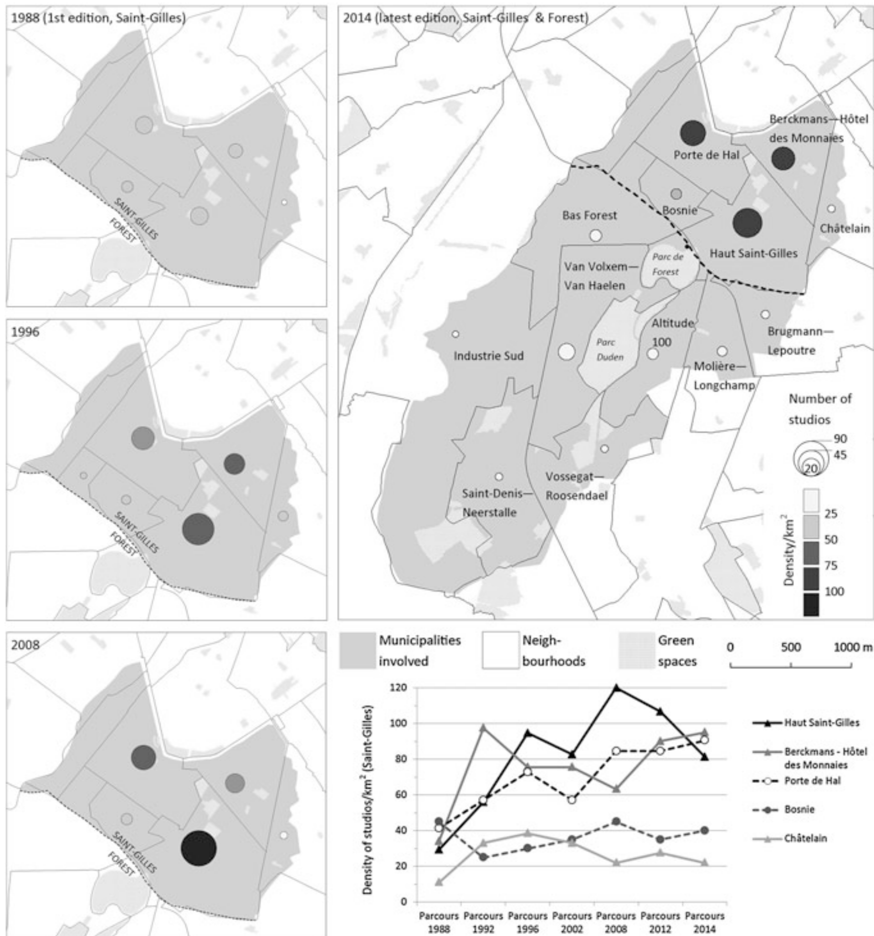

Fig. 2.4 Location of the artists' studios and the collective exhibition spaces open during several editions of the event Parcours d'artistes (1988–2014, the latest edition when the text was being written). *Source* Own elaboration based on catalogues of the biennials Parcours d'artistes

buildings of former light industry inside interior courtyards), and at lower prices than in the upper neighbourhood?

On one hand, it is possible that there is no 'accumulation effect' as the collective workplaces existing in this part of the locality are sometimes defined by nomadic behavior (e.g. *Bouillon Kube*, whose address changed regularly in the catalogues) and are often fragile (unless they are supported by another structure as the BAF is by SMart). They may cease their activities rapidly (e.g. *De la Charge* gathered 19 artists at Rue Verhaegen but closed in April 2015 after three years of existence). On the other hand, artists showing their works in the lower part of Saint-Gilles may be less prone to open their studio as the number of visitors is significantly lower. The

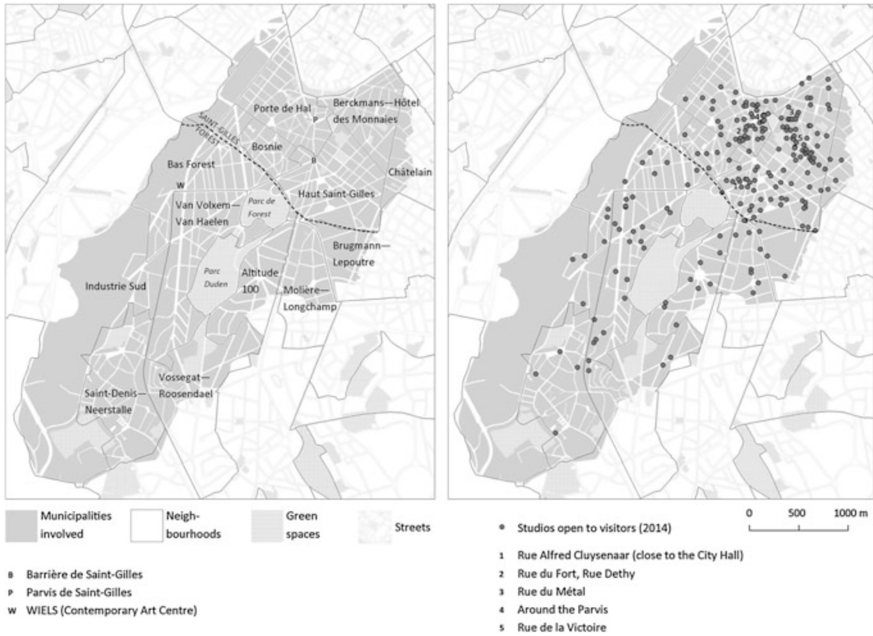

Fig. 2.5 Detailed location of studios and exhibition spaces open during the double Parcours in Saint-Gilles and Forest in 2014. *Source* Own elaboration based on the Catalogue of the biennial Parcours d'artistes, 2014; UrbIS

public seems still reluctant to explore those neighbourhoods and to go beyond the 'psychological barrier' established between the two halves of Saint-Gilles, as the director of the local Cultural Department defines it.

If it is not easy to have information on the visitors' profiles, some surveys indicated that the public is coming not only from Saint-Gilles but from the all BCR and beyond, Belgium and foreign countries. Parcours d'artistes has become a popular art biennial: visiting the municipality when it is happening adds some artistic experience to the visit of the local heritage and trendy cafés located in Saint-Gilles. The fame of the biennial is also linked to its twinning with similar events organised in neighbouring countries, allowing some artists to show their work abroad and the public to discover other artists' neighbourhoods outside their own city. In 2012, the guest neighbourhood was Belleville in Paris, long known for its creative dynamism and which is very similar to Saint-Gilles regarding the development of gentrification processes (Gravereau 2008).

However, new formula was implemented during the edition of 2014. The twinning was made with another municipality of Brussels named Forest, which is located south of Saint-Gilles. This is very interesting because it is the result of a political agreement between the two municipalities. Even though Forest does not have a proper department for culture (but a proactive Department of Flemish Affairs), some active arts institutions are located there, such as Wiels—the Centre

for Contemporary Art in Brussels—and the cultural centre BRASS. For several years, these institutions expressed the wish to organise joint events between municipalities only separated by administrative boundaries, but sharing similar populations. The administrations of Saint-Gilles and Forest responded to the request of local cultural institutions by signing a collaboration agreement that was mainly expressed in a double Parcours d'artistes.

This new formula seemed to be a success, with many artists from Forest taking part in the new event. The public however restricted its visits to the studios located closest to Saint-Gilles. And what authorities of Saint-Gilles discovered during this year's Parcours, is that some studios that were formerly located in their municipality moved to adjacent neighbourhoods in Forest, where urban environment is alike but real estate prices are lower.[6]

Since the early beginnings of these 'open studios days', the authorities have supported Parcours d'artistes. In fact, they even co-organised the event with the association 'Rencontres Saint-Gilloises', and with the help of professional curators who were supposed to give some coherence to collective exhibitions (individual artists were free to show whatever they wanted in their studios). Authorities wanted the event to be festive and open to participation of both professional and non-professional artists. The main idea was to generate encounters between people rather than high quality artistic discoveries. However, this freedom left to participants is one of the main criticisms expressed by artists or even by some of the people in charge of the organisation.

The first sort of complaints is related to the very open format of the event. Rather than an opportunity for cultural democratisation where visitors and inhabitants can access contemporary creation through quality works exhibited in good conditions, it is a cultural democracy that anyone can introduce themselves as a painter, sculptor or photographer. Therefore, for some professional artists, taking part in Parcours d'artistes is seen as something that could discredit their career, as their works would be mixed with those of non-professional artists. Due to the philosophy of the event, the quality of the works is always uneven, and not many gallery owners do visit the studios (or take part in the programme). Outside of the voyeuristic side of the Parcours (letting people inside one's home or studio), the event is not directly beneficial to the careers of professional artists, and for some, this is a reason for not being involved.

As someone no longer taking part in the Parcours pointed:

> I took part twice in the biennial in Saint-Gilles. […] I welcomed 300 people in one weekend, but most of them were voyeurs, people who came to see the space where the artist works, not the studios. We're lacking artists' studios in Brussels; a lot of artists work in a kitchen, a dining room, a bedroom, a cellar. This is the reason why I didn't participate [in

[6]It was also the main information selected by a journalist who gave coverage to the event for the local TV channel *Télé Bruxelles*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cT71XLKG9wE. Unless following the addresses of each participant in the Parcours since its beginning, this shift towards the municipality of Forest—however interesting and meaningful—cannot be proved on the maps presented in this paper.

> the Parcours] anymore, because people aren't respectful of the places where they are welcomed. The general public I mean, parents who brought in strollers, children eating ice cream … (Interview with a visual artist, April 2006, quoted in Debroux 2006—translated).

Another criticism concerns the political 'hijacking' that some of the participants noticed or felt. More than an artistic event organised to offer more visibility and recognition to local artists, Parcours d'artistes is one of the tools that the municipality developed in parallel with a broader policy for urban revitalisation. The point is not the art itself, but the social encounters and, more importantly, the reputation and positive image that Saint-Gilles could obtain from such artistic event.

> I coordinated the project in 1988 (first edition) and also in 1996 and 1998. […] One of the reasons I didn't want to take part in the event in 2000 is that [Mayor] Picqué is returning to St-Gilles after being minister at the French Community. It doesn't suit me because *for me he is trying to use this event for electoral purposes*, in a negative sense. […] I refuse that one uses *art as propaganda instead of trying to serve and help the artists*. (Interview with A. de Wasseige, invited as artistic director of three editions, in Saenz 2001: Appendix 11—translated—my emphasis).

Another participant echoed:

> In a way, political authorities try to use artists, and the artists are trying in turn to use political power. […] Obviously one of the two sides will get more benefits than the other. *Here, Parcours d'artistes is more of benefit to political power than to artists*. (Interview with L. Gutierrez quoted in Saenz 2001: Appendix 35—translated—my emphasis).

Conclusions: 'A Little Soul' for Great Urban Expectations

Several aspects of Saint-Gilles' cultural dynamism and reputation make it a unique municipality in the BCR when it comes to art. Because of the presence of many cultural actors and institutions in a small area, some of them present for a very long time, highly dense networks exist between artists and associations. Aside from the visibility that artistic creation can have in public spaces (which is more often mediated through other actors, such as art galleries or art institutions), these networks can translate into specific initiatives that reinforce the arts scene. Initiated by a cultural association, Parcours d'artistes is one of these initiatives that ensue from local dynamism. However, it was always financed and co-organised by the municipal authorities. Its underlying objectives were not only to support and encourage local artistic creation but also to make Saint-Gilles visible and improve its image. Doing so, the mayor used the cultural event as a tool in his urban redevelopment policies in order to attract wealthier inhabitants. Alain Hutchinson, another well-known figure in the municipality and in the BCR, alderman and cofounder of the association 'Rencontres Saint-Gilloises', stated:

> In the early 1980s, Saint-Gilles was an abandoned municipality. […] Since his arrival, Charles Picqué started a vast initiative of urban renewal and financial recovery. […] As for me, I wanted to add a little soul in order to complete the 'Picqué effect' (Alain Hutchinson, quoted in *Le Soir*, 22 February 1999—translated).

Speaking of instrumentalisation would imply that culture is developed and supported not for its own sake but to pursue other goals. In this case, however, it is not such a black or white question. Although many artists enjoy taking part in Parcours d'artistes and can even sometimes benefit from it (by selling works or meeting interested people), it is clear that the extent of its organisation and its political support reflect broader interests placed in culture. Other initiatives exist to support artistic activity within the municipality, such as a weekly legal advice service for artists (http://stgillesculture.irisnet.be/PERMANENCE-JURIDIQUE-ET-FISCALE-1796) and the usual cultural programming (http://stgillesculture.irisnet.be). However, the only initiative that was directly dedicated to local artists and not towards the public or to improve the cultural image of the municipality rapidly failed. Aware of the challenges that artists meet in finding affordable housing and working spaces, an original initiative was announced in the 1990s on the initiative of the same Hutchinson, who was also cultural councillor in 1989. The idea was to develop a survey of the studios in use by the artists in Saint-Gilles as well as an inventory of all empty spaces suitable for artistic creation. The project never really succeeded though and was rapidly abandoned, showing that it was not really a priority for the local administration. The initiative is forgotten now, even if the people in charge of the local Cultural Department admitted during the interviews that such a tool would be very useful to answer the needs expressed by local artists.

As it appears with the failure of this initiative or in the goals pursued by the authorities in the organisation of Parcours d'artistes, culture here is merely used as a convenient ‘varnish’ in political campaigns or in order to influence the image of the locality beyond its boundaries. Capitalising on the old reputation of Saint-Gilles as a haven for artists, since the end of the 1980s, local authorities supported the local scene as one of the tools of their urban renewal policy. Doing so, they intended to impose a new image for a territory that was considered a derelict area, combining economic incentives for new inhabitants with (much less expensive) promotion of an artistic atmosphere valued by the incoming households.

Twenty years later, Saint-Gilles is seen as one of the trendiest places to live in Brussels for young educated adults, with its always-increasing offer of cafés and markets, its proximity to the city centre, its art schools and cultural institutions.

Far from the simplistic approach of artists as pioneers of urban redevelopment, this case study (emblematic for Brussels) shows that the gentrification of a historic artists' district does not rely directly on artists. More than just the ‘artistic aura’ of such a place needs to be encouraged and promoted, in order to be perceived by others than the arts amateurs. There is also need for much stronger incentives than a creative atmosphere to attract more privileged households in a part of the city that they were neglecting for decades. The transformation of Saint-Gilles relies on a combination of interests and initiatives, both public and private, which are part of what Zukin (1982) referred to as the ‘artistic mode of production’ of places. These include the decisive action of a multitasking political leader regarding public space and housing renewal (local political factor), the current investment of private capital within residential real-estate in the city centre (global economic factor), the location

of the municipality adjacent to the centre and which is part of the mental map of the middle classes (geographical factor), as well as the additional asset of a long-lasting reputation of Saint-Gilles as an artists' district (symbolic factor).

The consequences of renewal policies and of gentrification processes are obvious today in Saint-Gilles, notably on the much praised cultural dynamism of the municipality. In 2001 in the upper side of the locality, art galleries had left the Chaussée de Charleroi that was already too expensive (even if it was not in the centre of Brussels art market). Since then and more importantly, artists have also begun to react to the rise of real-estate prices and competition with residential function (see the example on Fig. 2.6—a real-estate advertisement announced all at once an artist's studio for rent, an apartment/loft for rent (including a private hammam), and a real-estate project where six lofts were to be built, a 'private museum' for exhibition of a private art collection, offices for creative activities and a hanging garden!). As a consequence, artists are moving more and more towards the lower part of the municipality. Some of them have already moved to Forest.

If artists have been concentrated in Saint-Gilles for many decades, it is thanks to the municipality's long lasting reputation as an artists' district (and the symbolic asset of asserting oneself as a professional artist) as well as favorable opportunities regarding spaces to work and live (economic advantage). It was not because artists received incentives from the local authorities, which have, to the contrary, used

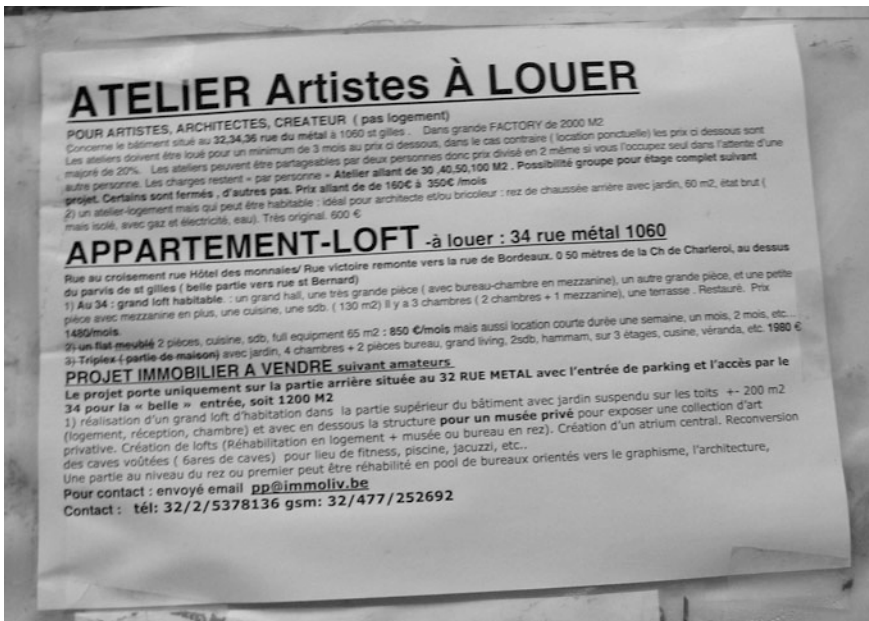

Fig. 2.6 Example of competing functions in a street that hosts many artists' studios in Saint-Gilles, Rue du Métal. *Source* Tatiana Debroux (May 2013)

their presence to achieve other development goals. The policies developed by local authorities are now lessening the ability for artists to stay in the municipality. In that regard, the story of Saint-Gilles echoes the lifecycle of many artists' districts. This illustrates the complexity of linking cultural initiatives with stronger urban development policies that could benefit from a vivid artistic scene, but that will also quite inevitably make large concentrations of artists disappear if they are not supported by determined actions regarding rent control or providing space for precarious economic activities within the city centre. If not, high might be the risk that the artistic aura so often pointed out (and used) by the authorities and urban developers will transform into nothing more than a convenient memory.

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Author Biography

Tatiana Debroux is a geographer, working at Université Libre de Bruxelles. Following the work developed in her Ph.D. on 'Artists in the city. A retrospective geography of visual artists in Brussels (1833-2008)', she is interested in the spatial patterns of art creation and consumption (visual artists and artists' studios, exhibition venues, art galleries, etc.), and more broadly in the links between art, culture and urban renewal processes. She has also worked on representations of the city in literary texts and narrative cartography.

Chapter 3
Artists as Initiators of Urban Transformation: Are Gentrification and Touristification Inevitable? A Case Study of the Reuter Quarter in Neukölln, Berlin

Mariko Ikeda

Introduction

The city of Berlin has experienced dramatic changes over the last 25 years. In 1989, the Berlin Wall that divided the city geographically and ideologically into two parts fell and a subsequent economic downturn due to the consolidation of most of its industry, especially in the eastern part, made the city Germany's most economically challenged metropolis (Bernt et al. 2013; Häußermann and Kapphan 2002). Around a decade later, the development of the tourism sector began to accelerate and has grown ever since, bringing new structural and economic changes (Bernt et al. 2013). Together with the touristification of Berlin, another topic has come to the forefront in recent years: gentrification (Holm 2013).

Previous empirical studies about specific inner-city boroughs in Berlin, e.g., Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg, have examined the causes and dynamics that generate gentrification in inner-city districts, with consideration of their historical backgrounds (Krajewski 2006; Holm 2011). According to a study of their spatial dynamics, pioneer locations in Berlin are morphologically in motion from one inner-city district to another (Holm 2011), and the gentrification process is still ongoing throughout the former Eastern inner-city Berlin since it first emerged in the former West Berlin borough of Kreuzberg at the end of the 1980s. The most recent of these up-and-coming districts and quarters is Neukölln (Holm 2011), heading again towards the former West Berlin. These studies implicate 'artists' as the main cause for the improvement of various functions of a district or a quarter (Helbrecht

M. Ikeda (✉)
Department of Human Geography, Graduate School of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of Tsukuba, Laboratory of Advanced Research A 315, Tennodai 1-1-1, Tsukuba-City, Ibaraki, Japan
e-mail: marikoi@geoenv.tsukuba.ac.jp

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1996). As Florida (2005: 114, 117) states, 'Geographers have done a great deal of work on the role of gentrification in artistic communities in shaping city development. … Jacobs called attention to the role of creativity and diversity as engines for city growth', and numerous other studies show a causality between 'art' and 'gentrification'. However, it is still unclear whether any causality exists between artists and gentrification, or between artists and the demographic and morphological metamorphosis of 'trendy spots' or 'artistic quarters' (Murzyn-Kupisz 2012; Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). As Zukin and Braslow (2011: 134) state: 'It is not altogether clear how and why artists become such an attraction to affluent consumers that they serve as the 'shock troops' of gentrification'. It is uncertain whether they are moving individually or as part of migrant groups from within shared social context. If so, it is also undeclared in which process artists could be initiators of urban change and why they are followed by migration of other social groups, as well as what motivates them.

On the other hand, urban dynamics should be analysed with a focus on creativity. Since Florida's (2005) controversial research, relating a creative class to the cultural economy has been a major academic trend of the last ten years. This 'creative class' theory gained notoriety not only in academic discourses but also among politicians and social scientists in European countries. This is because it identifies success factors for regional economic development in an era of intense international competition under globalisation, and, with its 'convincing simplicity', it is politically relevant as an orientating concept for political decision-makers in cities and regions (Krätke 2011: 37). Florida (2005) describes a broad relationship between culture and economic growth, citing the 'qualities of place' that are generated from 'culture' (defined as non-work-related enjoyment). These qualities of space often include 'openness', 'tolerance' or 'diversity' of people and environment, to varieties of social groups, such as 'bohemians', and 'gay and lesbian' (Florida 2005). These specific characteristics of a location, offering varieties of cultural amenities and vibrancies, especially attract creative workers and entice them to (re-)locate to certain inner-city districts. These agglomerations of creative and cultural industries in relation to urban change are still vague, as is Florida's definition of 'bohemians'. Artists have been identified using this category mainly as entrepreneurs or persons associated with culture-related industries (Markusen 2006). The distinction between artists and the creative economy during the gentrification process is still under dispute. Therefore to show to what extent it could be related to the urban regenerating process is also a crucial issue.

Touristification is increasingly gaining attention as a descriptor of urban change, accelerated by the prevalence of tourism inside and outside of Germany, coinciding with the emergence of low-cost carriers following deregulation of the EU airline market in 1997. Art-related events could also be a tourist attraction (Guetzkow 2002). Nonetheless, tourism's role in broader urban transformations related to gentrification has been insufficiently researched. At the same time, the influence of administrative policies on urban planning and improvement should be also defined. There are studies that both support and dispute macro-regional approaches to improvement by municipality in the European regions, e.g., the *Quartiersmanagement*

(neighbourhood management) under the *Soziale Stadt* (Social City) programme in German cities (discussed below) (Mössner 2012).

Therefore, in this study, by focusing on how a positive image, attracting artists and urban entrepreneurs, was created in the case of the Reuter Quarter, I clarify how artist-related urban transformations (e.g., ateliers and galleries, retail stores, new types of services, cafes and bars) could contribute to the process of gentrification.

Methodology

To explicate the aims of this chapter apart from the literature review, certain aspects of the data used and analysed in this paper should be explained as they correspond to the research purpose and its methodology. The first goal is to show the transformation process in the Reuter Quarter, especially regarding gentrification. For this, quantitative statistical data were obtained from national, regional, and municipal sources, along with data cited from previous academic research. One such study is TOPOS (2011), a survey in which a Berlin research institute used a questionnaire administered to about 10,000 households to determine social structural and residential changes in the northern district of Neukölln (inside of the Berlin circle railway line). This survey had a return rate of around 20% (1830) (TOPOS 2011: 6). The results of this survey imply that social structural upgrading has occurred in the Reuter Quarter; however, the results do not adequately describe some other dimensional dynamics of cultural, economic, and symbolic upgrading, which have affected the movements of residential migrants.

Additionally, as Zukin and Braslow (2011) state, gentrification may have a greater commercial and/or economic impact (which would generate another and subsequent phase of the upgrading process), which should also be revealed and proven with quantitative data. The percentage of rented dwellings in the entire Berlin housing market is estimated at around 85–90% (SenStadt 2011), an extraordinarily high ratio of rented dwellings compared to other German and European cities (Holm 2006). Thus, the social structure, especially in the inner-city, is highly liquid with regard to the typical shared-living style in Berlin. Therefore, the gentrification process goes quite beyond residential change, some regional and multidimensional changes in the urban sphere being especially remarkable. However, in comparison to residential changes, commercial and economic changes are relatively stable indicators. Therefore, for this paper, I have also employed the land use of the quarter, gained and mapped through my own field study conducted from 2013 to 2014, in order to set the observed functional changes in the context of social and demographic changes in the area and to show the qualitative change of commercial uses in the Reuter Quarter. To demonstrate these changes visually, I have defined and mapped three main categories of uses: old uses (shops, bars, restaurants, etc., which have been in the quarter for many years and have no artistic connection), ethnic uses (ethnic related retail shops, service retailers, restaurants, etc.), and new uses (new shops, bars, restaurants, and artists that emerged in the

2000s). The category 'ethnic uses' is included as separate because of the high proportion of persons with a migration background living in the area (45%) and the accordingly high number of shops or cultural establishments catering exclusively to certain ethnic groups (QM Berlin 2014).

Furthermore, some features of typical land use encompassing artist-related use and retail shops or service businesses observed in this quarter were comparable to data from 2008 which I used to examine the changes in each type of land use. For these purpose as well, certain land use data were re-categorized according to Rettberg (2011). As follows, several categories of land use or business types are defined and used in this study.

Additionally, I conducted interviews with a number of artists and urban entrepreneurs, some of them living and working in the area for several years and others who have just recently moved in or relocated, to gather information about their motivation for relocating to this quarter and to acquire specific information about recent rent prices for commercial units, which was not available from statistical quantitative data. To complement the number of interviews (9), I have gathered additional data on selected artists and businesses, analysing their websites, their presence in city magazines, and my own observations.

Geographical Setting of the Reuter Quarter in Berlin, Neukölln

The Reuter Quarter (RQ) is located in the northernmost part of Neukölln, a borough located next to Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, which is a district in the south-western inner-city area of Berlin (Fig. 3.1). It consists of approximately 66.06 hectares and has a population of 19,633 as of 2013 (QM Berlin 2014), which is about 0.57% of Berlin's total population (3,421,829 in 2013) and about 6.29% of the population of the borough of Neukölln (311,943 in 2013; AfS 2014). Figure 3.2 shows the geographical setting of RQ as it is situated in Neukölln. Figure 3.2 also portrays other geographical scales, such as LOR (Lebensweltlich orientierte Räume—Living Environment Areas), which has been mostly used in urban planning since 2006, and 'traffic cells', as well as the TOPOS study area.[1]

The RQ was developed at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries when Berlin experienced an explosive growth in its population during industrialisation. Until that time the area was used mainly as meadowland (Bach and Hüge 2004). The built environment consists of mostly five-storey housing, which is mainly *Altbau* (old buildings) with one- to two-room flats, built from the

[1]These geographical settings should be defined as tentative settlements in order to analyse the perspective through regional research. Urban transformation, however, has no geographical limits. Therefore, field surveys and observation in other boroughs as well as in RQ are need for a good grasp of the urban dynamics.

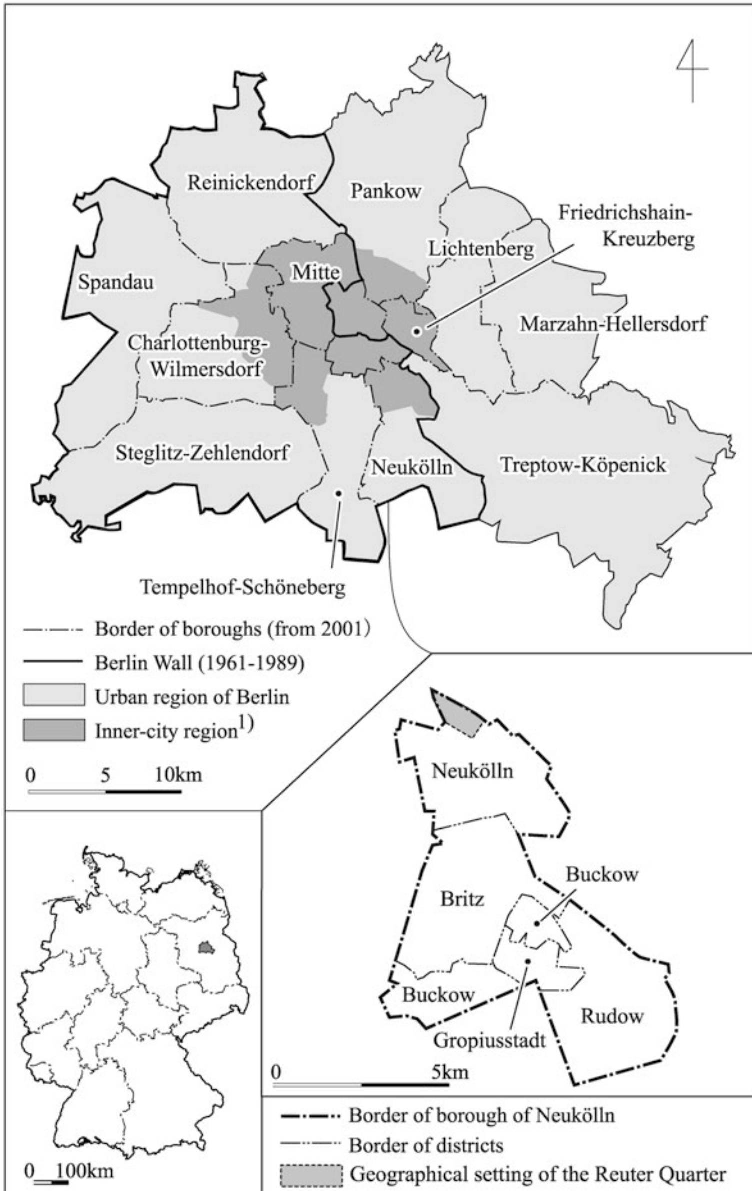

Fig. 3.1 Location of the Reuter Quarter. *Source* AfS (2010). 1) The geographical scale of inner-city region cited by Häußermann and Kapphan (2002: 131)

19th century until 1945 (Häußermann and Kapphan 2002). These buildings mostly have commercial units, but only on the ground floor, and a few industrial establishments in between or in the courtyards. The quarter as a whole is a densely

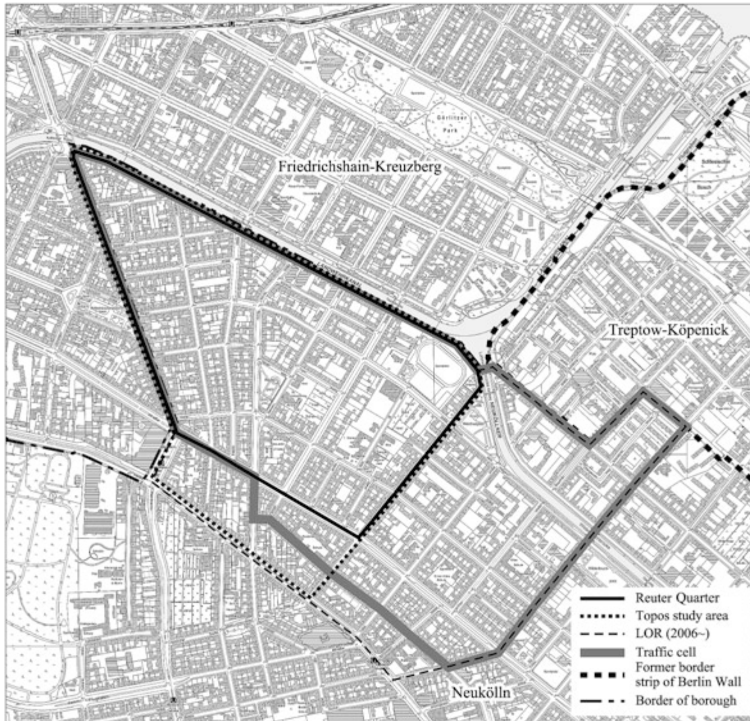

Fig. 3.2 Geographical setting of the Reuter Quarter. *Source* SenStadt (2014)

built-up residential area with a small number of green spaces and vacant lots (SenStadt 2010: 54).

After the Second World War, the eastern part of the RQ was, as Fig. 3.1 shows, geographically located directly next to the German Democratic Republic; thus, it was considered as quite peripheral in the context of West Berlin, eventually becoming a quiet residential area after the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. In the 1970s and 1980s, affluent residents moved from the more densely populated northern parts of Neukölln (including the RQ), coincident with the new construction of social housing, consisting of new and more comfortable large modern housing complexes at the outskirts of this district (Bach and Hüge 2004). At the same time, especially in the 1970s, immigrants and students facing a large-sized urban-renewal in Kreuzberg moved into the north part of Neukölln, searching for some available and affordable housings (Bach and Hüge 2004; Häußermann and Kapphan 2002).

After the reunification of Germany in 1990, middle-class residents again migrated to suburban areas outside of the city or to less socially troubled districts inside Berlin, and even more immigrants moved into the RQ (Häußermann and Kapphan 2002). The ratio of immigrants increased from 18% (1984) to 31% (2001)

(Bach and Hüge 2004). However with high unemployment (16.4% in 2001) and many vacant stores and houses (35% in 2002) (QM Reuterplatz 2015), and despite being once again a central inner-city quarter after the reunification of Berlin, this quarter had changed partly into an abandoned and undervalued area by 2001, when it was identified as a 'problematic quarter' by the city government (Bach and Hüge 2004).

Because of this situation, a so-called *Quartiersmanagement* programme was initiated in 2002 by the municipality administration (as had been done in other districts, starting in 1999). This management programme, which was subsidised through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and Urban Development Funding of Federal Government and County (SF) with a nation-wide programme called *Soziale Stadt*, aimed to govern and improve social management in initially fifteen selected quarters in Berlin. It was especially aimed at integration of ethnic minorities, as most migrants were from Turkey, Poland, former Yugoslavia, and Arab countries (Bach and Hüge 2004; Häußermann and Kapphan 2002).

In 2005, a private organisation under the name *Zwischennutzungsagentur* (Temporary Use Agency) was initiated in northern Neukölln. It was founded by an architect and an urban planner, who were interested in temporary use projects as a method to participate in urban development (Coopolis 2015a). Their first project in 2005 was the management of empty stores in the RQ, and the project was carried out in close cooperation with the *Quartiersmanagement*. At the beginning, there were 130 empty stores in the quarter. Finding users for these empty stores was expected to have a positive effect on the quarter because the great dilapidation of buildings led to vandalism and further damage, as well as high repair costs, ultimately, for the building owners. People with ideas for projects, artistic or social, could inquire at the agency for available spaces to establish a contact with the owner, and spaces were often given for free in the first two years, based on the rental contract (Quartiersbeirat AG Kultur 2007). This project attracted artists and owners of small retail stores because of low rents, and property owners were enticed by the prospect of increasing their property values. Through the work of this agency, artists, creatives, and small retailers were able to find affordable places for their activities and businesses. According to the agency's own website, 56 lots were rented out between 2005 and 2007 under the auspices of the *Zwischennutzungsagentur*, and more than 200 new jobs were created in this quarter (Coopolis 2015b). The work of this agency contributed to the establishment of a sizeable community of artists, especially in the RQ.

However, before the *Zwischennutzungsagentur* was established to cooperate with the muncipality's management programme, a network of cultural institutions with the name *Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln* (Neukölln Cultural Network) in the northern part of the Neukölln district was founded in 1995. Its aim was to provide employment in the cultural sector and to revitalise the area through culture (Fig. 3.3).

This network identified culture as a main factor in bringing positive change to a socially problematic quarter (Kulturnetzwerk 2015a). Additionally in 1999, this initiative started a yearly art event called *48 Stunden Neukölln* (48 h Neukölln). It has developed over the years into the biggest art event in Berlin, which is open to the

Artist initiatives (1995~)	Quarter management (2000s~)	Economic upgrading (2010~)
1995~ • Cultural Network Neukölln 1999~ • 48 Hours Neukölln (art event) • Influx of artists, students	2002~ • Quarter Management (ERDF, SF) 2005~ • Establishment of the Temporary Use Agency 2008~ • RQ as a 'scene-district' in the local media	2010~ • Frequent emergence of new kinds of retail and service shops • Flea market (Nowkölln) on Maybachufer • Real estate boom in the RQ • Gentrification • Touristification as night life district

Fig. 3.3 Timeline of important events in the Reuter Quarter. *Source* Own research

public free of charge for 48 h. In 2014, it had about 60,000 visitors and about 250 participating venues throughout northern Neukölln, of which 110 were ateliers and galleries (Kulturnetzwerk 2015b). According to a discussion with artists and other participants from the RQ, the artists who have moved into the quarter since 2002 formed an active community beginning at that time (Quartiersbeirat AG Kultur 2007). Other regular art events were created by this community, with at least two events being exclusive to the RQ and its galleries and studios. Furthermore, a flea market was established in 2010 that has become a major attraction of the quarter and which is drawing many visitors from all over the city (Nowkoelln 2015).

However, low rent prices and an active community of artists, from 2009 onwards, attracted not only artists but also students, mostly because of rising rents in other parts of the inner-city, especially in the boroughs of Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg, and Kreuzberg (TOPOS 2011). This movement has also led to an upgrading of the social structure in a wider sense as the next part of this section will show.

A study of the Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik (German Institute for Urban Affairs) summarises the situation in the RQ as follows (Difu 2013: 67):

> The establishment of a hip quarter by and for university students, creatives, and artists contrasts with persistent problems for deprived parts of the population, accompanied by a similarly persistent negative image of the local schools—despite great success in building an integrated educational infrastructure (author's translation).

Changes in the Quarter in the Light of Selected Quantitative Indicators

In order to show the different dimensions of change that is taking place in the area, several earlier mentioned indicators were used in the analysis, such as change of rental prices and social, structural and functional upgrading observed in the RQ.

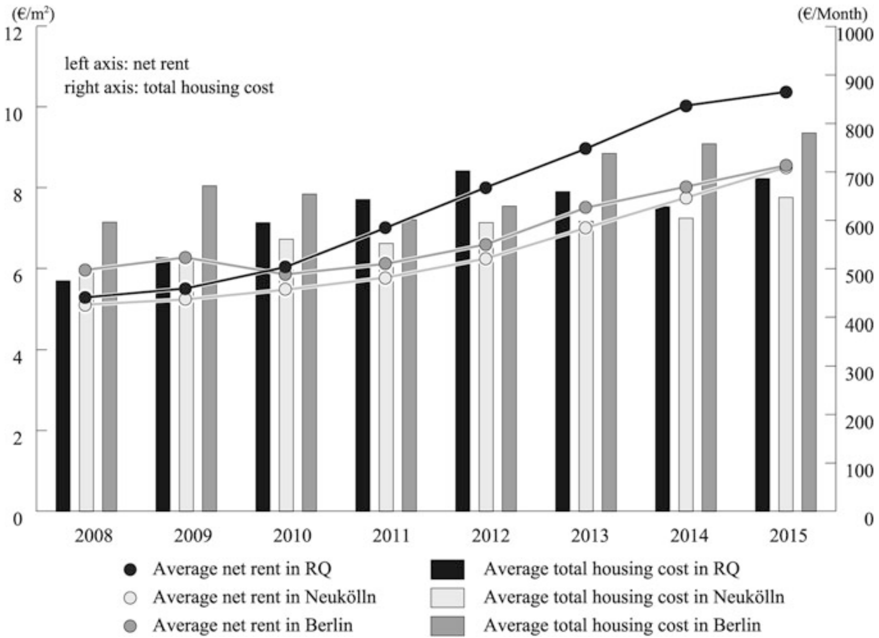

Fig. 3.4 Growth of rent prices and housing costs in the Reuter Quarter in 2008–2015. *Source* GSW (2008–2015)

According to statistical data from GSW Immobilien AG, a Berlin real estate company, the rent prices in the RQ increased dramatically between 2008 and 2015 —from €5.28 to €10.37/m^2, that is, by almost 196% (Fig. 3.4). This is a much higher increase than the average for the whole district, which experienced an increase from €5.10 in 2008 to €8.50 in 2015 (about 167%). Even the average of all of Berlin has shown an increase from €5.96 in 2008 to €8.55 in 2015, which is almost 143% growth, but this percentage is still below that of the rent growth in the RQ.

Additionally, Fig. 3.5 shows a decrease in average apartment size in each category, paralleling the boosts in average rent prices in Berlin. The average apartment size in the RQ decreased from 63.3/m^2 (2008) to 52/m^2 (2015)—that is, by almost 18%—and in Neukölln from 68.5/m^2 (2008) to 57/m^2 (2015), a decrease by almost 17%. Both are quite remarkable downward trends, especially when compared to the average decrease of apartment size in Berlin at around 3.2%. This means that each dwelling unit was downsized gradually, corresponding to the sale of dwelling units before beginning renovation or to the transfer of whole buildings to another property owner or real estate agency. This implies also the individualisation of living units in response to the upgrading of social structures and the urbanisation of residents' life style.

In terms of reasons for this increase, GSW, in its housing report, cites a severe shortage of available housing owing to an influx of people in the wake of the

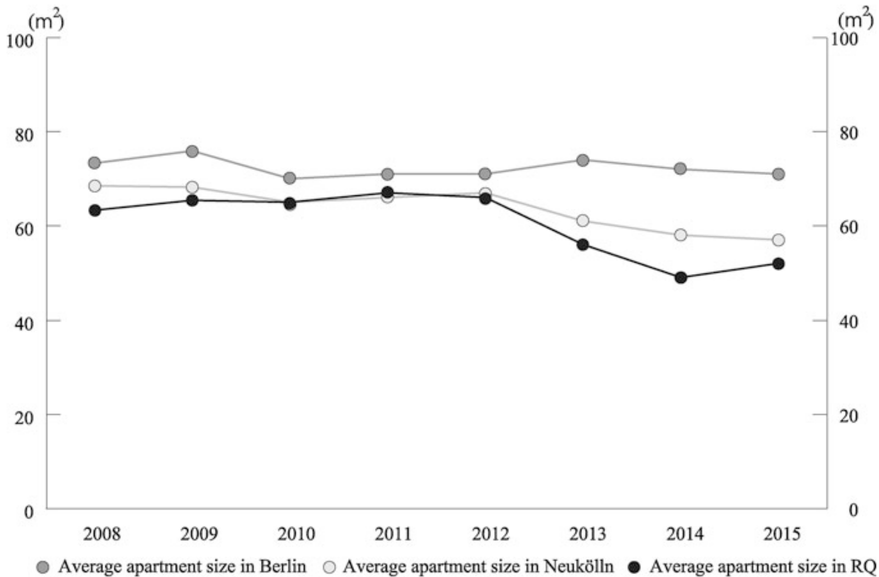

Fig. 3.5 Growth of the average apartment size in the Reuter Quarter. *Source* GSW (2008–2015)

increased appeal of Berlin and to a lack of new housing construction, as well (GSW 2014). According to statistical data from GSW's yearly reports, the share of vacant housing for rent in Berlin decreased steadily from 5.2% in 2006 to 1.8% in 2013. The percentage of available housing in the RQ increased between 2006 and 2008 from 3.6% to 4.3% and then decreased to 2.8% in 2010 (data for later years was not available). In Neukölln, the vacant housing decreased only slightly, from 4.6% in 2006 to 4.3% in 2010 (GSW 2008–2014). This trend may also be recognized as part of tendencies which were manifested in the whole city of Berlin, as the city experienced a decrease in the percentage of unoccupied dwellings from 5.2% (2006) to 1.8% (2013).

The population of the northern Neukölln district (Fig. 3.1) has increased by 6% from 119,468 (2006) to 126,786 (2011), whereas the population in the RQ has increased only slightly, by 1.3% from 18,697 (2006) to 18,939 (2011; TOPOS 2011). The population of Berlin over the same period increased by 1.9% from 3,340,905 (2006) to 3,404,382 (2011; GSW 2012). Furthermore, the rate of turnover among tenants in the quarter is high, and the rent prices for new rental contracts tend to rise from year to year. This is quite similar to what Haase et al. (2012) called transitory urbanities in the process of socio-demographic diversification.

The purpose of the study by TOPOS (2011) on the changes to the social structure in the Neukölln district was to look at what kind of restructuring might be expected in the future, focusing mainly on the gentrification tendencies from 2006 onwards. The households examined in this research were divided into four different categories according to age, income, education, occupation, and children: 'elderly'

meant that one person of the household was born before 1950; ‘pioneers’ were those born after 1970, who had completed post-secondary or higher education, whose income was below €1350 per month, who had no more than one child in the household, and who pursued an academic or artistic occupation; ‘gentrifiers’ were born after 1960, were well educated (post-secondary or higher educational attainment), received an income above €1750, and pursued an academic or artistic occupation; and ‘others’ included other households who did not fit into the other three categories (TOPOS 2011).

The study showed a high increase in the number of pioneers and gentrifiers since 2008 in all of the districts examined in Neukölln. In the RQ, in particular, a high number of gentrifiers was already present before 2008 (24%), and this percentage was even higher in the group of residents who had moved in since 2008 (33%; Fig. 3.6). According to the study, a significant social upgrading process could be observed in the RQ, and a transformation in the social and economic dimensions had emerged in the last half of the 2000s in the RQ but not in other parts of northern Neukölln (TOPOS 2011).

The social changes taking place in the quarter were linked to the increasing renovation and construction in the area. As can be seen in Fig. 3.7, there are many buildings constructed before the Second World War in the RQ, but apartments in these buildings were valued lower in the housing market because they were neither refurbished nor modernised. Many of the buildings remained unrenovated during the

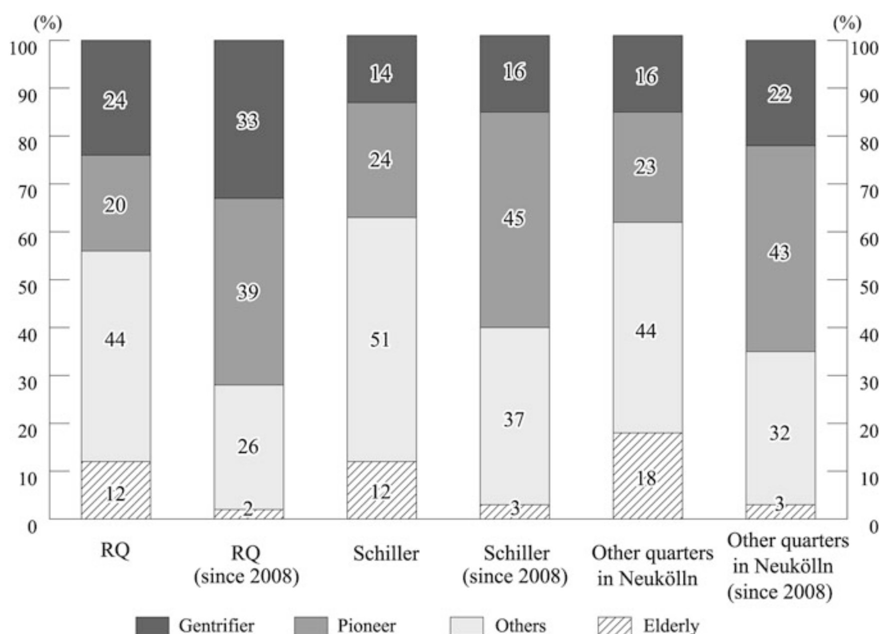

Fig. 3.6 Characteristics of new residents of the Reuter Quarter before and since 2008. *Source* TOPOS (2011: 41)

Fig. 3.7 Year of construction of buildings in the Reuter Quarter. *Source* SenStadt (1992)

1990s and into the 2000s. However, according to TOPOS (2011), about 20–25% of all the apartments in the RQ were renovated between 2006 and 2011, leading to an average increase of about 10% in rent prices. The author's own research from 2013 to 2014 showed that almost 50% of all residential buildings in the quarter had been renovated during the last few years, and on every research trip into the streets of the quarter, several buildings could be found that were being renovated at that moment.

A famous quote by Jacobs (1961: 188) often referred to in the literature says that 'new ideas must use old buildings'. The RQ is indeed a quarter with a high density of old buildings erected between 1870 and 1945 (QM Reuterplatz 2015). These are the so-called *Altbau* in Germany (Fig. 3.7); and because these were under renovation from 2006 onwards, they garnered a great deal of attention as good places to live, with their high ceilings and window frames, wooden flooring, and a sense of luxury compared to most post-war housing. They were used not only for residential purposes but also for new businesses and services as well.

Figure 3.8 shows the spatial distribution of buildings sorted by use according to my own definitions, with old uses as well as ethnic uses (Fig. 3.8a), artistic uses,

Fig. 3.8 Spatial distribution of buildings according to their uses. *Source* SenStadt (2014) own research

Fig. 3.9 Outside appearance of a new retail shop. *Source* Mariko Ikeda

new retail capital, and new types of services, as well as cafés and bars (Fig. 3.8b). Most of the retail shops and other service facilities are on the ground floor at the front of the buildings where they are easily accessible for passers-by and tourists (Fig. 3.9). Figure 3.8 shows some significant contrasts in geographical distributions and built environments according to type of use. The uses on the upper map show a high concentration along two major streets, Kottbusser Damm and Sonnenallee, whereas on the lower map one can find the agglomerations of old buildings on side streets, such as Weser, Friedel, and Sander streets. In comparison with Fig. 3.7, some typical features can be observed, such as a preference for old buildings put to new uses. By way of contrast, the ethnic-related shops tend to use post-war buildings. This tendency, observed in the RQ through a field survey, indicates especially that the commercial transformation under the gentrification process displays different tendencies from the formulaic gentrification process that involves 'displacement of ethnic and social minorities', which has usually been emphasised in previous gentrification studies (Smith 1996; Wyly and Hammel 2004; Häußermann et al. 2008; Holm 2011).

Figure 3.10 shows the number of renovated buildings according to their function.[2] It shows that around 50% of new uses were located in buildings that had been

[2]I defined the state of the renovation of each building in the RQ through my own observations of the outer appearance. Observations were conducted repeatedly over a long period of time (two

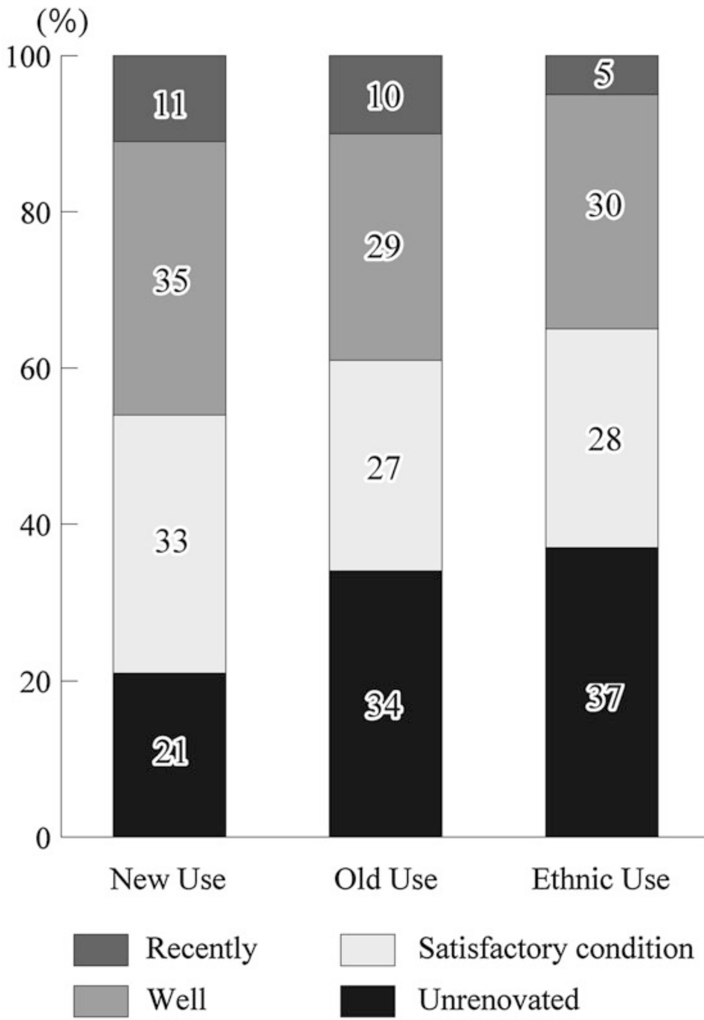

Fig. 3.10 Situation of outer appearance of buildings sorted by its functions in the Reuter Quarter in 2013–2014. *Source* Own research

(Footnote 2 continued)

years) to record recent changes. In unclear cases, I compared my own observations to photographs from 2008 available from Google street view.

Table 3.1 Establishments sorted by types of uses in the Reuter Quarter in 2013–2014

Artistic use (59)[a]	New retail capital and catering (123)	New types of services (58)
Atelier Studio Gallery Cafés and bars (20)[b]	Boutiques Toy shops Second hand shops (books, clothing, furniture, etc.) Record shops Restaurants, organic and ethnic food, wine business Cafés and bars (47)	Co-working offices Hair salons Yoga venues Tattoo parlours Hostels Bicycle repair and rental shops Small firms and agencies

Source Own research
[a]Numbers in parenthesis show the absolute number of uses in each category
[b]Cafe and bar especially offering artistic and cultural events

renovated in recent years and that only 20% of new uses were located in unrenovated buildings. A relatively high number of old and ethnic uses were located in unrenovated buildings, as well. Therefore, the previous figures indicate the spatial differentiation and segregation of old, ethnic, and new uses as confronted with the transformations relating to preferences for geographical location and the built environment of each use, rather than direct displacement.

The indicators of change, labelled ‘new uses’ in the previous figure, were categorized into three types: artistic uses; new retail capital, including bars and cafés; and new types of services. I have defined these categories as shown in Table 3.1. This work partly quotes Rettberg (2011), who observed the various uses in the RQ until 2008 and announced the revitalisation process of this area. However, because I wanted to distinguish between artists and other creatives, I redefined these types into other categories, adding some typical features of various establishments observed in the RQ.

Rettberg (2011: 92) used the category ‘creative economy’ as defined by the administration of Berlin. Apart from artists, galleries, and designers, this category includes media production, the book market, software development, telecommunication, etc. This section focuses on artists’ ateliers and galleries because, especially in the RQ, many of these are open to the public at certain times and are often found on the street level where they are visible to other people; therefore, they have an effect on the outside, whereas media offices, web designers, etc. are usually not open to the public. Because of this visibility, these artistic uses contribute to a certain image of the quarter. However, in order to use Rettberg’s data for comparison, I have sorted the uses in the RQ according to her definitions in addition to my own categorisations. Additionally, I counted the cafés and bars that provide space for artistic uses, such as live performances and exhibitions, as artistic use (Fig. 3.11). Cafés and bars without this feature fall into the retail and catering category. Furthermore, I have noted the building conditions, and apart from artistic and new uses, I have also examined old or traditional and ethnic uses.

The two categories used by Rettberg (2011) are (1) *creative economy*, which encompasses atelier, studio, gallery, boutique, and record shops, as well as small

Fig. 3.11 Inside appearance of a Polish second hand bookshop. *Source* Mariko Ikeda

firms or agencies related to the creative industry, e.g. printing or software; and (2) *scene gastronomy*, which refers to trendy bars, cafés, and restaurants (Rettberg 2011). As Fig. 3.12 shows, there was a dramatic increase in scene gastronomy establishments between 2008 and 2013, whereas the number of firms included in the 'creative economy' category slightly decreased.

I also looked at the year when every business in each category was established. Artistic uses were the first types of new uses in the RQ, starting in 2003. After that, bars, restaurants, and shops opened, especially in 2008 and 2009, and in recent years new types of services have dominated the newly opened businesses (Fig. 3.13). Additionally, after the first alternative-scene bars were launched in the district in 2006, northern Neukölln was featured in the local media *Zitty* as early as March 2008 to portray the new trendy nightlife district (Boese 2008). At that time, the RQ retained some prestige as a place that still was a *Geheimtipp* (i.e. insiders' tips), but shortly before its exposure in the local media, its positive image in the housing market as a new, trendy area had already been cited as having an influence on the slight increase in rent prices in northern Neukölln in 2007 (GSW 2008). Since then, the newly opened bars and restaurants have already had a significant impact on the RQ and the neighbouring areas, which have turned into a nightlife tourist destination for youth that is well-known both inside and outside of Germany (Posener 2011).

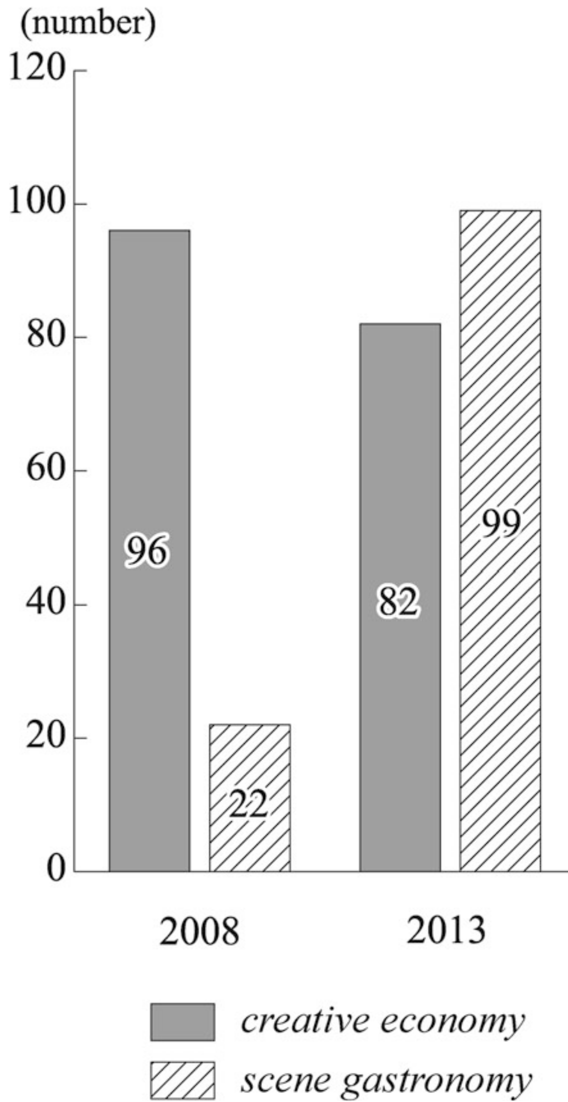

Fig. 3.12 Changes in the number of *creative economy* and *scene gastronomy* in 2008 and 2013. *Source* Data from 2008 by Rettberg (2011); data from 2013—own research

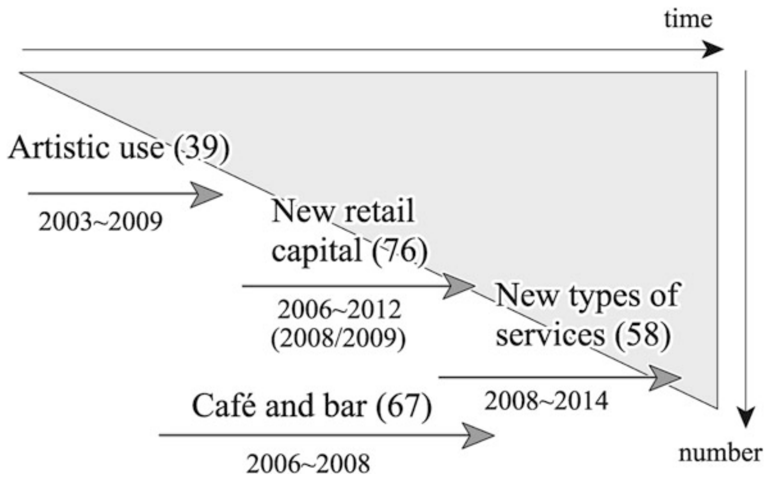

Fig. 3.13 Years of establishment of uses in each category. *Source* Own research. *Notes* Numbers in parenthesis show the absolute number of uses in each category in 2014

Location Factors and Changes in the Quarter from the Perspective of Local Actors

To add a qualitative element to the quantitative findings of the previous part of this chapter, I conducted semi-structured interviews with several artists and shop owners (bars and cafés, featured exhibitions, and cultural events) throughout the quarter. All of the interviews were held in studios or shops at the street level, so all of them were visible and partly accessible to bypassers on the street.

The first group of interviewees were artists between 30 and 60 years of age, who either worked independently or shared their work spaces with up to two other people. A main reason for all of them in choosing the RQ as a living and/or working place was the special atmosphere of the area, which they described as 'bohemian', 'lively', or 'alternative'. They regarded the place as a great source of inspiration for their works with its multicultural and 'laid-back' character. Another reason was the proximity to the famous 'counterculture' district of Kreuzberg, which has a direct border with the RQ, also known as 'Kreuzkölln' (Fig. 3.2).[3] One artist mentioned that another reason, apart from the affordable prices for living and working space, is the very active and well connected community of artists and cultural institutions and an active citizenship like that of Kreuzberg. Others stated that they had moved away from other boroughs, such as Prenzlauer Berg, which underwent gentrification in the 2000s (Krätke and Borst 2000; Häußermann and Kapphan 2002;

[3]Because of its proximity to and the cultural vibrancy of Kreuzberg, the northern part of Neukölln is sometimes referred to as 'Kreuzkölln'. This common moniker is used not only in the media but also by real estate companies for advertising their apartments in an area with a 'trendy image'.

Bernt et al. 2013), or Kreuzberg, which is increasingly changing, to more affordable places inside the inner-city, to which the RQ until recently belonged.

All of the interviewed artists had found studios and ateliers under the auspices of the earlier mentioned *Zwischennutzungsagentur*—that is to say, they had all moved into previously empty commercial spaces under favourable rent conditions. At the time of the interview, all of them were paying relatively low rents (5–10 €/m^2) and had experienced no or low price increases in rent during the past few years, even though in one case, the ownership of the building had changed frequently. From this, we can conclude that so far, the long-term users of studios or galleries are only partially or not at all affected by rent increases.

The interviews also included a question regarding the impact of tourists on the work and income of the interviewees. All of the artists stated that tourists and other visitors appreciate their work when they visit or linger at their studios. Nonetheless, it also became clear that tourists had only a small impact on the interviewed artists' income because they work mostly for direct clients, they have no works on display that are for sale, and the visitors are not art buyers. All of the interviewees had participated in *48 Stunden Neukölln*, the art event mentioned earlier, which is regarded as a good way to establish contact with locals and visitors from other parts of the city alike, and to be exposed to possible new clients.

Compared to the findings of Rettberg (2011), there was almost no change in the number of artistic uses in 2013. Many of the artists, including all of the interviewees, had come to the quarter before 2008 and have stayed in it until today, although some places have disappeared from the area, and some newcomers have moved in during 2015.

The second group of interviewees were shop owners and service providers: for example, bookshops, specialty food shops, or record shops; bicycle and guitar repair, hostels, etc. The shops were all small businesses with a single private owner. The number of employees ranged between one and three, and they were between 18 and 45 years old. Because these businesses were opened between 2010 and 2014, the rent prices were already higher than those for the artists' studios, ranging between €9 and €11/m^2. The motivation for one shop owner in coming to the quarter was to avoid the higher rents in other districts and to look for an affordable place. Another shop owner had already been living in the quarter before opening a business, having originally moved here from Prenzlauer Berg where rent prices had become too high. One interview showed that owing to the influx of artists and other creatives, some retailers and service providers who cater to this group of people had also moved their stores or had opened branches in the quarter: for example, there was a record shop for DJs. One service provider, a repair shop for guitars, whose owner was a musician himself, had already moved to the quarter in 2007 because of the cultural scene of nearby Kreuzberg. All of the interviewees, except for the guitar repair shop, had participated in the *48 Stunden Neukölln* with live music, literature readings, or art exhibitions.

The last group of interviewees consisted of artistic bar and café owners. The two chosen establishments distinguished themselves from normal bars and cafés by either a regular cultural programme, such as live music, movie screenings, and

poetry events, or the inclusion of a gallery space. These places were owned and run cooperatively by two or more persons and had opened very recently, in 2013 and 2014. They also paid higher rents than the artists (€11/m^2). The owners were already living in Neukölln or the neighbouring Kreuzberg, and they stated that they had opened their businesses because of the already established cultural scene and their proximity to the inner-city as well as their own living environment. Apart from their own cultural programmes, they also participated in *48 Stunden Neukölln*.

Conclusions

Several points have been drawn concerning the RQ from this study. First, the restructuring with upgrading in various dimensions has been observed since the latter half of the 2000s in the RQ. Especially since about 2000, the *Quartiersmanagement*, subsidised by the EU (ERDF), along with other federal and regional public institutions (SF), have been implemented in the RQ, focusing in particular on the issue of the improvement of the neighbourhood management by aiding with integration of migrants from differing backgrounds and working on solutions for the vacancy problem. The *Zwischennutzungsagentur* established in 2005, partly in cooperation with the *Quartiersmanagement*, began using vacant spaces as resources for artistic, cultural, and creative purposes, thus providing opportunities for people who need space for their expression. In this sense, Rettberg's (2011) conclusion that the RQ has undergone a sort of a revitalisation process is right to a certain degree. Indeed, my own interviews clarified that a more recent influx of artists had occurred through the activities of the *Zwischennutzungsagentur* between 2005 and 2007. The artists can be seen as participants in the 'revitalising process' in the RQ.

However, as some of the statistical data indicate, the area entered another phase of transformation in this multidimensional upgrading: the social structure changed as the average rental cost of apartments almost doubled, even as the average apartment size was downsized, and gentrification has greatly increased since 2007 also, according to a previous household survey. On the whole, these developments point to residential changes as dwelling units or whole buildings are sold to new property owners or real estate agencies, and living units are individualized in response to the upgraded social structure and residents' urban lifestyles. In short, the RQ has undergone gentrification since the end of the 2000s. Though at first it appeared to be revitalisation without gentrification (Rettberg 2011), the area was clearly upgraded in the social, economic, and structural dimensions during the following years. Moreover, a sizeable community of artists was already present in 1995 before the *Quartiersmanagement* was begun and the *Zwischennutzungsagentur* established. Therefore, artists were the initiators of urban restructuring in the RQ.

Second, under the gentrification process in the RQ, functional upgrading, including commercial change, has greatly affected the neighbourhood changes. With the emergence of new uses for space, especially in terms of cafés and bars,

which are also related to artistic and cultural activities, the RQ has turned into a ‘place to be’, which is attractive not only for new creatives and urban entrepreneurs but also for tourists. The interviews with the owners of new retail capital-ventures, along with additional research, showed that most of them came to the quarter in subsequent years, especially in 2008 and 2009, and that they were, even at first, paying higher rents than the artists who had come before them. Just a little later or even at about the same time, new services arrived in the quarter as well. In the meantime, a much stronger development began: a nightlife district came into exsistence that caters to mainly young and hip urbanites. According to the abovementioned figures and from my own observation, it is almost certainly true that the opening of new bars and restaurants almost every month has changed the quarter more than anything else—from a quiet, partly abandoned area in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, to a lively and bustling quarter, especially at night.

Nowadays, gentrification is one of the best-known academic terms that one might see in a newspaper or hear in one’s daily life at any time, especially in Berlin. This term has become familiar to the public not only because of the residential issues and demographic changes, but also because people are afraid of losing their familiar living environment: disappearance of their usual cafes or bars in a quarter would matter to the public more than the loss of artists moving out of the area. Artists have played a significant role in the gentrification process of the RQ, especially in making the quarter appealing to new retail capital; new types of services; and cafés, bars and restaurants, which attracted tourists and eventually turned it into a nightlife tourism destination. This phase has related closely to the neighbourhood changes as well.

Transformations taking place inside the district of Neukölln and in the RQ cannot be seen as isolated from transformations taking place in the whole city. It can be argued that the recent transformation of one particular quarter was based on certain coincident conditions. First, the RQ had many vacant stores and affordable apartments for rent because of the general economic situation in Berlin after reunification and particularly the situation in Neukölln with its negative reputation as a ‘problem quarter’. Second, with the improvement efforts through the *Quartiersmanagement* and the privately initiated *Zwischennutzungsagentur* since the middle of the 2000s, the quarter was revived bit by bit and began to attract more people, especially artists and other creatives. Third, with the ongoing upgrading and subsequent gentrification of other inner-city districts such as Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg and Kreuzberg, Neukölln, the RQ especially—because of its inner-city location and proximity to the neighbouring Kreuzberg—has caught the attention of newly arrived artists and students since the second half of the 2000s. They were subsequently followed by urban entrepreneurs and creatives from other boroughs of Berlin. Fourth, a renovation boom was observed in the quarter that has lasted until today, and rent prices for newly let spaces have increased dramatically. In this sense, artists have played a significant role as initiators of the gentrification and touristification processes, as distinguished from other social groups and other types of urban entrepreneurs and employees engaged in creative and cultural industries.

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Author Biography

Mariko Ikeda is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Tsukuba in Japan and recently finished her Ph.D. at the Faculty of Human Geography. Her academic interests are arts and artists in urban spaces in the urban transformation process, focusing on gentrification and large-scale waterfront planning in Berlin; cultural squatting and its conflicts with touristification in the former East Berlin; temporary entrepreneurship in the cultural sector, such as music clubs; and domestic research in Japan pertaining to such issues as the aging society and changes in the adaptive strategies of Japanese Brazilians due to the change in immigration policy in Japan.

Chapter 4
Do Artists Need Artistic Quarters? Spatial Preferences and Choices of Artists in Krakow

Jarosław Działek and Monika Murzyn-Kupisz

Introduction

Many urban imaginaries include the idea of artistic quarters as specific parts of cities fascinating to 'average' urbanites. They often revolve around romanticized historical myths of bohemian communities representing transgressive countercultures with links to particular liminal locations within the city (Moore 1998; Wedd et al. 2001; Murawska-Muthesius 2012). The emergence and development of such areas is a reflection of the transformations of the social position, perceptions and roles of artists in society that have been taking place since Early Modern times, and in particular since the 19th century (Rothenberg 2014), leading to changes in the organization of artists' residential and work spaces. Unlike a few centuries ago, contemporary representatives of most artistic genres to a lesser extent depend on the patronage of the political and religious elites and to a growing extent participate in the unrestrained cultural market, where new types of intermediary institutions between creatives and their diverse clientele emerge (Wedd et al. 2001; Markusen 2006; Kelly and O'Hagan 2007; Charpy 2009; Traversier 2009; Murawska-Muthesius 2012). Just as the artistic styles, working conditions and needs of artists change, so does the city, its built environment, social milieu and economy, of which artists are an inseparable part. Artistic quarters, like other parts of the urban organism, evolve and transform (Wedd et al. 2001; Zukin and Braslow 2011; Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014b). They emerge, develop, disappear or

J. Działek (✉)
Institute of Geography and Spatial Management, Jagiellonian University,
ul. Gronostajowa 7, 30-387 Kraków, Poland
e-mail: jarek.dzialek@uj.edu.pl

M. Murzyn-Kupisz
Department of Economic and Social History, Cracow University of Economics,
ul. Rakowicka 27, 31-510 Kraków, Poland
e-mail: murzynm@uek.krakow.pl

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lose their artistic vitality and move from artistic alternative to the main stream, and often from a focus on artistic production to a dominance of the consumption and entertainment function, or reinvent themselves and maintain their position as epicentres of artistic life (Murzyn-Kupisz 2012; Ambrosino 2013). Their transformations are a result of the competition for urban space between artists, other creatives, residents, commercial actors, visitors and local authorities. Despite these changes, it seems that for many decades one has expected to find a similar set of economic and symbolic factors underpinning the intra-urban migrations of artists.

Although there has always been a considerable historical and contemporary interest in the processes of concentration of artistic life in cities, the concept of an artistic quarter remains fuzzy. Such difficulties coincide with definitional ambiguities linked to overlapping terms such as artistic, cultural or creative, quarters, districts or clusters, with some researchers, such as Debroux (2013b), attempting to impose some conceptual order among them. With regard to artistic quarters, and focusing mainly on visual artists, Debroux distinguishes (after Lorente 2008) three salient characteristics: concentration of artists reflected in the location of artists' studios; clusters of cultural infrastructure (galleries, museums, art schools); and presence of art in public spaces. Stern and Seifert (2010: 263) speak of concentration of resident artists, non-profit and commercial cultural providers and cultural participants, referring to clusters 'that emerge organically as a result of grassroots activities by local residents, artists, cultural workers, and entrepreneurs'. Montgomery (2003), in turn, pays more attention to the possibility of development of cultural quarters which, although they may be based on naturally evolving clusters of artistic presence, are nonetheless designated, supported and promoted by public authorities. He brings attention to a set of three overlapping characteristics of such areas, similar though not identical to those already mentioned: activities (in this case associated mainly with the presence of cultural venues and events as well as the evening economy and cafe culture rather than the presence of artists), built form (understood as a 'suitable' urban morphology conducive to cultural production and consumption), and meaning (unique identity, stemming, at least partly, from an area's unique history and heritage). All, but especially the last mentioned feature of a cultural quarter, is however a product of long-term, organic evolution of urban space and is hard to achieve by planned, administrative means. A more general definition is proposed by Traversier (2009: 10), for whom an artistic quarter is 'an inner city zone of concentration of artists' places of residence and concentration of practices of cultural production and consumption'. Yet also this author, taking into account the multiplicity of stakeholders who may refer to the concept, adds that the artistic label is bestowed on an area by different groups of urban actors. These may include artistic professionals themselves but also other residents, tourists, creative entrepreneurs, developers and local authorities, who may use this brand to their own advantage, often not in line with artists' wishes. As follows, some scholars claim (Mathews 2008) that the narratives of the quarters in question and their artistic past may be of greater importance than the objective presence of artists in an area.

To sum up the discussion on the concept, we may state that in contrast to planned cultural quarters or creative districts, artistic quarters seem to be a form of more organic concentrations of different forms of artists' presence which are visible in the urban space to such an extent that in the common perception they are perceived as unique. The three key distinguishing features of such a quarter would be: concentration of artistic life, its visibility, and an artistic image.

What forms of artists' presence are we referring to, though? Historically speaking, from the artists' perspective, such quarters tended to be more a place of overlapping functions, fulfilling both their private and professional needs and contained within a relatively small urban area, comprising a few streets or urban interiors within walking distance of each other (Charpy 2009). The development of urban transport 'enabled artists to live, work and socialize in different part of the cities'. Therefore, in later periods artistic quarters 'were not necessarily places where artists lived together, but locations where a highly charged social life could be vigorously pursued' (Wedd et al. 2001: 9). As follows, in exploring artistic quarters today we may encounter different configurations of artistic clusters creating a complex network within the city (Brennan-Horley 2010). They may comprise artists' places of residence and places of artistic production or consumption (Scott 2004; Debroux 2013a), connected with places of leisure, reflecting specific life-styles and the quest for inspirations, and fostering professional relationships, with dominance of some aspects specific to a given area.

The second key factor distinguishing artistic quarters is the visibility of artistic life there. Various expressions of artistic presence include artists' studios and workshops, art in public spaces, cultural institutions and their edifices, both private and public, and advertisements and posters promoting cultural events. This does not mean however, that such obvious expressions of artistic life constitute the essence of an artistic quarter—quite the contrary—as an iceberg they would not be meaningful without many places, often invisible to passers-by, with lively, not necessarily showcased artistic activity.

Visibility, in turn, is important in the sense that it builds the image of an area, and confirms perceptions of its artistic life. This image may be deliberately developed by artists' groups or collectives, though most often it is conceived and promoted by representatives of other stakeholder groups: public authorities or other economic actors from the tourism, media, construction or real estate sectors (Montgomery 2003). Even in the early days of tourism as an increasingly mass phenomenon, in the 19th century, artistic quarters and the bohemian aura surrounding them became tourist attractions profiled in guide books and drew in admirers of the 'urban spectacle'. Since the 20th century the image of artistic quarters has been shaped by subsequent generations of the media (Currid and Williams 2010), which inscribe them into global tourism routes as a part of the 'experience economy', in which unique feelings and emotions are the most valuable tourism product (Herbert 1996; Lorentzen 2009). New narratives surrounding artistic quarters are developed in order to attract those who want to 'touch the secret' of artistic life. Parts of cities with a positive artistic image are also likely to

attract new residents, hence the increasingly frequent cooperation between artists and real-estate developers in urban (re-)development (Harris 2012; Zhong 2016).

In this context, the main research question posed in this chapter is to what extent artists really need quarters referred to as artistic. What is their attitude towards such areas, given that their presence is often instrumentalised by other actors and that in practical terms the ever-increasing mass tourism and commercial pressure make the functioning of this professional group within areas perceived as artistic increasingly difficult? What factors may convince them to remain or move to such areas, or, on the contrary, push them away or make them unlikely to select a place to live or work within clusters of urban artistic life? Do artists' spatial preferences differ depending on the discipline of art they represent, their life cycle and career stage? Ultimately, if it is not necessarily artists who desire them most, who finds artistic quarters particularly useful?

The Diverse Geography of Artists

Research of artists' activities in urban space might encounter yet another challenge linked to the fact that representatives of particular artistic genres, depending on their specificity, might be present in the urban space in diverse ways. Their needs in respect of the links and relations between their places of residence, creation and showcasing of their artistic efforts might be different. Their creative activities might equally to varying degrees be visible in the urban space and shape the artistic image of some quarters. Different modes of artistic production—the more individual (e.g. in the case of visual artists, writers, designers and architects) and those more dependent on artistic collaboration and team work (e.g. actors, musicians, dancers)—characterize the two main artistically creative professional groups usually distinguished: creative artists and performing artists (Towse 2010; Markusen 2014). These might translate into differing degrees of significance attached by each of these groups to cooperation with other artists and cultural institutions and have an impact on the need to cluster in artistic quarters.

According to Gravereau (2013) visual artists tend to be most visible in the physical space of artistic quarters through the presence of their studios and workshops, street art, participation in cultural events, performances or opening up their studios to the general public. This translates into ongoing interest in this group of artists on the part of many researchers and into their dominance in the urban discourse on the development of cultural quarters and urban regeneration, as well as public policies which tend to focus on studio spaces for visual artists and designers or new exhibition spaces and museums of contemporary art, whereas spaces for performing arts, especially smaller, less prestigious rehearsal venues within theatre or performing arts quarters are supported less often, with some exceptions such as 'Quartier des spectacles' in Montreal (Viel et al. 2012). Even visual artists may still have diverse needs, however. For example, the desirable features of more traditional painters' or sculptors' studios might be different than those required by

multimedia and performance-oriented visual artists. Such artists usually work individually, though sometimes may create artistic groups and collectives. Representatives of the visual arts, like designers and architects, tend to have separate places of residence, creation (workshops and studios) and consumption of their artistic efforts (art galleries, museums, buildings erected in particular locations), although for economic reasons some artists do live and work in the same place, which serves a dual function.

Performing artists seem to be more connected with the institutionalized art world and cultural institutions, where they usually work collectively. In their case, the place of artistic production is often also the venue of its simultaneous cultural consumption in direct contact with audiences, whether larger 'mainstream' professional establishments (theatres, concert halls) or smaller, independent premises such as artistic cafés, bars or night clubs (Lloyd 2010; Hracs 2011; Cummins-Russell and Rantisi 2012). In addition, although many such artistic activities take place indoors, performances may also be held in public spaces (e.g. street theatre, open air concerts, buskers) and thus contribute not only to the visual aspects of the urban space but also to the soundscape of the city (Yang and Kang 2005). Their artistic work also takes place in a host of other places (e.g. rehearsal places, recording studios) less visible in the urban space.

Writers, poets, playwrights and the other literary professions mark their presence in a different way again, as perhaps the least visible group of artists, usually (though not always) creating individually in the quiet of the home (Markusen and Johnson 2006), while the products of their creativity are most often 'consumed' non-locally. For example, publishing houses, bookshops and libraries are usually not a direct expression of the local literary creativity, with the few exceptions of places and institutions which specialize in publishing and promoting local writers at literary events. Nonetheless, like representatives of other artistic genres, literary creatives search for places where they can exchange thoughts or discuss their work. The offices of authors' associations or less formal groups with connections to artistic cafes can fulfill this function. The latter may as a consequence gain broader recognition from 'organic' depiction in literary works, by which literary creatives can indirectly play a particularly important role in the creation of the artistic image of certain quarters—immortalising the artistic atmosphere of some areas despite the fact that personally they are not as visible in the urban space. References to artistic quarters are just as often to be found in other products of artistic creativity such as paintings, lyrics or films; literary creatives are thus not the only artistic group capable of such immortalization.

Reasons for Concentration of Artists in Artistic Quarters

Artists are usually associated with the urban environment, which is believed to provide them with access to a broad pool of potential customers and artistic freedom (Markusen 2006, 2014; Kelly and O'Hagan 2007; Florida and Jackson 2010).

Why might artists want to cluster in certain areas? Artists' intra-urban spatial choices are influenced by a host of factors, which are connected with the diverse needs of representatives of particular genres or artistic styles as mentioned above, but also with their individual needs arising from the stage of life at which they find themselves, their family situation, the degree of advancement of their artistic career, and the financial resources at their disposal—inherited or obtained thanks to their status in the art world. Also of importance is the organization of cultural markets, and the possibilities arising from clustering of potential clients, institutions or firms which employ artists. Their decisions are likewise to a large extent an outcome of limitations imposed by other users of urban space (Markusen 2006; Traversier 2009).

The factors so far described in the academic literature which convince artists to concentrate in specific areas seem mainly to be derived from and relate to the needs and experiences of the group of artistic creatives most often studied, i.e. visual artists. They can, however, also be applied to or at least tested on the representatives of other genres. Among such factors, those most frequently mentioned are considerations of an economic, aesthetic and symbolic nature (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014b). New spaces in the city are usually explored by younger artists, who have to 'get by' on low, irregular incomes and search for art studios, rehearsal rooms or performing venues in cheaper locations (Comunian et al. 2010; Vivant 2010; Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012). Consequently they locate in areas providing underused or vacant spaces, at lower rental prices, often on a short-term basis. They frequently move into indeterminate spaces with the potential for adaptation to new functions (Cole 1987; Ley 2003; Lloyd 2004; Groth and Corijn 2005; Shaw 2005; Lawton et al. 2012; Pixová 2013). These are usually liminal spaces located relatively close to the city centre and traditional cultural institutions, artistic schools, and performance and exhibition spaces (Wedd et al. 2001; Shaw 2005; Jackson 2006; Markusen 2006; Bellavance and Latouche 2008; Pratt 2009; Ambrosino 2013).

Although economic considerations might play a decisive role in attracting artists to degraded historic neighbourhoods or post-industrial areas, their spatial choices are likewise an expression of their aesthetic needs reflected in their search for an interesting cultural landscape (Drake 2003; Montgomery 2003; Markusen 2014) and a specific, 'authentic' atmosphere linked with working-class populations or ethnic minorities (Bain 2003; Jackson 2006; Smit 2011; Ryberg et al. 2013), as well as with access to certain sites, shops and services referred to as 'bohemian amenities' (Lloyd 2004; Woldoff et al. 2011). Artists often search for a utopian authenticity that has little to do with the real lifestyles of the original residents of areas in which they settle. Artistic creatives often use this 'authenticity' to their own advantage, to built an artistic career or to attract 'bobos' (Brooks 2000) and other creative-class customers, usually without or with few benefits to former residents (Zukin 2008; Pratt 2009; Harris 2012; Murdoch et al. 2015). And conversely, the inflow of more wealthy gentrifiers attracted by the artistic atmosphere often provokes protests from the pioneering artists lamenting the loss of the original

'authenticity' of the neighbourhood, and can push them to search for new 'authentic' spaces in the city (Jackson 2006; Ocejo 2011).

Making use of new urban spaces is not only the preserve of artists being displaced from more central urban quarters or former artistic areas by stronger urban actors (Zukin and Braslow 2011; Pixová 2013). It may also be a conscious choice and an expression of a symbolic contestation of middle-class norms and rejection of traditions of older generations of artists and former artistic styles reflected in artists' spatial choices (Wedd et al. 2001; Jackson 2006). The need for creative freedom and transgression, to develop new, avant-garde artistic endeavours and protest against the aesthetic and political values of elites or middle classes prompts artists to search for places that are accepting non-standard lifestyles (subcultures, minorities) (Florida 2002; Bain 2003; Ley 2003; Cameron and Coaffee 2005; Markusen 2006, 2014). Such new territories constitute a 'scene' and a 'stage' on which individual and group identity is built and expressed (Lloyd 2004; Lange 2006; Zukin 2008). Solidarity within the artistic community in a given quarter is expressed in joint endeavours undertaken by artists (associations, joint art studios, co-working spaces) or the emergence of less formal meeting places such as cafes, artist-run galleries and theatres (Lange 2006; Traversier 2009). According to some researchers, artists never work alone, even if they create individually (Markusen 2006; Ambrosino 2013). They need other artists with whom to exchange experiences, to confront their own creativity, to support and motivate each other, to create joint artistic projects, and to help each other in finding partners or employers (Farrell 2001; Kelly and O'Hagan 2007; Accominotti 2009). In addition, spatial concentrations of artistic initiatives are believed to facilitate contacts with audiences, for whom it is easier to access artistic output clustered in specific places (Sharon 1979; Markusen 2006).

Fascination with the unique 'local colour' of artistic quarters, which is present among researchers as much as among the general public, may, however, lead to overestimation of artists' propensity to live and work in the city centre or in historic neighbourhoods in need of regeneration. Equating artists to bohemians can 'reinforce a broad public conception that artists are strange, talented creatures who live on a reservation' (Markusen 2013: 579). In reality, artists represent a full range of social positions and lifestyles, ranging from the creative underclass to the artistic elite (Gornostaeva and Campbell 2012; Zhong 2016). This implies that they are not only present in the most visible and popular inner-city clusters of artistic activities, but live and work in various parts of the city (Debroux 2013a), as well as in smaller towns and rural areas, to which they sometimes return after studying in metropolitan centres (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014a; Markusen 2014). Research on creative occupations that goes beyond case studies of creative clusters confirms a great diversity of residential preferences and the significance of 'classic' location factors, which are as important to artists as to 'average', non-artistic urbanites (Lawton et al. 2012). As follows, it seems interesting to explore to what extent artists' preferences are indeed in line with the most popular concepts attributing to them bohemian preferences for artistic quarters.

Research Methods

In order to understand artists' attitudes towards artistic quarters, in this chapter the results of the original questionnaire survey carried out in 2013 among students of artistic majors, and opinions gathered in 2014 and 2015 during in-depth semi-structured interviews with established artists will be used. The study was carried out in Krakow, the second-largest Polish city, its major historic metropolis and a UNESCO world heritage site, perceived as one of the major centres of artistic life in Poland, with many reputed public and private art schools, consequently, despite its second-tier status, often referred to as the 'cultural capital of Poland'. In total, 328 students of the Academy of Fine Arts, Academy of Music, and State Drama School, as well as students majoring in TV and film production, architecture, design and related subjects at other institutions of higher education in Krakow, took part in the survey. This selection of survey population is consistent with the methodology used by the Polish Central Statistical Office and followed by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (MNiSW 2013). The questionnaire results were aggregated to five main groups of artistic majors: architecture (including interior design), design (including fashion and industrial design), music, theatre, and visual arts.

Interviews were carried out with 24 artists representing the above five artistic genres as well as literary creativity, i.e. with writers and poets who do not follow any specific professional training in Poland. To be included in the sample of established artists, interviewees had to fulfill at least one of the following criteria, though in practice they tended to fit with many: to have completed a formal artistic education, to rely on artistic activities as an important source of income, to be a person considered an artist by the artistic milieu in the given genre (e.g. organize professional exhibitions, publish books with professional publishers, participate in performances, be a member of a professional artists' organization) as well as to self-define as an artist or representative of a given artistic genre. The sample included three generations of artists as categorized by the authors—artists who entered the professional cultural market before 1989, those who launched their career in the 1990s, and those who debuted after 2000. Interviewees were also selected to reflect preferences for a range of possible types of built environment and to include residents of different parts of the city. Visual artists were most numerous among them (13 people), followed by architects, designers and literary creatives (3 people in each category), and musicians and actors (1 of each). In addition, data from the National Census from 2002 were used to obtain information on artists' places of residence.[1]

[1]More recent census data is not available, as in the latest national census in Poland (2011) information on professions and their links with places of residence was not gathered.

Artists' Preferences for Bohemian Features and Amenities

In order for us to learn to what extent it is important for artists to live or work in artistic quarters, both students of artistic majors and mature artists were asked to consider a set of bohemian features and bohemian amenities, which, based on the literature review, could be important factors in artists' selection of places of residence and work, prompting them to cluster in artistic quarters. The list of bohemian features included aesthetic and symbolic characteristics linked with an area's artistic atmosphere (proximity of other artists, popularity among artists, an area with artistic potential), tolerance (in respect of non-standard behaviours, lifestyles, subcultures, and ethnic and sexual minorities) and its material and intangible heritage (architectural and cultural uniqueness). Other key features pertained to economic and non-economic factors such as real-estate prices, accessibility and safety. On the list of places and services those which are usually identified as necessary to contemporary bohemians (neo-bohemians), i.e. so-called bohemian amenities (based on Woldoff et al. 2011, modified to the Polish context), included cafés and bars, second-hand bookstores and antique stores, vintage clothing stores, live music venues, dance clubs, tattoo parlours, organic food restaurants, shops, and markets. For the sake of comparison, places which might be important for artistic development (cultural institutions, libraries, art schools) as well as amenities linked with overall quality of life (parks, public spaces) but not necessarily associated with the bohemian image were also added to the list.

The answers given by both future and established artists suggest that they attach greater importance to pragmatic location factors (affordability, accessibility, peace and quiet, safety) over bohemian features (Table 4.1). For young artists the most important features of residential space, listed by more than three-quarters of respondents, were good accessibility by public transport, low rent or purchase prices, safety, and good access to basic services. The significance of such factors was confirmed by their older colleagues. In addition, established artists more often stressed the need for easy pedestrian and bicycle access for mobility within the city. Where the two groups of artists differed from each other was the desire to live close to the city centre, more often cited by arts students, which may be connected with the location of art schools and entertainment venues, which are more important at this stage of their lives.

Moreover, all the control features tested proved to be more important to artists than bohemian features (sic!), which is especially visible in respect of residential preferences. Large usable area was an issue of greater significance for work than for residential choices. Among the key characteristics considered by artists when selecting premises for artistic creation, the need for peace and quiet, which is important in the creative process, should be mentioned. This was visible in the answers of art students and was likewise a recurring theme in conversations with mature artists. The need for quiet, laid-back places to live and work will then, contrary to expectations, make artists more likely to search for places outside

Table 4.1 Artists' preferences in respect of bohemian features

	Art students (N = 318)		Established artists (N = 20)	
Features important in the choice of a place…	of residence	for creation	of residence	for creation
'Bohemian' features				
Artistic atmosphere				
Proximity of other artists	24.2	44.0	25.0	35.0
Artistic potential, still undiscovered by artists	19.2	35.2	50.0	35.0
Popularity with artists, artistic atmosphere	16.0	44.0	10.0	25.0
Architectural and cultural uniqueness				
Interesting architecture, cultural uniqueness	44.7	43.4	70.0	65.0
Historic or contemporary cultural diversity	26.7	32.4	55.0	50.0
Tolerance				
Perceived (in comparison with other quarters and cities) as more tolerant with regard to non-standard behaviours, lifestyles and subcultures	25.5	34.0	40.0	40.0
Perceived (in comparison with other quarters and cities) as tolerant towards minorities (e.g. sexual minorities)	17.9	16.0	25.0	20.0
Economic features				
Low costs of real-estate rental or purchase	82.4	53.5	80.0	70.0
Large (sufficient) size of rented premises	43.4	61.3	65.0	60.0
Accessibility				
Good accessibility by public transport	84.0	61.0	75.0	70.0
Easy mobility on foot or by bike	69.8	47.5	90.0	85.0
Proximity to city centre	71.1	40.9	45.0	50.0
Good accessibility to basic services	75.5	36.8	75.0	40.0
Safety				
Safety	79.9	47.5	85.0	65.0
Peace and quiet	67.6	55.3	80.0	60.0

Source Own research

stereotypically perceived artistic quarters, which are lively and therefore usually more noisy and crowded.

A relatively more desirable bohemian feature, stressed especially by artists of older generations, was a culturally diverse and unique built environment (Montgomery 2003). Appreciation of architectural heritage by a significant group of artists does not, however, go hand in hand with a willingness to share historic quarters with other artists. A significant number of established artists (and a surprisingly small proportion of art students) claim that they would like to live in a quarter with artistic potential still undiscovered by other artists. However, an area's

growing popularity as an artistic quarter is likely to discourage artists from staying in it. This suggests that artists strive to find a balance between economically and aesthetically attractive places of residence and avoid excessive concentrations of artists. This split will be further explored in the following part of the chapter.

Artistic image and concentration of artists in an area may in turn be a factor that entices a greater share of artists, especially younger ones (35–45%), to choose it as a place for pursuing their artistic activities. Such results may point to a greater importance of positive aspects of artistic cooperation emerging in artistic quarters at the beginning of an artistic career—possibilities for establishing connections, co-creation, and sharing experiences (Heebels and van Aalst 2010). It also suggests that many artists wish to live and work in different places. In the case of artistic activities, for some a tolerant atmosphere, especially in respect of non-standard lifestyles, is also important. However, in this case again, such opinions are voiced only by a minority of artists. Again, this goes against the stereotypical view of artists as representatives of subcultural lifestyles and avant-garde artistic trends as such more likely to search for tolerant places. Artists represent a broad range of stances and worldviews, from supporters of subcultural values to petit bourgeois tastes.

In contrast to the lack of visible dissimilarities between artistic cohorts, the differences in bohemian preferences between representatives of different artistic genres are quite striking (Fig. 4.1). Music and drama students are most inclined to live and work in artistic quarters; an artistic atmosphere seems to be of greater significance to their creative process (Table 4.2). It seems, then, that the type of artistic activities artists engage in, which in this case are more often of a group, collaborative character, and the fact that for performing artists the places of artistic production and consumption are usually one and the same, are of importance. In addition, artistic activities in established or potential artistic quarters can provide them access to a larger pool of potential audiences. Young actors and theatre directors are also, in comparison to the other artists' groups analysed, more interested in experiencing an open and tolerant setting. They are likewise to a greater extent attracted by the rich material and intangible heritage of particular areas within the city (the latter feature understandably being of importance to students of architecture as well).

It is surprising that the visual art students surveyed in our study displayed the least bohemian inclinations in their spatial choices, especially in respect of their preferences for parts of the city perceived as artistically lively, even with regard to places of artistic creation, which questions their above-average visibility in the city often assumed in the literature. Even if we take into consideration that for symbolic reasons young artists contest established artistic quarters, still relatively few of them are eager to explore new quarters, or live or work in areas with 'artistic potential', a finding which also questions their traditionally assumed role of urban pioneers inspiring the development of artistic quarters. As follows, our research shows that previous studies may have paid too much attention to a few of the most extrovert members of the visual artist community, who are usually easier to capture in studies. It seems as though general conclusions on spatial preferences of all

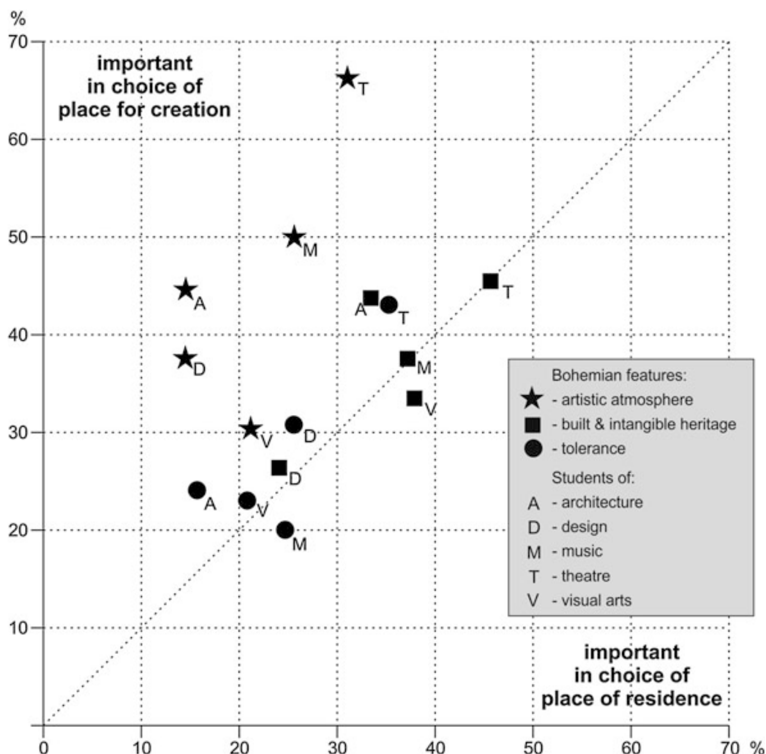

Fig. 4.1 Importance of bohemian features for the spatial choices of Krakow students representing different artistic genres. *Source* Own research

Table 4.2 Importance of artistic atmosphere for the spatial choices of Krakow students representing different artistic genres

Art students of	N	Features important in the choice of places…					
		of residence	for creation	of residence	for creation	of residence	for creation
		Proximity of other artists		Popularity with artists, artistic atmosphere		Artistic potential, still undiscovered by artists	
Architecture	93	15.1	46.2	11.8	49.5	16.1	38.7
Design	30	23.3	26.7	6.7	46.7	13.3	40.0
Music	51	33.3	60.8	25.5	58.8	19.6	31.4
Visual arts	110	24.5	33.6	17.3	30.0	20.9	28.2
Theatre	14	42.9	85.7	14.3	64.3	35.7	50.0

Source Own research

representatives of visual arts are arrived at on the basis of this minority of the most visible individuals, who often combine the roles of artists and culturpreneurs (Lange 2006; Pratt 2009; Harris 2012). In this way, the spatial preferences of other visual artists who are not present in artistic quarters or who represent less 'catchy', more traditional painting or sculptural styles and are not members of avant-garde groups making strong efforts to promote themselves, might be overlooked. Consequently, our research results suggest that in order to assess artists' spatial preferences more objectively, the visual artists to be included in studies of artists should also (or perhaps even mainly) be sourced outside of areas perceived as artistic.

Apart from cafés and bars, most so-called bohemian amenities are not of key importance in making either younger or older artists decide to live in a certain area, and even less so to work in it (Table 4.3). Only one in four or five research participants indicated a wish to use bookshops and antique shops, restaurants and shops with organic or vegetarian food, vintage and second-hand clothing shops or live music clubs in the vicinity of their home. Young artists appreciate parks and other green spaces, both when asked about their preferences in respect of places of residence (four out of five people) and places of artistic creation (almost half of them). The preferences of older artists are little different from those of their younger counterparts. The only major difference in opinion is linked to educational infrastructure such as art schools and libraries as well as cultural institutions, which are of

Table 4.3 Artists in Krakow and their preferences in respect of bohemian amenities

	Art students (N = 318)		Established artists (N = 20)	
Amenities important in the choice of place…	of residence	for creation	of residence	for creation
Bohemian amenities				
Cafés and bars	46.2	39.9	40.0	35.0
Second-hand book shops, antique shops	19.5	18.9	25.0	35.0
Restaurants and shops with organic and vegetarian food	26.4	9.7	35.0	10.0
Vintage and second-hand clothing shops	28.3	13.2	15.0	5.0
Live music clubs	21.1	15.4	5.0	15.0
Dance clubs and bars	16.0	6.6	5.0	5.0
Tattoo parlours	6.0	4.7	0.0	0.0
Other amenities				
Parks and other green spaces	80.2	48.4	90.0	80.0
Public spaces (squares, piazzas)	49.1	39.6	55.0	60.0
Cultural institutions linked with a specific artistic genre	39.9	54.1	30.0	35.0
Libraries	47.2	36.2	25.0	25.0
Art schools and colleges	39.6	39.3	15.0	10.0

Source Own research

greater importance to fledgling artists as places where they seek inspiration and establish professional contacts.

Further, a comparison of students representing different artistic genres also fails to reveal any major dissimilarities. In general they are much more concerned with 'standard', quality-of-life amenities such as green and public spaces than with bohemian amenities near their place of residence or work. Young representatives of the theatre world seem to be slightly more inclined to prefer bohemian amenities in the vicinity of the places where they make their art, whereas young musicians favour them to a slightly greater extent than other art students with respect to places of residence. In comparison to studies conducted in the United States (Woldoff et al. 2011), the bohemian preferences of Polish art students seem closer to those of American students of non-creative majors than to the visibly more pronounced bohemian 'inclinations' of American students of creative majors.

One would expect young artists with high bohemian preferences, defined by us as those who indicated at least half of the listed bohemian features and amenities as important to their spatial choices, to be more likely to live in traditional, densely built urban environments composed of historic tenement houses, especially buildings constructed before the end of the second world war, than in post-war blocks of flats, single-family housing in more peripheral areas, or new apartment buildings. And indeed, three out of five students with a high 'proportion' of bohemian preferences live in tenement houses in more central locations, majority of them in buildings constructed before 1945 (Table 4.4). In turn, students less likely to take into consideration bohemian features and amenities do tend to live in newer, socialist and post-socialist blocks of flats or single-family homes in suburban quarters. It should, however, also be noted that a large percentage of art students with strong bohemian preferences live in blocks of flats as well, which is most likely due to the real possibilities and constraints arising from their spatial choices, or other factors. And conversely, a proportion of students with fewer bohemian

Table 4.4 Art students according to 'level' of bohemian preferences and type of housing they inhabit

'Level' of bohemian preferences	N	Traditional, densely built urban environment composed of tenement houses built				Blocks of flats and detached apartment buildings built			Single-family detached homes–total
		before 1945	1945–1989	after 1989	Total	1945–1989	after 1989	Total	
Low	126	15.1	14.3	7.1	36.5	20.6	35.7	56.3	7.1
Average	45	22.2	8.9	11.1	42.2	17.8	26.7	44.4	13.3
High	30	36.7	16.7	6.7	60.0	16.7	20.0	36.7	3.3
Total	201	19.9	13.4	8.0	41.3	19.4	31.3	50.7	8.0

Note Data pertain only to students who rent a flat or live in their own flat without parents; 'levels' of bohemian preferences defined as: low = 3 or fewer bohemian features and amenities indicated as important when choosing a place of residence; average = 4–6 such features and amenities indicated; high = 7 or more out of 14 possible bohemian features and amenities indicated
Source Own research

preferences live in the inner city, also in historic buildings (one in six). In this case other factors are likely to have influenced their residential choices: the proximity of art schools, accessibility by public transport, price, decisions made by friends and family members, or pure coincidence.

Artists' Residential Choices

The spatial preferences expressed by young artists are in line with the data on artists' places of residence provided by the 2002 National Census (Fig. 4.2). Most groups of professional artists display an above-average predilection to concentrate in densely built, traditional quarters in the historic city centre and on its fringes, where tenement houses are a dominant type of building. Their presence in large, communist-era housing estates and in new quarters developed after 1989 is lower than the average for the entire city (location quotient lower than 1). Only architects are a stronger presence in quarters where single-family, detached buildings dominate, mainly in the more prestigious western part of the city, which confirms that relatively more of them are quite well-to-do and given to underlining their elite status.

The majority of artists, however, live in other areas than quarters popularly perceived as artistic or emergent artistic (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014b). In 2002 only the historic city core (Old Town) and the Jewish-Christian quarter of Kazimierz were referred to as such. Quarters and areas located on the other bank of the Vistula river—Old Podgórze and Zabłocie—have gained an artistic image only recently, since the end of the 2000s. The potential of the communist 'ideal city' of Nowa Huta, located east of the city centre, as an artistic quarter, was likewise only noticed in the last decade.

The Old Town did indeed have an above average concentration of different artist groups in 2002. This concentration was, however, relative rather than absolute. Due to the overall sharp depopulation experienced by Krakow's mediaeval city centre after 1989 in connection with commercial and tourism pressures, number-wise they are a small and steadily diminishing group. A significant number of artists live in quarters surrounding the Old Town developed mainly in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Architects and visual artists seem to be most attracted to areas located west and north-west of the Old Town, traditionally regarded as more prestigious. Many architects also live in the abovementioned more elite single-family housing further west of the city centre or in the interwar villa quarter of Osiedle Oficerskie (Officers' Housing Estate), one of a few prestigious areas east of the Old Town. Interestingly, the two groups of artistic professions mentioned above are relatively underrepresented in the quarter of Krakow that was developing most dynamically as an artistic quarter at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries—Kazimierz (Murzyn 2006). This district seems to have been particularly attractive to representatives of the theatre and film (a four times higher proportion than the average for the entire city) and music and dance world (three times higher).

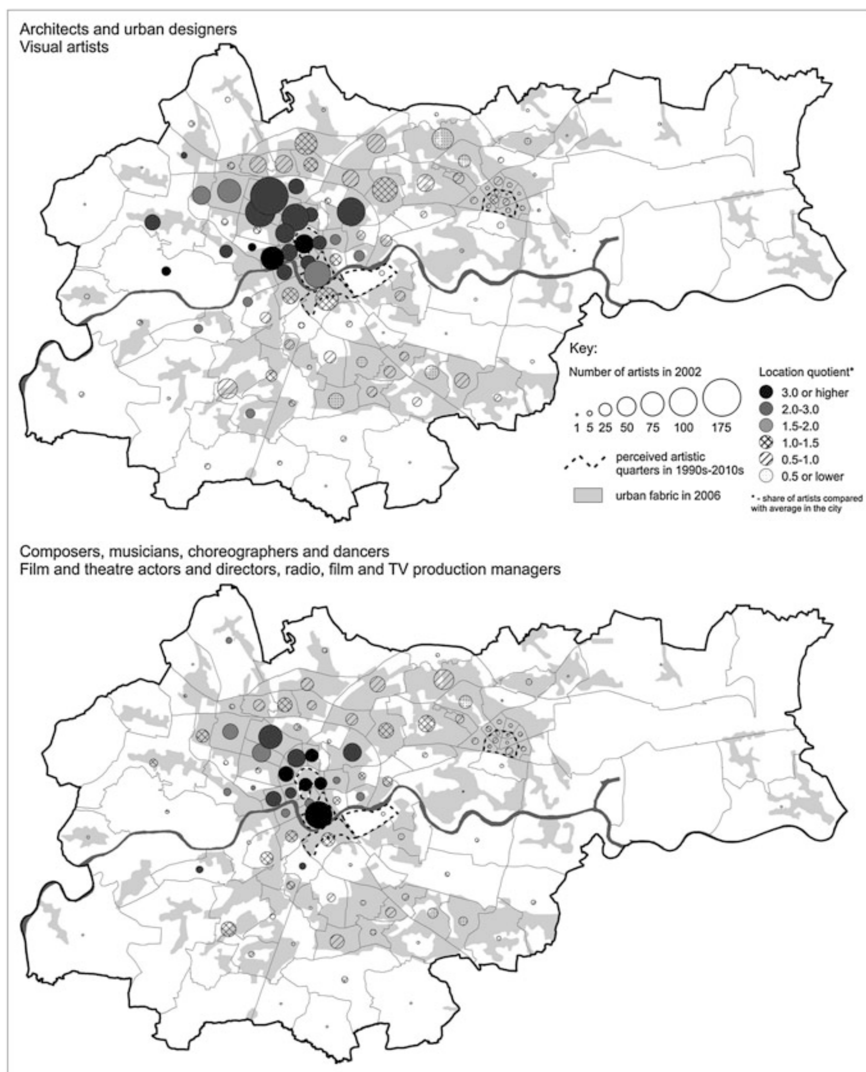

Fig. 4.2 Places of residence of professional artists in Krakow in 2002. *Source* Own elaboration based on the National Census data from 2002; areas perceived as artistic quarters according to Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz (2014b), urban fabric according to CORINE Land Cover 2006

In general these two artistic groups are to a slightly greater extent concentrated in the city centre and surrounding areas, which is most likely linked with the need to cooperate with centrally located theatre and music institutions, while visual artists or architects may be more footloose (see Towse 2010; Markusen 2014).

Artists' Ambiguous Relations with Artistic Quarters

Interviews with established artists confirm the complexity of links between artists and areas commonly perceived as artistic quarters. Some artistic creatives consciously decide to live in such an area, some spend their leisure time there, for yet others, quarters dubbed 'artistic' are of marginal importance. In many conversations, tensions in artists' attitudes towards these types of areas were visible. A dose of self-reflection with regard to the social role of artists and the often critical attitude towards the romantic vision of bohemians is also present among artists. Despite professional success and recognition in the artistic world, our interviewees were usually far from the embodiment of the stereotypical image of the artistic bohemia, and closer to the notion of an entrepreneurial creative who tries to reconcile the demands of creative work (individual work, flexible working times, irregularity of income, periods of intensive professional activity interspersed with fewer assignments) with their personal life (e.g. family life versus professional commitments in the evenings and on weekends), and maintain a balance between common sense and artistic sensibility.

The first contradiction we identified pertains to the wish expressed by most artists to live in or move to historic quarters, regardless of their current place of residence. The main reasons for such preferences are the architectural and urban planning features of such areas distinguishing them from communist housing estates or quarters with apartment buildings reflecting the neoliberal urbanization phase after 1989 (in the Polish case often reflected in chaotic development and presence of gated communities), but also proximity to the city centre and possibility to move around the city on foot.

> This is an area architects appreciate, there is an 'urban feel' to it, you leave your office and find yourself in a well-defined street, there is a park, a tram line, a coherence and continuity to the built up space… it is close [walking distance] to the city centre, it is an 'urbanity'… I have a non-verbalized need to be in a well-designed urban environment (AKR9, architect, male, 30s).

> If I could, regardless of financial constraints, I would chose somewhere in the city centre, [between the old town and] the second ring road… a modernist tenement house… In Krakow everything is in the centre, all the institutions (AKR20, choir/opera singer, female, 30s).

This fascination is, however, frustrated not only by financial constraints but also with the apparent inconvenience of living in historic housing stock, which is harder to maintain and associated with limitations in terms of car parking and the increasing difficulty of accessing basic services, displaced by tourist amenities. In many instances artists either dismantle the myth of superiority of this type of built environment existing in their minds, or make a compromise by choosing to live in newly built housing located in historic quarters.

> I am not certain if I would [really] want to [live in the historic centre] because of logistic problems which emerge, such as parking or organization of shopping. It appealed to me at one point, to be able to put on my slippers and go to a café on the ground floor. We took

> one such option into consideration … but all in all I prefer this suburban 'breath' [of a single-family house with a garden] (AKR23, writer, male, 30s).

Asked about their preferred place of residence, they most often point to pre-war inner city quarters located on the edge of or near the city centre, or historic suburban quarters designed with a garden city idea in mind, and underline their advantages such as greenery and calm. As follows, rather than popular artistic quarters they would prefer areas with artistic potential, which are unlikely to change in the short term into epicentres of artistic, tourism or night life.

> Why this quarter? Because this is still 'old' Krakow, there are and will be no tourists here. It is close to the city centre, I can walk or take a bike. In addition it has a local life, with its own market and a bit of urban folklore – local weirdos (AKR18, poet, male, 50s).

At this point another contradiction might be noted in connection with the model described above of migration to degraded, less well-to-do quarters inhabited by poorer residents. The search for 'real' urban life is confronted with the challenges of living in 'socially authentic' quarters (noise, delinquency). Having fallen into this trap, artists try to reconcile themselves with the consequences of social diversity in such areas, or decide to leave them.

> The advantage of this quarter [Old Podgórze] is that it is a small town within a large city – a quiet area in loud, touristy Krakow. A drawback, which is also sometimes a positive, is the fact that there are some old timers, local pariahs, a generation which is withering away, and different stories, robberies linked with them and which happen, fights in the street – this gives a little atmosphere and colour to the area (AKR14, industrial designer, female, 30s).

> We were taken by Krakow right away, we 'felt' it, it is so authentic. In France, [it is] clean, [there is] a distance between people, between new and old, between poverty and richness, but here there is a wino on a bench mixing with tourists … Kazimierz has an authentic atmosphere, something truthful, … has this energy, this 'everything-is-possible' energy. The Old Town is more orderly, static, Kazimierz is in motion – you … never know if something might happen (AKR21, visual artist, female, 40s).

Some of the artists we spoke to had lived in Kazimierz at some point in their life but had decided to leave it due to the challenge of sharing urban space with diverse social groups compounded by the intolerable noise generated by the night life.

> After graduating from university we lived in Kazimierz for 3 years. We got [a place] there because a friend lived there. It is close to everywhere – there are cafes all around, but it was a noisy place, a dingy tenement house, and the people who lived there were rude (AKR11, fashion designer, female, 30s).

> I would no longer want to live in the Old Town or Kazimierz, well maybe in Kazimierz on the other side of Krakowska Street, but there are all kinds of wide boys also living there – typical Kazimierz-like, Cracovia Pany [football hooligan] types (AKR2, visual artist, male, 30s).

It seems, then, that artists value the peace and quiet necessary for creative work far over the 'buzz' of the artistic quarter, even if their place of residence or creative activity leaves much to be desired from the aesthetic perspective.

> I need a studio which is not a dingy hole – it cannot be dirty, dark, in a cellar. And this is what the city usually has to offer artists. I need quiet, I need space and light (AKR3, visual artist, female, 30s).

Creative work requires quiet and concentration. For many artists it is a very individual and solitary effort. This also makes them want to meet other people, friends as well as other artists, to search for a sort of common sensitivity.

> I like the presence of other artists, meeting them by chance, casually or at exhibition openings. People who have the same 'interior' as me, with whom I am on the same wavelength (AKR15, visual artist, female, 60s).

> Artists living nearby can 'set each other buzzing' but this is not an important factor for me. Everyone has their own, individual preferences (AKR10, sculptor, female, 40s).

Hence the need for meeting places, often cafés, endowed with an artistic label, to become focal points of artistic quarters. Here, however, another contradiction transpires. These artists expressed the need to meet other artistic creatives but they also emphasized that they need a certain distance to prevent them 'suffering' from an overload of social relations with other artists. They appreciate the possibility to develop, or more often, sustain links with diverse places with more or less cultural 'cult' status located in artistic quarters, but they also need a moment of 'withdrawal', when nobody bothers or disturbs them. This is the main reason for selection of places of residence (sometimes also work) away from the most popular artistic quarters. The proximity of other artists is not important for most of those interviewed. Where it is, some underlined the importance of contacts with artists representing other artistic genres, which they find much more inspiring than encounters with colleagues representing the same medium, as well as encounters with 'ordinary' people. These contradictions are reflected in pairs of statements made by the same individuals:

> Writing is a 'separate' activity, so every meeting with other people, including artists, is already entertainment … [statement 1]

> [The presence of other artists] not necessarily in the immediate surroundings, because that can be a nuisance. An artistic enclave, I'd rather not… I would prefer a safe distance, but so that it is possible to meet but also, if necessary, to avoid [each other]. Krakow is a city of good size for that [statement 2] (AKR18, poet, male, 50s).

> But this place [a cafe she owns] also has another value to us – we are individuals who work in solitude, so this is a place which enables us to open up to the world, foster links with other people. This also helps us in the development of other endeavours (concerts, exhibitions) [statement 1].

> I know a lot of literary [creatives] and musicians, and few persons like me, that is painters. This is very healthy, because artists who do the same can be jealous of each other, and working on your own is healthier. Besides, artists from different domains inspire more [statement 2] (AKR24, visual artist, female, 40s).

Most interviewed artists do not wish for the visible proximity of other artists, as they prefer a more diverse web of social contacts.

> It does not matter to me whether there are artists living nearby. I don't need contacts with artists but with human beings (AKR1, visual artist, female, 30s).

Only a few of them underline the importance of a creative community living in the neighbourhood and following similar lifestyle and consumption patterns. This confirms observations by Zukin (2008), who states that artists may be attracted by the social authenticity of places but once they're already in a neighbourhood they create or search for places which suit their tastes.

> The presence of other creative people is important to me. I know that there are different things happening in Kazimierz. There are vintage shops, Polish designers, alternative activities, organic food, stuff made from wicker, a sort of independent zone. … I would like to live where other creatives [are] (AKR11, fashion designer, female, 30s).

Another contradiction was revealed in connection with the above statement: that between the popular image of artists held by the general public and their own ideas on the development of an artistic career. They reject being identified with an artistic bohemia and would rather be perceived as hard-working self-made people. In that sense they are closer to the expectations regarding behaviour of a self-exploiting creative class (Florida 2002), who take their own decisions on the structure and amount of time they work, and so have less and less time for leisure. This is expressed in disapproval expressed towards artists sitting in cafés and bars, as an ineffective and superficial way of fostering professional contacts and building an artistic reputation.

> An architect who goes from bar to bar – this means he has no commissions (AKR6, architect, female, 40s).

> Future winners are artists who are self-starters, [present in] the Internet and media, not the bohemia who sits and drinks beer (AKR24, visual artist, female, 40s).

> The times of going out to town are long gone – I have a lot of work now. The so-called Krakow artists sit in pubs and cafes and drink beer. I don't call myself an artist, I only do what I like, this is a quintessence of my person, I don't wait for something to fall from heaven but I get on with it myself. In Krakow there are a lot of unemployed photographers, but they sit, talk, want to 'shine', while [instead of bragging] you have to work (AKR4, photographer, female, 30s).

> There is a big difference between living in something which is understood as an artistic quarter and real contacts with artists. The latter is the essence of being in an art studio with other artists – teachers, students, they come and talk, and this contributes to [personal] development and inspires. … Meetings in pubs and bars leave me cold – when you drink vodka in a bar you are only a drunk talking to another drunk, not an artist speaking to another artist … I don't believe in things like artistic quarters and I don't believe that [they] could have a good influence on the creative process (AKR16, visual artist, male, 40s).

A similarly critical picture of artistic dilettantes is painted by writers describing Krakow pub life (Pudełko n.d.).

> 'Piękny Pies' has for three seasons been the most important club for all of the bohemia, quasi-bohemia and wannabe-bohemia, even anti-bohemia. (Czerski 2006: 52)

> For sure not everyone is an artist, though many would certainly like to be included among the local bohemia, be on everyone's lips, be pointed at. We know many such unfulfilled musicians, writers, poets, sculptors and painters. They spend entire nights talking about their ideas, they basically 'drown' in their own unfulfilled ideas. All they are capable of creating, though, are abstract mosaics of full ashtrays and emptied beer mugs on bar tables (Łuczak 2009: 57).

Critical opinions of 'bohemian' life and artistic quarters seem at least in part to be connected with changes in artists' personal and professional life. Successive stages in life bring changes in values, perceptions of what is important, changes in family life, housing needs (dwelling size, location closer to or further from the city centre). Pursuit of one's professional career, achieving a certain professional status, being able to practise the difficult artistic profession at all, while others have given up on it, also changes artists' perspectives. The possibilities for developing professional contacts and presenting the outcomes of one's creativity most often provided by artistic quarters may no longer be as important to mature artists. In their work they usually make use of existing networks, recommendations by others and the internet.

> I've grown out of partying and clubbing, I don't have such a need to live in the centre [any more] (AKR3, visual artist, female, 30s).

> While at university we went everywhere … we mainly went dancing. We would go … six girls. The main thing was good music … [now] I rarely meet anyone 'in town'. My friends have kids, I have kids. It's hard to go out without them. We meet a lot at each other's homes, our flat is an open house, we cook, open a bottle of wine (AKR22, writer, female, 30s).

> As you get older [your] priorities move in another direction – not self-promotion but focusing on work (AKR14, industrial designer, female, 30s).

> This stage is behind me now, filling space with myself, these are ephemeral things, fireworks. I am interested in stability of events, and consistency (AKR18, poet, male, 50s).

In retrospective, mature artists find both the myth of the bohemia but also in general the stereotype of artists funny, admitting nonetheless that this is exactly what attracted some of them to study an artistic major but proved disappointing.

> Because people do not know what is ahead of them – they think that they will be working on paintings in a white apron listening to RMF Classic [a classical music radio station] (AKR8, art conservator, female, 30s).

> Young people are not fully aware what they are getting themselves into. The dominant vision is a romantic image of an architect who sits over a mug of coffee and designs. This is far from the reality – a tedious, costly process, really expensive software, amassing practical knowledge and commissions (AKR9, architect, male, 30s).

The lack of joint activities among artists and the lesser likelihood of cooperation and formation of artistic communities which gather in specific places is, however, also seen by the artists interviewed as a result of the changing ways in which artists function in contemporary times. Unlike in prewar times, which are known for the numerous visual art or literary artistic communities, or the communist times, when the difficult conditions led them to organize themselves in groups, today the lack of

a pressing need for direct daily encounters between artists is also a result of the development of digital technologies. Place-specific bohemian communities may therefore be seen by some artists as a thing of the past.

> In the 1930s something such as bohemia existed … They organized themselves into communities, they cooperated, they were able to work together to organize a bar, a canteen. Now there are civic movements … artists take part in them but do not play a leading role … Now being an artist means creating in your own way, independently of others, individualism (AKR24, visual artist, female, 40s).

> Where is the vibrant artistic life? As in the sense of a bohemia? To some extent [in] Kazimierz, but this is still too little to speak of an artistic quarter in the very sense of a place where artists are visible. Maybe it is an outdated mode of thinking that [there should be] an art gallery in every other doorway. Even if a lot is happening. But haven't the times of a bohemia understood in this way not passed? – because we continue to apply the notion of art from the turn of the 19th and the 20th century, artistic practices of the early 20th century such as Montmartre, where painters met, drank absinth and painted. To what extent is such an image an anachronism, now that art is different – painting is no longer so important as 'performance art' (AKR23, writer, male, 30s).

> Under communism there were a few places where [artists] met, e.g. Vis-à-vis [a bar in the city centre]. Now there's so much of it that you go wherever is closer. Now it's often the closest café to home. Not all writers join associations, in reality few of them do. Writers are such separate islands, they are absolutely terrified of such associations, it is hard to get them in a group. It does happen sometimes around bars, theatres, they organize themselves around such structures, cooperate with others on an interdisciplinary basis, with singers, with theatre … I used to cooperate more with Krakow singers, now more often with singers from Warsaw, because times have changed and you don't have to meet face to face, in the same place, because there's the internet (AKR18, poet, male, 50s).

Most interviewees think that artistic quarters have no direct impact on their creativity; even if they are attracted by their aesthetic image, they usually find their inspiration elsewhere. It is also hard to conclude that a neighbourhood where one creates automatically becomes a part of one's creative identity. Artists who need a 'calling card' for their professional activities are the exception, where specific surroundings help them to sell their offer to potential customers (e.g. fashion designers) or increase the social prestige of their studio (e.g. architects).

> We opened our new venue in October 2012. We knew right away that it would be in Kazimierz, because it is associated with artistic activities, with the climate of alternative Krakow. And rents are lower than in the very centre of the city. In addition the centre is mainly frequented by tourists. And we were targeting residents in their thirties or over 20. And lots of people who live in Krakow still go to Kazimierz, visit the quarter during the day and at night (AKR11, fashion designer, female, 30s).

Although there are many voices claiming that artistic quarters as such are not key to their creativity, areas with such a label help to create the image and atmosphere of 'magical Krakow', and some artists are also under its spell or want to use it instrumentally.

> Krakow is not really the greatest [place on earth] but I am here – it has a certain attraction. Artists feel good here, nobody knows why. Bureaucracy, the money's poor, there's not much work, perhaps it's because the bars are good? (AKR5, actress, female, 30s).

Most artistic creatives, especially visual artists, are aware of their potential role in the creation of such places, making the city more lively but also in raising important issues, interventions in public space and forcing other stakeholders to reconsider their living environment.

> Artists are important, because they can impact on making this space and life more diverse – contribute ideas, solutions. Build places where people can spend their leisure time. They can have interesting products, offer people an alternative. Very often artists are invited by cities… to enliven the public space, to stimulate public participation among locals. Creatives are a remedy for boredom (AKR14, industrial designer, female, 30s).

> Architects indeed play an important role – we all live in the space they create, this is their long-term role. It is important that we live in harmoniously created… beautiful surroundings which can make us happier… and this is a big responsibility. Thanks to their professional training architects can also voice opinions on issues pertaining to urban spaces (AKR9, architect, male, 30s).

> But there is also another type of artist, more like an activist… who engages in super activities but I don't have the power, there are people who have a gift for it. I like initiatives such as Krakow against smog, against the [Winter] Olympics – I take part in them, but as a citizen [not as an artist] (AKR2, visual artist, male, 30s).

Artists are also aware of the processes of evolution of artistic quarters independently of their activities as well as of the fact that the presence of artists may lead to gentrification. Like other urbanites they observe the rivalry over urban space between different urban stakeholders, the gradual displacement of independent artistic life and more alternative venues by places catering to tourists and more wealthy residents.

> In general, where cafes and bars emerge, the quarter starts to live, wherever you can get by bike, old housing, an interesting tradition of place which has been 'lost', a legend of place, like in Kazimierz (AKR24, visual artist, female, 40s).

> I went to Kazimierz yesterday but I'm bored with it. Podgórze if anywhere. This happened back when I was at university. Cracovians would sit around the Main Square, but then the tourists arrived and the Cracovians moved to Kazimierz. Then the tourists chased the Cracovians out of Kazimierz again, to Podgórze. Now Cracovians sit [in cafes and bars] in Podgórze (AKR22, writer, female, 30s).

> Zabłocie is an area which isn't inviting, it's particularly ugly, full of 'holes', everything interesting is invisible, but of course these are probably the first steps to gentrification (AKR1, visual artist, female, 30s).

> Kazimierz is still no. 1, the Old Town is overrun with tourists, Kazimierz to some extent as well. There was an idea to move artistic life over to Podgórze and Zabłocie. But new museums were opened there, MOCAK [museum of contemporary art], and the area started swarming with tourists. This was rather unfortunate. This isn't the best [solution], because when the tourists arrive, the artists leave. Such mixing is unfortunate – it has a reverse effect. Kazimierz [is] alternative everywhere the English-speaking beer swillers don't get to (AKR18, poet, male, 50s).

Conclusions

Artists' spatial choices are as diverse as their artistic backgrounds, the stages of their personal and professional life, their socio-economic status, and preferred lifestyles. While being vigilant to avoid making too far-reaching generalizations, we will now try to sketch out some conclusions regarding artists' spatial behaviours and preferences, and refer them to the specific context of Krakow and other post-socialist cities.

Although census data points to the fact that only a minority of artists live in areas perceived as artistic, it supports the claim that there is a tendency among them to select places of residence in broadly understood historic quarters not far from the city centre. Artists may equally, however, inhabit other types of built environment, including post-war blocks of flats, even though on average proportionally fewer of them live in such types of buildings than in the city overall. This is sometimes due to financial limitations, but is equally often a conscious choice based on a comparison between the inconvenience of living in historic tenements in centrally located areas and the living standards in newer communist-era or post-1989 housing.

Artists' choices are therefore highly contingent upon the size of a given urban centre and its historic development path. Krakow is a second-tier Polish city with a relatively small pre-World War II urban area and relatively few culturally valuable residential areas. Similarly, its largely non-industrial development path in the 19th century means that it has relatively few typical post-industrial areas or working-class quarters that could easily be reinterpreted as 'authentic' by artists. Secondly, although socio-spatial segregation is on the rise in Polish cities (e.g. Marcińczak and Sagan 2011), it is still not as pronounced as in Western Europe, with very few really stigmatized 'problem areas'. Similarly, present-day Krakow, like other Polish cities, lacks decidedly ethnic quarters linked with more recent immigration. If any quarters perceived as such do exist, they are mainly historic areas with a memory of or a relatively small present-day minority (in the case of Krakow—Kazimierz as a historic Jewish-Christian quarter).

Another important factor affecting artists' decisions is the existing housing stock and urban structure. Despite the expansion of socialist housing estates to new areas, both suburbanization and larger-scale, Western-style, urban sprawl were to a large extent avoided in communist times. Consequently, although suburbanization has been a visible phenomenon since 1989, Krakow is still relatively less spread and discontinuous than some other European, and especially American, cities. Many neighbourhoods from 1945 to 1989 offer easy access to historic quarters on foot or by public transport, which makes up for some of their aesthetic or spatial drawbacks. Some communist housing estates are of decent quality or have even recently been revalorized with growing appreciation of their urban planning features and modernist aesthetics, while their connections to the city centre make up for the relatively small apartment sizes. Moreover, patterns of location of artists' studios, which are often linked with their residential spaces, as in communist times, are not

so easy to erase completely, nor do artists wish to change them. For example, many artists' studios were installed or purpose built within socialist housing estates; they still suit artists' needs very well, while providing them with locations from which the city centre is easily accessible.

Finally, our research results suggest that artistic quarters are not so vital to artists as has been presupposed since the 19th century, especially given the recent changes in communication technologies, and if they are, it is not necessarily for residence or work but more often for leisure and networking. Artists' relations with these specific areas could be termed a strategy of 'reasonable distance', optimizing use of such quarters for personal (leisure time, meeting friends) and professional (sustaining links with other artists and cultural gatekeepers, presenting artistic work) purposes while minimizing their potential drawbacks (disturbances to creative work because of noise, temptation of 'wasting time' on social life and entertainment, 'too intensive' encounters with other artists). Artists often reject complete 'immersion' in an artistic quarter. Most of them live or would like to live in areas close to artistic quarters, which suit their aesthetic tastes, have a certain 'artistic' potential, inspire artistic work, enable an urban lifestyle, yet are also devoid of the problems usually present in epicentres of artistic life, such as development of night life, commercialization and touristification.

In line with the propositions of other researchers (Markusen 2014; Zhong 2016), our findings also emphasize the need to disaggregate artists into different age, professional genre and status groups to make such studies more meaningful. Performing artists are more likely to select the strategy of 'immersion' in an artistic quarter, pointing to the need for proximity to other artists. Representatives of artistic genres where individual work dominates, such as visual artists, are more prone to select the 'reasonable distance' strategy with regard to artistic quarters and other artists. The professional status achieved by mature artists likewise makes them less inclined to use artistic quarters than creatives at the early stages of their artistic career, who need to develop their professional networks or simply go out more often. As follows, although there may be creatives following either of the two strategies both among young and established artists, overall strong bohemian preferences are displayed by only a minority of them. The group of culturpreneurs who actively lend artistic quarters, their atmosphere, establishments and venues 'cult' status is relatively small. Many artists are as much consumers of diverse contemporary reincarnations of the bohemian myth and narrations developing around artistic quarters as other urbanites. They tend to refute identification with the stereotype of a café or bar bohemia, and rather see themselves as well organized, resourceful artists, who work hard to pursue their vocation or achieve success where many of their colleagues from art schools had to abandon the artistic profession.

Lastly, such preferences are strongly embedded in the broader context of norms and values dominating in Polish society. Although in recent decades social and lifestyle changes have taken place in Poland at a very rapid pace, on the whole Polish society, and thus also Polish artists, may continue to differ from their Western European counterparts in terms of post-material values and lifestyles (Inglehart and Welzel 2010). As follows, even if artists may be in the avant garde of

some trends in the local context, their spatial choices might seem rather traditional or conservative from a foreign point of view. In addition, the rapid return to a market economy and democracy was a shock to many artists in Poland and a quantum leap from the censored, but state-sponsored artistic world or that of dissident, underground art to being independent actors functioning within the market economy, no longer restrained by the state, but not much supported by it, either, while private demand for art and private patronage is not particularly strong. This final factor might actually be among the most important explanations of why artists' preferences in Krakow seem far less bohemian and much more pragmatic and down to earth than those of their Western European or American counterparts. All of the above mentioned factors might strongly impact on artists' relatively weak predilection for artistic quarters or even the lack thereof among many of them in Krakow.

From an analytical point of view, then, we encounter artistic quarters which are the place of residence or work of only a small proportion of the artists in a given city, but in which most of the visible artistic events building and strengthening their image take place. This image attracts other urbanites and tourists interested in meeting true 'bohemians'. Ultimately, however, it is not about encounters with artists as such but rather experiencing and sharing with other visitors the bohemian atmosphere associated with them (Mathews 2008). Since 1989 Krakow has experienced strong commercial and tourist pressure which has compromised the already limited spatial choices available to artists in respect of historic quarters. Consequently, artists have few opportunities, room or time to participate in classic gentrification or be its pioneers encountering super-gentrifiers (Lees 2000; Murzyn 2006). We also have to bear in mind that classic gentrification has not in fact been experienced to a greater extent by Central European cities (Sýkora 2005). Artists also may be displaced, like other residents of historic quarters, not so much by typical gentrification forces but because of the reclamation and (re)-privatization of property since 1989.

Krakow artists do not seem, however, to be much concerned with the use of the 'artistic quarter' label by commercial actors, especially developers. This is despite the fact that the latter are the greatest users of the artistic image of certain areas in practice, often contributing to its promotion as elsewhere in the world (Pratt 2009). Consequently, one might point to many instances of recent real-estate projects developed in quarters of the city perceived as artistic (especially Kazimierz and Zabłocie) which directly (e.g. contemporary art exhibitions in interiors earmarked for refurbishment, outdoor murals, sponsored materials in the media) or indirectly (referring to artistic images in their promotional activities) use artists or public images of them and their activities. The web page of one developer in Krakow is a good illustration of this:

> Not only investors, but also artists appreciate the potential of post-industrial Zabłocie district (…) [a certain] Journalist … is comparing Cracow to New York, London or Berlin – all of which have seen a similar transformation of their post-industrial sites into vibrant cultural centers teeming with artists, animators and cultural activists (http://en.gardenresidence.pl/artistic-life-in-zablocie, original wording).

The less critical attitude towards this form of commercialization of art may stem from the weaker practical impact of these type of activities on the professional life of most artists (despite the fact that there have been cases of artists, successful cultural initiatives and creative firms being forced to leave spaces let to them on a temporary basis after delayed investment by developers commenced), in contrast to the stronger presence of tourists, who impact on artists as creatives but also on artists as ordinary urban dwellers. Certain artists may in fact profit from art-friendly attitudes of developers thanks to commercial commissions from them.

Our findings thus confirm the observations of Harris (2012) that artists use the possibilities presented by artistic quarters (as well as those presented by private and public actors developing cultural or creative quarters policies) in their professional strategies when they need them. They themselves usually locate less centrally, however, on the fringes of historic quarters, in areas which might be referred to as *artists'* quarters rather than *artistic* quarters. In such areas their above-average concentration might be discovered when analyzing statistical data, though they are not visible in the urban space at first sight. This is where they live and work in peace and quiet, able to reach nearby artistic quarters easily to satisfy personal or professional socializing needs, while maintaining a critical attitude towards the narrations surrounding such places.

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Author Biographies

Jarosław Działek Ph.D., is a graduate in geography and sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. He is currently an assistant professor at the Institute of Geography and Spatial Management, Jagiellonian University. His research interests include a focus on the social dimensions of local and regional development. He is the author and co-author of a number of books and papers on the following topics: geography of artists and creativity, cultural heritage and social capital building, social capital resources in Poland, perception of natural hazards. He took part in numerous research projects commissioned by local, regional and national authorities.

Monika Murzyn-Kupisz holds a doctorate and a post-doctoral habilitation in economic sciences from Krakow University of Economics and an MA in European Leisure Studies (a joint diploma of Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Tilburg University, Universidad de Deusto in Bilbao and Loughborough University). She is an associate professor at the UNESCO Chair for Heritage and Urban Studies, Department of Economic and Social History at the Krakow University of Economics. She specialises in multidisciplinary research within the broad field of cultural economics, heritage studies and urban studies, with a special focus on heritage, heritage institutions, cultural and creative activities and artists as well as urban regeneration processes, in particular their analysis in the context of Central and Eastern Europe.

Chapter 5
Dynamics Behind the Rise of a Creative Space? A Creative Quarter Development in Belgrade

Nikola Jocić, Aljoša Budović and Andreas Winkler

Introduction

The rise of creative milieus and the increasing role of artists in the shaping of city quarters became a widespread and well-known trend in Western cities. However, involvement of artists in contemporary urban development of Southeastern Europe was not of crucial importance. Due to the turbulent transition paths from socialism to market oriented systems in Southeast European countries, support policies for the cultural and creative sector were not on the priority list of the political agenda. In respect to the socialist heritage in the administrative organizations and in the self-conception of local political elites, bottom-up approaches had long been neglected in urban development strategies. This is particularly true for Serbia, where real political transition only just started after the democratic revolution at the end of 2000, after a lost decade of international isolation, armed conflicts and severe economic crises during the 1990s. Thus, culture and creative-led urban development is a new phenomenon in Serbia which seems worthy of research and analysis.

Accordingly, the chapter presents an analysis of creative quarter development using the example of Savamala in Belgrade. Recently, this historic part of Serbia's capital has established itself as the first quarter in Belgrade with broader creative 'buzz' and that urban phenomenon is attracting attention of researchers from various disciplines (Cvetinovic et al. 2013; Vaništa Lazarević et al. 2016). In this case of an emerging 'cool neighborhood' different stakeholders (policy makers, creative

N. Jocić (✉) · A. Winkler
Institute of Geography, University of Bamberg, Am Kranen 12, 96045 Bamberg, Germany
e-mail: nikola.jocic@uni-bamberg.de

A. Winkler
e-mail: andreas.winkler@uni-bamberg.de

A. Budović
Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade, Studentski trg 3/3, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia
e-mail: abudovic@gef.bg.ac.rs

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organizations, artists, residents and entrepreneurs) are involved in urban development and planning of the area. We only examined the part of Savamala belonging to the municipality of Savski Venac, as this territory comprises most of the local creative activities of the quarter. For this research we conducted nine semi-structured interviews in April and May 2015. Seven interviews were conducted with different creative and cultural organizations—a private culture center, a private creative hub, a private design incubator with co-working space, two private galleries, non-governmental organization, and a private art collective. Through interviews with these organizations we identified urban dynamics, as well as government mechanisms which shape the appearance and functions of this quarter. We wanted to understand clearly, from the perspective of creative and cultural organizations, what strategies and forces lay behind the transformation of this quarter. On this basis we are able to depict the evolutionary process of the emergence and change of a new creative space (see e.g. Zukin and Braslow 2011; Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). Two interviews with political leaders of the municipality of Savski Venac helped us to complete this analysis of a path dependent urban dynamic. Beside the interviews we did a review of scientific literature and press information on the area, as well as mapping of functions and creative activities in the district. Maps and photos presented in the chapter are the result of the authors' field work and examinations.

We reconsidered development initiatives and the public image of Savamala as a creative quarter and raised the question if changes in the urban space are connected to a bottom-up artists' involvement. This also implies the general question, if 'cool places' in the context of Southeastern European city are necessarily leading to gentrification processes, like in the Western model. We also seek to inquire about the possibilities of future development in regard to the inherent post-socialist legacies, the various stakeholders involved, their interests, and power.

Creative Activities in Urban Development

The industrial town was a 'role model' for urban development in Western societies until the second half of the 20th century. In the 1970s, the post-Fordist economy was taking precedence over and culture-led activities and initiatives started to occupy a specific place in urban regeneration (Garcia 2004). The post-industrial development that followed brought changes within urban environments, such as polycentric urban structures, the rise of the service sector, and the mobility of labour (Phelps and Ozawa 2003). According to Florida (2002), these changes produced perfect conditions for the 'creative age', with intelligence, knowledge and creativity being its main characteristics. Technology, talent and tolerance are becoming the main ingredients of economic growth (Florida 2005). Creative activities, by their

nature, fit into this kind of globally driven urban development. Although globalization imposes unified aspirations, development of each area is also shaped by local economic, socio-cultural, organizational and institutional configurations (Swyngedouw 1992).

Labeling a city as a creative place is a very attractive idea for planners. Since the term 'creative industries' has been mentioned in a British cultural policy document (DCMS 1998) it has become well accepted as a part of development strategies and even more so after the publication of Florida's book (2002). Various definitions of creative industries show however that the concept is still vague. For example, although artists and culture are the basis of any definition and the core of creative industries, artists definitely have different aesthetic, political, and social influence on urban environment than engineers, scientists, and other creative class groups. Therefore, they should be singled out as a special group (Markusen 2006). In urban development theory, artists are often detected as the source of gentrification, too (Smith 1996).

Even though market orientation of creative activities is a fundamental idea of the creative industries concept, 'creative work requires public support' (Friedmann 2007: 993). The profitability of core creative activities is limited, so they are partially dependent on external financial support (Garnham 1987), not only through public funds, but also through private sector sponsorships and international funds (Klamer et al. 2006; Klamer and Petrova 2007; Towse 2011).

According to Montgomery (2003) some parts of cities with rich historic heritage at some point in time may spontaneously become magnets for artists and cultural workers, however, on the other hand, some cultural quarters are designed by top-down policy mechanisms. As stated by M. Keith:

> In urban planning discourse, both cultural quarters and cultural districts are creations of government that speak to a particular understanding of cultural production and provide official ways to visually order and curate the city (Keith 2005 cited by Bain 2013: 135).

In either case according to him cultural quarters are places where a mosaic of artist consumption, cultural production, and urban place making exists (Keith 2005). A similar definition is provided by Roodhouse (2010: 24):

> A cultural quarter is a geographical area of a large town or city which acts as a focus for cultural and artistic activities through a presence of a group of buildings devoted to housing a range of such activities, and purpose designed or adapted spaces to create a sense of identity, providing an environment to facilitate and encourage the provision of cultural and artistic services and activities. A distinction can be made between a cultural quarter and a creative industry quarter.

Evans (2009) provides further characteristics typical for either cultural or creative industry quarters. According to him, creative industry quarters have broader target groups and are more business and market oriented. In the case of cultural quarters, the focus is put mainly on local development, preservation, promoting identity, and local/non for profit culture.

The Context of Post-socialist Urban Development

At the end of the 20th century, after the fall of the Iron Curtain Central and Eastern European states started to follow the development paths of the West. According to Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2012), political, economic, and social transitions in this part of Europe are followed by urban transitions. Still, socialism left profound footprints on the society and the economy of former socialist countries. Many of these footprints are still visible in the urban environment. Hence, an extensive literature stock aspires to conceptualize post-socialist urban transformations (e.g. Sýkora 1994; Andrusz et al. 1996; Kovács 1999; Sailer-Fliege 1999; Hamilton et al. 2005; Borén and Gentile 2007; Stanilov 2007; Brade et al. 2009; Sýkora and Bouzarovski 2012; Hirt 2012). Detailed analysis of these processes led to research of the involvement of creative industries in this transformation. Their late implementation caused little knowledge to 'be found on the status of creative workers in Central and Eastern Europe' (Burdack and Lange 2010: 59). In any event, the most recent literature that deals with the role of creative industries in post-socialist urban areas is expanding (e.g. Kovács et al. 2007; Paalzow et al. 2007; Slach and Boruta 2012; Murzyn-Kupisz 2012; Stryjakiewicz et al. 2014), so is (although more slowly) research on cultural and creative quarters. Although so called 'soft' location factors are very significant in cultural and creative quarter development, their importance in Eastern Europe is still not fully recognized (Musterd et al. 2007).

Central and Eastern Europe cannot however be treated as one coherent unit when we are discussing post-socialist urban development. In particular, the already mentioned chaotic circumstances of the 1990s and the delayed transitional process in Serbia conditioned a unique development line for this particular country. Arising effects attracted attention of the academic community. Consequently well-grounded literature focusing on the post-socialist urban development of Belgrade is also available (e.g. Vujošević and Nedović-Budić 2006; Vujović and Petrović 2007; Hirt 2008; Göler and Lehmeier 2011). In the last few years, interest among scholars for culture-led urban development of Belgrade is growing as well. Nevertheless, that research field still can be marked as unexplored.

Location and a Brief Historical Overview of Savamala

Savamala is an area located on the right bank of the Sava River. It extends into the territories of the Belgrade municipalities Savski Venac and Stari Grad (Old Town). However, its historically associated borders cannot be precisely determined (Fig. 5.1). This neighborhood is located a few hundred meters away from Terazije, Knez Mihailova Street, and Zeleni Venac, sites that are considered to be the central parts of Belgrade.

Savamala was established in the early 19th century and took on the greatest importance in the first half of 20th century. One of the most important Serbian

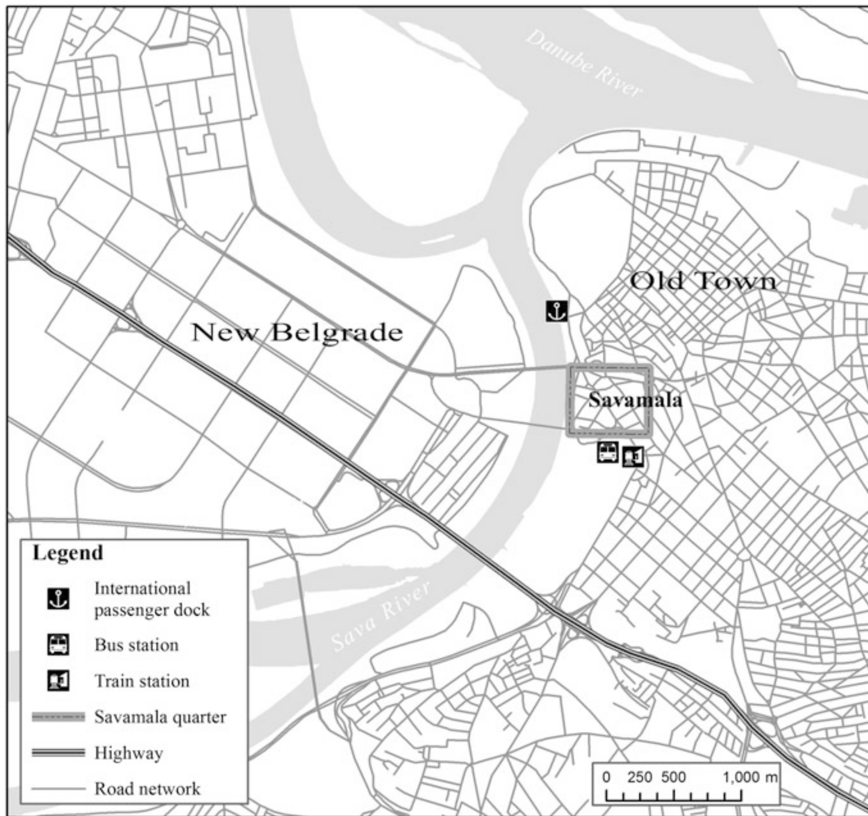

Fig. 5.1 Location of Savamala within Belgrade. *Source* Own elaboration

rulers, Prince Miloš, personally promoted the development of Savamala as a significant part of Belgrade (Pavlović 2013). Luka Ćelović, a famous merchant of that period, built some of the most beautiful buildings of the neighborhood, including the building of the Belgrade Zadruga (Belgrade Chamber of Commerce) and Hotel Bristol (Peacock 2013). During that period, the central street of this quarter, Karađorđeva Street, was one of the most beautiful streets in the city. Belgrade port was moved there at the end of 1841, and the main Belgrade railway station has been active there since 1882 (Gajović 2013). The importance of these major infrastructure hubs and the good connection with other parts of the city has influenced the development of Savamala as a trade center (Gavrilović 2013).

After the establishment of socialist Yugoslavia this part of the city began to fall into oblivion, and the urban focus moved to other areas, for example, to New Belgrade. In course of this, the lively trade and business district of Savamala was forgotten and neglected in terms of investments and urban planning. In the next decades the Karađorđeva Street became a major avenue for heavy transport to the

Fig. 5.2 Savamala today. *Source* Authors

central parts of the city. Thus, the quarter changed in that period from a central business zone to an unattractive transit zone.

This part of the city has not been significantly reshaped and renewed in the last decades (Fig. 5.2). The variety of facades in the neighborhood gives us an insight into the rich, still authentic, built heritage of the district. Buildings in Savamala reflect a broad range of architectural styles ranging from Historicism and Neo-styles to Art Nouveau and Modernism. However, most historic buildings are in a state of decay, and the biggest problem is a lack of investments in maintenance and restoration (Sopić and Gavrilović 2013).

Roles of Different Stakeholders in the Revaluation of Savamala's Attractiveness

Key Role of Creative Organizations

The end of 2000s can be considered as the beginning of Savamala's regeneration led by creative activities and initiatives using the historic resources of the quarter and its central location. Creative organizations which now operate in the quarter became key stakeholders in this process. Their activities are building the reputation and image of Savamala as a creative quarter.

Functions that exist today in Savamala are shown in the Fig. 5.3. Before 2009 there were no creative organizations and it was a forgotten and neglected quarter. The current situation presents evidence of a certain level of regeneration. The development of Savamala into a 'cool' place, brought alternative lifestyles, raised diversity, created a lively cultural and alternative scene, and revived some public and semi-public spaces.

An initial step for this whole evolutionary process can be traced back to the year 2009, when one of the abandoned warehouses became the headquarters of 'Grad', the first creative organization that started to operate there. The European Center for Culture and Debate 'Grad' is a private organization established by a group of experienced managers in culture and with the support provided by Felix Meritis

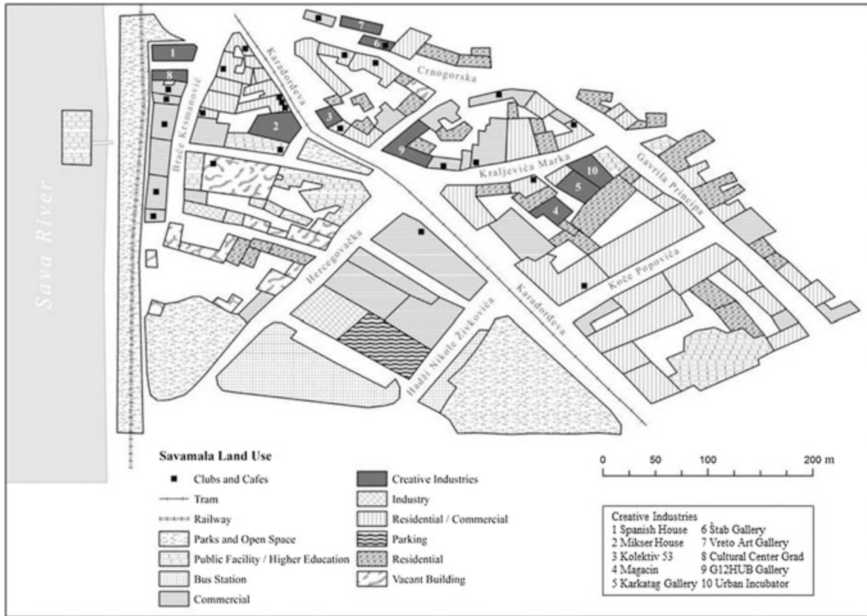

Fig. 5.3 Land use in Savamala in 2015. *Source* Own research

Foundation from Amsterdam and by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. They moved into the partly restored former warehouse with a wish to keep the old charm on the one hand, and to provide the functionality on the other. Today, this building is used as a multifunctional space, which is open to exhibitions, concerts, debates, performances, conferences and workshops (Grad 2015). The program of 'Grad' started to attract visitors to Savamala, as well as public attention. The success of this key organization attracted other private projects in the next years.

The next relevant creative organization that moved to Savamala was 'Mikser'. This organization was established by private creative entrepreneurs with the aim to bring together creative people from Serbia and the region. Their headquarters 'Mikser House' opened in a renovated warehouse in 2013. 'Mikser House' serves as an exhibition and sale space for designer items from around the region, provides space for workshops and cultural events, and also includes a canteen and a café (Mikser 2014). Moreover, this institution organizes the popular 'Mikser Festival', which was held in the quarter for the seventh time in 2015. Before coming to Savamala this festival was taking place in the city quarter of Donji Dorćol in the building of Stari Mlin (the Old Mill).[1] Mikser left this space when the mill was

[1]This reutilized brownfield area is located on the right side of the Danube River, under the Belgrade Fortress.

privatized and found in Savamala, according to their statements, 'a perfect milieu for their major event'. 'Grad' and 'Mikser' generate a very diverse cultural offer and symbolize the success of cultural activities in Savamala.

Since 2010, another institution, the German Goethe Institute became a major stakeholder to highlight Savamala as a creative district. Together with various international organizations and support from the City of Belgrade and the Municipality of Savski Venac, the Goethe Institute initiated an urban regeneration project, called 'Urban Incubator: Belgrade',[2] in Savamala.

> The Urban Incubator: Belgrade aims to improve the quality of life of local residents, arguing strongly in favor of a city on a human scale, and aims to encourage the residents of Savamala to take charge of their quarter (Goethe Institute 2014).

The goal of the Goethe Institute was that the project should not focus on material values or speculative activities, but primarily on cultural and social values of the neighborhood and to show that sustainable urban regeneration is possible (Müller-Wieferig and Herzen 2013a, b). Through its subprojects,[3] this project brought a new dimension in the neighborhood introducing to it diverse architectural, educational, cultural, and artistic practices. It also encouraged civic involvement, self-organized bottom-up activities, and cooperation. Some subprojects have continued to exist and develop as spin-offs of 'Urban Incubator: Belgrade' project even after the completion of the Goethe Institute's activities in Savamala. They are continuing to follow and improve the original idea trying to boost long-term viable effects.

Beside aforementioned creative organizations, there are also organizations that are currently providing spaces for artistic and design production. One of these organizations is the design incubator 'Nova Iskra' (New Sparkle), which was opened in December 2012 in a vacant residential building on the outskirts of the creative quarter. It offers co-working creative space, and also fosters formal and informal connections between creative people. The organization is market-oriented and tends to make profitable art and designs. 'Nova Iskra' is different from most of the other creative spaces in Savamala, as it is not public or semi-public but rather a co-working space used by creative people. 'Karkatag', on the other hand, is a non-profit creative collective that builds objects and installations for different occasions. Their workshops provide production space and also may serve educational functions.

Galleries 'G12HUB', 'Štab' and 'Magacin' are the organizations that provide exhibition spaces. Their various programs offer possibilities for display of different kinds of visual art. These galleries give many young and unknown artists a chance for promotion.

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[2]The project officially started in March 2013 and its results were presented in November 2013.

[3]Subprojects of 'Urban Incubator: Belgrade' include: Spanish House, A Model for Savamala, Micro Factories, Slušaj Savamala!, Camenzind, Nextsavamala, Savamalski dizajn studio, Bureau Savamala, We also love the Art of Others, Goethe-Guerilla 2013, and School of Urban Practices.

As follows, there are different types of creative organizations and spaces in Savamala. There are those which are used for presenting creative works (exhibition spaces), and those that were developed as production spaces. Creative organizations list various different activities as their interests—promotion of culture and arts, supporting artists (especially young artistic creatives), connecting creative people within networks, involvement in the education of creative people and visitors. The balance of exhibition and production spaces, as well as the balance between activities should strengthen the position of Savamala as a creative quarter. At the moment, creative organizations operate through relationships of competition (over audience, projects, financial support), but also cooperation. Cooperation is expressed through communication, sharing of facilities, outsourcing, exchanging knowledge, and through attempts to develop joint projects.

The Role of the Municipality and External/Foreign Funding?

When we look at Savamala's development trajectory, it can be identified that the social engagement of the first creative organizations and their relative success has paved the way for other organizations. A closer look has to include the question why Savamala was chosen over other possible destinations by these first organizations and those that followed them. Herein the analysis cannot ignore the impact of the municipality of Savski Venac on the whole process, although the local administration has never created an official plan for the regeneration of the area. In fact, the role of municipal authorities is more reflected in preliminary operations and in the development of urban regeneration ideas. Municipal leaders, through their experiences, travels and contacts with experts from Germany and Switzerland, started to appreciate the potential of this part of the city for urban regeneration led by creative processes.

According to interviewed municipality representatives, their preliminary ideas on cultural regeneration of Savamala were formed in 2006 and were presented at the Architectural Biennale in Venice. The presentation of Serbia in this year was focused on design solutions for the unused parts of Belgrade. It consisted of two parts, an urban development proposal for the 'Third Belgrade' (left bank of the Danube) and a regeneration idea of Savamala as the micro-location within Belgrade. Promising feedback that was received from international experts who were present at the Biennale, showed that the project for the revitalization of Savamala was worthwhile to implement. Crucial pre-conditions for regeneration existed there, such as a favorable geographical location with proximity to the downtown, historical heritage, and neglected, underused spaces. Their overall plan was to attract creative people and artists, people who knew how the creative sector functions, who could successfully operate in this area and who could shape a new character of the neighborhood.

During the chaotic years of the 1990s, a large number of municipality-owned properties in Belgrade disappeared from the records and were transferred to private owners through manipulative activities. A significant challenge was the regulation of legal and ownership problems. Only with the return of the properties to the ownership of the municipality and to the descendants of the pre-war owners, was it known exactly which resources were available and could be used for public purposes, including the use of creative organizations. Just a few years before, after the democratic revolution, the municipality regained formerly owned public facilities. Accordingly later on, as the owner of local industrial brownfield sites and other abandoned facilities the municipality was able to offer them to creative uses at reasonable prices.

During the interviews with the municipality representatives, the arrival of 'Grad' was assessed as a crucial moment for the future success of the district. Municipality leaders were convinced about the quality of this cultural center given the vast experience in public cultural institutions of the establishers. A guarantee for the professional attitude of 'Grad' was also seen in the support provided by Felix Meritis Foundation from Amsterdam and by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

'Mikser' is referred to by the municipal authorities as the current driving force of Savamala enhancement. After this already active organization was searching for a new place, the municipality officials were intermediating a deal with the private owner of the warehouse where they moved in. According to the officials, the success 'Mikser' had already shown at their previous festivals convinced them their cultural, artistic, and creative program may initiate broader revitalization of the area.

The general lack of financial resources is one of the problems that required more active and intense participation of the municipality in assisting organizations in achieving their programs. A further additional financial assistance solution is seen in the applications for European funds, whereas joint actions of the network of organizations and the municipality increases chances for funding. According to the interviewees, the office for EU projects of the municipality of Savski Venac provides support for applications for European Union funds. In the last six years, eight projects have been successfully implemented. Furthermore, it is important to mention that the government of the municipality of Savski Venac is formed by an opposition party that has no power in the city council nor on the national level. Communication and cooperation between political rivals is at a minimal level in the very polarized party system of Serbia. As they do not expect any help from the state or the city, the importance of European funds is even more emphasized. In addition, the local creative organizations are requested to turn their operations more towards the market and to become more financially independent.

The municipality has thus established itself as the provider of ideas and some kind of umbrella organization that provides logistical support for the active creative organizations and the revaluation of the district. Moreover this case shows the importance of personal contacts and the role of local political decision-makers.

Artists and the Rediscovery of Savamala

Although artists are able to contribute to the urban regeneration of Savamala in various ways, their activities are usually most evident through the various initiatives of the earlier mentioned creative organizations. These organizations provide artists and other creative people with possibilities to express themselves, enable cooperation with other creative people, run exhibition spaces and production areas. As creative people are often freelancers, most often without permanent employment, some organizations also offer free of charge legal advice (e.g. on protecting copyrights or contracts with potential employers).

Still, a striking impression in Savamala is that, except for some street art and graffiti (Fig. 5.4), there are no other particular individual artistic activities in public space. Given that most artists lack the individual funds to start their own projects, the importance of the ability of the earlier mentioned creative organizations to compensate for these shortcomings cannot be overstated. Therefore it cannot be said that artists have had a decisive role in influencing today's appearance of Savamala or that they have initiated some important processes. On the other hand, they are very important stakeholders who give charm to the neighborhood and participate in the formation of its attractive public image. However, it seems that the importance of artists is used more for their public image purposes than a reflection of their actual concrete importance in stimulating changes in the area.

It is in addition important to note that most artists who are active in Savamala are not residents of the neighborhood. Although Savamala is not yet an attractive residential quarter we have to take into account the special situation of the Western Balkans post-socialist and post-war societies. This legacy is reflected in an 'extremely bad housing situation as a constraint to independence' (Tomanović and Ignjatović 2006: 278). The overall European trend of staying longer in the parental household, due to prolonged education, uncertain employment and housing market disturbances is even more pronounced in Southeastern Europe. Therefore, the difficult financial situation in general, and, thus, the highly precarious situation of creative freelancers, reduces the mobility of young artists in Belgrade. Even though housing is available in Savamala for reasonable prices, an own flat in this city quarter is still not affordable for most individuals preventing them from becoming 'Western-style' gentrifiers.

Fig. 5.4 Street art and graffiti in Savamala. *Source* Authors

Challenges for Savamala's Development

The decades-long oblivion and silent decay of Savamala was stopped by regeneration processes and creative organization initiatives. There were always some places that attracted creative people in Belgrade, but the case of Savamala is the first where the complete neighborhood serves such a purpose. All these events started to attract the attention of the public, as well as the attention of domestic and foreign media (e.g. Guardian 2015; Business Insider 2015).

Belgrade is often associated with a very dynamic night life. Promotional actions that represent the capital to the tourists do not omit to mention the entertainment segment. Tourists themselves, especially the younger generation, emphasize nightlife as one of the main reasons for visiting Belgrade (Čomić and Vićić 2013). The rise of popularity is reflected by the fact that Savamala is one of the most visited sites in Belgrade by foreign tourists, even though it was not the subject of the marketing activities of the Touristic Organization of Belgrade (Budović 2014). However, on the official Touristic Organization of Belgrade web-site, it is recently highly positioned in the section 'What to see—Attractions' (http://www.tob.rs/what-to-see/attractions/savamala).

The activities of the organizations have attracted a large number of new visitors. According to internal information, 'Grad' attracts, with all their programs, about 70,000 people per year. The 'Mikser Festival 2015' brought around 75,000 visitors in five days to the quarter (B92 2015). Such an increase in the number of people who visit Savamala brought forth the emergence of ancillary services. So today in this neighborhood there are many bars, cafes, clubs, fast-food restaurants as well as taxis. With the regeneration of the quarter, the municipality rented out all the spaces they owned and consequently ceased to use top-down selection in order to decide on which organizations to invite to Savamala. New developments show much more of a selection by market mechanisms. Savamala became a Belgrade hotspot of nightlife, and is starting to surpass other parts of the city known for their high concentration of bars, cafes and clubs (Fig. 5.3).

The number of clubs and cafes exceeded the number of the creative organizations. Lively nightlife and evening economy are almost implicit in successful creative spaces (Montgomery 1994); entertainment zones are also becoming generators of urban revitalization (Campo and Ryan 2008). The number of clubs and cafes suddenly rose in the last six years and it is still rising. Therefore, there is a legitimate question if nowadays Savamala is based on creativity, culture, and art or nightlife? Additionally, creative organizations like 'Grad' and 'Mikser' earn part of their income from active participation in the formation and implementation of entertainment offers. The growing number of clubs and cafes changed the structure of visitors. At the beginning, music programs were based on alternative styles that attracted a specific young and urban audience, but nowadays, there is a variety of music. Even though many of the nightlife clubs follow mainstream entertainment policy, there are still some that encourage a more 'underground' approach. Our interviewees from creative organizations said that they are bothered by such

unbalanced direction of development into mainstream culture. Some emphasize that their organizations would leave Savamala if there are favorable alternatives.

New problems appeared with the growing number of visitors, such as garbage collection and elevated noise levels. Some clubs were forced to pay fines because of loud music and some are investing in new sound isolation systems. Municipal government is trying to find solutions through cooperation and acquiring experiences from the cities that had similar problems (for example Malmö).

One of the challenges for Savamala's development in the future is Belgrade Waterfront, a flagship project of the Serbian government. As there is still no official plan of that project, it cannot be taken as a certain urban solution for the right bank of the Sava River. Our interviewees agreed however that the so far presented project Belgrade Waterfront is a bad urban design solution for this part of city. They say that this project does not fit into the existing urban fabric of Belgrade, that it completely changes the current face of the city, that it 'looks like a piece of Dubai thrown in Belgrade', that the official contract was not published, and that the project will violate legal procedures. They are also doubtful whether the project will be implemented and if so to what extent. They see Belgrade Waterfront as a tool for constant political manipulation and an instrument which is supposed to bring cheap political points.

In addition to their core activities, creative people show a high level of social responsibility. Through various projects they have begun to point to the problems that the district is facing. They are leading a protest against Belgrade Waterfront project in order to preserve cultural and social heritage of Savamala. Also, through interaction with local people, they are trying to find out what their opinions are concerning the future development of the district and how they can help in achieving them. They singled out noise as one of the biggest problems. It is generated by heavy traffic during the day and by nightlife activities during the night. They also organized help for people threatened by the floods in 2014 and for the refuges in 2015.

Conclusions

As the case study shows the creative sector development in Serbia is highly dependent on external funds. Moreover, to have effects on regeneration of spaces municipal support mechanisms are of high importance. The way the creative sector is developing in Savamala can be described as a path dependent evolutionary process where the municipality played a key role at the beginning. Top-down local government management and flexible decisions, at least in conceptual terms, formed initial conditions for the creative sector advent to the district. Nowadays the quarter's cultural development is driven by bottom-up initiatives of these organizations. The logistic support of the municipality is still provided and pronounced when applying for European funds.

As the profitability of art and culture is limited, the importance of European financial funds and external financial sources, such as sponsorships, is even bigger. Most of creative organizations benefited from early external financial support and some of them are still dependent on it, even though part of their activities is profitable. Consequently, urban development of Savamala is strongly influenced by foreign and other external financial support and by the power and impact of local political elites.

This is attributable to the socio-cultural socialist legacies, still visible in an undeveloped market economy and in the overall difficult economic situation in Serbia, as well as in the political-administrative structures of the country. Since more than a decade after the democratic revolution, the breaking up of encrusted organizational structures and working methods is still one of the foremost challenges for local administrations. In our case study, municipality leaders, strongly influenced by Western European examples of urban regeneration, and by their ability to initiate bottom-up developments, decided to implement a similar process in Savamala in order to improve the inherited situation.

The next evolutionary step is leading to market orientation of businesses that should reduce dependence on external financial support. The first organization that is implementing that kind of management is Design Incubator 'Nova Iskra'—an organization which is fully dependent on generating economic value through its creative activities. In autumn 2015 a new IT hub should be opened in the vicinity close to the currently active creative quarter—another organization based on creative industries principles. According to public officials, organizing a stronger network between creative organizations is the greatest objective for the future. This would enable a common approach and strengthen the position of Savamala. There are also plans to attract new creative organizations, mostly market oriented. These organizations should be a part of some creative project, financially sustainable, and not dependent on external financial support.

We can notice two lines of urban dynamics grounded in these examples:

- Savamala is on the development path from a cultural to creative quarter, which is connected with a stronger focus towards more market oriented cultural and creative activities;
- The borders of the creative quarter are expanding to neighborhood areas.

On the other hand, nightlife that is flourishing in Savamala is entirely market oriented and profitable. Emergence of a lively nightlife scene was a result of successful cultural and creative urban regeneration, but is not dependent on the external financial support or the municipality's support, and therefore is not manageable through top-down processes.

Vaništa Lazarević et al. (2016) argue that Savamala's quarter development already reached the level of an unstoppable process of gentrification. Current developments show some elements of urban regeneration inherent to earlier phases of gentrification process such as stabilization of the quarter, rise of property values and local fiscal revenues, and encouragement of further development. However, we

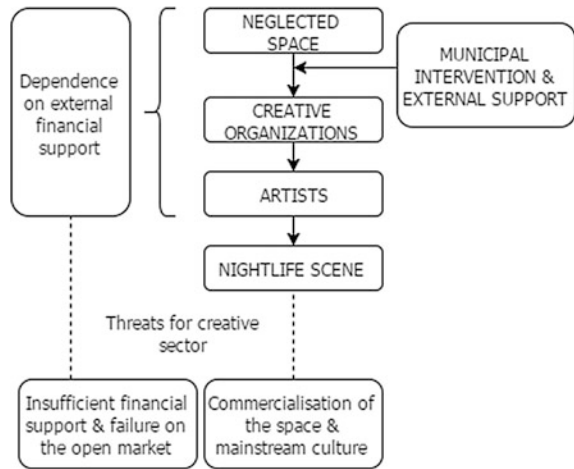

Fig. 5.5 Development process and threats for the creative city quarter of Savamala. *Source* Own elaboration

are questioning if gentrification will ever reach a full maturity level in Savamala. We did not detect any significant residential structure changes in the analyzed area. In the local residential structure there are not enough young affluent people who could be gentrification forerunners. In general, residents of Savamala are the same people who were living there before 2009. This neighborhood, as a noisy nightlife hotspot and a transit zone, with a high density of hostels occupying apartments inside residential units, undoubtedly is not an attractive residential zone for higher income groups. Partial regeneration of Savamala through new activities is surely in motion. Still, the final stages of the gentrification process are not certain, at least in short term and without some dramatic changes.

Therefore, we do not see gentrification as the first threat to survival of this creative quarter (Fig. 5.5). The main threats are a future lack of external financial support (for the organizations with primarily cultural activities) and a failure in the open market (for market oriented creative organizations). Additionally, commercialization of urban space and rising dominance of mainstream culture, which are more and more promoted in the nightlife of the quarter, are contrary to what creative people, especially artists, expect.

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Author Biographies

Nikola Jocić is a doctoral candidate at the Institute of Geography at the University of Bamberg in Germany. He received his Master's of Science degree in geography from the University of Belgrade. His major research interests are different perspectives of urban development, mainly in Belgrade and Southeastern Europe. At the moment he is researching the mutual influence between creative industries and urban development in Belgrade. His goal is to identify and analyse urban processes in transitional and post-transitional contexts.

Aljoša Budović received his Master of Science in geography from the University of Belgrade. He is a doctoral candidate at the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Geography, where he also works as a teaching assistant. His major research interests include the geography of service industries, urban tourism, and tourist spatial behaviour. He is currently conducting several research projects on issues such as hotel location patterns in Belgrade and the dynamics of the service sector in transition economies.

Andreas Winkler received his doctorate in cultural geography at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Bamberg in Germany. His general research interests are economic dynamics of cities and local and spatial development issues, with a regional focus on the Western Balkans. He is recently working at the Technische Universität Darmstadt as an advisor on external funding and internationalization, and is continuing to conduct research projects, mostly in close cooperation with the Institute of Geography at the University of Bamberg.

Chapter 6
After the Archipelago Basins: The Case of Independent Music Stage in Warsaw

Katarzyna Wojnar

Economy of Independent Music and Its Spatial Dimensions

Music as a Product and Commodity of Experience Economy

Music can be described as a hedonic activity that causes emotional reactions not only through audial stimuli but also through multi-sensual experiences related to all forms of music consumption. Getting into contact with music is possible via analogue and digital audio devices and players, audio-visual equipment in a form of a video or streaming as well as through a concert in a specific location and social situation. This is very often extended through fan culture such as merchandise, clothing, styling oneself in a particular way and shaping one's life-style and consumption preferences (Ekananda 2014). These purchase choices are very much motivated by the desire to re-experience individual memorable moment or reconstruct the emotional realm in which the musical experience took place (Lacher and Mizerski 1994; Lindström 2005). In that sense music industry, and especially independent music industry, is a typical case of an experience economy branch, in which the main function is to stage a memorable and personal experience which is intangible and revealed over a duration of time by a performer to their guest (customer) engaging multidimensional sensation and making it possible to enhance and extend this experience through personalised merchandise (Pine and Gilmore 1998). In their pioneering work on experience economy Pine and Gilmore (1998) distinguish between the service economy, which is offering customised services to clients and the experience economy, which offers personal experiences to guests through unique time- and place-based sensations. This new economy is fuelled by the need to look for individual identity and self-positioning through symbolic and

K. Wojnar (✉)
Centre for European Regional and Local Studies EUROREG, University of Warsaw,
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 30, 00-927 Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: k.wojnar@uw.edu.pl

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cultural goods in todays' societies (Lorentzen 2009). The experience economy doesn't limit itself to creative and cultural industries or tourism and entertainment. Interactivity can be installed in many conventional products and services making them more personal for the customer and increasing their value through unique aesthetic or entertaining content (Boswijk et al. 2007; Pine and Gilmore 2011; Jensen 2014).

Similar duality applies to urban dimension of the experience economy. A. Lorentzen (2009) claims that many aspects of experience economy are place-bound. On the one hand experience economy feeds on place as means of experience production. In that case urban environment is seen as a specific physical space in different scales where local identity, city's image and associations are important part in developing the experience product. On the other hand, place is very important for consumption of experience goods such as events (concerts, festivals), urban activities (shopping, walking, interacting with other people) or services (restaurants, exhibitions, performances). In this sense place increases the value of particular experience goods through identity creation and customer engagement (Lorentzen and Hansen 2009; Lorentzen 2009; Smidt-Jensen et al. 2009).

Cultural production of music happens within network systems with various functions and roles that are necessary for developing musical products and experiences (Cummins-Russell and Rantisi 2012). In his definition of cultural economy Hirsch (2000) identifies following actors of an industrial network: profit-oriented companies, creators (e.g. writers, musicians, arrangers), brokers (e.g. agents, bookers, curators), producers (e.g. labels, studios, publishers), distributors (physical and online stores, streaming platforms, venues) and media outlets. Music creation and consumption is by some scholars described as an interactive learning process in which both tacit and codified knowledge are imperfect and rapidly changing. According to Storper and Venables (2004: 1) this situation makes it necessary to rely on face-to-face contacts that 'provide efficient communication; can help solve incentive problems; facilitate socialization and learning; provide psychological motivation'. Therefore there is a strong tendency for spatial clustering of musicians, in particular those representing the independent scenes. This urban ecology of music production and consumption contributes to what some authors refer to as 'buzz'—the mechanism based on close interaction between producers, users and consumers that creates excitement and energy that may amplify the impact of a particular artist, work or genre beyond the intentionally planned level (Bathelt et. al. 2004). Buzz in this sense refers to processes of informal interactions between artistic milieus, cultural intermediaries and fan-base that need specific settings characteristic for urban landscape, such as studios, cafés, clubs and other artistic spaces (Currid 2007, 2009). These interactions depend heavily on taste-driven, place-based knowledge creation. They can take form of jam sessions or rehearsals allowing the musicians to convey specific values and content and might also include space and equipment sharing as well as making temporary strategic alliances between various actors in the music industry network.

Global Changes and Their Local Impacts on Independent Music Production

Music market is often described as being divided into three global major record labels and the rest that are called independent. However, independent music seems more than just the one that is produced outside of major commercial record labels, because it involves many meanings and practices defining the relationship between the musician and their record label. For the musician it means more autonomy over artistic work and lack of outside interventions into creative processes enabling more experimental and less commercial music production. A notion that is particularly important for the independent music is the D.I.Y. (do it yourself) legacy of punk-inspired ways of alternative and low-cost music making that has become a dominant organizational model for many music genres (Hracs and Leslie 2013). However, independent music very often struggles with limited access to capital, production resources or mainstream broadcasting and as an industry is subject of growing competition (Brown 2012).

Independent music recording market has a very diversified structure with companies ranging from large international multimedia corporations to informal garage labels. It is easy to speculate on the amount of actual independence or artistic quality related to music being produced under these various types of labels. According to The Independent Music Companies Association data almost 99% of European music companies are micro, small or medium sized enterprises that correspond to over 80% of new releases and employment in that sector (IMPALA 2015). It is therefore hard to tell to which extent being an independent musician is a choice and to which a necessity (Brown 2012; Hracs 2012).

Last two decades have completely redefined the global music market (Gałuszka et al. 2013). It is possible to identify seven main consequences of this process that created favourable conditions for the independent music to flourish in semi-peripheral cities like Warsaw:

1. Ongoing globalisation of the music market caused by digitalization.
2. Shift in music production and recording technology in terms of cost and access.
3. Accelleration of music production, supply and the number of artists and bands.
4. Shift in distribution caused by shrinking record market, diversification of music formats and distribution channels and growing online market.
5. Shift in communication and power relations within the music industry.
6. Internet piracy and shift in revenues from music production.
7. Shift in promotion channels and strategies.

Digitalisation of music production and distribution contributed to globalisation of the music market. It also enabled direct exposure of particular genres and artists to global audiences. Music has been especially prone to this shift, as it does not need direct interpretation and therefore is one of the most universal means of artistic expression. Ongoing globalisation of the music market also leads to redefinition of the role of traditional media as gatekeepers and tastemakers. It is now more

diversified through social media, streaming services and platforms that allow audiences to personalise and profile their playlists according to other users with similar taste (Gałuszka et al. 2013). This is especially important for the independent and niche music, as it allows the localised 'buzz' to go global and become 'viral' in relatively short time.

Making music is now cheaper than ever before because of relatively low cost and improved access to professional and semi-professional technology of music production and recording. Independent artists can utilise the online know-how and easily have their own studio with a help of a PC, editing software and simple recording equipment (Pettipas and Jagoda 2012). What is more, technological shift opened up a market of very cheap second-hand analogue and electroacoustic equipment from the 1970s and 1980s that has also been inspirational for many genres. Hracs et al. (2011) refer to this phenomenon as democratization of music production that made individual artists independent from major labels and professional recording industry. These authors also point out to spatial dimension of this phenomenon, namely emergence of new, secondary music centres (Hracs et al. 2011).

Some scholars however, are more sceptical about the democratization of music production and balancing power of different types of actors (Hesmondhalgh 2009; Rogers 2013). Rogers (2013) claims that the so-called 'MP3 crisis' is just a phase in-between the reorganisation of major music industry players that already present a wide range of innovative strategies attempting to compensate for the lost revenues. In 2012 and 2013 global music market has faced the most spectacular merge in the industry, that ended with disappearance of EMI group that has been absorbed by three other so-called majors—Sony Music Entertainment (SME), Universal Music Group (UMG) and Warner Music Group (WMG). This global process has been navigated by American and European antitrust institutions and resulted in macroregional shifts across the world. In Poland this process lead to improving the affiliated offices of WMG making them headquarters for the whole Central and East-European macroregion, which were earlier based in Germany (Gałuszka et al. 2013).

The global music market is still recovering from the 'MP3 crisis' started in 1990s by Napster and P2P filesharing platforms (Hracs and Leslie 2013). However, contrary to economic intuition it is possible to observe growing music supply in terms of artists, tracks, events and scenes. Kruse (2010: 625) claims, that this change is driven by Internet, which 'has become a key player in the production, promotion, dissemination, and consumption of independent music'. Hracs (2009) goes even further with his conclusions arguing that music making became placeless and opened up a possibility to become a successful musician by putting more emphasis on social than industrial dynamics in location choices.

This leads to a completely new model of music production – an enterprising musician. Such musician is using online networking and new technologies to compose, record, produce, distribute, promote and manage the work independently of major and medium labels (Hracs 2009, 2012). All these processes are based not on financial capital, but rather social and human capital, namely resources available

within local and virtual communities as well as willingness to learn new skills by using online know-how and tacit knowledge. This also applies to crowdfunding. It means that the structure of working time is shifting for many independent musicians towards less creative and more business-oriented tasks (Hracs et al. 2011). What is more, artists often become independent of their own local scene and through Internet can interact with other artists of similar genre or style. In other words musicians working in particular locations can connect with each other across localities creating inter-local identity (Connell and Gibson 2003; Kruse 2010). This shift in communication and power relations in music industry contributes to growing independence of artists on one hand and to shrinking time they can contribute to creative work on the other (Wojnar 2016).

Internet piracy and the 'MP3 crisis' had also important influence regarding the music production revenue structure (Cummins-Russell and Rantisi 2012). For independent artists the new context is that recording and publishing music is often considered partly production partly promotion and the ultimate financial goal is to book concerts and performances which became the main source of income for many musicians. With dropping record sales labels are now looking for opportunities to get revenues from digital downloads, subscription services and online streaming. As in 2014 for the first time in history global digital music revenues equalled physical at 46% of total industry revenues, online strategies are becoming more and more important (IMPALA 2015).

Growing number of music tracks, artists and records, differentiating structure of music production means larger competition and makes it difficult to get to target audiences. On the other hand a growing demand for more personalised, intimate and extended experience of music and its subsidiary aspects contributes to shift in promotion channels and strategies. These involve new, personalised and direct forms of interactions with fans through social media aimed at developing online fan communities (Burnes and Choi 2015). These are very often localised communities oriented to having a genuine, almost friend-like relationship with the musician, that support an artist in terms of creating a buzz, sharing and commenting on their work, crowdfunding and even booking concerts and organising tours. Burnes and Choi (2015) claim that many supply chains that used to be predominantly physical, including music industry, are moving into virtual world, in which fan-based virtual communities contribute to their impact and therefore value. In terms of horizontal strategies regarding promotion musicians are more open for strategic collaborations with visual and design artists in order to expand the emotional and aesthetic impact of their work. These collaborations often take form of barter with mutual promotion side-effects, but are also very sensitive in terms of taste compatibility (Hauge and Hracs 2010; Hracs 2012).

To sum up, it is possible to identify several parallel, yet contrary, processes resulting from recent shifts in the music market, that have changed the geography of music production. A narrative regarding music agglomerations is also present among experience economy scholars. It focuses on urban clustering of music industries underlining that vertical industrial integration is caused by imperfections and fluidity of knowledge required in music production (Connell and Gibson 2003;

Storper and Venables 2004). There is another theme represented by Hracs et al. (2011) underlining the importance of Internet linkages in accelerating music industry in secondary cities. These scholars argue that new linkages differ from typical industrial clustering in favour of horizontal social and bohemian clustering (Hauge and Hracs 2010; Hracs et al. 2011; Hracs and Leslie 2013). Nevertheless, they observe that this online integration is rather localised and interactions take place mainly between artists, audiences and intermediaries. Finally, there is an interpretation integrating both of these perspectives emphasising that independent music scenes are bound locally but interconnected globally, since their long-distance linkages are based on intra-local identity similarities (Bennett and Peterson 2004; Kruse 2010).

Emerging Bottom-up Cultural Policy. The Case of Warsaw

Cultural policies play an important role in generating both supply and demand for artistic production and this also applies to independent music. The simplest classification of cultural policy models involves variations between the top-down and bottom-up approaches. Flew (2013) presents a very interesting typology of cultural policies. He identifies bottom-up policies in the Anglo-Saxon approach as the market-oriented 'facilitator model' practiced in the USA and the re-granting 'patron model' popular in the UK and Australia. Among top-down approaches he mentions the 'architect model' based on centralised granting, typical for Francophonic and Scandinavian systems as well as the state-driven 'engineer model' implemented in former Soviet and some Asian countries (Flew 2013).

The process of cultural policy formation in Central and Eastern European (CEE) capital cities, like Warsaw, has been a subject of drastic change over last 25 years (Ilczuk 2002; Rewers 2014). In the context of Flew's typology I argue that cultural policy in Warsaw is shifting from the top-down 'engineer model' towards bottom-up re-granting 'patron model'. This process is rooted in Poland's transformation from the post-Soviet system towards democratic market economy with some neoliberal aspects (Sagan 2007; Murzyn-Kupisz 2010; Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). Apart from the above mentioned global processes shaping independent music market, there are also other national and macroregional processes that condition this shift in case of Warsaw. These are, among others, changing cultural policies at national level, dynamic situation on real-estate market, spread of 'creative city' rhetoric among decision-makers, growing political mobilisation of urban activist movements and artistic communities as well as growing appreciation of culture in social and urban development (Ilczuk 2003, 2012; Głowacki et al. 2009; Lewandowski et al. 2010; Rewers and Skórzyńska 2010; Rewers 2015).

During the 1990s, that is in the first decade of Polish transition, much focus in the public debate has been put on institutional and economic aspects of system change. Culture as a field of public policy has moved to periphery of the dominant

discourse. Therefore national cultural policy in that period could be described as 'ad hoc responsiveness' to current circumstances, lacking systemic approach and very much dependent on the vision of a particular person chairing the ministry (Wąsowska-Pawlik 2013). Most documents, manifestos or agreements lacked tools and resources of implementation. The beginning of the new century has brought a new opportunity with some significant resources coming from the EU funds. This perspective accelerated the debate on cultural policy with a strong focus on institutions and infrastructure, effective absorption of EU funds and filling the 'development gap'. This thinking has also been present on metropolitan level. Issues such as changing participation models, social dimension of culture or global pressures regarding culture have not been sufficiently and strategically addressed in that process (Ilczuk 2002; Wąsowska-Pawlik 2013).

However, since the beginning of 2000s it is possible to notice significant improvements in the number and quality of national cultural institutions. This new institutional framework opened up for a new generation of people with vision, passion and new approach to culture. What is more, it also created jobs and a new professional community. The majority of these new institutions, like National Centre for Culture (NCK), Adam Mickiewicz Institute (IAM), Theatre Institute (IT), Institute of Music and Dance (IMIT), National Audiovisual Institute (NInA) or Polish Film Institute (PISF) are located in Warsaw. Almost 80% of central government budget for culture is spent in Warsaw as well, mainly on major national cultural institutions. With a rather centralised national cultural policy benefitting the capital city, Warsaw city council, pressured by an influential cultural community, took a completely different approach and acknowledged the role of civil society institutions and grass-root movements in the field of culture by developing a granting and re-granting system. These funds supported broad variety of activities including large festivals, avant-garde projects and small community initiatives. This process strengthened the role of cultural intermediaries such as managers, animators, curators, educators, but also activated artists themselves to become more entrepreneurial. The system is very open in terms of areas and forms of activities that could be supported and therefore could be described as a 'patron model' (Flew 2013).

Second half of 2000s accelerated bottom-up movements' mobilisation, which was partly driven by political opportunity, partly by pressures from other sectors including social policy, labour market, real-estate market and urban planning. Literature on the role of culture, notions of creative city, cultural and creative industries has been an important factor too. This resulted in first evidence-based National Culture Congress[1] in 2009 supported by national institutions, series of comprehensive analytical reports and strategic policy proposals. Another strong impulse elevating the debate regarding metropolitan cultural policies has been tied to efforts of Polish cities to bid for the title of European Capital of Culture (ECC) in

[1]There have been national cultural congresses in 1981 and 2000, however they lacked analytical and evidence-based input.

2016. Between 2009 and 2011 several major Polish cities have been developing their proposals which resulted in radical widening of perception of the role of culture among local communities, metropolitan authorities, academics, media and governance practitioners (Kłosowski 2012; Tölle 2013). In Warsaw this process resulted in appreciation of already established bottom-up cultural community, bigger budgets for non-institutional culture as well as introducing convenient regulations and solutions regarding cultural activities. Even though Warsaw did not win the ECC 2016 bid, this energy has been channelled into developing an unprecedented bottom-up participatory document prepared by the cultural community, informal leaders and activists in cooperation with representatives of institutions and city council. The Warsaw Culture Development Programme has been adapted by the city council in 2013.

Methodology

This research seeks to explore recent dynamics and location factors of independent music production, interaction and performance in Warsaw with particular attention to reactions to global shifts in the music market. Main research questions investigated spatial situation regarding independent music production, interaction and performance as well as factors influencing urban location of these types of activities in Warsaw. The research is based on a qualitative case study design (Bryman 2004; Yin 2009) involving triangulation of data sources and analytical methods such as observation, desk research, individual semi-structured in-depth interviews, qualitative snow-ball mapping. The research has started with a three month long observation of an actual independent music band and their attempts of finding a rehearsal studio in Warsaw. Analysis of secondary data and content involved reports, music reviews, magazine articles and online sites including Facebook pages about renting music spaces. In total 25 interviews were conducted within the framework of this research in spring and summer 2015. Purposeful selection of interviewees included 7 independent musicians representing various music genres, 5 independent label managers, 3 music critics, 5 intermediaries (club owners, activists, cultural animators) and 5 local policy-makers (public real-estate office, metropolitan and district cultural offices).

Independent Music in Warsaw

Networking—Local Reaction to Global Challenges

Independent music scene in Warsaw has been flourishing for over two decades now, achieving a high level of diversity, a recognizable brand and becoming a crucial part of the city's image as an innovative, creative and hip city. Independent

music scene in Warsaw consists of many different genres including free jazz, underground jazz, improvised music, indie music, electronic music, electro-pop, rap and hip-hop, post-rock, hardcore, post-punk, folk and nu-folk, contemporary music and many, many more. A characteristic feature of all of these scenes is strong anti-mainstream and anti-commercial orientation, which manifests itself as being very D.I.Y. (do-it-yourself) and self-sufficient in terms of production, distribution, promotion and performance. The only exception would probably be the hip-hop environment with almost every label having a successful merchandise brand. Another feature is that most of the artists are multi-instrumentalists either self-taught or very well educated graduates of music universities and they are very open-minded about switching aesthetics and collaborating in surprising and avant-garde constellations. Both academic and post-academic scenes of contemporary music are not separated from the underground or avant-pop projects. On the contrary, these two worlds merge together in various urban spaces and places. A good example of this could be a leading contemporary music quartet having their rehearsal studio at a punk squat, as they say, not because of lack of available spaces (they are all teachers at the Warsaw Music University and have access to very professional means of music production), but because of the possibility of collaboration and mutual benefits for all artists working in that space.

This openness, integration and interconnectivity at the artistic level contribute to uniqueness and very original independent music production being created in Warsaw. One of the explanations of this openness might be strong experimental legacy of the electroacoustic scene dating back to the 1970s and anarchist legacy of the punk movement in the 1980s. Those decades that preceded the transition, were very creative for the Warsaw music scene. There were several reasons for that. A lot of artists were inspired by the Western—mainly American and British music, however they would lack access to technology and instruments. Therefore many musicians and instrument designers were looking for ways to imitate or recreate sounds using domestic or Soviet technologies. Those attempts inspired artists to collaborate across genres and inspired them to explore further technical possibilities of the D.I.Y. equipment. Many of these artists started to experiment across aesthetics connecting entertainment music with Polish country and urban folk as well as romantic tradition of classical music. These aesthetic and technical explorations and merges contributed to very specific attitudes towards jazz, pop, punk, folk and electronic music. Warsaw became a place of musical experimentation and attracted open-minded and underground musicians to relocate. Student clubs located in central parts of the city and academic dormitory areas (i.e. Stodoła, Hybrydy, Park, Proxima, Riviera-Remont) have played very important facilitating role in that process, however since mid-1990s they started to lean towards more commercial events. The decade of 1990s brought a flood of commercial pop music and meant entry of international majors like Universal, Sony, Warner and EMI reconstructing the informal networks and changing the Warsaw scene by promoting mainstream music. However, the end of 1990s and the 'MP3 crisis' activated bottom-up underground initiatives that would find their way in the transition of Warsaw into a Central and Eastern-European metropolis.

Competing with Real Estate Developers

Metropolitan processes in Warsaw have very important spatial aspects and are strongly tied to growing role of the city as a place for macro regional headquarters of multinational corporations and most important location for domestic companies (Gorzelak and Smętkowski 2011). Moreover, growing corporate labour market, as well as expanding service sector, attract labour force from all over the country. That creates very strong demand on the real-estate market with many domestic and foreign developers competing for attractive locations for office, residential and commercial spaces.

The situation is further complicated due to weak urban planning and unsolved real-estate ownership issues dating back to post-war period. Warsaw has been one of the most ruined cities in post-war Europe. In order to rebuild the capital city the communist authorities introduced the so-called Bierut Act, which nationalized all real-estate within administrative borders of the city depriving owners of their properties. After the transition the situation has not been regulated in a systemic manner creating unprecedented wave of civil suits against the city council. This limits the city's potential in terms of introducing a comprehensive spatial policy. Many real estate properties in Warsaw still have a vague legal status and therefore selection of potential spaces available for new establishments is relatively narrow. It's even possible to say, that the standard cycle of a cultural district is impossible due to the developers' pressure (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). The few postindustrial areas in sub-central locations have been immediately gentrified even before any artistic or underground activities would become visible there. It's notable, that apart from the Central Business District, the city has three significant secondary office districts. Moreover, the economic crisis has not hit the Warsaw real-estate market to large extent and most of investments both in sub-central and more suburban locations have continued with only minor delays. This characteristics shows the scale of power imbalance between developers and artists.

Different Reactions to Spatial Pressures

All of these spatial pressures created very hard conditions for independent musicians to find spaces of creation, interaction and performance. In each case conditions related to real-estate market, local and national cultural policies as well as bottom-up mobilisation have played an important role as location factors. Yet not all types of independent music activity have been affected by these processes in the same way. Mapping spatial history of independent music locations from the last two decades shows that Warsaw is a very clear case of significant differences in terms of location of artistic production, interaction and consumption of independent music. During that period spaces of independent music production have been

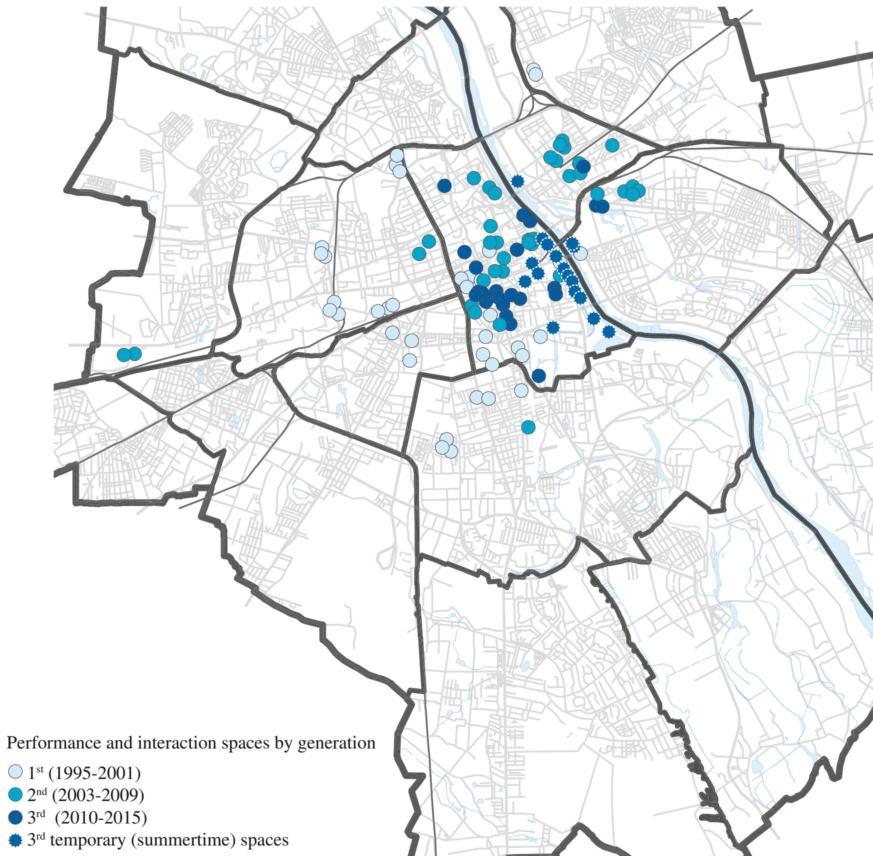

Fig. 6.1 Spaces of independent music interaction and performance by 'generations' in Warsaw. *Source* Own research

pushed further and further away from the city centre into peripheral districts and post-industrial areas in less attractive locations (Fig. 6.2). Parallel to this process it is possible to see that spaces of performance and creative interaction have been gravitating more and more towards the city centre (Fig. 6.1). Even though the situation could be described as difficult for all types of independent music activity it is worth investigating which factors are responsible for the above mentioned differences. The figures show different generations of places identified as important for independent music. Places marked as first generation have either disappeared or have altered their creative status to the extent that does not qualify them as places of independent music. Places marked as second generation have either disappeared or are losing significance, whereas places marked as third generation are considered new and blossoming.

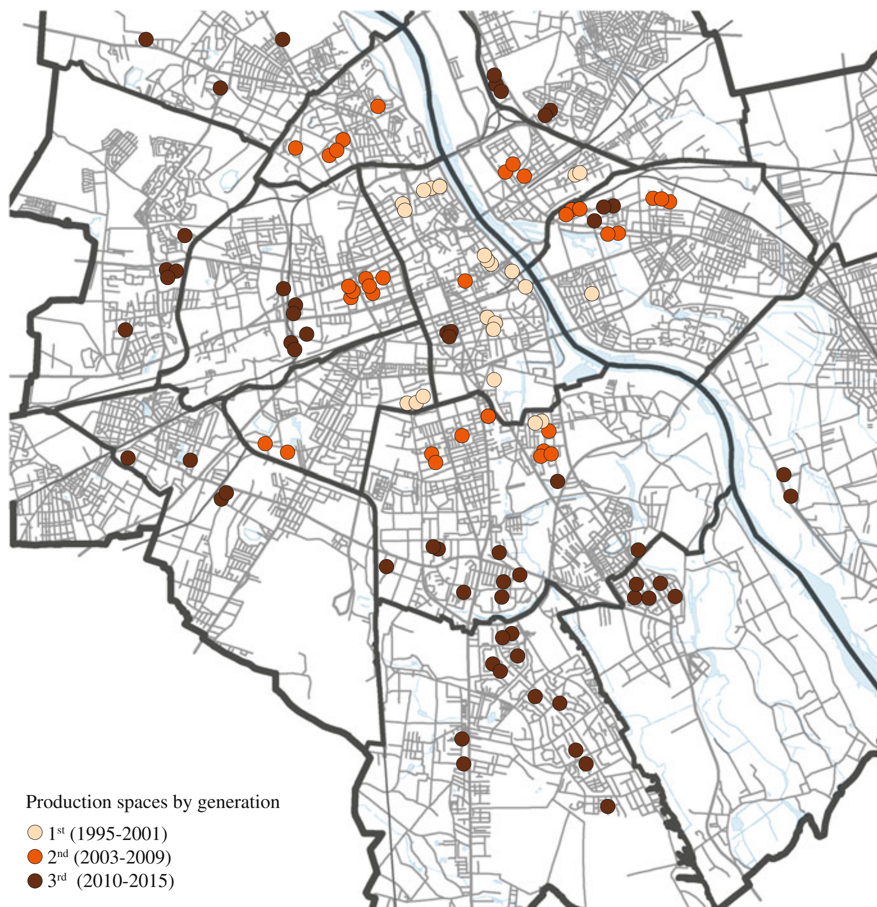

Fig. 6.2 Spaces of independent music production by 'generations' in Warsaw. *Source* Own research

Spaces of Interaction and Performance

Significant domination of the majors that promoted mainstream pop music in the largest TV and radio stations in the 1990s followed by the 'MP3 crisis' mobilised independent musicians and club owners to look for cheap, unobvious and underground locations for music clubs. With less revenues from selling records, the need to connect with fans and gain income from concerts encouraged independent artists and managers to organise their own venues for performance. First generation of independent music performance and interaction spaces has been forming as 'archipelago basins' with 3–5 clubs next to each other. Owners of the first pioneering club in a particular location would soon convince their friends or groups of similar taste to start their own club while helping them with organisational issues.

Those symbiotic clustering processes would first start in the western part of the city and form a ring surrounding central districts. These clusters would usually appear in former industrial or manufacturing zones (Burakowska, Dobra), abandoned railway magazines (Kolejowa, Kotły) or old military forts (Forty Mokotów, Forty Bema). At the beginning of 2000s several basins would also appear on the eastern bank of the river—in the district called Praga, locating in post-industrial areas in the former vodka factory (Koneser) and its surroundings, a textile factory (Otwocka) and a former motor manufacturing site (Mińska).

These first generations of clubs launched a completely new lifestyle related with clubbing and became an incredible push for different genres of Warsaw independent music. These initiatives were very often managed by artists themselves but also by fans and people from their surroundings, not necessarily having much business or managerial experience. Their popularity among hip young people and their place-making role led them to become a subject of very strong and intense competition and gentrification. That process was driven by more experienced players in the entertainment sector. A significant number of these clubs and sometimes even whole basins would become outbid and pushed away from their original locations and aesthetic specificity by developers or competition. This created frustration, but also mobilised artists and broad ranges of intermediaries (club owners, intellectuals, urban activists, cultural animators, journalists, non-government organisations, etc.) to look for solutions, collect organisational know-how, create lobbying groups and advocacy with regard to underground and independent culture. Some of these strategies would also include finding allies in new emerging national and municipal cultural institutions.

Parallel to this process urban cultural policies would become more present on the agenda. There was a political opportunity to negotiate some forms of public support for the independent culture with the city and district councils. One of developed solutions has been selection of few locations with preferential rent for independent or non-profit cultural venues as an experimental tool. This solution brought many new initiatives and spaces of independent music interaction and performance closer to the city centre. One of the reasons for that was growing consciousness and acknowledgement of cultural functions of the city centre and openness of central district authorities for supporting independent cultural initiatives.

Second half of 2000s was also the time when first club-cafés (*klubokawiarnia*) would appear in Warsaw—a new type of venue run as business with significant part of profit being spent on culture. The most important and pioneering venues of this type have been Chłodna25 and LeMadame, both now closed due to neighbour-venue conflicts. Club-cafés have been established by the new generation of cultural managers and activists as a reaction to aggressive competition that pushed away some archipelago basins from their original location. Starting a sustainable business would also fill the gap of insufficient public support for the independent culture and music, as owners would become a sort of private patrons for independent music. These places would also welcome all sorts of community initiatives, debates, brainstorming and networking events. Shift in communication and social mobilisation caused by social media contributed to building significant

and supporting audiences and fan base. Very often these would include visual artists, curators of prominent cultural institutions, academics, journalists or even representatives of mainstream media. Club-cafés would create a very favourable environment for development of independent music providing very open and inclusive environment, decent performance incomes for the musicians, collaboration opportunities, exposure to very demanding yet supportive and influential audiences with truly independent vibe. Centrally located club-cafés played another function, as through intense networking activities they would build knowledge and encourage bottom-up pitching of solutions and programmes for supporting independent culture in Warsaw. Finally, club-cafés would consolidate this potential and use the political opportunity of European Capital of Culture 2016 bid to advocate for the bottom-up Warsaw Culture Development Programme.

The latest generation of performance and interaction venues for independent musicians is a result of experiences and milestones achieved by club-cafés. Participatory urban planning process and exploratory initiatives of non-profit sector created a seasonal space for open-air music venues and bars by the Vistula river. It is a part of a broader revitalisation programme, that proved to be very successful through engagement of independent musicians and urban artists into place making processes. There are also several squats and temporary independent music venues based in locations with an unclear legal status. Bottom-up initiatives and programs gave the city council tools to negotiate, legalise and mainstream these types of solutions that contribute to vibrant artistic life in the capital city. Moreover, public institutions, like theatres or museums are becoming more engaged in supporting independent music by sharing their venues and collaborating with independent musicians. Many alternative initiatives started in club-cafés developed into cyclical events and festivals supported by the public sector.

Summing up, gravitation towards city centre in case of spaces of independent music performance and interaction has become possible despite pressures from the real-estate market and business sector. The factors of these processes are multiple, however, most important include bottom-up mobilisation and building social potential, political opportunity related to ECC 2016 and participatory processes in urban cultural policy, development of favourable support tools such as availability of public venues with preferential rents and grant system, supportive and influential intermediaries involved in lobbying process. In these processes spaces of interaction and performance of independent music became important subjects and beneficiaries of public support policy as well as private sponsorship. Characteristics of these type of spaces as being part of experience economy allowed them to be put on to the agenda.

Spaces of Music Production

During the same period spaces of independent music production, such as studios or rehearsal spaces have been pushed further and further away from the city centre into

peripheral districts and post-industrial areas in less attractive locations. Moreover, these spaces have experienced relatively short life-span with commonly acknowledged duration of around 3–4 years. Many artists have been forced to move their studios and rehearsal spaces as the venue was changing the owner or was being renovated and upgraded for a different function. In their strategies independent musicians adapted to these harsh conditions, by incorporating the fluidity and necessity of mobility into their studios design.

First generation of independent music production spaces has been mostly located in the city centre. Those were however, not the high-street locations, but rather more low-key or even shabby quarters that would offer a small garage or a former manufacturing site for rent. Real estate market dynamics in Warsaw has very quickly verified those locations as music studios. Artists and sound engineers would have to move their studios to outer districts forming four main clusters of the second generation of music production spaces. Those clusters were placed in the western district (Wola)—a typical case of restructuring inner city manufacturing, southern district (Mokotów)—with old villas, well planned housing quarters and many former artisan studios for rent, eastern district (Praga)—a more deprived urban area with very cheap rent prices, and northern district (Żoliborz)—type of rather posh, upper-class district with few scattered former manufacturing spaces. Clustering processes in case of the second generation music production spaces have been accelerated by emerging social media. The first social media platform dedicated especially for musicians that revolutionised networking, knowledge and aesthetical circuit for independent musicians has been MySpace. It enabled a new way of communicating with fans, but also enabled artists to collaborate together. Around 2006 MySpace has slowly been displaced by Facebook as more popular and universal tool of communication. One of the most common uses of social media platforms by independent musicians in Warsaw involves looking for or sharing music studios and workshop spaces (i.e. semi-open studio sharing add pages). Two very clear examples of this process were present in the case of second-generation clusters in the western and eastern districts. Pioneering groups would spread word of mouth about the availability of spaces for rent and help other groups by sharing administrative and technical know-how. Interestingly, the western district music production cluster has been attached to the largest printing house cluster by the time and the eastern cluster was based on collaboration with many visual artists.

The last generation of independent music production studios and rehearsal spaces is located in even more peripheral and residential districts (especially the southern locations) as well as former railway properties (western and north-eastern locations) and former manufacturing buildings. Many of these locations include non-typical music production spaces such as basements of residential houses, utility rooms in schools or kindergartens or former public service offices. This functional and geographical shift from former industrial spaces to residential spaces has been caused by several factors. Firstly, the shift in recording and mastering technologies (cheaper recording devices, cheaper recording and mastering software, good quality sound and instrument digital libraries) allowed musicians to divide the work into 'loud' and 'quiet' processes. This causes less conflicts with neighbours in

residential areas and allows musicians to have their studios nearby their home. This process has actually been crucial for the peripheralisation of music production location in Warsaw. It is also reflecting a change in attitudes among artists, who are now more open towards negotiating their space in their own community and neighbourhood and have less trust towards seemingly affordable spaces in post-industrial areas.

A very important source of semi-professional studio design know-how has also been the social media, namely YouTube. Many independent artists and music engineers are using D.I.Y. online video tutorials while designing and building their studios to make them cheaper, mobile and easy to reconfigure. This strategy applies to rehearsing, working on new material and preparing demos. Many independent artists rent professional recording studios only for a final recording and up to a few days. Other cost-effective strategies apply to being creative with recording technologies by developing a more vintage sound, using old recording equipment, mastering the sound by avoiding using expensive digital filters or tuners.

Summing up, most important factors that allowed independent musicians and sound producers to achieve this level of mobility can be associated with technological shift, bonding and networking role of social media as well as creativity in terms of aesthetics and sound. Moreover, unlike spaces of performance and interaction, spaces of independent music production are not yet subject of public policy support. Conducted interviews confirm the working hypothesis that spaces of independent music production do not involve audience and therefore are not directly part of the experience economy. It is thus harder to put this case on the agenda. Another power factor affecting non-central location of music production spaces is lack of support of powerful and influential intermediaries, such as art curators, club owners, cultural animators or journalists. These actors are not directly involved in music production process, unless they are musicians themselves. This factor constructs less political and power opportunity and makes it harder to create coalitions in favour of supporting individual artists or bands with their production spaces. Finally, there is a common, dangerously neoliberal, belief among many intermediaries and local policy makers that artists who are not ‘smart’ enough to get access to or cannot afford a studio are simply not suitable for this profession.

Conclusions

This chapter explores the notion of experience economy in the case of independent music scene in Warsaw. It investigates to which extent global shifts in the music market such as the ‘MP3 crisis’, technological developments and social media resonate in secondary metropolises such as Warsaw. It demonstrates that Warsaw is a very clear case of increasing differences between locations of artistic production (peripheral) and performance and interaction (central) of independent music. Findings indicate that spaces of independent music production do not involve audience and therefore are not directly part of the experience economy, whereas

spaces of independent music performance and interaction became subject of political opportunity of various intermediaries which put that case on the policy agenda resulting in preferential rents and a supportive grant system. Moreover, recent developments in recording and mastering technologies as well as social media contribute to flexibility and mobility of music studios as well as bonding, networking and space sharing among independent musicians.

It is therefore possible to generalise that spatial clustering and gravitation towards central districts is significant in case of independent music interaction and performance spaces, as they are subject to experience economy. They exploit new linkages, that differ from typical industrial clustering, in favour of horizontal social and bohemian clustering. These new linkages create favourable conditions for bottom-up mobilisation and participatory processes in urban cultural policy by involving various groups of intermediaries in lobbying processes. These findings reinforce interpretations proposed by Hracs and others (Hauge and Hracs 2010; Hracs et al. 2011; Hracs and Leslie 2013), who underline the role of localised integration and interactions between artists, audiences and intermediaries. This also suggests a need for further research that explores political opportunities and spatial dimensions of cultural policies in secondary metropolitan areas in Europe. More research is likewise needed on how local policy makers can be more effective in offering support to creative production in secondary European metropolises.

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Author Biography

Katarzyna Wojnar Ph.D., is a graduate of the University of Warsaw and Högskolan Dalarna in Sweden. She works as an assistant professor at the Centre for European Regional and Local Studies, EUROREG, University of Warsaw. She is an author and co-author of numerous reports and publications on creativity, innovation, creative industries and urban development. She has participated as an expert in many national and international research projects (ESPON, 7th Framework Programme of the EU) and collaborated with representatives of the European Commission, DG Regio, Polish Ministries and Urban Councils.

Chapter 7
The Role of Theatre Venues in the Transformation of Barcelona

Daniel Paül i Agustí, Joan Ganau and Pilar Riera

Introduction

It is widely recognised that cultural activities can have a beneficial effect on the regeneration of urban spaces. As well as their well-consolidated function of conserving and promoting culture, they have also assumed a symbolic function (Monaci 2005). The relationship between cultural expression and the city has therefore evolved: cultural activities are no longer considered as simply expressions of culture; instead, they are also seen as factors that can act as driving forces capable of promoting the urban economy (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993) and which have a tangible impact on public space (Landry et al. 1996).

According to some authors (Scott 1997; Paris and Baert 2011; Bounds 2007), theatres provide an excellent example of amenities that can generate positive synergies within the local territory. This has allowed some theatre artists and managers to access new sources of funding that have facilitated the construction of new spaces dedicated to the performing arts and/or permitted the renovation of existing ones. Even so, on many occasions, this architectural renewal has not been matched by similar investments in production, innovation and/or the consolidation of new forms of theatre (Strom 2002).

D. Paül i Agustí (✉) · J. Ganau
Universitat de Lleida, Pl. Victor Siurana, 1, 25003 Lleida, Spain
e-mail: dpaul@geosoc.udl.cat

J. Ganau
e-mail: ganau@geosoc.udl.cat

P. Riera
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Edifici B, Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès), 08193 Barcelona, Spain
e-mail: pilar.riera@uab.cat

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Theatre amenities can be elements that promote change in cities and, above all, in the districts in which they are located. With the creation of urban leisure zones, they can attract investment, new economic activities and new neighbours (Hughes 1998). Theatres consequently participate in the creation of a new city image through the relationships that is established between theatre activity, new economic activities and citizens—whether these are local residents or those who attend theatre performances (Ramos and Sanz 2012). However, despite their importance, few academic works have hitherto analysed the repercussions that theatres have on the urban landscape and public space (Bélanger 2005; Makeham 2005; Harvie 2009; Ramon 2011; Maitland 2008, 2013).

The performing arts have also played a key role in policies of cultural innovation and in the introduction of creative activities in many cities (Landry 2000). One particularly emblematic case was the revitalisation of Broadway, in New York, in the 1980s, when the area was immersed in a process of decline. Thanks to the modernisation and creation of a new theatre offer, it was possible to transform this central space in the heart of the city (Rosenberg and Harburg 1993). A few years earlier, a similar operation had been undertaken with the construction of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts; this had also been associated with an important process of renewal on the Lower West Side of New York. Later, other North-American cities adopted similar policies, such as the construction of the Avenue of Arts in Philadelphia, from 1992 onwards (Bounds 2007; Ganau 2007).

Similarly, the revitalisation of the Southbank of London was largely based on the promotion of cultural amenities which included the reconstruction of Shakespeare's *The Globe* theatre (Newman and Smith 2000; Murray 2014). More recent developments of this type have included the *Quartier des spectacles* of Montreal. This was created in 2003, as a part of a project that brought together representatives from the cultural, property development, educational, business, residential and public administration sectors (Quartier des spectacles 2008; Dumas and Subercaseaux 2011; Katiya 2011). Its ambitious objective was to develop specific projects that reinforce social cohesion and creation and help to position the neighbourhood as a pole of attraction within Montreal and as a cultural destination at the international scale.

In some cases, the construction of new theatres may also imply large-scale, and sometimes excessively ambitious and expensive, construction work. This may also have certain less desirable repercussions: gentrification; increases in the price of land; larger public deficits; and the loss of alternative forms of theatre in favour of grand spectacles offering almost guaranteed success. However, looking beyond these large-scale events, which imply the mobilisation of quantitatively important resources, the presence of more modest theatres may offer an instrument for reinforcing social cohesion within a particular neighbourhood, or even the city itself. In the case of Roubaix, for example, the decision to back several cultural amenities, including theatres, has made it possible to improve social cohesion within the city as a whole, to reinforce the self-esteem of its citizens, and to project the image of a dynamic city at the regional level (Paül i Agustí 2009).

Methodology

Within this wider context, the chapter presents the results of a research project on the territorial differentiation of theatre activity in Barcelona and the dynamic processes that have accompanied it (Sacco and Ferilli 2006; Zukin and Braslow 2011). The variables that have been analysed include: the density of theatres in the city; their dates of inauguration; the number of people who attend them; the seating capacities of their auditoriums; and the number of people who they employ. The results obtained have allowed us to visualize several important aspects of urban activity, such as the specialisation of certain districts in providing theatre, the segregation of other neighbourhoods and the evolution of these aspects over time (Moisand 2009). Similarly, a study of the location of these amenities within the city has allowed us to analyse the influence of public policy and to observe the areas where the production and consumption of culture has tended to concentrate (Newman and Smith 2000). All of these are essential consideration for a good management of public resources and for achieving optimal effects for local citizens.

The study started with an analysis of the locations of the different theatres within the city of Barcelona (Fig. 7.1). Defining the subject to be studied was the first difficulty to overcome. There are at least three official listings of the theatres in the city of Barcelona. According to the Institute of Culture of Barcelona City Council, the city has 37 theatres, whereas according to the Department of Culture of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (Government of Catalonia), there are 51 of them. Both of

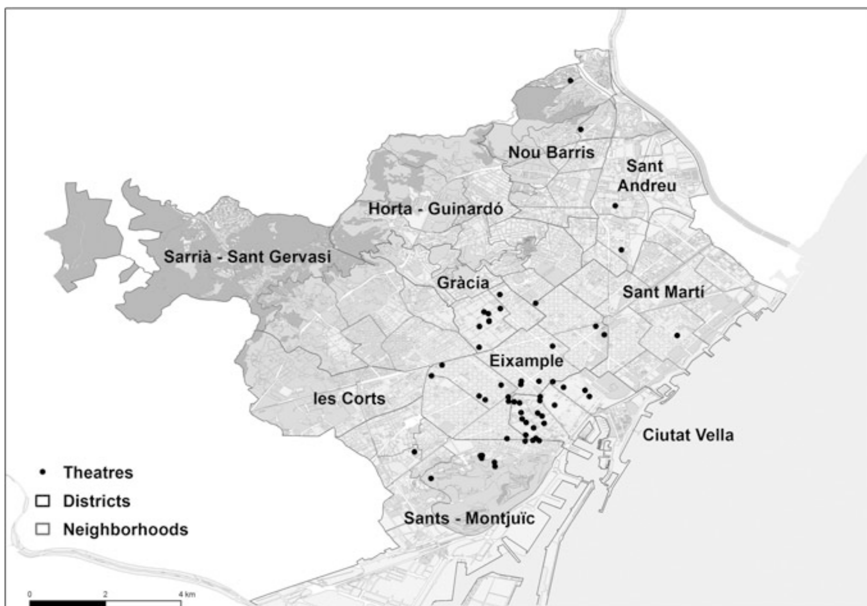

Fig. 7.1 Location of theatres studied in Barcelona (2014). *Source* Own research

these lists are essentially based on listings of spaces that have requested some form of public subsidy, whereas the Association of Theatre Companies of Catalonia (ADETCA) recognises 74 theatres in Barcelona. In the present work, we have analysed 56 different theatres, limiting our study to those offering permanent professional programmes that are open to the general public. This definition deliberately excludes premises used only for rehearsals, dedicated to amateur functions and cafés and restaurants that have small spaces where minor performances are sometimes staged.

The information was compiled using a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. We have, for example, included quantitative information derived from Statistics on the Performing Arts provided by the Department of Culture of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (available for the period 2006–2013) and from the annual statistics of ADETCA (for the period 2008–2014). This has also been complemented with certain data obtained from the webpages of the different theatres (this is particularly true of data relating to theatre seating capacities, numbers of auditoriums and dates of inauguration). At the qualitative level, we carried out in-depth interviews with seven persons responsible for different theatre companies in Barcelona.

It is also important to stress that the majority of the sources available were not exhaustive. For a number of reasons (including the absence of statistics and inaugurations or closures during the study period), we were only able to obtain complete data for 21 of the 55 theatres in Barcelona. Despite this, we have chosen to present all of the information that we were able to obtain in the present work. This explains some of the differences between the variables represented, although we consider that including the greatest possible number of theatres has enriched the overall analysis.

From this statistical information, we have drawn a series of maps that show the concentrations of the different variables analysed. This is not a case of a cartography that quantifies a particular variable, but rather of one that shows the intensity with which it is present in a certain area of the city, based on groupings of values for the different theatres studied. This representation has the drawback of not individually identifying the different theatres. To at least partially overcome this problem, we have also included a number of tables that present data relating to the phenomena represented. Even so, the maps allow us to clearly appreciate concentrations of the variables in question, which is what best meets the objectives of our work.

The Evolution of Theatre Spaces: Changes and Continuity

It is difficult to understand the present location of Barcelona's theatres without examining the historical context of its evolution. To do this, we shall dedicate a brief section to explaining how the location of Barcelona's theatres within the city has changed over time. We shall begin by referring to the *History of Barcelona*

(Sobrequés 1991–2001) and reviewing the studies of Aloy et al. (2011), Albertí and Molner (2012), Perrone (2011), Ramon and Perrone (2012) and Tierz and Muniesa (2013).

The starting point for the introduction of theatres in Barcelona can be established in the year 1603, with the inauguration of the theatre of *Santa Creu*. This is thought to have been the first building in the city constructed with the main purpose of staging theatrical performances. Before that time, theatrical performances had been staged on what were popularly known as the '*patios de comedias*'. This theatre initially belonged to the hospital of the same name, which used the performances as a way of raising money. It was located in the lower part of what is now Les Rambles. When the theatre was originally created, this was a space yet to be urbanised; it only acquired its centrality with the passing of time.

For more than two centuries, this was the only theatre in the city. In fact, this remained the case until the middle of the 19th century, when other theatres began to appear in the city centre. It was then that the old *Santa Creu* theatre became known as the *Teatre Principal* (Main Theatre). This name referred to its tradition and recognised its condition as the most senior of Barcelona's theatres, but it was also the name that many other theatres received at the time, both in other Catalan cities and in the rest of Spain. Thus, the theatres of Zamora (1606), Palma (1667), Zaragoza (1799), Maó (1829), San Sebastián (1843) and Alicante (1847) also received this name. Almost all of these amenities tended to shape the most representative spaces in the economic and social lives of these different cities.

In Barcelona, new theatres were also located in the central spaces of the city. By 1835, there were already four more theatres: *Gegants*, *Montsió*, *La Mercé* and *Santa Caterina*. By 1859, the number of theatres had risen to 19, of which 12 were located in the middle of the historic centre of the city. However, by the end of the 19th century, when the city began to expand to the Eixample, two new theatre districts had become consolidated: Passeig de Gràcia and El Paral·lel.

Broadly speaking, this distribution was then maintained for most of the 20th century, although some new areas also began to appear (Perrone 2011). Thus, in 1936, three new theatres were established in Montjuïc (a space which, as we shall later see, was destined to play an important role). In 1977, the theatres continued to be mainly concentrated in the historic centre (26), the Passeig de Gràcia area (18), El Paral·lel (13) and Gràcia (12). The Montjuïc and Poblenou areas each housed four theatres, while another 19 were distributed throughout the rest of the city.

As noted by Aloy et al. (2011), only two of these areas have maintained their theatre tradition over time and through to the present day. Perhaps significantly, both of these are located in historic centres. The most important is located in the centre of the historic nucleus of Barcelona, in the Raval area of the city. The second can be found in the centre of what was once the village of Gràcia, which was absorbed by Barcelona in 1897.

Table 7.1 highlights two opposing tendencies. On the one hand, some parts of the city have consolidated their theatrical offer since the mid-19th century and through to the present day, becoming areas with an important degree of specialisation in theatre. This is the case in the Historic Centre, Gràcia and Montjuïc. On

Table 7.1 Number of theatres operating in Barcelona at different points in time

Year	Historic Centre	Passeig de Gràcia area	Gràcia	Paral·lel	Montjuïc	Other areas	Unspecified	Total
1835	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1859	12	5	1	0	0	0	1	19
1894	13	21	4	14	0	2	4	58
1936	26	20	10	18	3	12	6	95
1977	26	18	12	13	4	23	17	113
2011[a]	28	4	13	7	7	33	3	95

Source Aloy et al. (2011)

Notes The "unspecified" category includes theatres referred to by the authors in their inventory of theatres but which do not appear in the cartography. The 'other areas' category includes the rest of the city of Barcelona

[a]To facilitate data comparison, we have used the data provided by: Aloy et al. (2011) for 2011. Using our definition of a theatre, the numbers would vary a little: 16 theatres in the Historic Centre, 3 in Passeig de Gràcia, 7 in Gràcia, 6 in the Paral·lel, 7 in Montjuïc and 17 in other parts of Barcelona

the other hand, it is evident that in other parts of the city areas, an apparent initial consolidation of theatre activity was followed by its subsequent decline and virtual disappearance. This has been the case in the area comprising Passeig de Gràcia and El Paral·lel.

This last case is of particular interest. El Paral·lel is an avenue that used to run along the outside of the city's medieval walls, which were not demolished until 1854. This was a half-empty space, located just next to the port and very near the centre of the city. In the second half of the 19th century, more and more leisure premises were set up in this area, including cabarets and theatres, and throughout the 20th century, Barcelona's Paral·lel continued to have a reputation for alternative and transgressive entertainment. However, from the 1970s onwards, there was an important change in tastes with regard to theatre shows. A more diversified theatre offer emerged and became located in other parts of the city, with this area losing many of its theatres. In fact, only the urban renewal project initiated in recent years by Barcelona City Council has managed to partially reverse this trend and to help maintain El Paral·lel as one of the most important commercial theatre axes in the city.

The case of the area including Passeig de Gràcia and Rambla Catalunya is also very enlightening. These avenues, which are among the most important and central in Barcelona's Eixample, became consolidated at beginning of the 20th century. This coincided with the construction of the majority of Barcelona's great Art Nouveau buildings, which gave considerable prestige to this area. It was also during this period that this area received a large number of theatres. In fact, for a time, it even had more theatres than the historic centre. The progressive transformation of this area into a space dedicated to commercial activity, office space and luxury residences—with the corresponding increase in the price of its rents—has subsequently almost completely expelled theatre activity from this area.

Avinguda Diagonal has experienced a similar evolution. In the 1970s, as many as five theatres were located in the area (Fig. 2). Today, however, the predominance of commercial and office uses has practically eliminated theatre activity from the area. At present, there is only one theatre in this long avenue. As in the case of the Eixample, the fall in the number of theatres has been directly related to increases in the price of the land occupied by these spaces in the centre of the city.

Current Spatial Distribution of Theatres in Barcelona

This spatial mobility of theatre amenities is still on-going. At present, a northern axis is being constituted by the *Zona Nord*, *Ateneu Popular de Nou Barris*, *Sant Andreu Teatre* and *Nau Ivanow* theatres. In general, these are innovative, publicly funded amenities, established in working class neighbourhoods and they have reinforced the tendency for theatres to be located in developing urban spaces. The availability of land at reasonable prices and the existence of recently abandoned manufacturing premises have been key to these locations benefitting from the cultural policies of the city council. Nevertheless, when these locational advantages disappear, fundamentally as a result of the expansion of the urban area and the more intensive use of land, theatres, similarly to artists tend to be displaced towards new peripheral locations.

However, this spatial location model is put into perspective by another logic that tends to help consolidate traditional central areas. This is what has happened in the districts of Gràcia and Ciutat Vella (Old City, the historic centre), where theatre activity has not been displaced, despite their relative centrality. In fact, over the last few decades, this activity has been consolidated thanks to small and medium-sized theatre venues and, to a large extent, to the programming of alternative and experimental forms of theatre. The location of the *Fàbriques de Creació Cultural* (Factories of Cultural Creation, or Art Factories), which are new creative spaces promoted by Barcelona City Council, has helped to further reinforce this dual tendency.

The dynamism of Barcelona's theatres is also reflected in their longevity (Fig. 7.3). The median year when the theatres were opened is 1996, and the average age of today's theatres is around 31 years (only 14 of them are older than this). On the other hand, during the period 2000–2014, 23 new theatres opened. In other words, almost half of the theatres in Barcelona are less than 10 years old. This demonstrates the vitality of this sector, but also shows the relatively short lifespan of the majority of Barcelona's theatres. It is similarly revealing that none of the theatres that were inaugurated in Barcelona between 1930 and 1960 remain open today. The tendency for theatres to change their location in order to adapt to a changing urban context has therefore been reinforced.

Again, there is an exception to the general tendency. Several of the theatres inaugurated at the end of the 19th century still remain active: the *Romea*, *Molino* and *Aliança de Poblenou*. Some of those dating from the first quarter of the 20th

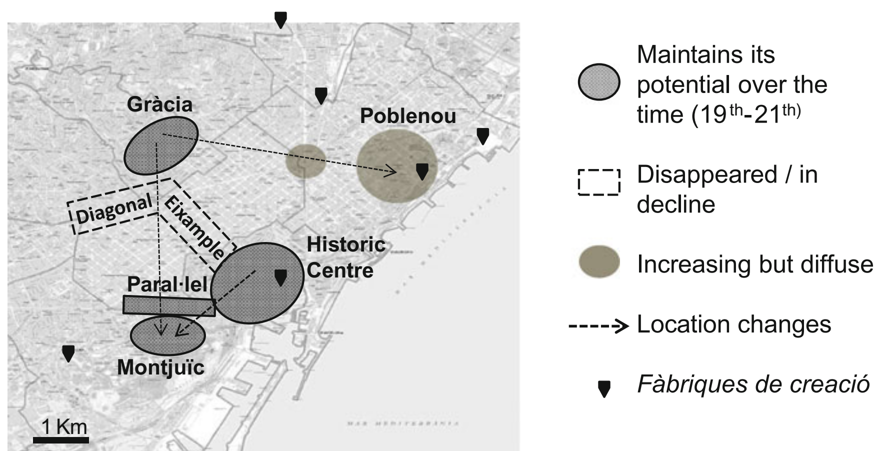

Fig. 7.2 Scheme of changes and continuities in the location of theatre activities in Barcelona. *Source* Own elaboration

century have also survived until today, including the *Victòria*, *Goya*, *Tivoli* and *Coliseum*, amongst others. Although most of these have had to endure prolonged periods of inactivity, it has been possible to revitalise them through private initiatives. Their location, in the city's historic centre and neighbouring areas or in Avinguda Paral·lel, demonstrates how the permanence of some traditional theatre areas coexists with the presence of other theatre districts that rapidly change.

As a result, the theatre activity continues to concentrate and persist in certain parts of the city. Of the ten districts of Barcelona city, there are three without a single theatre (Les Corts, Sarrià-Sant Gervasi and Horta-Guinardó) and another three that have only one or two theatres (Sant Martí, Sant Andreu and Nou Barris). This polarization is all the greater if we divide the city into neighbourhoods: only 16 (of the 75 into which the city is divided) have a theatre.

If we change our focus from the number of theatres to their seating capacities, the distribution pattern does not vary substantially (Fig. 7.4, Table 7.3). Again, the theatre districts of the Raval, El Paral·lel and Montjuïc concentrate the great majority of theatre seats. Outside these three areas, there is only one other relevant concentration: at the east end of the Eixample. This corresponds to the area occupied by the *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya* (National Theatre of Catalonia, TNC) which has more than 1700 theatre seats shared amongst its three auditoriums.

As far as the number of auditoriums is concerned, most (84%) of the theatres in Barcelona only have one. Amongst the theatres with more auditoriums, the previously mentioned pattern of concentration is repeated: the six theatres that have two auditoriums and the three theatres that have three are mainly concentrated in the previously mentioned areas (five of the theatres are located in these areas). The average seating capacity of the theatres of Barcelona is 351, with capacities ranging

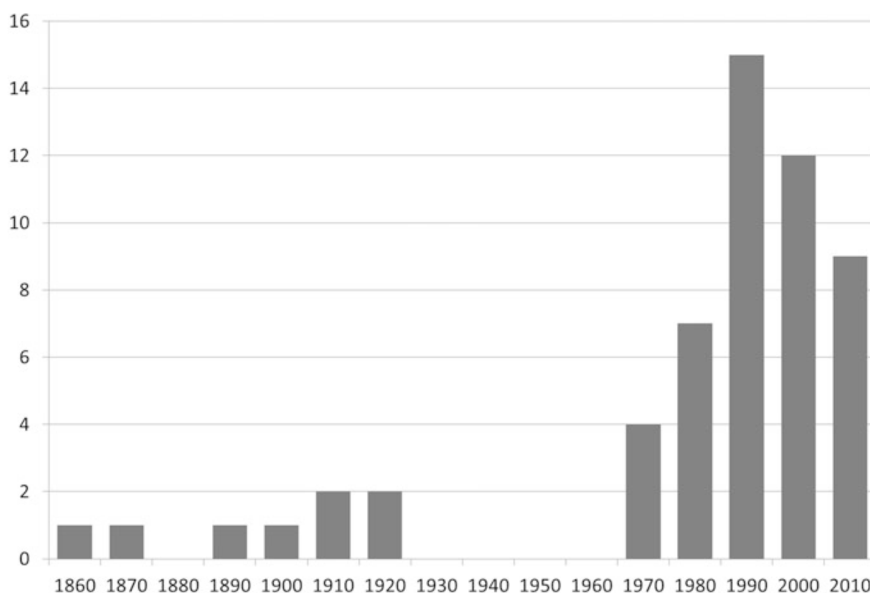

Fig. 7.3 Decade in which theatres that are still operating today originally opened in Barcelona (1863–2014). *Source* Own research

Table 7.2 Distribution of the number of theatre auditoriums and their capacities by district (2014)

District	Total theatre auditoriums	Total seating capacity	Average capacity per auditorium
Ciutat Vella	21	5738	273
Eixample	17	7575	541
Sants-Montjuïc	14	7575	541
Gràcia	9	1522	169
Nou Barris	2	670	335
Sant Andreu	3	498	166
Sant Martí	1	900	900
Horta-Guinardó	0	0	0
Les Corts	0	0	0
Sarrià-St Gervasi	0	0	0
Total	67	23505	351

Source Own research based on data obtained from Statistics of Performing Arts in Catalonia (Departament de Cultura 2006–2013)

from 40, at the *Cincómonos Espai d'Art* to almost 2000, at the *Teatre Grec*. The majority of the smaller theatres are to be found in Ciutat Vella or Gràcia, whereas those with over a thousand seats are located in Montjuïc and the Eixample.

On the other hand, it is interesting to highlight how this general pattern is broken when we analyse the number of plays that are offered rather than the number of theatres and seats (Fig. 7.5, Table 7.3). Gràcia is the district that offers the greatest number of different plays. At the theatres with the greatest seating capacities, located in the Eixample, Sants-Montjuïc and Sant Martí areas, the plays tend to have longer runs. In contrast, in the small theatres of Gràcia, the plays tend to be more experimental and to have shorter runs. Similarly, while the district of Gràcia concentrates around 10% of the total number of auditoriums and seats, the number of plays that it hosts always corresponds to over 25% of the total. It is therefore a district that has some very specific theatrical characteristics.

Another important factor for characterising the theatrical offer in Barcelona is the ownership of the different theatres. The great majority of the city's theatres are privately owned. Only the large-scale amenities located in Montjuïc (*Teatre Lliure*, *Teatre Grec* and *Mercat de les Flors*) and the *Teatre Nacional*, in the district of Sant Martí, are publically owned. Although this tendency has largely been maintained, we should also mention an important change that has occurred in recent years, when Barcelona City Council has sought to promote new spaces of innovation and cultural creation. Setting in motion the *Fàbriques de Creació Cultural* programme has resulted in the city council increasing public participation in theatre activity, even though the management of most of these spaces has tended to remain in private hands.

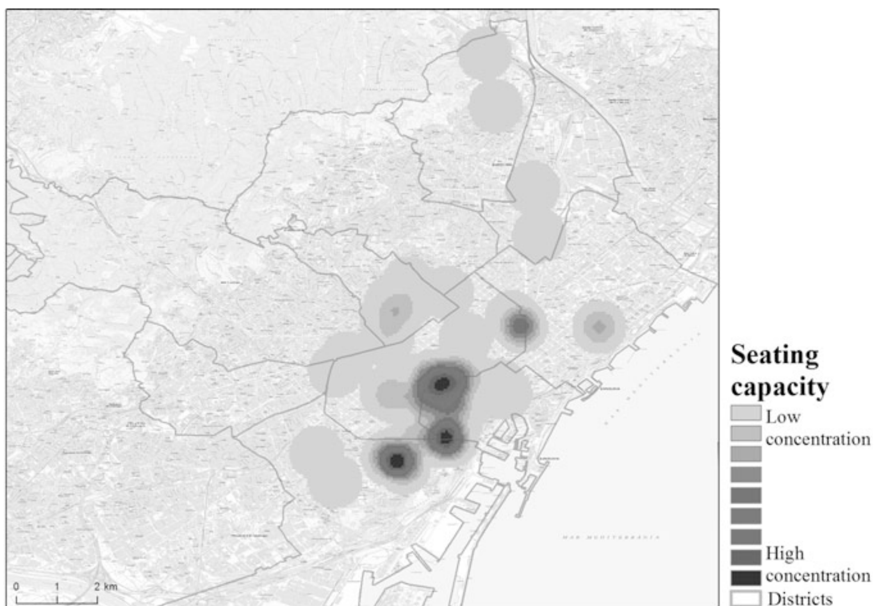

Fig. 7.4 Concentration of theatre seating capacity in Barcelona (2014). *Source* Own research

Table 7.3 Distribution of plays by district (seasons 2007–2008 to 2013–2014)

District	Number of plays			
	2007–08	2009–10	2011–12	2013–14
Ciutat Vella	104	277	399	417
Eixample	109	131	187	217
Sants-Montjuïc	139	175	201	191
Gràcia	147	164	149	193
Nou Barris	0	0	0	0
Sant Andreu	41	73	93	70
Sant Martí	0	0	0	0
Horta-Guinardó	0	0	0	0
Les Corts	0	0	0	0
Sarrià-St Gervasi	0	0	0	0
Total	540	820	1029	1088

Source Own research based on data obtained from the Association of Theatre Companies of Catalonia (ADETCA 2008–2014). The number of theatres for which different types of data are available varies according to the year in question. As a result, the annual data are not always completely comparable. This is particularly true of data for the year 2011, for which the data available vary greatly in some districts

With respect to the type of programming that the theatres of Barcelona offer, almost 40% is clearly commercial in character. Even so, around 25% of the theatres offer plays of a more alternative nature. We must add to this the fact that the programming of the public theatres usually combines commercial plays with more experimental ones. Furthermore, a good number of private theatres alternate commercial and more alternative productions in their programmes. It is therefore possible to affirm that, taken as a whole, Barcelona's theatrical activity has a certain alternative and experimental character and includes elements that are clearly innovative.

The distribution of shows by district reveals how Ciutat Vella offers the highest concentration of alternative theatre activity, and above all in terms of the number of theatres that alternate both types of programme. As previously stated, this district also has the theatres with the most reduced seating capacities (if we exclude the two most commercial theatres with large seating capacities: the *Romea* and *Poliorama*). The Sants-Montjuïc district has two salient characteristics. On the one hand, it hosts a good number of commercial theatres with large capacities, which are located along the Avinguda Paral·lel axis (this offer of commercial theatre began back in the 19th century and has since been maintained). On the other hand, this district contains three large-scale public amenities facilities with important seating capacities. The location of some small alternative theatres in this district (*Sala FlyHard*, *Hiroshima*, *La Vielella* and *El Polvorí*) has hardly modified the duality of theatre in this district: commercial theatre and large-scale public amenities.

The districts of Gràcia and Eixample present quite similar characteristics: quite a balanced offer between predominantly commercial and clearly alternative theatres.

Perhaps the main difference between the two districts is that the theatres of Gràcia have smaller seating capacities and, as a result, a greater rotation of plays, many of which tend to be of a more alternative nature.

Artists as a Factor for Explaining the Location of Theatre Activity

Artists associated with the performing arts can also be a decisive factor for the creation and evolution of theatres, but only at certain specific locations. Theatre activity is the result of a complex combination that requires a mix of creativity, the availability of exhibition space and the right kind of business management. In very well consolidated commercial theatre districts, decisions tend to follow quite strict business criteria based on profitability. Broadway, the West End and even the Paral·lel in Barcelona provide good examples of this.

In fact, Barcelona has a long tradition of theatre impresarios. Today, one of most important of these is *Grup Balañá*. This is a company with long tradition in the management of shows of different kinds, ranging from bullfights to cinemas. The group owns the *Borràs*, *Capitol*, *Tívoli* and *Coliseum* theatres, all of which have important capacities and very central locations, falling within a radius of around one hundred metres from Plaça Catalunya. Another important business group is *Grup Focus*, which includes various companies dedicated to the management and organisation of all types of shows. At present, it manages the *Condal*, *Goya*, *Villaroel* and *Romea* theatres, all of which also enjoy very central locations.

One interesting, yet somewhat atypical, case is that of the company *Tres per 3*, which runs the *Victòria* and *Poliorama* theatres. This company emerged in 1986 as the result of the union of an important theatre producer, *Anexa*, with two well-consolidated private companies: *Dagoll Dagom* and *El Tricicle*. The objective of this merger was to have relatively large halls in which to present their works and also to be able to make these available to other companies.

This case therefore represented an evolution for these companies from theatrical creation and interpretation to the professionalised production of shows and the private management of halls. Professional theatre is a complex artistic activity that requires a minimum level of infrastructure and a certain level of economic investment. For this reason, many theatre companies have had to take a similar step and, as well as creating and performing, have had to take on the business management of the halls where they present their shows. It is possible to mention *La Perla 29*, *QArs Teatre* and *Versus Teatre*, to give just a few examples.

This type of business structure has not, however, been the one most frequently used by theatres in Barcelona. In some neighbourhoods, artistic initiative has played a decisive role in the location of theatres or has, at least, proved as important as the decisions taken by private business people and public institutions. In the last few decades, alternative—not strictly commercial—theatre has played a very relevant role within the theatre scene of Barcelona. The tremendous diversity of the

companies involved has brought with it a complex evolution in the cultural space of the city. Many halls have come to be managed by the own companies themselves. In some cases, this evolution has been towards professionalised management, but in others—as we shall soon see—it has been the public sector that has helped to consolidate these theatre initiatives.

Part of this process must be understood within the political context that marked the final years of the Franco dictatorship, from 1975 onwards. In the final years of Francoism, political repression coexisted with the appearance of a multitude of cultural activities in Barcelona. The attitude of clear opposition to the dictatorship in the cultural and artistic world of Catalonia was an obstacle to the growth of many artistic initiatives. After the death of the dictator, many of these initiatives could be more fully developed and were also well received by the new democratic governments and institutions of Barcelona and Catalonia.

The concept of '*teatre de butxaca*' (or 'armchair theatre', taken from the French '*théâtre de poche*') was successful in the Barcelona of the 1980s and 1990s. The proliferation of these small-format halls allowed recently created companies access to an increasingly wider and more numerous public. At the same time, this also facilitated the formation of networks of actors, playwrights, stage directors, theatrical designers, clothing and lighting technicians, etc. All of this favoured the creation of alternative theatre circuits in these neighbourhoods and the emergence of numerous new creative activities.

The encyclopaedic work made by Tierz and Muniesa (2013) has enabled us to reconstruct the biography and evolution of the majority of the theatres and companies that appeared in Barcelona during those years and which have emerged since then. We will mainly focus on three areas of the city: the Gràcia neighbourhood, the Ciutat Vella (or Historic Centre) and Montjuïc, where theatres have played an important role in urban regeneration.

Gràcia is, without a doubt, the district that has been most transformed by artistic activity. This former village, which was absorbed by the urban growth of Barcelona, is characterised by its dense network of narrow streets and by a social structure typical of a working-class neighbourhood. In the streets of Gràcia, it is possible to find former industrial premises now in disuse alongside old premises originally created by the cooperative movement. In 1976, it was in one of these spaces—the *La Lleialtat* cooperative—that a group of actors, directors and theatre technicians found an ideal location at which to establish the *Teatre Lliure* (Free Theatre). They proposed an artistic concept that sought to be truly ground breaking.

Throughout the 1980s, the neighbourhood attracted other companies that came in search of small halls. In 1988, the company *Teatreneu* created its own hall in a building that had once been occupied by a cooperative of weavers and which was only two hundred metres from the *Teatre Lliure*. In the same year, the *Regina* cinema was transformed into a theatre by the children's theatre company *La Trepa*. A few months later, the *Sala Beckett*, which had been created by a group of theatre actors and directors, also opened its doors in the same area. As well as being a venue for theatrical representations, this space was also created with the explicit

intention of becoming a space for creation and experimentation dedicated to the performing arts.

In this way, an important concentration of theatre halls began to emerge, but—above all—one of artists and creators associated with the performing arts. In subsequent years, the situation was further enriched by the appearance of new halls, always as a result of initiatives either involving groups of theatre artists (*Artenbrut* in 1993) or links to centres of creation or schools of theatre (*La Caldera* in 1995 and *Porta4* in 2010).

In the Historic Centre, a similar phenomenon could be observed during the same period, with the creation of various new halls. Most of these were the product of the needs that young companies of artists and some theatre schools had to find places at which to stage their performances. Once more, the relatively affordable price of the historic centre and the existence of sufficiently large spaces to house theatre halls proved determining factors. In 1975, the *Institut del Teatre* (a school of dramatic art founded in 1913) moved into the northern part of the historic centre and established the *Adrià Gual* theatre there. In 1984, the company *La Fanfarra* opened the *Teatre Malic*, with just 60 seats. Nearby, and with similar dimensions, 1997 saw three friends (a poet, a magician and a theatre director) open the *Brossa Espai Escènic* theatre, with the intention of moving beyond the traditional limits of theatre and into other paratheatrical arts such as magic.

At the other end of the Historic Centre, in the Raval, there were also relevant initiatives by theatre companies and artists. In 1980, the *Llantiol* theatre, created by a group of artists, began an interesting programme that integrated several different performing arts. Later, in 1992, the company *Tantarantana* moved very close to this area and opened a theatre of the same name. These were rather uncommercial theatre initiatives that sought small venues (with fewer than 150 seats) and quite unconventional spaces. The search for this type of premises led the company of Oriol Broggi to convert a small hall in the Gothic-style building that houses the National Library of Catalonia into a stable theatre space. The intention to break classical moulds also led to the creation of the *Almazen* hall, in 2000, which has had a stable programme since 2005. Later, other performing art venues, such as the *Teatre del Raval* (2007) and the *Sala Fènix* (2013) have followed the same line.

The mountain of Montjuïc also largely became a theatre district on account of initiatives by various groups of theatre artists. The first step was the reuse of the *Teatre Grec*, an enormous outdoor theatre with nearly 2000 seats, which had been constructed in 1929. During the final years of Francoism, this space was seen by various artists as presenting a new opportunity to develop independent theatre in Barcelona. In 1976, the Assembly of Actors and Directors established a festival of theatre and the performing arts. Later, in 1979, the organisation of this event was taken over by the City Council and the Grec Festival became consolidated as Barcelona's main reference point with respect to the performing arts.

Nearby, and also in Montjuïc, there was the *Mercat de les Flors*, which—together with the Palace of Agriculture—had been constructed in 1929 for the Universal Exhibition and subsequently abandoned in the 1970s. In 1983, the director Peter Brook was looking for a theatrical space in Barcelona that would be

suitable for staging a performance of the work *La Tragedia de Carmen*. When he discovered this building, which for years had been used as a flower market, he decided to stage the performance there. The City Council government of Pascual Maragall saw the potential of the hall and, in 1985, organised a theatre programme of great quality at the *Mercat de les Flors*.

Later, at the end of the 1990s, another collaboration between the local public administration and various theatre companies gave rise to a new wave of theatre activity at Montjuïc. Lluis Pasqual—a theatre director and one of the founders of the Teatre Lliure—proposed the creation of the *Ciutat del Teatre* (City of Theatre). By now, the company had acquired an international dimension and the old seat of the *Teatre Lliure* in the Gràcia neighbourhood had become too small.

In addition to the transfer of the *Teatre Lliure*, the City of Theatre was supposed to house the *Institut del Teatre* which, as we have mentioned, was located in the historic centre. This proposal generated a certain debate: on the one hand, concerning whether it was appropriate to establish this new theatre district in the city; on the other, relating to the high level of public support that this would imply giving to what was essentially a private company that would subsequently become a private foundation. In 2001, the *Teatre Lliure* opened at its new location in former *Palau de l'Agricultura*. At almost the same time, the *Institut del Teatre* was also transferred there and then, a few years later, the *Mercat de les Flors* also incorporated the *Casa de la Dansa* (House of Dance).

This scheme of theatre initiatives that have originated from groups of artists but subsequently been developed by public administrations has also been followed in other cases; the *Sala Beckett* is one such case. In 2007, the building that it occupied in Gràcia was acquired by a property development company which sought to turn it into housing. The City Council was persuaded to take on the work of constructing a new seat—which had also to include a residence for artists—in a building that had previously housed the *Pau i Justícia* cooperative, in the neighbourhood of Poblenou. After years of delays, this new theatre was opened in November 2016.

The case of the *Sala Beckett* provides a good example of the policy that the local administration of Barcelona has tended to follow in recent years. On the one hand, it has provided support, from the public sector, for private initiatives led by existing theatre artists. On the other hand, there has been a tendency for it to encourage the location of performing arts-related amenities in the more outlying neighbourhoods of Barcelona, thereby also contributing to the recovery of the city's industrial heritage. Building on this base, in 2007, Barcelona City Council set up the *Fàbriques de Creació,* with the objective of offering artists spaces in which to develop creative activities.

These 'factories' house creative and cultural activities of many types, with some of them hosting activities related to the performing arts. In general, their locations moved away from the centre of the city and to more outlying neighbourhoods. The only exception to this general rule has been the *Brossa Espai Escènic*, which was transferred to *La Seca*, a building that had once formed part of a medieval mint, located in Ciutat Vella. The rest are located in outlying neighbourhoods, particularly in the north-east of the city, where the city's industrial activity was very

intense. The City Council aims to extend creative activities, in general, and, more specifically, theatre-related activities towards these neighbourhoods. These are neighbourhoods with a strong working-class tradition and few theatres, but they are also neighbourhoods with an abundant supply of land at a relatively cheap price.

Two particularly interesting examples are the *Ateneu Popular of Nou Barris* and the *Nau Ivanow*, both of which occupy rather eccentric locations within the city. In the first case, the location is in a former tarmac factory which the workers' movement managed to convert into a cultural centre in 1977. For years, it staged a variety of activities related to the production and exhibition of circus, dance and theatre. The other, the *Nau Ivanow*, occupies what was once a paint factory, in the Sant Andreu neighbourhood. In 1997, an architect and a photographer acquired the building to establish his study and a cultural centre that had there, emulating the famous Factory of Andy Warhol (Tierz and Muniesa 2013: 256). Although he initially intended to focus on the visual arts, he soon saw the potential of using the premises for the performing arts. The management of the centre was first placed in the hands of a cultural association and later of the association of neighbours, until it became one of the *Fàbriques de Creació* in 2010.

Theatre Performances and Venues as Economic Activity

One of the most direct impacts of the performing arts can be seen in the creation of employment. Although the spotlights only shine on the actors, behind any play there are many other professionals who are essential for its staging; these include ushers, lighting technicians and those in charge of the wardrobe.

According to data provided by the Catalan government, during the period 2006–2013, the number of workers directly employed by theatres was between 490 and 620 (Departament de Cultura 2006–2013). This translates into an average of between 14.5 and 18.8 workers per theatre. Even so, this statistic hides a wide variety of situations. Almost half of the workers directly employed by the theatres of Barcelona work for one of three public facilities: the *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya*, *Mercat de les Flors* and *Teatre Lliure*. If we were to ignore these three large public theatres, the average number (of full-time staff) would fall to 8 workers per theatre.

There is no doubt that the economic crisis has affected this distribution in recent years. While the number of people employed by private theatres has undergone a moderate fall, the reduction in public theatre employment has been much greater. The subsidies and fiscal advantages that different (local, regional and national) governments used to apply to the performing arts sector arts have been drastically reduced since 2008. These cuts arrived at what had been a high point for the theatre activity in terms of both the number of plays staged (see Table 7.3) and the rate at which audiences were increasing. In this respect, the impact of the economic crisis left its mark in terms of a reduction in both the number of plays staged and the number of jobs in the sector.

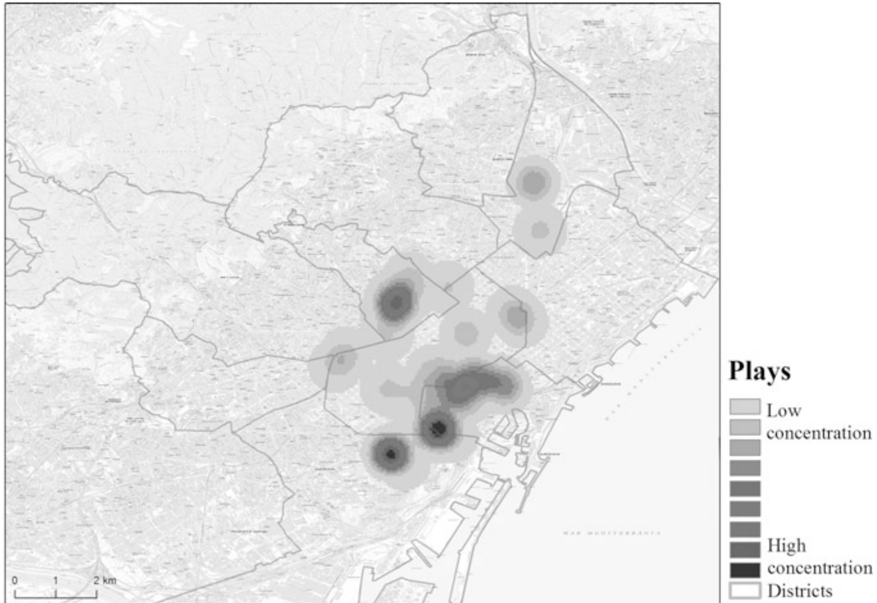

Fig. 7.5 Concentration of plays staged by theatres in Barcelona (2014). *Source* Own research

In Fig. 7.6 and Table 7.4, it is possible to observe how the greatest concentration of employment can be observed in the districts in which the largest public theatres are located: Sants-Montjuïc and Sant Martí. In fact, the distribution has been largely conditioned by the presence of these large-scale public amenities. The concentration of direct employment does not, therefore, correlate with either the number of theatres, their seating capacities, or the number of plays that they stage. In this respect, the case of Gràcia is particularly revealing. It is the district that hosts the largest number of plays, but one that provides relatively little employment. The small dimensions of the auditoriums and the presence of voluntary and/or amateur staff explains this failure to create many direct positions of employment.

The economic activity that is generated by the theatre sector greatly exceeds the amount of direct employment that it creates. There are many different professions associated with the performing arts. Some are closely related to theatre activity, such as ushers and those responsible for the stage scenery, lighting, wardrobe and makeup. Other activities, are more generic in nature, but are widely found in association with the theatre sector. These include: publicity, press and publications, transport, catering, packaging, furniture, audio-visuals, dressmaking, dry cleaning and laundry services.

If our count of directly related employment presents certain difficulties, opening a study to include the sectors with less well-defined relations is a task of even greater complexity. In the present study, we have only carried out some initial investigation, based on interviews with people associated with the theatre world.

Table 7.4 Distribution of theatre employment by district (equivalent full-time employment, 2006–2013)

District	Number of employees				
	2006	2008	2010	2012	2013
Ciutat Vella	79.4	87.7	94.2	121.9	112.0
Eixample	205.2	233.5	219.6	206.2	196.2
Sants Montjuïc	184.5	249.5	162.4	147.8	155.4
Gràcia	26.3	42.8	46.7	55.4	62.8
Nou Barris	3.9	2.5	3.9	9.7	9.5
Sant Andreu	7.8	5.2	6.7	11.9	11.9
Sant Martí	0	0	0	0	0
Horta-Guinardó	0	0	0	0	0
Les Corts	0	0	0	0	0
Sarrià-Sant Gervasi	0	0	0	0	0
Total	507.1	621.2	533.6	552.9	547.7
Workers per theatre	18.8	18.3	14.8	12.0	11.9
Workers per private theatre	9.2	8.3	7.4	6.5	6.9
Workers per public theatre	52.4	64.6	45.5	38.0	35.6

Source Own elaboration based on data obtained from Statistics of Performing Arts in Catalonia (Departament de Cultura 2006–2013)
Notes The number of theatres for which data are available varies according to the year in question. As a result, the annual data are not always completely comparable. The data presented refer to the equivalent number of full-time workers

Still, the initial results suggest that it is difficult to speak of clusters of activities related to the theatre.

Further study on the locations of these companies will allow us to know if the theatre sector produces clusters of companies related to this sector and whether these clusters are located in the districts with the greatest concentrations of theatres. It is certain that in the case of Barcelona there seems to be a certain concentration of this type of activities in the districts of Sant Martí and Eixample. Even so, everything seems to indicate that their location is not related to the presence of theatre activity in these areas. Instead, it seems to owe more to the characteristics of the economic activity in these two districts.

We have thus, for example, confirmed a certain concentration of the audio-visual and publicity sector in Sant Martí, although their location is better explained by the existence of a certain audio-visual cluster in this area and by factors that are not directly related to theatre activity. Similarly, the great diversity and maturity of the economic fabric of the Eixample could explain the number of companies in this district that are associated with the theatre sector.

The analysis of these sectors which are partially related to the theatre activity opens an interesting line of research which can be further pursued at a later date. The study must take into consideration the most obvious and general of activities, such as bars and restaurants near theatres, but also, and above all, other more specific ones. In the case of Barcelona, two good case studies could be provided by

the locations of lighting and sound companies and those of laundry establishments which mainly specialise in theatre costumes (some of which are located near the theatre area in El Paral·lel).

Conclusions: City and Theatre, a Complex Relationship

Theatres have formed an integral part of the urban landscape of European cities for many centuries. They first appeared as public spaces which met the leisure requirements of an urban population that still lived within walled cities. Since then, however, many deep-rooted social changes have taken place. The second half of the 19th century witnessed an explosion of the performing arts throughout Europe. Even so, on many occasions, the new forms of mass entertainment that appeared in the 20th century threatened to put an end to the theatre. In fact, the theatre sector has experienced moments of crisis that have resulted in the disappearance of some theatre amenities at the same time that new offers have emerged and have managed to keep the theatre alive through to the present day.

This nonlinear evolution of the number of theatres must also be combined with the no less complex urban evolution of European cities. The case of Barcelona provides a good example of how the location of theatres has been modified as the city has grown and also of how theatres have been important elements in the structuring of the city's urban landscape (Fig. 2).

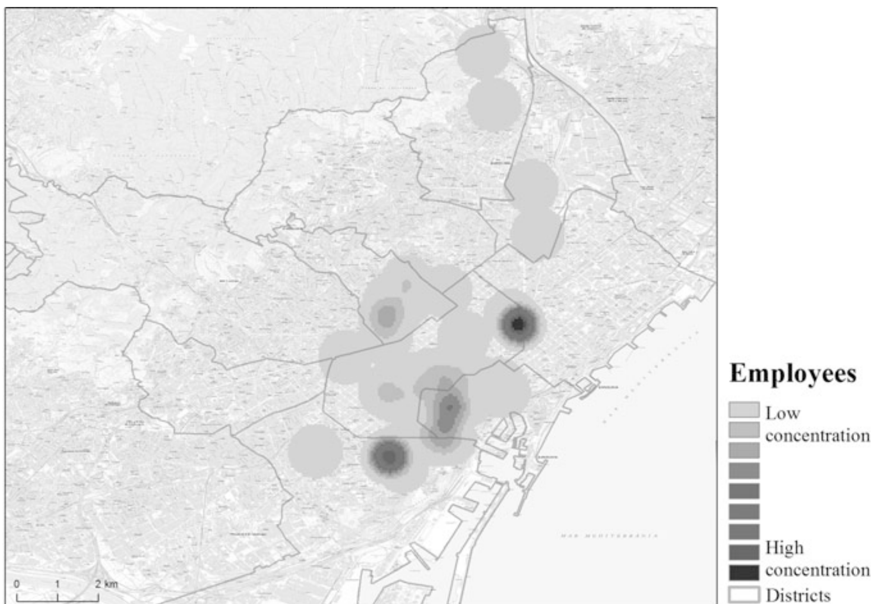

Fig. 7.6 Concentration of direct employment in theatres in Barcelona (2013). *Source* Own research

Barcelona's first theatre, which was linked to a hospital, was constructed in the Raval district, which was the area of expansion for the medieval city. Later, towards end of the 17th century, the urbanization of the area that is now known as Les Rambles drew the social life of Barcelona towards this axis, with several theatres being located there. The Ecclesiastical Confiscations of Mendizábal, of the mid-19th century, resulted in the destruction of numerous monasteries and convents and freed large amounts of space. The city, which at the time was still growing within its own walls, took advantage of this new land to construct amenities like the *Teatre Liceu* (the Barcelona opera house), which is also located in Les Rambles.

At around the same time, an area dedicated to leisure for both the citizens of Barcelona and visiting sailors was developed on the esplanade that ran between the city walls and the port. Next to the new nightclubs appeared a variety of theatres which helped to establish Avinguda Paral·lel as the theatre district of Barcelona par excellence. Based on a mixture of tradition and centrality, El Paral·lel and the Raval, have maintained an intense theatre activity through to the present day (Rius 2008, 2014; Espinosa 2011; Tremblay and Battaglia 2012).

When the city began to extend beyond its walls, so did its theatres. The availability of an abundance of relatively cheap land attracted theatre promoters to the Eixample. Some established their activity along the main axes in this neighbourhood, such as Passeig de Gràcia, where another important centre for leisure activity was consolidated with the opening of cinemas in the 20th century.

Continuing this colonisation of the 'new frontier', theatres spread out along other streets in the area of expansion, reaching Avinguda Diagonal in the 1970s. In a certain way, it could be said that these theatres helped 'to civilize' the new urban spaces that were gradually becoming consolidated. Once they had been incorporated as leisure areas, they were then integrated into the mental maps of the citizens of Barcelona. This process favoured the subsequent arrival of other activities, such as the headquarters of banks and office buildings, which also required a symbolic centrality. However, at the same time, these new activities caused an increase in land prices that would ultimately drive theatres out of this area and to more peripheral spaces.

From the 1990s onwards, this tendency changed. When practically all of the urban space in Barcelona had been consolidated, the location of theatres followed a different pattern. First of all, and as seen in recent years, there was a recentralisation of theatrical activity towards areas with better accessibility and greater symbolic value. El Raval and the neighbouring El Paral·lel have therefore gradually recovered some of the activity that they had lost during the previous period.

The return of theatrical performances coincided with a process of rehabilitation and gentrification in these historic districts. On one hand, the improvement in the perception of security—and the fact that more people visited the neighbourhood—helped to attract new spectators. On the other, the activity generated by the theatres themselves also helped to accelerate the recovery of these neighbourhoods.

Secondly, over the last few decades, the public authorities have promoted new peripheral locations for theatres. In part, the same logic has been followed as in the historic centre: the theatres have generated other economic activity in their

immediate surroundings and this has helped to improve the social fabric. There has also been an important amount of public investment in this type of amenity, in the hope of obtaining equally important urban and social benefits.

The examples that can be seen are many and varied. The *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya* (and also the *Auditori de Barcelona*) was an initiative aimed at starting the recovery of an old industrial area, located in the Sant Martí district, next to the Poblenou. In a certain way, this was the first operation in the recovery of what after 2000 would later become 22@ Innovation District, a project that aimed to convert an old industrial area in a new creative district in Barcelona (Paül i Agustí 2014).

The theatre has also played an important role in the recovery of Montjuïc hill. After the 1992 Olympic Games, the creation of the *Ciutat de Teatre* (City of Theatre), which was largely based on the reuse of existing buildings, was key to reincorporating this space into the day-to-day life of Barcelona.

Thirdly, attempts have been made to promote theatre activity in some of the less central neighbourhoods of Barcelona, with the aim of bringing it closer to citizens and their communities. The Atheneums of Poblenou and Nou Barris provide good examples of this policy, but there can be no doubt that Gràcia is the neighbourhood in which the impact of the theatre on the local social environment has been most notable. The existence of small auditoriums providing alternative theatre has contributed to the modification of the social structure of this traditional neighbourhood. Over recent years, Gràcia has first experienced a process of intense gentrification and then one of 'touristification'.

Fourthly, the *Fàbriques de Creació* programme has centred on recovering obsolete industrial heritage which, somewhat paradoxically in a manufacturing city like Barcelona, had not received the attention that it deserved. Going beyond any evaluation of the success, or otherwise, of introducing these *creative spaces* and of the reactions that they have drawn from certain sectors of the city, it cannot be denied that these initiatives constitute a new view of the relationship between the city and the theatre. Although, to date, these new postmodern *factories* have had relatively little impact on the neighbourhoods in which they have been installed, more time is needed before we can really evaluate their impact.

Finally, in addition to its relations with the urban landscape, there is no doubt that theatre activity has had an important impact on the city's economy. We have already mentioned the direct impact derived from the employment that theatres provide. We have also referred to the indirect activities that the theatre generates through service companies, which we have not yet been able to quantify. However, so far, we have not said anything about the relationship between the theatre and tourism.

In a city that receives as many visitors as Barcelona does, any event related to culture or entertainment has the potential to be turned into a tourist attraction. Even so, unlike in other audio-visual art forms, in the theatre, text is of great importance and therefore so is the language used; this has proved an impediment to attracting foreign tourists to works staged in Catalan or Spanish.

However, the situation is now changing. In the last few years, for example, some of the works that have attracted the biggest audiences have been examples of

musical theatre. Many of these have—almost identical—adaptations of musicals that have been successful in New York or London. In both these cities, tourism has made an important contribution to the success of the theatre and to the renewal of districts like Broadway and the West End. In Barcelona, this is still only a relatively new phenomenon, but according to how cultural policy is focused in the coming years, tourism may have a major influence on the type of theatre offered and also on the location pattern of amenities related to the performing arts.

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Author Biographies

Daniel Paül i Agustí is a doctor in geography and full-time professor at the Universitat de Lleida in Spain. His research focuses on the effects that cultural facilities (museums, theatres, cultural centres, etc.) have on urban development, the social fabric of cities, and tourism. This research has been developed through several projects and publications. His current research, comparing cultural centres in several countries (Belgium, Chile and Spain), has as its main objective to identify and quantify the impacts of cultural facilities and existing good practices.

Joan Ganau is a professor of geography at the University of Lleida in Spain. His work has focused on urban geography and regional studies approached from different angles. As a result of this research he has published numerous books and articles. He has also been a visiting professor at the universities of Oxford Brookes, Columbia, HEC Montreal and King's College London. He is currently Director of the Chair in Competitiveness and Regional Development. One of his main research projects has been to analyse the relationship between the city and culture in a broad sense.

Pilar Riera has a Ph.D. in geography from the Autonomous University of Barcelona, where she has been a professor in the Department of Geography for many years. Her teaching and research focuses on topics related to spatial management, economic and political structures of territories, medium-sized cities, and innovation. She has served on the academic boards of the Association of Spanish Geographers and the Catalan Society of Territorial Planning. She is currently a board member of the Catalan Association of Regional Science.

Chapter 8
Agglomeration of Bohemians Across Different Spatial Scales in Slovenia

Jani Kozina and David Bole

Introduction

Places of artistic production and consumption exist in a great variety of spatial forms and have received significant attention in recent decades, as many cities and towns turned to the arts as a substitute for the declining industrial base (Mommaas 2004, 2009; Stern and Seifert 2010). Municipal governments are turning to museums, performing arts centres, arts districts, creative quarters, and other cultural activities to promote and revitalize their cities (Griffiths 1995; Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris 2007). There has been a sizable body of empirical research that attempted to demonstrate the direct impact of the arts on urban economy (Ribeira-Fumaz 2009; Evans 2014), community building (Chapple and Jackson 2010; Grodach 2011), and relations between culture, urban policy, and governance (Anheier and Isar 2012), although this impact was not always found to be positive (Garcia 2004; Mccarthy 2005).

A number of studies examined the agglomeration perspectives of the cultural and creative sector (Andersson et al. 2005; He and Gebhardt 2012; Kourtit et al. 2013; Alfken et al. 2014; Melichová and Fáziková 2014; Cruz and Teixeira 2015), but they rarely tried to address it across different spatial scales (e.g. Grodach et al. 2014). Even though the stimulation, nourishing, or even instrumental creation of cultural and creative clusters has become an important component of the cultural and economic public policy at both the urban and regional scale from the 1980s on (Mommaas 2009), we still lack empirical and conceptual multi-scalar spatial comparisons.

J. Kozina (✉) · D. Bole
Anton Melik Geographical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: jani.kozina@zrc-sazu.si

D. Bole
e-mail: davi.bole@zrc-sazu.si

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Contemporary studies in urban and regional development stress the importance of large city-regions as key places in a post-Fordist economy taking the form of agglomerations of cultural economic activities by industries, companies, and highly skilled people (Scott 2001; Hansen and Winther 2015). The city-region model provides a potential link between urban and rural areas so that the competitive and complementary aspects of the urban-rural relations become more transparent (Parr 2008). A distinct advantage of city-regions is considered to be their ability to produce, attract, and retain those workers who play a leading role in knowledge-intensive production and innovation and provide the ideas, know-how, creativity, and imagination that is so crucial to economic success (Huggins and Clifton 2011). However, a closer inspection of the city-regional policies in this area reveals that many focus on quarter- or site-based developments and clusters, albeit within a city-wide framework or network (e.g. hub and spoke, polycentric clusters, retail trails/tours) (Evans 2009). In this way, we can talk about the complexities and multi-level spatial perspectives that need to be addressed adequately from a research and policy point of view.

To understand the geography of cultural economy and to formulate the supportive policies, it is necessary to analyse it across different spatial scales, especially on the sub-regional one. An analysis at a higher degree of spatial resolution allows the concentration of a particular economic activity to be more accurately identified. Regions can contain greater variations in economic characteristics within them (e.g. urban vs. rural) than between them, so comparisons between regions can be potentially misleading (Bakhshi et al. 2015). The associations and causalities may be different when smaller spatial units are taken into account (Collinge and Musterd 2009). Concentrations of cultural activities may also occur on lower spatial scales, for example, the visual effects industry cluster in London's Soho, so it is beneficial to analyse the data at the smallest possible scale for which official data are available (Bakhshi et al. 2015). A better acquisition of knowledge that spans across different spatial scales can serve the European multi-level governance model more efficiently as well as support subsidiarity in respecting competences, sharing responsibilities and cooperating between the various levels of governance: the EU, the Member States, and the regional and local authorities (Committee of the Regions 2009).

However, when looking for agglomeration perspectives in the cultural sector domain, empirical studies tend to map mostly companies; despite the fact that the main agents in cultural production are individuals: the so-called bohemians. The term 'bohemian' has been largely discussed in the literature on the topic. These are traditionally viewed as people who favour more libertine lifestyles and in general denounce middle-class (bourgeois) conventions; more recently, similar terms (such as neo-bohemia or 'bobos') have been developed to encompass a broader artistic but also economically driven category of workers. While in the first interpretation of the literature, bohemians represented a lifestyle rather than an occupational category, in the more recent use, there is a stronger connection between 'bohemians' and specific artistic occupations, with a growing integration of bohemian symbols and culture into mainstream economic activities (Comunian et al. 2010). This association between the term 'bohemian' and specific occupations is further discussed by

Florida (2002: 59), who includes 'authors, designers, musicians and composers, actors and directors, craft-artists, painters, sculptors, artist printmakers, photographers, dancers, artists, performers and related workers' in this more 'artistic' part of the 'creative class'. In fact, these categories of occupations, which are only a small sub-sector of the larger creative class—talented or high human capital individuals—are closely related to the concept of 'creative industries' (Comunian et al. 2010).

According to Florida (2002), bohemians play a relatively larger role in urban and regional development when compared to other 'non-creative' occupational groups. Their role is hypothesised to be twofold: they are part of a wider category of the creative class and are a sign of an urban culture of tolerance; thus, they play a key role in attracting other types of talented or high human capital individuals. The presence of such human capital in turn attracts and generates innovative, technology-based industries. As demonstrated by recent figures, bohemians display higher rates of self-employment in the creative economy sector than in other economic sectors (Wojan et al. 2007a; Bole 2008; Bakhshi et al. 2013) or are employed in small, agile firms that operate within a networked chain of interrelated activities (Rantisi et al. 2006). There is thus a need to better understand how these 'bearers' of cultural activities shape the temporal-spatial dynamics in urban and regional development.

Despite the fact that cultural economy does not conform to standard spatial patterns of work and residence (Silver 2011), we are still missing the basic information about these relations. For instance, to what extent do the places of cultural production coincide with the places of cultural consumption or to what extent do bohemians' places of residence coincide with the places of their artistic expression? Cultural work blurs the lines between work, home, and consumption. The planning regimes that seek to keep these lines sharp may not be optimal for supporting the business of the cultural sector in the city (Silver 2011).

The main aim of the chapter is to empirically investigate forms of bohemian agglomerations across regional, local, and neighbourhood scales and to develop a multi-scalar approach in observing the role of bohemians in shaping urban space, economy, and transformation. To this end, two objectives were set:

(1) To search for bohemian agglomerations across different spatial scales in the state context of Slovenia (regional and local scale) and the city context of Ljubljana (within city districts and local communities).
(2) To compare the bohemian agglomeration tendencies according to their place of residence and work between 2000 and 2011.

Review of the Geographical Scales and Concepts in Analysing Bohemian Agglomerations

The spatial agglomeration of cultural activities is a well-researched topic and has also taken up dominant discourse in urban/economic development policies. Our understanding of the geographical scales and the concepts of bohemian agglomerations are

Table 8.1 Theoretical approaches and spatial scales of cultural agglomeration studies

Theoretical approach	Most prominent concepts	Spatial scale	Critique
Porterian approach to cultural clusters and competitiveness	Functional approach to culture Commercial value of culture Spillover effects of culture Local economic revitalisation policies	Street City quarter (EU)/city district (USA)	Top-down concept Over-engineered lack of social context
Florida's theory of bohemians as 'attractors 'of the creative class	Artists create diversity, diversity attracts creative individuals Bohemians are a prerequisite for creativity and innovation Bohemians are a part of the creative class	Regions Cities, metropolitan regions	Instrumentalisation of culture Weak theoretical and empirical background Social dualism Disregard of socio-economic variances among creatives Questionable results in policy implementation
Sen's cultural capability theory	Behaviourist approach to culture Culture as way for social inclusion, identity building and thus culture-led development Bottom-up and non-market view on culture	Individual Local communities, city-wide	Parochialism, mono-causality Lack of economic factors and economic sustainability Instrumentalisation of culture

Source Own elaboration based on literature referred to in the chapter

presented in Table 8.1 and draw upon the work of Sacco et al. (2013) and partly on the critical papers on the role of culture and creativity in urban/regional growth by Storper and Scott (2009) and Pratt (2010).

Research on culture and its development potentials is not a recent fad and it stems from the classic work of Jacobs (1961), where the clustering of creative work and its diversity is seen as an 'engine' for city growth. Similar notions were explored in North American literature in the 1970s and 1980s and later in European cities such as Glasgow, Barcelona, and Bilbao (Garcia 2004). Concentrations of bohemians are often conceptualised on a lower sub-regional, local, or neighbourhood spatial scale with a particular focus on cultural quarters or districts within cities. They are defined as spatial agglomerations of cultural workers and creative companies with vibrant economic and social activities in a specific built form (Montgomery 2003). In terms of scale, they range from a single building to a block or a district (Lauderbach 2014). Emphasis is given to their commercial value and culture-led development (Roberts and Marsh 1995) that can be traced back to M.E.

Porter's theory of competitive advantage (1989, 2000). It seems that after Florida (2002), the research on culture and its spatial settings have gained new momentum. Although criticisms of his statements are severe, his contribution was in shifting the cultural geographical scale from the local to the regional. A myriad of studies followed where the creative class and within it bohemians were analysed, mostly on the inter-regional scale and in the metropolitan regions (Clifton 2008; Florida et al. 2008; Boschma and Fritsch 2009) and rarely on smaller spatial units, such as districts (Alfken et al. 2014) or rural areas (Wojan et al. 2007b). Other views on bohemian agglomerations are less prominent in geography. Sacco et al. (2013) mention Sen's capability theory of cultural development that favours a bottom-up, non-market orientated development and that focuses on the social effects of culture (empowerment, community cohesion, social capital), but criticize its lack of attention to economic sustainability. Such approaches commonly focus on the neighbourhood scale, whose purpose is to alleviate social tensions and improve the health and welfare of the people (Pratt 2010).

Culture is 'learned' and depends on being brought up within a framework, a cultural space (Young 1994) that could be described as an agglomeration of bohemians. The scale of it is said to relate to the distance over which information, transactions, incentives, and other interactions occur. As established from the literature review, bohemian agglomerations can be conceptualised and investigated from different theoretical perspectives and geographical scales. Research on this subject has not been consolidated. On a sub-regional and city-wide scale, we can find 'cultural/creative quarters', but also 'cultural/creative clusters' and 'cultural/creative districts'. Some authors distinguish clusters as places of cultural production and districts or quarters that focus on the development of consumption-oriented entertainment destinations as a means of stimulating tourism and are usually the focus of urban planners (Stern and Seifert 2010). For Branzanti (2015), districts are 'localised' clusters when companies are characterized by spatial proximity in order to enjoy the advantages of co-location. At a regional scale, researchers most often operate with the terms 'creative regions/cities', which are usually conceptualised by combining cultural economy and creative industries, even though they usually occupy different 'quarters' (Cooke and Lazzeretti 2008). Different scales of bohemian agglomerations have also been analysed through the lens of cultural/creative occupations on the one hand or cultural/creative industries on the other hand. The two concepts represent two sides of the same coin: one looking at individuals and the other looking at companies (Chapain et al. 2013) or, as expressed by Comunian et al. (2010), one looking at the supply side of the labour market and the other looking at its demand side. Bohemian agglomerations are a striking feature of virtually every national, regional, state, and especially metropolitan economy. The scale of creative cluster operation, synergy, and markets are increasingly important in securing growth. Creative city and industry strategies encompass, or at least aspire to address, all the scales: from the transnational, national, regional, city/region, to the local/neighbourhood (Evans 2009).

Drawing from the literature review, we can deduce certain conclusions on bohemians and their clustering on the regional and sub-regional scales. There is a

consensus that the physical agglomeration of bohemians is a fact and that it stems from their tendency to converge in specific spatial settings or the so-called 'creative habitat' (Lazzeretti et al. 2012). On the sub-regional (city quarter/district) scale, the emblematic spatial agglomeration is usually a redeveloped or regenerated inner urban area, especially older industrial zones and buildings such as textiles factories, warehouses, power plants, etc. (Evans 2009). Those places offer not just affordable rents, but also have a certain 'artistic habitus' or aesthetics, which is important to bohemians, and offer plenty of space for the co-sharing of work and living places (Grodach et al. 2014). A cultural quarter usually has specific cultural production and consumption activities (workspaces, events), specific built form (mixing of older and newer architecture and buildings) and a specific image or meaning (Montgomery 2003). Increasing commodification and commercialisation of those quarters translates to new investments and an influx of other residents and thus increases its property prices. Gentrification occurs where artists are displaced to cheaper city quarters and where the same cycle of artistic redevelopment can occur (Ley 2003), as was presented in the case of Krakow and Katowice in Poland (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). Florida's bohemians as 'attractors' of the creative class also show concentration patterns on a regional scale. Research conducted in seven European countries shows Gini coefficients of bohemians to be higher than those of the other creative or non-creative occupations (Boschma and Fritsch 2009). In the UK, Clifton (2008) noted that bohemians tend to concentrate in more urban/metropolitan areas, although not exclusively so. Lazzaretti et al. (2008) also found a positive correlation between creative concentrations and a larger population size of urban systems in Spain and Italy.

As explained above, depending on the theoretical standpoint, most research is steered only towards one spatial scale with either Porter's and Sen's approach on the micro-scale or Florida's with the regional scale. Particularly within larger cities, the findings of Markusen (2006), Wojan et al. (2007b), and Clifton (2008) suggest the need to investigate the subtleties of the distribution of the bohemian and the creative class on the sub-metropolitan (or even neighbourhood) scale. What we are thus proposing is a multi-scalar approach that covers the regional and the local scales and also encompasses the best of the three discussed approaches (Sacco et al. 2013):

- on the inter-regional scale, Florida's perspective on bohemians can be useful for the evaluation of regions' 'attraction potential' for talented individuals and companies;
- on the sub-regional scale, Porter's perspective is important to specify its competitive potential and the local system's specific assets;
- Sen's perspective is particularly important on the community scale, where cultural capability building translates into new entrepreneurial and creative opportunities.

We should also stress that we will not be comparing concentration and dispersion of bohemians among various spatial scales because it would be

methodologically incorrect to compare different sizes of territorial units [see Arbia et al. (2015) for the so-called 'modifiable areal unit problem']. But we can observe tendencies and trends of concentration and dispersion of different spatial scales to see the dynamics of bohemian agglomeration at the regional, municipal and sub-municipal scale. As Openshaw (1996: 65) notes, however, 'modifiable areal unit problem will disappear once geographers know what the areal objects they wish to study are'. Applying this multi-scalar analytical context can be useful in trying to avoid oversimplifications offered by the individual approaches. Storper and Scott (2009) advocate a more path-dependant research and a shift from ill-advised amenity-based theories to the local labour market and regional innovation research. Pratt (2010) supports a move away from the instrumental uses of culture toward the intrinsic value, since the economic value of culture is already supported by plenty of evidence. This multi-scalar approach is our attempt to look at the role of bohemians in a static and dynamic sense and in respect to its historical, geographical, and economic specificity.

Bohemian Agglomerations in Slovenia Across Different Spatial Scales

Research Design

In order to depict the agglomeration perspectives of bohemians by using a multi-scalar approach, we made separate analyses for the state context of Slovenia and the city context of the capital, Ljubljana. In the state context, we analysed the bohemians' place of residence and place of work in 2000 and 2011 across the regional, municipal, and sub-municipal scales. The regional scale is represented by 8 functional regions, which largely correspond to the NUTS 3 level, the municipal scale with 210 municipalities (LAU 2 level, formerly NUTS 5 level), and the sub-municipal scale with around 6000 territorial units. At the sub-municipal scale, we were able to acquire only the data on the place of residence. In the city context of Ljubljana, which is one unit at the municipal scale, we were interested in exploring bohemians' place of residence in 2002 and 2011 on the higher scale of 17 district communities and the lower scale of 95 local communities.[1] Again, the data on the place of work were not available. A rough proxy on that was obtained by summarizing the main findings on the location of companies engaged in creative industries (see Uršič 2016).

[1]District communities represent the official administrative division of the City of Ljubljana. Local communities represent the former administrative division of Slovenia at one of the lowest spatial levels. They are characterized by a relatively strong social geographical homogeneity and local identity.

The data on the locations of bohemians were obtained from the Statistical Register of Employment maintained by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia. We defined bohemians as members of the labour force engaged in cultural and artistic occupations. Herein we followed the definition adopted by the European research project entitled 'Technology, Talent and Tolerance in European Cities: A Comparative Analysis' (see Fritsch and Stützer 2007; Clifton 2008; Boschma and Fritsch 2009). According to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO 88) at the three-digit level, these are:

- writers and creative or performing artists (245),
- artistic, entertainment, and sports associate professionals (347),
- fashion and other models (521).

We performed spatial analyses by employing the Gini coefficient (G), which is a common measure for describing the degree of spatial concentration. It can take values between 0 (even distribution across spatial units) and 1 (extreme concentration in one spatial unit). The Gini was introduced to geography by Krugman (1991). He called it the 'locational Gini'. Before there were other methods as presented in Isard (1960).

To calculate the Gini coefficient, the spatial units containing the number of bohemians along a particular spatial scale were ordered in this fashion as $y_{(1)}$; $y_{(2)}$; …; $y_{(n)}$; (so that $y_{(1)}$ is the spatial unit with the smallest number of bohemians, $y_{(2)}$ the next, and so on up to the spatial unit of n) (Cowell 2009: 109).

$$G = \frac{2}{n^2\bar{y}}\left[y_{(1)} + 2y_{(2)} + 3y_{(3)} + \ldots + ny_{(n)}\right] - \frac{n+1}{n}$$

However, the Gini coefficient provides an information about the overall dispersion in a whole country, region or municipality. In order to explore more the dataset, we presented the spatial distribution of bohemians across the state context and across the city context for all spatial units which gave us an opportunity for international comparisons (e.g. Clifton 2008; Boschma and Fritsch 2009; Clifton and Cooke 2009).

Bohemian Agglomerations Across State Context Spatial Scales

In 2011, bohemians represented around 0.5% of the total population of Slovenia. Between 2000 and 2011, their number increased by 55.4%. A comparison with the European data from 2000 showed that Slovenia did not have the highest share of bohemians among the total population, but can compete with countries like Germany, Finland, and Sweden. The agglomeration perspectives of bohemians on the regional scale in Slovenia are similar to more dispersed agglomeration patterns

in Germany, the Netherlands, and England and Wales ($G \sim 0.5$–0.6) in comparison to higher concentration forms in Scandinavian countries such as Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland ($G \sim 0.7$–0.8). One plausible explanation for this finding is the urban pattern of the countries: the first group of countries including Slovenia is more decentralized than the second (Boschma and Fritsch 2009).

The Gini coefficient representation across different spatial scales revealed that bohemians are very concentrated on the local—municipal and sub-municipal scale. This applies to both the place of residence and place of work, although the concentrations concerning the place of work are a bit higher. Compared to other social/occupational groups, i.e. members of the creative class, the working population, and the total population, bohemians are more concentrated across all the spatial scales.

The temporal analysis of the Gini coefficients, however, also showed that concentrations of bohemians are decreasing across all the spatial scales; slightly faster on the local scale and with respect to the place of work. Therefore, it seems that the spatial processes at all scales are leading towards a mild dispersion and the establishment of a network structure of cultural spaces designated by bohemian agglomerations. This is especially obvious when comparing the agglomeration trends of bohemians with other occupational groups whose concentrations are in principle decreasing with a slower rate on the local scale or are even concentrating on the regional scale (Table 8.2).

On the regional scale, the greatest concentration of bohemians is evident in the Ljubljanska region with the capital city of Ljubljana, which is the most developed region in Slovenia according to different socio-economic indicators (Fig. 8.1). The Ljubljanska region is combined with the Koprska region, the Goriška region, and

Table 8.2 Gini coefficients for the regional and local concentrations of bohemians and other social/occupational groups in Slovenia

Spatial scale	Social/occupational group	Place of residence			Place of work		
		2000	2011	Difference	2000	2011	Difference
Regional scale	Bohemians	0.479	0.457	−0.022	0.537	0.500	−0.037
	Creative class	0.373	0.380	0.007	0.418	0.437	0.019
	Working population	0.310	0.323	0.013	0.336	0.370	0.034
	Total population	0.286	0.315	0.029	/	/	/
Municipal scale	Bohemians	0.808	0.762	−0.046	0.904	0.847	−0.057
	Creative class	0.681	0.659	−0.022	0.802	0.800	−0.002
	Working population	0.585	0.577	−0.008	0.715	0.720	0.005
	Total population	0.576	0.577	0.001	/	/	/
Sub-municipal scale	Bohemians	0.970	0.939	−0.031	/	/	/
	Creative class	0.871	0.836	−0.035	/	/	/
	Working population	0.784	0.773	−0.011	/	/	/
	Total population	0.732	0.760	0.028	/	/	/

Source Own elaboration based on the Statistical Register of Employment

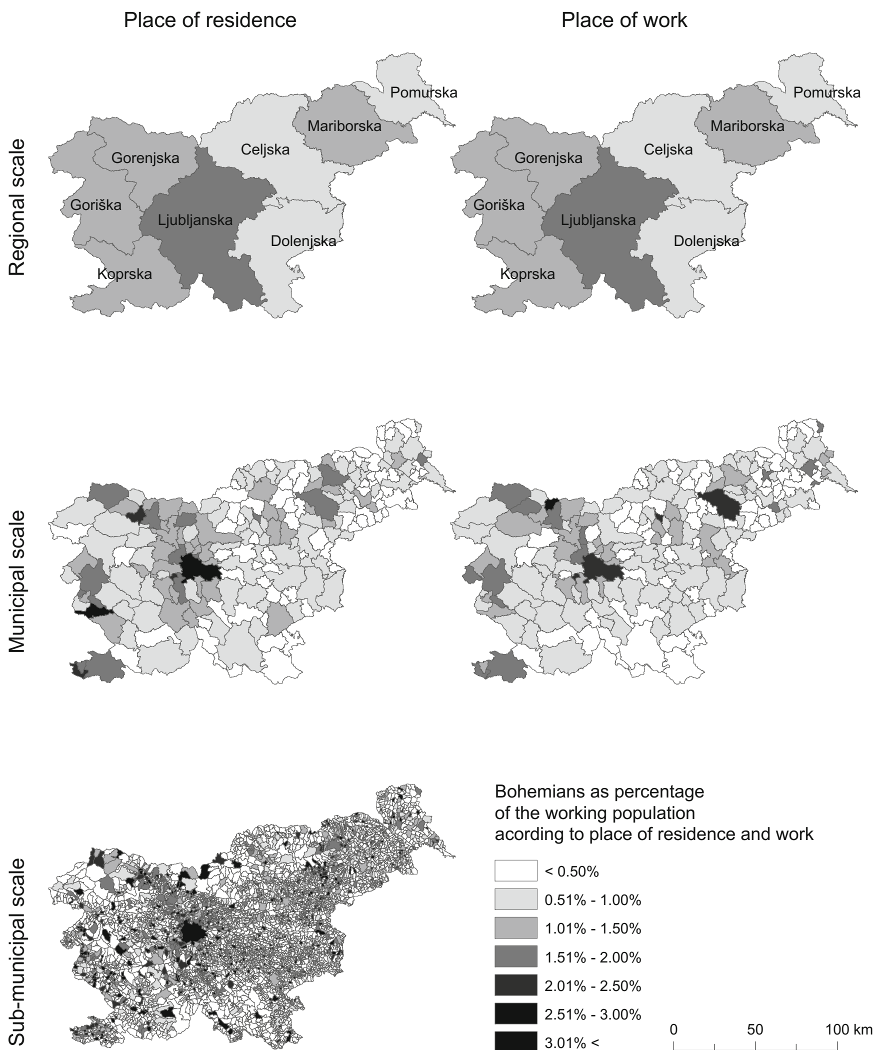

Fig. 8.1 Bohemian agglomerations in Slovenia across different spatial scales in 2011. *Source* Own elaboration based on the Statistical Register of Employment

the Gorenjska region to form the western part of Slovenia, which has higher socio-economic indexes and a greater concentration of bohemians than the eastern part of Slovenia, where only the Mariborska region with Maribor stands out as the region with the second largest city. Aside from the socio-economic development, the presence of universities is probably another factor for the concentration of bohemians. The universities are in the centres of the Ljubljanska, Mariborska,

Koprska, and Goriška regions. With this aspect in mind, the larger concentration in the Gorenjska region can only be explained with the strong functional intertwining with the Ljubljanska region, which is the strongest in the country at the interregional level.

On the urban scale, the greatest concentration of bohemians is expressed in urban municipalities, especially in the more developed western Slovenia and in those municipalities that have well developed tertiary education functions. A strong concentration can also be observed in the suburban zone around these centres, while rural and remote municipalities have the smallest concentration of bohemians. The polarization between the central and the peripheral areas is even more expressed on the sub-municipal scale. Almost four quarters of the spatial units, which are largely smaller rural areas, do not have a single representative of the bohemians. This illustration of the results is somewhat flawed in that certain smaller rural areas with a high concentration of bohemians are greatly emphasized, but these values are very low in the absolute sense. In many cases, the number amounts to only a few individuals.

On the regional scale, no noticeable difference can be observed between the place of residence and place of work, because these are functional areas that largely overlap with the limits for daily mobility to work. A different image is expressed on the municipal scale. The situations are generally similar, but some particular suburban municipalities have relatively more bohemian workplaces than bohemian residents. This fact deserves a more detailed observation in the future.

Bohemian Agglomeration Across City-Context Spatial Scales

In 2011, bohemians represented approximately 1.2% of the total population of the city of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. Between 2000 and 2011, their number increased by 31.9%. Looking at the bohemian concentration in absolute terms, it is worth underlining that Ljubljana can be compared with other major metropolises in Northern and Western Europe (Fig. 8.2).

The analysis of the Gini coefficients across city-context spatial scales revealed that a large share of bohemians lives in the city centre. It is also interesting to observe however that bohemians are more equally distributed within the city of Ljubljana than within the entire country of Slovenia. The intra-urban landscape is obviously represented by a higher degree of homogeneity than a wider landscape where urban–rural dichotomy comes to the fore. In comparison to the working population, the finding is the same in the city context than in the state context; bohemians tend to agglomerate more across both spatial scales (Table 8.3).

The temporal analysis of the Gini coefficients indicates that new spatial processes are shifting towards a mild dispersion and the establishment of a network structure within the city as well. The dispersion of bohemians is significantly higher

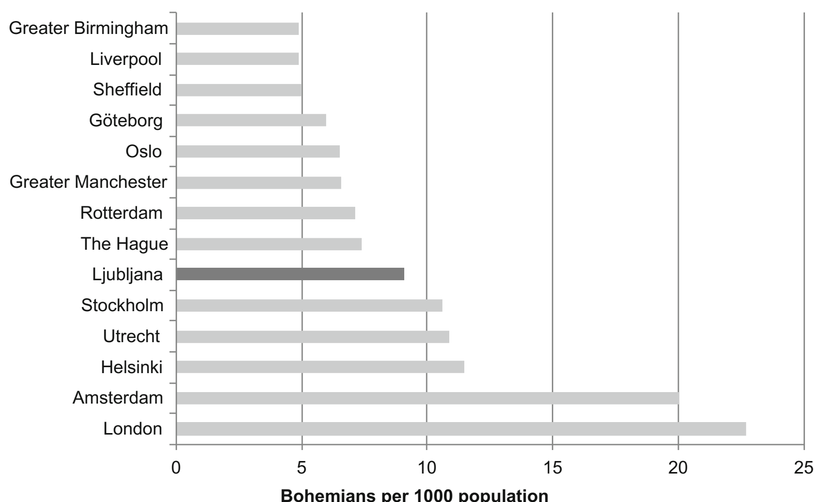

Fig. 8.2 Bohemians per 1000 population in selected European cities in 2000. *Source* Own elaboration based on the Statistical Register of Employment; Clifton and Cooke (2009: 84)

Table 8.3 Gini coefficients for the district and local community concentration of bohemians in Ljubljana

Spatial scale	Social group	Place of residence		
		2002	2011	Difference
District community scale	Bohemians	0.446	0.379	−0.067
	Working population	0.268	0.253	−0.015
Local community scale	Bohemians	0.377	0.321	−0.056
	Working population	0.306	0.300	−0.006

Source Own elaboration based on the Statistical Register of Employment

than that of the working population. The spatial analysis detected the trend that bohemians—previously concentrated in the city centre—are now following the popular tendency to move out to the lower density areas.

On a district scale (Fig. 8.3), there is a strong concentration of bohemians in the city centre (Center) and its outskirts (Bežigrad, Šiška, Posavje, Trnovo, Rožnik, and Vič). Although the historic city remains a ‘stronghold’ for bohemians’ place of residence even with higher rents, there is a slight tendency of their spillover, especially to the northern outskirts of the historic city centre (Šiška and Bežigrad). Those districts are characterised by typical high-rise residential buildings from the socialist era, where the rents are lower. Besides the lower living costs, those residential areas also offer quick access to culturally and spatially more central locations within the city core.

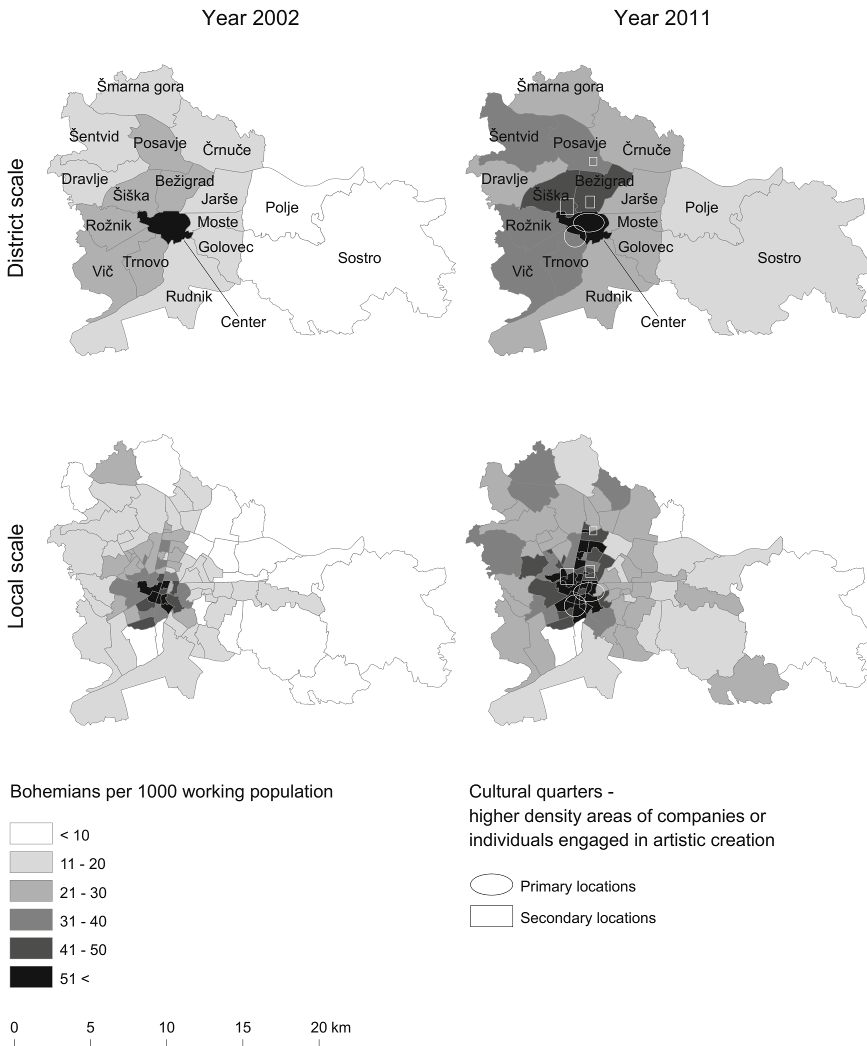

Fig. 8.3 Bohemian agglomerations in Ljubljana across different spatial scales in 2002 and 2011. *Source* Own elaboration based on the Statistical Register of Employment; Uršič (2016)

Discussion: Expansion and Dispersion of Bohemian Agglomerations

According to the representation of bohemians among the total population, Slovenia as a country and Ljubljana as its capital and a middle-sized city can compete with their comparable European counterparts. The temporal dynamics showed that culture is a growing sector in the post-socialist context, similarly to tendencies

observed in Western Europe. Its importance and desirability is reflected in an increase in the number of bohemians. Culture as such is strengthening its societal position, which is manifested in the expansion and dispersion of bohemian agglomerations. The background for such spatial development in Slovenia and Ljubljana can be found in the post-independence European-style culture- and creativity-driven urban policy that was introduced into Slovenian development policies as well as in concrete spatial projects that are visible in Ljubljana in particular and the further shifting of attention towards Ljubljana as the main creative and innovative centre of Slovenia (Ehrlich et al. 2012).

However, the concentration of bohemians varies significantly across the different spatial scales. In the state context variations within regions are bigger than variations among regions. While disparities among regions can be roughly explained by the main and general socio-economic characteristics—more developed regions have a higher concentration of bohemians, the differences within regions are by far more complex and deserve a more in-depth investigation. Conversely, in Ljubljana, the larger districts demonstrate higher concentration patterns of bohemians as opposed to smaller local communities. One plausible explanation for this is the settlement structure: it is more polycentrically organized at the country level, whereas a monostructural form with its highlighted role of a down-town area prevails within Ljubljana.

Despite the strong concentration patterns of bohemians, there has been a slight tendency in the last decade for them to disperse across all spatial scales. This result is unexpected, since other economic activities show an intra-regional concentration and inter-regional dispersion of economic activities (Bole 2011). At this point, we can assume that several reasons influence bohemians to spread inter- and intra-regionally from more urbanized to less urbanized areas. We agree with Markusen (2006), who said that attractive forces are complex and produce a skewed spatial distribution for artists.

One reason could be related to lower living costs outside the urban centres that outweigh the advantages of living in the denser, more central urban neighbourhoods. In Ljubljana, there are slight tendencies for bohemians to settle away from the historic city centre to its immediate surroundings. During the last decade, the city significantly revitalized the Center district through commodification and touristification (e.g. pedestrianized zones, public spaces, events) (Bole 2010), which raised the real estate prices. Consequently, production space and housing is often too expensive for creatives, particularly in the early stages of their careers. An analysis of rents in Ljubljana showed that these are relatively high—between 5€ and 10€ per m^2—considering that creatives pay between 3€ and 5€ per m^2 of production space in other European cities (Cerar 2013). However, this process is far from typical gentrification and cannot be compared to spatial dynamics in other comparable cities in post-socialist Europe, where there are much clearer dynamics of gentrification of artistic quarters and their movement to new 'hip' locations within the city (Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014). This is probably due to the specific static real estate market (or a lack of it) in Slovenia, which is burdened with unfinished denationalization and a general immobility of Slovenians (Kozina 2013).

In addition, the urban structure of the city is such that changing the place of residence away from the centre does not necessarily translate to a poorer accessibility to existing artistic quarters in the urban core. Although the commodification and touristification of historic city centre is happening, for now it goes hand-in-hand with cultural production and cultural consumption and no real gentrification is noticeable.

An important cause for the dispersion of bohemians across all spatial scales could partially also be explained by the anti-urban character of the Slovenian way of life (Hočevar et al. 2005). As calculated by Dijkstra and Poelman (2014), Slovenia is a country with a lower degree of urbanization in the framework of the European Union, which is reflected in a relatively strong resistance towards life in a city and residential preferences characterised for less densely populated or even rural areas. Elements such as community, safety, cleanliness, nature, order, family, and privacy are valued higher among Slovenians than elements of individualism, unpredictability, vibrant street life, and heterogeneity of the population that are synonymous for urban life (Hočevar et al. 2005).

But if bohemians as bearers of cultural spaces in the broadest sense cluster less, there is little evidence for the dispersion of cultural quarters, defined as spaces of cultural production and consumption accompanied with a distinct ‘buzz economy’, as a narrower form of cultural spaces in Ljubljana. In the last decade, several public-private partnerships were established at the outskirts of the city centre in order to build premises that offer apartments, offices, as well as production spaces (e.g. Poligon creative centre—http://www.poligon.si/en/) for creative industries in districts of Vič, Bežigrad, and Jarše (Ehrlich et al. 2012) but this hasn’t seriously weakened the position of the historic centre as the dominant place of cultural production and consumption. They are mostly still located in the city centre, especially in the revitalised medieval city core and former abandoned industrial or military buildings, where alternative cultural production has found its place. This could also imply that in Ljubljana, places of cultural production, consumption, and artists’ places of residence do not necessarily coincide and that bohemians in fact behave similarly to the rest of the workforce, separating places of artistic production, consumption, and dwelling.

In order to develop a better understanding of bohemian agglomerations, we would need better first-hand information on where, why, and how bohemians actually produce their content (home/work studios or artist centres, venues, etc.), especially within the city context. In this light, it would be necessary to focus more in-depth on occupational subgroups at the four- or even five-digit ISCO level as there may be significant distinctiveness in the spatial behaviour of painters, musicians, journalists, designers, etc. According to the adopted definition, some subgroups even include non-artistic occupations, such as sports associate professionals which do not fit very well into bohemian category. Herein, it is important to stress that the mere existence of a cultural agglomeration is not enough for the benefits of clustering to emerge (Chapain et al. 2010). Agglomeration as a geographical proximity is just one, relatively static, dimension within the proximity framework. With an aim to follow more a reasonable path-dependent research that takes into

account the historical and geographical specificities of each territory, the micro-behaviour of artists, the investment decisions in the artistic field by the states, regions or cities (Storper and Scott 2009), other forms of proximity need to be investigated: cognitive proximity (learning), organizational proximity (integration), social proximity (decoupling), and institutional proximity (institutionalization) (Balland et al. 2014).

Our attempt of a multi-scalar spatial analysis of bohemians draws attention to certain problems. For instance, on one hand, the sub-municipal level gave us greater insight into the (de)concentration attributes, but on the other hand, the image could be distorted. The spatial scale is too small and one type of so-called 'ecological fallacy' occurs when data aggregation across overly varied spatial units is misleading (Krevs 1998). In our case, the sub-municipal spatial units vary from very small with only a few inhabitants to very large urban settlements with 100,000 inhabitants and more. This ecological fallacy is less pronounced with larger spatial units, in our case municipalities, which are more uniform in size.

Using a multi-scalar approach is appropriate and sensible when analysing the dynamics of spatial distribution of bohemians or similar phenomena. The sub-regional Porterian scales can unveil previously invisible agglomerations and their (de)concentration tendencies. It can also help us understand how artists organise their spaces, the production and consumption of the artistic creation, and also their residential preferences. This knowledge can also be used for local, city, or neighbourhood-wide revitalisation policies and culture-led development. But this does not suggest that Florida's regional scale is entirely unfitting for conducting research on bohemia. Perhaps, in some cases, the concentration of bohemia on a regional scale helps co-create the creative milieu that attracts other knowledge workers or releases creative potential more efficiently, especially if there are synergies among them; for instance, in computer games creation, or other sectors of creative industries.

Our contribution revealed that bohemian agglomerations are spreading across different geographical scales. These findings may serve as a new impetus to adapt the urban and regional strategies. The cultural sector is still a spiky phenomenon, but it is becoming less and less discontinuous in Slovenia. In some ways, we are facing a 'rise' of a new cultural landscape. Hence, there is a role to move beyond central areas-oriented approach as the prevailing form of development policies in Slovenia (Ehrlich et al. 2012) to a multilevel-governance system. From this perspective, the multi-scalar approach can assist as one of the tools to achieve this goal more efficiently.

Conclusions

The chapter sought to empirically investigate forms of bohemian agglomerations across the regional, local and, neighbourhood scales and to develop the multi-scalar approach in observing the role of bohemians in shaping urban space, economy, and

transformation. The representation on higher geographical scales provides a more transparent image with smoothed local variations, whereas the lower scales can unveil previously invisible cultural spaces and their (de)concentration tendencies. Our case study showed that in the state context of Slovenia, the concentration of bohemians is gradually increasing. On the regional scale, the cultural agglomeration perspectives correspond proportionally to the level of achieved regional development, but on the local scales we see that bohemians are actually more or less concentrated in bigger urban areas, despite the fact that some significant differences according to place of residence and place of work exist. In the city context of Ljubljana, the situation is the opposite. Bohemians are more concentrated in the city centre. The temporal implications revealed that bohemian agglomerations in both contexts are growing in size and becoming slightly more dispersed. The new territorial dynamics are oriented towards creating more continuous cultural spaces. In our opinion, the findings revealed that using a multi-scalar approach is appropriate and sensible when analyzing the spatial distribution of bohemians or similar phenomena and allows for a better understanding of cultural spaces and for avoiding the bias suggested by the individual approaches.

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Author Biographies

Jani Kozina holds a Ph.D. from the University of Ljubljana and is a research fellow at the Anton Melik Geographical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 2014–2015 he was a visiting researcher at Cardiff Metropolitan University, School of Management. His research is oriented towards the creative class, cultural and creative industries, regional development, cultural heritage and innovation. In 2015, he received a Special Mention from the Jury of the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage/Europa Nostra Awards for the project 'Cultural Heritage and the Development of the Črni Vrh Rural Community' in Slovenia.

David Bole holds a Ph.D. in urban economic geography from the University of Ljubljana and is a senior research fellow at the Anton Melik Geographical Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. His fields of interest include economic geography, contemporary forms of economic activity, cultural and creative industries, spatial and urban planning, and transport geography. He is a member of various domestic and international scientific editorial and conference boards. From 2011 to 2014 he was the coordinator of the transnational EU project 'Synergy of Culture and Tourism: Utilization of Cultural Potentials in Less Favoured Rural Regions'.

Part II
Exploring the Diversity of Artists' Involvement in Urban Development

Chapter 9
Beyond Art in 'Meanwhile Spaces': Temporary Parks, Urban Governance and the Co-production of Urban Space

Niamh Moore-Cherry

Introduction

Since the global financial crisis of 2008/09, urban scholars have been forced to re-assess understandings of the city based on entrepreneurial urban agendas that had emerged over the previous two decades (Harvey 1989; Ward 2011; Beal and Pinson 2014). A core focus of these approaches was the conceptualisation of the urban as an arena for accumulation and consumption with those areas of cities that did not perform these roles considered 'problematic'. Government policies and regulations increasingly focused on the adaptive reuse of brownfield sites to address urban dereliction through top-down policy guidance and funding initiatives giving rise to many large-scale, construction-led regeneration projects across European and North American cities in particular. The perceived economic success of early major waterfront regeneration projects such as London Docklands and the Baltimore Inner Harbour gave impetus to a neoliberalisation of cities that was heavily reliant on private finance either directly or through complex public-private partnership arrangements. From 2008 due to austerity measures, this approach became more difficult and greater emphasis was put on driving economic development through more creative means. Much of the policy focus has been substantially influenced by the work of Florida (2002, 2005) but has also been coupled with re-thinking the spaces of the city produced by the crisis. In response to the emergence of vacant spaces within cities, greater attention has been drawn to alternative urban uses and the demarcation of areas where 'meanwhile activities' can take place (Bishop and Williams 2012), colloquially termed 'meanwhile spaces'. These are sites or locations within the city where temporary activities are encouraged on vacant sites as short-term alternatives or 'stop-gaps' until business-as-usual can be reinstated.

N. Moore-Cherry (✉)
School of Geography, University College Dublin, Newman Building, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland
e-mail: niamh.moore@ucd.ie

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While often driven by artistic or creative interests, these initiatives have been criticised for sustaining dominant neoliberal urban agendas that narrow the meaning of the city and reduce creativity to an economic input (Tonkiss 2013).

Such critiques, while academically valid, tend to ignore some of the perhaps less tangible impacts of temporary use activities within cities. In their recent work, Till and McArdle (2015) call for a more cultural reading of temporary interventions that might allow us to question the way in which we think of the city and its broader social relations. Similarly, this chapter seeks to examine some of the less tangible effects of temporary use activity through an alternative discussion of the pop-up Granby Park, developed on a large inner-urban derelict site in Dublin by Upstart arts collective in summer 2013. Following a discussion of the contentious history of the site itself, this chapter highlights two key issues raised by the project: firstly, how we think about and the lessons that can be learnt from vacant sites; and secondly the need to consider urban governance and decision-making in a less structural way to understand the importance of the informal dynamics at work in the city. The discussion concludes that artistic interventions on vacant sites can be substantially ‘more than art’ and provide a platform for more creative thinking and action around urban space and placemaking.

A qualitative research approach is adopted encompassing the results of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, a stakeholder workshop and a visitor survey undertaken in Granby Park. In the months prior to the opening of the park, the author attended planning meetings, getting to know and observing participants, listening to the interactions between individuals and taking detailed notes on the content of discussions. Observational fieldwork was also carried out during the time that the park was open to the public with detailed field notes taken on how people were using the space, who was using it, for what purpose, and how people were interacting with each other. A thematic analysis of these records was later undertaken highlighting key themes of interest and identifying their variability over the course of the planning and operation of the park project. Simultaneously, a postgraduate student from the Geography Department at Maynooth University, Rachel McArdle, undertook a survey of park users and the preliminary results from her work have also been referenced below. Based on these direct experiences, a series of questions were generated to explore in more detail some of the key issues arising. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with key stakeholders including members of the Upstart team responsible for community engagement, project management and the overall vision of the project. An interview was also undertaken with the City Architect who was a keen supporter of the project within the local authority. Finally, the research draws on the outcome of a workshop held approximately one year after the park closed. The workshop aimed to bring a variety of different stakeholders, interested in temporary use activities, together to explore the narratives and discourses around temporary urban use in Dublin.

Enhancing Urban Citizenship: Moving Beyond Art for 'Art's Sake'

The role of the arts and artists in cities has been central to the development of most of the great cities in history (Hall 1998), yet it is only in the last thirty years with post-industrialisation and the emergence of the 'age of creativity', that knowledge and innovation have become key attributes in driving urban development (Peck 2005). The 'creative city' idea, which has become explicitly linked in recent times with the cultural economy and economic development (Landry and Bianchini 1995; Florida 2002; Pratt 2008) is now something to which a very large number of city governments aspire and became central to urban entrepreneurialism, revitalisation and place promotion through the early 2000s (Moore-Cherry 2015). However, the very stark change in the broader political economic environment post 2008, resulting in the emergence of an 'extreme economy' (Tonkiss 2013) or what Peck (2012) has described as 'austerity urbanism', has limited policy options. Rather than supporting large-scale flagship regeneration projects and providing fiscal incentives for the creative or cultural industries, policymakers have now turned to less expensive and more flexible modes of urban placemaking. Colomb (2012: 137) describes current approaches as 'urbanism light' and a central part of this has been the encouragement of temporary uses on vacant or derelict sites. In many contexts, the global financial crisis resulted in stalled developments and the emergence of gaps in the city on sites where development was planned but failed to materialise. These gaps or interstitial spaces within the urban fabric are part of a broader political economy and although not new, the recent crisis has drawn attention to their presence and potentiality. Lynch et al. ([1968] 1995: 776) argued many decades ago that '…dealing with the existing city is the search for underused space and time, and its readaptation for a desired activity'. In the current context, the state has lost the financial capacity to engage in this readaptation and increasingly looks to alternative actors to take on the task.

While artists have been acknowledged as important urban 'pioneers' working in the underused and often marginal spaces of the city (Smith 1996; Ley 2003; Till 2011) for at least two decades, recent attention has substantially focused on how their activities can be used more tactically to deliver 'lighter, quicker, cheaper solutions … [that do] not have to revolve around capital-intensive projects' (Greco 2012: 16). Through temporary use activity, representing a form of post-Fordist place-making, particular parts of the city can be reimagined, and enlivened in a flexible way that brings together different actors and networks of interest over particular short-term projects. Some argue that this ideology of self-organisation is as much a part of the neoliberal urban agenda (Swyngedouw 2005; Rosol 2012) as incentive-driven economic development approaches and the increasing appropriation of artists and their activities to facilitate austerity urbanism has been much critiqued (Tonkiss 2013).

There is undoubted validity to many of these critiques yet focusing solely on this political-economic reading of the city narrows the lens through which the potential

positive impacts of temporary urban interventions might be seen. While voluntarism may be encouraged by the state as part of roll-out neoliberalism (Rosol 2012), the very act of volunteering results in more active, public engagement with the city as it emerges. What role might temporary activities by artists play in developing a better sense of belonging and ownership within their city? This issue of empowerment and developing opportunities for meaningful citizen engagement is according to Harvey (2008: 23):

> …more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is *a right to change ourselves by changing the city*. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization.

Drawing on this framework, Iveson (2013) has questioned how the micro-spatial practices of our cities, such as guerrilla gardening, social economy projects and temporary urban use by artists, might through the appropriation of urban space constitute a new urban politics that has the potential to reshape cities to be more just places. He argues that while they do contest power within the city by 'pointing to the alternative possibilities of public space' (Iveson 2013: 954), DIY urbanisms need to be better networked horizontally to challenge authority and create new political subjects. This aspiration to develop a major political project, while important, should not be at the expense of a consideration of how specific micro-spatial practices can support a more broad-based urban citizenship that does not necessarily conform to traditional notions of political community. How can alternative forms of urbanism facilitate a more positive and inclusive engagement with particular sites or spaces of the city that might be perceived as less than desirable? Through the example of Granby Park, this chapter explores how an artistic project by a group of volunteer artists on a derelict site evolved into a broader social commentary on the city of Dublin, shaped by a diversity of communities that would otherwise not have had the opportunity to hear each other and be heard.

Vacancy in Dublin: The Boom, the Bust and the Aftermath

While brownfields and vacancy in other contexts is closely associated with de- and post-industrialisation, in Ireland a very general discussion on brownfields and urban vacancy began to emerge in the early 1990s driven in large part by policy documents developed at the European level. Given the rapid economic development taking place within the city at the time, a growing discourse began to emerge around the perceived lack of land capacity within the city, justifying the uncontrolled sprawl into neighbouring counties. One example of the level of hype within the property sector was the purchase of the 25-acre brownfield site, formerly the location of the Irish Glass Bottle company, in a marginal inner-urban part of the city. Considered one of the last significant landbanks within the city limits,

it was purchased by a consortium of developers and the Dublin Docklands Development Authority for €412 million in 2006 (Moore 2008).

In 2008, the context shifted dramatically with the global economic crisis sparking significant problems particularly in the European periphery. Ireland found itself at the centre of a perfect storm comprising not just an economic but also a fiscal and banking crisis. The end result was a bailout for Ireland by the EU, IMF and ECB and major physical and social stress. From a development perspective, the vast majority of developers went bankrupt threatening the stability of the banking system which was completely over-exposed to the construction sector. The scale of the crisis is exemplified by the Irish Glass Bottle site, discussed above, valued after the crash at €37 million, a fraction of its original sale price. The crisis resulted in the nationalisation of some banks, the creation of the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA) to transfer bad debts from other banks to the state and the politics of austerity took hold as the national debt to GDP ratio soared (Kitchin et al. 2012). The physical legacy has been the emergence of ‘ghost’ housing estates in peripheral locations and landscapes of abandonment on key inner-urban sites (Fig. 9.1).

The visual and physical impact of stalled and abandoned developments resulted in significant public, media and policy attention being directed at vacant sites. Despite evidence to suggest that vacancy was an issue in some parts of the city throughout the boom years (O’Donnell 2012), policymakers constructed the situation as a product of the crash. In the national media, the Dublin City Council executive manager argued as the crash unfolded that ‘the tide went out and we were

Fig. 9.1 Unfinished development on North Wall Quay, Dublin abandoned from 2008–2015. *Source* Patrick Hugh Lynch

left with vacant lands' (*The Irish Times*, 5 August 2013), positioning dereliction and urban vacancy as something other than the outcome of the neoliberal market-driven speculation and land hoarding that had been occurring for nearly two decades.

Some of the most prominent abandoned and vacant sites within the city were those on which public-private partnership projects (PPP's) were planned. Among these were a number of PPP's aimed at regenerating inner-city social housing, including St Teresa's Gardens, St Michael's Estate and the Dominick Street flats. These partnerships, targeted at development on publicly owned land, permitted developers to build some private housing and speculate on future housing price increases in return for providing a specified proportion of social housing on-site. This approach has been contentious and many criticisms have been leveled at the failure of the PPP model generally to deliver on its public policy goals (Hearne 2011; Reeves 2013) and particularly in relation to social housing regeneration (Hearne 2009). With the banking crisis, collapse of the property market and construction industry crisis of late 2008, many developers unilaterally withdrew from partnership agreements leaving local authorities to deal with the fall-out and many residents facing uncertain futures.

As with other social housing sites in Dublin's north inner city that had been targeted for redevelopment, de-tenanting was undertaken in preparation for demolition at the Dominick Street site. The street was originally constructed in the 1750s and was a fashionable part of the city in which to reside but due to wider political changes, in the city and country fell into decline through the 19th century. Following debates about whether to re-house tenants on the edge of the city in 'cottage-style' developments or to build on-site, in the mid-1960s, the local authority constructed a new 5-storey flat complex to replace the dangerous tenement buildings and improve the slum-like conditions that had prevailed for decades (Brady 2016, forthcoming). While successful in physically upgrading the area, this 'redevelopment' did little to improve the social structure of the area and it remained one of the less desirable and negatively perceived parts of the city warranting renewed attention by the mid-2000s. As part of the wider PPP housing redevelopment programme, five of the eight original blocks of flats were demolished in 2006, all on the east of the street (Fig. 9.2). Plans were made for tenants to be re-housed elsewhere for the duration of construction by the developer McNamara/Castlethorn. As property prices collapsed and the crisis gained momentum, the developers wrote to the city council arguing that the 'whole concept of using the sale of private housing units to fund Social and Affordable Housing and Community Services along with a balancing site purchase figure [is] unsustainable in the current market' (Correspondence from developer to Dublin City Council quoted in *The Sunday Business Post*, 25 May 2008) despite demolition of the flats having already been completed. Given the major property and fiscal crisis faced by the city of Dublin, limiting the availability of public funds, the site remained vacant from 2008 until summer 2013 when the construction of a temporary park was undertaken.

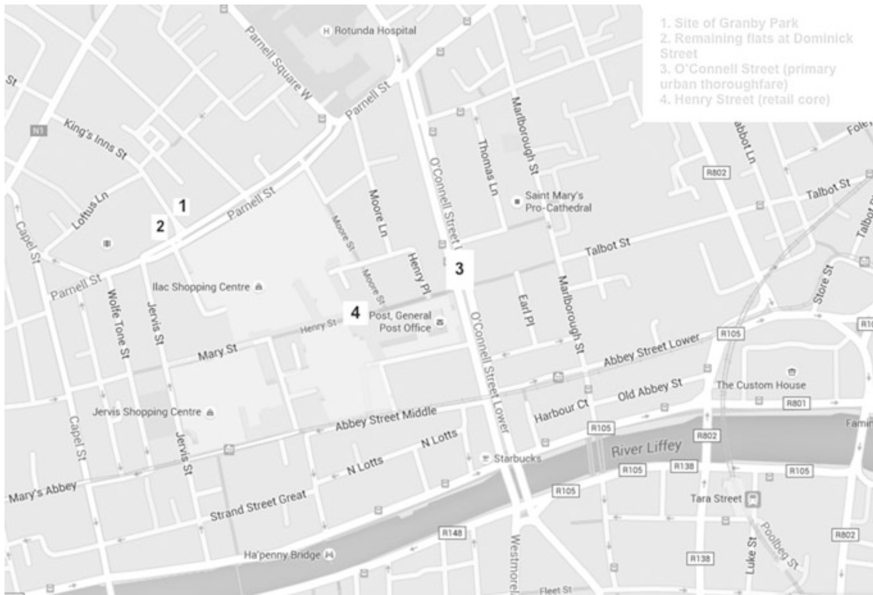

Fig. 9.2 Location map showing Dominick Street flats site. *Source* Own elaboration

Upstart and Granby Park

The idea of temporary use activities has gained attraction globally with the growing phenomenon of summer urban beaches, pop-up shops and restaurants and temporary art installations. These relatively short-term projects often constitute a ‘watching stage’ (Andres 2013: 762) for developers and other urban users, while they wait for conditions to improve that would facilitate more long-term permanent development such as that envisaged at Dominick Street. Tonkiss (2013: 318) has described interim uses as a way of ‘keeping sites warm while development capital is cool’. In Dublin, a number of such interventions including the Art Tunnel at Smithfield have flourished in the context of increased numbers of vacant sites and buildings available within the city but few gained the attention generated by the Granby Park temporary project developed by the arts collective, Upstart.

Upstart is a non-profit voluntary arts collective based in Dublin. It has a core team of 13 people drawn from the visual arts, performance arts, literature and urban activism. The core mission of the group is ‘to highlight the importance of creativity and ingenuity when society is in need of direction and solutions, and to emphasise the value of the arts to public life and community’ (www.upstart.ie). Their first project was a major public art exhibition, where they put 1000 posters of original art onto Dublin streets, commentaries on issues of public interest, during the 2011 general election campaign. Granby Park was their second project and was seen as an opportunity to use vacant sites as a platform for creative engagements and debate

in the city. Rather than solely focusing on the negative and problematic aspects of these sites, the goal was to change the discourse and 'use these kinds of sites for channelling ideas, energy and resources through the project' (personal interview, Artist B, 20.09.13). The initial plan was to develop a temporary park on another site but after discussions ran into difficulty with the landowner, Dublin City Council offered the Dominick Street flats site for the project. It was led by the Upstart core team of whom two members were designated as park directors, to fulfil insurance, financial and other legal requirements, but it was built and operated by volunteers, who transformed a derelict site with a very contentious recent history into a vibrant events' space, a major urban attraction for one month in August–September 2013. Devised as an arts programme to transform the familiar perceptual and sensory experience of the area and to offer an alternative experience of the city, the park also aimed to inspire and facilitate the development of other creative green spaces across Ireland. Although very ambitious in its original scope, the park evolved during the planning and implementation phase into a much bigger statement about the urban environment and garnered support from a range of stakeholders who 'saw an opportunity to bring awareness about the fact that it's still empty and had the ability to go 'yeah, I want to be part of this project'' (personal interview, Artist B, 20.09. 2013).

Over 500 volunteers were involved in the construction and operation of the park. These were recruited through an open call and included local residents from the remaining flats and the adjacent neighbourhoods, students, tourists, new migrants to the area, other residents of the city and creatives. The volunteers were managed by one of the Upstart team members and took on various roles from construction, through to park management and back office support. The park was funded through a crowd-source funding campaign that raised €20,000 and Dublin City Council provided some funding to cover the costs of clearing and preparing the site. A comprehensive arts programme was organised through an open call for submissions for both temporary artistic interventions and performance/educational activities and creatives were asked to respond to the theme of 'examining the evolving urban space and the building of community history and identity' (www.upstart.ie). Daytime and evening music events; Trade School; a social economy café, Granby Grazers; a children's playground made from recycled materials; and a number of art installations were hosted. Over the course of the month that the park was opened, over 40,000 people (www.upstart.ie) used the park including local residents, office workers, tourists, artists, youth groups and residents from other parts of the city. The park was used as a meeting space, educational hub, place of reflection, and entertainment venue (http://www.bigomedia.com/granby-pop-up-park/) (Figs. 9.3 and 9.4). Although the park officially closed on 22 September 2013, one of its key legacies has been an increased focus on the urban environment of Dublin broadly conceived and a growing debate in the media, academy and among grassroots activists around the potential of vacant sites to contribute to the creation of more meaningful urban experiences.

Fig. 9.3 An open discussion on ‘Small Revolutions’ in Granby Park. *Source* Ciarán Cuffe

Fig. 9.4 Granby Park children’s play area. *Source* Niamh Moore-Cherry

The Impact of the Park

Before opening and during the month it was open, Granby Park was criticised by some as potentially sustaining neoliberal urbanism through its very temporality and masking the real urban problems related to the history of the Dominick Street site (Bresnihan and Byrne 2013). Nonetheless, it provided a platform or focal point around which a range of formal and informal discussions on vacancy in the city by the media, academics, community and policymakers took place. It also served as a vehicle through which groups that had been disenfranchised because of the recent history of the site could be reconnected with those in positions of influence. Because of the unquantifiable or intangible nature of these outcomes assessing the impact of projects such as the park is 'challenging because you don't see these big results … it is hard to gauge how successful you are being' (personal interview, Artist A, 27.07.15). While this may be true, Granby Park clearly impacted in at least two key domains discussed below: altering discourses around vacancy and challenging patterns of development in the city; and highlighting the importance of informal dimensions of governance in the co-production of a more creative city.

Urban Vacancy and the 'Possible' City

In her introduction to a special issue of Urban Studies entitled 'Inventions and Interventions', Robinson (2006: 255) argued that 'in remaking the meaning of urban life, city dwellers transform the residue of past urbanisms'. While temporary use activities have been criticised as stop-gap measures until property redevelopment becomes economically viable again (Andres 2013), the very act of transforming vacant sites allows temporary urban users to co-produce the environments they inhabit and in some small way exercise their right to shape their city in collaboration with others. In doing so, they transform not just the legacies of the past but also play a role in shaping contemporary urbanisms and re-shaping their personal understandings of the city.

By transforming a vacant site that was a product of poor public policy choices, Upstart through the park project challenged the meaning of particular spaces and the development trajectory of the city. As artists who had not previously been involved in the history of the site or the politics of planning more generally, Upstart were in a position to open up a wide-ranging and inclusive debate about vacant sites in Dublin. In the words of one of the artists involved:

> I think none of us went in realizing actually, maybe not all of us but I certainly didn't realise, the implications, the social history of the space we were on and what had happened there. And I didn't realise the kind of repercussions of that and what that would mean, and we started to realise that as time went on and started to feel the responsibility of it, the weight of that (personal interview, Artist A, 29.07.15).

In their positioning as outsiders—physically in terms of the space, socially in terms of the history, and politically in terms of the planning process—the dominant discourse of 'vacancy as a product of the crash' and a problem to be remedied through property-based redevelopment was opened to scrutiny. From a political-economic perspective, Granby Park as a temporary artistic intervention channelled criticisms on the failure to deliver community-centred regeneration at Dominick Street and more broadly, on the failings of a public policy architecture that permitted land-banking and speculative abandonment during the boom years.

Beyond the political-economic, Granby Park as a project questioned how we conceive our cities and their various elements, including vacant space; the appropriateness and desirability of particular types of urban design; and the meaning of urban creativity and creative cities. One of the two directors of Granby Park, described vacant sites as 'a breath of fresh air where otherwise another building would be' and explained his motivation for the park as

> showing people that you can look at something in a completely different way and see opportunity … this has been seen as a template for vacancy but I like to think that it didn't embed itself too much into the psyche about how we do vacant sites … it was just showing what is possible (personal interview, Artist B, 20.09.13).

Similarly one of the other members of the Upstart team who worked closely with local residents in the area remarked that 'at the time people said it was quite good for showing that things can happen, if you put in time, energy and graft. Hippy kids were showing that change can happen' (personal interview, Artist A, 27.09.15). At the time of the project, the venture was described as 'an example of innovation and creativity in the city … innovation is not just high-tech' (workshop transcript, City Architect, 21.10.14). The temporary park therefore challenged not only the perception of vacant sites within the city but also the narrowly-defined 'creative city' discourses based on digital technologies and knowledge-intensive economic activity (Florida 2002, 2008) that have dominated in Dublin in recent years. Granby Park created a space for a different kind of innovation to be discovered and publicly acknowledged.

Through the collaborative efforts of the artists, community and volunteers, who all worked together on whatever was required at any particular time, a physical and intellectual space was opened to debate the potential and possibilities afforded by the very sites that 'historically scholars and planners have viewed … as a problem that must be fixed' (Németh and Langhorst 2014: 145). Granby Park was a project of urban beautification, albeit informally, within the context of an austere urban environment. For the month it was open it illustrated the possibilities of alternative urbanisms. Some of those who visited the park commented how positive it was 'to be 'shocked' out of the urban environment' by the park and how important it was in 'turning an eyesore into fun' (Granby Park visitor survey, comment). At a larger scale, important normative questions were raised about the kind of city we want to have and the key issues that urban planners and other stakeholders should be addressing. Gerend (2007: 25) argues that 'temporary uses can draw positive attention to underused or vacant sites' but Granby Park played a critical role in

highlighting key urban issues that need to be tackled more generally across the city including the lack of green space in the north inner city; the availability of shared social spaces in inner urban locations; and the accessibility of culture and the arts to particular social groups. In describing how the project evolved, one of the Upstart team described it:

> as an art park that then turned into a people's park and then turned into a kind of social comment almost. A shared space for different kinds of people that doesn't exist … ours was a madcap crazy space that people used positively at different levels from the people who worked on it, through to the volunteers, through to the kids having their lunch, through to the office workers on a break who wanted to see a bit of art or eat lunch rather than just shopping (personal interview, Artist A, 29.07.15).

In transforming a vacant site into a temporary park, a significant gap in the urban fabric was activated and animated but it also illustrated a significant disjuncture between the perceptions of this part of the city and the lived experience. As an area perceived as a liminal space within the city, Granby Park served to showcase Dominick Street as an area, inhabited by people that 'are proud of their city … but still a little bit disappointed that it still has a bad reputation because it doesn't deserve it and they have put a lot of work into that' (personal interview, Artist A, 29.07.15). For residents visiting from other parts of Dublin, the park project demanded an unbounding of their mental maps and perceptions of the city. In attracting visitors from all over the urban region, the park 'highlighted an area of the city in need of help' (Granby Park visitor survey, comment) but one where 'people are really friendly and [have a] much better sense of a community than any place I've ever lived in the south suburbs' (personal interview, Artist A, 29.07.15). In attracting a diverse set of urban stakeholders to a part of the city that has become negatively stereotyped and avoided by many, the project served to begin a process of reconnecting the site and community into the broader social fabric and spaces of the city.

Informalising Urban Governance

It is widely recognised that temporary artistic interventions have the potential to facilitate alternative urban forms and functions (Bishop and Williams 2012) within the city, yet they also raise questions around the production of the city. How are these projects and spaces produced and by whom? Attention often focuses on the formal systems of governance comprising elected officials, local authority executives, public representation, participative engagement, and the interactions between various stakeholders. What is less visible is often ignored. Yet one of the key lessons to emerge from the Granby Park project is the importance of informal networks of governance in co-producing the city and the necessity often-times of working on the margins of formal structures. The case study illustrates the need to understand urban creativity not just in terms of a materiality based on the artistic

product but rather to recognise the processes by which places are co-produced as important sites of innovation.

While predominantly arts-based and volunteer-led, the realisation of Granby Park as a temporary intervention was actively supported by key actors within Dublin City Council. As previously discussed, the City Council owned the land yet their involvement went beyond a mere landlord-tenant leasing arrangement. In describing the role of the local authority, one of the park directors described 'no formal agreement except for the use of the land. There were no partnerships. It was all based around trust … the whole project was massive trust' (personal interview, Artist C, 15.09.2013). However upon closer examination, Granby Park as urban process illustrates a careful management of proximity and distance by the local authority. Tonkiss (2013: 313) refers to this kind of approach, where officials create 'the conditions for informal, interim and auto-agencies' to shape the city, as a 'positive' model of planning within the context of austerity. In the case of Dublin, particular individuals working within Dublin City Council were crucial in removing obstacles and opening doors to get things done but being one step removed meant that Upstart effectively indemnified the local authority against any associated risk. It could be argued that this mirrored public-private partnership development agreements where the public essentially indemnified the private sector against any risk. The positioning of volunteer artists in this way could be potentially critiqued yet the artists themselves recognised that the history of the site and the formal planning regulations and procurement rules meant that

> Dublin City council couldn't do this. It would cost them millions, take many years … they knew if they did that [formal involvement], the project would suffer. If there was any kind of partnership or logo based stuff or … official sponsorship, it wasn't going to work (personal interview, Artist C, 15.09.2013).

In all the publicity around the park and in the experience by ordinary users of the park, there was little public evidence of any involvement in the project by the City Council. By side-stepping the formal channels of governance, an opportunity was created to address an issue of collective concern—the continued vacancy of a site that should have been developed for social housing.

Although a very different context, this *informalisation of the process of governing* clearly resonates with work on urbanisation in the global south. McFarlane's (2012: 102) analysis of how 'people collaborate, using each other as infrastructure, in ways that may be unstable, tentative, and temporary, but that also build a degree of economic security or opportunity, and a sense of the city' has clear parallels in terms of the process of bringing the Granby Park project to fruition. One of the key elements in the success of this project was the creation of fluid, adaptable networks across a diversity of stakeholders based on mutual goals, namely to activate and animate a derelict site and provide a space for creativity in the city. Strategically the park project served multiple agendas: for Upstart, it provided a platform for igniting a debate about the nature of urbanism in Dublin; for the community, it attracted attention back to the site and the failure of social housing policy; and, for the local authority, it potentially provided leverage in their requests for additional funding for

housing from central government. It could be argued that this is yet another example of the instrumentalisation of artistic initiatives in the urban environment (Németh and Langhorst 2014) but the response of the artists would suggest that this was not their perception. Those involved viewed very positively their ability to draw attention back to the site and the community. The role of the park in highlighting the need for more green spaces in this part of Dublin City was also considered very favourably.

One of the surprising realisations for Upstart was that 'we [artists] can act as an intermediary. Interestingly enough, that is something that we are learning … 700 people got involved in various different things over the course and there's huge amounts of connections' (personal interview, Artist C, 15.09.2013). Many of these connections were actively sought and made, but many were often serendipitous and occurred due to the fluid and tentative nature of the activity itself:

> you can't necessarily identify what it is that you are doing or these kinds of moments or incidents or meetings that just work or relationships that just click, you know, things like that that maybe through time and through practice and through more Granby Parks it can be teased out (Workshop transcript, Artist D, 21.10.14).

Informal encounters and networks were central to the co-production of Granby Park as an urban event, yet in order to gain the confidence of the local authority and control of the site to maximise their creative freedom, the park project had to be 'meticulously well organised and that's why it got through. They were super professional' (workshop transcript, City Architect, 21.10.14). It would be impossible to retrofit any sort of formal structure on the process by which the park evolved, but a key element in developing the networks that provided the foundations for successful implementation of the project was that

> they [Upstart] knew [how] to ask people [for help]. That's part of the skill knowing when to ask and if you don't know ask. They got a lot of support from the city council for instance … the engineer on my team went out and gave advice, gave the thumbs up to the structure and said 'Yes that's safe' and kind of negotiated. Everybody did row into make it happen and that is not to actually underestimate the sheer effort that went into that by volunteers because it wouldn't have happened without them (Workshop transcript, City Architect, 21.10.14).

Clearly one of the key goals for all stakeholders was to bring awareness back to the site in a bid to revitalize the redevelopment programme. Although initially criticised by some outsiders for its temporary nature in an area of the city much in need of greenspace and amenities, this temporality served an important purpose. Suggestions were made during the lifetime of the project that a 'save our park' campaign would be mounted by local people. However, for Dublin City Council, the physical act of closing the park was non-negotiable. For them, the attention gained by the park and its formal closure was part of their strategy to lever funds for housing development from central government:

> the fact that we're pulling out opens up whole new discussions and for them [Dublin City Council] the fact that it's now vacant again … And its possible in some small way the project … made people sit up and go 'oh, that's still empty' (personal interview, Artist B, 20.09.2013).

For the artists and community involved, there was recognition that while not perhaps ideal, the project had to be finite:

> the park took a lot of personal energy from everyone involved and we were pretty burned out. Because of that we had to kind of just stop … there wasn't an alternative … It had taken six months of our lives almost working on it more than fulltime, really giving it a lot and all of us were tired and broke and purely physically, we could not continue … It was really, really, really hard finishing. The local community are super, they kind of understood, and thankfully by the end of it, it wasn't us and them anymore, it was kind of everyone's project. We were all in it together and unfortunately everyone knew realistically it can't last forever, because it just couldn't (personal interview, artist A, 29.07.15).

Rather than simply being creative in its physical form, the Granby Park case study illustrates process innovation and the ability of artists to forge tentative fluid networks in the service of particular urban goals. It conveys the importance of governance beyond the formal structures of the state, its rules and regulations, and demands recognition of the importance of the informal collaborations that often underpin and harness urban creativity. Although the site remains empty, Dublin City Council in November 2014 announced €45 million will be spent on regeneration projects, previously the focus of public-private partnerships, including Dominick Street. In January 2015 a Capital Appraisal for the regeneration of the flats complex was submitted to the Department of the Environment by Dublin City Council and in April 2016, €29 million was allocated to the project from both central and local government sources.

Conclusions

Since the global economic crisis of 2008, temporary interventions have become ubiquitous in many towns and cities. For some, temporary urbanism no longer represents the cutting edge of urban development but rather a new tool in the neoliberalisation of the city. While there have been many critiques of this form of development and of the complicity of artists, less attention has been drawn to the intangible outcomes of temporary projects and the types of process innovations that they engender.

This chapter has charted the development of Granby Park on a vacant site in Dublin City Centre. The site itself could arguably be described as a palimpsest of five decades of Irish urbanism and its dereliction was very much a visual marker of the recent crisis. Yet its appropriation by artists for a temporary park was more than just an artistic intervention, the mere aestheticisation of a derelict site. The park channelled a questioning of urbanisation in Dublin and through its civil society-led approach provides an interesting example of a form of governance from below.

The relative ease with which Upstart attracted more than 500 volunteers to work on the project suggests an appetite for a more inclusive type of urban citizenship in Dublin that positively engages with particular spaces of the city. Through the very

act of volunteering, a range of communities and interests were brought together to co-create a new meaning for this site within the urban fabric. Based on the qualitative research undertaken here, it would appear that there is significant potential for artists to act as a conduit for the exercise of collective power in the city (Harvey 2008). Through their actions and creativity, 'authority' or traditional ways of planning and conceiving the city were challenged, reshaping personal and collective understandings and experiences of the city. While the direct impact may only have been felt for a short time, the dialogue initiated through Granby Park has acted as a catalyst for more open and inclusive discussions on creativity in the city that continues today.

Through their artistic intervention, the Upstart collective clearly ignited a debate that contested pre-existing discourses of the city and vacancy but they were actively facilitated in doing so by the local authority. Pagano (2013: 389) suggests that city governments should allow citizens to do small things, and remove themselves as much as possible in order to support bottom-up efforts: 'we would do better to tolerate a little disorder to make way for the experimentation on which healthy cities thrive'. However there is a fine line between facilitation of creative projects and the instrumentalisation of artistic effort. The interviews conducted for this research would suggest that a balance may have been achieved in this case study but how much this was to do with the personalities of those involved is unclear. If a similar project was to be attempted in another context could, and/or how would, the informal, tentative, fluid networks and serendipitous interactions that were so crucial to the realisation of the Granby Park project be re-created?

Artists are well placed to foster alternative experiences of the city but, as this case study shows, they also have a crucial role to play in empowering others—volunteers, residents and even local authorities—to demand and co-create a new kind of urban environment. While an exciting prospect, this sometimes has unintended consequences and can bring a significant weight of responsibility and burden on the artists themselves that they did not expect nor are they necessarily equipped to handle. In the case of Granby Park, the weight of expectations that grew around the project from a range of stakeholders shifted the emphasis from a sensory experience of the city and exploration of creativity to a much broader discussion around the processes and outcomes of urban neoliberalisation. Through the micro-spatial practices of planting flowers, painting railings, clearing debris, constructing the amphitheatre, watering plants or supervising the play area—all central to the operations and success of the park—more meaningful engagement with the urban environment was facilitated for a diversity of communities who experienced the empowering effects of co-creating their lived space. What began as an artistic intervention in a 'meanwhile space' evolved into a social commentary on the city, fracturing the dominance of official 'creative city' discourses in Dublin.

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Author Biography

Niamh Moore-Cherry is Associate Professor in the School of Geography, University College Dublin. She is an urban geographer and her research is focused on understanding how cities are governed, how urban policy is developed, and with what impacts. She is the author of *Dublin Docklands Reinvented* (Four Courts Press, 2008), has co-edited three books, and has published papers in national and international journals. She is a senior fellow in Teaching and Academic Development at UCD and is also a member of the IGU Urban Commission Steering Group.

Chapter 10
Street Art Events and Their Impact on Urban Redevelopment. Case Study of Paris 13 Tower Exhibition in the Paris Rive Gauche Mixed Development Zone

Clotilde Kullmann

Introduction

In October 2013, the street art exhibition of the Tour Paris 13 ('Paris 13 Tower') took place inside a residential building from the 1950s about to be demolished, and located in the heart of the urban redevelopment program named *Zone d'Aménagement Concerté Paris Rive Gauche*, 'Mixed Development Zone of Paris Rive Gauche (Paris Left Bank)' within the 13th district of Paris.[1] This event was the result of the work of around one hundred international artists gathered together by a street art gallery and supported by public entities including the 13th district council, the lessor as the owner of the building hosting the event, and the public local development company of Paris responsible for Paris Rive Gauche's requalification. Having been widely presented in the press and in social media, this 'cosmopolitan' project attracted, according to the different media sources, between 15,000 and 30,000 visitors in only one month.[2]

[1]*Zone d'Aménagement Concerté* is an urban development procedure planned as part of the French urbanism town planning code (articles L311-1 and following) in order to organize the development process for a given territory.

[2]The number of visitors varies depending on the media sources. At the end of the month, the online newspaper le Figaro stated that 15,000 visitors had come to see the exhibition (http://www.lefigaro.fr/arts-expositions/2014/04/08/03015-20140408ARTFIG00146-en-direct-la-demolition-de-la-tour-paris-13.php), while the artistikrezo website indicated there were 25,000 of them (http://www.artistikrezo.com/2013110414391/actualites/street-art/tour-paris-13-laventure-digitale-continue.html). The Itinerrance gallery estimated that 30,000 people had visited the building (http://itinerrance.fr/la-tour-paris-13-debut-de-la-destruction/).

C. Kullmann (✉)
EA-EIREST, University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, France
e-mail: clotilde.kullmann@gmail.com

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The Tour Paris 13 exhibition was made possible by the combination of both time- and space-related opportunities: firstly because the Paris 13th district council has been working on promoting this area through street art since the early 2000s, and secondly because the Paris Rive Gauche development project has allowed for a building on the verge of being destroyed at the end of the year 2013 to be made temporarily available again to host an ephemeral street art museum.

Street art is historically an ephemeral and 'transgressive' expression of art that has for a long time been regarded as the evidence of public space degradation. Nowadays, its status has evolved considerably towards that of an 'alternative' and accepted art form used as a new instrument of attractiveness in a cultural context of metropolisation (Saez 2014). Today's definitions of the term are multi-faceted and continuously evolving (Génin 2013). I am here considering the practice of street art as not restricted to the execution of works on and for the street. It can circulate from outside to inside spaces, just like in an art gallery. It can be designed to be immediately displayed in an inside space, as was the case for the Tour Paris 13 exhibition, a large part of which was set in apartments. As for its regulatory status, it is multi-faceted. Some actions are taken illegally by artists and punishable by law unless they are later recognized and accepted by public authorities such as the councils, the State or its representatives. Other works are carried out within an institutional framework, meaning they are supported and sometimes even funded and commissioned by public authorities, as shown by the Tour Paris 13 exhibition that had received a green light from the 13th district's council from the very beginning of the project. An aspect that these different types of practice have in common is the fact that in both cases, the work of art is inspired by and/or based on media offered by the public space such as walls, the city floor and furniture, and made using various tools, be it stencil, painting or jack hammering.

Using the case study of the Tour Paris 13 exhibition, this chapter aims to provide a better understanding of the way art, and more specifically legal street art, impacts areas undergoing changes. What does this new form of artistic collaboration reveal about how cities are made today? What conception of urban projects does it give rise to, and how does it contribute to the transformation of the stakeholders' network made up of urban planners, public authorities, building's owners, art dealers and inhabitants? Does it promote an economic attraction? And if so, to what extent?

I will first describe the methodology I have used in order to collect the information presented in this chapter, to then move on to present the economic, urban and artistic frameworks that lie at the crossroads between legal street art and urban projects. Next, after presenting the situation of the Paris 13 Tower exhibition within the 13th district and the set-up of the event, I will examine the impacts of this art event and its diverse manifestations on the broader urban redevelopment scheme, and on the district's attractiveness. In conclusion, I will engage in a broader reflection about the new urban dynamics generated by this type of event, and on how street art contributes in an ambivalent way to the broader processes of urban transformations and of public space evolution.

Methodology

For the purpose of this text, I conducted multidisciplinary field works. I led semi-structured interviews with urban and artistic players who have been involved in setting up the exhibition. I also gathered the answers to 90 questionnaires distributed on various days of the week and the weekend and at various times of the day to visitors waiting in line to see the exhibition. The questions were mainly about the reasons for their coming, the level of knowledge they had about the district and the Mixed Development Zone of Paris Rive Gauche (later on referred to as Paris Rive Gauche), how they perceived these area, how much they knew about street art and how they perceived it, how they had learnt about the event and what they wished would happen to the building in the future. I made field observations and conducted two visits within the premises hosting the exhibition, among other visitors. Finally, I followed-up on the event's outcomes by studying its coverage in the press, reading the book 'Tour Paris 13' published by the art dealer who lead the project, and watched the documentary 'Tour Paris 13, de l'art à la poussière' ('Paris 13 Tower, from art to dust') directed by a French director Thomas Lallier.

Street Art as an Instrument of Metropolitan Development

The notion of street art is an evolving art practice, and attempting to define it is a source of debate for researchers and art lovers. My aim here is not to suggest a new meaning for the term, which reflects movements that are sometimes contradictory and the features of which vary according to the players and the socioeconomic, political and cultural context. As much an interventionist art in the public space as it is a part of the art market, street art is a 'draft and a broth of elements' (Génin 2013: 31). In fact, be it from an artistic or a political point of view, reducing the richness of such diverse practices by placing all of them under the same label of street art would be dangerous (Ardenne and Milon 2011). Some street art is produced thanks to carrying out the entirety of the work outdoors and without institutional permission by artists with an alternative cultural background, whereas others might have been commissioned, payed, and have their work sold on the art market by an art gallery. The line between such cases is very thin, all the more so when you know that today, many artists alternate between institutional and illegal work, sometimes using different pseudonyms. Only this way can they make a living out of their work and maintain the subversive essence underlying their actions. On top of its multiple definitions, street art appears to have been enjoying a growing recognition from cultural institutions, spectators and public authorities since the late 1990s. It has undergone an 'artification' process (Heinich and Shapiro 2012) that took it from a non-artistic to an artistic sphere. This artification has resulted in street artists' detractors recognizing them as contemporary artists through a collective—and increasingly positive—change of mindset towards street art, and through the

transformation of its very content. This shift was due to the evolution of the contemporary art market as it started scouting for new talents as well as to the first generation of graffiti artists gaining professional level skills to become contemporary artists or even art dealers. As the street art artist Guémy (2013), working under the alias C215, pointed out in his article published on the Rue 89 website 'we (the street artists) took into consideration gallery directors and other mediators that were ignored by the first two generations (of street artists)'. Street art pieces are today sold for important amounts of money in prestigious auction sales. They provide exhibition material amongst other art forms, and galleries dedicated to this form of artistic expression are opening in metropolises around the globe. The public's growing enthusiasm towards this movement is also due to its wide diffusion through the Internet, which has been allowing artists to make their work known to a broader audience and to attract the attention of professionals from the art world. Beyond the artistic sphere, street art has become an indispensable feature of attractiveness for many metropolitan centers all over the world.

Street art is becoming increasingly popular in times where competition between regions is growing, practices in the tourism sector are evolving and the market is saturated with events and festivals (Chaudoir 2007). This context, a logical sequel to the success of the 'creative city' rhetoric developed by Florida (2005), has pushed the local authorities to look for new ways of attraction and aesthetics for their territories when referring to public space enhancement and promotion (Gravari Barbas 2009). As underlined by McAuliffe (2012), it has given street art the opportunity to become a new tool that favours cities' attractiveness by making them seem democratic, and by providing citizens with new visual experiences.

In France, the promotion of street art within cultural and touristic policies has been developed by the municipalities for some years now. Cities like Ivry-sur-Seine and Vitry-sur-Seine, at the borders of the 13th district, are relevant examples. They have looked for well-known artists such as Christian Guémy to create street art routes. These cities offer guided tours of public spaces and encourage artists to paint on selected walls and murals. But what about areas experiencing major changes with construction sites undergoing deconstruction/reconstruction processes? Nowadays, street art is used by local authorities as a means to give these parts of the city visibility as well as an attractive image and to thereby thwart the traditional way of seeing them as interludes in the life of the city and, as such, not as adequate places for events. This shift is due to the growing competition between territories, which is effective from the early stage of their requalification. It also partly stems from the fact that real estate developers' behaviors are evolving towards giving greater consideration to local residents as well as to the social and collective approval for the sites they have been transforming since the 1980s. Street art could be a way to change the perception of what is seen as aesthetic failures of urban renewal (Epstein 2014). Such behavior evokes the concept of affective urbanism (Anderson and Holden 2008; Feildel 2013), which should take the emotional aspects into account when reshaping urban space. By temporarily changing the function of a site that is bound to be transformed, artists are expected to help residents through the transition to a new city, to facilitate a change of mindset for

people who have a negative perception of construction sites, that can be associated with dust, sound or visual nuisances. They give urban projects a symbolic value in order to sustain the memory of old ‘days’ of an area. They are also resorted to as a means to entertain residents and help them stay patient when works last for several years, as well as to attract new inhabitants and tourists. And lastly, through the new image their actions can help to seduce companies into settling in the area before construction works are over.

Why does street art, of all art forms, meet the economic and social requirements of urban redevelopment projects so well? Actions are malleable, they can easily adapt to the resources available, they can be done in a very short time (two or three days for a monumental fresco), and hence, they can adapt to demolishing and construction schedules. They embody the ‘work in progress’ dimension of a building site and are very cheap compared to other types of contemporary art. To take the analysis further, from a conceptual point of view, street art could be considered as an art of the urban project. Both are short-lived practices, street art is traditionally designed to be transformed, replaced or erased. It illustrates the concept of *palimpsest* (Di Méo 1998) in the sense of the city emerging as a reincarnation of the former city.

For all these reasons, numerous events with street art at their core are organized or supported financially by urban operators on sites that are subject to future redevelopment. For example, in 2014, prior to its planned transformation, the historic military area of Fort d’Aubervilliers in Paris suburb hosted a street art festival entitled ‘In Situ art festival’, which revolved around the theme of urban transition. This festival was commissioned by an urban planner, the owner of the urban requalification area, for the time preceding the beginning of the building works.

The Paris 13th District: Towards an Open Air Museum of Street Art?

As illustrated in the map (Fig. 10.1), within Paris 13th district, the exhibition was held in a context where the district council had been promoting street art as a way to create an open air museum for about ten years. Most of the street art works have been managed and organized by a gallery, specialized in street art and located in Paris Rive Gauche. In 2015, more than twenty monumental murals were made by artists from all over the world on big 1960s–1970s blind walls in the district. Among the most famous ones are two murals painted by Christian Guémy and Shepard Fairey, alias Obey, between the Bercy and Place d’Italie metro stations. The patterns on the murals were sometimes chosen collectively, as the owners of buildings and their inhabitants were consulted in the design patterns selection process. They could choose between three patterns (more or less different) proposed by the artist and selected by the building’s owner advised by the gallery for the execution of the work. The urban furniture has also been customized. Sometimes, the interventions are repeated on the same types of items all around the district

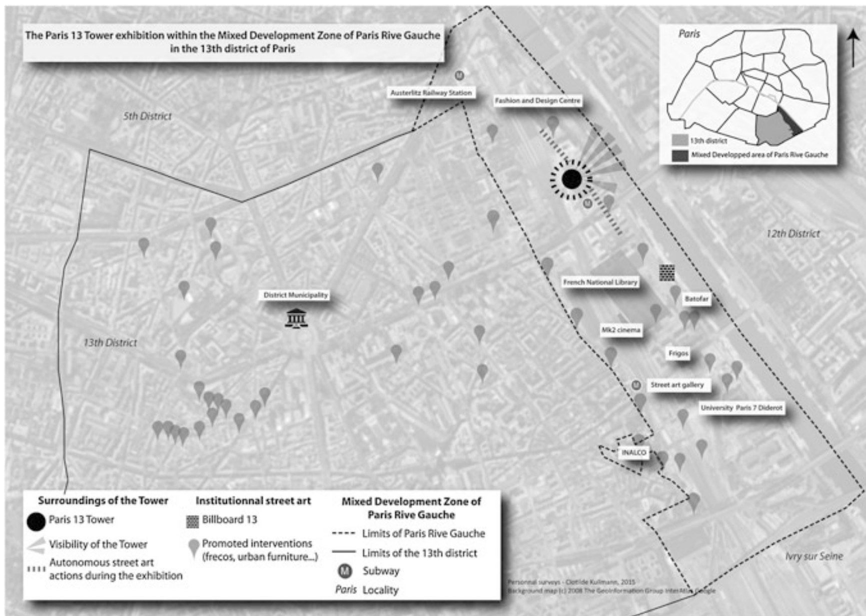

Fig. 10.1 Map of the mixed development zone of Paris Rive Gauche. *Source* Own elaboration

(letter boxes, trash bins, etc.), thereby contributing to harmonize different public spaces. For example Olivier d'Hondt, alias le Cyklop, pastes paper bands over parking poles along sidewalks. In fact, in 2013, the 13th district council asked him to write quotes on poles that were placed around local cultural facilities such as the National Library and the Theater 13 in order to give them a new urban function as cultural signs. A last example of measures related to street art in the 13th district is the advertising billboard which has been installed in 2012 on the docks of the Seine River, within Paris Rive Gauche. This billboard allows artists to display a different piece of art every 15 days intended for users of the surrounding public space. This frequent turnover of different artists contributes to give momentum to the concept.

On a local scale, we can see that the Paris 13 Tower was located in an area that is currently a part of an important urban regeneration project: the Mixed Development Zone of Paris Rive Gauche. This urban redevelopment scheme of great scale was launched in 1991 around abandoned railroad tracks, and extends for 3 km along the river Seine, between the Austerlitz Railway Station and the limits of the bordering town Ivry-sur-Seine (APUR 1990). It was launched on a former industrial site left to lie fallow since the 1970s. For about twenty years, between the time when industries left the area and the time when the development operation was initiated in 1991, this abandoned site was coveted by artists. A good illustration of this is the fact that the availability of abandoned buildings favoured the opening of alternative creative sites, the most famous of which is called 'les Frigos'. This venue was created in former Parisian warehouses that were used until 1976 to keep the food

delivered in Paris by rail- and waterways. After they were shut down, their owner, French national railway company SNCF, decided to let the premises to artists and craftsmen so that they could use them as workshops. Also, the district was interestingly being filled with tags and graffiti in the streets, on the decks and train tracks, frequently left without supervision.

Since the development operation was launched, new opportunities have arisen on the site, thus explaining why street art has been enhancing it: the area is full of 'temporarily vacant' spaces on which artists could work before they gain a new use. Didn't the artist Dabro make two big murals honoring the 2012 popular revolts in Tunis, the first one on a demolished façade and the second one on a wall that was replaced by a new construction? The municipality would never have allowed such actions on new, well maintained buildings. Furthermore, the artistic practice aligns with some of the purposes of the redevelopment project. As stated in the Paris Rive Gauche development plan report, published in June 1991 (City of Paris 1991), its main goals are the development of an economically attractive district at an international scale, integrating multiple urban functions such as housing, offices and public services. These operations ultimately aim to create a Parisian neighborhood that is accepted and used by Parisians, and well connected to the traditional and old urban fabric areas of the 13th district. From this perspective, street art appears as an instrument to create links between Paris Rive Gauche and the old 13th district.

As one can see on the previous map, rather than the above described artistic dimension, today's Paris Rive Gauche owes its cultural influence to a greater extent to its places of knowledge, the most well-known of which are the Bibliothèque Nationale de France ('French National Library'), which opened its doors in 1996 at the heart of the site under construction. Its inauguration was followed by the creation of a university pole gathering Paris 7 Diderot, Institut National des Langues Orientales (INALCO, National Institute for Oriental Languages) among others. In addition to these academic places, leisure and recreational centres such as the Mk2 BNF cinema are located near the Bibliothèque Nationale, and others are located on the banks of river Seine. The most famous ones are the concert-barge called Batofar and the Cité de la Mode et du Design ('Fashion and Design Centre').

Although located near these venues, the Paris 13 Tower was part of a secluded residential area, and was therefore not considered part of the entertainment zone. It was nonetheless easily accessible due to its proximity to major public transport networks such as Austerlitz station and several underground lines.

Paris 13 Tower and Its Unforeseen Success

The property was part of a group of social housing buildings from the 1950s. In 2008, an analysis revealed that the whole complex was affected by a general dilapidation, and presented architectural and technical features that did not comply with contemporary standards. It was thus decided to demolish it completely, starting with the Paris 13 Tower on November 1st, 2013, and to replace it with

brand new social housing units. The project entailed expropriating all residents who were still living in the building.

At the beginning of 2013, after hearing about the project and taking into account that almost all of its residents have already left, the gallery, backed by the district council, asked the social housing corporation which managed the building for a permission to use it to organize a street art exhibition during the months preceding its demolition. The success of the exhibition can be partly explained by the strategies rolled out by the gallery director while setting it up. Soon after getting hold of the keys, he painted monumental orange drops on all four elevations of the building (Fig. 10.2). By doing so, he temporarily transformed the building into a local landmark. The drops were easily visible from the right bank of the Seine and

Fig. 10.2 Paris 13 tower seen from the outside. *Source* Clotilde Kullmann

from the overground Metro line for seven months. Obviously, such an action wouldn't have been allowed on a new building.

After making the building stand out in public space, the organizer invited 180 artists from all around the world to turn it into a gigantic street art gallery. Out of 18 nationalities, French artists represented nearly half of the total amount of participants. However, no artist from the 13th district participated, confirming the national or even international rather than local dimension of the event.

In addition to the orange drops, the outside walls of the Paris 13 Tower and a neighboring building also about to be demolished were covered in paintings and collages made by artists including El Seed from Tunisia, Rapto from Brazil, and Ludo from France. As for the inside of the building, a heterogeneous set of ephemeral works was executed in 36 apartments, as well as in the common parts of the edifice. While some of the artists involved in the project painted the entire walls and ceilings, like the Chilean artist Inti Castro, who drew his inspiration from the Mexican muralist tradition, others came up with three-dimensional installations, like the one done by French artist Katre (Fig. 10.3), who created a reproduction of a chaos scene. Generally, artists offered visitors the opportunity to 'live an experience' by wandering around different rooms of the apartments that had been turned into gigantic art works. This experience recalls the notion of intimacy and 'secret' experience. Visitors accessed rooms in which the walls were partially left with the wallpapers placed there by former inhabitants, as well as with some fixtures and fittings such as pieces of bathroom furniture. They could thus detect hints of past tenants' presence in the premises. However, most of the artists were inspired by their own artistic universe, more than by the apartments' history. It can be explained because they didn't pass any time with the inhabitants before their intervention. The initial function of the rooms was thus changed through their work, and impossible to identify.

This set up was followed by the free of charge opening of the building to the general public for the whole of October 2013. To everyone's surprise, the

Fig. 10.3 Inside of the Paris 13 tower—Katre artwork. *Source* Clotilde Kullmann

exhibition attracted between 15,000 and 30,000 visitors according to different sources. This means between 600 and 1000 persons per day. Who were these visitors? Analyzing respondents' answers to my questionnaires, I discovered that they were not all street art lovers, meaning that not all of them were aware of this art form's processes. They didn't visit the district regularly. Many of them had come across the event on social networks and came out of curiosity, to take part in an ephemeral, unique and free experience.

The massive flow of visitors, which contributed to the event's visibility, resulted in the formation of really long queuing lines in front of the exhibition doors. At the end of the month, the most determined ones waited for up to 8 h in the hope to be able to visit the apartments. This waiting time was partly due to the fact that the residential building was not classified in the administrative category of buildings equipped to welcome visitors, such as museums. Hence, for security reasons, its capacity had to be limited to 49 visitors at a time, making the visit all the more exceptional and unique.

What is more, the organizer announced that the building would be destroyed on the day following the end of the exhibition, thereby adding to its attractiveness: visitors wanted to count among those who had experienced this event. Funnily enough, the demolition was actually delayed by 6 months, to the 8th of April 2014, for technical and schedule reasons with regards to the development operation. This demolition was filmed and broadcast live on the exhibition's website (Fig. 10.4).

Fig. 10.4 On-line broadcast of the demolition of the Paris 13 tower. *Source* http://www.tourparis13.fr/destruction/src/index.php

Web users were invited to take an active part in the event by saving wall pieces by re-pixeling their pictures online. In a way, this staging of the demolition transcended the public's perception of it, transforming it into a real artistic performance.

According to answers to my questionnaires, the initial function of the building's apartments disappeared for the benefit of the temporary museum's aims. Basically, the public didn't have a clue about the function of the building. Also, 80% of the respondents were in favor of the Tower's demolition, not because it meant its residents had had to move out, but because they considered street art as an interesting, ephemeral artistic manifestation. Only 20% of participants of the survey were against the demolition and that was because they would have preferred the Tower to become a permanent street art museum

With regards to the economic aspects, although the artists weren't paid for their involvement in the project, their accommodation and travel expenses were taken care of by the gallery owner, and the necessary equipment and supplies were provided to them with the support of the 13th district council. Despite being free, the exhibition had a clear economic impact on the area. According to waiters working in restaurants around the Tower, with whom I had a chat, the visitor rate of the establishments where they worked increased significantly during the month of October 2013. As for the street art gallery director, although he was not remunerated for his involvement, we can state that the event indirectly influenced his internal activity. For example, some of the artists whose work was showcased in the Paris 13 Tower also had their work displayed in the gallery following the event. Furthermore, its logo was visible in every common part of the Tower, making it well known.

At the district level, the artistic manifestation allowed the consolidation of the 13th district's 'open air museum' status. The municipality posted six thematic walks in the wake of the event on its website (http://www.mairie13.paris.fr/mairie13/jsp/site/Portal.jsp?document_id=16892&portlet_id=3089&comment=1¤t_page_id=712). Additionally several new institutional frescos were created, making a large amount of street art pieces in this area available to the public. By spreading the idea that the district was sensible to street art, the event favored the spontaneous arrival of autonomous artists in the area during the event and after it was over. Throughout the month of October, autonomous artists took initiatives around the Paris 13 Tower and in the nearby public spaces, decorating the river banks, grounds and urban furniture, sometimes even painting over murals made by the official exhibition artists. As mentioned by one artist during an interview, preparing a street art work is time-consuming, making it preferable for the art piece to be able to stay on a site. However, these autonomous works were eventually removed by cleaning services within the following days or weeks.

At the scale of the city of Paris, one of the six proposed routes for the 2014 Nuit Blanche ('White Night') edition (an event during which the public is allowed to visit cultural venues at night), was completely dedicated to street art and was located within Paris Rive Gauche. During the press conference for the event held on the 8th September 2014, Bruno Juillard, representing the cultural department of Paris Municipality, declared: 'Paris must become the international capital of street

art',[3] supporting street art as a competition instrument between cities and districts within a globalized context. This Wight Night illustrates the passage from the sphere *off* to the *in* one (Vivant 2006). For example, one public staircase had been recovered by an illegal intervention during the night of the event. But the day after, it was erased by the public authority and replaced by a new legal one a few month later.

Lastly, another illustration of the event's outcomes was the fact that in May 2015, the Paris 13 Tower exhibition organizer was selected by the urban planners of Paris Rive Gauche to oversee the making of 'a crater anamorphosis', which consists of distorting a picture in order to create an optical illusion, by the artist called 1010 on a closed section of the district's ring road before its demolition.

To summarize, the Paris 13 Tower exhibition gave, at least temporarily, an unprecedented visibility to a site located outside touristic areas, and has acted as a leverage in speeding-up the promotion of the 13th district through street art. It clearly had an effect on the street art's use as an instrument of visibility and competition during the implementation of the broader urban project. Otherwise, it raises the question of the privatization of public space that could result from the institutionalization of an art practice, which pass from the *off* to the *in* and vice versa.

Conclusions

The Paris 13 Tower exhibition reinforced the institutional process in favor of the creation of an 'open air museum' inside the 13th district and attracted new artists, at least for as long as the exhibition lasted. It gave the neighborhood visibility at the international scale by hosting artists from all over the world. This case is a good example of the glocalization process (Robertson 2012) taking place through the interventions of international artists participating in most major festivals, and through their capacity to adapt to a specific, local urban situation, i.e. that of a Parisian urban project.

From an art form geographically limited to the outskirts of the city, this article goes to show that street art has become an important part of the broader process of urban production, despite the fact that success of this case study was partly due to the temporary event linked with street art rather than its more permanent presence. Reversibility, accessibility to a broad audience, affordability, and adaptability are the features that enable the value of street art to be revealed. This success questions the future of this artistic practice however. Institutions are now building public spaces that recall the 'alternative' attempting at differentiating one city from another by labeling it with international standards. This case study perfectly shows the shift form an *off* or marginal and alternative practice, to an *in* practice, that is an

[3]This quote was used by many newspapers, including *20 minutes, le Nouvel Obs* and *Direct Matin*, all published on 02/10/2014.

institutional one recognized and supported by public authorities (Vivant 2006) On the one hand, this shift has allowed for the making of more diversified and larger street art works. Institutions are letting artists enter sites that are usually closed to the public, to work on monumental deteriorated façades, and to use original media. Visibility has become the primary criterion for choosing formats, as shown by the frescos that can be seen along the Parisian overground metro line or the orange drops on the Paris 13 Tower. The fact that artists can legally use such places for artistic expression is allowing them to work at their own pace, to achieve better quality of works and to access usually expensive tools, such as nacelles, to create large-scale works. On the other hand, from the moment *in* replaces the *off,* street art is likely to lose the transgressive character that constituted its very essence at its early stages. Framing the interventions and choosing the messages to be transmitted allows the codification and control of the manifestations. Yet from another angle, this evolution might inspire new approaches to street art, and open the way to new *off* practices in the years to come, As Ardenne and Milon (2011) pointed out in their radio broadcast:

> The debate around the discipline having to be dissident is simplistic. What is happening is that an art form is naturally finding its place among other art forms and is being recognized as such by professionals from the cultural world and by institutions. Furthermore, the shift of this art form from the streets to galleries is interesting because it is transforming the artistic practice and driving the evolution of styles.

Beyond contributing to changing the image of a district or a city in order to make it a part of the international network of culturally attractive places and transforming the artistic practice, to what extent does this type of artistic event constitute a new way of grasping the city's transformation? Firstly, it allows an urban event to be turned into an artistic performance. By putting on-line the scene of the building's demolition, the urban transformation becomes a show for the visitors and the media. Going back to the case of the Paris 13 Tower exhibition, the gallery director gave a new form to the conjectural, social and affective break that the process of disappearance and reconstruction of the building represented. As an anecdote, one of the interviewed visitors compared the orange, almost reddish drops, to blood; this metaphor illustrated well the end of the building's life.

Secondly, the institutionalization of street art questions the democratic dimension of the public space production. The arrival of artists allows us to rediscover what we already know, but that has been taken for granted or become invisible in an ordinary place (Vivant 2009). For these reasons, public authorities are using street art as a mean to create unexpectedly unique and aesthetical places in the public space, inviting users to live visual experiences based on uncertain information inherent to the alternative and informal essence of the artistic approach. However, as Lipovetsky and Serroy (2013) remarked, the aesthetics make it possible to control the public space in a context of hyperaesthetic capitalism. Therefore, the events that involve street art are being instrumentally used to advertise public authorities organizing and implementing urban redevelopment projects. They can be used to stage and assert power as well. As stated by Génin (2013: 111) 'the

valuation of street art can be considered as the sign of an authority accrediting its benevolence'. And when it comes to autonomous actions, tolerance is obviously not systematic. Appreciation criteria depend on aesthetic perceptions and on the way public authorities view public spaces. Furthermore, the decision to keep or to erase, to praise or to reprimand is a source of tensions between artists that are more or less integrated within the institutional network.

In addition to its spatial influence, can street art and events revolving around it have an impact on the urban project's temporality? By making atypical locations such as the Paris 13 Tower venues for events, public authorities take the risk to disturb the pace of urban construction. Each urban project within the city is led following a specific pace. Construction sites are usually considered unattractive, useless transition zones by local residents. For the same reasons, they also tend to remain outside tourist routes. As Gérardot (2008) says, 'the juxtaposition of touristic and non-touristic paces creates tensions and problems in the [urban] space'. Given this observation, one might wonder if the pace of urban redevelopment is not threatened by tourist visits linked with street art displays. As we have seen, one of the benefits of using street art during the development of the urban project lies in its ephemeral aspect. Could its success have an impact on the lengthening of its life cycle? The murals are made in high positions to be secured from vandalism, and the urban customized furniture could become the new urban signage system. Some art pieces made during the 2014 White Night stayed in situ after the end of the event. The decision to keep or to take out installations had not been planned, but instead was sometimes negotiated after the event with public authorities, taking into account the success they had met on the street. So, could the ephemeral become progressively permanent? This durability questions the choices that we make. Could street art pieces that are made today and will eventually constitute tomorrow's open air museum become parts of the city's cultural heritage and modify the urban planning program in the future? Could the Paris 13 Tower have been saved from demolition given the success of the exhibition held in it? As I have previously mentioned, some of the visitors of the exhibition declared being in favor of not demolishing the Tower and making it a permanent museum instead. With a utopian approach, we could imagine that new criteria for heritage will be defined in order to protect buildings that are today considered as unremarkable or obsolete, but that will gain value with their street art murals becoming a cultural and material product to the liking of residents and tourists. This hypothesis doesn't seem to meet a concrete reality as yet given that as shown by the case of the Paris 13 Tower, the institutionalization of street art doesn't deny the temporality of the urban transition, but instead uses it. Currently, any trace of street art events that have become part of heritage would have to be looked for in digital format, as records of past actions are inventoried on the Internet, and sites are created specifically to keep memories of them. Street art changes its status, passing from the work in situ to the digital image. In this way, it contributes to breaking the classic categories of art (Becker 1988).

At this stage, while these events allow to temporarily change the vision of urban projects and the communication surrounding them, they do not affect their pace or

nature. This smooth integration of temporary or half-permanent events within the urban project clearly has to do with the intervention of hybrid players who establish a link between artists, public authorities and the parties involved in the making of a city. Of course, the relationships between the latter have evolved towards a tighter collaboration during the city's (re-)construction. This evolution is explained by the convergence of the new economic and social dynamics of the urban project and by the hybridizing of the artists' roles in the city. These are considered today as social (Gravereau 2012) and economic (Vivant 2009) players. However, these collaborations aren't a given. They are facilitated by the intervention of new kinds of professionals such as art dealers, mediators and cultural engineering agencies. These players' knowledge stretches from the sector of urban development to that of street art. Their skills range from economic ones allowing them to scout for funding, when those aren't provided by public authorities, to technical ones for the implementation of projects and policies aimed to convince the authorities. They are able to ease tensions that may arise between different players involved in the project. For example, those responsible for the construction of a city such as builders, architects and engineers, do not always think highly of building sites being open to artists and to the public, partly because of safety reasons and because of technical works and schedule constraints that may change at any time. In the case of the Paris 13 Tower, the fact that street art—that could be out of control—was chosen did not have any incidence on the players' system operation, because the gallery director was at the core of the latter and artists responded to a clear and precise request. The gallery owner managed to use the Tower's location and temporal conditions in a creative way as part of the urban project. He liaised with the municipality, the building's owner, the urban planner, the artists, the public and the press. He worked out the list of artists' addresses, developed administrative and logistic capacities, all needed for the artistic use of the building, that lasted for almost a year. This organization shows how this event was part of a traditional art demonstration, as Becker (1988) explained it. It also questions the impacts of the organization of street art events by new private actors. It could have an impact on the transformation of public space into a private gallery or even a product, especially when these actors conduct commercial activities.

Lastly, in the light of the success experienced by urban projects' valuation through street art, public authorities are expressing their will to use them more and more often. Beyond the different definitions of this art form, since its popularity is due to its unexpected results and its spontaneity, one might wonder if street art's very nature is then not a limit to the success that is hoped for.

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Author Biography

Clotilde Kullmann is a Ph.D. student at the University Paris 1 Panthéon. She is a member of the research laboratory EA-EIREST within the Geography Ph.D. School of Paris. Her research project, conducted under the direction of Edith Fagnoni, is about the valorization of urban projects connected with artistic activities. It focuses on different urban planning schemes in France, and more specifically on the Mixed Development Area Paris Rive Gauche of the 13th district in Paris.

Chapter 11
Starting a Creative City from Below: Artistic Communities in St. Petersburg as Actors of Urban Change

Aleksandra (Oleksandra) Nenko

Introduction

This chapter is developed in dialogue with a corpus of works digging into the essence of artists' roles in the city, in particular, within the framework of the concept of the 'creative city' and its flourishing critics. Creativity became widely acknowledged as the trigger of innovations and urban development after the ideas proposed by Landry and Florida began to be adopted by policy makers and academics. In works on the 'creative city' Landry and Bianchini (1995) consider creativity in its broadest sense and suggest that urban planners should use it to raise the prestige of their cities and to deal with economic and symbolic issues in urban development. Florida (2002, 2004) became even more influential promoting the concept of the 'creative class' as the main force in providing innovations for a city to achieve economic success. The theories around the concept of creative city and creative class underlined the role of arts and artists in developing a 'creative economy' and a special sense of place in the city. This was seen as a promising thesis by policy makers, and sometimes by artists themselves, in advocating the importance of their projects (Florida 2002; Landry 2000).

However these theories have been questioned from several standpoints. The 'creative class' concept was criticized for its presentation as a universal social remedy for ensuring an economic future for 'creative cities' and for producing positions of inequality and segregation for other social classes (Peck 2005; Pratt 2008). People engaged in creative labour were shown to have more variable carrier strategies and spatial practices than Florida had predicted (Markusen 2006). The structure of the field of cultural production and the interactions of 'creatives' with each other were proved to be much more complex (Comunian 2011). The

Aleksandra (Oleksandra) Nenko (✉)
Institute for Design and Urban Studies, ITMO University,
Birzhevaya line, 14, 199034 St. Petersburg, Russia
e-mail: al.nenko@gmail.com

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approaches of Florida and Landry are also reconsidered in view of unsustainability issues they raise, such as gentrification, segregation, exclusion and displacement (Girard 2011; Kirchberg and Kagan 2013).

The Floridian approach constructs the notion of creativity on the macro-level of the city, and even a global scale, generating indexes and ratings across cities of the world. However it lacks contextuality and case-sensitivity. It leaves the micro-level of creativity without due attention—the grass-roots interactions of real creative actors. These interactions are the immediate context for ideas generation and for the active involvement of art and artists in urban life. The top-down approach lacks consideration of the crucial aspect of creativity as a phenomenon: sense-making, the organization of creative processes represented in grass-roots, invisible initiatives (Girard 2011). Such disadvantages, and the need for a more sensitive approach, become even more evident in cities other than Western-European or American ones, that actually are not (yet) ‘creative’ in the contemporary sense of this formula: they have neither the policies nor sufficient infrastructures necessary to inspire progressive creative developments in culture and economy in Florida’s view. One finds examples of such cities, for instance, in a post-Soviet region, where cultural policies are formulated with a focus on traditional arts and culture genres, and such forms as creative industries or clusters are not yet incorporated into the policies, though present at the grass roots level and at the level of business. Considering the ‘creativity’ of Asian cities, Sasaki (2010: S9) calls to ‘understand, appreciate, and preserve the tangible and intangible cultural capital inherent in the traditional urban culture of each individual city’ which he discovers, in particular, in the grass-roots artistic activities in Japanese cities. In Sasaki’s (2010: S4) opinion, a creative city is

> a city that cultivates new trends in arts and culture and promotes innovative and creative industries through the energetic creative activities of artists, creators and ordinary citizens, contains many diverse ‘creative milieus’ and ‘innovative milieus’, and has a regional, grass roots capability to find solutions to social exclusion problems.

The city itself is a product of human creativity, although as a place of great contradictions, it produces both positive and negative effects: on the one hand, possibilities for cooperation, accumulation of knowledge, variety stimulating novelty, on the other—conflicts, inequality of access to resources, segregation of space (Girard 2011). Today the city should provide spaces for numerous multi-dimensional interactions between various actors and groups. Artists are among those actors who are capable of performing agency in the city, especially those artists who initiate and engage in collective activities in urban space. Art groups, working as teams and running multiple activities, are particularly inclined to suggest novel practices, sensations and images of the space (Lefebvre 1991), claiming ‘the right to the city’ for themselves and for broader groups (Harvey 2003). Creatives, in particular, artists, actively interact with urban public spaces, using them as material for symbolic production (Lloyd 2010), changing these, filling them with new objects and activities, and thus introducing new meanings to broader social circles. Artists invent tactics to remake the city as a place for

everyday creativity and diversity (De Certeau 1984). Cultural dynamics in the city are driven, among other factors, 'by artistic community logic' (Zarlenga et al. 2013: 6).

The recent literature on sustainability in creative cities also highlights the value of bottom-up grass-roots artistic initiatives (Kirchberg and Kagan 2013). The cultural dimension of sustainability implies the understanding of the role of culture ('cultural expressions' of urban communities, cultural activities, and the arts) in the 'social capital and cultural capital' of the cities (Kagan and Hahn 2011: 17–18). The analysis of the role of culture in sustainable community development in urban contexts is relevant not only at global or national levels, but also at the local level (Duxbury and Gillette 2007). Given the importance of the cultural dimension to sustainability and the key role arts and culture play in social change, researchers argue, that a closer look at the activities of artists will contribute to a better understanding of what they mean for the sustainability of cities (Kirchberg 2008).

Taking the above stated into account, I would like to consider artistic communities based in St. Petersburg, Russia, and engaged in contemporary art as the grass-roots actors of creativity in a city which is not yet a 'creative city'. As I will try to show, development of domains significant for creative cities, such as a contemporary art scene, and its necessary components, such as spaces for art (re) presentation, experts in contemporary art, educational programs, and the like, can evolve or even start on micro-level with the grass-roots activities of creative collectives. Careful consideration of the practices of artists embedded in the city, performing in the field of contemporary art and undertaking tactical moves to overcome the challenges they encounter can offer insights into the actual forces that promote and sustain a culture of creativity in the Russian urban context.

Artistic Communities in the City: Research Focus and Methodology

The choice of informal artistic communities embedded in the city as the source of bottom-up creativity builds on research revealing the strengths and opportunities of such collectives. Artists are considered to be knowledge creators (Sutherland and Acord 2007; Nenko 2012), in particular in the urban context (Martí-Costa and Miquel 2012), capable of initiating urban transformations and social changes (Zukin 1989). Relationships and settings of artistic communities benefit from friendship ties, combining work and leisure as well as joining workspace and homespace (Lloyd 2010). Being located in the city provides artistic communities with social connectivity and higher dynamics of spatially rooted social interactions, which are increasingly seen as a crucial driver of cultural dynamics (Comunian 2011; Zarlenga et al. 2013). Collective practices in shared settings allow creative individuals to get involved in a set of dynamically structured networks of interdependencies in which they informally communicate and collaborate. The setting allows them to use face-to-face contacts for exchanging information which is

difficult to codify (Storper and Venables 2004; Cohendet et al. 2014), to share tacit knowledge (Currid 2007) and to emotionally energize each other through 'hot' moments in 'hot' spots (Parker and Hackett 2012). Artists united in communities also benefit from interpersonal friendship dynamics when insights are collaboratively achieved, acts of mutual support take place, and the joy of common success is shared (Farrell 2001). The group secures psychological support for innovations and encourages experimentation, which is understood and tolerated within the small circle (Crane 1989; Farrell 2001).

The three artistic collectives of St. Petersburg considered here are Chto Delat? ('What Is to Be Done?'), Kukhnya ('Kitchen'), and Parazit ('Parasite'), all of them working in the sphere of visual contemporary art. The three groups were selected according to the logic of maximal variability: they exhibit different scales, structures, educational and cultural backgrounds, understandings of art and its tasks, forms of spatial embeddedness in the city space and artistic styles.

The empirical data used in this study was collected in 2012, the main methods were in-depth interviews with artists constituting both the core and the periphery of the communities under consideration (25 interviews in total) and participant observation in artistic studios and at exhibitions (20 observations in total) registering the processes of individual and collective artistic work, informal communication between community members about the art scene and artworks, encounters of the artists with other creative professionals and broader publics. Additionally, qualitative analysis of online texts was conducted, including web pages of communities and single community members, textual works of the groups (articles in newspapers and magazines, poetry, novels, etc.), and posts in social media written by community members. The collected data was sequentially subjected to open, axial and selective coding. The general approach to data analysis can be characterized as successive approximation, which presupposes cyclical revisions to empirical materials with the elaboration of research categories and concepts.

St. Petersburg Creative City Context and Its Challenges

The second largest city of Russia and for over two centuries the official state capital, St. Petersburg has always been a space where economic, political, educational, and informational resources are concentrated. It is regarded as Russia's 'cultural capital', filled with classical art, as well as the heritage of Soviet underground culture. Contemporary art in St. Petersburg has come to the public scene only in the 1980s and the early 1990s during the late Soviet transformations. With the cancellation of the ban on social activism and private commercial activities, there emerged non-official and non-conformist artistic movements as well as the first non-governmental galleries and exhibition centers (Savitsky 2002). Some of these artistic movements underwent museification in the early 1990s supported by the city government and nowadays rest on their laurels. The brightest example is the former artist-run squat at Pushkinskaya street (the city centre), which in the early 1990s

became a self-proclaimed art centre and after 7 years of negotiations received recognition and support from the city government. Today it is known as the Art Centre 'Pushkinskaya 10' and contains the Museum of Nonconformist Art and studios-flats for artists (http://www.p-10.ru/en/about/). However the curriculum of 'Pushkinskaya 10' is based on the rich past of the squat—the first 1990s wave of contemporary artists, and minimally targets generations of 2000s and later. This conservation of a 'new' tradition has been criticized by younger generations, in particular, by the communities considered here.

The present situation in the city's contemporary art scene is shaped by a set of factors related to the line taken by governmental policies in the sphere of culture and the arts, the availability of education in contemporary art, the quality of contemporary art infrastructure, and (in)sufficiency of professional actors in the contemporary art scene.

The city government policies in the sphere of culture and arts in St. Petersburg are targeted at conservation of cultural heritage, rather than the development of contemporary culture and art. Komitet Kulturi Sankt-Peterburga (St. Petersburg Committee for Culture) aims at 'Preserving and rationally using the city's cultural and historical heritage; reviving and developing cultural traditions' (http://www.spbculture.ru/en/komitet.html). There are no cultural policies to regularly support contemporary art in the city. However, in 2014, the city government supported a rare international event—Manifesta X, hosted by the Hermitage museum.

The city's economy still relies on traditional industries, as well as transport and logistics, while postindustrial spheres—tourism, creative and knowledge economy—are in the early stages of development (Gordin and Matetskaya 2012; Gordin et al. 2014). State policies do not support grass-roots creativity and collective activities in urban space (Federal Law 2004). There are restrictions towards expression of topics critical towards the existing state regime, as the cases of Pussy Riot, and its St. Petersburg predecessor 'Voyna' (War), show. Policies of urban development do not target public places. Much of the urban space remains underused: the profile of public space usage is strictly functional, which means that creative practices are not commonplace (Voronkova and Pachenkov 2015). Nevertheless, a search for alternative practices of using city space and re-conceptualizing it at the level of local communities is taking place, in particular, within creative circles. Movements of urban activists and researchers are developing projects to make the city more livable (e.g. www.arts4city.com).

The opportunities for contemporary art education in St. Petersburg are limited. Though St. Petersburg is a recognized cradle of classical arts and there are famous public higher education institutions—the Academy of Fine Arts and St. Petersburg State Art and Industry Academy—courses on history of arts at these institutions end with Malevich. Hence the public education system is hegemonized by the principles inherent to classical art. There are two options for young artists in St. Petersburg to study contemporary art: 'The School for Young Artists' supported by the Pro Arte Foundation and 'The School of Engaged Art' recently launched by Chto Delat?—a contemporary art group considered in greater detail in the following parts of this chapter. These schools can enroll up to 15 students each. The programs of the

schools do not presuppose studies on an everyday basis. Pro Arte School usually offers its students a meeting once in two weeks. Chto Delat? school gathers students for short periods of lectures and seminars several times a year. The lack of contemporary art education in St. Petersburg hampers professionalization of young artists and makes them enroll into a wider range of Moscow contemporary art schools (e.g. Rodchenko School) or go abroad (Machulina 2009; Savina n.d.).

Professional contemporary art infrastructure in St. Petersburg is scarce and hence hard for the artists to access. There is no developed meso-layer of creativity in the city—galleries, centers, funds—that researchers find particularly important (Cohendet et al. 2014) and these do not show the complexity that could generate outcomes on the macro-level (contrary to the situation in Western cities, e.g. Comunian 2011). There is no precise account on the number of St. Petersburg galleries; some sources suggest there are around 140 of them (Lyalyakin 2012). Still the majority of galleries are commercially oriented and tend to sell art created for mass consumers rather than professional contemporary art. Art galleries having relations with the international market are exceptional (e.g. 'Marina Gisich' gallery, 'Al Gallery', 'Anna Nova' gallery, 'Name Gallery') (Gerasimenko 2008; Lusina 2010; Steiner 2012). Operating independent creative spaces which represent contemporary art, such as 'Loft Project ETAGI', 'Kuryokhin Center', 'Taiga', 'Tkachi', 'Skorohod' to name the most well-known, are few and not connected into a network (Steiner 2012). Creative spaces launched in the city centre, e.g. 'Chetvert', often close down after a year of work because of incorrectly arranged agreements for rent. Creative spaces in the former industrial zones, for instance 'Ruskomplekt', 'Zvezdochka', 'Loft Dvorets', 'Rizzordi Art Foundation', have operated for a few years starting from 2010, but then closed down because of financial and legal reasons. Complex projects to redevelop industrial areas into creative quarters with places for artists' studios and exhibitions have been unsuccessful (e.g. the 'Art Triangle' project in the former Red Triangle factory was closed due to the lack of finances). There is no state museum of contemporary art in St. Petersburg (in contrast to Moscow's MOMA). However there are several new entries into the museum sphere: the private museum for contemporary art 'Erarta' and the 'New Museum of Contemporary Art' have opened on Vasilevsky island. Yet 'Erarta's' policies prioritize commercially profitable contemporary art and the 'New Museum' is focused on retrospectives of Soviet nonconformist art. A new development in a peripheral area of the city—a privately owned Museum of Street Art at the premises of a running factory—is setting the agenda for this artistic domain, though public access to the museum is somewhat restricted and its activity is seasonal. Compared to Moscow, where international art-fairs have been operating already for 20 years (Art Moscow started in 1996, Moscow Biennale started in 2004), the St. Petersburg scene has only the Baltic Biennale, launched in 2008, far less promoted (the Biennale does not even have its own website) and with a smaller program. Several developments of recent years have brought variety into the range of events in St. Petersburg's contemporary art world. The International public art festival 'Art Prospect', 'Critical Mass' festival of public art and the 'Contemporary Art in Traditional Museums' festival organized by Pro Arte Foundation promote

public art in St. Petersburg, though all of these events are organized in early autumn, and the rest of the year this scene remains empty. Art residencies, as well as art grants, particularly important for artists in the early stages of their career, are limited in number. Two art residencies existing in the city for now—St. Petersburg Art-Residency at the above mentioned 'Pushkinskaya 10' and the Artistic residence of The National Centre for Contemporary Arts in St. Petersburg (situated at Kronstadt island)—provide a small number of places.

The experts in contemporary art in the city are limited in number. There are few currently acknowledged art critics and curators. Some of them were professionally socialized in Soviet times and had to re-educate themselves. To some extent, they lack background knowledge of the international art-market. Young art critics and curators face a deficit of educational opportunities (the only example I am aware of is the Master Program 'Art and Art-Critics' at the Faculty for Liberal Arts and Sciences, St. Petersburg State University). As far as I am informed, there are no St. Petersburg periodicals reviewing art and publishing critical texts on art. The 'ART1. Visual Daily' Internet portal launched in 2013 in St. Petersburg as a professional resource in arts, design and architecture has recently been reframed into a 'pop' format. Other Russian periodicals—'Artguide', 'Around Art', 'Arterritory', 'The Art Newspaper Russia', 'Dialog Iskusstv'—have their headquarters in Moscow and focus on the situation there. As one of the members of the communities considered notes, 'the problem of artists in St. Petersburg is that there are no art-critics, no tools, stimulus for development, traditions of public discussions' (interview, artist, №5, Chto Delat?, female).

The above mentioned challenges of St. Petersburg's urban and artistic context nevertheless can be considered not only as barriers but at times as stimuli for contemporary artists forcing them to become creative as 'entrepreneurs' (in Shumpeter's understanding) in solving problems they encounter. Dealing with the above-mentioned uncertainties artists attempt to balance and find a suitable rational approach (Menger 2014). One of the solutions is in line with the logic of grass-roots creativity: artists tend to form communities, which allow them to collectively accumulate limited individual financial resources, overcome infrastructural constraints, and partially compensate for insufficient education. In my opinion, the roots of the 'creative city' can emerge out of these practices, especially if one agrees with the statement that 'the creative city is the one that is able to successfully face all the (…) problems, (…) reproducing order also in conditions of turbulent change' (Girard 2011: 55–56).

St. Petersburg Artistic Communities as Creative Actors from Below

The best known of artistic groups presented in this chapter is Chto Delat? Founded in 2003, it includes 9 core members aged from 30 to 50. Thematically, community members focus on politically related issues and draw on leftist ideas. The team is

multidisciplinary: it includes philosophers and artists linked to a variety of educational, research and media institutions. Chto Delat? is well integrated into the international art scene and has gained considerable success there among both grant-givers and audiences. It is also acknowledged in Russia as an active politically engaged artistic group, though it is much less represented due to state policies as well as the unconventionality of political topics which comprise the discourse in the local contemporary art sphere. The format of the artworks is mixed and predominantly non-material: textual (e.g. a newspaper) and performative (e.g. musical shows 'Songspiels'). Chto Delat? members are split into two cities—Moscow and St. Petersburg and they do not have any physical place they are connected to, but they widely use virtual space to present their artworks. Chto Delat? has widely practiced actionism in the city space, central squares in particular, however the group had to stop these activities in view of the public law mentioned above. Due to active networking, the community has established a circle of contributors and followers—the 'Chto Delat?' Platform and recently has launched School of Engaged Art (Fig. 11.1).

Parazit founded in 2003 includes more than 15 artists of different generations (the number of peripheral members is constantly changing). Its senior members were involved in a well-known group of outsider art called New Stupids in late 1990s—early 2000s. The artists do not evaluate commercial success as crucial for them. Consequently, they are not a part of mainstream art and thus have no legitimate access to the regular exhibition spaces. Instead, they formulate a

Fig. 11.1 Chto Delat?: Rosa's house of culture, opening of the final exhibition of the School of Engaged Art graduates, June 2015. *Source* School of Engaged Art, Chto Delat? collective

programmatic statement ‘to occupy bodies of other cultural institutions’ and remain a ‘nomadic gallery’ (http://www.parazzzit.spb.ru). Artists work in different genres, such as installations, photo-projects, figurative paintings, with performances and situationist actions which they regularly carry out in various settings as the most characteristic of the community. Their activities are highly provocative: most of their works of art, though diverse in form, are characterized by a common ironic ‘trash’ manner challenging mainstream aesthetic norms (Fig. 11.2). Parazit does not have its own space. It ‘invades’ the space of other cultural institutions (art centers, galleries, theaters), situated mostly in the city centre, with exhibitions in unintended places of these institutions or spontaneous performances.

At the time of data collection, the young art group, Kukhnya, established in 2010, included six participants, all aged under 35, connected by friendships, shared educational and socio-cultural background, and a joint working space—‘open studios’—which started as a gallery. Community members primarily work on monumental paintings and installations. Some of them also experiment with graphic arts, sculpture, mosaics and collages. Focused on success, Kukhnya is, however,

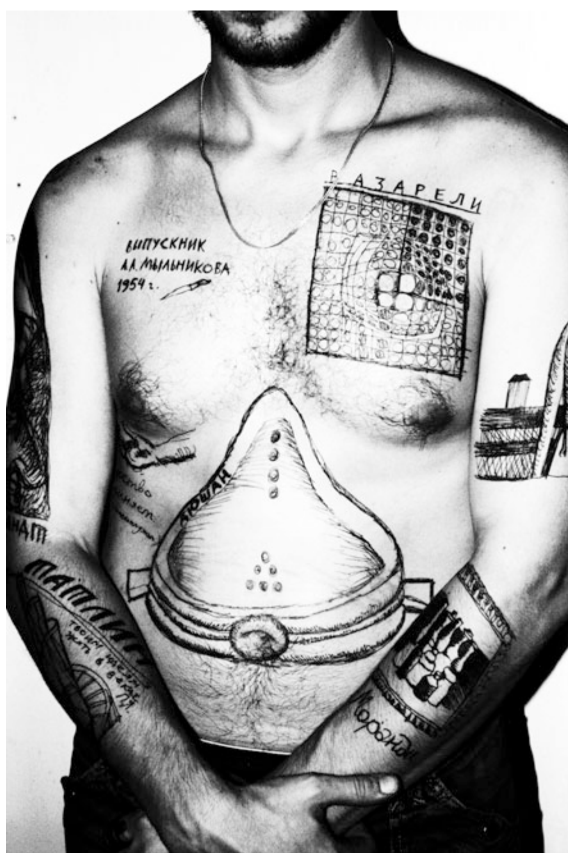

Fig. 11.2 Parazit: ‘Authorities’, photo-project by the ‘Mylo’ group, part of the Parazit community, 2008. *Source* Parazit collective

Fig. 11.3 Kukhnya: Kukhnya open studio (at 9 Belinskogo st.). *Source* Kukhnya collective

not particularly commercially oriented and so far has gained less recognition within the professional community than other groups considered here. Being at early stage of their careers, artists faced the need to unite their scarce symbolic and economic resources to make art and achieve progress in the field of art. The artists rent a studio together. At the time of data collection it was located in the city centre, in a the building which was in a very bad state of repair, so the rent was cheap (Fig. 11.3). After a few years Kukhnya had to move out and found its new home in a peripheral city area, the former grey belt zone, on the top floor of the 'Rizzordi' loft.

Addressing Challenges: Creative Practices by Artistic Communities

Being a contemporary artist in St. Petersburg does not mean being a part of the cultural elite and having access to a great amount of opportunities. Artists, especially young ones, are not empowered. However, as literature on sustainability in the cities suggests, a universal principle is that a strong stimulus to urban creativity is found in constraints: the scarcity of resources inspires the search for alternative approaches (Girard 2011). In these conditions, the choices which artists make, their lifestyles, self-organizational capacities and performances make the creative capital of the city.

Resilience in an unsustainable urban context increases if social agents are more interconnected and are open to the logic of 'relational rationality' (Girard 2011: 57). As the interviews conducted within this study show, uniting into communities, St. Petersburg contemporary artists increase their professional and personal networks, bringing into life different types of collective organizations and settings, pulling together their individual material and immaterial resources, such as knowledge and social capital, which they can efficiently use together. Collaboration provides artists with emotional support and intellectual feedback from colleagues. Artistic collectives in St. Petersburg also rely partly on the heritage of the underground culture of the Soviet period in adapting to the challenging context, such as 'invisible' tactics of the latter to communicate about art and society in private spaces, present art in flats and suburbs (Savitsky 2002; Andreyeva 2012). Below we consider in detail what kind of approaches artistic communities use in St. Petersburg today to organize their creative activities and settings and to address challenges imposed by the city context, in particular: (a) lack of contemporary art education; (b) insufficient number of professionals and operators in the contemporary art scene; (c) scarce infrastructure for contemporary artists.

Dealing with Insufficient Contemporary Art Education

To make up for the lack of education in the domain of contemporary 'leftist' art, Chto Delat? implements quite a few educational and art projects involving young artists as well as wider leftist-oriented youth from St. Petersburg and other Russian cities. All of these activities are united into one community project aimed at the formation of activist knowledge within intellectuals and artists: 'We are convinced that real art is the art of de-automation of the conscience of the artist, and then—of the spectator' (http://chtodelat.org/category/ar_1/br_3/?lang=ru). Implementation of this standpoint in an educational program is supported by the multidisciplinarity of community that enables fruitful meaning and formal synthesis: 'People learn and they receive a right to speak on behalf of another discipline' (interview, №4, artist, regular collaborator of Chto Delat?, female). One of the recent big projects by the community is the School of Engaged Art (supported by the international Rosa Luxemburg Foundation). According to the description of the School, it

> continue[s] the good old tradition, in which artists of one generation try to share with the next generation their faith in art and its power, their doubts and hopes, their fears and passion… A central component of our school is the idea of collective practice (http://chtodelat.org/b5-announcements/the-school-of-engaged-art/).

The School declares fidelity to the leftist tradition of modernist and avant-garde art and rests upon multidisciplinary approach:

> a hybrid of poetry and sociology, choreography and street activism, political economy and the sublime, art history and militant research, gender and queer experimentation with dramaturgy (http://chtodelat.org/b5-announcements/the-school-of-engaged-art/).

The school works according to a modular structure, five required courses and practical seminars led by Chto Delat? members and their close collaborators, as well as lectures with invited scholars.

In Parazit the lack of education is overcome by intergenerational communication, which runs as immediate face-to-face interactions with artists of different ages and cultural backgrounds. The community resembles a 'school' for junior artists who enter freely, are initiated into contemporary art topics and collective exhibition practices and are delicately curated by senior and already experienced junior community members. This democratic education in community is an alternative for the institutional format and a response to the hidden drawbacks of the public, state-run system of art education at the post-secondary level such as strict mentorship and lack of contemporary art approaches:

> I am studying at Mukha,[1] there is high level there, but there we are mostly taught not creativity as such, (…) but craftsmanship (…) I have always wanted to take part in exhibitions and to make works [of art]. Creative ones (interview, artist, Parazit, №2, female, young generation).

Artists in Parazit also have continuous real-time encounters and dialogues between the generations: 'They are looking at us, we are looking at them, we are complementing each other, and we are borrowing from each other' (interview, artist, Parazit, №3, male, young generation).

This educational format is based on horizontal ties and equal rights, and it is saturated emotionally. The process benefits all members involved in the community: 'There happens such a situation as if in playing jazz, that means there is already a feeling of a partner, and what she might propose' (interview, artist, Parazit, №1, male, senior generation, informal leader of the community). At the same time the interconnection does not presuppose absorption: 'Our parasitic union provides… more support, we have joint exhibitions,… but still everyone elaborates their projects individually' (interview, artist, Parazit, №1, male, senior generation, informal leader of the community). The rhythm set by regular change of the exhibitions provides positive tension and a feeling of productive competition among community members: '[I]t is interesting to see, what others will invent in these two weeks and bring around' (interview, artist, Parazit, №3, male, young generation) as well as an organic mechanism of 'natural selection' for community members: '[T]hose who are weak fall out themselves' (interview, artist, Parazit, №3, male, young generation).

The tactics of Kukhnya lie in aligning the resources and skills of young artists at different stages of professional development, who can provide mutual support and share what they know with each other. A community member, referred to as its leader, being a young artist and yet more experienced than other members, coordinates this process to ensure newcomers receive the minimum of skills needed to begin the career of the contemporary artist: '[Y]ou need to hang the works, a

[1]'Mukha' is a short name usually used for St. Petersburg State Art and Industrial Academy, which in 1953–1994 was called the Vera Mukhina Leningrad Higher School of Art and Industry.

minimal experience, so that when coming to a respectable gallery you would have this experience' (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community). While creating joint projects in different genres and media, artists share skills and advice:

> We have similar topics, but he objectively makes painting better than me. I am more into objects, graphics. I tell him: Shall we make a project together? It will be interesting if your painting will be complemented with my objects and graphics (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community).

Dealing with Limited Number of Art Professionals

Focusing on the domain of politically engaged contemporary art, which has limited number of followers because political activities are prosecuted by government, Chto Delat? developed a self-sustained production unit, joining professionals who possess all the competencies needed to make an art-project in the genre developed by community: directors, screen-writers, critics, artists, poets, choreographers. At the same time, the group has established a close circle of collaborators and contributors —the Chto Delat? Platform—from different spheres of art and culture, who from time to time take part in their projects, promote their ideas and also act as regular audience: 'The Platform carries out its work through a network of collective initiatives in Russia and its interaction with international context' (http://chtodelat.org/category/ar_1/br_3/?lang=ru). Chto Delat? members acknowledge that through this platform they share their artistic principles and make input into empowering critical intellectuals and artists:

> We are guided by a principle of solidarity, organizing and supporting networks of mutual aid with all grass-roots, sharing principles of internationalism, feminism and equality (http://chtodelat.org/category/ar_1/br_3/?lang=ru).

Speaking of professionals in the art sphere, a Parazit member mentions: 'We have less possibility to present ourselves, compared to Western artists, having no serious curators, material or sponsor support, institutions' (interview, artist, Parazit, №1, male, senior generation, informal leader of the community). In their self-run exhibition activity 'Parasites' have decided to appoint a curator for each exhibition from within the community members or invite one from their friend circles: 'Today you are the leader, tomorrow—another one, the day after tomorrow—the third one, this all happens, however, it seems to be one whole' (interview, artist, Parazit, №1, male, senior generation, informal leader of the community). This procedure mimics the conventional institutional pattern of exhibition organization. There is a lot of irony in the way the curator behaves and in the texts she writes, which makes this process a kind of a collective play. However Parazit is not as rebellious in relation to the contemporary art establishment as it might seem. Though an 'outsider' art

community, Parazit art projects attract the attention of St. Petersburg and Moscow art-critics and curators, due to the fresh wave that they feel in Parazit's ironic attitudes towards conventions and images of mainstream contemporary art. Another move community members, especially young ones, perform to accumulate the needed contacts with art professionals is developing weak ties with all of the main figures and artistic communities in St. Petersburg, which quite often transforms into invitations to exhibitions, projects, positive references and reviews.

Kukhnya's leader follows the tactic of combining the creative roles of an artist, a curator, and a studio manager. In his opinion, local curators have more competencies if they are artists themselves: 'because the person knows the process from the inside' (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community). But such combination of roles requires certain rules to sustain the quality of the artistic and organizational work. As he says:

> When I used to exhibit myself in my own project I didn't have enough time to finish the work… Nowadays I have come to a conclusion that if I curate the project I don't participate in it (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community).

Though this tactic compensates for the lack of art professionals working with the community, it challenges the leading community artist with spending energy on managerial work at the expense of artistic endeavour:

> After the project I think: 'Enough! I won't do this anymore!' but then I start again … Maybe, this is because of the lack. If we had a project after a project in the city, maybe, there won't be any problems (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community).

Another tactical move of the community leader is inviting fellow or visiting international representatives of the art sphere for an informal visit into the studio:

> I try myself to bring gallery owners and curators here… Well, I try to fill in the gap, something missing, the place for get-together of the artists, creative people (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community).

Dealing with Underdeveloped Artistic Infrastructure

Kukhnya artists have a shared working space—'open studios', where the working places are allocated for each member but there are no walls between them. The openness and accessibility of the studio is a core value for the community members:

> We have a common space that we initially planned to divide by walls, to add some partitions. But then we decided we should not do that. And in my eyes, it was a sound decision. We left it as open as possible (interview, №2, artist, Kukhnya, male)

Kukhnya is maximizing the effectiveness of the shared space by multiplying its functions. The leader of the community promotes the idea that the space is used both to make and to present art by community members and their friends:

> I made a studio here. … And for me this is a possibility for authors to make their first personal exhibition for themselves. To make themselves visible. Even more—to try out making an exhibition (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community).

As mentioned before, the shared studio is also a 'place of get-together' which is also valuable for socializing of young artists:

> Here youth can come, drink, do something else… Other events happen here often except for the exhibitions, some little concerts, some performances (interview, artist, Kukhnya, №1, male, referred to as the leader of the community).

At their first place of residence in the city centre at 9 Belinskogo st., Kukhnya's 'open studios' were located next to other creative enterprises, such as Bye-bye ballet studio; together they formed a spontaneous creative cluster. Here Kukhnya had more visibility, was active as a 'gallery', organizing public exhibitions and taking part in city festivals, such as the Museum Night. In their new location in the grey belt zone, in the mansard of the 'Rizzordi' loft, Kukhnya started losing its public dynamics and has almost no impact on the neighborhood. This is explained by the fact that publics are not ready to go far from the city centre, and by gradual loss of activity and eventual closure of the 'Rizzordi' loft. Artists are still working there, because of the low sum for the rent.

Parazit community invented an alternative tactic to overcome lack of exhibition spaces—by creating a 'nomadic gallery' which 'invades' other cultural and artistic institutions:

> Congenital peculiarities of PARAZIT are the creative expansion and duplication of the gallery branches at alien territories, with owners' permission as well as without it (http://parazzzit.spb.ru/history.php).

Nomadic gallery appears in marginal parts of the real art centers (Borey Art Centre corridor, the toilet of Pushkinskaya, 10, the hall of the St. Petersburg Lensoviet Theatre) located in the city centre, as well as in everyday places—grocery shops, streets in different city areas. Capturing the space of other cultural institutions Parazit doesn't only find a place for representation, but changes the symbolic frame of the invaded institution space. In fact, Parazit questions the justification for restricted access to exhibition spaces as well as draws attention to the insufficient number of exhibition spaces in the city. The group focuses on expanding the limits of everyday creativity by suggesting reinterpretations of conventional working and exhibition spaces for art in the city. Not allowed into full social action, they use 'situationist' techniques and tactics of 'holy foolishness' (Sabbatini 2011) to act and communicate their presence in the city. As a community member argues: 'Parasites are a biological metaphor. They spread everywhere' (interview, № 4, artist, Parazit, male, senior generation).

Chto Delat? community neither have any regular shared exhibition or working space as Kukhnya does, nor do they implement a strategy of physical space re-appropriation like Parazit. To overcome the lack of artistic space and to provide the general public with access to their art-works Chto Delat? use virtual space and

have established numerous on-line platforms—groups in social networks, a web-site, a video-channel, and a mailing list. 'We post everything on Youtube and Vimeo. And receive reaction there' (interview, №2, artist, Chto Delat?, male). Chto Delat? publishes its own newspaper under the same title which became the

> space of collective knowledge production. It remains shared and is open for the Chto Delat? members and sometimes for non-members also (interview, №3, artist, Chto Delat?, male).

Chto Delat? had to however find a place for their School. They found it at one of the creative lofts, but after official opening they were asked to move out for political reasons. Recently they have re-opened at Ligovsky prospekt, in one of the former warehouses next to the railroad station in the city centre. This area is rented by small offices, bars, rehearsal points, cheap retail shops, is attractive for creatives and deserves more research.

Conclusions

In the context of scarce resources and limited possibilities in St. Petersburg's contemporary art sphere, artists' choice to unite into communities becomes important to confront numerous challenges such as: lack of contemporary art education, limited number of art professionals, and scarce artistic infrastructure. The communities considered here answer these challenges differently—creating various organizational structures and specific settings for their practices which increase resilience, though these moves might also induce challenges of their own. The tactics used by the three artistic communities analysed to overcome the creative challenges they experience in St. Petersburg are summarized in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1 Tactics of sustainability used by St. Petersburg independent artistic communities working in the sphere of contemporary art

Challenges	Tactics of sustainability		
	Chto Delat?	Parazit	Kukhnya
Lack of contemporary art education	Multidisciplinary, based on leftist theory, structured modularly, sponsored 'School of Engaged Art'	Democratic, informal 'school' based on intergenerational dialogue of artists during exhibition practices	Exchange of experiences by artists of one generation during working and exhibiting in one shared studio
Limited number of art professionals	Multidisciplinary 'production team'. 'Chto Delat?' Platform	Curators from within community. Developed weak ties in the art-field	Multiplication of roles played by the community leader. Art professionals invited to the studio
Scarce artistic infrastructure	Communication platforms in virtual space	'Invasion' of other cultural institutions	A multifunctional studio

Source Own elaboration

Chto Delat? community maintains its activities in the contemporary arts sphere through the organization of a multidisciplinary all-sufficient 'production team' which unites established scholars and artists. The group empowers creative circles in the city, increasing its own opportunities and influence, through active networking and the creation of their Platform and the most elaborated educational system compared to other communities under study—the School of Engaged Art. To get over restricted access to the urban space and places for art representation, community members extensively use possibilities provided by the virtual space to communicate their vision and present their artworks. However self-consistent and strategical, Chto Delat? is regularly criticized by other artistic communities and art professionals for its focus on politics and collaboration with international grant-giving organizations.

Parazit builds a fluid community able to quickly reconfigure and invade different spaces in the city, always finding a platform for representation even without financial resources. They keep on attracting newcomers and maintain intergenerational dialogue for mutual education. They distribute leadership and shift roles among the community members to survive without art managers. Parazit translates values of openness, democracy and critical thinking into the cultural sphere. Though diverse in genres, artists share one attitude towards the arts and invent a specific group style. Thus Parazit is developing a specific niche in St. Petersburg contemporary art. However, while performing this approach they run into financial drawbacks, because the artworks they create do not satisfy the expectations of the consumers, whose number is limited. Besides, though making ironic statements towards the traditional conventions of the art sphere, the artists, especially young ones, still have to keep weak ties and alliances with it that might hinder their uniqueness.

Kukhnya tries to overcome challenges through spatial connectedness and the advantages that appear when several young artists are located together in one time and space continuum. They unite their financial resources to be able to afford the rent of the space, they share competences in different art genres and formats to advise each other and create various kinds of artworks, they use personal networks linking to art world representatives to make their connections more dispersed and effective. They also follow the logic of multiplication—of the functions of the shared space and of the roles of their leader. However, their approach appears to be quite centralized and lacks sustainability that could be brought by distributed management. Kukhnya also faces the restraints of localization: while in the city centre it could be active as a 'gallery', in the former industrial area it now inhabits, it has become mostly a shared working space.

Generation of independent grass-roots artistic communities is one of the core mechanisms to create the meso-level of creativity in St. Petersburg and impact its cultural development in view of new agendas—the 'creative city', the 'knowledge city', etc. Though uniting into communities produces risks of its own for the considered artists, as we have briefly pointed out here and as discussed in detail by Pivovarov and Khokhlova (2014). By finding ways to confront the context-driven challenges that hamper their creative enterprise, artists in fact help the 'creative city'

to emerge from below and also make the gaps in the sphere of contemporary art visible. This is their contribution to the contemporary development of St. Petersburg and its cultural sustainability. Aside from conservation of the classical heritage accomplished by the network of state institutions, artistic communities substitute partly the missing institutional foundations for development of contemporary creativity. To a certain extent the role of St. Petersburg artistic communities today resembles the one of the underground communities in Soviet times, though the deficit of possibilities is less obvious. Metaphorically put, they become think tanks for new ideas in arts and culture, and democratic platforms for their discussion and promotion. While time-consuming institutional transformation goes on, flexible artistic communities, using collective dynamics and networking, create a primary semi-institutional environment in the city to support the socialization of newcomers into contemporary art and develop its specific domains, values and rules. St. Petersburg artistic communities are also one of the few mechanisms to lessen centralization of arts and culture in Russia, namely the flow of young artists and creatives to Moscow, as well as international migration tendencies.

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Author Biography

Aleksandra (Oleksandra) Nenko holds a Ph.D. in social sciences from Kiev National University. She is a project coordinator at the Center for German and European Studies (CGES, St. Petersburg State University—University of Bielefeld) and an associate professor at the Institute for Design and Urban Studies at the ITMO University in St. Petersburg. She also coordinates the ‘Arts for the City’ project, supported by CGES and European National Institutes of Culture network, and is one of the coordinators of the Arctic Art Institute. Combining these positions, her interests lie in cross-disciplinary approaches to the study of urban space, creative communities and initiatives as factors in urban transformation, and multimodal network analysis of urban phenomena.

Chapter 12
Leipzig's Visual Artists as Actors of Urban Change

Silvie Jacobi

Creative Cities: Fostering Artistic Production?

In recent years a growing amount of critical literature on creative cities and culture-led urban regeneration emerged in response to the contradictions and weaknesses found in Florida's (2002) creative class concept. This approach initially created a momentum around the growing importance of the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) in the late 1990s, but it did not prompt the academic readership to apply the concept without questioning its feasibility.

There is a consensus among urban scholars (Peck 2005; Markusen 2006b; Wilson and Keil 2008; Krätke 2010) that Florida's notion of the creative class is over-simplified in terms of its ambivalent structure and the application of mainly quantitative methods to measure economic growth in relation to the creativity of cities. This according to his critics misses out any relation to qualitative factors and processes that constitute the attraction and retention of cultural workers.

As a response to this, recent studies critically engage with artists as members of the creative class, drawing from research around their livelihoods and how this distinguishes them from other creative occupations. Wilson and Keil (2008) for example demonstrate that 'real creatives' are often poor in financial terms but contribute to a city with resourcefulness and regenerative capacities, such as through innovative use of space and developing alternative and often low-budget survival strategies. This mirrors Landry and Bianchini's (1995) original notion of 'The Creative City', which was based on the idea of challenging top-down urban management structures and instrumental strategies through new and creative solutions. As none of these artist-centred capacities have been acknowledged by Florida, Peck (2005: 763) argues the creative class is nothing but a justification

S. Jacobi (✉)
Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries, King's College London, Strand, WC2R 2LS, London, England, UK
e-mail: silvie.jacobi@kcl.ac.uk

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concept for the commercialisation of culture in order to generate economic growth for an entrepreneurial city—often at the expense of less economically viable cultural infrastructure:

> Rather than 'civilising' urban economic development by 'bringing in culture', creative strategies do the opposite: they commodify the arts and cultural resources […], suturing them as putative economic assets to evolving regimes of urban competition.

Ley's (2003) important paper on 'Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification' offers a comprehensive explanation as to why artists are actors of urban change, in particular in relation to gentrification. Ley points out that the inner city property market absorbs the framework of cultural values and aesthetic dimensions of cultural production through what he describes as 'aestheticisation' process. In relation to Smith's (1996) 'revanchist gentrification' theory, aestheticisation seems to be aligned with a process of rent gap exploitation. The rent gap measures the difference between actual value of land and its potential value under best possible use. Therefore aestheticisation is a symbolical tool to boost the value of land at the stage at which it is transferred from redundant to developed. Ley's findings clearly illustrate that artists distance themselves decisively from the neo-liberal, design-led aesthetics of the up-valued land. A number of studies (Kagan and Hahn 2011; Novy and Colomb 2013) have illustrated that distancing from commercial top-down strategies can shift to active resistance by which local artists engage in sustaining the long-term benefits of existing cultural production sites. In an exemplary case study on Hamburg's Gängeviertel (Novy and Colomb 2013) fear of gentrification set off a major artist-led protest against the wholesale sanitation plans of the cultural quarter renowned for its heritage buildings and use for artistic production, resulting in the reappropriation of the quarter by artists who self-sustain the site as a collective.

Whereas the majority of creative city research in human geography is based on debates around creative class, gentrification and urban regeneration, CCIs scholars have developed a comprehensive account of cultural policy analysis (Pratt 2011; Vickery 2011; O'Connor and Shaw 2014) as well as creative networks and clusters explanations (Pratt 2004; Comunian 2010) in relation to creative cities. As the capacities of artists are often underestimated or misperceived, cultural policy has recurrently overlooked the potential of bottom-up cultural initiatives in favor of a standardised creative cluster or hub approach. Vickery (2011) argues through the misapplication of vernacular contexts, culture has become a way to make a city more pleasurable, but not more culturally active or in other words more productive. Detailed examination of the cultural contradictions of the creative city by Pratt (2011) demonstrates that the juxtaposition between the diversity of local culture and hard cultural branding is often a major contributing factor for the lack of responsive cultural production support mechanisms. According to Pratt (2008) the aim of Florida-inspired cultural policy is to attract a future labour force through cultural consumption rather than 'home-growing' artists (Markusen 2006a) and nurturing cultural production activity. Pratt (2008) further highlights how this leads to the

development of an elite consumer culture in which design-led infrastructure is developed but the necessary networks and training opportunities are missing.

On the basis of the contradictions identified in the discussed literature, a major problem seems to be the incapacity to understand and operationalise the real benefits that cultural workers such as artists generate for cities. This is not related to the consumption preferences of the creative class but to a self-initiated mobilisation of often alternative resources and entrepreneurial networks, which would ideally result in the transformation of declining urban space into long-term use for cultural production. Due to the precariousness of much of cultural work (Comunian et al. 2010), access to affordable rents, social networks (Banks et al. 2000) are key factors for risk management in the CCIs. Departing from this viewpoint, Harris and Moreno's (2010) 'Creative City Limits' project has acknowledged artists' expanded capacities by discussing responsive ways of creative city policy in times of austerity. They argue that the occupational group of artists offers significant opportunities in repossessing notions of creativity in relation to the city by:

> opening up alternative ways of seeing the world. They [artists] can help imagine and provoke new visions and debates about the ownership, provision, occupation and consumption of urban space. They offer possibilities for inhabiting the processes of planning, policy and governance, and subverting creative city language and rhetoric (Harris and Moreno 2010: 23).

This implies the possibility to align creativity with broader social and urban concepts such as public access, openness and development opportunities removed from immediate economic success; linking artists' role in urban change to social values as a generator for collective interest in the city and envisioning artists as public intellectuals and creative urban thinkers (Landry and Bianchini 1995).

Most of the literature reviewed so far suffers from a one-sided orientation of the creative city towards gentrification, creative clusters and city competitiveness. This side-lines the role of artists in shrinking and re-urbanising cities. The notion of the creative city is also often only explored within the confines of a Western framework with fewer paradigm research on other regions e.g. Eastern Europe (Svob-Dokic 2004; Lugosi et al. 2010). Comunian and Faggian (2014) on the other hand call for more research on location and mobility factors that motivate cultural workers to move to specific cities. They highlight the importance of studying geographical dynamics of CCIs between different regions, to understand the factors that drive regional CCIs development. More research on regional dynamics would position the creative city concept out of the immediate 'competitive city' context and make it functional within a different set of economic priorities and urban problems, which is where this exercise on Leipzig will venture to find new answers.

Moreover, much of the discussed creative city policy perspectives focus around the analysis of its conceptual inadequacies, whereas artists' resilience mechanisms and livelihoods are only studied as a 'by-product' of gentrification activism. In order to understand the importance of the resourcefulness of artists, more research needs to focus on artists' livelihoods, their networks and most importantly how they emerge. Comunian and Faggian (2014) and Oakley et al. (2008) have set off a

debate on the highly important role of creative graduates for creative cities. Their research, however, only offers a small window of opportunity, which calls for more research on the quality of creative higher education institutions, their talent engagement potential and the kind of mechanisms they employ in supporting emerging networks of cultural workers.

Research Focus and Methods

By connecting existing creative city literature to Leipzig's specific urban and cultural context shaped by a strong presence of the visual arts, classical music as well as the media and design sectors, it was possible to uncover a wealth of empirical links and opportunities for developing an alternative focus on creative cities. In order to find out why visual artists move to Leipzig, why they grow professional roots there and how they engage with the city as a site for artistic production, the research questions are built around the notion of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford 2010)—a concept which simultaneously considers persons, places and processes as integrated factors. Furthermore the study of artists' livelihoods and networks sits at the core of understanding why Leipzig has become an increasingly attractive place for artists to live and work, which is evidently contributing to the re-urbanisation of the city.

The following research questions were posed by the author: What constitutes visual artists' livelihoods in Leipzig? What networks, key stakeholders and institutions are of importance for their engagement with urban change? What are the reasons for visual artists' attachment to the city? Why and how is place attachment connected to the processes of professional development and urban pioneering?

To understand this dynamic, solid knowledge around key institutions and stakeholders that form Leipzig's visual arts economy has to be built. This will result in conclusions as to whether and how these contribute to place attachment of artists. In order to address these questions, this chapter develops an inductive, ethnographic narrative around the different trajectories and livelihoods of visual artists in Leipzig. Using qualitative methods to provide a 'thick description' (Geertz 1994) of specific factors, processes and relationships that define the culture to be studied, this research develops an understanding of the intersection between artists' place attachment, professional development and urban pioneering. To study group dynamics and shared meanings within artist networks, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews and participant observation. While comparative research on creative cities refers to the term cultural and creative professionals or cultural workers,[1] this chapter specifically addresses the livelihoods of visual artists as an occupational group within the CCIs that is likely to be least economically stable

[1]The term 'cultural workers' as used in this essay refers to professionals in the CCIs as an occupational group which includes artists.

(Oakley 2009). As the work of visual artists does not immediately translate into financial returns, it allows for the study of artistic positions within the full spectrum between economic success and artistic autonomy. From an urban studies perspective, the livelihoods of visual artists are particularly relevant for the study of urban change, as this occupational group requires cheap workspace to balance a lack of immediate economic return. Thus it is in their interest to engage in but also to build resistance against urban change.

The sample of a total of 17 participants was made up of art students (n = 6, age range 23–35), visual artists (n = 4, age range 28–42), lecturers (n = 3, age range 49–59), curators (n = 3, age range 30–39) and a career advisor/policy maker (n = 1). 53% of participants were from West Germany, 35% from what was formerly East Germany and 12% from other European countries. 4 out of 17 participants were born in Leipzig. The visual arts pathways that most participants engaged in were based on the two dominant streams of teaching at the local art school 'Hochschule für Grafik und Buchkunst' ('Leipzig Academy of Visual Arts', abbreviated HGB): 'Medienkunst' (Media Arts) and 'Malerei/Grafik' (Painting/Graphic Arts). Participants were recruited through the webpages of so-called 'off-spaces' (artist-led spaces), HGB tutor groups, Facebook and the recommendation of gatekeepers and participants. The researcher also attended seminars and events through which participant observation was facilitated and further participants could be recruited. Besides using a 'snowballing technique' (Cloke et al. 2004; Tracy 2012) it was important to approach participants from a variety of disconnected backgrounds directly by email to widen the potential scope of independent arguments. The semi-structured interviews lasted for 40–60 min each, all of which were thematically adapted to the participant's livelihood and previously researched biography (see biographically induced narrative used by Steets 2007).

Apart from recruiting further participants, participant observation provided a platform to gather shared meanings within artist communities during a participatory exhibition project developed by HGB students (Rödel et al. 2014). This highly informed the interviewing process and resulted in the generation of new research questions. Methods triangulation was facilitated using secondary interview material from a publically available radio broadcast (Raabe and Waltz 2014) and policy workshop themed around culture-led urban regeneration (Leipzig 2012).

Leipzig's Unique Urban Form and Its Influence on Cultural Development

The city of Leipzig is located in the German state of Saxony, which was part of socialist East Germany until 1990. Before World War II, Leipzig was an important cultural, industrial and commercial centre of Germany with a population peaking at 713,000 in 1933 (Bontje 2005). According to recent census information the city has

a current population of roughly 540,000 inhabitants (Leipzig 2013). With the emergence of the East German socialist state, the importance of Leipzig's traditional cultural and commercial role was strategically diminished by the regime in favour of new industrial locations (Mace et al. 2004). This ideological neglect lead to the decline of population from a post-war low of 590,000 in 1945 (Bontje 2005) to 540,000 inhabitants in 1991 (Mace et al. 2004), causing severe decay of inner city pre-war housing stock which are mainly multi-apartment period style houses.[2] Spared from heavy bombing during World War II, they are a unique and numerous feature of Leipzig's urban fabric. Whereas old housing stock was neglected based on the belief that it represented bourgeois ideals, the regime commissioned the development of large-scale prefabricated housing (Haase et al. 2012). These were the preferred option of housing at the time. Politically marginal and subcultural groups in comparison often inhabited pre-war dwellings (Andrusz et al. 2008) among them artists who transformed their flats into workshop and exhibition space (Bismarck and Koch 2005; Rehberg and Schmidt 2009). In fact, one of the first East German galleries—'Eigen + Art' and still operating under the name—was founded in 1983 in one of these flats disguised as workshop space.

After German reunification Leipzig's population declined again to a dramatic low of 437,000 by 1998 in line with the loss of approximately 90,000 manufacturing jobs (Plöger 2007). The rapid social and economic transformation triggered by the integration of East Germany into the social market economy system of the Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) lead to a wave of out-migration primarily to West Germany, and on the other side to a process of sub-urbanisation as inner-city housing stock was in severe disrepair. As a part of a 500 billion US dollar economic and urban transformation process primarily financed by West Germany (Wießner 1999) a large percentage of Leipzig's inner city building stock could be refurbished, despite vacancy rates reaching a peak of 65,500 vacant units in 2000 (Plöger 2007). From 2003 onwards the city gradually started to regain population (Leipzig 2009, 2013) with an influx of 10,000 people in 2015 (Clemens 2015), as primarily young people in educational or transitional living stages migrate to inner-city neighbourhoods (Haase et al. 2012). Due to the city's specific urban condition caused by 40 years of political and economic isolation, one might naively suggest that Leipzig is somehow catching up with textbook processes of urban and economic change elsewhere in the Western world. However, as Andrusz et al. (2008) suggest, post-socialist cities constitute a new urban form, which cannot be studied independently from its post-socialist context (Haase et al. 2012) and the diversity of processes that constitute urban change in these cities. Leipzig's reurbanisation (Champion 2001) trend, one can argue, was stimulated by responsive urban management during the late 1990s and throughout the 2000s, coined among other by the below initiatives and policies to counteract urban shrinkage:

[2]These houses are referred to as 'Gründerzeithäuser' (founding epoch houses) representing housing stock built during the industrialisation period in Germany and Austria before the stock market crash in 1873.

- A cluster-based urban regeneration strategy (Urban-II programme) funded primarily by the EU and national government based on a process of demolition versus physical and economic revitalization of which a substantial percentage of funding went into the support of small cultural enterprises in West Leipzig (Leipzig 2012). This was aimed at attracting the middle class back to the inner city where attractive Gründerzeit areas emerged as so-called 'winner quarters' (Bundschuh 2010). This process is described as 'soft gentrification' in which people with high educational attainment move into an area without necessarily displacing existing communities (Wiest and Hill 2004). It is argued that due to a lack of a powerful housing demand group, gentrification is generally welcome, although displacement may have occurred on neighborhood-scale (Thomas et al. 2008; Bundschuh 2010).
- Bottom up 'Wächterhaus' ('guardian house') programmes developed by the 'HausHalten e.V.' association providing access to empty properties—often entire multi-apartment/tenement houses—in exchange for maintenance work and protecting unused buildings from decline (Bernet 2011). These self-management uses were and are to some extent still popular among artists, providing flexible and affordable live and workspace for testing out ideas without pressures of instant economic success.
- An image regeneration process through the development of Leipzig's cultural heritage landscape and sub-cultural assets including music venues, artist studios and informal cafés and bars. This was accelerated by journalistic marketing of the city's unique character described as 'Berlin 10 years ago' (New York Times 2010) and the success of the 'New Leipzig School' (NLS)[3] painters of which many artists are based at 'Spinnerei', a former cotton mill and now commercially successful visual arts hub located in Plagwitz, West Leipzig.

'Lindenau' and its neighbouring quarter 'Plagwitz' (Fig. 12.1) have been described as the centre of bottom-up urban change and a creative cluster, which is also referred to as 'Kreative Szene' (creative scene) (Leipzig 2010). A textbook approach would align the artist-centred house projects with so-called pioneer gentrification. A number of former industrial sites in these quarters were soon after German reunification transformed into studios as they served artists with flexible and affordable workspace. Although Leipzig offers its communities the ability to shape an authentic urban experience through housing projects for example, there is a consensus that the time frame of using such opportunities is closing in soon, as housing pressure grows due to property speculation, vastly rising population numbers and increasing awareness of Leipzig as a refuge for artists from Europe and beyond (Raabe and Waltz 2014).

[3]The New Leipzig School relates to the post-reunification climate of modern Germany and is closely linked with the 'Hochschule für Grafik und Buchkunst Leipzig'. On grounds of its conceptual vagueness and imprecision mostly linked to a representational style of painting, most of the artists associated with it reject the classification as member. However, it is widely used as a label and marketing tool in the world of art dealership.

Fig. 12.1 Map of Leipzig. *Source* Adapted from Leipzig (2014)

Findings

Institutions and Networks Between Commerce and Autonomy

13 out of 17 participants have or have had close connections with HGB through either studying or working at the institution. The notion of the institution as an interface for Leipzig's visual arts economy has firmly emerged from the discussions. Furthermore HGB was considered a highly attractive and distinguished place to study due to its traditional, skill-based teaching framework that is exceptional within the national and international context. Many participants who have gone through the pedagogic system at the HGB, consisting of 2 years 'foundation'

studies and 3 years diploma, and for selected students topped up with a 'Meisterschüler' (master student) programme unique to the East German art school context, have underlined this. Foundation studies at HGB include solid training of drawing and conceptual skills, while going through all the workshops that the school offers, e.g. wood work, photography and print-making among others.

> The good thing about this school is that we still have the concept of 'Grundstudium' (foundations study) which I find very important. That is also one of the reasons, why we have so many applicants (Lecturer 1, Painting and graphic arts tutor).

Due to this distinctiveness the school is a renowned place for emerging artists to study. This has been strengthened by the hype around the NLS, which was seen as an attraction and a marketing factor closely linked to the school.

> I believe that the HGB had an important role [in attracting talent], on the one hand due to the NLS hype, which brought many people to the city and to the HGB (Curator 1, off-space initiator and graphic designer).

Although the hub-character ensures incubation of artist networks, this however is far from a homogenous process. There was a strong conscience of being inside and outside the institution, as well as a fragmentation of the artist community into individual groups that pursue a diversity of autonomous artistic positions. While this weakens the importance and impact of the institution, it frees self-management potential that culminates into off-space and urban pioneering activity outside HGB. Although there is a strong need to explore the 'outside', a number of respondents noted that students found it hard to leave the institution after the regular 5–6 years studies period due to grim employment prospects after graduation. During their time at HGB some interviewees recalled how their attachment to the city grew and personal networks formed, which they were reluctant to give up.

> This is a long time. For sure 5 years and in most cases 6. That's why the HGB is a good place for forming networks (Lecturer 2, Painting and Graphic Arts tutor).

> I couldn't quickly decide to move somewhere else. That's why social networks are so interesting. I thought as a painter you would be flexible and you can work anywhere and be independent. I have noticed that the time I have spent here [HGB] has bonded me with this place [Leipzig], in which you teach yourself how to understand it and how to use it so you can work in it (Student 1, Painting student and house project user).

A similarly important attraction and place attachment role was accounted for the 'Spinnerei' cultural hub in Plagwitz, which was considered a post-institutional element in Leipzig's visual arts economy (Fig. 12.2). Spinnerei is an artist studio and exhibition space provider and home to nationally and internationally renowned artists and galleries, providing the post-industrial setting particularly attractive to artists and entrepreneurs alike. Whereas Spinnerei was on several counts criticised for being too arts market oriented, 'Lindenow' which is a network of off-space projects connecting Lindenau and Plagwitz off-spaces, was seen as counter-element against the conformities of the art market. This ambivalence between art market tendencies and autonomy provides an important tension framework through which different artistic positions can develop.

Fig. 12.2 Spinnerei. *Source* http://www.artistintheworld.com/html/spinnerei_artists.htm

From the majority of interviews a strong narrative around Leipzig being a unique place with a special urban and cultural dynamic emerged. What commonly defines this dynamic cannot not be readily described, as it is connected with participants' individual identification with the city and their role within it.

> Every year we have 3 artists as residents, and every year 2 of them stay in Leipzig. They all stay because it is the only city in Europe, where you can find this dynamic. Believe me, you cannot find it elsewhere. Here you can find something, which doesn't exist elsewhere. This for me is an institution (Student 2, House owner and artist residency manager).

Place Attachment and Urban Engagement Dynamics

To narrow down what this dynamic is, reasons and factors for artists' place attachment are discussed below. These are divided into tangible and intangible factors that have been addressed as direct causation of place attachment. The first part of this section discusses tangible factors. One of the most important and recurring material reasons why artists live in Leipzig is due to the availability of industrial infrastructure in good condition and affordable period housing, which are crude yet resilient spaces in which contemporary visual art can be produced, discussed and exhibited. This was recurrently described as the aesthetic and working environment preferred and required to incubate the production of visual art.

> You need this dirt to have the need to move on. To be in such a precarious condition is an incentive for tensions and change (Student 1).

> Non-refurbished and empty properties existed –which is drawing to a near end at least in West Leipzig –due to the precarious economic situation. Those properties were at first not of interest for the 'normal' actors in the field such as developers and investors, thus other groups of young people with little money could afford to buy a beautiful period style house. This is indeed a very special case (Raabe and Waltz 2014: 20).

The special case of accessing space was perceived as a prerequisite for the development of communities of practice (Wenger 1998), which by themselves become a crucial attraction and place attachment factor for artists. While some participants thought the size of the city is beneficial to the connectivity of networks and infrastructure across the city, others believed that the proximity to Berlin and Dresden is important to connect Leipzig to wider economic opportunities.

> There is a kind of microcosm here. You develop small networks through which things become tangible. You meet people you know and through this you can develop work connections. And because there are only a few arts institutions in Leipzig you have a good overview. Through interest and engagement it is possible to get involved. For me the realm of activity and the impact I can make is exactly what I am looking for (Student 3, Photographer).

Building on the tangible factors identified, intangible factors will be referred to below to complement our understanding of artists' place attachment. For artists it was often a conscious decision to come to or stay in Leipzig despite unclear economic perspectives. This was based on participants' strong identification with the character of the city itself. Through the availability of affordable space, alternative economies ('Handlungsräume') emerge which have the capacity to counterbalance lacking economic opportunities. This supports the argument that the city is a place where a diversity of livelihoods can co-exist. Participants juxtaposed this with the homogenization processes in other German cities particularly in West Germany. Many of the respondents felt attracted by a certain crudity that emerges from experimental developments and house projects, paired with a sentiment that in Leipzig it is ok to take your time for experimentation.

> Sometimes it is simply the place which defines the prevailing undertone and which cannot be properly put into words. Something like a unique tension that emerges (Artist 1, Painter based at Spinnerei and represented by a local gallery).

> Places in which you don't need to spend money, where one can be inefficient and ineffective – of those there are not many anymore. Leipzig is one of them (Raabe and Waltz 2014: 13).

> Everything breathes here. You have the feeling when you walk through the streets that you can change something with little means. You don't need millions to buy property and to initiate projects. That's where subculture starts. With little money, creativity and the will to change something…the passion for a city in which opportunities open up for you (Student 1).

In order to understand how artists develop professionally within the Leipzig context, I will now look in more detail at local artistic positions and working

practices that also prompt questions about how professional development including urban pioneering shapes engagement with the city. Therefore professional strategy will be initially discussed as an autonomy approach that considers urban pioneering as an alternative professional strategy, whereas the focus will gradually shift towards professional development as an economic approach. Among some respondents there was a feeling that their communities of practice in Leipzig are based around solidarity and communitarian ideals, which allow for collective learning and doing as a prerequisite for innovation.

> If you look at it from Western history viewpoint, you've still got the ethos of solidarity here. There are many people who simply help us. That is also what our project is based on. You give and you take. The monetary side of things is opted out (Curator 2, Off-space initiator and architect).

Such communities are often organised around self-managed operational structures such as off-spaces, membership associations ('Vereine'), entertainment venues or collective house projects. These tend to be a refuge for recent graduates who want to find meaningful activities within their field of expertise rather than accepting employment outside the CCIs. Such self-managed structures build a platform through which alternative economies can emerge; at first based on exploiting non-monetary assets but with the aim of eventually developing sustainable business models.

> Off-space projects blend with the network approach of working together and exchanging conceptual ideas on how artistic projects can be developed –this is also a form of developing new markets (Career advisor/Policy maker).

> We try to network and to develop ecosystems. I am an artist, I need a studio, I need exhibition space. Off-space initiatives help us to organise this. Our focus is to organise skills and assets within the network (Student 2).

The emerging network of off-spaces and house projects can be considered as urban pioneering or alternative professional strategy independent from the art market. The aim hereby is to secure space at the lowest possible cost, so that the expense of artistic production can be kept to a minimum. If this is guaranteed, artistic production is less bound to the conformities of the art market, as it can develop independently from immediate economic success. Hence several participants have considered such projects as spaces and strategies of artistic autonomy.

To secure space for artistic production within the city, a few interviewed artists have bought property in order to take it off the market and to insure that these spaces can be used over a long term as artist residencies and studios. Purchasing property was possible due to the affordability of period style housing and foregoing engagement work of associations like HausHalten e.V. This made the negotiation between property owners and interest groups possible in the first place. This form of urban pioneering was in many cases built around collective ownership with shared financial assets and human capital as organisational tools. Either through savings from a previous investment or through direct credit granted by parents, family members or friends, some artists were able to buy property collectively or even on

their own. The below example shows how a group of artists have approached the idea of buying property, starting off with living in a guardian house affiliated with HausHalten e.V., which they bought a few years later.

> First we simply just paid bills but no rent. Then we decided that we wanted to take on the challenge and live collectively. And that's why we have decided to buy this house because we have already invested in it. We really knew this house very well. We knew its weaknesses and could assess what still needed to be done. You risk great expenses with a house. On the other side it takes a lot of time and energy to refurbish a house bit by bit (Artist 2, Collective house owner and off-space initiator).

These activities strongly bond artists with the city, which suggests they take ownership over a looming process of gentrification particularly observed in Lindenau and Plagwitz. Through this they develop a feeling of responsibility for maintaining the character of their neighbourhood. This requires engagement beyond the confines of the house or off-space projects, which means informing the local community about the purpose of their activities such as working in a socially engaged arts context with schools and other local stakeholders.

Small-scale often street-level displacement of artists from studio units listed for redevelopment has been reported on a number of occasions during interviews. To avoid further displacement, a number of respondents have mentioned the example of East London, Berlin and Hamburg where gentrification transformed neighbourhoods within a very short timeframe. Hence it was argued that Leipzig was in a special position that there was time to learn from the mistakes that other cities made.

> I believe Leipzig has learned through the experience of Berlin and Hamburg, and people have started very early on to critically engage with such developments. This was perceived as the chance to become active, which was expressed through people buying property. I believe that is something special for a neighbourhood (Artist 2).

> We know that we are part of gentrification, but we want this to happen slowly so that people are not displaced from the neighbourhood, and instead that the wages and recognition for work rises. If the rents increase, but everyone earns more, then people can stay (Student 2).

This underlines some participants' willingness and understanding that Leipzig's economy needs to level up with other regions in Germany and beyond. This however the majority of respondents agreed, should not happen at the expense of the cultural economy that artists have nurtured and that is needed to boost the economic regeneration of the city.

A number of respondents have reported that their colleagues are flocking from the west of the city to the east ('Leipziger Osten' regeneration area), where new guardian house projects are initiated and more empty space is still awaiting transformation. Some of the artists interviewed suggested that the model of guardian house projects acts as accelerator of neighbourhood gentrification, as the meanwhile use has activated the site and thus made it attractive for further redeveloping aligned with profit-maximisation.

> Then these initiatives formed. Sooner or later the economic question comes in – who pays the rent and the whole engagement to look after the space? If intermediate use is not possible anymore, do all off-spaces have to become commercial galleries? Or do they need to get funding through the city government, which doesn't really exist? There's a point where it's hard to move on (Lecturer 3, Media Arts tutor).

With the danger of a gradual loss of affordable space, which allowed for a diverse cultural economy to grow over many years, there is the emerging need to develop entrepreneurial strategies oriented around the art market and the CCIs. While some artists did not want to submit to the conformities of the art market, others believed it is important to find a balance between autonomy and commercial thinking; or perhaps develop alternatives in between those positions.

> When you graduate, you think that you need to become a part of the art market. That's the reason why HGB and Spinnerei are positioned around the art market and that's not a bad thing. We do need a balance though. But we need something different to balance the art market with. And that's what we are trying to develop in Leipzig (Student 2).

> For artists everything to do with economy, markets and commercial values is bad. They don't see the opportunities that emerge from opening markets. Many of them have a mental barrier against it. But if you talk to them about developing an economic vision, they soon realise the potential and the freedom that emerges with it. Although many who have this mental barrier, believe their artistic credibility will be challenged if becoming economically successful (Career advisor/Policy maker).

In the face of an on-going hype around Leipzig that attracts more young people and artists to the city, which increases the demand for housing, it is unavoidable that the majority of artists need to position themselves economically. Apart from artistic autonomy, there is also the side of economic autonomy to acknowledge: firstly as a way out of self-exploitation, and secondly to reaffirm the economic value of artistic labour.

> You are in strife, because with everything that you do collectively you see that you get very little financial reward for the work that is done. That's not the right aspiration that people should work towards. But this is exactly where you have to ask yourself where idealism borders with self-exploitation (Artist 3, Arts educator at a publically funded arts center).

Conclusions

As the findings suggest there are a wealth of interrelated processes that position artists as actors of urban change in Leipzig. The decisive narrative on artists' place attachment that carries through the findings highlights that there is a strong link between artists, the city and urban change.

Firstly, artists are actors of urban change because of their attachment to the city and their passion to actively shape cultural processes within it. As the findings indicate, place attachment is initiated as early as studying at art school, where art students learn how to understand the city and use the opportunities emerging

through its unique setting as only recently re-urbanising city. As the art school is in the centre of the city, students and graduates live in different parts of it. Currently the East of Leipzig is becoming more popular as it is cheaper to rent there then in the West (Plagwitz and Lindenau). The participant's willingness to stay in the city confirms the validity of the research narrative on re-urbanisation (Lange et al. 2008; Haase et al. 2012).

Art students and artists are involved in urban pioneering activities, through which they take some form of ownership over local processes of urban change. This can be considered as an autonomous approach towards professional development, as it is a means to secure an artistic livelihood outside of the confines of the art market. As this requires time, energy and locally honed skills, the process of urban pioneering suggests bonding of artists with a neighbourhood and the city as a whole.

While overall art students and artists are an important housing demand group as well as actors of re-urbanisation, artists' role in urban change is not a homogenous process, as not all art students and artists are involved in urban pioneering. Some artists follow the professional development path of the traditional art market as an economic approach to secure financial assets. However, once settled within either an autonomous or commercial pathway artists show equal attachment to Leipzig.

Selected artists take on public consultant roles to challenge questions of urban regeneration, to achieve an inclusive vision on how economic regeneration could benefit artists and other cultural workers. This can be argued is one of the emerging fields of artistic activity.

In conclusion, this research has added a new perspective to the exhausted rhetoric of top-down economic regeneration and creative city strategy as propagated by Florida (2005) and thoroughly debated by his critics. To side-line this narrative this chapter provided detailed qualitative perspectives on the often-overlooked bottom-up initiatives and artist communities that make up creative cities. This allows for a contextual assessment on why a city is creative and why it has the capacity to attract and retain creative talent.

With the HGB as an interface where artist networks form, Markusen (2006a) and Comunian and Faggian's (2014) argument that 'home-growing' artists is important to secure capacities for cultural production in a city, can be reaffirmed. It has been suggested that art students as well as recent graduates are highly important in feeding the professionalisation and urban pioneering processes that have been detailed in this chapter. Through a focus on an artist-centred discourse, it becomes evident that the notion of the creative city reaches far beyond creativity expressed through creative occupations or the abstract concept of the creative class. Instead creativity can be associated with creative processes set free through self-management, resilience thinking, urban pioneering and contextual professional development to name a few. This actually recalls the original notion of 'The Creative City' as platform for innovative urban problem solving (Landry and Bianchini 1995); a role that artists have increasingly taken on.

In contrast to Ley's (2003) perspective, this research provides alternatives to the notion of artists as pioneer gentrifiers and 'rent gap generators'. Although these

processes are suggested to take place in Leipzig through selected guardian house projects and investor relationships with artists, the model of collective housing ownership pre-empts (at least idealistically) a process of exploitative aestheticisation. This does not just support, but it brings alive Harris and Moreno's (2010) argument that artists provide alternative ways of seeing in particularly in relation to ownership, provision, occupation and consumption of urban space. While this research has enabled a stakeholder-induced understanding of how artists engage with urban change, there is still a broad scope to undertake further qualitative research on artists leaving Leipzig (no participants intended to do so at the time of data collection) as well as studying similar cultural dynamics in cities of similar size and cultural heritage. This would provide the necessary knowledge to assess Leipzig's uniqueness in comparative terms. Further quantitative research is also needed to critically assess talent fluctuation between those artists staying in the city and those leaving Leipzig, which would provide statistical evidence for place attachment.

From a cultural policy perspective, at this crucial stage of Leipzig's urban and cultural development, it seems necessary to find common spaces (rather than fragmented networks) to discuss how policies can be developed that are flexible enough to support economic as well as artistic autonomy aspirations of artists. While some artists see opportunities in the economic growth of the city aligned with gentrification, many others are critical of the impact this might have on the diversity of cultural life that makes the city currently so attractive. There is a sentiment that the uniqueness of the city should be fought for through finding inclusive economic opportunities in-between autonomy and art market thinking. The argument over protecting the existing cultural milieu raises further questions over the use value of urban space in an increasingly neo-liberalising society. Here it has to be determined how policy can give the right kind of incentives not to displace nor to pre-empt or stagnate bottom-up initiatives. This requires policy development in close cooperation with artists as important local actors; and a communication of the values of artistic work beyond the confines of the art market. This would ensure a re-engagement of artists with the public (inclusive of policy makers), who would ideally gain a better understanding of the role of artists in neighbourhood change and understand the value of artistic labour removed from its often mythicised notion.

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Author Biography

Silvie Jacobi is a joint-Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries at King's College, London and Geographisches Institut at Humboldt University, Berlin. Trained as a visual artist (painter), she holds an M.Sc. in Creative Cities from King's and currently works as an independent consultant at the intersection between social science and cultural practice.

Chapter 13
Artistic Interventions and Pockets of Memory on the Former Wall Strip in Berlin

Martin Barthel

Introduction

On the 9th of November 2014 the central parts of Berlin had been illuminated with more than 8 thousand white balloons. The balloons brought a forgotten line back into the cityscape of the German capital. The intervention called Lichtgrenze (Border of Lights) re-imagined the course of the Berlin Wall, which divided the city between 1961 and 1989. Berliners and tourists walked in the transformed urban space following the outline of the Wall like a forgotten scar. The Berlin newspaper Tagesspiegel estimated that more than one million visitors walked along all of the 15 km of the installation (Tagesspiegel, 10.11.2014). The flaneurs started to talk in smaller and bigger groups, shared their memories of living in a divided city and discussed emotions they felt when the Wall came down in 1989. The artistic intervention, which was organized by the public-private agency Kulturprojekte Berlin (Berlin Cultural Projects), became much more than a state commemorative event, it became a moment where individual stories formed collective memory. After the last balloon was released into the air the intervention ended, but the collective memory of Berlin was enriched.

Lefebvre (1996 [1968]: 173) stated in his 'Writings on Cities':

> To put art at the service of the urban does not mean to prettify urban space with works of art. This parody of the possible is a caricature. Rather, this means that time-spaces become works of art and that former art reconsiders itself as source and model of appropriation of space and time.

Lefebvre argues that space is social morphology. The cityscape is shaped by expressions of power and representation. The inhabitants or users recognize those 'monumental' expressions, in order to define a group membership. Lefebvre thus

M. Barthel (✉)
Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland, P.O. Box 111, 80101 Joensuu, Finland
e-mail: martin.barthel@uef.fi

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argues that identity is created out of a landscape of representations of memory, expressing monumentality. This ‘monumentality’ manifested time into the pre-modern landscape. In the period of post-modernity, economic considerations exert a dominant impact on the production of urban space. The capitalistic exploitation left no place for monumentality. In short, time was pushed out of urban space and commercial considerations started to prevail. Urban interventions could halt the process just for a short while, resulting in nothing else than in achievements of joy and entertainment (Lefebvre 1996 [1968], 1974).

Artistic interventions are often spontaneous and short lived, it is therefore difficult to document and analyze them. Clay (1980) strongly advocates to read cities in order to understand their past, present and future. He is following the methods established by Ernest W. Burgess and the Chicago School or Walter Benjamin, where the flaneur took the role of the reader. According to Burgess the flaneur is discovering a city by experiencing urban space. The exploration is not led by a guide book or a check list. It is rather based on accidental encounters and observations leading to hypotheses and theories. Walter Benjamin included in the exploration the dimension of time. He understood that memories of the city are manifesting themselves in the cityscape. It is for the flaneur to discover and understand those manifestations (Burgess 1925; Tester 2014; Parker 2015). Benjamin wrote in his ‘Berlin Chronicles’: ‘Memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre. It is the medium of past experience, as the ground is the medium in which dead cities lie interred’ (Benjamin 2004 [1999]: 611). The flaneur has the chance to explore and uncover ‘dead cities’, as they leave traces in the physical and mental structure of a place.

The challenge for the flaneur is to categorize observations. An interesting approach to perform categorization is offered by Jordan (2006). In her work on the collective memory of Berlin in times of the Third Reich she introduced the concept of ‘pockets of memory’. The pockets are hot spots of the past, where memorial markers are set. They are manifested interventions in the public space. Here interventions have outstanding impacts on the collective memory, partly due to the relevance for education and representation, partly due to the amount of recipients. The pockets are often formed around iconographic historical imaginaries. The artistic interventions can take multiple forms. Installations, exhibitions, performances, street art or monuments are forming and influencing those pockets and can impact on the collective memory to a greater extent than politicians, scientists or teachers (Parker 2015).

Lowenthal (1998) uses the terms ‘heritage’ and ‘history’ as a categorization for memory approaches. According to him the term ‘heritage’ refers mainly to the process of commercialization of the past. In this approach reconstruction, reenactment and personalized, event oriented interventions constitute the memorial space. Heritage is lacking the original and ergo concentrates on experience. The term ‘history’ is in Lowenthal’s perspective the traditional, research and didactic-oriented approach to the past. The memorial space is formed by representation of power and reflection of the past. The interventions are centered on authenticity and original relics of the past.

Geographers Kraftl and Horton (2009: 99) describe urban interventionism as: 'the beginnings of languages and methods with which to re-imagine, re-present, and re-enliven urban settings. In so doing, the representability of urbanity per se has been called in question'. For them urban interventionism is uncovering the memory of the city and 'allowing the researcher to critically evaluate the emergent role of globalization in the re-imagining of local urban history'. Sociologist Pinder (2008: 733) adds:

> there is typically a concern to resist the commodification, surveillance and control characteristic of neoliberal cities, to prize open spaces and opportunities for collective critical engagement and participation, to provoke active involvement in and questioning of urban conditions, and to experiment with the means of artistic production itself, including through appropriating tools from the informational economy and spectacle through forms of tactical media. In the process such artist activists shift the emphasis away from art objects and towards situations and processes so that the city becomes a laboratory for dramatic experimentation.

Artistic interventions turn urban space into a laboratory. Their intention often is to influence local discourses and to reshape the collective memory of cities. Collective actors, as conceptualized by Coleman (1994), play an important role in the local arena of discourses. Boyer (1996) argued, that the city is the place of collective memory. Artistic interventions are drivers of forming the collective memory. The collective memory is transformed through interventions into the cityscape.

Artists creating and performing interventions gain influence on the arena of discourses and can contribute to the formation of new urban narratives (Lindenberg 2005). It is therefore important to analyze the drivers of the artistic interventions and the agendas they follow.

Key questions for reading artistic urban interventions are: What type/kind of artistic interventions may be observed? Who are the drivers of artistic urban interventions? Is there a classification to be observed? Which impact do the interventions have on the cityscape and on the memory discourses? Whom are the interventions addressed to and who are their practical receivers?

Berlin and Its Former Wall as a Laboratory for 'Reading Artistic Interventions'

Berlin, as a place with a moving past, which is aspiring to become a new political powerhouse for Europe, is a fascinating place to investigate such interventions. As described by Jordan (2006: 58): 'Berlin's landscape has become a potent mix of erasure and concentrated official memory, resulting from the interaction of local, state and international actors as well as personal and collective memories'. She also states that in Berlin:

> Memory also persists in the minds of residents even when the traces of these memories have disappeared from the visible city. The imprint of individual and collective memory on the cityscape and vice versus are changed over time in ways that are sometimes subtle and sometimes dramatic (Jordan 2006: 23).

The forty years of the Berlin Wall had an enormous impact on the city mentality (Fig. 13.1). The physical borders in Berlin might have disappeared, but traces of the Berlin Wall are embedded in the urban mental DNA of the city.

In the European Charter for Border and Cross-Border Regions (AEBR 2011: 3) the remark of Robert Schuman 'Borders are the scars of history' is quoted. They are the visible markers of the contested past, covering fractions in the identity of local residents of the borderland. The invisible but felt scars of faded borders have impacts on the identity and on the social processes of bordering and re-bordering. Scott (2015) stated, that bordering and re-bordering are everyday processes, which draw borders not just between states, but as well between social groups and are reflected in every day practices. The artistic interventionism, as described by Pinder (2008), may help to uncover those processes.

Therefore, it is interesting to 'read' the interventions. The reader will interpret the imprint of the city, study the narratives of the local arena of discourses and uncover the practices of bordering, de-bordering and re-bordering of the cityscape. Art interventions help to understand the forming of the collective memory and identity. They are markers of the authenticity of the place, providing images, labels and options for place marketing.

Memory discourses on the Berlin Wall have changed dramatically in the last years. The question on how to remember the Wall and the division of Berlin are an inherent part of local debates since the construction of the Wall in 1961. Jordan (2006) claimed that Berlin's collective memory created a landscape of personal and official memories, which turn the city into a good case study for investigating the impact of faded borders on identity. The art interventions linked with the Berlin Wall will provide a good reading of this complex memorial landscape.

In the years between 1961 and 1989 the emphasis of artistic endeavours related to the Wall undertaken in West Berlin was rather on remembering the victims of the Wall and the unity of the country. The Berlin Senate placed crosses for the victims and created platforms along the Wall in order to provide at least visual links with the East. The first non-public initiative was the documentation center Haus am Checkpoint Charlie (House at Checkpoint Charlie). It was established in 1962 by

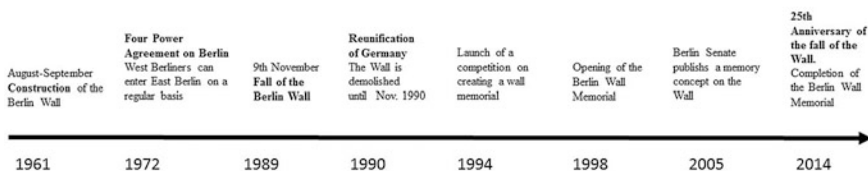

Fig. 13.1 Timeline of the Berlin Wall. *Source* Own elaboration

the historian Rainer Hildebrand. Here stories of escape and civil rights are exhibited. The Wall was connected in public debates to suffering, death and suppression. Thus, it is not surprising that in 1989 the consent was to tear down all physical remains of the divider. The debates prioritized the reunification of the city, the celebration of newly gained freedom and the overcoming of mental and physical barriers. The former border guards where used to dismantle the structure of the Wall, demolition was completed rather fast until the 30th of November 1990. The Wall left a strip of open space in the city, just like a fresh scar after an operation (Verheyen 2008; Harrison 2013).

A general, public dispute about a memory concept on the Wall started in the early 1990s, when the federal government launched the first call for creating a national wall memorial (Teutsch 2013). At the beginning the discussion dealt mainly with two questions: How can we show tourists what the Wall was like? How can we teach future generations what the division of Berlin was about?

A result of the public debates is the Gedenkstätte Berliner Mauer on Bernauer Strasse (The Berlin Wall Memorial), which was opened in 1998. The public administration struggled to gain influence on the local memorial debates, since the narratives had been mainly driven by private-commercial ventures. The anarchic memory landscape at Checkpoint Charlie was strongly criticized, since it was perceived as Disneyfication and commodification of memorial space (Major 2009; Harrison 2013).

The conflict between activists and commercial investors escalated. The riverside areas around the East Side Gallery had been earmarked for redevelopment under the name Mediaspree. When the Berlin government started to sell parts of the wall strip to developers, unlike before, there was a strong activist response. Embedded in the narratives of gentrification, reclaiming the city, participation and segregation, the debate on the role of collective memory in general and the role of the memory on the wall specifically gained visibility (Hesse 2004; Höpner 2005). Those newer approaches perceive the Wall as a ‘good wall’. A wall which provided the city with open space, possibilities, creativity and personal freedom.

The understanding of the changing discourses on the Berlin Wall is uncovering the relevant pockets of memory (Fig. 13.2). In order to witness the manifestations of the changing narratives, the flaneur has to visit:

- Checkpoint Charlie, where the first documentation center for the wall was established,
- The Berlin Wall Memorial on Bernauer Strasse as a public-representative memorial space,
- The East Side Gallery, where current narratives on the future of the city are clashing.

The pockets provide the reading material, which is needed to understand the impact of artistic interventions on the urban memory landscape.

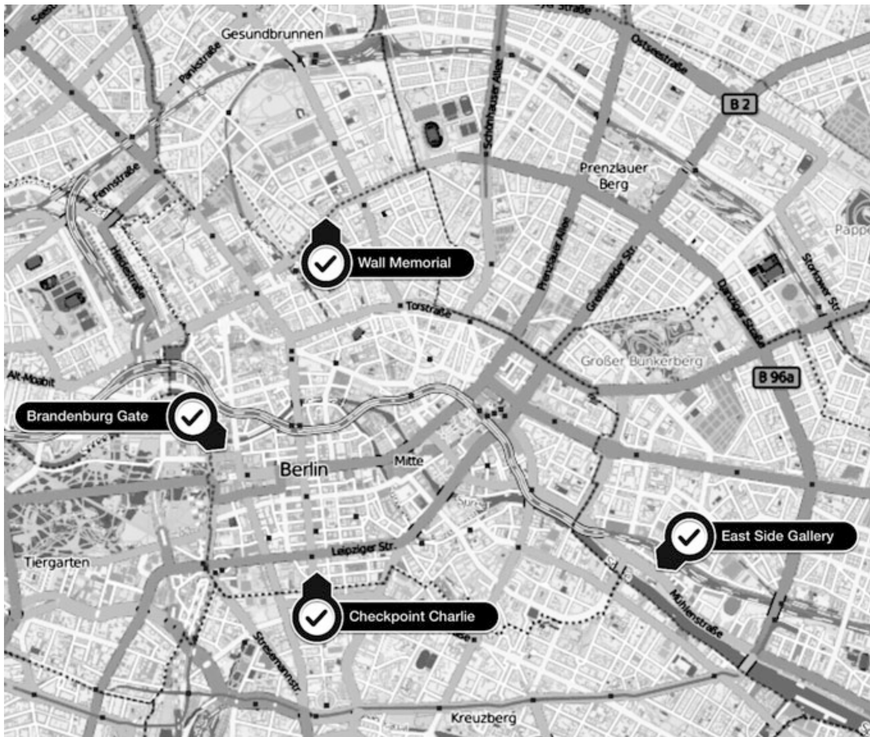

Fig. 13.2 Location of the 'pockets of memory' alongside the former Berlin Wall referred to in the text. *Source* OpenStreetMap, edited by the author

Commercial Driven Memory: Checkpoint Charlie and Disneyfication of Memory?

Checkpoint Charlie was the military codename of the US Army for the East German Border crossing station Friedrich-/Zimmerstrasse. The checkpoint was accessible for foreigners and allied employees only and had a marginal importance for the everyday life between East and West Berlin. The Checkpoint became iconographic during the construction of the wall in August 1961. American and Soviet tanks faced each other in order to demonstrate strength, it led for the first time to a direct confrontation between the two powers in the cold war. The site was further popularized through novels like John Le Carre's 'The spy who came out of the cold' or movies like 'Octopussy' from the James Bond series. It became connected with the imaginary of espionage, agents and cold war diplomacy.

Kraftl and Horton (2009: 98) stress that '…literary texts, cinema, visual arts and urban design… help to investigate the intertextuality of multiple representations of

urbanity'. Checkpoint Charlie became the international representation of the cold war and the Berlin Wall, despite its marginal real local importance. The first artistic intervention was the Haus am Checkpoint Charlie, which moved to its current location in 1963. The Haus understood itself not as a museum, but as a lighthouse for human rights activists. As stated on the web-page of this private initiative:

> The Berlin Wall may have come tumbling down, but in other areas of the world, discrimination, persecution, unlawful imprisonment, and human rights abuse continue unabated. With its ever-changing exhibitions focusing on human rights, the museum hopes to expose some of the world's less-well known areas of strife, and perhaps inspire its visitors into action (http://www.mauermuseum.de/index.php/en/about-us).

The initiators added the narratives of freedom, human rights, democracy and reunification to the memorial landscape at the checkpoint. Until today the Haus am Checkpoint Charlie understands itself as a guardian of the memory of the wall. The Haus and its director Alexandra Hildebrand are the main drivers of the architectural design of the location. The museum erected a replica of a guard house which became an icon and a tourist attraction (Fig. 13.3). The guard house resembles the situation of 1961, including a wall of sandbags towards the border and an oversized flag pole with the US American flag. The artistic setting is completed by a replica of

Fig. 13.3 The replica of the guard house at Checkpoint Charlie. *Photo* Martin Barthel

a border sign stating: 'You are leaving the American Sector' (Kuhrmann et al. 2011). The architectonic composition is joined by an art installation of Frank Thiel. In a light-box on a pole portraits of an American and a Russian soldier mark the line where the East and the West met.

Next to this installation other commercial memory centers have been established. The Black Box Checkpoint Charlie, a cold war multimedia exhibition, is situated at the North-Eastern corner of the crossing. The box is curated by the Berliner Forum für Geschichte und Gegenwart (Berlin Forum for History and Presence). It is a private association, which was initiated by an alliance of architects, researchers and entrepreneurs. Its main general goal is to promote the memory of the history in Berlin. The black box is covered with a word cloud promoting the ideas of the intervention. Keywords like: 'The Wall', 'Cold War', 'Peace', 'Democracy', 'Iron Curtain', 'Nuclear Weapon' and 'Espionage' use the imaginaries of confrontation and play with the international image of Checkpoint Charlie. A similar structure is the Wall Panorama building. In a wooden rotunda a panoramic photo of the wall by the photographer Yadegar Asisi is exhibited. The installation was established in 2012 and is managed by the private company Asisi GmbH. The structure is dominating the crossing, claiming in big letters: 'The Berlin Wall—See it here!' (Verheyen 2008; Frank 2009; Harrison 2013).

A further artistic intervention started in 2003. A group of art students posed in the uniforms of the East German Volkspolizei for tourists. Immediately East German victims unions were joined by the Haus am Checkpoint Charlie in protests. The debate about dignity of memory and the commercialization of the past became vigorous (Frank 2009). Although the aim of the actors, who nowadays wear US Army uniforms, is to earn money, their acting becomes an urban intervention which is confronting by-passers with the past and adds on to the narrative of the site.

All of the above described four initiatives and interventions are organized by private actors and follow their own thematic frameworks. Moreover, there is a clear competition between them for attracting visitors, selling food and souvenirs in addition to promoting narratives on the cold war and the Wall.

The interventions are not coordinated and an overall memorial or pedagogic concept is missing. The interventions try to recreate the 'experience' of the place, without any authentic relics of the wall. Consequently, authors such as Frank (2009) describe Checkpoint Charlie as the core for a new kind of heritage industry, exploiting the dark past of the location, which is described by Lennon and Foley (2000) as dark tourism. On the positive sides this helps to generate income for the local economy, on the negative side the Disneyfication of memory is facing resistance of different public and local actors (Lennon and Foley 2000). The former border crossing turned into a mosaic of narratives on the wall, the cold war, division, espionage and human rights driven by commercial motivations. While the place is appreciated by tourists and foreign visitors, it is disliked by local residents.

Public-Representative Memory: The Berlin Wall Memorial on Bernauer Strasse

The Berlin Wall Memorial is a result of the first public discussion on how to memorialize and document the division of Berlin. It is located at Bernauer Strasse, a street which became a symbol for the partition of the city and an iconic representation for escapes. The pavements of the street had been in West Berlin, the facades, doors and windows of the houses in East Berlin. Photos of desperate attempts of East Berlin residents to escape to the West were published in all major newspapers and contributed to the international imaginary of the Wall. Here the famous photo of Conrad Schumann, a border guard who jumped the wired fence, had been taken (Fig. 13.4). The photo is until today a symbol for freedom and was included in 2011 in the UNESCO Memory of the World program as part of the documentation heritage 'Construction and fall of the Berlin Wall and the Two-Plus-Four-Treaty of 1990' (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world).

After the wall had been rapidly demolished in 1990, the Berlin Senate and the Federal Government agreed to turn the area around Bernauer Strasse into the central wall memorial. It took four years to initiate a competition and until 1998 to erect the first part of the site. Although the Wall strip was under legal protection as a listed

Fig. 13.4 The memorial landscape at Bernauer Strasse. *Photo* Martin Barthel

monument since 1990, investors bought land and started to build apartment blocks in its vicinity. This sabotaged the original plans to extend the site and resulted in a broad local discussion, criticizing the missing engagement of the local government.

The discussions ended in 1994 in a public competition on the architectural and artistic concepts, which was coordinated by the Deutsches Historisches Museum (German Historical Museum) on behalf of the federal government. The architects Kohlhoff & Kohlhoff won the competition and created the architectonical outline for the first stage of the memorial site. The construction was financed by the German state, while the operational costs are covered by the Berlin Senate. The whole exhibition is curated by the Stiftung Berliner Mauer (Berlin Wall Foundation). The foundation is a public body, responsible for the quality of research, didactic concepts and documentation at the site.

The first stage of the development of the memorial ('Area A') was completed in 1998, comprising a 70 m long preserved part of the former death strip and a documentation center. Still the public debate soon concentrated on an overall educative concept and an extension of the site. It was soon understood, that the site should be more than a purely political-representative 'drop-off point for flowers'. The debate resulted 2006 in a Masterplan to Preserve the Memory of the Berlin Wall, which was published by the Berlin Senate (Harrison 2013).

Since then the memorial site was consequently extended. In 2009 a visitor center was opened and a 1.4 km long open-air exhibition became accessible. A further expansion was completed in 2010, when the so-called 'Fenster des Gedenkens' (Window of Remembrance) opened. In 2014 the accomplishment of the site finalized the transformation of the former border area into an open-air memorial site. The concept was delivered by the Berlin based architectural offices Sinai, ON architektur and Mola+Winkelmüller. The site is divided in four areas, which are dedicated to different narratives.

Area A focuses on the Wall and the 'Death Strip'. It contains the original preserved wall strip, the Window of Remembrance and the documentation center with a visitor tower. Area B is dedicated to the destruction of the city and contains the Chapel of Reconciliation, which was opened in 2000 on the spot of a former church, which was destroyed by East German authorities in 1985 in order to fortify the Wall. The aim of Area C is to teach about the construction of the wall. It contains gigantic murals of the wall and the photo of Conrad Schumann, jumping across the fence. Finally Area D, the newest extension of the site, is dedicated to the 'Everyday Life at the Wall' and describes the role of the Wall in propaganda in East Germany and its significance for West Berlin and its residents (http://www.berliner-mauer-gedenkstaette.de/en/history-of-the-memorial-211.html).

The artistic interventions at the Bernauer Strasse are driven by public actors. The memorial landscape is developed following official competitions. Remains and relics along the former border strip have been examined, documented and described based on the idea of archeological show-casing. The area is framed by a master plan, integrating smaller artistic representations into one bigger picture. The Berlin Wall Foundation is striving to embed the interpretations of the site in research and is providing guides and publications for the visitors. As follows, the Wall Memorial

is a public-representative pocket of memory. It is used for official memorial events, fulfilling official needs. The main narratives and imaginaries, which are created by the interventions included in the memorial are memory, death, grief and escape. The concept is based on original relics and traces of the wall, its intension is to stimulate reflections instead of providing experiences. The artistic interventions are close to Lowenthal's history concept. The memorial is not fenced and it is integrated in the public space, making it accessible at any time. It becomes an interruption in the urban structure, which is stimulating reflections not just from visitors but as well from unaware by-passers. The feeling of authenticity, which Checkpoint Charlie is lacking, is felt here. As a result the memorial is accepted by residents and tourists.

Grass-Root Driven Memory: The East Side Gallery as an 'Artistic Activists' Laboratory

The East Side Gallery contains the longest preserved original structure of the Berlin Wall. The wall separated the Mühlenstrasse, an important trunk road of East Berlin, from the river Spree. A single eastern hinterland wall was built, enclosing a waste area of the East Berlin waterfront. Buildings had been destroyed or transformed into border troops barracks. When the wall came down in 1989 this area turned into an open, creative space providing space for riverside parties, beach volleyball, open-air-galleries and creative room for alternative projects.

In 1989 the Bundesverband Bildender Künstlerinnen und Künstler (West German Federation of Artists) and Verband Bildender Künstler (East German Union of Artists)—merged. In order to celebrate the fusion, artists had been invited to create murals on the wall. The project gave the name to the site—'East Side Gallery'. Here 105 mural paintings had been created, featuring 118 artists and stretching alongside 1.3 km long extant segment of the wall (Fig. 13.5). Known international artists such as Jim Avignon or Thierry Noir participated and not long after, some murals became iconographic (Greverus 2005). Since then the images had been reproduced in thousands of copies on postcards or had been featured in video clips of bands such as U2 or Bloc Party. The best known images include the 'Brother kiss' by Dmitri Vrubel, the Trabi bursting the wall, entitled 'Test the Rest' by Birgit Kinder or the heads of Thierry Noir. The pictures had been inspired by the changes, hopes and visions, connected with the fall of the wall. Most of the murals reflect individual expressions of peace, understanding, unity and try to imagine a better future for the mankind. The art works are playing with the imaginary of overcoming walls and borders.

During the early stages of German reunification the gallery was tolerated but not financed by any public or private organizations. The murals soon suffered from pollution, graffiti and erosion just as from missing curation and lack of funds. Therefore, the Artist Initiative East Side Gallery was established in 1996. The initiative started a highly discussed restoration of the entire Gallery, which lasted until 2009 (Hesse 2004; Höpner 2005; Williams 2009).

Fig. 13.5 East Side Gallery with new commercial investments. *Photo* Martin Barthel

The East Side Gallery was one of the first interventions of a free, creative, urban scene in reunited Berlin. Around the Gallery free spaces and empty industrial buildings turned into clubs, ateliers and galleries. From the early 1990s subcultural institutions, such as the YAAM club, Maria am Ostbahnhof, Köpi, Ostgut or Holzmarkt had been 'half legally' established in the vicinity of the open air gallery. Those clubs became cultural centres, offering concerts, parties, exhibitions and atelier space for artists as well as spaces for political activism until today.

In 2002 the Berlin Senate used this image in order to start urban regeneration and launched the development project named 'Mediaspree'. The project aims to restructure the area along the river banks with office blocks, apartments and leisure facilities. The goal is to attract start-ups and media companies in order to foster creative industries. State owned and municipal land had been sold to private developers and the expulsion of the subculture began. As a response local political and artistic activists stimulated a broad public debate on the logic to sell public space to investors. The debate culminated in 2006 when 40 m of the East Side Gallery had been removed, in order to provide the newly built multifunctional sport and concert centre O2 Arena with a waterfront view. The initiative 'Mediaspree versenken' (To Sink Mediaspree) added the demand of preserving the East Side Gallery in their agenda and won a local referendum on the topic in 2008. Albeit the

Gallery had been under legal protection as a listed monument, the city authorities could not stop the investor, who tore down a few extant segments of the former wall in order to provide access to its townhouse project in 2013. An alliance of the Artist Initiative East Side Gallery and the citizens' initiative 'Mediaspree versenken' mobilized for demonstrations, flash mobs and pickets, preventing further destruction of the wall. At the height of the protest in March 2013, estimated 10 thousand people joined the demonstrations. Accompanied by intensive featuring through local media, the debates turned against the Berlin Senate and its policy of managing urban development. The preservation of the East Side Gallery, public access to the Spree waterfront and fewer office buildings had been lately integrated in a modified Mediaspree masterplan.

In the case of the East Side Gallery the debate on how to preserve the past had been mixed with discourses on gentrification, urban planning policies and civic participation. Artists and activists are the drivers of these interventions. They initiated interest in the area and managed to place their imaginary into the local arena of discourses. The case study underlines, that memory narratives can strongly intertwine with current urban discourses. The East Side Gallery had been from the beginning a representation of freedom and hope, following the fall of the Wall in 1989. This interpretation prevailed and is still used today not just by activists but in city marketing as well. The images of freedom, creativity and experiments fostered by the Gallery, are nowadays the main elements of the image of Berlin and have in this way an important impact on the collective identity of its citizens.

The East Side Gallery forms a pocket of grass-root, activists' memories. The interventions consist of a mix of original wall structures and reconstructed murals. The memory concepts and interventions are strongly based on current activist discourses, such as gentrification, democratic participation, privatization of public space as well as other important political issues such as migration and the border regime at the current EU borders (Bach 2013). Visitors to the East Side Gallery experience those narratives, stimulating immediate reflections on the new fences of the EU. Therefore, the approach could be described as a laboratory. The laboratory idea complements Lowenthal's typology. Comparable to a laboratory, the memory and the history of the place is used to discuss, experiment, adapt and transform imaginaries and narratives. The outcomes are not defined and the discussion creates unexpected results. The stress is on engagement, participation and experimentation. Those efforts contribute to the image of the East Side Gallery, as the place of the overcome borders, depicting it as a 'good' wall.

Conclusions

Reading Berlin, underlines that it is a city of pockets of memory, which are formed through different kinds of artistic urban interventions developed and implemented by various actors. Jordan (2006) identified those pockets regarding the memory on the Third Reich. The memory on the division of the city creates similar pockets.

The pockets identified by Jordan in the case of the Third Reich follow almost exclusively the history approach and are based on public interventions. The case of the memory narratives on the Wall is quite different and more complex as there are at least three different types of pockets of memory including commercial and privately driven interventions at Checkpoint Charlie, official public representation of the wall reflected in the artistic interventions which create the pocket at the Wall Memorial at Bernauer Strasse and activists', grass-root-driven artistic interventions along the East Side Gallery (Table 13.1).

There is no dominant driver for artistic interventions and no clear overall narrative on the memory of the wall. The pockets are isolated from each other and coexist, leaving space for different interpretations of the wall. Checkpoint Charlie represents imaginaries of the cold war and adventure, Bernauer Strasse focuses on the image of escape and grief, while the East Side Gallery on the theme of overcoming walls and expressions of individual freedom. This variety of interpretations forms the collective memory on the wall. Consequently, the array of interventions is balanced between the heritage and history approach.

Checkpoint Charlie is dominated by interventions inclined toward the heritage approach. The commercial-private pocket is characterized by its spontaneous, uncoordinated interventions. The approaches are event- and consumption-oriented and leave space for the integration of marketing and labeling. Since the interventions are driven by different commercial actors, there is no overall memorial concept. The experience is rather on 'I was here' than 'I learned something'. This is

Table 13.1 Typology of pockets of memory linked with the Berlin Wall

Location	Actors	Character	Sector	Imaginaries	Approach
Checkpoint Charlie	Haus am checkpoint Charlie Black box Wall Panorama Art students	Uncoordinated Event- and consumption oriented Reconstructed Lacking authenticity	Private-commercial	Cold war Espionage Adventure	Heritage
The Berlin Wall Memorial Bernauer Strasse	Berlin Wall Foundation Senate of Berlin	Based on concepts and master-plan Representation Education Memorial Original relics	Public-official	Memory Grief Escape	History
East Side gallery	Artist initiative East Side gallery 'Mediaspree versenken' Private investors	Open approaches Discursive, experimental Grass-root and community based	Grass-root, activists and artists	Freedom Creativity Overcoming borders	Laboratory

Source Own elaboration

following the idea of Lowenthal's heritage concept. The 'Disneyfication' as Frank (2009) described it, bears the danger of conflict—when the macabre is milked, local acceptance is unlikely/at stake.

The Wall Memorial is following the history approach. This public-official pocket of memory is shaped through interventions initiated by political actors. The interventions are based on competitions and follow specific designed memory concepts. The activities are aimed toward education and research. They are made for representative purposes and express a dominant discourse on memory, leaving little space for alternative narratives. They are focused on the original remains and have an archaeological approach. They might result in pure representation, just as in Lefebvre's concept of 'monumentality'.

The spontaneous memory pocket at the East Side Gallery is directed toward the laboratory concept. The visitors are invited to join debates and the outcome of the memory is oriented towards the future of the city, offering no finalized concept but participatory approaches.

This grass-roots activist pocket of memories contains individual and collective interventions, which are based on current narratives. The interventions offer a variety of motivations from political action to personal memory. The interventions form a laboratory, in which the past, present and future of the place are examined, discussed and tested. The interventions depend on personal motivation and involvement, which might result in short term outcomes. Those pockets are an expression of the local arena of discourses, providing insight on the discursive landscape of a place.

The above described varieties of pockets of memory have a significant impact on the collective memory of Berlin. Still, the dominant discourse on memorializing the wall is not yet found. On the one hand, a tendency toward commercialization is sensed and scholars like Frank (2009) are describing the rise of a 'heritage industry'. On the other hand, interventions such as at the 'Mediaspree' prove that the resistance towards commercialization of memory may be successful.

In West Berlin the Wall was a graffiti-covered obstacle, in East Berlin the wall was a guarded, unreachable blockade, embedded in a state system of control. The wall depicted in the Wall Panorama at Checkpoint Charlie, show-cased on postcards or celebrated at the Gallery, is the Western Wall. The so called hinterland wall, which had been the real, highly guarded obstacle is seldom depicted. Consequently, the geographer Dellenbaugh (2014: 2) notes: 'The symbolic landscape of East Berlin after 1990 was dominated by a western cultural mythos which pervaded the symbolic capital and architectural style of the new/old capital city'. This dominant discourse, which tends to favour the Western perspective, is reflected by the majority of artistic interventions. The West as the perceived winner of the cold war is dominating not just the city structure but as well its collective memory.

The border as a remaining scar is still visible in the physical and psychological cityscape and will surely trigger further artistic interventions of all kinds. The pockets of memory form together a memory landscape and give the collective memory of the city a spatial structure. The narratives of division, conflict and

suffering are accompanied by the narratives of freedom, creativity and overcoming borders. Artistic urban interventions are shaping the identity of the city and influence the public debate on its future.

The case of Berlin underlines, that Lefebvre's claim, that time will be pushed out of the urban space is not confirmed. Artistically driven interpretations of the past and reflections on time can reshape and reinvent a place. They have impact on current local discourses and influence the collective memory of a place. In this way time can shape the post-modern city.

The 25th Anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2014 became yet another remarkable expression of such memory narratives. The balloon installation was planned and arranged by public-official actors, while commercial-private actors flooded the city with artistic postcards, posters and Wall memorabilia. The political activist collective Zentrum für politische Schönheit (Centre for Political Beauty) dismantled crosses for the victims on the Berlin Wall and brought them to the EU border in Bulgaria, Greece and Melilla. The art collective, led by the philosopher Philipp Ruch, criticized Europe's hypocrisy in celebrating the fall of the Berlin Wall just as it at the same time fortifies its borders in the south and those new walls and fences create daily new victims (http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/03/berlin-wall-memorial-border-protest).

Like under a magnifying glass, the anniversary uncovered the multiple, complex and competing interventions, which reshape Berlin's identity quarter of the century after the fall of the Wall, connecting it to current discourses on overcoming borders and walls all over the world.

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Author Biography

Martin Barthel is a political geographer specialising in border studies, based at the University of Eastern Finland. His work is concentrated on topics such as discourses on borders, heritage, tourism and identity in border regions. He is especially interested in issues connected with the German-Polish and Polish-Ukrainian borders. He is involved in the EUBORDERSCAPE research project, which examines the discourses on cooperation along the EU's external borders.

Chapter 14
Artists as Planners? Identifying Five Conceptual Spaces for Interactive Urban Development

Thomas Borén and Craig Young

Introduction

This chapter explores how artists are engaging with policy-makers and planners in attempts to produce 'new conceptual spaces' (Gibson and Klocker 2005) in which urban policy and planning practice becomes a process of knowledge and policy co-production. The text explores the dynamics of this interaction to understand its different forms, with a particular focus on how artists inform or affect the urban planning imagination. Through the analysis of the state of the art in this field and of a number of projects where artists, policy-makers and planners have interacted in urban development projects we identify and discuss five types of conceptual space for artist-planning interactions.

While artists are often seen as key actors in contemporary urban development, particularly linked with the increased use of culture and creativity in urban development policy, to date they have mainly been considered in only a few limited roles (Markusen 2006). Often they are portrayed as opponents of the 'creative city', engaging in protest actions and new social movements resisting the imposition of a particular, narrow, instrumental form of creative city policy (e.g. Novy and Colomb 2013). Or, they are envisioned as enthusiastic proponents of creative city policy, as it enhances their visibility in the city and market and funding opportunities. Alternatively, artists are implicated in regressive processes such as the gentrification of neighbourhoods which is often linked to the displacement of less powerful and

T. Borén (✉)
Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University, 106 91 Stockholm, Sweden
e-mail: thomas.boren@humangeo.su.se

C. Young
School of Science and the Environment, Division of Geography and Environmental Management, Manchester Metropolitan University, John Dalton Building, Chester St., Manchester M1 5GD, UK
e-mail: c.young@mmu.ac.uk

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less wealthy groups. In these cases artists are often portrayed as being relatively powerless in urban development processes which seek to appropriate culture and creativity in very instrumental ways to achieve neoliberal goals.

However, there is growing recognition that with increasing urban complexity, economic change and socio-cultural diversity new collaborations may be required to shape the development of twenty-first century cities. In this chapter we thus seek to get beyond these portrayals of artists to examine their agency in shaping a more progressive urban politics through collaboration with urban policy-makers and planners (rather than conceiving of this as a way in which the neoliberal city can more efficiently colonise creative worlds for economically instrumental ends). Here we follow calls in the literature to explore the creation of 'new governance modes' (Lange 2011) or 'new spaces of governance' (Pratt 2005) in the creative economy including experimentation with 'new conceptual spaces' (Gibson and Klocker 2005) in which policy-makers, planners and creative producers interact in different ways which allow for a 'creative planning' to emerge as part of a new planning imagination (Sandercock 2004; Borén and Young 2013). Throughout we explore examples where artists and urban policy-makers have worked together while retaining the notion of these interactions as experimental, messy, incomplete and still shot through with the power relations inherent in urban politics.

To do this the chapter first explores the literature suggesting a focus on these 'new conceptual spaces' and the relatively limited amount of research analysing collaboration between artists and planners. The chapter then considers different forms of artist-planning interaction that we argue represent five types of new conceptual spaces. The analysis is based on evidence from available literature and a number of projects where artists, policy-makers and planners have collaborated, with examples primarily from Stockholm and Sweden which the authors have researched or been involved with. The chapter concludes by discussing the role of the artist in co-producing urban policy and planning strategy.

New Conceptual Spaces for Artist-Planner Interactions

The arts, culture and 'creativity' have in recent years become central to urban policy. Arts and culture have been significant in coping with the post-industrial context and have played a key role in city marketing and urban regeneration. Analyses of artists often focus on them as a key group of urban actors in this context, since they are seen as highly creative and can play a leading role in changing the nature and appearance of urban areas. Hence, art and artists are often involved in strategies to re-image cities or promote 'cultural quarters'.

However, this use of culture, associated notions of 'creativity' and artists in urban development is also controversial. Academic critiques and social movements have opposed the ways in which creativity has too often been defined and used instrumentally and tied to neoliberal entrepreneurial city agendas. Here art and artists are used without an engagement with the potential of creative artistic activity

to inform urban development in a deeper and more meaningful way. As a result of this, academic analyses of the role of artists in urban development have tended to focus on certain aspects of their role in cities. Artists are seen as enthusiastic proponents of the 'creative city', as they benefit from public funding, increased profile and political value and their markets are enhanced. Or they are investigated as vociferous opponents of the neoliberal city and how it appropriates art and artists. Or, in another twist, they are portrayed as the drivers of regressive gentrification and sometimes as victims of these gentrification processes themselves.

More recently, however, some literature has argued that this instrumental use of creativity means that policy and planning is failing to engage with the potential of creative producers to shape urban development. The argument is not to find ways in which culture and creativity can be more efficiently appropriated for the goals of neoliberalised approaches, but to develop new scenarios in which the different imaginings that artists bring to understanding and shaping urban development can be brought into the planning process to support a more progressive and imaginative planning system, one which is more in touch with the diversity and exclusions which are increasingly marking the twenty-first century city. This point is neatly summarised by Gibson and Klocker (2005: 101), who argue:

> rather than suggest an abandonment of creativity altogether, incorporating alternative creativities into regional economic development discourse could entail an opening up of new conceptual spaces for policy-makers, that build on … the progressive, socialised elements of policy proscriptions to build community, provide stable incomes and jobs for people, form partnerships and become more tolerant, but without having to weld those impulses to necessarily neoliberal agendas.

The point here is not simply to suggest yet more forms of collaborative planning, an approach which has existed in planning theory and practice for some time, nor simply to promote collaborations between planners and artists, which is something which is happening in a number of contexts. Furthermore, our interviews with artists suggest that this could be a counter-productive strategy, leading to mere 'decoration' of the planning documents, rather than taking the work and 'sophisticatedness' of the analyses of artists seriously. For example, some artists engaged in these types of projects felt that they had no real 'voice' even if they had been invited to 'collaborate' (Borén and Young, 2016). An even more extreme case is that of artists Eva Arnqvist and Johanna Gustafsson-Fürst who undertook collaborative work with the Office of Culture and the Office of City Building in Haninge, just south of Stockholm, Sweden, which intended to engage citizens in the re-design of the central square, but who had their final exhibition rejected by the City Hall because they found some of the material too political. The municipality had asked for an artist-driven dialogue with their citizens in order to engage them in the shaping of the square, but when the dialogue was created the municipality could not accept the results. Many, or maybe even most, artists collaborating with the political and bureaucratic structures of urban governance have probably met similar responses, i.e. from not being taken seriously to a censoring of the art produced, especially when that art is presenting new and challenging ideas.

Although there are successful collaborations between cities and artists (e.g. Sarkassian 2005; Dang 2005), there are also many in which the full potential for the city, planners and the community is not realized. The dynamics of this needs further researching (see Borén and Young 2013, 2016, on the 'creative policy gap' and the professional differences between artists and planners). Maybe the full potential is also not reached for the artists in these collaborations, although for many social and/or community artists the art is the very social processes and relations they generate while working with the city, the planners and/or the community. Thus even if the collaboration in some senses 'fails', the art projects most likely have valid artistic qualities. Basically, it is the city and its citizens that seem to be on the losing side in failed collaborations, whereas the artists in many cases make their work of interest anyway (for the public and/or the art scene).

Nevertheless, this further underlines the need for the development of *new conceptual spaces*, in which artists, planners and policy-makers come together in different ways to shape new ways of thinking about urban development and the relationship between artists and the city. Pratt (2005), for example, points to the need for 'new spaces of governance' around the creative and cultural industries, Markusen and Gadwa (2010: 18) call for 'a new policy platform' and 'a new policy vision at all levels of government', while Lange (2011: 193) suggests that:

> New forms of urban management are needed, in order to cope with these highly unstable economies and the individual demands of their proponents. What I see today in many cities are new perspectives on creativity in urban policy, informal alliances between private and public stakeholders, self-organized networks promoting new products in new markets and context-oriented forms such as branding of places, [which] represent new forms of managing the urban.

Lange's (2011) argument suggests that creative scenes are actually engaging in 'new governance modes' which opens up intriguing possibilities for new ways of collaboration between artists and planners which reshape the actual planning process itself. This view also gains support in the views of Lavanga (2013) and Potts et al. (2008) who argue for forms of artist-planner interaction which are more bottom-up, experimental and innovative.

Such an approach has received more focused development in two recent papers by Sandercock (2004) and Metzger (2011), a Swedish government report (Boverket et al. 2013), and a white paper by Markusen and Gadwa (2010) which think more deeply about the need for a new planning imagination and ways in which artists can alter the planning *milieu* to foster new ways of thinking within the planning system. These analyses are, however, quite different from one another and when put side by side clearly represent different types of new conceptual spaces. Since the academic field of artist-planner interactions is understudied (Sandercock 2005; Metzger 2011), it is timely to address these spaces together as an inventory of the state of the art, and from this sketch out an empirically based tentative typology of five types of new conceptual spaces of artist-planner interactions.

The types presented below are sometimes interconnected, overlapping and 'fuzzy' around the edges and we have explicitly tried not to formulate clear cut

categories. Rather the objective is to articulate what is at the core of each type, and discuss differences in how they function, especially regarding the role of the artist. The intention is not to be exhaustive but rather to summarise, discuss and synthesize the state of the art of the study of artist-planning interaction. This, we believe, will also make it easier for cities to incorporate artistic competence in their planning efforts, and hope also that this somewhat will de-mystify the role of the artist in social and urban development. The first four conceptual spaces are identified primarily through analysis of the literature whereas the fifth is based on empirical studies in Stockholm.

Planner Includes Artists

Sandercock (2004: 140), to start with, calls for 'a new planning imagination, a new planning culture…' as:

> New modes of thought and new practices are needed to shift what was once considered as natural, some of the outmoded assumptions embedded in the culture of Western planning.

This could involve the collaboration of planners with a variety of social groups, perhaps particularly those whose voice has been less heard in planning policies directly affecting them. In her view such practices should go beyond 'mere collaboration' to open up new political spaces in which planning can be reshaped as more therapeutic, in the sense of a need for a process of 'emotional involvement and resolution' (Sandercock 2004: 139) in solving planning issues, and as more creative, i.e. expanding the creative capacity of planners and releasing and nurturing a 'creative imagination' in planning (Sandercock 2004: 138).

The type of new conceptual space Sandercock calls for has a focus on the planners. Apart from engaging with different groups, the planners should become more creative themselves. Sandercock (2005) exemplifies the type of planning imagination called for using the work of Sarkassian, an Australian planning consultant working with innovative and participatory methods. The planning measures Sarkassian (2005) describes in this case are interactive, place specific and 'opportunistic'. She says:

> We invented this project. We were opportunistic—we moved from one opportunity to another, kind of 'backfilling' it with a programme as it began to emerge. We discovered our process (2005: 104).

This meant being open, creative and willing to try new measures. It also involved hiring a community artist (Graeme Dunstan) to work with Sarkassian and the community in order to achieve the goals of the client (which was to make people more physically active). The artist was part of the project in several ways and among other things created a ceremony involving symbolically burning a representation of the stigma that had suppressed local people, to make them free from it.

Regarding the role of the artist, Sarkassian continues: 'Working with an artist to create a grand gesture gives a *loud* voice to the softer voices' (2005: 111, emphasis

in original). But it should similarly be noted that planners working with artists, as in this case, also allows planners to understand artists' methods of working. These are the important outcomes of interaction in this type of conceptual space, where different expertise learns from each others' knowledge in order to reach planning objectives. However, it is also clear here that these are planner- (and ultimately client-) initiated objectives, and the resulting interactions are oriented towards these goals.

Artist Dialogical Effects

The Swedish government report (Boverket et al. 2013) identifies another role for the artist, which is not so much about method but rather pinpoints what happens when artists are part of the *conceptual* phase of a planning project. The report sums up the experiences of 13 interactive projects in 2010–14 which integrated the 'design mission' with the processes of planning and building public environments, and that involved the interaction of a number of different interests representing various expertise and often public participation too. Art and artists have a long tradition in designing public spaces and environments, but have often come in at the end of the process to add ornamentation to a place, a statue or sculpture or something else that is an add-on to an environment that is already thought through and in many cases has already been built.[1] However, in some of these projects artists were involved as part of the process from the beginning in order to integrate design issues from the start. It turns out that:

> The presence of artistic competence can have an important role in the communication between different groups. It can be about creating images of possible futures and to show the potential of the space and thereby create discussions about the design of an environment. The artist can—because of his/her often less constrained role—contribute more freely than other actors to the establishment of dialogues that are perceived as significant for all concerned (Boverket et al. 2013: 20, authors' translation from Swedish).

The artists thus contributed something more than ornamentation and the report concludes that 'artists in dialogue with other professional groups could open up new solutions' (Boverket et al. 2013: 17). Moreover, the report actually recommends that 'if possible, transfer the experiences (of the study) to general strategies by measures on both the local and the national level' (Boverket et al. 2013: 27). The report does not discuss these general strategies further—be it laws, recommendations, or 'carrot-and-stick-measures'. It rather suggests the formalisation of a new conceptual space of governance in planning and building public environments where artists (and other concerned experts) get a more equal standing and a new,

[1]Obviously, place specific art is more complex than that and today often contains an interpretation of the place and discursive elements meant to intervene or affect the place (Kwon 2002).

more prominent role in the interactions, i.e. they get a 'voice' right from the start of urban projects.

Creating 'Cool Fora'

Metzger (2011) goes further by considering an example of the creation of a new conceptual space bringing together artists and planners and policy-makers and tracing the complex and experimental process of working together on developing a new planning imagination. He also theorizes the potential form of these new conceptual spaces, suggesting that what is important is that an artistic 'framing' of an event can create a different setting for thinking about planning. In their everyday, mundane professional lives planners are often constrained by expected ways of behaving which are actively deployed when planners have to make and defend decisions in 'hot' political settings. Artistic interventions can therefore:

> set the stage for an estrangement of that which is familiar and taken-for-granted, thus shifting frames of references and creating a radical potential for planning in a way that can be very difficult for planners to achieve on their own (Metzger 2011: 213).

He thus proposes 'cool fora', created by artists for planners, as a form of new conceptual spaces where less is at stake, time frames are different, new imaginations can evolve and things can be conceived differently. By utilizing a 'verfremsdungeffekt' (or 'defamiliarization') approach in these 'strange spaces' embedded and naturalized frames of reference can be disrupted and thought of anew.

Metzger's empirical case is one where the artists involved created such a place, a 'cool forum', where planners could meet and discuss without reservation, and without risking 'loosing face'. However, there are more ways that artists may work to have a crucial impact on the planning imagination. In this scenario proposed by Metzger planners are withdrawn from politics and from the power relations they are normally embedded in by way of their profession, but in our fourth and fifth types of conceptual space we will showcase and discuss cases where the artists themselves become part of these power relations, in practice creating a new conceptual space, affecting planning and planning imaginations 'from within' the planning system.

Artist as Planner

So far the analyses have discussed three distinct conceptual spaces in which artists are approached or invited by the planning agencies *as artists*, and the interactions all seem to be basically initiated by the formal structures of urban governance. The role of the artist in the cases to follow, however, can better be described as an uninvited, but sometimes welcomed, participant in planning and policy making.

The artists here take a more political role and engage with the very structures of urban governance and planning, either as a prerequisite to the functioning of their projects, or as a significant part of the art. This is the artist *as planner*.

A good example of this type of interaction is the work of the Independent Art Coalition in Berlin. The Coalition started in 2012 with 107 members from the independent art scene coming together with the general objective of improving the conditions for independent art. In a round-table discussion on 12 September 2014,[2] in which we participated, the Coalition's spokesperson Christophe Knoch described the rationale and the work they do to shape Berlin's cultural policy. One of the coalition's main aims is to work to increase funding for independent art, but it had identified that one of the major problems was that the independent scene did not have a voice. It was too heterogeneous, and politicians, the press and others did not have anyone from the independent scene to talk to. Knoch described how the Coalition had become a stakeholder that was listened to and taken seriously. When they started it took months to get a meeting with Berlin's mayor, whereas now they could get a meeting with him or other decision makers much faster. In short, they have managed to establish themselves as an actor in urban politics. In addition, through the media the Coalition could now raise their voice and speak for the independent art scene.

The Coalition has thus created a conceptual space for interacting with the city in order to pursue goals relating to the conditions of doing art. They have become a player in urban politics that in addition to trying to influence the urban budget also raises claims regarding real estate policy, as well as arguing for making public cultural expenditure more equal between all of Berlin's boroughs. 'The urban' is emphasised in their arguments and in one of their ten formulated claims, they state that 'Urban development policy is cultural policy' (see http://www.berlinvisit.org). One of the key arguments of the Coalition is that independent art contributes a lot to make Berlin the cultural capital it is today, from which the city gains income and prestige. These are matters central to strategic planning and urban identity, development and entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989), and therefore the city should have an interest in keeping the independent art scene alive.

Here it could be useful to further contextualize and delimit this type of conceptual space with reference to what it is not. Artists interacting with governance structures also become urban political actors, as is obvious from the work of the Coalition, and any conceptual space for interaction will thus also be political.

Rather, the type of conceptual space we identify here is when the artist or group of artists manage to establish a position in urban planning, get listened too and interact with it and thereby get their projects done. On a local level 14 such cases are reported in Markusen and Gadwa's (2010) whitepaper on 'creative placemaking' for urban, economic and community development through arts. By creative placemaking they mean a 'culture-based revitalization effort' (Markusen and

[2]The round table discussion was part of the 8th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, organized on 9–13 September 2014 in Hildesheim and Berlin.

Gadwa 2010: 4) that is not driven by the large cultural institutions. Rather they have identified a development role for engaged artists who, through gaining support and forming partnerships, are able to transform a place physically, socially and economically. In short, the artists in these cases needed to create the space for interaction along with the projects to be pursued in order to succeed.

The interactive aspects of their call for 'a new policy platform' and a 'new policy vision' to support this type of placemaking are emphasized but in a very different way from what Sandercock (2004, 2005), the Swedish government report (Boverket et al. 2013) or Metzger (2011) envision. Rather than constructing interactive projects where the artist and other experts are present and work together with the planning agencies from the start, or create 'cool fora' for planners and decision makers, Markusen and Gadwa (2010: 18) point to the role of 'creative initiators' in *starting* the processes of creative placemaking. These initiators could come from a range of backgrounds but are often artists of various kinds. For the project to be successful, the initiator (be it an individual or a group) then has to gain support for the vision from local government, the local arts community, and the citizens. Of special interest in the context of this chapter is the role of the local arts community. Rather than being the large art institutions prompting urban revitalization, Markusen and Gadwa (2010: 21) state that 'it is more often smaller and unusual arts entrepreneurs that lead the effort' and actively support the envisioned change. Moreover, in order for the project to succeed there is a need to form partnerships with both private interests (for funding) and government across different strategies and administrative levels. In the latter case, partnerships also have to be formed to negotiate the differing regulatory demands of different authorities, when for example roads are narrowed, houses built or other cases where there are already existing well defined planning norms.

A key argument in the white paper is that creative placemaking of this kind lacks sufficient policy support and hence the authors' call for a new policy platform that considers the trans-sectoral and inter-scalar partnerships needed (not least regarding funding) to facilitate the (often) artist-initiated urban change. Nevertheless, they describe a number of successful cases where despite the lack of a supporting policy all the obstacles were overcome and the entrepreneurial drive of the 'creative initiator' succeeded in realizing their vision of transforming run-down neighborhoods (while avoiding gentrification), improving the local economy and livability and other related positive outcomes. In all these cases a functional conceptual space involving a number of actors working in line with the vision was formed by the initiators, all in diverse, place specific ways.

Art Work as Planning

The formation of the projects described by Markusen and Gadwa (2010), or that of the Coalition, are not intended to be art in themselves but are rather examples of conceptual spaces created by artists in order to shape urban development. However,

there are a number of urban art projects were the art itself is the interaction and that what is created are the relations, content, and ideas that develop from the interactions, with the purpose of initiating change. An example of such a project is 'the New Beauty Council' (NBC) in Stockholm. NBC is run by artist Thérèse Kristiansson and curator Annika Enqvist who since the start have organised a number of debates, city walks and staged situations with urban actors who shape and interpret urban space with the purpose of making the city more 'flexible … It is about citizen participation and preferential rights of interpretation' (http://www.hallbarstad.se/blogs/authors/29, last visited 2 July 2015). The project attracted a lot of interest, which according to Kristiansson (interview, artist STO-22, 2010) was unexpected, as ordinary public consultations usually attract little interest, which showed the need for these kinds of discussions. It started as an institutional critique of the 'old' Beauty Council in Stockholm (i.e. Stockholms skönhetsråd, or in English 'Stockholm Beauty Council', which is short for The Council for the Protection of the Beauty of Stockholm), a public body without formal power but which was still very influential regarding the built environment. However, instead of just being critical of them: 'We try to invite and include these people in the art (…) to actually go into the institutions and shake them and revitalize them'. In addition, other powerful urban actors, like Kristina Alvendal (at the time Stadsbyggnadsborgarråd—the politician responsible for city building issues in Stockholm), have been involved in their projects.

The last examples are from Stockholm and focus on the interactive work of artist Per Hasselberg. We will focus on two of his projects that are illustrative of how this type of art and artist-driven conceptual space may work, with special attention to how the planning imagination of one of the major urban players in Stockholm was affected. This case is chosen since it represents a long term and ongoing art project engaged in an urban place that clearly illustrates many features in some detail concerning artist-driven conceptual spaces for interaction.

The key focus of Hasselberg's art is an ongoing investigation of the role of the city in the shaping of democracy and civil society. Here Hasselberg's work builds upon and re-interprets neighborhood and community planning from the 1940s and 1950s in Sweden, both as an ideal and as an actual place of living. He notes that these neighbourhoods were built to produce a 'democratic type of man, for which freedom and independence are combined with a sense of social responsibility' (Hasselberg 2015). As part of his artistic practice he moved in 2003 to Hökarängen in the southern part of Stockholm, about a 15 minute subway trip from the centre, and now home to about 9000 people. Hökarängen was the first of these neighbourhoods along the newly constructed subway and was a model for many more districts of this type which were termed the 'subway-city'. Hasselberg considers the subway-city a monument to democracy and explains that this 'pragmatic and practical utopia could be investigated, one could move into the image, the concept, try to understand it and work with it' (Hasselberg 2015).

Hökarängen is built according to neighborhood and community planning norms with the original ideas dating back to Clarence Perry, an American planner who in the 1920s envisioned that local urban districts should be small enough and designed

to allow for extended face-to-face interactions. This, in some interpretations, also allows for the social control of authoritarian ideologies and the fostering of democracy. In some versions neighborhood and community planning was also infused with self-governing political powers. In the Stockholm masterplan from 1952, for example, political institutions for democratic self-governance at a very local level were at first included, but were then cut out of the plan before they were realized. However, a month before Hasselberg moved to Hökarängen, a citizens' initiative led by Louise Modig Hall, a longtime resident, Social Democratic Party activist and social worker in the district, had formed 'Hökarängens stadsdelsråd' (Hökarängen's City District Council). The name implies a formal position within the political structure of urban government but officially there are no such things as city district councils in Stockholm. The Council is instead made up of representatives of local associations of different kinds which are active in Hökarängen, and it works as a local think-tank, monitoring and representing the interests of Hökarängen. Among other things they produce a quarterly newsletter, as well as act as a partner for dialogue with planning agencies, housing companies and other actors wishing to develop Hökarängen. The Council is central to Hasselberg's art and he says:

> if you are avant-garde, the cliché of an artist, it is easy that society and the rest of the world only becomes an enemy. But if you on the other hand build a long term relation with another part—as in this case the City District Council—then you actually have the possibility to work with a critical and reflecting dialogue (Hasselberg 2010).

It was also by and through relations with the Council that Hasselberg managed, in collaboration with the Council, to create Konsthall C in 2004, an artwork that is also an artspace (Fig. 1), after having been turned down by both the main real estate owner in the district and the Office of Culture in Stockholm. One reason for the creation of such an artspace relates to the original planning ideas—'every suburb would have an art institution. It should be an important instrument to create these democratic citizens' (Hasselberg 2010). This also matched the interest and democratic ideals of the Council. So, with the help of the Council, of which Hasselberg was also a member, the real estate owner came onboard and let a large premises for free as an artspace. The result—Konsthall C—is an artspace that is today renowned in the Swedish art scene, obtains financial support from a number of sources (among them the Office of Culture in Stockholm), and is a major hub for a certain type of art in Sweden and beyond. Also, in its other capacity as a work of art, Konsthall C was exhibited in the inaugural Moderna Exhibition 2006—the prime exhibition of modern art in Sweden, held every four years at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm. In 2008, Per Hasselberg stepped down as artistic leader of Konsthall C in favour of professional curators or other artists. Through the executive board it remains an artist-driven and controlled artspace involving a number of artists and other professionals.

Hasselberg is active in the Council and the board of Konsthall C, and here it does not make much sense to treat these roles as separate from his artistic work. To Hasselberg, art is a medium for getting things done based on an ongoing and

Fig. 1 The artwork and artspace Konsthall C in Hökarängen, Stockholm. *Photo by* Andrea Creutz (2015)

multi-relational dialogue with actors related to Hökarängen and/or to issues and questions of democracy. To Hasselberg, and many other conceptual artists, art is not an end in itself—it is what art can do that is interesting.

The second part of his work that we would like to discuss illustrates this point well. It starts with Hasselberg approaching one of the chapter's authors (Borén) in 2008 and asking him to join a team of researchers in a pre-study of the local centre in Hökarängen. The problem identified by the Council was that the centre was economically unsustainable, the turnover of shops was high and some premises were empty and their windows covered. This was so even if the real estate owner (the municipal Stockholmshem—Stockholm's and Sweden's second largest housing company) let the premises for under the cost of managing the buildings, basically losing money on every shop tenant. However, in addition to this being a commercial issue for the real estate owner this was also conceived by the Council as a social and democratic problem. The role of the centre in neighborhood and community planning is not only to be a commercial centre, but also a place for social life and the local public.

In order to address this problem, in 2007 Hasselberg and the Council initiated a process that would lead to major investment and the implementation of two regeneration programmes. The last of these formally ended in 2014 although many of the interventions made during these programmes will continue long after. At the core of this process was to have a study (by urban researchers) made in order to understand the problem, but also to generate arguments for change. To achieve this,

Hasselberg and the Council not only organised appropriate researchers representing different subjects at different universities and had them cooperate towards a common research problem, but also did the groundwork to prepare the financing of the study, which involved financial support from the real estate owner Stockholmshem, and two different offices in the city (the Office of City Building and the Office of Land Exploitation). The study was carried out in 2008–9 (Borén and Koch 2009). This in itself is an example of the forming of new relationships oriented towards solving a particular artistic and practical problem. However, the story does not end there, the research was rather a means to be able to intervene, and here is where the effect on the planning imagination (outside of the academic and artistic fields) begins to become apparent.

During the study, the research team was involved in several meetings and seminars with the local community, organized by the Council, in which they presented the study as well as took part in 'side-projects' involving experimental methods such as memory projects on what the centre had previously been like. After the study was ready and printed, Hasselberg and the Council continued to arrange meetings where the authors, i.e. Borén and Koch, could disseminate the results. In one of these meetings, a seminar at the head office of Stockholmshem, its new managing director Ingela Lindh, formerly the Director of implementation of the comprehensive plan of Stockholm, participated. 'She listened carefully', Elfors (2015: 29) writes in a documentation of all the projects that stemmed from that meeting, and continues by quoting Lindh:

> – When the researchers from KTH[3] showed images of the centre they presented a very depressing forecast. At the same time Hökarängen was one of Stockholm's most beautiful districts and I was so impressed by Louise (Modig Hall, Chair of the City District Council) and Per (Hasselberg) who had so many ideas. I saw that there were a number of persons who wanted something here, says Ingela Lindh. (Lindh quoted in Elfors 2015: 29, see also Fredriksson 2011: 38–39)

According to Elfors, it was also at this seminar that Lindh's 'idea to make a venture started to form' (2015: 29). In short, the planning imagination Hasselberg and the Council developed when identifying the problem of the local centre and preparing their solutions initiated a chain of events that after some further public consultation (Boendedialogen, which was part of Söderortsvisionen, a political development vision for all of southern Stockholm, in which the study again with help of Hasselberg and the Council was presented) resulted in two major regeneration projects in Hökarängen. These in turn had a number of spin-off effects locally and beyond, e.g. study visits, academic planning studies and teaching, and further art exhibits, critique and debate.

An important focus of the latter activities was the issue of whether there was a risk of gentrification following on from these regeneration programmes, one of which also contained the formation of a planned (and now implemented) 'art

[3]KTH is short for Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan (Royal School of Technology). It has to be clarified however that only Koch represents KTH whereas Borén works at Stockholm University.

cluster' in Hökarängen. This critique also worked its way into the planning imagination and led to an awareness of these issues and a response, e.g. the change of use of language (not 'attractiveness' but 'sustainability') to better reflect the intentions of the programmes which according to Lindh never aimed to replace the population (Elfors 2015: 184–186, 206–207).

Moreover, it is clear from the above that the Council, Konsthall C, and Hasselberg have established themselves as actors in the Hökarängen planning process. When these programmes were carried out (2011–12 and 2013–14), the Council and Konsthall C were approached by Stockholmshem and invited in various ways to partner or cooperate with Stockholmshem in carrying out some of the projects in the programmes. A number of them also relate to ideas first put forward by the Council or Konsthall C (Fredriksson 2011), or in the study by Borén and Koch (2009), which are thus additional examples of effects on the planning imagination in this type of art-driven conceptual space of interaction. There are many more spin-off effects from Hasselberg's and the Council's work, and from the programmes, but the point has been made here—art and artist-driven conceptual spaces for interaction can have wide-reaching effects on the planning imagination, that in turn materializes in actual development programmes.

Conclusions

In this study we have distinguished five types of artist-planning interaction representing different new conceptual spaces. These exhibit a number of differences although all show the progressive role and agency of artists in contributing to planning and the planning imagination. In the first type, the role of the artist is to contribute artistic expertise and methods in solving particular and predefined planning problems, whereas in the second type artists contribute 'dialogue' in both direct and indirect ways to forming the perception of possible solutions. The artists in this type have a more equal standing with the planning experts and take an active part in the conceptual phase of projects, which are initiated elsewhere. In the third type, the role of the artist is again different and is rather to create fora for *planner-planner* dialogue that by way of their character might let planners think anew, stimulating 'out-of-the-box'-solutions.

The fourth and fifth types of interaction are when artists themselves forge their way into the planning system in order to affect it, along the way constructing a conceptual space to this end. The fourth and fifth are similar but with an important difference being that in the former this is done in order to be able to do art, whereas in the latter affecting the planning system *is the art*. To our minds, all these new conceptual spaces represent important examples of how the power asymmetries inherent in urban planning and development might be challenged, becoming more complex and democratic, less hierarchical, and more representative of the challenges facing our cities. A word of caution should apply here—complex social phenomena are in reality never as neat as when academically reduced to types or

categories. Many of the projects described here have aspects that could fit into different categories. However, the typology can work beyond the academy as a tool to think of possible alternative methods for planning. If we were to draw out any policy recommendations from this study, it would be that policy and planning should be open to the development of these new conceptual spaces in order to include artists, invited or not, to co-imagine and co-create the urban future.

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Author Biographies

Thomas Borén Associate Professor, Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University, Sweden. Thomas's research interests are in urban cultural geography, with a focus on urban policies, strategies and the role of culture in Sweden, Russia, Eastern and Central Europe.

Craig Young Professor of Human Geography in the Division of Geography and Environmental Management, School of Science and the Environment, Manchester Metropolitan University in the UK. Craig's research interests include a focus on geographies of urban change, especially in post-socialist contexts, with a particular interest in critical geographies of the 'creative city'.

Chapter 15
Practices and Prejudices: Lessons from an Encounter Between Artists and Urban Planners

Elsa Vivant, Nadia Arab and Burcu Özdirlik

Introduction

Historically, artists' involvement in the making of cities has been limited to the production of artworks in public spaces with the purpose to embellish, entertain, motivate or represent power structures (Chaudoir 2000; Pinson 2009). Some authors have also discussed the use of art and artists' contribution to city developments, particularly within the system of value production and capitalist production of spaces (Zukin 1991, 1995; Mele 2000; Evans 2001; Ley 2003). Others have considered the urban space as the artist's means to establish one's identity among peers (Wilson 2003; Heinich 2005) or as a resource in the flexible organisation of art production (Lloyd 2002; Storper 1989; Scott 2000). Some of the contributors to this book are developing these notions. On the other hand, artists may discuss urban changes, bring in a political perspective or criticise the use of art for urban purposes (Miles 2005). Some artists also create 'contextual art' in public

E. Vivant (✉)
Latts, Ecole d'Urbanisme de Paris, Université Paris Est Marne La Vallée,
5 Bd Descartes, 77454 Marne La Vallée, France
e-mail: elsa.vivant@univ-paris-est.fr

N. Arab
Lab'Urba, Ecole d'Urbanisme de Paris, Université Paris Est Créteil,
14-20 Boulevard Newton, 77454 Marne La Vallée, France
e-mail: nadia.arab@univ-paris-est.fr

B. Özdirlik
Lisis, Université Paris Est Marne La Vallée, 5 Bd Descartes,
77454 Marne La Vallée, France
e-mail: burcuozdirlik@yahoo.com

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space (Ardenne 2002) to test new approaches and aesthetics (for instance participative or performance art) which challenge the perception of reality in its context. According to Till (2011), such interventions by artists may provide urban planners with novel representations of public space and potential uses by the local residents. Thereupon, Borén and Young (2013) claim that more collaboration between artists and urban planners (administrators, planners, managers, technicians, technologists) will result in the development of more creative urban policies.

The premise of this chapter is that collaboration between artists and urban planners has an effect on urban policies. We wish to discuss whether artists help the latter to develop new perspectives on their own practice, and thus bring about new ways of understanding and representing urban issues. The discussion will be based on one in-depth case study of the collaboration of artists and urban planners. Artists involved in a ten-month long training program called Art and Politics (ArtPol) were invited to work on public space uses with urban planners in Rosière.[1] The experiences of artists and urban planners are described below with the purpose of opening the discussion on the relationship between city making and artists.[2] Within the context of the unique training program of ArtPol that mediated the collaboration, the artists met with local urban planners who wanted to develop a more reflexive practice. Rather than depicting artists as value-makers or designers of a place, this case-study demonstrates that they are professionals whose sensitivity and reflexive practice can open new perspectives on the understanding of urban issues. This leads to considering the artists' artworks and interventions as a relevant process to gain an in-depth knowledge of urban issues and practices, as in other fields of social research (Baxandall 1991; Becker 2009). In this case, the artists do not provide practical solutions, nor design new objects and spaces. They demonstrate and share their particular knowledge and reflexive practices that will change the urban planners' perspective on their work. Following are the descriptions and analyses of the various art-based research protocols they applied. At the end of this chapter, we will discuss the results of the various experiments and the effects on the urban planners. The artists did not provide them with answers and ready-made solutions, but they certainly altered the professionals' perspective on public space issues. In the end we will also relate that the artists questioned their creativity and the reality of art in such an informal collaboration framework.

[1]This chapter is based on a collaborative research study funded by La Région Ile de France. Four other case studies were conducted to present the contribution of artists along with urban professionals to discussions on urban issues. Rosière is a cryptonym for one city in Paris's northern suburb. According to ethics code, the real names of the city, participating urban planners, artists and the training program remain anonymous.

[2]In this case study, three of the four artists involved, five urban professionals of the city of Rosière, one resident and one ArtPol manager were interviewed and the documents produced by the artists were analysed. One researcher participated in one of the artistic experiments: '*la balade des yeux*' (Eye Stroll) in the context of her own neighbourhood.

Framing the Artists and Urban Planners' Collaboration

ArtPol or the Use of Art to Represent a Public Issue

ArtPol is an experimental training program framed by actor-network theory, pragmatism and science and technology studies based on the fundamental principle that art can provide new means of representing public issues.[3] In this case pragmatism (in reference to John Dewey) is interpreting the idea of public issue not as an issue related to public bodies, but an issue that concerns too many agents to be solved easily and that public bodies cannot solve on their own. ArtPol uses art to represent the complexity of public issues in a different manner. Its goal is to use artistic representative means to '*épaissir*' (reinforce, strengthen) the knowledge of an issue and, in particular of the diversity of practices and people engaged in the process. ArtPol will not solve the issues nor interfere with the professionals involved. ArtPol does not question or challenge other professionals' skills, but aims to reinforce them as it strengthens their ability to represent issues through reflexivity and discussion. Equally important for ArtPol is the concept of '*modes of existence*' (Latour 2013) which some artists applied to several '*œuvres-enquêtes*' (art-based research projects). This theoretical concept is applied to the practice of using thought description as a mode of representation of reality. Its methodology consists of describing every human and non-human that is related to the problem or object under study. The specificity of this approach, related to actor-network theory, is to view objects and non-humans as important as humans in order to gain an understanding of social practices and urban space.

These principles have been developed over the years by the head of ArtPol, a philosopher who has curated art and social science exhibitions. His position in the academic field has given him the opportunity to experiment and develop the unconventional ArtPol curriculum. The program is geared to social scientists and artists who wish to reflect on their own professional practices and learn new representational perspectives as they interact with others. Although called students, all artists are professionals with at least five years of experience. In the course of a year, the fifteen or so student-artists engage in ArtPol activities on a part-time basis: seminars, discussions and one project that must relate to an actual public issue, i.e. a problem that someone (a company, an organization, a person) is trying to solve.

ArtPol considers that, just as researchers use scientific publications to present their results, some artists do research to prepare for an artwork creation. The guiding principle of ArtPol is therefore to analyse the means and methods of artists who do research on society or space and their representations. Their intervention, rather than leading to the creation of artworks, is essentially an '*oeuvre-enquête*'. In facilitating interdisciplinary collaborations that strengthen their skills, ArtPol aims

[3]As the intellectual process of ArtPol is to develop its own concepts, in a French context, we introduce them in italics in French and provide our own English translation of the terms in parenthesis. We then use the French conceptual terms in italics throughout the rest of the chapter.

to extend the practices of both the professionals and the artists and create new representational means. The main expectation is that both sides (i.e. artists and professionals) involved in cooperation gain a deeper insight into an issue by talking with people from another professional background. ArtPol considers artists as agents of knowledge in their aesthetic representation of social and urban issues.

ArtPol and the Rosière Urban Issue: A New Perspective on Public Space

In 2012, ArtPol's long-term student project concerned an urban issue. It took place in Rosière, a working-class suburb of approximately 50,000 people near Paris which has been undergoing large urban renewal changes for several years. The renewal had two main objectives: refurbishment of run-down blocks of flats and restructuring of the city centre and its public spaces in order to improve the quality of life for the inhabitants. The blocks of flats were restructured to face the streets and a new shopping centre was built. The transformation of the public space derived from the changes made to the buildings. ArtPol became involved when the use of art to symbolize urban changes became a topic of discussion. The facilitator with ArtPol was a young professional from Rosière, trained in philosophy and a former personal assistant to the ArtPol head. This was her first job in public administration, with a new and obscure job title 'Project manager for sustainable development' and a new assignment that even some of her colleagues did not fully understand. She saw working with ArtPol as a way to question her role in administration as much as to bring her colleagues to question their own practices. She convinced the others to contact ArtPol although they did not really understand its purpose nor what they might expect. The urban planners in that group were personally interested in the arts: one was involved in amateur theatre and displayed the letters A.R.T. on a shelf in his office, another professed that he preferred '*art to candelabra*'. Four of the ArtPol artist-students who had a personal interest in urban space and/or professional practices chose the Rosière case study. These were two choreographers, an architect and a visual artist. During a period of ten months, ArtPol artists went to Rosière to discuss urban issues with the urban planners, meet other professionals, visit the city using various techniques of observations, and interview the residents. The artists were working outside the regular administrative frame and had no legal contract with the city.

Some public and green spaces had been redesigned during the renewal project, yet they seemed underused. 'Why?' was the first question the professionals asked when they met the artists. In the first stages of their collaboration, the artists changed the question. Instead of asking why the people do not use the new green spaces and questioning the public's appropriation of such spaces, the artists wanted to discover what attaches people to a public space. For that purpose, they developed the following art-based research protocols:

‘*Imagination*, *désir*, *plaisir*’ (Imagination, Wish, Pleasure). One artist asked the urban planners what they expected of their collaboration and what they wished for the city and the use of public space.

‘*Relevé croisé*’ (Note and Compare). In a method influenced by the photographer Laurent Malone, two artists walked along a street taking quick snapshots with a camera. Then, each wrote a story based on his/her memories of the walk. The two texts were edited in parallel with the photos that showed the artists’ different perceptions and memories of that urban space.

‘*Récit d’archives*’ (Archival Narrative). One artist collected old photos and postcards of a local park. Helped by local historians and archivists, she interpreted the changes that have occurred through time. She then wrote the story of that space, a photo-novel in which the park was the narrator. In this personification process, the park had ancestors, became a caretaker, etc.

‘*Cosmogramme*’ (Link Map). One visual artist was researching information about the Rosière War Memorial which had been relocated several times during the renewal public works. In the process, she tried to identify everything and everyone who might have had a link to the memorial. Her findings were visually represented in a diagram that placed the monument in the centre, surrounded by a cloud of words, each with an identifying link to the monument. Below, a written description of these links revealed all the changes the War Memorial has endured.

‘*Balade des yeux*’ (Eye Stroll). One choreographer took four urban planners, one by one, on an urban stroll. She guided them as they walked in silence with their eyes closed along the neighbourhood streets. On cue, they opened their eyes briefly to take a snapshot of the view. After the walk, the guide and the guided professionals analysed their experiences. Based on these conversations, the choreographer gave a unique performance in front of urban planners. This activity is one of the two most memorable for the professionals: experiencing an urban space with their own senses affected them and gave them insight in the process of collaboration, as will be explained below.

‘*A la fenêtre*’ (At the Window). While the other research activities remained unachieved, this one was fully implemented. All four artists were involved. It was initiated by a choreographer’s wish to view a public space from the top of neighbouring high rise buildings. The artists requested access to some flats and asked the residents to sit at their windows and describe what they saw. The words the residents used as they gazed on the public space were recorded and, later, mixed into a new text. The artists presented this text to the urban planners at a reading session. The audience, in this case the professionals, were seated facing a window, looking out as to experience what the residents had described. After the reading, a talking circle was organised, all participants were given a one-minute turn to share their ideas, and were thus free from any hierarchical constraints.

The artists provided short samples of art-based research protocols with examples illustrating their output for a follow-up on the experience.

A researcher’s experience of ‘*la balade des yeux*’

During this research field work, the choreographer implemented ‘*la balade des yeux*’ in the neighbourhood of one researcher. She was invited to participate. We chose to include her personal and subjective report of this experience because, in some ways, it parallels the Rosière urban planners’

process: she was an urban studies academic who experienced a new way of walking through and observing a familiar place.

11:30 am. Sunday. I arrive at the gallery. I had always wondered what was in this large building across from the migrants' hostel. Hidden art galleries and studios. Of course. I meet Pina, the choreographer, cheerful, she hugs me. We leave the warm studio and start our stroll. Our fingers tingle with cold. Would wearing gloves lessen our sense of touch? Before leaving, I show her my apartment block at the end of the street. She said afterward that, troubled by this information, she had changed our route.

I close my eyes. I feel a fine freezing rain on my skin. I hear the pigeons roosting on a nearby scaffolding. Pina wraps her arms around me and raises my right hand (the other one is buried in my warm pocket). She guides with a light touch. I worry about the treacherous street curb, she avoids it and softly describes every potential obstacle. I sense that we are walking up the street then turn into a darker, possibly narrower street. We walk into a paved courtyard through a porch entrance. Pina slips behind me and whispers: 'open your eyes', *hibernating potted plants in front of odd, large windows, art studios in what must have been former craft workshops*. I laugh to myself, she shows me signs of the neighbourhood aesthetic gentrification right from the start. That's a good beginning! I think I have been here once for an art walk although, these '*faubourg*' courtyards all look alike. I close my eyes. We leave. I hear men's voices. As we leave the courtyard, once the porch passed, Pina says: 'open your eyes', *in front of a deep, open commercial van, a construction worker with paint or plaster marks on his clothes laughs as he looks at me opening my eyes*. We are both surprised to be face to face. Pina and I leave again.

We reach a larger space. I feel more light. A square? Probably the one in front of the mosque. I can't get lost, I know my neighbourhood and I have a good sense of direction. We climb two metal steps and enter a place. Sounds of machines, moist heat and the smell of detergent, we must be at the Laundromat. 'Open your eyes': *an automatic detergent dispenser with several coloured push-buttons*. The presence of a Laundromat reveals a socially distributed practice: only those who cannot afford a washer or who live in too small a lodging go there. It's true, there are many Laundromats in this area. 'Close your eyes'. It's already time to leave. We walk up the street. Pina stops, gently takes my head in her hands to direct my eyes to the ground, 'open your eyes': *a display of prayer mats on a shop front.*

'Close your eyes'. I smell a grill, I hear car noises, they brush past me, I feel surrounded by cars. We must be on the boulevard. Did we cross it? Do I consent to being lost? We enter a shop, 'open your eyes': *two butchers standing behind cold showcases of meat*. I have always wondered who eats all the meat sold in the area. Cars again. 'Open your eyes': *behind a construction fence, next to an empty lot, the Hal'Shop.* So we are on the boulevard. I am not lost. I was not lost for long. Yes, this must be the

Hal'Shop! We move past the clients towards the back of the shop. 'Open your eyes': *a man*, *probably the shopkeeper*, *standing by the shelves of pasta and dried beans*. He looks surprised. We leave. A couple of steps later, we enter another shop, 'Open your eyes': *lamps*, *chandeliers*, *ceiling lights*. Kitsch, orientalist, outlandish, all in one. Home décor is part of the journey.

[…]

We stop. Pina lowers my head. 'Open your eyes': *the face of a man rummaging through his car boot in front of a new trendy café at the corner. He smiles.* '*Bonjour*'. I cannot help saying it in this situation, it sounds weird. It is the least I can do, greeting a man I surprised amidst the ordinary mess of his boot. 'Close your eyes'. We enter a building and immediately start climbing steep stairs. First floor, a door. Are we going in or out of the building? The wind rustles like a tarpaulin around me. Where are we? I feel that I am walking on a ledge, as if on a mountain surrounded by this rustling tarpaulin sound. 'Open your eyes': *window boxes*, *plants in large wooden boxes*. I actually am walking along a corridor between plant boxes. We walk a little further then stop. Have I reopened my eyes? I don't remember. We leave. Going down the stairs is riskier than climbing up. I have to be careful. Once downstairs I cannot find the door. I wriggle my leg to find the exit hidden on the left. We go on. The sun, or rather the light faces us. Unknown voices brush by us. Pina raises my head. 'Open your eyes': *75*, *Société française d'automatisme*. The sign I see on arrival. The stroll is over.

Afterwards, I attest that such a stroll provided me with a real, but poetic description of my neighbourhood. Opening one's eyes briefly, one takes a contextualised snapshot. Seen in context during a silent walk, these snapshots impart better sense-making than a gallery or reading a book. As the artist positions one's head and directs one's eyes, she frames a scene and hides the surrounding environment. One's glance focuses on the snapshots while the other senses (hearing, touch and smell) become more receptive. With one's eyes closed, the body senses more the differences in urban forms: going from a narrow street to a boulevard or large square, for example, is signified by the feel of the wind on one's face, the ambient noise or the light.

Art-Based Research: Going Beyond Urban Planners' Practices

Performances: Challenging the Modes of Representation

Art-based methods are new to urban planners so that they find ways of moving beyond their preconceived notions of public space and question their traditional practices. The artists, as they produced several outputs, deliberately chose means of

representation that were very unusual in the context of public administration: there were no maps, no statistics nor synthetic presentations, mainly performances. The artists quoted extracts of the conversations they had had with residents and professionals. For their audience of urban planners these quotations were more meaningful than the usual synthetic presentations as they heard people's voices and expressions of feelings about the public spaces. These performances were staged for the professionals' audience. The artists whispered in their ears as the professionals laid on the floor with their eyes closed. Or, in '*à la fenêtre*', the audience would gaze at a window as the artists wanted to have them focus on their voices and project the residents' voices on their gaze. The performances put them in a unique and singular mood, they were stirred, they felt outside of their routine because of the text itself and the performing process and also, because the scenography of the room during the performances erased hierarchies. They had gained a new understanding of the residents' opinions and views. Months after the experiment, the professionals still qualified this experience as original, disconcerting and efficient. ArtPol's major paradigm, the representation of a problem through art, was met.

Revealing a Multiplicity of Subjectivities

The artistic outputs further demonstrated the specificity of taking into account and even revealing subjectivities, whereas, in the urban planners' world, information is usually objectivised, and personal feelings and perceptions are hidden and even denied. Here, several subjectivities were played out: that of the artist discovering the city, of the urban planners, of the residents, and even the subjectivity of the space itself. Expressing subjectivities revealed their diverseness as well as the diversity of feelings and perceptions of one space.

First, in '*récit croisé*', two artists wrote two stories in parallel after walking and discovering the city together. This approach to observation put some space dysfunctions into focus for the first time. The artists gave personal views of all the perceived incongruities, they used the first person to describe their actions, reactions and feelings and led the readers to grasp the differences between two personal experiences of space. Through '*imagination*, *désir*, *plaisir*' and '*balade des yeux*' the urban planners were also able to discuss their own perception (of the experience, of the urban space) and their subjectivity with the artists who afterwards performed it in front of their colleagues. These performances revealed the urban planners' various reactions as they faced and lived a similar experience. The '*A la fenêtre*' performances gave a voice to the residents' feelings. This process involved choosing and editing the residents' words. The choice of quotations was guided by the artists' perception of what seemed relevant or divergent. They debated over what to include or omit what they disagreed with or what made them feel uncomfortable (safety issues, for example). The use of unedited quotations fully revealed the people's subjectivity and their own appreciation of the landscape. Then, the text provoked a dialogue, people answered one another, picked up on

ideas, or moved to another direction. But this process presented a difficulty as meaning can change when a quotation is out of its context of enunciation. The '*récit d'archives*' and '*cosmogramme*' protocols revealed the most disconcerting subjectivity, that of urban spaces and objects. The artists who worked on the War Monument and the green park treated these as human subjects with their own history, feelings, kinships and relationships. The green park, formerly part of a large private property, became an orphan looking for parents and acquired an affiliation. Similarly, the '*cosmogramme*' revealed the various social practices related to the changes and effects of urban renewal around the War Monument.

The diverse representations of subjectivity exposed the multitude of perceptions and feelings experienced by people who make use of a public space. This was disturbing for the professionals who became aware that they were prejudiced about public space and its uses as they discovered their own diversity, even within a team. Having realised it, they now wished to take into consideration people's perceptions and feelings in their everyday work. But now they faced a new hurdle: how to create a public space that meets so many diverse expectations about urban spaces?

Collaboration Between Artists and Urban Planners as a Reflexive Process

The process of collaboration between artists and urban planners, resulting in a high level of reflexivity on professional practices and prejudices, brings another specificity to this ArtPol experience. Early in their collaboration, the artists felt uncomfortable about the question they were asked to answer. At first, the issue was not clearly stated: ArtPol was asked to explain why renovated public spaces were underused. The words used by urban planners to qualify the issue was 'appropriation'. This is a controversial term, with several meanings and the artists were not satisfied with it. They changed the vocabulary, and instead of 'appropriation', they chose to wonder about 'ties' or 'attachment' to public space. During the early stages of the collaboration they took the time to understand the tacit meaning of the urban planners' question and progressively changed it to: what are the local community's ties to the public space? One artist claimed that to 'question the question' and to explore the social representation and prejudices of the urban planners were the most exciting part of the job. For that purpose, the professionals were free to express their feelings and reactions in discussions following every performance or presentation. For example, after the '*la balade des yeux*' performance, the guided urban planner expressed his perception to the guide (the choregrapher) and after the '*à la fenêtre*' performance, a talking circle was held. Slowly, the focus of the artists turned to the collaboration itself and its effects for professionals superseded the issues related to public space. ArtPol in Rosière became a project of reflexion on urban planners' professional practices and prejudices.

One condition for this reflexive process to take place was that the urban planners were looking for support to question their practices. The facilitator, trained in philosophy, led the reflexion. Her more experienced colleagues also had doubts, but felt they had no time to think about it. Yet, once the process started, although still under time pressure, they were committed to the experience. They realised that making the time to reflect on one's professional practice seems to be a precondition for change. The time spent together and their shared experiences created a bond that bridged the social and professional differences between artists and urban planners. Confidence and mutual trust appeared to raise the urban planners' reflexivity and an awareness of their own expectations and prejudices and, ultimately brought them to question their expertise. This reflexive process meshes with ArtPol's aim to provide professionals with the skills to change their understanding of the problems they face. This is why a variety of documenting materials were produced by the artists.

Learning from the Collaboration Between Artists and Urban Planners

Recognizing Professional Prejudices to Change Practices

The first result of this experiment was the urban planners' realisation that they had rediscovered the city for which they had worked many years. They all found that '*la balade des yeux*' was the turning point in their collaboration with the artists. During the walk, their mood centred on themselves, on their feelings and sensations. During the stroll, they were surprised to see and feel beauty and poetry in a place they had viewed as an unsolvable problem. With their eyes closed, they heard new sounds, felt the ground's irregularities. Feeling the draught in the square, they realised why nobody would stand or sit there. They imagined what they could not see, where they were, where sounds originated. Within the context of their professional activities, these emotions were unexpected. They felt afraid to fall, of looking strange or ridiculous yet they gave their trust to the guide. After their walk they started to question their prejudices and their usual practices. This realisation was reinforced by the following art-based experiments, particularly during the '*à la fenêtre*' performance. Hearing the residents' words, they realised that poor attendance to the green park was not a good indicator of their attachment to the space. Some appreciated looking at the park from their windows even if they did not go there. Others enjoyed its calm and uncongested space. This led the professionals to ask themselves how they could evaluate the success of the park renovation if quantitative data such as attendance was not a good indicator. In turn, they questioned the prejudices and representations of their work, for instance, their understanding of the use of public spaces and of what public spaces should be. For one professional, a 'good' public space was a place where people 'belong', where many different people walk through, stay or interact with others. He referred to public

spaces in Italy and to agorae where citizens feel free to express themselves. He had become aware of people's individual experiences, feelings, expectations and uses of public space and now faced the problem of finding ways to create a public space that would meet the needs of each individual.

Artists as Mediators in Public Consultation

'*A la fenêtre*' opened the opportunity for the professionals to examine another aspect of their practice: the mode of consultation with the residents. Here, the artists acted as intermediaries between the residents and the urban planners. When the artists interviewed the residents in their flats, they invited them to describe what they saw. The interviewee's description of the urban landscape demonstrated their perceptions of the place as much as it revealed their everyday life, their problems and their wishes. Following the interviews, the artists proceeded to mediation through the mode of representation they chose, such as, in the case of this experiment, an oral performance. The residents' words were mediated, translated into another medium. This process of mediation changed the usual relationship between the residents and the public bodies which is often contentious when face to face. These urban planners could now hear and understand the mediated words; here they found the residents' remarks more interesting than those expressed at a public meeting. Interviewed in the familiar setting of their homes rather than in a public meeting or an administrative office, residents were asked to describe what they saw, not to give their wish list; they expressed themselves differently and raised different matters. In comparison, public consultation appears more as an institutionalised outpouring of complaints, recriminations and conflicts than a time for collective thinking and sharing. '*A la fenêtre*' provided new ways of collecting and representing the residents' feelings about their city and space. In describing the view from their window, people shared their everyday lives and expressed their dreams, expectations and even their visions. This opened new perspectives for the urban planners to find better citizen participation and representation models in order to improve communication without confrontation. The local residents' views must be mediated to be heard and the artists have the skills and tools to take on the role of mediators.

Conclusions: Limitations and Challenges

Working Without a Contract

The Rosière urban planners had first asked ArtPol to explain why renovated public spaces were underused. They expected to receive an answer, just as they expected

to receive answers from contractors or suppliers. But as their collaboration progressed, the relationship between the artists and the urban planners changed and, after '*La balade des yeux*', they revised their expectations of the artists' involvement. Through the process of art-based research (meetings, walks, talks and performances) the urban planners realised that their relationship with the artists was quite different from the ones they usually had with suppliers or consultants. They started to understand that ArtPol's role was not to solve their problems, but rather to offer them a new way of approaching these problems.

This was a major change for the professionals. Indeed, working within a public administration presents some constraints: they are accountable for the use of public funds and must document their work. A relationship with ArtPol, however, is based on a simple, signed agreement without legal value, it is informal and there are no milestones, no objective requirements, no deadlines. With ArtPol, the Rosière urban planners worked outside of their usual framework. During this experiment, as there were no legal contracts nor funding, the ArtPol involvement was not officially known at the City Council. The mayor of Rosière was only informed of the collaboration with ArtPol after the last performance and met the artists who were presented as 'students'. Working outside the regular administrative framework is only possible as long as there is no official accountability. This puts some limitations to reproducing the ArtPol-urban planners' collaboration within the regular relationships that exist in public administration: dealing with contractors and suppliers, involving public funds and under the control of an elected representative. Afterwards, the professionals involved, whose team had become more close-knit because they publicly shared their perceptions and feelings, felt unable to share their experience with other colleagues. The professionals claimed that, several months after the end of the experiment, they still wished to pursue the experience and, more than anything, to implement a real project. Yet, even though the artists had presented the research methodology, practised with the urban planners and provided samples, the latter felt unprepared for such implementation on their own and did not have the time to do it.

Questioning the Nature of Art and Its Purpose

ArtPol sees art as a means of representation of public issues. This is a paradigm that the artists involved in the Rosière experiment discussed in interviews. Two main topics of discussion became apparent during the interviews. The first was directly related to the artists' work in Rosière: where and what is art? Most participants considered their performances as a piece of art since they were created by trained professionals (i.e. artists) who had the specific artistic skills to do so. One participant—a choreographer—disagreed with such as view. She did not see the performances as art as they did not satisfy her aesthetic and artistic visions. She saw them as 'homework', had she had the freedom to create her own representations, she would have done it differently. The only aesthetic experience for her was in the

residents' flats, in the unique space-time of that experience, she and the residents were alone and they talked about their visual perceptions as they gazed through the window.

The second issue derived from the first: is ArtPol, and art in general, effective in its interventions on real public issues? During the interview, the artists reflected on the usefulness and effectiveness of giving new representations of a problem to solve it. The ArtPol artists had different opinions as they evaluated the effects of their involvement. As all four came from different artistic fields, with specialised skills and representative modes, they broached the subjects of aesthetical and ethical choices in their discussion. They wondered whether they should be provocative to surprise and entice the professionals to think. They discussed the possibility of producing alternative modes of representation, different from those used by the Rosière urban planners. They debated whether they should create specific art-based research protocols or adapt the methods of the own practices. According to one artist, new and alternative ways of representation are needed to have an impact on urban planners. The choreographer did not believe that art must be efficient. The visual artist expressed the opposite view, she opposed the autonomy of art, for her art should be rooted in reality and that is why she had agreed to work on a real situation with ArtPol.

All the artists expressed their disappointment on two levels during the interviews. They felt that, within the constraints of the ArtPol framework, they did not express their creativity: they were following recipes or doing homework instead of creating new pieces of art. They showed a tension between the problem-interpreting role of art and artistic satisfaction. They expressed frustration that most of their art-based activities had not achieved their artistic goal. Although the urban planners had enjoyed the experience and become stronger as a team, they failed to apply their new skills after the ArtPol experience ended. The artists then ultimately felt that, because of the program constraints, they had had no real impact on the urban planners' professional practice.

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Author Biographies

Elsa Vivant completed a Ph.D. in urban studies at University Paris 8 and a post-doctoral degree at the London School of Economics. She is an assistant professor at the Paris School of Urban Planning. Her research interest is focused on the role of art and culture in urban policies. Following a first research project on artists' interventions in urban projects, she is now focusing on new forms of public administration inspired by industrial design or design thinking.

Nadia Arab holds a Ph.D. in Urban Studies from the Ecole des Ponts ParisTech. She is an accredited Director of Research and professor at the Paris School of Urban Planning. Her field of research is innovation and collective action in the area of urbanism. Her current research interest focuses on changes in the practices, methods and knowledge of city planners, urban designers and urban managers.

Burcu Özdirlik is an architect and urban planner. After working on different projects as a practitioner, she started a Ph.D. in urban planning at the University of Marne-la-Vallée. In parallel to this she has developed a research project on collaborative urban planning and design. She questions and in certain cases develops and tests methods and tools that facilitate stakeholder and citizen participation in urban planning and design projects.

Final Remarks

Monika Murzyn-Kupisz
UNESCO Chair for Heritage and Urban Studies,
Department of Economic and Social History,
Cracow University of Economics,
Kraków,
Poland

Jarosław Działek
Institute of Geography and Spatial Management,
Jagiellonian University,
Kraków,
Poland

As diagnosed by A. Markusen and A. Gadwa, despite growing interest among researchers and policy makers, 'causal theories of the relationships among cultural facilities, industries and workers, and area economic development remain crude and undertested' (Markusen and Gadwa 2010: 383). Similarly, Indergaard et al. (2013: 3) voice a 'clarion call for research on the diverse manifestations the creative city takes in different places'. As follows, the complexity of artists' links with cities and processes of urban change seems to deserve further, more detailed and imaginative analysis. Inquiry into artists' spatial preferences leading to an 'understanding [of] where artists live and work' is consequently an important element of the current research agenda on arts, culture and cities proposed by Markusen (2014: 577). According to her, artists are among the major arts protagonists, next to arts participants and arts organisations, hence her calls for further examination of their location choices, missions, functions and impact within cities. Lingo and Tepper (2013: 348) also advocate attention to 'the role of artists as catalysts of change' and notice that 'studying artists as change agents and system innovators requires new research questions'.

On the one hand, it seems worth critically re-examining dominating narratives and suppositions on artists present in the literature in connection with their functions as economic actors in the city and their involvement in the processes of urban regeneration, gentrification, or development of clusters of artistic and creative

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activities. The state of knowledge on the presence of artists in cities would also benefit from a broadening of the perspective to consider the heterogeneity of artistic creatives, as well as possible resemblances and dissimilarities between artists in geographically varied settings and urban contexts of cities of different sizes, development paths, economic standing, cultural milieu, socio-ethnic composition and national affiliation (Lavanga 2013; Novy and Colomb 2013; Silver and Miller 2013; Grodach et al. 2014; Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz 2014; Zhong 2016).

On the other hand, areas and spheres of artists' multivalent impact on urban development less often showcased and not as frequently present in the literature, or only recently emerging on the research agenda, also deserve further consideration. These include artists' broader community engagement and their possible links with community cohesion and social inclusion, their function as actors raising awareness of and proposing solutions to problems and challenges linked with contemporary urban development, artists' involvement in DIY urbanism, their function as stimulators and managers of serendipity (Vivant 2009; Lingo and Tepper 2013) and initiators of reappropriation and animation of underused sites for community benefit, or their broader potential social and political roles in fostering more creative policy making, urban planning and more inclusive, imaginative urban governance models (Metzger 2011; Novy and Colomb 2013; Borén and Young 2013).

Such potential involvement of artists might be particularly interesting to consider in the light of the rapidly changing political and economic context of urban development witnessed in the last few decades and the exhaustion of the neo-liberal growth model (Indergaard et al. 2013; Kagan and Hahn 2011; Harvey 2012; Novy and Colomb 2013). This is a situation which calls for innovative and imaginative solutions to urban problems and reassessment of certain earlier suppositions as well as broadening and redefinition of some concepts such as creative industries (Potts et al. 2008). Such research should also take into account the fact that artists are present in all economic sectors (commercial, non-profit and community-oriented) and often cross the sectoral divides (Markusen and Gadwa 2010). In line with the above, Silver and Miller (2013: 602) argue for cross-national analyses and contextualization of the 'artistic dividend', in particular the way in which different scenes 'mediate the relationship between artists and different outcomes' of an economic (rents, income) and political (urban activism) nature. The question is also posed as to the type of places in which artists are likely to make a positive impact or be harmful to existing communities (Silver and Miller 2013; Lavanga 2013; Grodach 2010; Grodach et al. 2014). One recurring dilemma, for example, is whether more conducive to sustainable urban development is clustering of artistic activities and hence creation of cultural or creative districts, or decentralized mosaics of artists' locations (Markusen and Gadwa 2010).

As shown in this volume, different ways of researching such issues may include analysis of the presence of artists in a specific city or cities based on statistical and questionnaire survey data, enabling researchers to identify patterns of spatial differentiation of this socio-professional group and location patterns of the creative enterprises and institutions which employ or cooperate with them; case studies of artists' presence and activity in selected areas of the city, including a focus on artists

representing a specific artistic genre; analysis of socio-cultural infrastructure directly or indirectly linked with the presence of artists in urban space (e.g. artists' residencies, performing venues); and qualitative research incorporating interviews with artists and other stakeholders who cooperate with or impact on artists, such as representatives of cultural institutions and firms in the creative sector.

Since no universally applicable definition of an artist exists and if one is proposed it is relative and implies a value judgement, in this monograph a broad understanding of artists has been implied, and narrowed down and applied in particular contexts by individual authors. In the various chapters that comprise the book, artists' activities and their impact on cities have been analysed in the context of this professional and social group which may include people who practice, perform or make a living from any of the creative activities in fields such as visual arts, music, dance, theatre and the media, design, architecture and literature. Some of them may represent 'core', traditional artistic genres or their fusions linked with the notion of 'art for art's sake'; others are more commercially oriented artists associated with 'applied' artistic activities such as photography, design or architecture. Consequently, some contributors to the book made artistic practices a reference point, while others identified artists on the basis of their training and qualifications or their membership of an artistic group. Yet others considered them synonymous with individuals identified as artists within a broader group of creative professionals in surveys and censuses, people employed in artistic organisations or individuals who consider themselves artists. As follows, in the text they were referred to interchangeably as artists, bohemians, artistic professionals, creatives, creative, or the artistic core of the creative class and members of artistic collectives.

As the above literature review and case studies suggest, artists have the potential to influence practically all the—overlapping—dimensions of contemporary socio-economic development processes in cities, ranging from the most obvious cultural, to economic, social and ecological ones. It is also important to emphasize that although artists are often portrayed as able to play a significant, intentional and positive role in urban development, the spectrum of their activities, behaviours and motivations for engaging in the process is very broad and highly ambivalent. It stretches from positive to negative impacts, of a direct or indirect, short-term or long-term nature. It may be purposeful or exerted by chance and unintentional. Artists may act as autonomous agents, members of broader communities and interest groups, or be subject to instrumentalisation (Fig. 1). Some confusion with respect to assessing artists' impact on cities might also arise from conceptual difficulties in distinguishing the impact of artists as individuals from that of artists as collective agents (e.g. the impact of artist communities), the impact of artists from that of art organizations and cultural institutions with which they cooperate, and the impact of artists as professionals from that of artists as residents of the city.

Some of the chapters in the volume question the conventional understanding of artists as one of the main forces of gentrification. In the account of Tatiana Debroux on Saint-Gilles in Brussels, artists are not necessarily pioneers of gentrification but rather 'tools used by urban authorities to reach the standards of the creative city'. Local authorities are happy to use and promote the artistic image of the district by

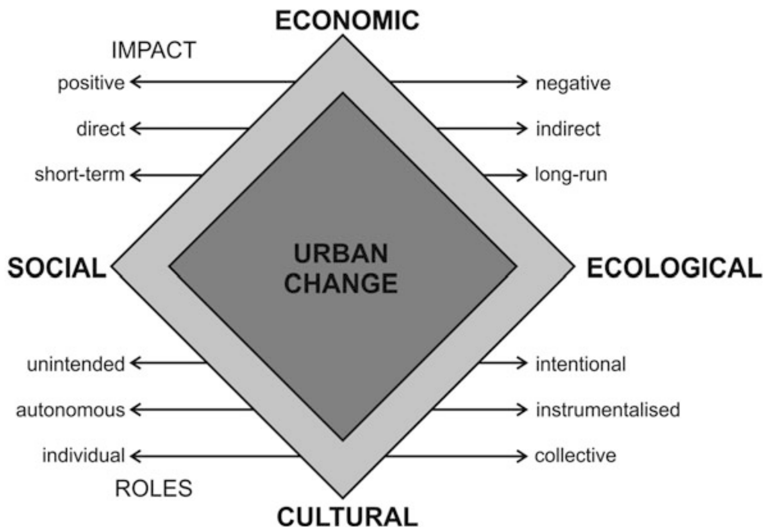

Fig. 1 Dimensions and spectrums of artists' potential impact on the processes of urban change. *Source* own elaboration

supporting flagship cultural events, whereas the issue of stimulating artistic production and less visible expressions of artists presence is not a policy direction that appeals to them. Silvie Jacobi describes how in cities such as Leipzig, where gentrification is delayed and learning from mistakes of other cities is possible, artists are, at least potentially, able to create mutual support and entrepreneurial networks which make their presence in regenerating quarters more sustainable, at the same time balancing between artistic autonomy and market orientation. Artists may therefore herald positive changes in a shrinking city without necessarily displacing anyone. Even in the text by Mariko Ikeda on the Reuters Quarter in Berlin, in which the participation of artists in gentrification and urban regeneration is explicitly acknowledged, the account of the impact made by artists is not as straightforward as one would expect. First of all, they did not arrive in the degraded area entirely spontaneously but were actively encouraged by a private firm supported by public funds, which offered them space for rent. Secondly, they contribute to gentrification not so much as residents but as providers and customers of new shops and services. Last but not least, though they may not be in immediate danger of displacement to other quarters, neither do they derive economic benefits from the arrival of large numbers of tourists. Similarly, performing arts venues can, as shown in the chapter on Barcelona written by Daniel Paül i Agustí, Joan Ganau and Pilar Riera, be initiators and victims of gentrification just as much as other places connected with artists, such as artists' studios, although thanks to linguistic barriers their impact on touristification is weaker. They also take into consideration the impact of public policies linked with the creative sector, such as the Art Factories programme in Barcelona, which has both image-related and economic aims.

One group of texts in the book also point to the need for a more nuanced approach to artists' spatial choices, which is particularly visible in the post-socialist context. The study of artists in Krakow written by Jarosław Działek and Monika Murzyn-Kupisz reveals that Polish artists display ambivalent, often contradictory attitudes towards the idea of artistic quarters. Artists' location patterns are very complex and contingent upon a host of factors, ranging from the existing built environment and urban layout to the long-lasting effects of cultural policies implemented decades ago, the economic situation of a given urban centre, and the personal inclinations of particular creatives. Presenting a lesser known facet of Warsaw's cultural life, Katarzyna Wojnar notices a visible divergence between spaces of independent music production and venues for its consumption in the Polish capital. The former are increasingly being forced out of the city centre, the latter to a greater extent benefit from public support and private sponsorship and are therefore not as prone to suffering from commercial pressures but rather are by definition included in the image-making strategies within neoliberal development agendas of both public authorities and the private sector. She also shows how specific spatial outcomes are the fruit of overlapping of specific local conditions and global trends and changes, such as the transformation of the music sector in the era of digital technologies. In their observation of bohemian agglomerations in Slovenia, Jani Kozina and David Bole unveil a divergence between residential and workplace patterns as well as simultaneous concentration of bohemians on the national level, deconcentration on the metropolitan level, and two-way forces on the neighbourhood level. S. Jacobi in turn draws attention to the issue of the cycle of artistic life and clusters of artists not only within cities but also between cities, as visible in Germany. Finally, the account of developments taking place in Savamala in Belgrade presented by Nikola Jocić, Aljoša Budović and Andreas Winkler showcases how the involvement of foreign financing bodies ranging from the EU to cultural diplomacy institutions representing particular countries (e.g. the Goethe Institute) may add to the longer-term dilemma surrounding the sustainability of artists' presence in urban areas. Even if residential gentrification is not the main threat to the development of Savamala as a cultural quarter, the issues of dependence on external funds and instrumentalisation of its artistic image remain. As such their research opens up a discussion in line with the proposal of Markusen and Gadwa (2010: 385) to examine 'ways in which the politics and interests of external stakeholders shape urban cultural initiatives, programs, and plans'.

Yet another set of texts present accounts of artists' indirect impact on urban development through interpretation of urban heritage, temporary uses of urban space or collaboration with public authorities, in particular urban planners. In her case study of the pop-up Granby Park, organized in the context of post-2008 Dublin experiencing crisis and austerity measures, Niamh Moore-Cherry highlights the abilities of artists to animate abandoned 'meanwhile' places, resulting not only in artistic outcomes but in support for broader social dynamics within the city, ranging from articulation of residents' needs and creation of locus for serendipitous encounters, to artists' initiatives becoming an effective lobbying tool used by municipal authorities in their bargaining with state authorities. Clotilde Kullmann reflects on the use of street art as a means of artistic expression, and successful temporary animation of places and sites, making them known to a broad urban public as a prelude to their redevelopment. By doing so

she underlines not only the diverse meanings of street art in urban spaces but also the changing positions of particular stakeholders in its promotion and instrumentalisation, ranging from public authorities to local and international artists as well as art gallery owners, who become the main protagonists in these new art worlds. Like the artists' studios described by Debroux in the case of Brussels, in Paris street art is subject to local and global instrumentalisation within the framework of urban regeneration rhetoric and metropolitan branding strategies using 'avant-garde' artistic activities.

According to Alexandra Nenko artistic collectives in St. Petersburg are a grassroots response to voids in official urban policies on contemporary art, creating a 'meso-level' of creativity in St. Petersburg and influencing its cultural development using different tactics in the unstable environment that surrounds their evolution into 'think tanks for new ideas… and democratic platforms for their discussion and promotion.' In Berlin artists participate in all three modes of urban memory interpretation and codification proposed by M. Barthel: 'commercially driven', 'public-representative' and 'grass-root laboratory' approaches, which coexist and at times clash in contemporary cities. He also notices that interpretation of heritage by artists might lead not only to stronger social empowerment but also to commercialisation and gentrification in cities.

Thomas Borén and Craig Young use the example of Stockholm to open up a broader debate on the possibilities and modes of cooperation between artists and planners and policy makers, in particular in arriving at new ways of thinking about urban development. They identify five types of conceptual spaces, ranging from ad hoc inclusion of artists in different stages of the planning process, through their function as providers of forums for discussion to other stakeholders, to their deeper immersion in the planning system as integral planners or considering planning as process of art creation. In this way they highlight the possible transformation of artists' roles from a professional group responding to invitations from other actors (in this case planners) to more progressive role as initiators of urban changes and agents contributing to the development of planning imagination. Continuing this theme, in the last chapter, basing their conclusions on the example of a Parisian suburb, Elsa Vivant, Nadia Arab and Burcu Özdirlik discuss whether artists can help urban planners to develop new perspectives on their own professional practices by proposing new ways of interpreting and representing urban issues. Artists in this case study are not so much agents who bring ready solutions and provide urban planners with concrete answers, but rather mediators between planners and the general public and facilitators in making urban planners more sensitive to needs and opinions of other stakeholders and more creative in thinking of solutions to urban planning problems.

The diverse contributions to the book testify to the usefulness of taking into account different spatial scales of artists' presence, from specific sites, spaces and neighbourhoods to broader spatial units such as cities, and different temporal scales for assessing artists' impact – ranging from long-term presence to temporary intervention, which may nonetheless carry some longer-term implications for urban development. Spatial patterns and outcomes of artists' activities in urban space develop in a complex global-local dialectic. As visible from the case studies based in cities in Central and Eastern Europe, so far rarely analysed (cf. Andersson et al. 2011), the creativity script gradually migrates from the west to the east of Europe,

followed by research into the matter. This more or less delayed import is either linked with public and commercial actors transferring 'ready-made' solutions and fashions for flagship projects or promotion methods of some urban areas into new contexts, or happens more organically due to artists' exposure to international trends and grassroots initiatives. The authors who reference cases from this part of Europe also seem to propose that more careful consideration should be given to the split rather than the overlap between places serving different functions to artists such as residential, cultural production and cultural consumption. In addition, they point to weaker chances of artists exerting a significant impact on residential gentrification in post-socialist countries, due in part to the existence of significant amounts of housing stock inherited from communist times and rapid reprivatisation (e.g. in Belgrade, Krakow, Leipzig, Ljubljana).

As evidence presented in the various chapters shows, aside from low prices and availability of vacant spaces or an interesting built environment, the impact of artists or indeed their arrival and clustering in some urban areas is contingent upon a host of other factors such as the presence of or financing of artistic activities by external actors (e.g. in Belgrade), policies prioritizing conversion of post-industrial and other vacant sites implemented by municipal authorities (e.g. in Barcelona), selective support from public authorities for certain types of artistic consumption venues (e.g. in Warsaw), and above all, the city's development path and pressure from stronger economically players such as developers, real-estate agents and tourists (e.g. in Krakow, Berlin or Brussels). Some overlapping themes present in the book include the possibility of clashes between municipal and central government strategies with respect to culture and creativity (as in Belgrade), the role of art schools in the production and reproduction of artistic geography (e.g. Brussels, Leipzig, Krakow) and last but not least the importance of using artist-related images in the promotion of neoliberal urban agendas in cities all over Europe.

Instrumentalisation of artists through their use in urban image creation is omnipresent. Just as local authorities in St. Gilles are happy to use it to lure new middle-class residents to the district, so are the authorities in Barcelona, Belgrade, Paris or Warsaw to promote their cities as emergent creative metropolises. The strategies of generic use of the Montmartre-like label, even if effective in enticing short-run spending and other short-term economic impacts, may prove ineffective in inspiring longer-term sustainable urban development though, since they are applied in a cookie-cutter fashion in countless cities all over the world (Evans 2003; Jakob 2012). It is not particularly liked or desired by many artists either, as is visible in their often critical attitudes towards art-oriented promotion of cities and quarters as places of cultural consumption in which artists are seen as creators of ambiance and suppliers of a metropolitan leisure offer, co-creators of tourism and nightlife scenes. Many artists perceive themselves mainly as 'regular' urban residents involved in creative production. Having said this, however, an interesting direction of research signalled by some chapters is the complex links between artists and the experience economy (e.g. in Paris or Warsaw).

The broader notion of a creative city is related not only to digital technologies, creative or knowledge-intensive economic activities or provision of cultural services but also to imaginative use of urban spaces and finding creative solutions to

urban problems. In contrast to the above, then, one promising role for artists that emerges out of the accounts included in the book is that of intermediaries and facilitators able to introduce new, alternative, creative approaches to urban problems and issues (e.g. in Dublin, Stockholm and Paris) or be forerunners of broader changes in the social, political and cultural milieu of their respective cities (e.g. St. Petersburg). Moreover, the fact that artists are able to arrive at less formal, naturally evolving solutions and projects often makes them cheaper and easier to implement, as they can appear more convincing to the local communities than traditional top-down practices. One of the reasons is that artists, able to turn the transgressive, bohemian myth that continues to surround them to 'practical' use, from the outset appear more 'authorized' to propose out-of-the box solutions or modes of operation stretching existing norms and traditional attitudes. Perhaps in the future then, more consideration should likewise be given to artists as agents able to stimulate more imaginative and fairer urban planning outcomes (Carmon and Fainstein 2013), for example making public spaces more inclusive 'spaces of possibility' in the city (Madanipour et al. 2014) and making urbanites more aware of urban challenges and problems in general.

In addition, this snapshot of experiences of particular cities in a number of European countries provides insight into the problematic position of artists in today's societies. In particular, it showcases the tensions often observed between artistic ambitions and rationales and broader, rising expectations other stakeholders may have of artists, as well as between market and non-market results of their presence in cities. Non-artistic considerations today often overshadow the essence of being an artist and artistic creation, i.e. engaging in creating cultural meanings, goods and services, which requires a certain degree of artistic freedom. As cases referred to in the book show, this is not contradictory to the broader 'usefulness' of artists in the context of urban development. Quite the opposite, they are more likely to create truly unique works of art and develop economically viable, socially useful and inclusive activities or projects when they are given room to make their own decisions with respect to locations and to initiatives they are engaged in rather than commissioned to carry out narrowly defined tasks by public authorities or private actors.

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