

Creative Cities and gentrification:

A compared analysis between Berlin and Madrid

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Master Thesis

Management of Creative Industries

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Submitted by: Della Gaspera, Lara

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1. Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Malte Behrmann

2. Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Yvonne Spielmann

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Abstract

The high-speed urban development of contemporary cities forces their inhabitants to the confrontation with severe phenomena of gentrification. In parallel, definitions such as Creative City, raise awareness on the culture-led strategies for urban renewal at the basis of such processes and on the competitive advantage represented by creativity as a commodity for the global economy. Starting from this basis, it is necessary to critically analyse how its relevance as marketing strategy has been applied to specific areas such as Berlin and Madrid, in the attempt of attracting benefits under the roof of culture. This dissertation follows an explorative design, with as final purpose not only to highlight the connections between creativity and urban development and problematize evident cases of over-urbanization but also to research new, contemporary, strategies and best practice cases for social integration within the creative industry. The qualitative research, based on interviews with experts in the fields of architecture and urbanism, shall serve as basis for future additional research and demonstrate that, if there is a sense of belonging to a certain class, perhaps the creative class, and if cities are being shaped by those creatives, their role becomes fundamentally social. Such professionals could, in this vision, adopt a proactive role, becoming the drivers and the *strategyzers* for social inclusion, in cooperation with the citizens. Political forces and municipalities should, however, facilitate this by fostering proper working conditions and adequate funding within the cultural sector.

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List of abbreviations

ANT	Actor Network Theory
BCN	Barcelona
CC	Creative City
CI	Creative Industries
GDR	German Democratic Republic
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Problem formulation

After 1960, all major western capitals were undergoing a progressive but constant development of their economy towards a service-based system, (Rosler, 2013) gradually operating a de-industrialization of their downtown areas. (Kość, 2013) The urban question deriving by those processes has been part of an intense debate throughout the last decades of the 20th century. (Stanek et. al., 2014) The extensive literature about the implications of urbanism, not only on a mere architectural level but also on a social one, taking into consideration space as a concept and not only as physical asset, (Lefebvre, 2003) cannot be exhaustively reproduced but only tackled in this dissertation, representing one of its evident limits. However, it serves as fundamental basis for investigating on the concept of space on a broader level, considering this as an offspring of the society's organisation and a mirror of what the current economic and social values are, at any historical moment. Hence, leading to the reflection on how to improve this urban space for the citizens on a local level, considering contemporary phenomena such as gentrification and their strong connection with the creative industries. The primary purpose of this dissertation is, as a matter of fact, to enter a dialogue with relevant figures within the creative industries that physically and artistically shape contemporary cities and qualitatively define what the modern strategies for urban inclusion in terms of tangible and intangible assets are, and investigate on whether or not there is a sense of belonging to a class: the creative class.

1.2 Creative experts: The Creative Industry in categories

The empirical research of this dissertation is based upon the interviews of experts in the creative field, the profession of whom is in relation to architecture and urbanism. The choice of the interview partners and their inclusion in the category of creatives is based upon the definition of *Creatives* elaborated by the United Nations conference on trade and development (UNCTAD 2010) and the relative report of 2010. In it, the vast literature on the very definition of Creative Industries is acknowledged and, ultimately, creatives are defined as "(...) both knowledge intensive, and labour intensive, especially those with a high concentration of creative inputs, as occurs, for example, in theatre or film production. The

contribution of the creative industries to employment is usually significant; typically, they account for around 2 to 8 per cent of the workforce in the economy.” (UNCTAD 2010) Starting from this point, the definition of *Creativity* by Richard Florida is applied, considering this as “a human capacity, (...) an intellectual construct that extends to all forms of human potential: the vast storehouse and virtually limitless resource that is human creative capacity.” (Florida, 2005) The report by UNCTAD has been extremely helpful and relevant to divide creatives into categories that could be qualitatively analysed applying the method by Mayring. These are divided into three categories, depending on the characteristic of the creative output of their work: *creative application*, *creative expression* and *creative technology*. (UNCTAD 2010) The fields related to *creative application* are strongly connected to market demand and include: *Art/Antiques trade*, *Architecture*, *Fashion*, *Publishing*, *Advertising* and *Crafts*. The *creative expression* is connected to products not necessarily or not primarily market driven, like music, visual and performing arts, video, film and imaging, radio and TV broadcasting. On the other hand, *creative technology* relies on Internet and software, digital media (gaming and animation) and design (graphic design and web design). (UNCTAD 2010) These three categories are not strongly divided and they mostly overlap. In this dissertation, the creative experts have been chosen mostly from the first category (*creative appliers*), focusing on architects, urbanists and professionals with strong relations to the urban space. The reason is, evidently, the tangible nature of their output and the effort to investigate on whether or not, even in the context of work on demand, this kind of creatives are aware of their role in shaping the creative city. Their direct testimony as professionals has been crucial for the relevant investigation on field about possible strategies for shaping the city of the future: a creative city, where the *Tolerance* (Florida, 2005) is not only applied by and to a restricted élite of culturally elevated people but also on local communities and minorities.

1.3 Objective

This thesis shall serve as trigger for further inputs in terms of elaboration of concrete strategies for social inclusion, deriving by the very same creatives, forced to reflect on their nature as cohesive class and not only as mere individuals shaping the unimagined. The wish is for the creative class to take on a more definite, precise shape and act as contemporary driver, towards a more just city.

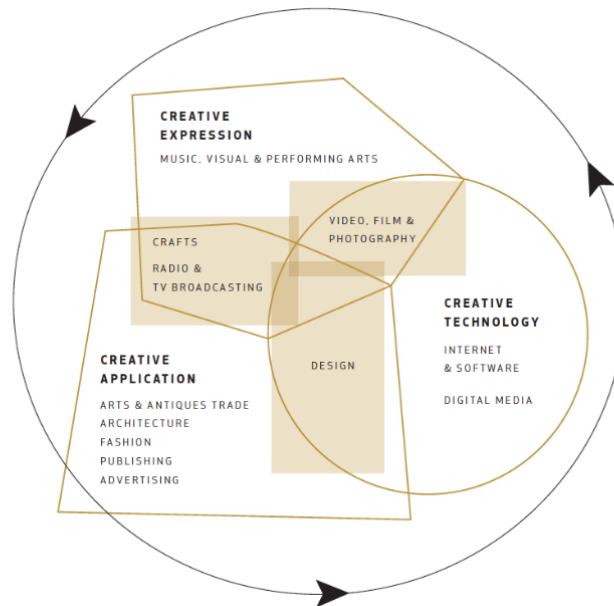


Fig. 1: The Creative Industry in categories (UNCTAD, 2010)

1.4 Structure

The dissertation follows a general to specific structure. On a first level, the developments of global cities after the de-industrialization are described, dedicating space to the concept of the city as actor (Latour, 2005) and strongly referring to the loft-living phenomenon in New York. (Zukin, 2011) The importance of the *experience* and of the *lifestyle* as neologisms is presented as crucial for understanding the shift in values that cities have been undergoing. The focus moves, on a second level, on how similar mechanisms are translated in the Europe of the Sixties, where the counterculture has been dominating the economic and social scene. (Miles, 2011) The pivot narrows down on two cities in particular: Berlin and Madrid. Point of union between them and key concept of the whole dissertation is the definition of creative class as fundamental driving force and economic resource of contemporary cities, according to the definition by Richard Florida. (Florida, 2003) Both cities are considered relevant on the basis their recent history. The German capital, divided by a wall until 1989, has been developing in two speeds, creating a peculiar vacuum to be filled, in terms of space, after the re-union. (Holm, 2009) Berlin still has, in fact, to affirm itself as economic capital of Germany and attract new investors. (Colomb, 2012) Similarly, the political situation of Madrid, under a state of dictatorship until 1975, has been requiring a boost in

terms of economic development, strongly demanded in order to compete with the other European capitals. (Terán, 1999) The two cities are hence compared, considering how, in both cases, culture and creativity have become the key intangible asset to allow an economic growth without necessarily investing in tangible resources. (Rosler, 2013) The label “Creative City” has become, also for Berlin and Madrid, the representation of a competitive advantage in terms of human capital, progressively attracting new resources, talents (Florida, 2005) and, hence, investors. This dissertation seeks to understand until what point the “Creative Class” can be considered as a united cluster of individuals with a specific conscience of class and as drive for social change. Moreover, in the empirical analysis and throughout the fourth chapter, the opinion of creative experts concerning the contemporary progress of cities is illustrated, with the aim of offering a spectrum of strategies for socially inclusive urban development. Due to space and time, the limits of this dissertation are the focus a relatively restricted sector within the creative industries. For an extensive analysis, further studies on different areas of competence and with the focus on other European cities are necessary.

Chapter two: literature review

2.1 Post war de-industrialization and the lost art of urbanism

After 1960 several socio-political phenomena were taking place in the western world, creating an evident discrepancy between generations. (Zukin, 2011) A new counterculture that was partly the offspring of the Vietnam war and partly the successor of a conservative tradition grew to seek new, different ideals, opposite to social injustice, open to multiculturalism, politically engaged and keen to the concept of “getting loose” (Zukin, 2011). The rejection of war and demand of radical social changes in 1960 escalated violently, causing a concrete political impact (Willis, 2015) in many areas of the US and several transatlantic regions. (Kość, 2013) Cities had started a gradual process of de-industrialization, responding to these new protests, taking the shape of real cultural wars, (Kość, 2013) and to a concrete post-war necessity. This gradual de-industrialization had left a physical gap to fill in the mayor capitals. Entire buildings, among which also factories, were empty and needed to be repurposed. For years, the city had been losing its competitive advantage in favour of the suburbs and investors had started to focus their attention on other countries in phase of development. (Zukin, 2011). Considering this post-war state of semi-decay, it was necessary to attract new, wealthy groups of population to contribute to the revitalization of the city and contrast the loss of capital and people. (Rosler, 2013)

As a result of the gradual elimination of the heavy and manufacturing industry, the economy within the city was progressively and systematically moving towards a service-oriented system. The urban question was fundamental for this purpose and the real-estate strategies were increasingly becoming state-led and deliberate for increasing the general welfare, however not necessarily for the benefit of the middle-lower class. (Harvey, 2008) In the new capitalist vision, it was necessary to “kick out the poor” (Rosler, 2013) or at least distribute them following a “desegregating” and “mixing” strategy (Kipfer and Goonewardena, 2014) and giving space to investors through tax reductions and concrete urban organization. (Zukin, 2011) The “diversity planning” phenomenon is entirely post-modern and it responds to a social mixing strategy in favour of the economical growth of the city. It is, however, also a mean for avoiding rebellion caused by the clustering of poorer neighbourhoods. (Kipfer and Goonewardena, 2014) As a matter of fact, an exposure of a problematic part of the population to another class (middle-high) with

a better reputation should, in this vision, contribute to an easier application of state authority, hence, in a broader sense, to the avoidance of further revolutions. (Kipfer and Goonewardena, 2014) These deliberate, state-led mixing strategies have largely contributed to the post-modern phenomenon of gentrification. (Bridge et al., 2012) Under *gentrification* we understand the migration or movement of a wealthier class of population towards a poor area of the city (Zukin, 2011) that has gradually become trendy because of its “controlled” authenticity (Rosler, 2013), “buying and restoring” (Gans, 2009) mostly causing an increase in housing prices and a consequent fled of the original population of the area. (Zukin, 1989) These movements have been highly encouraged by municipalities under the principle of urban regeneration, defined by the Oxford dictionary as “The process of improving derelict or dilapidated districts of a city, typically through redevelopment.”

The effects of state-led urban planning, the process of gentrification and its characteristics in the European context nowadays are going to be discussed in detail further on. The focus will be on two European cities with a peculiar, contemporary history of crisis and division, and on how these two cities developed a very specific relationship to space and creativity. A special attention will be dedicated to the role of creatives in shaping or reconsidering the new, gentrified city. The questions that will eventually be answered are, whether or not, given the huge impact of creativity in contemporary urbanism, it is possible to use this as a tool for social inclusion and what the concrete strategies for this purpose are.

Before moving on, however, it is necessary to focus on the very meaning of urbanism, not only as a concrete, spacial phenomenon but as a social one. (Stanek et al., 2014)

2.2 Beyond space: urbanism as social phenomenon

“Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics. It has always been political and strategic. There is an ideology of space. Because space, which seems homogeneous, which appears as a whole in its objectivity, in its pure form, such as we determine it, is a social product.” (Lefebvre and J. Enders, Michael, 2006)

Henry Lefebvre is among the most controversial and criticized urban sociologists, representing, however, a fundamental contribution to the dialogue on urbanism and a voice of authority in the contemporary sociological paradigm. (Steets, 2014) His merits lay, among others, in the recognition of the multiple aspects of urbanism

(Steets, 2014) and in the acknowledgement of the deep social processes that in it are embedded. The French Sociologist predicted the “complete urbanization of society” (Stanek et al., 2014) as inevitable. Considering the post-modern phenomenon of massive migration towards cities and the huge agglomerations of populations, his theory seems to have translated into a real situation, even though he evidently failed to predict the relevance that digitalization would cover in this scenario. (Florida et al., 2008) The contemporary, giant urban areas have, in the last fifty years, become object of study because of the often-related severe gentrification phenomena that affects the vast majority of the western capitals and, generally, has grown to become urgently global. (Wainwright, 2016) Richard Florida conducted several researches on the “mega-region” phenomenon. By analysing the emission of light data coming from urbanized areas around the globe he has been able to determinate which are the most urbanized ones and how this factor is mostly, necessarily connected to productivity, creativity and innovation factors. (Florida et al., 2008) One of the key concepts that emerge first from Lefebvre’s theory and becomes later the basis of Florida’s research, is that urbanism cannot be considered as a mere agglomeration of space and buildings in a city, it is also a “theoretical construct”. (Lefebvre and J. Enders, Michael, 2006) It is, in fact, “not a pre-given site, space, or object - its demarcation as a zone of thought, representation, imagination, or action can only occur through a process of theoretical abstraction” (Brenner, 2013) Even though Florida bases his research on tangible factors such as light data emission, the core concept is that the physical delimitation of the city is not necessarily its theoretical delimitation. Mega-(urban) regions go beyond physical borders of the city and connect thoughts, trends, innovation and, above all, virtual and non-virtual markets. (Florida et al., 2008) Lefebvre considers the city also in temporal terms, as a process (Stanek et al., 2014) and a continuous dynamic flow. In this sense, the acknowledgement of the virtuality of urban society, (Stanek et al., 2014) hence, its existence as social construct, is crucial. Among urban, virtual, capitalized societies, not only goods but also and especially ideas and circulate. (Rosler, 2013; Florida, 2002) “(The) universality (of space) is produced by processes of abstraction attributed to a range of social practices and reflected in the specific “abstract” experience of modern space.” (Steets, 2014) If urbanism is a social product, (Steets, 2014) and a theoretical construct, (Lefebvre and J. Enders, Michael, 2006) permeating a totality of our lives, if “urbanism is everything” (Moritz, 2018) and everywhere, the natural process of a profit oriented and capital oriented society is to direct and exploit it,

making use of the tools it offers, that are, once again, social products or constructions. (Rosler, 2013)

2.3 Tracing associations: the city as individual and actor

Sociology, according to Bruno Latour, is “not the science of the social but the (one) of ‘tracing associations’”. The adjective social does (hence) not designate a thing among things but rather a type of connection between things that are not themselves social”. (Latour, 2005) In his *Actor-Network-Theory* Latour suggests that in a social system of mutual influences, considering the *social* as a complicated system of connections (networks), not only animated beings but also inanimate objects can become an actor. (Latour, 2005) In fact, “(...) Any thing that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor.” (Latour, 2004) Applying the ANT to the urban paradigm, could contribute to the understanding of the city and its development as a whole set of a strongly correlated and complex social phenomena. (Cvetinovic et al., 2017) In this vision, it might not only be the individual that shapes the city but also the city itself and its specific areas that influence the individual. The question, whether or not the social can be “reassembled” (Latour, 2005) is now no more important than the question, what the relations between the human being and, specifically for this context, the creative, with his environment are. In other words, it is fundamental to apply a scientific approach to the analysis of the creative in his relation to urbanism, considering the global impact that this is now having. (Cvetinovic et al., 2017) The Actor Network Theory is only one of the possible methods that could allow to understand the city in its dynamic and multi-faceted character. It is fundamental for underlining the complexity of the socio-economical events taking place in the new, creative city, and the strong relations between man and space, art and politics, experience and demand.

2.4 At the service of the experiences

After the industrial era, the western economy changed from a system based on the exchange of goods, to a system based on the exchange of experiences. Selling an *experience* is currently considered a highly effective marketing strategy. (Jeannerat, 2013) “Experiential valuation primarily points to alternative models of development, focusing on the local capacity to set attractive and engaging stages and to exploit consumer mobility.” (Jeannerat, 2013)

In this context, it is fundamental to define the most relevant of those *experiences* within the urban landscape. “*Authenticity* has become the trade value in the experience economy.” (Rosler, 2013) It is the authentic experience that the new urban individual requires. Perhaps, contemporary cities have “lost their soul” (Zukin, 2011) to such an extent, undergoing a process of homologation fostered also by the social networks and a process of imitation of idols, that it is necessary to look for the authenticity of whom the individuals are lacking of. New figures, such as the *Hipster* emerge as a “translocal and layered phenomenon with contextually specific claims to authenticity. (Maly and Varis, 2016) Sharon Zukin defines *authenticity* as a “cultural form of power over space that puts pressure on the working class, who can no longer afford to live (in a specific area) ”. (Zukin, 2011) The very word is, in this vision, strongly connected to urbanism and gentrification processes and it appears as the result of a long process of transformation that started after 1960 and developed throughout the years, until becoming the representation of a status quo. The transformation of cities has been so massive that it has influenced also the society’s everyday language, leading to the creation of meaningful neologisms like, in fact, the very word *authentic*. (Zukin, 2011) According to Zukin, there has been a shift of ideals “from the modern city to the authentic city” (Zukin, 2011), where authenticity is a set of artificial, social outputs, result of the exploitation of certain characteristics of this city and, especially, of its inhabitants. This output is generally sold as a product or, again, as an experience (Jeannerat, 2013) or a *lifestyle* (Rosler, 2013) for a very specific class that moves massively towards the cities, colonizing the areas considered trendier. (Zukin, 1989) Authenticity can be defined in different ways. “If (authenticity) is a state of mind, it is historic, local and cool. But if it is a social right, it is (evidently) also poor, ethnic, and democratic.” (Zukin, 2011) It is the definition of “local and cool” that becomes economically interesting and consumer-appealing. (Jeannerat, 2013; Zukin, 2011) In this perspective, movements and natural characteristics such as feminism, homosexuality or race are turned into assets that help achieving this authenticity, hence, from the point of view of producers or municipalities, sell a product. (Jeannerat, 2013; Zukin, 2011) Media translate, in fact, a neighbourhood’s very same identity into a brand (Zukin, 2011) with the presumption of, again, authenticity, realness and bohemian lifestyle. According to Zukin being native of an area “will necessarily imply having seen the neighbourhood change, hence, not perceiving it as authentic.” (Zukin, 2011) The neologism applied as appealing artifice is a mere result of a very subjective and pre-constructed way of thinking “urban authenticity is something that does not exist per se – it can be achieved”

(Zukin, 1989) It can be achieved and it has to be achieved, in order to transform the area in a product appealing for the consumers, because “gentry today wants authentic” (Gans, 2009). When this new authenticity is established, the old inhabitants of the area feel displaced and alienated in the new and unknown space, therefore, they slowly disappear, leaving for cheaper areas, not as trendy and “cool”, but still affordable. (Zukin, 2011) For Zukin, gentrification is a phenomenon so negative it leads to the loss of the very soul of a city, because it causes a rupture in the origins and has the characteristic of being abrupt, unilateral and unfair to all the other classes that are forced to leave.

Consumer’s tastes have become powerful in the 21st century (Zukin, 2011) and new classes have emerged as an influent and interesting target. These new middle class is hungry for authenticity and diversification. “The hipster is a perfect instantiation of this: a translocal, polycentric, layered and stratified micro-population that is not only visible in style and (both local and translocal, and online and offline) infrastructures, but also constantly (re) produced through identity-authenticity discourses.” (Maly and Varis, 2016) The *Hipster* is, however, only one side of a more complex phenomenon and only one layer of a specific social class. Further on, the *creative class* and its fundamental role in the modification of the assets of contemporary cities will be analysed more in detail, trying to underline why creativity is an important asset in urban cities and how it causes processes of gentrification.

2.5 Talent, tolerance and technology: The Creative Class

“First come the artists, then the cranes. As the kamikaze pilots of urban renewal, wherever the creatives go, developers will follow, rents will rise, the artists will move on, and the pre-existing community will be kicked out with them.” (Wainwright, 2016)

It is in this landscape that the “Creative Class”, (Florida, 2002) or “Cultural Class”, (Rosler, 2013) rises. If various sociologists have been tackling the effect of creativity on shaping the cities, see for example Jane Jacobs’ early “The death and life of authentic urban places” (Jacobs, 1961) and later “The economy of cities” (Jacobs, 1969), Florida, rather than focusing on how municipalities make concrete decisions to modify the physical assets of the city, focuses on how factors such as “diversity and creativity” are “basic drivers of (...) innovation and growth” (Florida, 2017) and have a huge impact on the prosperity levels of the cities. (Florida, 2002)

For Florida, it is no longer the raw materials or the companies that create richness: it is a whole social class that he labels as “creative”. This class is based on three specific assets that Florida denominates “the three T’s”: *Talent, Tolerance and Technology*. (Florida, 2002) His statistics demonstrate that the percentage of *talented* people (that he characterizes as people with a degree), the percentage of people from foreign countries (*multiculturalism*), and the percentage of people working in strong connection with technology (national *employment in high-tech sectors*), are all factors strongly connected with the economic success of the main cities around the globe. (Florida, 2002) Already in 1988, David Yencken was proclaiming the necessity for cities to move their attention on assets other than material well-being towards “emotional satisfaction” (Yencken, 2013) Only becoming “creative” would the city have been able to reach this status. For Yencken, “the principle for a creative city is to recognise and encourage variety and complexity.” (Yencken, 2013) This asset could be compared to the “tolerance” factor Florida is talking about. In Yencken’s view, however, western countries did not yet reach the capability of working with complexity, instead of trying to eliminate it. (Yencken, 2013) Taking into consideration the main global cities, this very last boundary has long been crossed at the time Florida suggests that the driving force of change, the creative class, composed by “artists, cultural creatives, students and professionals” is one of the “most effective mass mobilisation today”. (Florida, 2002) Even more complex and strong, in his opinion, than the traditional working-class movements. The strength of these movements has evidently been fostered by the massive digitalization of society (Florida, 2002), however, although apparently virtual, it is a concrete phenomenon “taking shape in space – in real places”. (Florida, 2002) The whole sociological and psychological implications of Florida’s theory, the very same question of why creativity has reached such an importance for the individual in the current society have, for their complexity, to be discussed in detail in a separate study. It is the *effect* of the creative class, that will be analysed in relations to its urban implications, acknowledging the limitations of this analysis because of the natural dynamism of social classes and the continuous development of their characteristics.

2.6 Art means business for New York

In 1970 in New York city, living in a loft, hence, in an old red-bricks factory, had become not only normal but even desirable. (Zukin, 1989) Artists had been living in lofts since 1950, however, starting from 1970, those rather uncommon places,

converted to residential use, had become popular. The abandoned city-centre factories had been originally chosen by artists for specific reasons: their huge space opportunities, the big windows filling the place with light and, most importantly, the low price. (Zukin, 1989) During the de-industrialization, the effort to actually fill these locations had been evident, considering the tax reductions and the low rents consented to those new residents. (Zukin, 2011) With the gradual change of the city and its urgent necessity to develop from an industry-based economy towards a service-based economy and, ultimately, to attract profit, the lofts acquired a whole new status and a whole new role. Zukin identifies three characteristics that generally foster the growth in interest on a determined object, from the consumer's point of view. Those are: *Availability*, *acceptability* (for the consumers), *accessibility* (to a model for the consumers). The demand, however, was not for the lofts themselves, it was for the *lifestyle*. (Zukin, 1989) What lofts had started to represent, in a turbulent period of rebellion, was a concept or, even, an experience. They were, in fact, available, as their huge size allowed a great quantity of flats to be easily created, they had grown to be acceptable, as the artists had colonized them turning them into little works of art themselves, and they were accessible, being not too expensive and still in relatively central areas. (Zukin, 1989) But it was the whole idea of "getting loose" (Rosler, 2013) that emerged strongly from the messy and artsy rooms of those locations, adapted to residential living. There had been a shift in values and a whole new class of citizens, the consumers, was rising up. In 1975, lofts had started to become competitive even for traditional residential locations and, by 1979, the whole concept around them, hence, the great benefit of art and, in a broader sense, of culture, for urban revitalization, was proclaimed by several magazines and newspapers. (Zukin, 1989)



Fig. 2: Art means business for New York, 1970 (Rosler, 2013)

In a new system where the experience plays a central role in consumer's choices, Art and creativity in connection with the selling of goods or, in this case, in connection with the real estate market, seem the ideal twist for creating a whole new branding code. Art and creativity were starting to play a complicit role in the systems of exploitation related to space and visuality. (Rosler, 2013) These had, as a matter of fact, become a possible solution for the pacific and hidden avoidance of political rebellion.

2.7 Architecture or revolution: from the American *Loft* to the European *Underground*

In 1960, several and strong were the critiques to previous urban planning. (Rosler, 2013) The "City of tomorrow" designed by Le Corbusier turned out to be a concentration of immense structures of segregation for the poor (Rosler, 2013) becoming focus of the furious *Situationist's* critique during 1970. (Elliott, 2009) The principle on which Le Corbusier based his urban planning, was that the political riots in cities could be avoided through a different and deliberate architectural system. "It is a question of building, which is at the root of the social unrest of today; architecture or revolution". (Le Corbusier, cited in Leach, 1999) Hence, in this view, by applying a specific architectural strategy it would have been even possible to stem political dissent and calm the masses.

When after 1960 these living projects fell apart, causing unrest among the new, younger society of the counterculture, it was necessary for the municipalities to find a new method for controlling the individuals and avoiding possible rebellions. The cold war was still menacing the global stability, hence, more than ever, there was the need of something beyond the material, something perhaps evanescent but more powerful, a whole new value that could keep the population united and mesmerized. It is in this context that the new, desirable loft life and, most importantly, the whole lifestyle related to it, gradually started to be considered as an important tool for distracting the masses and generating a whole new demand. (Rosler, 2013) Some areas of the city, such as SoHo (south of Houston) that had long been considered industrial, decadent and even dangerous areas, started to become colourful centres of culture, art, design and fashion, (Rosler, 2013) strongly requested on the real estate market by citizens that were not necessarily working in a creative field – first came the artist, then came the lawyer. (Rosler, 2013)

“By the mid-1970s (...) no longer known as South Houston, SoHo had become one of the world’s art centres. It was a chic neighbourhood, an effervescent mix of art galleries, trendy boutiques, fancy restaurants, and manufacturing concerns.” (Petrus, 2003)

By 1980, New York had become the capital of the service sector (Rosler, 2013) and, culture, one of its main products. *Bohemia* was here not only a lifestyle, or a state of mind but also an actual space, where “culture (was) a commodity, available to be consumed locally in entertainment venues and to be exported through traditional culture industries and new media enterprises”. (Lloyd, 2016)

Also in Europe, in the mid-sixties, the counterculture was taking over the economic and social scene. The youth culture was blooming thanks to a new full-employment and a generational change. “In LA, they called themselves freaks; in San Francisco, they were hippies; in New York, they were the underground – it was this term (they) used in London, despite Fleet Street's attempt to dub them Flower Children.” (Miles, 2011) A whole new generation, in protest against the Vietnam war, was deeply influencing the economic and the urban system. The latter, specifically, had started to become an urgent matter in Europe like in the U.S. It was necessary for the political forces to establish a certain level of social order and stem episodes of revolt.

In the Europe of the 60ies and of the 70ies, the *Situationists* where perhaps the cultural movement that more than any other expressed the will to revolt and (artistically) rebel against the previous tradition, harshly criticizing the “sterility and oppression” of the urban environment. (Klimke and Scharloth, 2008) In this context, again, urbanism goes hand in hand with sociology, becoming for them the expression of the city of the past that had to be changed. Popular buildings were defined cages for the poor and elegant historical centres commodity for the rich. (Rosler, 2013) They therefore strongly demanded a new division and organization of the city for the benefit also of the lower classes. Their merit lies also in underlining how the role of images and culture were playing a fundamental role in a capitalistic, consume-driven society.

“The whole life of those societies in which modern conditions of production prevail presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. All that once was directly lived has become mere representation.” (Debord, 1994)

The “spectacle society” of *Guy Debord* anticipates many of the social behaviours affecting contemporary cities. However, not being the purpose of this thesis to enter in detail in its social implications, it is necessary to underline the key aspect of the Situationist’s influence on contemporary cities. Even though the movement was under certain aspects disordered and disorganized, it strongly promoted mixed urban-strategies and the creation of leisure centres within cities. (Sadler, 1998) Art, in their view, should have been removed by the galleries, considered as places that limited it, converting it in a commodity for the capitalism, and be translated in the urban framework. (Klimke and Scharloth, 2008) It was, in fact, the role of the artist to construct collective landscapes and “creatively lived moments in specific urban settings”. It is exactly this aspect of promotion of creativity, spontaneity and a rejection of passiveness (Klimke and Scharloth, 2008) that appears fundamental from a contemporary point of view and in relation to the present development of the creative city.

The European 80ies started to see the rise of a whole new trend of urban planning strategies deriving from leading positions. Among the most famous examples, Margaret Thatcher, the initiator of the main programs for urban “revitalization”, harshly criticized “in terms of her (market-driven) methods and the manner in which (she) sought actively to promote regeneration by replacing a socially ‘redundant’ formerly working-class population with an incoming largely middle-class one”. (Butler, 2007) Some cities had a peculiar development, caused by their specific political situations. In Berlin, for example, the 80ies were seeing the rise of a huge housing crisis, due to the economic recession after 1960. (Kramer, 2018) The specific situation of Berlin, torn between two political forces and physically divided, makes it perhaps one of the most interesting examples of urban development from the 80ies on. In parallel, the south of Europe and especially Spain, was experiencing from the 1970s a “urban dispersion (that) advanced rapidly (...) with urbanization rates growing much faster than population.” (Tombolini et al., 2015) In Spain “the Socialist governments of the 1980s continued to diversify (its) tourist attractions, developing art museums and national parks (...)” (Pack, 2008) There was an evident effort to change the vision of a post-dictatorship Spain and make it more desirable for tourists and investors. Among the European capitals, the cases of Berlin and Madrid in particular allow to make a relevant urban-development parallel, being both of them the offspring of a socio-economic state of division and crisis in the late nineties and having both experienced huge urban changes starting from the eighties and developing

throughout the years until now. The political background of Berlin, the Berliner wall, the *Wende* and the strong immigration towards the city in the last twenty years result in a relevant case of study for the purpose of this dissertation. Similarly, the Madrid of the eighties, five years after its liberation from the *franquist* dictatorship, experiencing a huge urban development towards capital of leisure and tourism, is a suitable example of rapid socio-economic urban growth and it contributes to the thesis that, contemporary phenomena such as gentrification, model city-areas that look always more alike: the expression of the digitalized and creative lifestyle.

In the further chapters, the historical urban development of Berlin and Madrid is analysed in relation to the contemporary phenomena of gentrification and urban renewal. However, the focus of the empirical analysis will not be limited to the mere effects of this phenomenon, but on the concrete strategies that creative urbanists describe for the city of the future. It appears relevant to investigate, in this framework, whether or not such city can be inclusive and, furthermore, if urban welfare can be fostered through specific creative structures.

2.8 Berlin calling

“Destroyed, divided and held captive during a century of chaos and upheaval, borderless Berlin has yet remained a city where drifters, dreamers and outsiders can find a place - and finally run free.”

(Braun, 2015)

After the reunification of Berlin in 1990, it appeared clear that the east-industry was out-dated and that the city needed to financially support its real estate to attract investors and confirm itself as the legitimate new capital, “post-industrial office and service centre” of Europe. (Braun, 2015) The whole city appeared like a “patchwork” of different cultures, architectures and lifestyles. (Braun, 2015) In fact, many areas of east Berlin that had been constructed to embody the communist ideals of unity and hard work, (Levine, 2004) created now a strong contrast with the Europeanized west. The former *Wall* had been spatializing and shaping a two-speed Berlin and, in a broader view, a two-speed Germany, with very specific cultural differences. (Pugh, 2014) In the vision of geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, a place (unnoticed before) becomes visible through rivalry or conflict. (Tuan, cited in Pugh, 2014) In this case, as a matter of fact, the different areas of Berlin became highly visible and iconic throughout Europe especially because of the city’s division. After 1990, a massive amount of people was moving out of the prefabricated, huge high-

rise buildings (*Plattenbauten*) that had been rising during the GDR period, leaving uncontrolled, empty spaces. In *Prenzlauer Berg* many flats were occupied by *squatters* (Pugh, 2014); people, “who unlawfully occupie(d) an uninhabited building or unused land” (Oxford Dictionary, 2018) that contributed to the cheap and hip reputation of east Berlin. (Levine, 2004) Prenzlauer Berg was in fact the first part of the city that started being occupied by outcasts and dissidents (Levine, 2004) gradually transforming into an ideal spot for artists and mavericks that were opening new cultural centres, cafes, restaurants and art galleries. The huge empty areas, the low prices and the multiculturalism of the newcomers were offering in this context the ideal landscape for alternative culture and creativity. (Braun, 2015)

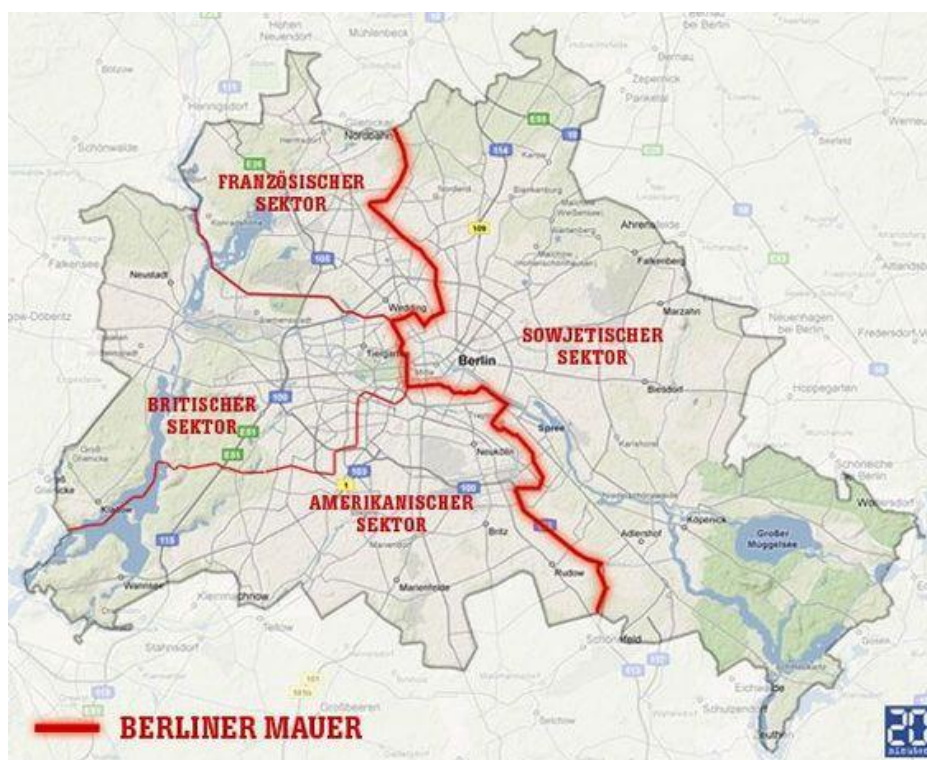


Fig. 3: Berlin's division during the cold war (Google My Maps)

For municipalities and politicians, however, it was necessary to contrast the alarming urban decay and make sure that the new German capital would cope with the other European post-industrialization standards. Holm in 2009 defines Prenzlauer Berg “the battleground of gentrification and displacement” (Holm 2009) describing the urban development affecting this very particular part of the city. In the eastern Berlin of the nineties, the displacement operated was both material and immaterial or, applying the definitions of Peter Marcuse, “direct and indirect”. (Marcuse, 1985) Peter Marcuse’s definition of displacement is re-taken by Holm,

operating a study on the gentrification process of Berlin, and it appears fundamental to understand its characteristics. (Bernt and Holm, 2009) Marcuse mentions five types of displacement: *physical displacement* (for instance, forced eviction of tenant by cutting off the electricity), *economic displacement* (abrupt rising of the rent), *chain displacement* (gradual eviction of all original inhabitants of an area creating a chain effect), *exclusionary displacement* (preventing a certain household to move into a specific building by gentrifying it or allowing the building to decay naturally by not preserving it) and *displacement pressure* (tension perceived by a certain class by seeing all their neighbours moving out and the area change gradually, leading to alienation). (Marcuse, cited in Bernt and Holm, 2009) The causing factors for displacement are not only tangible (direct) but also intangible, or temporal (external) and they mostly affect the original population of one area, mostly the less wealthy part of it, leading to an exodus of inhabitants towards other parts of the city – eventually the suburbs.

In the Berlin of the late nineties the housing situation in the east was a burning topic. (Bernt and Holm, 2009) Several were, in fact, the protests against the rapid changes that were occurring. “We all stay!” (*Wir bleiben alle!*) is one of the most iconic slogans of the period, representing the discontent of East Berlin and the battle against the massive attempt to reorganize the city (*Kampf gegen die Umstrukturierung*). (Holm, 2010) However, by 2001 the policies of “careful urban renewal” adopted to preserve the inhabitants were breaking down to leave space for private investors and a promise of wealth. The gradual gentrification of east Berlin was taken as an obvious and unconditional fact and, together with it, the displacement of certain classes. (Bernt and Holm, 2009) The latter turned out to be even demanded by a new middle-class that complained about squatters or supposed trouble-makers in general: “displacement has itself been displaced as an intellectual and political concept”. (Bernt and Holm, 2009) A change in values was starting to characterize the post-2000 Berlin. Indeed, a whole new city was starting to develop, together with a gradual and constant growth in population. In order to make this city attractive for further investors and to especially attract the middle-high class, urban and architectonical changes were necessary for Berlin to keep up with the standard of other European economic capitals.



Fig. 4: Building in Berlin, „We all stay“ (Stralau Blog)

The German capital had to individuate its unique characteristics and make sure to exploit them for the benefit of its economy. It is in this context that, suddenly, the municipalities started to enunciate the fundamental importance of art for the revitalization of the city. (Rosler, 2013)

2.8.1 Berlin creative city: the culture-led gentrification

“The resurrected cities – brand new, clean, sober, infinitely monotonous, stand on former ruins” (Elon, cited in Meng, 2017)

Due to its particular configuration after the cold war, Berlin has been one of the European cities that most rapidly and harshly experienced a phenomenon of de-industrialization that had as effect, the flight of the middle class towards the peripheral city areas. (Rodner and Forkert, 2015) Artists and creatives had the opportunity to take over empty flats and studios for modest prices, encouraging therefore the creation of art centres, creative communities and transforming entire areas into hip and trendy locations. (Rodner and Forkert, 2015) It was towards the

beginning of the new century that policy-makers and real estate developers started to exploit this very same characteristics, deliberately shaping post-2000 Berlin as “Creative City”, (Colomb, 2012) a city of freedom, of creativity and bohemian spirit, oriented towards investment-offers and the uprising Creative Class. As a matter of fact, the post-reunion Berlin, despite the attempts of presenting itself as new economic capital in high-profile city marketing events, had not succeeded in attracting a specific richness and relevantly elevating its economic status. (Colomb, 2012) It was after 2000, hence, that the attention of policy makers started to be drawn onto the goldmine of neglected spaces that, for several years, had been colonized by artists, used for clubs, music, theatre and other leisure activities. “New images and narratives began to be integrated into Berlin’s official promotional discourse - including sites, places, activities, and people which had been left out of the promotional imagery of the 1990s.” (Colomb, 2012) A “rediscovery of the old town” (*Wiederentdeckung der alten Stadt*) (Holm, 2010), in which cities’ municipalities promoted the renovation of buildings and the restoration of old monuments, started to develop.

However, not all zones were changing at the same speed: the areas that had been occupied by artists first, were the economically most interesting ones because they had been undergoing a process of self-revitalization, without the need for the state to intervene. (Holm, 2010) This phase of urban development has been defined “pioneering stage of gentrification” (Holm, 2010), metaphorically underlining its conquering and colonizing aspect. Gradually, neighbourhoods such as Prenzlauer Berg, the poorest area of Berlin before 1990 (Holm, 2010) became the richest and most requested areas in which to live. A multitude of cafes, nice shops and restaurants were flourishing, together with the progressive raise of the rents, with the effect of evicting the lower class occupying the area before. (Holm, 2010)

“When a family sees the neighbourhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighbourhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less liveable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe.” (Marcuse, 1985)

The phenomena of displacement and gentrification have been massively taking place in the Berlin of the last twenty years. It is important to underline how the

latter, if taking into consideration only the mere economic and architectonic improvement of the cities' areas, does not necessarily generate damaging effects, whereas displacement has but negative consequences, causing social ruptures and polarization. (Marcuse, 1985) In Berlin, these phenomena have been mostly culture-led, exploiting the great quantity of creatives living in the city, fostering a sort of new urban renaissance. (Chen et. al, cited in Crowe, 2015) As a result, the lower class, in economic terms, unable to keep up with the expensive standards of the new creative city has been disappearing from certain neighbourhoods, forced to marginalized areas of the city. (Crowe, 2015) In this sense, it is possible to affirm that in Berlin's service-based economy, culture and creativity have become a commodity from which the middle-higher class can profit and which creates a clear division within the population that can afford and the one that cannot. Florida's "Creative City" model application has failed to include and protect the community from division and reclusion, in a system where culture is exploited for the benefit of the economy. (Jakob, 2010) The auspicated "ethical, just and inclusionary development (of the city)" (Jakob, 2010) is in fact rarely the concrete case. In Berlin, this is also demonstrated by the harsh protests of the population against the high rent prices, the poorly payed jobs and the so-called "loss of identity" of the hoods. In April 2018, 13.000 protestants have walked the streets, demonstrating and asking for justice in the distribution of real estate space, representing one of the biggest protests against gentrification ever done in Berlin. (Tausende protestieren gegen hohe Mieten und Verdrängung, 2018.)



Fig. 5: Building in Berlin, Rigaer Straße, „You sold the whole city“ (taz, 2016)

According to Sharon Zukin, culture is a powerful tool for controlling cities, being a prestigious and well-accepted justification for the application of higher prices and hence for the liberation of some city-areas from lower classes for the benefit of the wealthier ones. (Zukin, 1996) Berlin has, hence, gradually become “poor, sexy and always more expensive” (Krajewski, 2015) due to the exasperation of this process. The *Rigaer Straße* case and the strong protests of the last years that involved wounded policemen and episodes of violence (“Rigaer Straße,” 2016) is a striking example of the immediate consequences of selling entire households to private investors, subsequently evicting the tenants for re-selling or renting the space for higher prices, in an area well-known for its wild cultural and club scene.

In the reassembling of Berlin, the role of culture and creativity has been fundamental. (Crowe, 2015) The complexity of the post-wall urban renewal phenomenon, its political implications, its economic development and its social interactions, need to be investigated separately to allow a more comprehensive and extensive understanding of them. Acknowledging the deliberate strategies of *cultural* exploitation that facilitated the displacement of inhabitants in east Berlin and the consequent gentrification processes is, however, fundamental in anticipation of the next chapter that will outline similar aspects in the Spanish capital.

In the attempt of operating a parallel between Berlin and Madrid, individuating similar patterns in the two European capitals, it is necessary to operate an introduction of Madrid's urban development, deriving like Berlin from a period of crisis and, under certain aspects, rising up from a political rupture, represented here by the long period of dictatorship that ended in 1975. The city will be presented as another case of massive gentrification and displacement of the original inhabitants of one area, towards the attraction of new investors and wealth, following a principle of *artistification* and of culture-led touristification of the area.

2.9 Madrid: from urban to cultural planning

“It is our contention that debates about gentrification in Spain must move beyond the two iconic examples of Barcelona and Bilbao that have been dominating the literature.” (Sequera, 2015)

The late and abrupt incorporation of Spain into the capitalist dynamics of the northern European countries has generated a huge urbanising process during the last decades. (Correa in Terán, 1999) Some of those changes were physical and tangible, representing concrete architectural modifications in the city's conformation, others were social, deeply related with culture, tradition and lifestyle. (Terán, 1999) Similarly to other European cities, the crisis of the seventies and the gradual de-industrialization of urban centres triggered several architectural developments in Spain, a country that was emerging from decades of political dictatorship and was mature for a change of image oriented towards a re-establishment of wealth. (Terán, 1999) After the crisis in 1975, several were the revisions of urban policies and strategies of urban improvement applied. Since space is always an “expression of culture” (Terán, 1999) these revisions accurately reflect a specific historical moment and a cultural process. What makes Spain a relevant case study is its rapid transformation from an almost pre-industrial state to an industrial one in a very short timeframe: „Yes, Spain had acquired a full industrialization, but the result is an incredibly de-equilibrated country in its spacial organization.” (*Sí, España había alcanzado la plena industrialización, pero el resultado era un país extraordinariamente desequilibrado en cuanto a la distribución espacial.*) (Terán, 2015) The massive urban renewal and speculation to attract tourism and wealth has been transforming the country and its assets, generating also here the same gentrification phenomena as in all major global

capitals. Even though the analysis of them is still relatively new in Spain compared to North America (Rodriguez et al., 2001), and especially the inclusion of Madrid among the gentrified cities, close to Barcelona and Bilbao (Sequera, 2015) it is evident that also this city has been spectator of several episodes of urban revitalization through culture. Cultural activities have been fundamental for the economic growth of Spanish cities (Márquez, 2016), factor which incredibly accelerated gentrification. Comparing Spanish cities like Madrid or Barcelona to Berlin, it is evident that in the former, the cultural activities are strongly connected to the promotion of tourism. The rise of the internet 2.0 and the several housing platforms (Booking, Airbnb...) helped transforming Spain in a sort of „huge touristic apartment “. (Márquez, 2016) Spanish cities have undergone a process, where culture has become a service for economic return to attract richness, in other words to attract the new booming creative industry. (Sanchez et. al, cited in Márquez, 2016) Even though the branding or the city-marketing differs among the two countries, it is exactly the individuation of same outcomes in culturally different cities that underlines how urbanism is following the same pattern into shaping the creative city. „Cities that have used culture, whether architecture, design (...) event/ animation or cultural production-based, are celebrated and looked to as successful proponents not only for culture-led regeneration, but also of urban regeneration in general. “ (Evans, 2001) The connection between tourism and culture is best explained under the point of view of consumerism. The “domestication by cappuccino” (Zukin, 1995) takes place in a city, where space is gradually privatized and sold. The very term “domestication” appears accurate for describing the new creative consumer, the one who buys authenticity in small doses and, on the one hand promotes multiculturalism and openness, on the other, causes the displacement of local poor communities. Chain stores such as Starbucks, H&M, Zara and many more will be found identical in their characteristics, both in Berlin and in Madrid. In both cities, the effort of the service-based capital to include culture as an omnipresent service and brand in the market is evident. (Sequera, 2015)

In a growing mercantilization of cities, the neoliberal logic requires an economic justification in the form of profit for all urban decisions. (Grupo de Estudios Antropologicos La Corrala coord., 2016) Spain is applying the current model of the creative, capital city that currently is expanding to all European digitalized cities, gradually establishing itself as the ideal one, in the perspective of an economic return. (Grupo de Estudios Antropologicos La Corrala coord., 2016) For this dissertation, the specific changes occurred in some areas of Madrid like

Lavapiés, represent an appropriate case study for a comparison with East Berlin, because of the similar outcomes in terms of assets. This, despite the cultural differences and the geographical position.

2.9.1 The artistification of Lavapiés

“To consume the cultural offerings of Lavapiés is to consume the projection of a national cultural heritage.” (Feinberg, 2011)

Lavapiés is the most multi-cultural area of Madrid, considered a place, where “old Europe meets new” (Ham, 2006) and where the “struggle to belong” (Jüssen and Youkhana, 2011) has been strongly felt both by the immigrants themselves and by the inhabitants. It is “not an officially designated district of the city. In technical terms, it is nothing more than the name of a metro stop and a plaza.” (Feinberg, 2011) However, it has been defined a “site of embattlement, struggle and abyss”, (Corbalán and Mayock, 2014) referring to the political discrepancies and the protests that have been affecting the hood in the last two decades. Overall, the percentage of not-autoctonous population living in Lavapiés is 50% or more. (Jüssen and Youkhana, 2011) This has conferred to the hood its characteristic colourful and multi-ethnic soul, where arts and crafts have been flourishing throughout the last twenty years. Until 1995, Lavapiés had been absent from the consideration of the population of Madrid and had become a space of decontrol, where everything is allowed. (Carrillo, 2018) It was the place of incongruence, where rockers co-existed with punks, younger with elder, outsiders with mavericks. It was also the first area of the city, where squatters started to occupy flats. (Carillo, 2018) From 1994 to 2004, however, Lavapiés stopped being a chaotic and incongruous mass of culture, buildings and people and started being at the centre of a new attention. (Carrillo, 2018) In 1996, in fact, the new *Urban Development Promotion Law (Ley del suelo)* auspicated private investments in the city centre and a general incrementing of tourism, young professionals and services. (Carrillo, 2018)

EXPOSICIÓN DE MOTIVOS

Dada la situación del mercado de suelo y la vivienda, se hace necesaria la aprobación de unas primeras medidas que ayudarán a incrementar la oferta de suelo con la finalidad de abaratar el suelo disponible. Las modificaciones propuestas de la legislación urbanística están también orientadas a simplificar los procedimientos y a acortar los plazos vigentes. Se conseguirá así, avanzar en el logro del objetivo público de garantizar con mayor facilidad el acceso a la vivienda y a reducir la enorme discrecionalidad ahora existente.

“Due to the current situation of the real estate market and property market, it is necessary to approve certain measures, in order to contribute to the increase of urban ground offer with the aim of making it more affordable. The proposed modifications are also intended for simplifying procedures for accessing the urban space and shortening current excessive waiting times.”

Fig. 6: Fragment of urban legislation in Madrid, 1996

The new law aimed at renewing and revitalizing not only whole buildings and the canalization system but also the very same life of the hood, transforming the whole social structure into “healthier and more alive” through tax reductions for investors. (Carrillo, 2018) Entire buildings had to be disassembled to make space for new and more modern ones that could attract wealth.

Not without protest has the population of the hood welcomed the new real-estate speculation. Movements such as “Re-habi(li)tate Lavapiés” (*Re-habi(li)tar Lavapiés*) tried to raise attention onto phenomena such as the rent of public flats to tourists for higher prices and general speculation. (Pastor, 2018) Lavapiés has been reassembled through public funds, improving the inner and outer physical state of buildings and evacuating entire families, successively renting out those same flats for double the price to tourists (Pastor, 2018) The nineties have been a decade of high tension between squatters and municipalities, ending up with the first forced to leave flats that instantly were demolished. The protests were often connected with artistic movements, phenomenon defined as “social creativity” (*creatividad social*) by Carrillo. (Carrillo, 2018) Festivals, artistic venues and concerts under the motto “The right to the city” were organised throughout the whole Nineties. It is, however, like in many other global examples, exactly this

creative characteristic, this looseness and rebel spontaneity that conferred to Lavapiés the charm that kept on attracting people. “Lavapiés is an example of how cultural production can be considered as a principal driving force behind gentrification.” (Sequera, 2015)

Sequera highlights the characteristics of gentrification in this particular area, defining it *discontinuous*, *state-led*, *tourist-related* and *creativity-related*. (Sequera, 2015) Its discontinuity derives from its concision with high immigration rates and the subsequent struggle between municipalities and immigrants for the urban space, sometimes in favour of the former, sometimes in favour of the latter. Gentrification in Madrid and, generally, in Spain, is state-led and tourist-related, as it responds to a specific strategy to attract richness to the city, as in the example of Berlin. The most important feature of it, however, is its being creativity-led. *Artistification* becomes here a “process that is enacted by urban policies that embrace the entrepreneurial and consumerist re - appropriation of a city transformed into a cluster of thematic parks and a place for cultural performances.” (Delgado cited in Sequera, 2015) In Lavapiés more than in other neighbourhoods of Madrid, the intervention of the state is less strong and it is more the cultural drive that attracts middle class with high cultural level. (Sequera, 2015) “The rhetoric of the creative city as a leitmotiv for urban renewal is (...) a key issue for recent discussions.” (Sequera, 2015) In fact, Lavapiés and its modification throughout the last 10 years, the connection with the contemporary museum Reina Sofia and the creation of several cultural centres, theatres and trendy cafés has functioned as urban renewal, modifying the assets of the area to the point of being defined as “modern urban spectacle”, (Feinberg, 2011) relating to the spectacle presented by the authenticity of the area that is sold to real estate investors. The development of Lavapiés corresponds, once again, to the commodification of local culture and it is strongly connected to especially two mayor cultural institutions the *Museo Nacional Reina Sofia* and the *Teatro Valle Inclán* that were built exactly in this once problematic area to regenerate it. (Feinberg, 2011) As Chris Couch points out, museums stimulate social development, economic regeneration and urban tourism. (Couch and Farr, 2000) They are much more than a mere urban building: they give new value to an area and may foster gentrification processes by attracting talents, hence, subsequently, investors.

2.10 Mixing up the city: creative strategies or creativity as strategy?

“(...) The city of tomorrow can only be built by joining forces, by sharing innovative and creative ideas, by being together engaged. Today, culture and creativity represent new urban centralities that enable social cohesion, vitality and diversity” (“Putting creativity to work for sustainable cities,” 2018)

In Berlin as well as in Madrid, the attempts of enhancing a contemporary, creative urban lifestyle and attracting richness have evidently sought the support of creative structures and cultural institutions. (Carrillo, 2018; Holm, 2015) This strategy has been criticized to the point of being defined a cause of the soul-loss of the city (Zukin, 2011), a consumerist appropriation of the city (Delgado in sequera, 2015), a furtive strategy of a municipality that aims at revitalizing a city without the need of intervening violently, (Holm, 2015) making tourists and gentrifiers guilty of participating to this “urban spectacle” (Feinberg, 2011), in which culture is only a mere tool for culture-led gentrification. Nevertheless, there are concrete examples of social integration under the roof of creativity in both Berlin and Madrid that cannot alone contribute to the invalidation of the former theory, however, can represent a case study and a best practice example to be followed. In the next chapter, the field research among creative professionals in both cities will highlight those best-practice examples offering an insider point of view of experts on contemporary cities and the city of tomorrow. Eventually, creativity itself becomes a multifaceted tool: on the one hand, a trigger for gentrification, on the other, a strategy for urban inclusion, hence, at contemporaneously, a problem and a solution. It is the cooperation between institutions, citizens and professionals that can perhaps determinate its concrete direction.

Chapter three: Methodology for the empirical analysis

3.1 Choosing a research methodology

“Qualitative analysis was born out of concern to understand the other.”
(Vydich et al. cited in Denzin, 2008)

The trigger for this dissertation derives from the personal observations of similarities between specific contemporary urban phenomena in Berlin East and the area of Lavapiés in Madrid, as illustrated in chapter two. In both cities, creativity as immaterial resource and cultural institutions as material asset have accompanied the gradual transformation of the economy towards a service-based system to such extent, that definitions such as “Creative City” have become a discriminator for the success of the city. However, alarming urban phenomena that appear strongly connected to creativity, force to the confrontation with the network of professionals that constitute the current Creative Class. Considering the target that actually does benefit of this creativity, the questions “what kind of city is a “creative city”, where local communities are forced to fled because the rents are too high?” and “what is the role that creativity can play into integrating communities and fostering diversification?” are fundamental. These questions require an adequate investigation through the testimony of the very same creatives that belong to the experts’ category and are partially held responsible for shaping the “Creative City”. “Qualitative inquiries involve asking the kinds of questions that focus on the why and how of human interactions”. (Agee, 2009) This dissertation applies, in fact, a qualitative method, considered in this case as the most adapt to comprehensively understand, “why” creativity has become a fundamental asset for contemporary cities and “how” it can be socially applied to foster inclusion, rather than division. The elaboration of the questions for the qualitative analysis rests on prior literary research, illustrated in the first and second chapter.

A quantitative analysis excludes the subjective point of view of the interviewer and of the interviewed, (Flick, 2009) therefore it is not suitable for the purpose of this dissertation that aims at underlining the personal characteristics and opinions of voices of authority within the creative industry, and highlighting their concrete solutions and proposals. Qualitative inquiry as “reflective process” (Agee, 2009) allows in fact the interviewer more space for personal reflection and becomes here a tool for proposing tangible solutions to problems such as

gentrification and social division. Social interactions are the focus of qualitative analysis, (Strauss, 1987) which develops as a reiterated journey (Flick, 2009) in which the questions are reformulated and repurposed in a continuous dialogue with the interlocutor. This social interaction is a fundamental asset for a sector such as the creative industries, considering their “chaotic nature”. (Florida, 2005) Furthermore, the very question, whether or not creative industries foster urban inclusion requires the active participation of interviewees in order to help continuously formulating new questions and points of view. (Stringer, 2007) Creatives themselves are, through this kind of investigation, forced to reflect on their role as cultural representative and to acknowledge a certain responsibility. This, shall lead to the highlighting of the best practice cases within the two compared cities and, eventually, to the formulation of new strategies or modus operandi.

3.2 The method by Mayring: reliability and validity in the qualitative research

The method applied for the qualitative data collection and analysis is the one by Mayring (2007) that systematically analyses the content of the empirical research. The main difficulties of a qualitative analysis are to gather and explain reliable information and to transmit these information in a relevant and valid manner. (Silverman, 2006) In order to preserve the reliability of the presented information, Silverman suggests to present them in a transparent manner, in order to allow the readers to follow the steps of the research. (Silverman, 2006) The method by Mayring suggests to collect the information following a quantitative pattern, however allowing the interviewed the level of freedom necessary, to develop his/her own theories. (Mayring, 2000) After the collection of the information, it is necessary to analyse those by dividing the material into categories or units. (Mayring, 2000) This has the benefit of exposing the information in a clear and scientific manner. The information can be considered primary, if it contains direct answers to the research question and secondary if it is side information, common for live, recorded interviews. (Mayring, 2000) For the information to be valid, this has to be presented unaltered, through quotes and through the inclusion of the transcription of the recorded interviews. The transcription of the interviews has been attached in Appendix 1 and include the whole conversation with the interviewees. The secondary information that has, for reasons of coherence and space, not been included into the elaboration of the data in chapter five. It can, however, be read in its full length in the mentioned appendix. Chapter four and five

represent a summary of the experts' interviews, with integration of relevant quotes. The previous chapters, one and two, represent the theoretical background upon which the formulation of the questions is based. Since validity has to be based on reliable theory to be coherent, (Silverman, 2006) the literature review serves here as basis for the formulation of a solid and cohesive empirical analysis.

3.3 Semi-structured experts' interviews

In a qualitative analysis, questions can be structured, semi-structured and open. (Kruse, 2014) Structured questions follow a precise line and they have to be answered following the pre-given order. (Kruse, 2014) This model, however, appears not adapt for the purpose of the dissertation, that is to allow the interviewee a certain level of freedom and spontaneity in the exposition of the personal ideas. The applied model has been the semi-structured interview. The interviewees were allowed to speak without following a linear model (Maxwell, 2004) or forcing specific answers, even though the questions served as basis for not going offtopic or leaving out important parts. Hence, many questions were replied in a disordered manner, whereas some were not replied at all.

There are several interview forms in the qualitative analysis, such as *problem-centred interview*, *narrative interview*, *focused interview*, *ethnographic interview* and *expert-interview* (Flick, 2009). The latter is applied in this dissertation, even though in the academy there is an ongoing debate about the efficiency of such resource and its scientific validity. (Bogner et al., 2009) The interviewed experts, however, are fundamental for the basis of this dissertation, that aims at being highly interactive and offering a beneficial contribution to the formulation of creative urban strategies for integration of diversity and protection of citizens from real estate speculation. The problem-centred interview would have been similarly applicable, however, the aim is to look forward and not backwards, in other words, acknowledge the problem and think about possible solution or best practice cases, instead of statically analysing the nature of it. (Kruse, 2014)

3.4 Definition of an expert

An expert is a "person who is responsible for the development, implementation or control of solutions, strategies or policies and has privileged access to information about groups of persons or decision processes." (Meuser et al., 2009) However, this might be critical because it potentially leaves space to personal interpretation

on the validity of one's interview as expert. However, if "knowledge is deciphered as a social activity and the validity of expert knowledge as a construction process that is decoded" (Bogner et al., 2009) the result can be highly interesting from a social point of view as it might lead to unexpected paths. Qualitative analysis can be based on a previous theory research (Mayring, 2007) even though it should not be the main focus. This dissertation is based on a previous extensive research on urbanism, art and social implications of creativity within the city, in order to form relevant questions. The theory is highly important to understand the historical developments that led to the current urban status of both Berlin and Madrid and, from them, to start sketching new, concrete ideas. The empirical analysis aims at suggesting what cannot be analysed by numbers (Silverman, 2009) and take the dissertation further, from a mere analysis to a sort of guidebook and inspiration of a new *modus operandi*. Easy definitions are forbidden in the qualitative analysis (Hammersley, 2013) and this is the main purpose of this dissertation: to avoid general definitions and, on the contrary, allow different opinions to shape a multifaceted landscape, where it is possible to seek solutions, internationally and cross-culturally.

3.5 The choice of the interview-partner

Researcher's credibility rests, according to Geertz, "on the specifics of a place and the people who inhabit that place at a given moment" (Geertz cited in Agee, 2009) For the choice of the experts, it was fundamental to specifically focus on local creatives, predominantly working in the field of urbanism, problematizing the issue as writers, or being directly involved as architect or urbanist. For each interviewed in Berlin, a similar profile has been selected in Madrid, in order to validate a compared analysis. The chart underneath briefly illustrates the interviewed, their positions and specialities, creating a schematizing structure, fundamental for keeping the overview. The experts are listed in alphabetical order, with a division between German interviewees (left) and Spanish interviewees (right). The same order is presented in *appendix 1* in the transcription of the interviews.

<p><u>Interviewee 1:</u></p> <p>Cornelia Dörries: Sociologist, writer and journalist. Author of extensive literature on architecture and urbanism.</p>	<p><u>Interviewee 6:</u></p> <p>Jesus Carrillo: Art professor at Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, writer, journalist. Former director of Museum Reina Sofia in Madrid and member of the city council.</p>
<p><u>Interviewee 2:</u></p> <p>Cornelia Horsch: Designer, Coach and consultant at International Design Center, of which she is the former director.</p>	<p><u>Interviewee 7:</u></p> <p>Miguel Rivas Venegas: Art historian, researcher at Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, former researcher at Museo de Arte Reina Sofia.</p>
<p><u>Interviewee 3:</u></p> <p>Daniela Fleig: Senior Project-manager and director of <i>Inpolis Urban Planning</i> in Berlin.</p>	<p><u>Interviewee 8:</u></p> <p>Richars Mesa: Designer and creative director of ISI creative studio in Madrid and Lima.</p>
<p><u>Interviewee 4:</u></p> <p>Julian Schubert: Co-founder of <i>Something Fantastic</i> creative studio and professor of advanced Design studies at Zurich University.</p>	<p><u>Interviewee 10:</u></p> <p>Unai Fernández de Betoño: Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)</p>
<p><u>Interviewee 5:</u></p> <p>Susanne Prinz: Director of Art Centre: Kunstverein am Rosa Luxemburg Platz in Berlin.</p>	

Fig. 7: Illustrative chart, creative experts Berlin and Madrid

3.6 The importance of a compared study

In the contemporary, globalized, western world, digitalization or the “process of moving to a digital business” (Bloomberg, 2018) has massively changed everyday life, shortening distances, both physically and conceptually. Furthermore, it has also modified the way people work, shaping entire new positions and possibilities. (Florida, 2005) In this landscape, creativity appears to be a key asset for the economic success of cities, attracting talent and investments. (Florida, 2005) The continuous urban growth to the point of formation of authentic mega-regions (Florida et al., 2008), on the other hand, together with the latest massive immigrations of population (Lehne, 2018) is deeply modelling our contemporary everyday life. European cities are now facing concrete struggles in dealing with the amount of human capital constantly migrating towards urban areas, requiring space and services. The economic crisis has, in fact, increased social exclusion and poverty in European cities. (Lefebvre, 2003) In this historical moment of concrete changes, where the state of cities, the phenomena of gentrification and urban exclusion are documentable and documented, also as a result of the omnipresence of social media, it is fundamental to be an aware observer, if not an actor of social change. It is necessary to analyse and compare the strategies for growth and social inclusion that have been successfully applied in different contexts and countries, crossing their borders and individuating best practice cases and concrete solutions. Berlin and Madrid have emerged from a peculiar situation of crisis and have quickly developed, economically, in the last twenty years, applying concrete strategies of cultural promotion in order to attract investors. (Terán, 2015 and Holm, 2015) The goal of this dissertation is to compare their development not from the point of view of creative city-shapers, identifying their strategies in order to foster a cross-country dialogue and a best practice learning.

3.7 Formulation of the questions and scope of the interviews

The formulation of the questions is based on the previous theory research and aims first at investigating on what the role of the interviewed creatives in the current urban development of Berlin or Madrid is, in their opinion. Further on, it seeks to investigate what the point of view of creative experts is about problematic topics such as gentrification and social exclusion within cities. This is fundamental in relation to the first chapter of this dissertation, in which urbanism is analysed not

as a mere architectonic development but as a social phenomenon. In a second phase, the interviewees are asked to offer concrete architectonic solutions for social inclusion, in connection with creativity and urbanism.

The interview guideline is attached in Appendix 1. The explicit goal of the 9 questions, was to obtain a detailed insight in the work of urban creatives and on their eventual proposals for the future of the creative city. The implicit goal was also to investigate on whether or not the interviewed are aware of their role as creatives and if this might be connected to a certain social responsibility.

In order to allow the interviewee to express herself/ himself openly and not feel in any way limited by the questions, two open questions have been included: the first one, asking the expert to present him- / herself and his / her work; and the last one, allowing to add anything not mentioned before and considered relevant. During the interviews, the speakers often replied to posterior questions beforehand. The nature of some interviews, hence, could be closer to an open question method, even though the interviewer constantly went back to the structure, to make sure that the goal of the interview would be achieved. The purpose of the questions should be, to “outline the topic to the interview partner and to create narrative incentives (...) by simple questions (...) comprehensible and similar in style to the interviewee’s everyday life.” (Dresing et al. 2015) In order for the questions to be relevant for a qualitative analysis, it is fundamental to develop a structure that gradually leads to the main core of the investigation. In this case: the creative strategies for social inclusion. Asking this as direct question at the beginning of the interview would compromise a natural flow and a progressive elaboration of the theory from the experts. The interviewee received the questions on the very moment in which the interview started. It was, hence, fundamental to gradually approach the topic in order to allow him / her to feel at ease and elaborate concrete and valuable strategies. (Dresing et al. 2015) The questions, hence, were strategically approaching the main core, following a general to specific structure. The second question, “As creative, what is your relation to the urban space in Berlin” aims at immediately creating a group identity or, eventually, generating the opposite reaction. The scope was for the interviewed to react with consent or dissent to the definition of “creative” and, hence, investigate on whether or not there is a sense of belonging to a cluster. The relation to urban space had to be outlined in order to underline the role and the relevance of the interviewee for this specific topic. The question served also as ice-breaker and, at the same time, focus to give the expert an idea of what the goal and the framework of the interview was. The third question “What is in your opinion the role

of creatives in contemporary cities? Do they have a social role?” forced the expert to reflect on his or her role as creative in his or her landscape, enlarging the focus, creating a connection not only with the tangible assets and characteristics of the definition but also with intangible or social ones. The question “Do you think the role of creatives changed with the digitalization” aims at tackling how creatives and experts set themselves in a contemporary digital landscape and whether their position is positive or rather negative. The implicit goal of the question is to investigate until what level digitalization contributes to phenomena of gentrification or phenomena of loss of creativity. During the posterior analysis, this question has not revealed as useful for the elaboration of concluding theories. Hence, it has been included in the summaries only indirectly. However, it can be read in its full length in Appendix 1. In question number five, the experts were asked, what they understand under the definition “Creative City” and whether or not it can be applied to Berlin or Madrid. This question represents the breaking point in the interview, where the experts were lead to a more profound reflection on marketing and branding strategies, potentially applied within cities. This question is crucial in order for the comprehensive understanding of “Creative City” from the point of view of creatives themselves. Question six, seven and eight seek to precisely and critically investigate on whether or not creative structures, in terms of tangible assets, foster social inclusion, and to which extent they generate gentrification phenomena or urban segregation. Those deeply relate to the first two chapters and the theory elaboration. Answering question nine, strategies in terms of structures, projects and ideas for social inclusion under the roof of creativity, are listed. This is, hence, the most important question of the interview and represents the proactive contribution of the experts to the empirical analysis. The interviewees are gradually led to the development of an idea that culminates into the elaboration of precise inputs for social integration and inclusion. In this part, eventually, yet unknown ideas are expressed and new information is added to the study. Seeking the knowledge of experts for the elaboration of innovative ideas is crucial for a society that wants to improve its social structures and seeks to increase its welfare.

3.8 Timeframe and interview method

The interviews have been conducted over a period of one month and a half (June 20th – August 7th). All the interviews in Berlin have been conducted live and have been recorded per iPhone, in order to not miss important information and not spoil the relaxed atmosphere by constantly writing the answers on paper. The experts

in Madrid have been partially interviewed per Skype (3), and one of them sent the replies in written form. Of the contacted experts 80% replied to the first interview request. The majority, hence, demonstrated interest in the study. The totality of the interviewed experts cooperated enthusiastically. In two cases, the author was invited directly to the house of the expert. In the other cases, the selected location was the office or the studio. The majority of the interviewed has demonstrated high flexibility in the arrangement of the meeting, however, the busy schedule of the experts has sometimes forced the meeting to early or very late moments of the day. One expert in Madrid has not been able to participate in the very last moment, because of personal reasons. Hence, the interviewees in Spain are four, while the ones in Berlin are five.

3.9 Translation of the interviews and transcription rules

In order to preserve the quality of the information, some experts have been interviewed in their mother language (German/ Spanish). The transcription of all interviews has been included, translated, in the appendix. The translation is work of the author. For an appropriate transcription of the interviews, the method applied has been the one by Dresing. (Dresing et al. 2015) Dresing differentiates between a simple and a complex transcription. In the latter, the text includes all the pauses, the emphases and the expressions of the interviewee, guaranteeing a complete spectrum of analysis of the situation, apart from a literary transcription of the spoken language. (Dresing et al. 2015) This complex structure, however, is not relevant for the purpose of this dissertation that rather aims at gathering concrete inputs, without necessarily reproducing the feeling of the interviewee or the particularity of the situation. In fact, the most relevant component of the interview is, in this kind of research, the content and not the manner, even though, special expressions of emphases are underlined by writing the text in capital letters: EXAMPLE.

For the scientific purpose of this dissertation, a simple transcription of the dialogue has been selected. In this kind of transcription, the interview is reported accurately, without summarizing or leaving out information. (Dresing et al. 2015) However, contractions or “slang” forms are avoided and words such as *gonna* are fully written and turn into the more academic form *going to*. (Dresing et al. 2015) Emphasis, apart from the usage of capital letters, can be expressed verbally, through the reiteration of a word or through specific vocabulary (*indeed...*), while pauses are represented by dots in brackets: (...). (Dresing et al. 2015) Some

evident emotions are also expressed in brackets, for example: *(laughs)*. Non-comprehensible words are marked with *(inc.)*.

3.10 Participation in numbers

Out of 13 people contacted in Berlin, five were successfully interviewed. In two cases (*GRAFT*, *Hüetten und Palaeste*) the interest was positive, however, considering the timeframe of the empirical research and the busy schedule of the architects, it has not been possible to organize a meeting. Six people did not answer at all to the request, representing almost 50%. For the interviews in Madrid, 7 requests have been sent out. Out of those five have confirmed their participation, however, only three have agreed on a Skype interview. One interview, as mentioned in sub-chapter 3.9, has been cancelled on the very same day in which it was planned, hence, a substitution has not been possible. Overall, the interviewed have shown great enthusiasm for the participation and have been welcoming, speaking in an open manner. It has been always possible to establish an intimate and friendly atmosphere, factor that has led to a profitable collection of input from the experts.

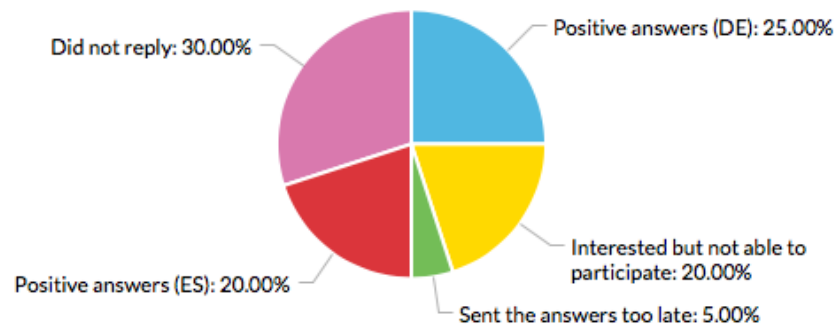


Fig. 8: Participation in numbers: visual chart

Chapter four: analysis of experts' interviews

„It has been said that one can find some of architecture's meaning by looking not at what architects do, but at what they refuse to do. And today some architects like us refuse to be involved in some ideas (...) no confusing architecture with everything that is not architecture; no confusing life with everything that is not LIFE “ (Dogma, 2017)

4.1 Urbanism and creativity in globalized cities

The rapid and massive urban changes that have occurred in contemporary cities in the last decades have been acknowledged by the all of the interviewed experts. The parallel development of those changes with the one of the cultural and creative sector, are highlighted by the interviewees, evidentiating how this has evolved in the different areas of the creative industries. Culture has, in this vision, become an important asset for the economy of cities (IP 1, P. 80 - 81). In fact, “every city is perhaps looking for creative pioneers” (IP 1, P. 80) to give a boost to their industry. Cities are reacting to a demand, fostering creativity as label or authentic branding strategy. (IP 4, P. 100 - 103) This is not only typical for Berlin or Madrid, but for every globalized city at the moment. (I5: P. 105) The process is acknowledged as typical and repetitive: “The creatives come, rents raise, everyone finds it cool and then locals have to move” (IP 2, P. 88) Hence, creatives become a trigger for gentrification, especially in those urban areas that have failed in building up on another sector of more classic economy, like Berlin and Madrid. Those cities, in which “there will not be any other proper industry” (IP 1, P. 79 - 80) have reinvented themselves strongly focusing on culture and creativity trying to recreate the so-called Bilbao-effect (IP 1, P. 81) of attracting richness through the implementation of creative structures that might attract investors. However, it is exactly in urban scenarios like Berlin and Madrid that creatives and cultural institutions did not passively give up on their city. (IP 5, P. 105 - 110) The next chapters will highlight the problems that urban development encountered in Berlin and Madrid and the phenomena of resistance of the creatives, documented by the creative experts. Subsequently, the strategies for a social integration in the creative structures, in terms of intangible and tangible assets, will be listed and illustrated.

4.2 Berlin creative city

Berlin is the “city of permanent change” (IP 3, P. 94), this is its consistency, it does change all the time. Several were the developments in the post-wall period. The city started attracting a high percentage of artists that felt inspired by it (IP 5, P. 107), exactly because of its history, (IP 2, P. 87) and felt attracted to its empty spaces and many opportunities (IP 5, P. 106). Such has been the level of concentration of creatives in Berlin that in 2006 it was nominated *City of Design*, an UNESCO title (IP 3, P. 94). Municipalities invested funds to build upon this definition of Creative City (IP 3, P. 94) and started focusing on the Creative Class as real market force (IP 1, P. 80 - 81). However, certainly it is not possible to generalize (IP 4, P. 102 - 105) and it is necessary to make a distinction between different actors in this Creative Class. (IP 4, P. 102 - 105)

4.2.1 Problematizing the definition of creativity: discording positions

Its comparison with the working class of the nineties could be problematic (IP 1, P. 80), however, certainly there is a sort of sense of belonging to a specific cluster (IP 1, P. 80) even though for some creative experts still the definition of Creative Class is controversial. Cornelia Dörries claims that, as a class, it is divided in itself: some of those creatives work under poor conditions representing “the proletarian stratus of the Creative Class”, while some others, few, can actually make a living out of their creativity. (IP 1, P. 80) Julian Schubert, as architect and designer claims to not consider himself as part of the industry (IP 4, P. 101) expressing his overall scepticism for the term. However, he also underlines how such definition could be used to claim special rights, when working in the cultural sector: “if you claim to be a Creative City, do something (for those creatives)”. (IP 4, P. 103) Susanne Prinz affirms that, according to the sociology of the 20th century, “the city is per se creative” and, for her, the definition of creative city does not make sense if not as a self-branding strategy. (IP 5, P. 108 - 109) She deeply problematizes this definition of class, highlighting the severe current problems of a cluster of people that actually have become “just service personal”. (IP 5, P. 109 - 110) Prinz underlines how, from the point of view of creatives, embracing a “definition, does not mean anything if it is not followed by concrete actions and acts.” (IP 5, P. 109) For Cornelia Horsch, however, Berlin successfully affirmed itself as Creative City. (IP 2, P. 87 - 90) Nevertheless, it was not because of the high concentration of architects and designers but because of its open policy towards immigrants and its

colourfulness (IP 2, P. 87 - 90). If “creativity is finding new solutions to problems” (IP 2, P. 87) in the opinion of Horsch, Berlin after the Wall could successfully find solutions to its status of destroyed and divided city, completely revitalizing some areas and, hence, becoming a creative city. Daniela Fleig states that Berlin is certainly a Creative City and that this, as branding strategy is “certainly not a secret”. However, this should not be considered as a negative asset, on the contrary, creativity allows a certain degree of diversity, tolerance and respect to enter a city and, therefore, it is highly inspiring. (IP 3, P. 95) Fleig, tackles the problematic of the status of creatives, highlighting the importance of decent salaries and pay for a good work. (IP 3, P. 95 - 98) It is evident, hence, that the very definition of Creative City represents a challenge in Berlin and that, even among experts, there are opposite views on the topic. Overall, there is concordance on the fact that salaries should be higher and that creatives are gradually becoming a highly competitive and selective category, in which few really are successful. Nonetheless, the interviewed experts agree on the fact that creatives can eventually have a social role in a city like Berlin, because of their exposure to the public. (IP 5, P. 107 - 110) It is hence interesting to analyse how exactly this social role can translate into concrete strategies of urban inclusion and how, even though divided in itself, the Creative Class can transform into a positive social force in contemporary cities and, eventually, even fight phenomena as gentrification.

4.2.2 A social creativity in Berlin

Considering the creatives as a class, doubts arise on its social nature. Dörries claims that “just because of their numbers”, being that many, creatives “have to have a social role” (IP 1, P. 80). However, from a Marxist point of view also the individuation of a social role is problematic because of the different types of creatives: hence, the different types of necessities and struggles. (IP 1, P. 80) For a creative working 24/7 it might be more difficult to focus on social necessities and becoming a spokesman. (IP 3, P. 97 - 99) Some of them really do try to make a living with very few infrastructures and barely have the time to focus on the social protest. However, some creatives highly contributed to the protest against the gentrification, speculation and the displacement of locals. (IP 5, P. 107) Some architects, even, practice in a way in which “(their job) acquires a social role, being engaged in a social context”. (IP 4, 100 - 104) For Schubert, one might wonder on which is the goal behind this and whether it might not be only a marketing strategy.

He is persuaded that this social inclusion, often connected with a politically left spectrum is often actually excluding some of the people that are not actors of this very same cultural scene. (IP 4, P. 103 - 105) However, he claims “it is great what some architects managed and still manage” (IP 4, P. 103). The alternative context of Berlin has been offering, in his opinion, many chances for architects to apply ideas to empty buildings actually creating places to socially meet. However, the speculation on the market is currently representing a problem for the implementation of new ideas, as it forces architects to compete, depriving them from the freedom of creating what they want. (IP 4, P. 103) “The big problem of our time is not that we (architects) do not have ideas but rather that we cannot implement them” (IP 4, P. 103 - 104). Hence, the highly competitive status of architecture right now deprives these creatives of the energy for being entirely social or, at least, building for the people. (IP 4, P. 103 - 104) For Susanne Prinz, creatives can have a social role but do not have to. (IP 5, P. 106 - 107) It is a matter of choice, however, the massive presence of creatives on the net and their natural exposure to the public makes them, if they decide to be involved, a huge influence through media. (IP 5, P. 104 - 108) In this vision, their social role is highly important and can generate a huge impact. (IP 5, P. 104 - 108) Horsch claims that, in her vision, “everyone has a social role, otherwise (they) would not be human” (IP 2, P. 85), however, creativity as a “problem-solving-tool” (IP 2, P. 85) can be a beneficial instrument for social inclusion. Being this such a vast class, however, some creatives among which the designers, actually foster social exclusion by setting fashion standards that are not reachable for everyone. (IP 2, P. 85 - 86) This is a case of non-beneficial clustering that is also common in the creative class. For Daniela Fleig, creatives contribute in a beneficial way to the social inclusion through festivals, street art, flea markets and little shops. (IP 3, P. 95 - 98) In a city like Berlin, it is actually the small-scale creatives that, only through their existence and resistance to leave a specific area indirectly contribute to a sort of social inclusion and urban protection. Many of those creatives, in her opinion, especially in the fashion sector, are socially engaged especially on the net, “posting a lot”. (IP 5, P. 94) In Fleig’s opinion, creatives in Berlin and elsewhere are “driven by a strong passion” and they are contributing to actually preserve the small-scale market and the human interaction in some areas of the city like Neukölln. (IP 5, P. 94) All of the interviewed experts in Berlin, agree that creatives have a social role and can have a huge impact on the economy of the city and the welfare of the citizens. Further on, the focus will shift on the concrete creative structures and projects for social inclusion.

4.2.3 Existing integrative structures

Some spaces in Berlin claim to “work as inclusion engine” (IP 1, P. 81). Some examples Cornelia Dörries makes are Metropolenhaus and Holzmarkt. Both are housing project that aim at being socially inclusive. The concept behind Metropolenhaus is to create a non-profit space in an area of Berlin with a high immigration background. (IP 1, P. 81) The whole building is dedicated to private apartments apart from the ground floor that remains a free space that can be rent on a non-profit basis and dedicated to cultural activities. (IP 1, P. 81) The idea behind is to create a building-style that forces people buying the flats to also pay for the ground floor, which they are not using, leaving it free and open to the public. Such an example shows the attempt, from the very house owners, to foster cultural activities and integration, by dedicating an entire space to the collectivity. (IP 1, P. 81) The other example Dörries brings, is Holzmarkt: an area next to the Spree-river, built following the principle of life-work-leisure balance, creating a space in which these could co-exist. What emerged was an open space dedicated to music and open-air festivals and a structure of apartments and little offices, mostly working in creative sectors. Julian Schubert lists among the creative structures the project of urban gardening, reclaiming this as an interesting and successful idea. (JS) On the other hand, Susanne Prinz defines the Art centre in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz itself as a socially integrative structure, built exactly in an area of high gentrification danger with the aim of becoming a social entity. (IP 5, P. 105 - 106) “It is actually clearly stated that this is what we do” (IP 5, P. 105 - 106) In this case, it is a project in which various stakeholders have joint forces: property owners, artists, people from the real estate sector and generally people with “interest in the development of the city”. (IP 5, P. 104) Another example by Susanne Prinz, is the project of clustering and organization by a group of artists in Hamburg that initiated a movement including the whole neighbourhood of St. Georg in order to not tear down a series of buildings that, in fact, were not destroyed in the end. (IP 5, P. 104 - 105) On another level, Prinz also mentions the example of Hackescher Mark, the notorious central neighbourhood in the Berlin downtown, claiming that, even though obviously over-populated, it represents a positive example of what happens when investors focus on other areas, like Friedrichsstrasse and Alexanderplatz, and another central area develops naturally as a shopping area full of services. Even though expensive and certainly not for everyone, at least Hackescher Markt, she claims, is living and does not appear deserted. (IP 5, P. 105 - 106) “Spontaneity, on a certain level, can work”. (IP 5, P.

108) Cornelia Horsch presents the example of the International Design Center, not as merely inclusive for everyone because “clearly this is not the goal” being a design centre with the aim of connecting designers; however, certainly playing an important role in developing ideas around “what design can do” (IP 2, P. 87) for the social inclusion. Hence, working more as a mediator and idea developer. Daniela Fleig names as socially inclusive some intangible structures such as Nemonia (Network for fashion and sewing) that closely works with some city areas such as, for example, Neukölln, strongly supporting small enterprises or freelancers working in the fashion sector, representing a structure and a point of connection between institutions and privates. (IP 5, P. 91 - 92) She also mentions other concrete examples such as the Kulturnetz Neukölln and the 48hours-Neukölln, a festival located in a specific area of Berlin, characterized by a great multiculturalism. In this occasion, creatives of every kind and citizens meet in a 48-hours event that takes place in the very same streets of the area. Such an example is, for Daniela Fleig, a good strategy for integration.

4.2.4 How to create cities that work

The abovementioned examples are existing structures and institutions considered relevant by the interviewed experts in the city of Berlin. Some problems arise, however, being those mostly top-down created and not bottom-up. (IP 3, P. 96 - 98) The case of Metropolenhaus will “certainly do something to the neighbourhood” (IP 1, P. 83) but there has to be someone initiating projects and activities to attract the attention of the local population. Otherwise it will remain “an exclusive project with high morals” (IP 1, P. 83). A more human approach is required, hence, when organizing the space. Furthermore, less exclusivity and perhaps more imperfections would attract more strata of citizens. (IP 1, P. 83) Including the citizens would also mean to let them create their own events and spaces. (IP 3, P. 94 - 98) The same concept applies to Holzmarkt, a structure that is inclusive, but not for everybody: “I feel much too old to actually go there” (IP 1, P. 81). The solution could be to create even more varied spaces that could include different ages or, on the other hand, acknowledge that perhaps a space cannot be completely inclusive for everybody. (IP 5, P. 106 - 110) The example by Susanne Prinz shows that perhaps a cooperation between institutions and a state-led cultural protection is an adapt solution to limit the dangerous effects of gentrification in some central areas. Surely, creativity and cultural events are beneficial to create cities that work (IP 5, P. 104 - 110), however, it is fundamental

to include neighbourhoods into the processes of urban planning (IP 3, P. 91 - 98) to avoid events like the construction of the Aufbauhaus in Kreuzberg. This is an example in which architects created a cultural centre, bringing together co-working spaces, creative shops and studios, realizing too late that the social inclusion of locals had been completely missed and that, fostering it in a second moment was not possible. (IP 3, P. 96 - 98) This was a case of failure in the integration of the immigrant community that did not go there at all, when the project was finished. (IP 3, P. 96 - 98) It is, hence, fundamental to plan the creative structures differently, including from the beginning the citizens and creating buildings that fit better a specific neighbourhood.

4.2.5 Strategies for creative integration: behaviours and trends in Berlin

Considering the examples above and the positions of the creative experts in Berlin, it is possible to speak of creative integration in the German capital that is, however, not yet a complete process and still needs revision. Creatives feel they have a certain responsibility (IP 3, P. 91 - 98) and some of them, that they belong to a certain class (IP 1, P. 79 - 84). In this framework, the strategies for creative inclusion are first of all **clustering**. Creatives should gather and acquire a class consciousness (IP 1, P. 79 - 84) to work as united force. Political forces and **state-led initiatives** should foster **improved working conditions** for them to allow them to focus not only on how to make a living, but also on personal creative projects that should **include** the citizens. (IP 3, P. 91 - 98) The very same creatives should **keep informed, be open** to connect, (IP 3, P. 91 - 98) hence, **co-work**. Architects should rethink the importance of socially including the citizens and this should start from their **education**, through university programs focusing on social architecture. (IP 3, P. 96 - 98) The district management should **empower creatives** to create more festivals and socially inclusive events. (IP 3, P. 96 - 98) **Design driven innovation** is a useful tool to create urban solutions that are appealing and can be social. (IP 2, P. 88) Here, again, the **cooperation** between design and citizens becomes crucial but also, design should be at the service of people and not vice versa. (IP 2, P. 85 - 90) Moving from a rental system to a **property-owning** system could avoid gentrification and urban speculation on a certain level, (IP 5, P. 105 - 110) however, shifting an entire system as is the one in Berlin would require time and the state should financially support those, who cannot afford a flat. (IP 5, P. 105 - 110) **Digitalization** offers platforms for visibility and creatives should use those to give underline and address urgent social matters. (IP 5, P. 106)

Furthermore, to foster information and, hence, social inclusion, municipalities should diminish or **simplify the bureaucracy** around the real estate market (IP 3, P. 100) because that is very often too complicated even for architects (IP 3, P. 100). **Inclusion should start from the state** and not only be task of the creatives (IP 3, P. 99 - 105) that, however, play a key role in fostering it.

The following chapters will operate a second analysis, based upon the interviews of the Spanish experts, presented as counterpart or comparison with the German example. Again, a general to specific structure is applied, operating first a brief description of the urban situation in Madrid from the nineties, narrowing down, subsequently, to the elaboration of strategies and the individuation of best practice cases and structures in Madrid.

4.3 The cognitive capitalism and the rise of Lavapiés

The nineties represent a highly relevant period from the point of view of urban renewal and the beginning of gentrification phenomena in Madrid. (IP 6, P. 111) It is also a very turbulent period, the one “from 1998 until 2004” (IP 6, P. 111) considering the counterforces that are present in Madrid Lavapiés, an area undergoing a sudden and fast process of urban development. (IP 6, P. 111) Carrillo defines this period as a “general reconfiguration of the ‘Creative Cities’” (IP 6, P. 111). In Lavapiés, this period is characterized by a high affluence of both Spanish citizens, migrating towards the downtown centre, attracted by the cultural offerings of the city and by an immigration of external people, from other countries, coming to populate an area that would become famous exactly for this colourfulness. (IP 6, P. 111 - 112) The coexistence of these two migrating forces, contributed to the development of this area, as a highly multicultural zone, vibrating with life and different inputs. (IP 6, P. 111 - 112) The very street became “a social leisure place” (IP 6, P. 111) and young individuals from all over Spain were moving to the capital, in search of immaterial, cultural distractions. (IP 6, P. 111 - 112) In this period, in parallel, Spain was strongly shaping its image as touristic destination, heavily developing its urban infrastructures, (IP 9, P. 124) creating what de Betoño defines as a “problematic relation” (IP 9, P. 124) between socio-cultural growth and economic development. (IP 9, P. 124) De Betoño claims that, still today, Spain has not yet reached the same level of consciousness as other European cities, for what is a sustainable urban development, not only in environmental terms but also social. (IP 9, P. 124 - 125) This, refers to the massive investments into the building sector, generating almost an excess of urban structures, in some cases fatal for

the environment and the aesthetics of the city. Focusing on Madrid and especially on areas such as Lavapiés, it is evident that severe phenomena of gentrification have been developing throughout the last decade. (IP 9, P.124 - 128) These phenomena are multifaceted and complex, responding, on the one hand to the push from the very same creatives, fighting to find their very own spot in the city (IP 6, P. 111 – 112) and, on the other, to the desire of municipalities of transforming the urban space through culture to attract further tourists. (IP 9, P. 125) With the new millennium, the change is testified by the galleries and cultural centres that found fertile ground in the area of Lavapiés, strongly neglected before the immigration of those creatives that contributed into raising the interest on this area. (IP 6, P. 112) Apart from the low rents and the free spaces, it was “the fact of having a multicultural population (that) added value to the experience” (IP 6, P. 111) claims Carrillo. Hence, gradually, an area considered marginal, dirty and chaotic, started being centre of attention of speculators. (IP 6, P. 111) Galleries that before were present only in the hip and expensive area of *Salamanca* were fostering an incredible “upgrading of the hood”, emulating, under certain aspects, “the SoHo effect” (IP 9, P. 125) The locals living in Lavapiés were becoming spectators of severe changes that, similarly to some areas of Berlin, were not accepted without protests. (IP 6, P. 111 - 117) However, the creatives, acknowledging that they were themselves causing phenomena of gentrification, (IP 6, P. 111 - 117) were not completely detached by the social implications of their lifestyle, demonstrating support for the local population, involving in protests against urban speculation and, ultimately, declaring to be themselves affected by its negative effects. (IP 6, P. 113) Those very creatives, as reported by the experts, are struggling and fighting still today, sometimes with success, to marginalize the social injustices, deriving by such processes. (IP 8, P. 122) Further on, this implication of creatives in social patterns will be investigated, focusing, in the relative chapter, on the creative strategies for urban inclusion, proposed by the creative experts in Madrid.

4.3.1 A heterogeneous social implication of creatives

The implications of culture for urban development or rather, the fact of creating an urban appeal through it, are evident from the testimony of experts such as Carrillo, de Betoño, Mesa and Rivas. In this landscape, however, it is necessary to investigate on the perception of the social role of creatives in order to operate a coherent comparison with the Berlin case. For de Betoño, creatives can, for

instance “operate social, political and economic critique. Art and the artist can help build a sort of social empowerment.” (IP 9, P. 124) Creatives, hence, can help communities struggling, without necessarily being only a “cog in a wheel” (IP 6, P. 113) and through creative expression. At the same time, Carrillo claims to be critical “with (the) deterministic role (of creatives) in the processes of gentrification as there was no manner to escape this situation. This does not have to necessarily be like this. There are alternatives. This new “creative population” strongly connected to cognitive capitalism or as you like to call it (...) does not necessarily have to be key point in a mechanism of exploitation (...) this is more complex.” (IP 6, P. 113) Creatives have, in the Spanish case perhaps fostered gentrification but, at the same time, they have been supporting those locals affected by the processes, protesting for improved social conditions. They shall not be, hence, considered as negative shapers of an unjust and gentrified city, as the system is more complex and there is no homogeneous solution. Another key point individuated by Carillo, is the huge role creatives play into actually implementing more just and modern social concepts such as the respect for the environment, the acceptance for marriages and unions of couples with the same sex, tolerance for minorities and other positive trends that are fundamental in the lifestyle of the Creative Class. (IP 6, P. 114). These are all aspects that should be considered, in the heterogeneous picture of culture-led urban development. Rivas, on the other hand, claims that it is necessary to not put the whole pressure on one category as is the creative one. (IP 7, P. 118) The “sublimation of those categories” (IP 7, P. 117) has led to privileged positions for their actors that have through it acquired a legitimization as responsible figure for the cultural and social landscape, (IP 7, P. 117) generating a phenomenon of elitist perception of cultural personas but also, an augmentation of the responsibility that this category covers. Rivas claims that the city should not be “the playground of the cultural elite” (IP 7, P. 117) but rather belong to its citizens. Hence, once more, a cooperation between institutions, creative professionals and citizens should be fostered, in order to create cities that work. (IP 6, P. 111 – 117; IP 7, P. 118 - 120) Creatives do have a social role (IP 6, P. 111 – 117; IP 7, P. 118 – 120; IP 8, P. 121 – 125) especially because of their exposure to the public, in some cases. (IP 8, P. 123) Their clustering could certainly lead to a significant political exposure (IP 8, P. 123 - 124) as has been the case in Lavapiés. However, their social responsibility should not be relevant as creatives, but rather as humans, cooperating on a local level. (IP 6, P. 117) The definition of Madrid as Creative City will be further investigated in the following chapter.

4.3.2 Creative City as label

The interviewed experts have demonstrated contradictory opinions on the definition “Creative City”, however, overall, they coincide in the idea that creativity in connection with the city is a neoliberal expression (IP 6, P. 114) and represents a requalification of capitalism by taking advantage of creativity “as a commodity” (IP 6, P. 114) and an “asset to be exploited” (IP 6, P. 114) For Betoño, “Creative City” is a label like many others such as “Green City, City of Sport, City of Vermouth” (IP 9, P. 125). However, Madrid is definitely considered creative for different reasons. Rivas claims that it is such because of “the artistic production of the city” (IP 7, P. 118) and because of the efforts of cultural managers that have worked hard to convert museums and creative structures from hostile to welcoming, for a broader social target. (IP 7, P. 119) For Mesa, Madrid is creative because of the “soul of the city” (IP 8, P. 122 - 124), which means the tolerance for different social strata and different lifestyles and the protection of artisans and handmade production. (IP 8, P. 122 - 124). For Carrillo, Madrid has not yet achieved the definition of “Creative City” that has been applied to other Spanish cities as Barcelona, for instance. However, this is considered as positive, since the creative industry is often connected to a precarious and fluctuating economic stability, because of the intangible nature of its resources. (IP 6, P. 111 - 117) In conclusion, the majority of the interviewed experts consider Madrid as creative “per se” and not because of a branding result. The following chapter lists their strategies and underlines those structures that are considered relevant as positive example of urban inclusion and participation.

4.3.3 Local initiatives and bottom-up strategies

The totality of the interviewees in Madrid expresses the desire for a **more inclusive cultural landscape**, in which culture as such does not play an elitist role (IP 8, 121 - 125). Cultural structures are often considered hostile and reserved to privileged individuals (IP 6, P. 111 - 117). However, the municipality and the direction of Madrid has been strongly working in this direction, developing structures that successfully include several social strata. (IP 7, P. 118 - 120) In some cases, this social inclusion has been purely casual, proving that, an exaggerated effort from the institutions, or an “excess of culture” (IP 6, P. 111 - 117), might not prove itself as positive inclusion engine. (IP 6, P. 111 - 117) **Self-management** as strategy, has been underlined by Carrillo and de Betoño as best

practice for encouraging the citizens' participation to the urban social life. (IP 6, P. 111 – 117; IP 9, P. 124 - 128) Institutions should grasp the efficient outputs of successful self-managing structures and provide them with **funds**, (IP 9, P. 124 - 128) as these structures are often beneficial for the **spontaneous integration of individuals**. (IP 6, P. 115 - 117) De Betoño mentions the network of “**gaztetxeak**” (houses of youth) that started as self-managed creative structures and developed to become cultural centres that, on a second level, received public funding as their importance as social drive and cultural union point was acknowledged by the institutions. (IP 9, P. 125 - 128) This represents an adequate example of **bottom-up** strategy, in which creatives cluster and develop a beneficial public structure of urban creative inclusion. As in the case of Berlin, such methods are again mentioned as valid and more beneficial than pre-given structures to which citizens should adapt. It is necessary to “give back the city to the individuals” (IP 7, P. 118 - 120) and this can be done through the **social inclusion through creative events** and structures. A concrete example of this is mentioned by Rivas, talking about the initiative “**vote for 11 squares**”. This, included the citizens, stimulating a proactive attitude by asking them to develop or rather suggest urban improvements that were felt as necessary. Such initiatives can be considered as “political moves” (IP 7, P. 119) but are still relevant as creative inclusion strategy. Madrid engaged into becoming “an **open source** city” (IP 8, P. 121 - 125), which means that several such strategies are applied with success. “Cultural agents should feel part of the space and create the space” (IP 6, P. 116) claims Carrillo, underlining the examples of **Matadero** and **La Casa Encendida** as best practice cases of creative integration. The Matadero is a structure that includes several co-working spaces, spaces for cultural activities and leisure. This structure was successful, as it built a creative place that allowed contributors to shape this structure as they pleased, without imposing excessive top-down structures. The result was a space, where people of every kind could even go “on Sundays to see what happens” (IP 6, P. 116), hence, a lively place, well integrated socially. La casa encendida, on the other hand, in a cultural institution that strongly works with social themes, offering citizens a platform for political critique together with a spot for creative expression. This represents an example of how creativity and, as macrostructure, culture, considering its public image, can create beneficial contributions to the improvement of city areas, without neglecting the social aspect of urban integration. (IP 7, P. 118 - 120)

4.3.4 From the Creative City to the integrative city

Creativity as asset or resource for economic prosperity can be a complex factor, because of its intangible nature, being often the talent or the “inner resource” of an individual. Hence, for contemporary cities it is necessary to find definitions other than “creative” in order to enhance economic success and to apply different strategies to maintain sustainable. (IP 6, P. 111 - 117) The definition “Creative City” might be coming to a dead end (IP 6, P. 117) also considering the depreciation and devaluation of work that has transformed this “Creative Class” into a huge workforce that might be hypothetically replacing the former working class. (IP 9, P. 124 - 128) Creativity has proved to be a fundamental asset for a city like Madrid (IP 6, P. 111 - 117) however, the interviews with the experts demonstrate that it also causes many disputes, contradictions and actual rejections of the very term “creative”. As long as the “Creative City” will not be integrative, hence, as long as it will work as marketing strategy and a label, the city will not be socially and economically sustainable, because future fluctuations of human resources can be predicted. (IP 6, P. 116 - 117) Madrid works as adequate example of how citizens, among which creatives, have fought to take back the city. (IP 7, P. 118 - 120) However, the over-institutionalized cultural management (IP 6) still represents a barrier to a successful creative integration. Creativity has, in some cases, worked as counterforce to urban speculation and to gentrification (IP 7, P. 118 - 120) generating ambivalent positions and forcing spectators of the phenomenon to wonder about the positive or rather negative effects of the cultural twist. It appears evident that, in a heterogeneous landscape, univocal affirmations and positions are seldom possible (IP 6, 115 - 117) and that, the best examples of integration under the roof of culture are the ones that start from cooperative initiatives.

4.4 Comparing strategies: best practice comparison

The experts’ interviews in Berlin and Madrid highlight common aspects, while underlining the differences of others. This, might depend from the subjective point of view of the selected interviewees and shall not be considered as definitive criteria. Comparison, however, is fundamental to offer a wider spectrum of strategies on a broader level and on a European landscape. The main differences that can be individuated are that, in the German case, the interviewee express the need as creative to receive more support from the state, in terms of assets, resources, infrastructures and funds. (IP 3, P. 91 – 98; IP 4, P. 99 – 105) Education,

in this idea, is seen as a fundamental aspect for fostering and shaping a more responsible and social creative class. (IP 1, P. 79 - 84) On the other hand, the Spanish interviewees express their wish for less institutionalization of culture, more liberty of expression, people-led infrastructures and less standardization. (IP 6, P. 111 – 117; IP 7, P. 118 – 120; IP 9, 124 – 128) For a more comprehensive understanding at the basis of such claims and a justification, it would be necessary to deeply analyse the structure of the cultural institutions and the educational system itself in both countries. The common point individuated in the experts' interviews was an ambivalent and problematic self-definition as creative. This demonstrates how heterogeneous a supposed Creative Class can be and how points of view can differ, according to the professional sector of the interviewee. Generally, the interviewees have demonstrated cohesion in considering creatives as important element for the influence of social factors. Overall, cooperation between individuals, institutions and politics is considered as not yet achieved but certainly pivotal for a healthy and functioning city. It is in this landscape that, perhaps, cultural mediators and creative managers become fundamental for the moderation of such plurality.

Chapter five: conclusion and findings

5.1 Empowerment for creative inclusion

This dissertation problematizes the connection of culture and creativity to urbanism and the development of Creative Cities after the Sixties in Europe. Urbanism is considered here as social phenomenon and revised according to a *Lefebvrian* point of view. Hence, the whole city becomes an actor in a system of forces in which the creatives are questioned on the one hand as eventual part of an engine and on the other one as rather separate, individual class. In a city at the service of the experiences, creativity and culture become an effective marketing strategy to attract prosperity and revitalize problematic areas such as the post wall east Berlin and the multicultural zone of Lavapiés. Authenticity is the keyword in the contemporary branding strategy of cities, in the attempt of attracting consumers that respond to the principals of Talent, Tolerance and Technology, in the vision of Richard Florida. Contemporary cities have been attentive spectators of the so-called Bilbao-effect and are progressively applying creative strategies for urban renewal. Berlin and Madrid are presented in a parallel analysis, individuating in these two cities the same mechanisms of gentrification and urban revitalization under the roof of creativity. Cultural planning and *artistification* of entire areas are advancing in gradually faster processes, as underlined by the interviews with the experts. If the goal of the empirical research has been to find out the strategies for social integration through creativity in this high-speed mechanism, other, unexpected aspects of this sub-group, namely the creative class, have been highlighted. Creatives cannot be easily compared, as they do represent a highly heterogeneous group. There is, however, a certain sense of belonging that characterizes them and, in some cases, responds to the necessities of this category to cluster and to seek a protection, may that be economical or juridical, that the state cannot offer or cannot make accessible. The interview with Daniela Fleig shows how creatives in the fashion field in Berlin protect each other and co-work without necessarily competing. At the same time, Jesus Carrillo, claims that the creatives in Madrid do not necessarily constitute a cog in a wheel of cognitive capitalism but are rather and often a counter-force to over-consumerism. They do, in this vision, promote diversity, tolerance and acceptance, representing, hence, an engine for a healthy city. Their contribution to gentrification is, hence, ambiguous and multifaceted. Creatives can be instrumental in those processes as the vast literature in this field demonstrates, however, they can also contribute to

generate innovative strategies for social inclusion, when sensitized. Nevertheless, this should not be their task only, as Cornelia Dörries claims. It is role of the state, in the opinion of the interviewed experts, to foster those conditions that promote integration and diversity. Policies of protection of the rents should be implemented and creatives should be empowered through policies of prevention from exploitation. Creativity and culture should not be assets reserved to a few but rather or also respond to bottom-up initiatives and, hence, become effective in the attempt of including citizens. Creative structures as the Metropolenhaus, Holzmarkt and other mentioned in the relative chapter, can be an example of good if not best practice, generating social interaction. However, the target they are addressing should be broadened, as interviews show how some creatives themselves feel excluded by such environments. Experts report how a certain spontaneity and the prevention of an excess of control or top-down cultural offer can generate successful cases of social interaction in creative structures like the Matadero in Madrid or the initiative Imagina Madrid. Also education can, through specific programs, contribute to the sensitization of creatives such as architects and designers towards the urgent social needs of contemporary cities. Creatives can, with the application of the right policies and through an appropriate empowerment by cultural leading forces of the state, contribute to shaping improved cities, cities that are socially healthy. However, creativity shall not remain a tool reserved for few. As one of the experts claims: “Everyone is creative and we do need more creatives. Presidents themselves should be creative!”. A revision of the whole term with a broader inclusion of further patterns could hence be beneficial from a social point of view and in the process of improvement and development of contemporary urban centres.

5.2 Points of attrition and limitations of the study

The broadness of the topic represents the first and most relevant limit to this dissertation. On a first level, there are several definitions of creative class and the study might vary with the choice of a different model than the one here presented. On a second level, in connection to this, the choice of the interviewed experts evidently follows a system considered relevant by the author, that should, however, for a more accurate analysis, include a higher number of cases and a perhaps more precise division of groups of creatives in order to guarantee a relevant spectrum of analysis. The quality of the information might be questioned, since some interviews have been conducted live and some others through phone or e-

mail. A personal interaction generates, evidently, a different manner of replying: more direct, more spontaneous and, considering the fastness of the question, with less time to elaborate a more thought-through answer. Hence, the live interviews might perhaps bare a higher level of honesty. However, the elaboration of concrete and complex strategies requires time. Hence, the validity of the written answer shall not be questioned. For what concerns the literature review and the elaboration of the topics such as urbanism and gentrification in contemporary cities after the Sixties, the vast literature theorizing the social city as active entity is such as to necessitate a deeper investigation on its very mechanisms. This dissertation has not the pretention of offering an exhaustive vision on urban complexities but rather to introduce the theme and present a starting point for further investigation.

5.3 Unexpected findings: beyond the creative class

During the research, several experts have suggested that the whole concept of the creative class, developed and debated upon throughout the last twenty years, might be coming to a dead end. In addition to that, some exceptions to the migration of people towards the urban centres have started to develop, with the individuation of cases of the exact opposite trend: the migration towards peripheral areas to escape the urban stress. The digitalization might be a trigger for this trend, constituting a massive factor of change in the Creative Industries, as commented upon by several interviewed experts, but also in the work industry in general. These considerations lead to further questions on whether or not, creative cities will keep existing in the future. Jesus Carrillo expresses his concern on the sustainability of those cities, too strongly connected to the speculation of investors and too dependent on immaterial and intangible resources, such as the input of creatives as part of the service sector. This dependence has, in some cases, already lead to crises and phenomena of drastic decrease of tourism and income in European cities like Barcelona. Recent phenomena such as terrorist attacks and the insurgence of the separatist movement have caused a reduction of migration of talents towards the city, reports Carrillo. Cities might soon have to develop more tangible structures to maintain sustainable and, together with them, more punctual systems of protection of its workers, among which, especially, the very same contributors to the cognitive capitalism: the creative class. Furthermore, a second question arises: if the creative class is a concept of the past, what stands beyond it? In an always faster digital environment, the rise of different and more accurate categories in the future can perhaps already be predicted. Further investigation in

this direction shall lead to potentially comprehensive answers and additional findings.

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A1: Appendix 1

1. Could you tell me something about you or your current projects?
2. As creative, what is your relation to the urban space in Berlin?
3. What is in your opinion the role of creatives (artists, architects...) in contemporary cities? Do they have a social role?
4. Do you think the role of creatives changed with the digitalization?
5. What do you understand under the definition "Creative City"? Do you think it can be applied to Berlin?
6. Are creative spaces within the city (galleries, museums, architectonic spaces in general...) socially inclusive? What is their importance?
7. Do you think that creative spaces, built to revitalize some areas of the city, can eventually cause gentrification phenomena?
8. How can citizens and locals take benefit from the creative centres and structures? Can architecture foster social inclusion?
9. Could you give me one concrete example of urban creative structure or architectonic project that could be beneficial for the community?
10. Do you want to add something that has not been mentioned yet?

Interviewee 1: Cornelia Dörries, sociologist and journalist with focus on architecture and urbanism

I: Could you tell me something about yourself or about your current projects?

CD: Ok. I am 48 years old and I have been working as journalist and editor for several projects, involving a wide range of publications actually dealing with urban development. I am currently working on a volume that talks about retail and about how this has developed and how the city has changed with it. It is more of a historical project because it covers the whole last century. It is going to be a big one. With a lot of authors and experts. I focus mainly on the coordination between them. This is something that keeps me very busy at the moment. There are, however, a lot of side projects and minor articles. I am not focusing on architecture solely because I am also interested in what architecture socially reflects in the direction urban development.

I: For the purpose of this thesis, for me it is also very interesting to focus on what architecture actually means socially. So, it is very interesting. Retail is also developed through urbanism?

CD: I think this old-fashioned retail system is badly under depression because of the internet. What this means in term of urban development is profound. You would not notice that when you pass through Berlin because there are a lot of shops and bars, in every corner. But if you leave Berlin, just 30 km north, there are deserted urban centres. There is no shop anymore. City and retail used to be strongly connected. Urban development was always linked to retail. The link is broken and no one actually knows what that means. Now, you just don't go to a shop to buy things, when it is just a click away. You need other reasons. Something you cannot order online. An experience or a lifestyle.

I: Does this contribute to gentrification in a way?

CD: These shops actually benefit from gentrification. Especially in cities like Berlin. They do benefit from it. I think they make a lot of profit through tourists or rich people, who move there. If you go around here in Prenzlauer Berg there is hardly any normal store anymore. Only expensive stores... You can't buy milk or normal

bread. You get manufactured bread. It reflects also the preferences of the people who live there.

I: As creative, what is your relation to the urban space in Berlin?

CD: I think in terms of urban development the big changes have started to take place since 2006... that is when it really started. The boost to the development. I think people like me, I think creative class is the term, they have turned into a market force. I think the creative class is divided in itself. Many of them, for example working for online magazines, are poor. This is the proletarian stratum of the creative class. They work for huge magazines for their online issues and there are people like the start-up pioneers or people who managed to get venture capital... they are also part of the creative class but they have nothing in common with those typists. This digital age creates its own workforce. And it is divided like the industrial workforce. You have the owners and you have the workers. And this is the same in the digital age.

I: Do you think the role of creatives changed with the digitalization?

CD: To make a living here, you have to sell your work. So, you are forced to produce something. I think it is harder now than it used to be. Hardly anybody can live out of it. Just a handful of people. The vast majority is invisible and needs to earn a living as waiter, accountant or whatever. I myself have experienced very often the "this is a good idea... I think we can do that". But I never got paid for it. This is something very common in this field.

I: What is in your opinion the role of creatives in contemporary cities? Do they have a social role?

CD: Just because of their number, they have to have a social role. Because we are so many! And I think we face the same pressures and conditions about how to make a living. So, I think there is a social meaning or relevance. If you think about it from a Marxist point of view... I don't have the terms in English... *theoretisch müsste man das mit Marx versuchen zu beantworten. Diesen Klassenbewusstsein für sich. Also, wenn man jetzt sagt, die "Creative Class", diese wäre eine soziale Klasse, da müsste man gucken welche Interessen (...) what interest they share. Who is their enemy and what are the conditions they work in and what constitutes*

a class conscience. I think it is quite difficult to conceive them as class, because they are so divided: there is the very successful creative, which used to be like those companies who used to work for advertising. They were the pioneers of the creative class. And now you have so many people, who try to be successful. But it is a struggle really.

I: What do you understand under the definition *Creative City*? Do you think it can be applied to Berlin?

This creative city term by Richard Florida fits Berlin's reputation or what it is popular for. It has so much to do with the people that started working here as creative and made the city creative. I think there will not be any other proper industry. It has gone after WWII and it is not coming back. It is vice and virtue in one.

I: Are creative spaces within the city socially inclusive? What is their importance?

CD: I like the idea of spaces that work as an inclusion engine. But I have my doubts that that's really realistic. I wonder, whether the migrants that live, for instance, next to *Metropolenhause* do really feel "oh, here is where I want to do something creative." I read a lot about the *Holzmarkt* example. I am not sure about what exactly is so inclusive about it. It is a very homogeneous group of people, who share the same views, mainly from the same social background. I do not go there myself, because I feel much too old. I do not think it is very inclusive. It is an exclusive project with high morals. I think the *Metropolenhause* idea is a very warm-hearted and very humanistic approach to open development. It sounds very nice but for the moment it seems like a vision, or a dream. Let's see.

I: Do you think that creative spaces, built to revitalize some areas of the city, can eventually cause gentrification phenomena?

CD: Yes, this is a normal process of gentrification. There are the pioneers, perhaps the squatters that use devastated places, ruins (...) and start something. The problem now is that this circle of people with no money but good ideas (...) and the gentrifiers that come after, with the money to buy the spaces (...) this circle has become so quick. The dynamics have become so fast. As soon as there are cafes, or galleries (...) the area becomes interesting for real estate developers. This goes quick. There is almost no process anymore. It is a uniformed development in the

major cities. They call it the Bilbao effect. Every shitty town was struggling, trying to recreate the same effect. Like (...) Erfurt is a small town really, perhaps they are bankrupt in the meantime (...) they invited famous architects to build museums trying to recreate the same effect, without success.

I: In Kassel, the *Dokumenta* is attracting a lot of people too.

CD: The *Dokumenta* is rather an event that brings people there every 5 years. What is stimulating the urban development in Kassel is rather its University. The *Dokumenta* is rather like a firework of a summer and then Kassel becomes boring again.

I: How can citizens and locals take benefit from the creative centres and structures? Can architecture foster social inclusion? What could be a possible strategy?

CD: The thing is, as soon as there is a creative core, the strategies of the developers (...) as soon as people want to be there, the real estate is interested in the area. Every city is perhaps looking for creative pioneers. I do not think the state should necessary intervene. But the rents should be regulated. Rents and social housing do not exist anymore. The *Mietspiegel* in Berlin does not even make sense, because it covers only the rents of the last four years, not considering the people that live in an apartment since longer and that are not part of the *Mietspiegel* anymore. Digital creative platforms like Airbnb withdraw apartments from the housing market as holiday apartment. The offer for the people that has to live somewhere shrinks. Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg are the perfect examples of the bad things that can happen through Airbnb. The finance industries have discovered the housing market as profit unit so this is something really negative. There is no political strategy, they just sit and watch. I think actually Universities and schools can implement creative strategies to contribute to a beneficial urban development. Universities are known for their potential benefit for urban centres. Perhaps schools are more of an unknown agent for that.

I: Could you give me one concrete example of urban creative structure or architectonic project that could be beneficial for the community?

CD: I think the *Metropolenhaus* will probably do something to the neighbourhood. For example, the schools there work a lot with creativity and people. Many of them are migrants. I believe, if they go there and experience something new, something open, it might be beneficial. There was a project: *Kreuzberg klingt*, I think, where they were crafting instruments and lamps and stools (...) These projects always need someone to initiate it. In this case it was the school. If they do it without the school, someone who is giving directions (...) I wonder if it can happen naturally. The *Metropolenhaus* shows that it is possible to build a non-profit space. The property owner, who bought the apartments, support this non-profit space. These are private people: it is a very normal market project. They built this house and now sell the space to wealthy people for a considerably higher price, that includes the space underneath. This is basically financed by the owners and it serves as non-profit base.

I: Do you want to add something that has not been mentioned yet?

Not really.

Interviewee 2: Cornelia Horsch, former director of International Design Center of Berlin, Consultant for Design thinking and Design Strategies

I: Could you tell me something about you and about the projects you are currently working on?

CH: I am Cornelia Horsch and from the professional point of view I am designer. I studied industrial design but did a lot also in communication design. I also did a lot of design management. In the last years, I have been director of the IDZ, which I stopped. Now I started a coaching and supervision project for creatives or people that have to do with creative people (*laughs*). It is a training program I am currently working on.

I: What is your relation to the urban space?

CH: I am not so typical because in the last years my relation to urban space changed a lot. For me the city now is taking a lot of energy and I am actually thinking about moving out. It really is about nature. However, there are things I enjoy in the city, always enjoyed and always will. Perhaps this is really typical about Berlin because it is really colourful and people are very different. You cannot really try to be so evident that someone notices you. No one would notice. On the other hand, it is also sad because many times you are socially isolated. We do not know about each-other and we do not care. You really are free to look like you want but on the other hand everyone is really selfish. I would like to say that I do enjoy the cultural program but often I just enjoy the fact that it is there but barely find the time to participate to it or cannot select among the mass of offer. It is interesting because I lived in Basel and there I was so much more into exhibitions and events. Because you could have an overview. There is not this overwhelming offer. I find it embarrassing about myself but you actually do half of what you could do.

I: Did you perceive any urban changes in Berlin over time?

CH: I moved to Berlin in 1991, right after the wall came down. I moved to my apartment in 1994. Here, I was one of the first to move that out of the city. *Schönhauser Allee* was really way, way out. It was quite far in the east. There was no telephone and basically no shops. You would find two, three supermarkets, some bakeries and some butcher. And then there was a post office and that is it.

There was no shopping. That was a big transition. I am not sure you can generalize. This is very typical of eastern Berlin and how it developed. This is definitely *Prenzlauer Berg*. Until 1999 and 2000, young people moved in here. Young creative professionals that started having children. I think especially Prenzlauer Berg did not have (...) I mean, the locals moved out, not because they did not like it anymore. They started moving out because they were annoyed by the status of their flats, without heating and with a lot of problems. They were looking for nice and renovated flats. They wanted comfort. They preferred to live in a flat in *Marzahn*. They wanted the *Neubau*. It was not their standard. They did not appreciate this picturesque flair. There was space and young people moved in. Like me in that time. I feel here there are people from different nations but you do not have a predominant one. It is really mixed. Not maybe like Wedding or Kreuzberg. You hear a lot of languages. There were a lot of changes. By the cars, you could tell. You could sit down on the balcony and watch the gentrification happen. The houses started renovating. One house after the other started renovating the façade. Some buildings were so devastated. Windows with holes (...) You could tell by the facades. Everything was leftover and black. In the Rigaerstrasse or Castanienallee there were some occupied houses. Now they still live there in another form. As a family you get two, three rooms and everybody is cooking for everybody. I do not know many occupied houses.

I: Do you think creatives have a social role?

CH: Everyone has a social role, otherwise he or she is not human. For me creativity is not bound to profession but rather personality. There are creative people in every profession. And we need them, otherwise we are lost. We need creative presidents. I really think that creativity is very important. Education should focus much more on creativity as problem-solving tool. I am part of the so-called creative profession. But sometimes I think creatives are not necessarily the most creative people. Does not mean they are the most creative. From my personal development (...) when I started studying design, the most precious thing was not the technique but learning to have another perspective on things. Other than "this thing is red; this thing is ugly" (...) trying to have a first look at things and not first judging what it is. Is this a table or not (...) To have a more open look or view, I think. That was the most precious thing I took with me. Probably the contribution of creatives is exactly this, that you do not get so much driven into repetitive patterns, where everything is written before. To have more openness can be a contribution of creatives. It can

be but does not have to. Also, creatives can be caught by the trap. They set standards, like, this is the way it has to be, and then they are not open anymore. I think they can have an impact if they engage socially. It can however also lead to more snobbism. It is not necessary, but sometimes there are really narrow criteria of what is cool and makes a person. Those are little details, but really. You do not belong to the community anymore. I think this can easily happen. In that case the contribution is doubtful. I think we should not narrow down creative thinking and creative acting to people who create jobs. People only can do their job well when they are creative. Does not matter what you do. You can only do a good job when you are creative.

I: Did the role of creatives change with the digitalization?

CH: The designers started using new tools and having new work. Like Web-Design in the early nineties. Web-Design was really cool. Some were starting doing websites and sorting out (...) there was a whole branch development. An architect told me that, at the very beginning, with the computer programs they were using, you could tell with which program the house had been done. Because the program is so limited that it repeated patterns, on a certain moment. As a human, you can think everything. This computer however has modules and realises them. This architect was able to tell, from the houses of the eighties or nineties, which program had been used. Because it was narrowed down. The language was limited. It is a machine with a special algorithm. The programs were really limited but the people were using them because they were new and ground-breaking. Anyway, the role changed for everyone, actually. Sometimes I ask myself what would happen without internet for one month. The world would collapse. There were times where people were able to live without it but now not anymore. On the other hand, it is also so helpful, for the communication. We are getting a bit stupid and narrowed down by it, however.

I: Can Berlin be defined as *Creative City*?

CH: Berlin did it. They really wanted to be the creative city. They also had a lot of arguments. I would say yes but probably more because Berlin is so much developing and changing. And many people are moving over here. Berlin has always been a melting pot, also before. Cities that attract people from other countries attract people that are looking for something. Who are these people?

They are eager (...) they want to change things. So, they come here, they have a lot of energy (...) Berlin had a lot of *Fugenotten*. Evangelist French. They were pursued in France and Berlin took them. "Bei uns in Berlin kann jeder nach seiner facon leben und glücklich sein" (Here in Berlin, everyone can live according to his was and be happy). A lot of French people came here. This is how a city attracts people from other nations that start doing something new. And they have to organize the city in a new way and find new solutions to problems. Because actually creativity is to find a new solution to problems. And finding new ways to do something. Berlin is a very creative city. But not because there are so many architects and designers.

I: Can creative spaces be socially inclusive? Are they important?

CH: I guess they are working on it because they want to be socially inclusive. Does not really mean they are especially creative. If I had a museum I would try to bring everything I chose in a way that people find it attractive. Museums try to do that. In the last years the museum became also very interactive. Designers did a great job to bring knowledge to the people in different ways. I think a lot of efforts have been done with very good results.

I: Is your institution, the International Design Center, socially inclusive?

As a *Verein*, a non-governmental membership based institution, the goal is really clear. We have designers, people working with design (...) it does not have to be open. This is not the idea. It pursues a specific wish. However, in terms of what design can do, it was really driven by the question "what can design do for more social inclusion?". One of the first projects was actually with children at Kindergarten, trying to create inclusion through design. And also, trying to respond to environmental questions. At the early stage, they really were taking social and environmental responsibility always drawing the line to design. So, I would not say they are socially inclusive with their members because it would not make sense. But still in terms of taking design as a factor to make the world better, it does something. What I say is a bit anti-design but it is true that some of them struggle so much to make it that they do not have the energy to engage more socially. Sometimes they also are not aware that they should do this. They are caught in this precariousness. This cultural precariousness. Creative people, even more artists, many times live in precarious situations. And this life is kind of idealised but

when they do not have the freedom to take decisions (...) Sometimes people are really driven by fear and they do not act. *IDZ* itself is always struggling in precarious situations. It is not really able to have a clear look and see what they want. When *IDZ* was funded it was funded by the government, now it is not like this anymore. Now they want to continue the same project without the same funds. The question is “what is a network like this today? What brings people together? What do they share?”. Digitalization plays a big role here because you create a lot of networks. For me those questions still exist, also for *IDZ*. And I am not sure I have the answers. Now I rather have the questions. (*laughs*)

I: How do creative spaces contribute to gentrification?

CH: Well, the creatives come, rents raise, everyone finds it cool and then locals have to move. For sure there is some kind of spirit and people find it cool.

I: How can citizens take benefit from cultural centres?

CH: What do cultural centres have to offer, so that all sort of people find something there? We had a project at *IDZ* about what to do with aging society. *DAA*. There were 9 cities and various design centres. And the question was, “what can we do better? How can we solve a problem?” They were in charge of setting design processes. The city of Warsaw had the idea of a space where the people could meet. And in the end, they set up a house with a library, where people could meet. I think it is more a question (...) if you look at a special area (...) is there room for everybody? Also, youngsters, younger than 17 do not really have a place to go. My daughter goes to parks with the friends. They always are chased by the police. How do these people find spaces to go? Also, older people that have not so much money. How can you be part of the street life without spending much money? Each area should ask itself, what can we do for the inhabitants. If there are not enough places for people to sit down, it is difficult for older people. I think older people are pretty clustered in Berlin.

I: Could you make a concrete example of integrative, creative strategy?

CH: The *DAA* project, for instance. The idea of a project done by creatives, including people. Design Driven innovation for activating. It is a good idea to mix creativity and social issues. I do not really think that you can make the creatives

responsible for that. I think the city should finance those programs, because of course you need the funds. City gardening is also a good idea. It really is a bottom up idea. However, some projects are not really accessible. The bottom up projects are usually better when they can find a finance. It should however remain sustainable through the years.

Interviewee 3: Daniela Fleig, Senior Project Manager at Inpolis, Urban Planners

I: Could you tell me something about you and your current projects?

DF: I am Daniela Fleig and I have been working for Inpolis since 2006 as city developer, you would say. I am unfortunately still a senior manager (...) We have been doing projects within the city developing of Berlin and I would say mainly on Networking. Not virtual or digital but face to face. Analogue networking. Concerning creatives, we have done until now a network called *Nemona, Netzwerk für Mode und Nähen* (network for fashion and textiles). That is why this acronym exists. It is a passionate work (...) a local fashion network, basically in Neukölln but it is actually all over Berlin. It has something to do with funding from the EU, which is funding the district of Neukölln. That is why we have to be a bit local and not all over. So, in that project I am together with my colleague Sabine Hülsebus, the project coordinator. As you like, project manager. And we realized in our little research in advance that there are so many fashion designers, especially in Neukölln. At the time we did that, it was at the beginning of 2009. The rents were quite low for the people who came here. And it was a social hotspot, so you had a lot of huge area space of *Quartiersmanagement* (district management). And this always includes areas with big social problems. At that time, there was nothing about gentrification in Neukölln. That is why the rents were low and they came here and after a while working here, these people felt it would be good to be connected. Very often they had the same needs, had no one to talk to (...) we decided to bring them together on a platform where they can meet. And maybe they can do things together to make them easier. The second part was to connect them with the local producers. Sewers, pattern makers (...) because in the research we made we also had the question “do the local fashion producers work together with the local fashion designers?” Because the fashion producers mostly are migrants. From the perspective of a city developer it is always interesting to look at which groups are working together naturally. Basically, they should work together but do they really? And we realized that is not the case. They have different lifestyles and we brought them together. This is one core of our projects. So, we had a lot to do with especially the issues of the fashion designers here. Which is on the one hand being a self-employed entrepreneur directly coming from university. Mostly, they want to stay in Berlin, because they like the place, they are inspired by the city... but the competition in this market is very high. They very often start with a low budget and

then they just stay and so there were many in Neukölln and we started to bring them together. We made some offers. Like doing pop-up stores together. This is the most successful input we give to the project. Because we realize we have another standing being cooperative rather than being alone. We were also asked by the city district and by house owners to do some kind of temporary use of the empty space. At that time, there still was empty space, which is also a sign that people who owned houses and shops were really interested in being in touch with the potential people that was going to move into their rooms. So, we started to bring these stakeholders together. That was happening before, in other contexts. Like the *Coopolis*. They started as *Zwischennutzungsagentur* (xxx) and so this concept is quite traditional in Neukölln: put people in empty spaces. And we are doing that. Basically, bringing topics and people together. Especially the fashion designers and producers. People in the fashion industry have a better outcome at the end. (...) We were just kind of the transportation (...) the ideas came from the people themselves. We were not sure whether they might be competitors (...) but we realized that they actually tried to cooperate. Because they are so different in the style. They do not compete at all. Today we changed program. We offer also consultancy. We are not doing this directly but look for consultants related with fashion business. Fashion in this small scale is really special. They would never (...) well, maybe some (...) reach a return on investment. They really do this from an economical perspective (...) for a banker it would be “why are they doing that, there is not outcome”? (...) Well, they do it because of their passion and they are part of the diversity of the city. And also, having this big diversity of the labels they offer is a big aspect of the work. They stand for it. They fight for it. In NY and London, they disappear. Because these people are not the Luis Vuitton people. You know? They are locals, doing local products but they make the world in Berlin a lot more colourful and diverse. This is also why we support them. In other big cities, as you can see, when the prices are raising, the small creatives disappear.

I: Is this company private?

DF: We are a private company, not with the big focus of earning a lot of money. But, you know, enough is enough. As a company, we are allowed to look for some funding. This project Nemonia is funded by the EU. Mainly the European social fund.

I: So, should the state foster more inclusion or rather privates, like you?

SF: Actually, also the state has contact persons for fashion and creatives. But there is a big gap. They are not as near as we are with these people. They do not put a lot of money in fostering fashion labels. Because it is a huge market, there are many, many labels, you know. They do not promise that a big outcome. We have this, sure. We are for everyone. We have some criteria, like being designer by education, (Uni). But we do not evaluate the quality by how many collections you brought out or whether you were in Paris or Milan (...) So, this is not a criterion for us. For us it is the concept they are doing. Which is mostly not only fashion. It is also Eco-fashion. There are many. It is a concept and it is a main target they are addressing. Maybe this is also a little special for Berlin. It is fantastic. Nevertheless, it is hard, anyway in this nice. It is really difficult but it also explains a bit that the prices are not only how the clothes are done. It is the workforce. They are really transparent. They ask where the clothes come from, how the garments are. There are some initiatives like "who made your clothes". We have in our network a designer that won a competition in 2008. She is doing green fashion or did green fashion. And she then did the concept of the green fashion show room. She did that on her own for a while and then, the Messe Frankfurt bought her and employed her. That is actually cool. This circle around her is really into slow fashion. They promote this topic on the level of being comparable with other conventional fashion brands. They do a lot of lobbying. That is good.

I: What is your relation with urban space, did you experience some changes throughout the years in Berlin?

DF: I would say a natural one, as city developer being into the urban space. There are many theories and observations on that. After the wall came down, there has been a huge change. It is the city of the permanent changing. The consistency of Berlin is changing. It changes all the time. We have seen the development of districts like Prenzlauer Berg, where they invested a lot to renovate and build up the houses again and modernize them. And then to push out the former citizens that had been living there for years because the rents became very high. This we had also here in Neukölln. The rents became very high. Especially for creatives, solo creatives and entrepreneurs. They come, start a business and it attracts more people and investors. But we see this everywhere. Sadly, they were pioneers for gentrification. We were also called gentrifiers. By some local critics. They came in and asked, "how do you feel as gentrifier?". I think there must be some legal

framework to save this diversity we have. So, if they try to do this with *Milieuschutz*, mostly mean for old buildings but not for the people. This should change. There are some models and we took part to them. Also the Humboldt University did something in this direction. Not just with creatives but also with citizens living in this area. This is something that is changing when there is no protection of such milieu. Berlin reduced a lot of social housing and made the door more open for investors not interested in the area. In a neoliberal economical process. In projects like Nemonia, we try to stabilize the people living here being a kind of moderator and institution that can translate their needs also to investors and banker. And to the local economical investors. We can underline the value of this people also for investors and tourists and retailers.

I: Do creatives have a social role?

SF: It depends on the size of the companies they run. We have a lot of people doing their business also. They move into a shop and do not have such a professional (...) no it is maybe more the size of the company. They are one or two and they interact with the people around them and a lot of times they are in street festivals, flea markets with their little shops. I think they are really social in terms of being in contact with the surroundings. As we talked about the sustainable brands. They really are in contact with the local brands. Local in Berlin. It is really important that there are locals producing in their shops and ateliers. These are small structures but it helps a lot. I do not want to valuate, but comparing to other headquarters like *Zalando* (...) of course they have locals working for them but they are not concerned with the people around them. And they attract people from abroad and bring them together. Which is fine. But concerning bringing people to the city (...) they are working together (...) I know *Zalando* is working together with other organizations that bring them closer to the Berliners and more together. I think however, these small-scale designers are very often very strong connected to their neighbours and to the other.

I: Are these people also politically engaged?

SF: The problem for these people is that 24 hours a day are not enough. They work a lot. It is not fun what they are doing. They have to live from it (...) A lot of them have a second or third job. And that is why maybe they like what we do so much. We are like a sort of front desk for them. They do not have to do the

research. We offer them consultancy (...) being politically engaged would cost them a lot of work. Which is not directly in touch with their work. A lot of them, however, are absolutely socially interested, posting a lot. They are political but do not have so much time to be completely engaged. Maybe we try to do it, or the IDZ (...). These kinds of networks should do it for them. I think that the fear that we will be all apolitical is a fair fear. On the other hand, I am really glad to see (...) I do not know how deep it goes, but people are doing things slower. More aware. The lifestyle they have (...) I have the impression that there is more the generation "why". Why should I do that? Richard Florida is good, but maybe we should also read other books. He is very much critiqued. I am 45. My generation did things very straight, wanting more money. But I have the feeling that young entrepreneurs look way more at this work-life balance. Why am I doing this. Do I like it... Especially the creative industries are driven by a lot of passion more than searching (...) In Berlin, the CI are divided in 11 under-branches. It is really hard to put them all together. They are so heterogeneous in this definition. They have specific needs. Specific targets and mentalities. I am very careful when saying CI are (...) here especially they are very different.

I: Did the role of urbanists changed with the digitalization? Does this sharing of information spoil the creativity?

SF: We are not planners. From that point, I cannot say anything. But I can say that to participate in the life of the city, culturally, I think it changes that way that we have to look from the older people over 80 to the youngster that are digital natives. Today we have a huge range. Older people are also part of the society. They should also participate. Their way is analogue. Meet people in the neighbourhood house, talking to the people there (...) on the other hand we have other people that want to be informed digitally "what is going on in my district". They do not go to an analogue point asking. I think it changes that way that we have to think of all these people to avoid that the older people are getting down by this change and keep the youngers and empower them. Get them in touch with the environment.

I: Can Berlin be defined *Creative City*?

SF: This definition is applied to Berlin. Berlin is since 2006 City of Design, which is an UNESCO title. I really think, and this is personal, that it is a creative city. Every time I ask to someone why they come to Berlin, many times creatives, they tell me

“I am inspired by the city” by its diversity. And I think still it is a lot of inspiration. There is a lot of expression of the creatives. You can see the graffiti, the shops (...) I have been living here for over 24 years. You can see also that the interiors of the cafes are changing all the time. I think it is a creative city. I would not say it is a beautiful city. There are more beautiful cities. But it is inspiring. If I was a creative I would certainly say I am inspired by the city. It definitely also is a branding strategy and this is not a secret. Like this campaign “Be Berlin”. They invested a lot of money to be a creative city. On the other hand, the creative, not the financially strong creatives, they are advertising with us. When we ask for subsidy they tell us “oh, I am sorry” and you are just counted by numbers. They often do it only for the image. I understand why these creatives feel a bit abused. It would be better to give them a higher value and maybe also pay them a little bit more. Also, it is a lot of people that are not aware that creatives also have to pay their rent and cannot live with free references. Maybe at the supermarket I can ask “can I have a cucumber? Because it is a reference for you if I buy that”. It is Berlin. It is far behind compared to Munich or Hamburg. In order to pay the work. Pay good for work. Have an outcome (...) This is kind of a disaster. We also have a lot of people working for free, so (...)

I: Are creative spaces within the city socially inclusive?

SF: They can be. They have different concepts. For example, the 48 hours Neukölln. That is a great initiative of the *Kulturnetz* Neukölln (cultural network Neukölln), which brings on the one hand up a lot of artists and on the other hand make it free for everybody to visit. I really think that especially in this city, these kinds of things can be totally social inclusive.

I: How can citizens take benefit from the creative centres?

SF: Just by keeping themselves informed. When a creative has a studio, people often pop in to ask who they are. So, they have to be open. Maybe some strategies should be different from the people that organize the creative activities. Because sometimes it is only marketing with nothing behind. I know Andreas Krüger from the *Belius Stiftung* (Belius foundation) did his biggest project with the *Aufbauhaus* and *Modulor* there. We met by accident on some events and I told him he had done a great project with all these satellite buildings, quite open, where people can go (...) they also founded an institution to refinance the rents (...) and so. It sounded

really social. With a social impact. However, for the people in the house. He told me “if I would do it today, I would get the people, the neighbours involved in the project. Because we really missed that point”. Of course, they talk to the *Prinzessinen Garten*, and to the academies or *Betahaus*. But these are only stakeholders dealing with creativity anyway. But to bring this to the migrant community there and maybe bringing it more to the people around there. He said, this is the thing they had not early in the concept. They tried to do it later and it failed. That helped me to (...) when he told me that, and I think it is a good project anyway, not like an *Ufo* coming into an area. Comparing to that he said “no, it failed. Because you have to do a lot more effort to bring the people in and make it really true. To mean it. And not only say it afterwards”. It is a small balancing line. Actually, we also ask for this participation. We try. It is not that we necessarily do a good job but we try to keep in mind that we have to work with the people. Which means bottom down and not bottom up. To understand what they need. I think concerning planning and concepts. Architecture is so technical. I am very critical of architecture. They are also not educated to think about the people they are planning for. Not for the people around them. We realized that big housing companies, for their CSR, corporate social responsibility, they are using it also for the marketing. But they are also realizing that it is crucial to be accepted and include the people around them. This is a crossover of Marketing and city development, probably. I think architects for themselves are not able to do that. They have to make real this concept of including the neighbours and the entire area they are working and living in. The planning law says there must be a little participation and people have the chance for a defined time to say if they do not like it. That is also why Tempelhof was rejected. This little law was not the reason for the entire thing but it was a chance for the people to say no. Architects maybe are thinking of this. But honestly, they are not educated at university to be participative and social in that sense. You can study architecture so differently. If you go to UDK it is different than a few metres away at TU. It is very different what architecture is. I heard of a study in England that is called social architecture, and thought that that would be great. Also just for them to know that they have to consult a sociologist, or a geographer or a city developer.

I: Could you tell me about one concrete project that successfully integrates people under the roof of creativity?

48 *Neukölln* is definitely something. Or *fete de la musique*. Such a format of making things free. Or the urban nations. That is also an attempt to try making these kind of free art, explainable for all. It is also from a property owner, a house renter. They have a foundation that is really into art. It is a little bit strange because it is mainly for explaining street art and graffiti. They claim it should be regulated, where they are placed. However, it is silly because street art is not supposed to be where you want it to be. Actually, the opposite. It is a paradox. Anyway, I think a lot of things the district management is doing, trying to make creativity social, empower people, engage them together is positive. It is also a focus they should have.

Interviewee 4: Julian Schubert, architect, co-founder of *Something fantastic* and Professor of Advanced Design Studies at Zurich University

I: Can you tell me something about you? What project are you currently working on?

JS: We founded our office in 2010 and we are practicing since then architecture in what I call it an undisciplined way, because it is on the edge of the discipline of architecture, I would say. We are not doing only the core discipline of architecture. We are involved in building, sure, but in an unusual way. Currently, we are doing the artistic supervision for an office renovation, for example. In this case, we only focus on the artistic aspect. We basically say if it is nice, or not. There are other projects, where we try to develop something from the beginning. We see a site and we have an usage in mind for it, a certain vision for a project and we approach the owner (...) There are two projects in this current stage now. We also teach, in Zurich and Amsterdam. That is another big part of our practice. Especially the teaching in Zurich that we have been doing for five years now in a Master of advanced studies on urban design, looking again at the edges of the disciplines and the edges of the city. Like (...) how can we deal with cities and neighbourhoods growing. How can we as planners deal with the fact that many things happen without planning. Which is also nice.

I: As creative what is your relationship with the urban space of Berlin?

JS: I guess it is different because I am an architect. Therefore, I think more about how to use the space that is there or was there in Berlin. In fact, there were always empty spaces. So, one could always wander around and think about what could be done with the space. That maybe is different from someone who does not work in the creative context or think creatively about the space. But also, I am not entirely sure (...) I would not consider myself part of the creative industry. In a way, I am overall a bit sceptical about that term. It is sometimes used by agencies, who are not very creative but are only reacting to the market. They are reacting on a demand, on a business, by creation. For me it is just branding and not everything can be put in a pot.

I: Did you have the feeling that Berlin changed throughout the years?

JS: Definitely. I came here in 2003 and that was obviously different from the perspective of the people that had been living here from the nineties. Everything was already over. But, if I compare it with 2018, now, there were much more possibilities. All the clubs were distributed all over Mitte. Like here, Unter den Linden (...) Everywhere there were nightclubs. Right now, it is unimaginable, but there were nightclubs. And they were not expensive. Five euro. It was a bit more if you were a student.

I: What is the role of the architect in our contemporary society? Is it a social one?

JS: Especially here in Berlin there are architects practicing architecture in a way in which, in fact, it acquires a social role. They are engaged in kind of a social context. However, also there I would be critical about what they are claiming. They claim that they are super open, everybody can join their events. It is very event-based. It's not events like *Coca Cola* (...) So it is great that they managed to do it. But in a way, it became almost a kind of cliché. A nice cliché that actually works only for a certain kind of people that know about it and appreciate it. All this solidarity (...) It is also pretty left in the political spectrum. It should be acknowledged, however, that it is not for everyone. It is for a certain kind of people. A certain crowd they are addressing. I think it is great what they managed and still manage. It is nice that Berlin can be connected to that kind of practice and have this kind of alternative practice. Personally, for our practice it is not suitable. We see our practice differently. I saw a documentary on two brothers and then one stopped talking and the first thing he said after three years is that he thinks that the older brother does not want to grow up. First thing he said to his parents. In a way, this idea of not growing is what we are trying to practice. To not become professionals. To not have to say "It's not what I want to do but I do it anyway". And on the other hand, you try to compensate it with a personal engagement and then you split your profession from the person, somehow. I think that is a big problem. Because it makes us and others do things that we all know are wrong. But we are in it, somehow. We are not right now living in a time where architecture is about good ideas. The big problem of our time is not that we do not have ideas, but we do not implement it. In a way it is not productive, to support this speculative system producing ideas over ideas, shouting out how great the building would look like, if only the architects were allowed to do that. I think that is not the problem of our time. We also are lacking ideas (...) but the big problem is that we have become

more an implementation of an idea. We personally do not so many speculative competitions.

I: You sure need finances though.

JS: Yes, that is why currently we really want to develop something and deal always more with finances. To try to achieve a maximum outcome with the minimum input. Somehow (...) If you talk to a 60-years old architect he or she would not understand. He would say, I want to create beauty, not save money. I read about a big survey on rents in Munich. A lot (...) 57.000 people contributed saying what they earn and how much they pay. The authors claimed that we are in a big crisis. If you read their article it is actually true. Architects are posh. That is it. Architecture is a business. It is a huge business that is linked to real estate business that is even bigger and super shady. Very close to mafia. There is not easier way to make money than to turn agricultural land into real estate investment. There is so much greed (...) It is purely economical and as an architect you are somehow (...) there is way too much competition. They would do anything in order to get a job. I think the problem is that we have too little apartments. We should have always many apartments so that anyone is free to choose his or her own. It is like in a supermarket. If you only produce one butter, the producer of the butter will not improve the quality nor offer it for a fair price. On the other hand, we cannot have free cities just so that people can always choose. The whole idea of free market is actually good. Within the academia, capitalism is always criticized (...) However, it is the accumulation that is a problem. The market could work very well, but not in real estate. You should not have a free market in real estate.

I: How can a mixed city actually work?

JS: In my street, there will be a house built soon. I wanted to know how that house will look like. As a citizen, I have to right to know what is happening in my street, in my neighbourhood. Otherwise I do not feel as a citizen but as someone passive, without right. But it is impossible, even for me, a trained architect, to get through the kind of language that the municipalities use to describe what is going to happen. There were 10 A4 pages and I could not understand what they meant. As long as it will be like this, I think it is against the idea of democracy. But I understand that within the EU, a bigger organization, the management is important. But it became too complicated. Too formal. You do not feel part of it. That is a huge

problem of the state. We are the state, but we feel as if the state would be an opponent. I should be part of the state. But it is not. The state does not make it easy to be part of it. I also think mixing strategies are problematic. I am not sure about the solution, however. The free market economy, being free, is actually a positive idea. But if you are a refugee or poor, for instance, you are not free anymore: you have to live here, here and here. In the social housing. The social housings are problematic. It is hard to acknowledge that there are so many people that cannot afford other houses. By social housing you are segmenting the status quo. We should as a state never accept that the people earn so less. If architecture is about solidifying the social stratus, we refuse being an architect. If product design tries to create always more products to sell always more, we refuse to be designers. It is a dilemma situation (...) a nice dilemma. We never want to be too much involved so that we have to actually support the system that we refuse.

I: How did the role of creatives and specifically your profession change with digitalization?

JS: I do not know if the role changed, but the profession did for sure. I think more digitalization would actually be great because many architects working in the office are just doing silly stuff. It is not even fun. There are so many drawings needed. Thank God, the computer can do that. I think it will change more but I am looking forward to it. Digitalization is often seen as a bad factor, taking away the future role of the architect. I am not afraid at all, because of all the buildings that are being built, 5% are actually designed by architects in the sense that we learn. 95% are just repetition of plans that have been there before. The profession really gets dispersed. On the one hand you have the engineer, on the other the façade planner (...) maybe an interior designer (...) and in the end, what is left? Architects, because of the strong competition, do not have the power to rebel, to say “no, we don’t do that”. *BDR*, which is kind of a lobby for architects, is powerless. It is completely powerless. In the Instagram case, the problem is the speed. Once you start uploading your stuff, you will never be fast enough. One week later someone will replace you. This is a very quick evolution. It follows the wheel of season and evolution making it turn even faster. Leading to the renovation of entire collections. Adidas redo their shops every week completely. Once you are in there (...) it is insane. But there is nothing you can do. Once you try to produce new images in architecture, it is a spiral down. I think it deeply dissatisfies you. We are not on Instagram, not on Facebook. It would be too much for me.

I: What is your position towards the Creative city?

JS: I don't know. It can be applied. It is a label that does not interest me if the city brands itself as creative. Maybe I am even less interested, actually, because I know that the city engaged a marketing agency and I do not like agencies. I do not care. What is interesting about it is that you can use it sometimes in your favour: if you claim being a creative city, do something about it. You know? You can use it as a tool against them. It is the same with the term being an artist. I am very critical about it. I have many friends that are artists. But the claim of being free is problematic for me. Sometimes, however, it is perhaps helpful to use the word art. I would never use it with someone knowledgeable in the field, saying that I have something to do with art. I would position myself somewhere else. Still, when you are discussing with people from other backgrounds, it suddenly helps to use this word to help them understand what we are doing. We are far away from art but also from the creative city.

I: Are creative spaces socially inclusive?

JS: Galleries and museums are not socially inclusive. They are part of the high culture, it is a world in itself, fun to dive in, from time to time, but I cannot take it seriously. I do not believe in the power of the art or of the high culture to change the society to a high society or a better world. It is irrelevant for the world. Playing sports is way more inclusive than creativity. Also, the government puts more money in sport than in culture. It is rare that someone not cultured enters the environment of the gallery. No, I think it is not.

I: Does revitalization lead to gentrification phenomena?

JS: Sure. It is the faith of those places. If they become nice, people get attracted to them and boom, there is gentrification. I actually am for gentrification. However, the locals should profit from it. I am for a nice neighbourhood, little shops where you can buy things, I am for all the beautiful things that happen in gentrified neighbourhoods. But I am against forcing people out. That is the problem. Not the gentrification. The problem is people are not part of it. And that should be different. Of course, owning your apartment would be a way to contrast it and profit from gentrification. In a rental market like Berlin and Germany it is very risky. That is

what makes it so difficult now. If you look at other cities, Rome, London, Milano, where the real estate prices are so high already, you would think Berlin is very cheap. However, in those markets people are really involved. You buy, you sell (...) somehow, they profit from it. Berlin is a rental market and people literally get thrown out. I know the prices and really, it is insane. Especially in architecture, in all these creative industries (...) Creativity is actually the reason why people are moving here. People moving to a place pretending to work and just opening an office, would not work in a place where you have to pay so much salary to your employees, who have to pay the rent. Our contracts do not get better. I do not earn more just because the rents of our interns get higher. To answer your question, the bad effects of gentrification can get caused by some revitalization situation. I personally do not go to the bars I easily could afford (...) but I go to a *Späti*. I am annoyed by the fact that people ask for more money, just because they can! That is how it always was in Berlin. Everyone was asking for what they really needed, now they ask for what they can.

I: Can you give one concrete example of urban creative structure?

JS: I really do not know what an urban creative structure is. What do you mean by that? There is a garden next to my house, by people who got together through a website. I think that is a nice idea.

I: Do you want to add something?

JS: How can you maintain to be critical? I once had a teacher when I wrote a thesis. I took a quote and used it right, technically. What he told me, however, was that the difference between me and him was that he knew the context of the quote. The agenda behind. The year (...) I think that this is criticality. If you know the context behind, then you can understand how things are. In case you want to continue with your interviews after the master, it is important to know the hidden agenda of the person you are talking to. Especially in a creative context where it is so blurry and unclear. You meet people that earn no money, but do amazing things. And sometimes you meet people that do nothing, but earn a lot. I think the problem of our profession is that we love developing ideas that are looking beautiful but do not tackle the mechanism. There are so many wheels behind a house and it is not the love for the architect of the colour white. Only once you understand the reason why a house is there, you can develop strategies and intervene in the city

development. There is so much about economy. There is a lot you can do if you manage the numbers. If you don't manage them, nothing will happen. It is a tool that you should master, if you want to do something that is affecting positively how cities are built.

Interviewed 5: Susanne Prinz, lead of *Kunstverein am Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz*

I: Can you tell me something about you? What project are you currently working on?

SP: As a *Kunstverein* you have to have a sense of purpose, put it down in writing. Actually, work with the tax authorities. That it is the not for profit structure that exists in Germany and Austria. One of our purposes is actually to deal with the *Rosa-Luxemburg Platz* and Berlin Mitte as architectural and social entity. It is not the sole purpose but it is actually clearly stated that that is what we do. It has been broadened a bit because in the last 10 or 12 years this part of Mitte has undergone a rather late but very fast development towards gentrification. There is an interest from various sides. We even have some participants from the real estate sector that live here. Artists, just a few, some within a closed circle of friends, who actually have an interest in the development of their city. In fact, an artist coined this area as artist ghetto, asking me if there would be a free apartment in our artists ghetto. *(laughs)* Which actually has to do with the artist-friendly *Hausverwaltung*. In the upcoming program, we will have two shows by women. I now have a focus on women artists. I always try to have a 50/50 proportion of whom I am showing. This time it will be an Austrian artist with an exhibition entitled "A new room on its own". It is a very feminist position. She is a photographer and it is derived from the male perspective on advertisement and this kind of perspectives. And they really focus image-wise on a very conservative tabloid-kind of image of the woman. The results are really stunning. And the other part of the show is an older work of hers, already published in a catalogue. It is actually a study she worked with in Great Britain in the 30ies and 40ies. They were interviewing women in London, asking them how happy and satisfied generally they were with their surroundings. It is interesting as a comparison. As we all know, places like Hackney, Notting Hill (...) were predominantly working class (...). She is comparing their houses putting them together with the interviews with these women.

I: As creative, what is your position towards the urbanism of Berlin?

SP: I am a citizen above all and I have been living here for over 30 years. So, I feel the responsibility towards a younger generation, let us say, our children. Some changes are not only typical for Berlin but they are for every metropolis. I appreciate some changes. I do not mind a certain speed. It is an interesting effect of urbanism. We just had a symposium working on urbanism in Berlin. We did a really fun and great project on *Tegel Airport*, which then did not close (*laughs*). Which dealt with the future, a utopian, dystopian idea of what the building could be after the closure. However, coming back to the question, I also see good sides. There are many researches from the *TU*, I believe also the *UDK* was involved, and various books (...) show that it is actually good to live in cities, but not for everyone. So, it is an interesting research. A group of mapping people, mostly British, a few German and some Portuguese. Principally from the start we were very involved with the urban space, basically having one public work every year. Which is getting increasingly difficult, because there is not much space left.

I: What is the role of creatives in the city and is it a social one?

SP: It depends. If they want to have one, yes, but they are not obliged to have an active role in urban development. That is clearly a matter of choice. Political forces do not want to build, build, those are investors. I still see politicians as a corrective. It is not the same thing, looking at the left party, for example. I think we should distinguish between the various roles in the city. Creatives certainly can influence, if they are really known. Because they can write about it. They can reach the public through media and, depending from the field, they know how to deal with the public. They also know how to create a public, because that is their job. You do not create art for yourself, you have always the public in your mind. So, yes. Otherwise, matter of choice.

I: Did the digitalization cause changes in the current creative and cultural landscape?

Totally. How would you even have done some work of art unless? Some kind of planning is clearly born on the screen. It is something I learned through the talk with architects. The renderings, that have become more like photos are confusing to most citizens who do not deal with architecture all the time. They cannot see the difference between reality and rendered images. For architectures working with private people it can be difficult because the customer might be disappointed with

the surface quality. They cannot see the difference. Tactile entities are not really represented in digital images. On the urban side. This high raise building in *Bahnhof Friedrichsstrasse* (...) This high raise buildings in Friedrichsstrasse from famous designers and architects looked much lighter on the renderings and people complained. Including part of the cities' responsables. As a matter of fact, a hotel across the street wanted to sue them. It did change for sure.

I: What is your opinion on Instagram or Social Media? Do they affect creativity?

SP: The copy-fever started already in the eighties, when the digitalization was not that deep engraved in society. These interchangeable city centres (...) this international style (...) was already addressed before. I am not entirely sure if that is not perhaps just globalization.

I: What do you understand under the definition *Creative City*?

SP: What is it? I do not even get it. In terms of sociology of the early 20th century, every city per se is creative. It makes you creative. Beyond that I do not get it. I presume it defines the creatives in cities being like a sort of subcity. Which I do not believe. I do not know what it is supposed to mean. Maybe it is a self-branding strategy.

I: Creative spaces socially inclusive?

SP: They try to be but success is varied. I see it in my own space but also in open social oriented spaces. Besides some that openly proclaim that. I do not see it and it is not entirely the fault of the spaces. Some people are just not interested in that. I am not interested in ice hockey. So, what? But the other thing is also, a discussion has been attached to this since the eighties. A group of artists kind of loosely connected to the gallery of *Landschaftskunst*, particularly connected to an area in St. Georg in Hamburg and (...) when a last lot was supposed to be torn down, they initiated a project. To avoid this direct gentrification project. They initiated a new and very successful movement within the neighbourhood. And they initiated these now established forms of involving citizens in their surroundings, which at least in some places like Hamburg is quite established because it has proven to be socially satisfying. Including authorities. Because you get functioning neighbourhoods. And at the end, cheaper. Some have been some have not and in these days, there has

been a lot the discussion on whether or not art is a social work. At the end of the day, the mixing up really depends on the people involved. It is entirely a question of engagement. I would doubt my faculties and the ones of others of successfully initiating such processes. But there were really successful projects who did this. There is this new place by *Brandl Huber*, in *Gesundbrunnen*. Which is also making concerts on the rooftop (...) and I doubt that the neighbourhoods will actually show up. Even though Olivia, the creator, is totally inclusive. However, she is also pretty much an upper-class English person.

I: How can citizens actually take benefits from creative centres?

SP: The architecture can foster social inclusion by form, some of them just have a forbidding architecture. Kind of entity which is very forbidding as structure. Maybe beautiful but still, there is a threshold problem, which makes you not want to enter these places. That is a thing (...) and actually get people involved in their surroundings. What you do not want of course (...) You know, people are interested in being mixed. However, I am thinking about these decisions that have not been smartly orchestrated by the city (...) There were some projects people actually voted against, because they did not want to have the space occupied. I am not talking about *Tempelhof*, because I am also for not building there. However, my opinion is it was killed by the popular vote because it was so patronizing. It just was decided really stupidly by a bunch of male, white investors and their counterparts wanted to do something. Unhappily, together with these investment programs, also the new library died. Which is a very negative side-effect. There will pass another 10 years before we perhaps actually see this building realized. Which is a shame, because it was dearly needed. It was stupidly orchestrated. There was another example in the north of Berlin, where citizens decided to vote against building on the lot, because people have their nice little houses in suburbia and they do not really want these social housing or mixed housing projects. And, generally there is this kind of conservatism of "I leave everything as it is". I can also understand that. In particular in Berlin but also in other places.

I: What do you think for example about the case of *Holzmarkt*?

SP: I like this kind of make shift architecture, although I am not really sure, if you look closely, if it really is a recycling thing but it seems to be pretty cool. Until a certain degree pretty integrative until a certain age. But that is fine. It is impossible

to integrate everyone. So definitely it is interesting. Also the one on the other side. It looks a little more (...) a common place. Typical high raise. But from what I know it is a big coop. That is already good. It is not an investor. A really big corporate. Possibly even a *Genossenschaft* by now. It also includes social apartments by now. Probably palliative apartments for young people. As far as I know one apartment is dedicated to young homeless living there. It is obvious but it also has this shared space. It is not about fancy architecture and have a lot of open space. It is not about who gets the best view. That is also interesting. It is less obvious but it is really one of the options. Yeah. I think that is the way. Generally thinking, *Genossenschaften*, although they say lately they are all about the middle classes, struggling also to get their own home (...) they could be the solution. They were struggling until maybe 15 years ago. But lately the city has been supporting this kind of enabling groups that were not necessarily able to buy their own home, which in itself already guarantees a certain mixture. Because if you own your house, you are not likely to move. There is less segregation. I really think the city should consider supporting more such things. But it is difficult because buildings have become so expensive.

I: Could you name a concrete structure that is beneficial for the community?

SP: A long time ago, it is ironic, *Hackescher Markt* was completely neglected. I am talking about the entire compound, where the investors were investing on Friedrichsstrasse. And look how livelier *Hackescher Markt* has become. It is way more mixed. I mean (...) we are still talking about Mitte being mostly white, but with all kind of nationality. Mitte still has the highest number of non-Germans. They just happen to not be Turkish. However, that was one of the ironies. It was simply done without planning and then the real success was *Hackescher Markt*. Of course, totally touristic, but also totally inhabited. All the houses are occupied, also the ground floor. It is nice to live there. There is easy access to public transport. You might not want to have a car though. It is really funny that all architect bureaus (...) Everything was about Friedrichsstrasse and Alexanderplatz. But in the end, none of those really worked. Spontaneity, on a certain level, can work. This might give you an idea of what could work.

I: Could you name a strategy for creatives to foster urban inclusion?

SP: I think it is staying informed and staying involved. Trying to network. It is tedious and involves a lot of work and time. You cannot have it all, only writing mayor books about it. I think, whatever it is “creative”, I do not really consider myself part of the creative world. Because I do not create things. I show them. However, in touch of that world, particular in architecture, there is a big exchange. But my impression is only that everybody is trying to get their chance of building something, which increasingly happens to be facades. And whatever is behind it does not matter. To me it seems that being creative is a social kind of sign. Strangely, it reminds me of the 19th century where the higher authorities really struggled to keep up the facade. You have to have a maid, a cook (...) and you had to pay for it. They struggled if they did not have means. And I am afraid social classes today are exactly that. It gives you a sense of better man to consider yourself creative class, because you have a degree. However, at the end of the day you are just service personal. And that is really frustrating, I imagine. I think it would not hurt us all to acknowledge what we really are and maybe look in the mirror and ask „what am I“, „how much money do I actually make“ (...) and so on. „How does my future look socially” and „should I do something“? Basically, we are looking at something that has already been done in the past. Look at all these *Deliveroo* guys, people working in bars. It is really difficult to make a living. It does not mean anything to define yourself *Creative Class* if you do not act. It is difficult.

I: Do you want to add something that has not been mentioned yet?

SP: No.

Interviewee 6: Jesus Carrillo, Art history Professor at Universidad Autonoma de Madrid and former director of culture in the city council

I: What is your current position? What projects are you currently working on?

JC: I am professor of History of art at the *Universidad Autonoma de Madrid* (...) For some years I have been responsible of the cultural programs of the *Museo Nacional Reina Sofia*, that had opened this new department in a new section of the museum dedicated to cultural activities. Until 2008 there was no such structure, not strictly connected to the expositions. Its goal was to relate with the social environment and, also, activate in a certain way some other relationship with the museum, through seminars and connections with social movements. I was also member of the city council, where I was cultural director of culture. With a group of people, I was in charge of developing a cultural program and bringing it to the government. And (...) nothing. Now I basically investigate and teach. Lately I published a book, the one I sent you. There I make a profound research of the city development from the nineties, a very important period for the theme that you are dealing with, and the reconfiguration of cities and citizens in the cultural context. In that period, there was a dispute between social movements and gentrifying processes, artists, definition of urban space and urban life. I speak about a period from 1998 until 2004. A phase in the general configuration of the “creative cities”, in quotation marks. There are many quotation marks.

I: What is your relation with the urban space in Madrid?

JC: As individual, my relation is not very important. Many like me, coming from the academy and connected to the artistic sector, at the end of the 90, decided to move towards the centre of the city. The urban centres that had been demonized at the beginning of the nineties, or that were abandoned by the middle classes that had moved to the periphery, suddenly, went back to the centre starting to consider this as a place where it would be highly possible to live and have a density of experience of life, (...) have services... where the expectation of what can be a good life can be different and better than in the suburbs. There was a sort of shift from what were the ideals before, like having green spaces, a huge family, a huge house (...) infrastructures and hospitals (...) suddenly the urban centres appeared more interesting. When I arrived in Madrid in '97, I realised a generalized interest from many people for going back to urban centres. There was a new perspective

on what was important. People were looking for a cultural offer and social life offer (...) The street as a social leisure place. And this dynamism (...) The idea that the city could be a place in which it was possible to intensify cultural exchange. More or less the same of what Florida was talking about (...) there was this tendency of coming back to the cities. The city was a place for cultural density that was attractive for at least a specific profile of people that includes me in that period. For sure the situation has been changing with the time. What happened in the specific area of *Lavapiés* is that, apart from a specific class, there was a very strong wave of immigration. Not only *Lavapiés* but also other places that had been undergoing a process of progressively aging population, started being revitalized. In this wave of imagination and this trend of going back to the city, we were not alone. There was us and there were the immigrants with other expectations and of course, the speculators. The ones like us did not have a lot of resources. So, also for us, the raise of rents was not beneficial. Actually, it was the contrary. Hence, it was a moment of deep change and coexistence of different situations we had to deal with, for us as “creative class”. In our imaginary, it was not possible to move an already existing population nor the fact of living in a homogeneous cultural place. The fact of having a multicultural population was an added value to the experience, so to say. The gentrification process in which we found ourselves in and partially created was at the beginning a process that was not that aggressive and that actually was rejecting us too.

I: However, the cultural institutions in Madrid seem to be well integrated so, one might ask, where is the limit after which gentrification becomes harmful?

JC: The thing is, when a new regulation was published after 1997, an entire rehabilitation of the area was planned. It was decided that the cultural infrastructures had to have a protagonist role in this situation. In the same years there was the opening of the Guggenheim and of the *MacBa* in the *Raval* Area, similarly as to *Lavapiés*. Hence, it was a process occurring similarly in different Spanish cities. The Spanish case possibly is the only one in whole Europe happening in such a systemic way. The strong development of cultural industries for urban development is very peculiar for the Spanish case. In this revitalization process, at the beginning, the cultural infrastructures were given the highest importance. Even above health and educational infrastructure. In the neighbourhood, there were such demands for those infrastructures that were not existing. There had been a huge investment in cultural infrastructures. The new

and old citizens of the area notice this immediately. The museum *Reina Sofía*, until the end of the 90 was giving the back to this whole area. In a way, it was isolating the area from the vitality, from the zone of *Atocha*. Until then, the *Reina Sofía* was not facing the area, it had no relation with it. However, starting with the year 2000, with a new direction of the museum and the raise of new cultural institutions and buildings, a new attraction of art galleries produced itself. Before the galleries were in the area of *Salamanca* but never before in *Lavapiés*, considered a poor area, a dangerous and dirty area where collectors would never enter. Starting with the years 2005 - 2006 and systematically after 2008 galleries were flourishing. Even though, currently, some friends working in galleries are actually telling me that they also have to leave the area now due to the high prices. They cannot afford paying the rents. The opening of the national dramatic centre, the *Teatro Inclán*, had also been debated for long because it came to replace the former theatre, the theatre *Olimpia*, that was strongly preserving the memory, been built already during the *Franquism*. That was demolished for this new building that is now dominating the square. Also, the metro stop was moved. The citizens perceived this structures as something not for them but for others. Structures that would attract people but were not for the locals. Hence, the people living there did not perceive them as positive. For sure, the *Reina Sofía* and the theatre with the metro created a work in progress area during five years, hence, a very uncomfortable situation for the citizens. This process that we can denominate of transformation of the urban space was very traumatic because it was breaking and dramatically interrupting the transit and the movement in the area. Systematically the locals saw this as an aggression. In these years, there was what was perceived as a very aggressive process. This traumatic memory has gradually passed and the locals got accustomed to it. For sure we do not have to think only of the people in *Lavapiés*. The area is also for the people that come from other areas. A bigger number of users. The area has become very fashionable attracting many kinds of people. It is attracting also tourists and becoming an authentic area that “has to be seen” when someone comes to Madrid. This is happening in a very fast manner. The classical processes of gentrification have transformed into a phenomenon of touristification of leisure activities. What is attracting tourists now is not to go to see the theatre but to have an authentic leisure activity. The bars, the restaurants (...)

I: In this context, do creatives actually have a social role?

JC: I am critical with the role of creativity and culture in the context of gentrification and especially with its deterministic role in the processes of gentrification as there was no manner to escape this situation. This does not have to necessarily be like this. There are alternatives. This new “creative population” strongly connected to cognitive capitalism or as you like to call it (...) in the area there are many people dedicating to creative sectors. They do not necessarily have to be key point in a mechanism of exploitation, as this can be more complex. In the case of Lavapiés not only it can be like this but it is like this. These new neighbours, these creatives, somehow, have been allied of other neighbours and immigrants trying to reply and resist to classic processes of gentrification. For example, the fact that this new creative people defend a different way of consuming, actually different from the classic consumerist manners (...) that they defend diversity as lifestyle, that there is a huge part of population not corresponding to the classical family models, many individuals that form families with the same sex, all this, in a way, does not have to necessarily be part of the gentrification but also be a mechanism in the resistance. If it is true that capitalism can assimilate everything and that the difference in the diversity can be taken by the neoliberalism as exploiting element, I have to say in its defence that capitalism usually allies with more conservative way of living. This diversity, also in the lifestyle (...) the fact that for example many more people are driving a bike in Lavapiés, that they prefer going to small shops (...) all these elements create a resistance. Lavapiés at the end of the nineties activated itself as place of resistance, as strong counter power. The creatives had a huge role in this. Also after, in the processes of resistance at the beginning of 2000 the area played an important role. People were participating to revolts and they were new and old inhabitants of the area. In 2011 with the 15M the area was burning with revolts. Seen in retrospective, it is possible to say that in this area of the city, classical processes of gentrification through creativity were pretty contradictory. Creatives also were fighting, struggling and resisting. As every other process, it is ambivalent. It is, however, exactly this resistance to capitalism that made it fashionable. The fact that still there are no *McDonalds* and *Starbucks* (...) Maybe another city like this is Berlin and not many others. This is all very fragile. Of course, many investors are looking at the area with interest.

I: What do you think of the definition “Creative City” and can it be applied to Madrid?

JC: This definition, this paradigm, has been around for over 20 years. The paradigm of how the city should be (...). I imagine that as many others, it causes

ambivalent feelings. Many think it is a valuable concept. With the time, it does coincide with the new age of the neoliberal capitalism. Gradually the emphasis of the creativity has contributed to the requalification of the capitalism. This creativity as a commodity in the contemporary age has become a model. Culture has become a commodity. Creativity is in a way the engine generating the commodities for its exploitation. At the end of the nineties, creativity integrates itself in a definition of defence of the capitalism. Cities are the cradle of this resource. Like the old gold mines. Urban culture and the creativity of the people have achieved an economic value. From a Marxist point of view this culture and creativity have become a further asset to be exploited. Of course, this is also a result of the transformation of the lifestyles that in some ways was positive. It was a catalyst of emancipation and integration. It carries this ambivalence. I think, and this worries me, the model of the creative city is very fragile. Once there is a crisis like the one in 2008 and perhaps other will happen (...) they are connected to speculation. Creativity is highly connected to speculation. And so is the worth of work that has become less and less solid and could be endangered by this fluctuation. My impression is that everything that identifies the processes and the values in the neoliberal capitalism and the creative city, create very fragile cities, in which crises can immediately and easily destroy the ecosystem based on creative elements only. If *Lavapiés* is receiving now many investments, the rents might raise a lot and expulse the neighbours. With a process of crisis, investors might again leave the area that might transform again into an empty space. Because they will have ejected the locals. The processes connected only to creativity are, hence, for me, very dangerous. They might generate crises. Madrid, on the contrary to Barcelona (...), Barcelona has for long been strongly connected to the so-called Barcelona model, the cultural model (...) it has been revealed that it is that of a very fragile city. A crisis of the tourism, a terrorist attack might revolve completely the ecosystem of the city. Many claim, BCN is actually not a sustainable city. Many people are leaving it. Also the tourists are leaving the city. Madrid, on the contrary, is a city that for many reasons has a great diversity and a different economic basis. It has a different public administration, it is the capital of the country (...) there are multinationals (...) other Spanish people are migrating here. Something that in BCN was happening limitedly and now even less. Madrid does not strictly reply to the definition of Creative City as did BCN in the nineties. The tourists do not perceive the city as a place dedicated to Design, as in Milan or BCN. Madrid itself does not consider itself like this. The very concept of Creative City has been working for 20 years and I wonder if this model might be already in disuse.

European cities keep on using it, maybe per inertia. In a way, one might think that this creative model already gave everything it could give. Apparently, it is not the case. Sure, maybe in Bilbao the *Guggenheim*-effect has been positive for the city but, for sure, it was not only merit of the *Guggenheim* but also of other correlations. The authorities in the Basque countries took several measures to foster a change and the *Guggenheim* was only one element of a more profound transformation. Silly enough, other cities tried to copy this element, perceived as decisive, to achieve the same results. In fact, other Spanish cities that copied it created unsuccessful structures that are very expensive and only generate expenses and no profit. This happens in many places that wanted to activate areas of the city. The miracle did not happen (...) the radical change of the image of the city (...) It was applied as a recipe. But it was a process of the confluence of different energies. Everything is actually more complex. It is very difficult to generate a creative city with initiatives that come from the administration. The municipalities can create the conditions but they cannot generate or impose them. Societies are way more complex and represent the encounter of different forces. All this does not happen just like that because a cultural institution opens a museum.

I: Would you claim that creatives in Madrid are socially inclusive?

JC: There are different types of structures in Madrid but especially museums. Those are done for two types of person: for the tourists and for a bourgeois and cultured public. Madrid has strongly tried to create different structures that are not only directed to those two categories but also to other users. Like the citizens. The *Matadero* is one case. Another is *La Casa Encendida*. They were created for the people, for them to develop their creative skills and to connect the population not only through the consume of exhibitions. This kind of art centre (...) was more or less inclusive. I analysed this whole operation very critically. However, recently, these spaces have been really occupied and not only forced by the institution. I used to be very pessimistic, considering these as mechanisms for exploiting the population. However, it turned out to not be like this. In first place, these new institutions started without money and were open to the people and for the people to use them. This guaranteed a real usage of the structures. Provoking an identification of the people with these places. Now, everyone is going to *Matadero* to see what happens. People go there for a walk. These places converted to a place you go on Sundays (...) still, I am not sure they are successful or not, however, life is proliferating. But especially because it was not saturated by the

cultural offer. In the *Macba* square there are still people skateboarding. And not only a place occupied by people (...) These structures are successful. These places happen in a very imperfect way due to the crisis but anyway, this public square stays there and people use them.

I: What concrete structures have been created or what are the future options?

JC: Societies like the one in Madrid but also in Berlin, have to allow the access to the cultural resources for the people to use them. For now, they still are monopolized by the institutions. There is a huge accumulation of the capital that makes people perceive that they are accessing to culture thanks to the altruist possibility offered by someone above them. The people should access the resources in a more direct manner and perhaps self-management could be an option. Collectively, it would be possible to make a qualitative step towards real creativity. Currently, policies severely shape what the cultural landscape is, forcing artists to comply with certain standards or produce in a certain way. It should be inversed. The economic resources and the spatial ones should be accesses more easily. Also, symbolically, the fact of having access to the public. It is necessary to give a new value to the culture. Also to spatial resources. Cultural agents should feel part of the space and create the space. There should be a redistribution of resources to people that now are not considered as part of the cultural class. The average user of the culture comes from the middle class and this class thinks that culture belongs to it only. If cultural goods were redistributed or distributed in a different way for sure we would have different cultural users. When cultural institutions want to promote something, they create a festival. The cultural sector is strongly based on events, I like them very much but they respond to a cultural cosmos of influencing people. *Imagina Madrid* is a good example of integration and cultural support. There are cultural processes right now in which the citizens in a way shape what they want. The value especially in the Spanish case should not be presented as a closed value. In Spain, the culture is completely institutionalized. It is necessary to be critical. It is necessary to generate a cultural dispositive starting from the resources, the self-management, the social inclusion.

Interviewee 7: Miguel Rivas Venegas, Art historian and researcher at Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, former researcher at Museo de Arte Reina Sofia

I: Could you tell me something about you and your current projects?

MR: Currently I work as researcher for the *Universidad Autonoma de Madrid* in the department of History and Art theory. Part of the work we are doing now is related to the analysis of relations between art and what we denominated “wide audiences”. This includes, evidently, the relationship between citizens and urbanism.

I: As creative, what is your relation with the urban space in Madrid?

MR: I am not sure I would define myself as creative. This category is a little problematic for me, especially in relation with my academic work. My relation with the urban space of Madrid changed a bit during the last years. First of all, because of the political changes that occurred within the city. The appearance of a progressive government and the disappearance of some neoliberal policies that were converting Madrid in a hostile place for its citizens was greeted thankfully by everyone. The city has become more liveable, closer to its citizens. Some of the initiatives that the municipality started such as “Decide Madrid”, allowed them to win a sort of feeling of being protagonist within the city. I believe that Madrid and Barcelona occupy, in this sense, a protagonist position within the cities in Spain that are fighting to give back the city to the citizens and control the tourist (sometimes more symbolically than for real) and the foreign private investors.

I: What is in your opinion the role of creatives in contemporary cities? Do they have a social role?

MR: Well, they should have a social role. However, even though their role appears to be more important than that of other producers, I do not necessarily think we should put all the responsibility on one figure – the one of artists, architects, urbanists – that we lately have basically been sublimating. Without generalizing, many of these professionals have immediately identified with this process of sublimation and received through it a sort of legitimation that converted them into spokesmen and privileged intervenors in the modern society. The city, however,

should belong to its citizens and not turn into the playground of the cultural elite. It should respond, in its structure and functioning, to the necessities of individuals, locals and also minorities and not to the personal outburst of politicians as we have been seeing during years with the popular party or to the cultural elites that felt legitimated to leave their personal trace and the signal of their passage in the city.

I: Do you think the role of creatives and urbanists changed with the digitalization?

(...) I do not have much to say in this respect.

I: What do you understand under the definition “creative city”? Do you think it can be applied to Madrid?

MR: Madrid is a creative city but not because it has received this definition by some economic entity. It is creative because of its huge artistic patrimony and its artistic production. The Creative City is an entirely economic definition that does not necessarily define the real artistic production of a city. In terms of trends, hipster cafés and, you know, the typical structures you will find in all gentrified cities, I do believe Madrid has still conserved some of its integrity in comparison to a city like Berlin, for example. This is because of the people living in those special areas that are trying to be modified. They fight against it. Culture-led gentrification is a very clever and dangerous strategy; however, it will need some time before Madrid will be completely gentrified.

I: Are creative spaces within the city socially inclusive? What is their importance?

MR: Generally, no. They are not. Obviously here we are talking about very different things like the space in a museum, a gallery as space for selling luxury goods that are not affordable for everyone (...) to the National Museum Reina Sofia, where I had the opportunity to work as researcher. There, there has been a strong effort, especially under the direction of Borja Vilel, to include the visitors, converting the museum not into a hostile place for big audiences but in a place, where different people with different formation could feel included, directly spoken to, interrogated and stimulated. I still believe it is working very good and I think it is the right way to go. A museum shall not be converted into an attraction park but neither should it be a space that generates rejection. The case of galleries is different. They mostly are marketplaces.

I: Do you think that creative spaces, built to revitalize some areas of the city, can eventually cause gentrification phenomena?

MR: Absolutely. Madrid and the area of *Lavapiés* represent a clear case. In a relatively small place you will find the Museum Reina Sofa, *La casa encendida*, the theatre *Valle Inclán*. Three powerful points of diffusion and cultural creation that evidently attract a very specific public, a type of citizen, a type of consumerist, at the same time, rejecting others. Many times, this is a problem of culture as political agent. The case of Bilbao is another clear example.

I: Can architecture foster social inclusion?

MR: Of course it can. I think this has been the objective of the policies that have been developed by the municipalities in Barcelona and Madrid. Through competitions, initiatives by the local government to develop architectonic and urbanistic projects that could give back the city to the individuals. The problem is that many times the political and cultural agents do not have as priority the construction of a city, where creative and cultural centres actually fulfil the necessities of the citizens. There are other priorities.

I: Could you give me one concrete example of urban creative structure or architectonic project that could be beneficial for the community?

MR: Perhaps the project "vote for 11 squares", through which the municipality of Madrid asked to the citizens through vote, what renewal projects of urban space they felt were important and necessary. If the realization was possible, they were asked to vote for the actual proposals by the architects, voting for the structures that were more adapt to their necessities. I am aware that those initiatives if not reiterated, are more sort of political moves that will not generate any profound change in the city. However, at least as initiative, I think it is the right direction to take.

Interviewee 8: Richars Mesa, creative director and co-founder of IS creative studio

I: Could you tell me something about you/ your current projects: what is your position/ what projects are you currently working on?

RM: I am founder of IS creative studio, which was founded in Madrid in 2010. We mostly work with brands and brand identities but also create our own concepts for exhibitions or events. Before, I worked as creative director for some studios, after some time spent in New York. In 2010, I won the European Design awards that sort of gave me the kick to opening my new studio in Madrid. The IS Creative Studio. We do engage with people in a fresh and ironical way, trying to always give a personal touch. For the moment, our studio is divided between Madrid and Lima, in Peru. This has been fundamental for us, to acquire a more global view of our work and get inspired here and there. We define us “natural coolhunters”, which for me means that we try to always set new trends and keep up with what people are looking for and want.

I: As creative, what is your relation to the urban space in Madrid?

RM: Well, we are not strictly urban planners or architects. But I like to think of the city as a sort of urban playground and for sure as a source for continuous inspiration. The city keeps being transformed, especially Madrid in the last twenty years. And it is fundamental for creatives to keep up with the changes, anticipate them and adapt to them. I like to think of creatives as individuals, who bring colour to the city. For sure, some areas of Madrid, like Malasana or Lavapies has undergone severe phenomena of gentrification, however, I still think that, on the contrary to other cities like London, it has managed to rebel, on a certain level, against the continuous speculation. I am curious to see the next changes that will occur.

I: What is in your opinion the role of creatives (artists, architects...) in contemporary cities? Do they have a social role?

RM: Creatives certainly do have a social role, especially due to their exposure to the public. However, this is not always more intense than the one of other people. They can decide to support campaigns... Considering how deeply they contribute

to the change of the city, actually their role becomes social. The most creative centres, and Lavapiés is an example, are the ones with the highest rate in immigrants. Creatives have, hence, learned to cooperate and accept different culture. Which means, they foster, in a way, already social inclusion. I often think that creatives, clustering, could perhaps reach results on a political level. I am putting in the category also music producers and filmmakers. They actually already do. However, we cannot ask from small artists selling one painting a month to also find the time and craft to engage socially. I think they can but it should not be mandatory.

I: Do you think the role of creatives changed with the digitalization?

RM: For our work, digitalization is fundamental. Perhaps, we would not exist without it. However, in some cases, I think it is deeply destroying the creative market. Many softwares are basically taking over human tasks and nowadays, the role of the architect or of the designer has shrunk and become undervalued in a way. However, talking again from a social perspective and considering the social media, the role of creatives has somehow shifted. (...) They are much more a hybrid now. Not only a pure creative but also (...) a manager, a marketing expert... a social media strategist. Surely digitalization has changed a lot. It can be a powerful tool, considering its power of communication. But it also created hybrids of people that do a little bit of everything and are experts in nothing.

I: What do you understand under the definition “creative city”? Do you think it can be applied to Berlin?

RM: Well, I think the biggest examples of Creative city in Spain are probably Barcelona and perhaps Bilbao. Barcelona operated in the last twenty years a very aggressive branding strategy, successfully attracting professionals and, on a second level, tourists. There is a high percentage of people working in creative fields and the city is very open. I am not sure Madrid has been the real “creative capital” until today, however, things have been changing in the last years. Also the kind of tourism is changing and the bars and cafés are reacting to this, adopting always more an “international style”. Madrid has generally been a very tolerant city. People from various cultures have been moving in and also concerning tolerance for gay couples and so on, it has always been very good. I think the very soul of the city is, for sure, highly creative. Although I am not sure whether perhaps the

definition of creativity has changed through the years. I have the feeling, nowadays always more people define themselves creative, without actually creating anything. I strongly support and consider the small sellers of handmade objects in flea markets as creative and, from that aspect, in Madrid we have a lot of handmade products and little shops. So, yes. I would overall claim, it is a creative city.

I: Are creative spaces within the city (galleries, museums, architectonic spaces in general...) socially inclusive? What is their importance?

RM: In Madrid, creative spaces have always belonged to a politically left movement. According to this nature, yes, they have been socially inclusive. Generally, creative centres in Madrid always have created a big benefit to the people. Also, they are constantly visited, which means they actually are alive. And not only a sort of dry experiment of municipalities. For example, in Lavapiés, that is an area that has been constantly changing throughout the years, it was evident that the multiple cultural centres that opened, including the museum Reina Sofia, were a strategy of the city to renovate the area and attract richness (...) a little bit like the Bilbao effect. However, I would say it has been a positively revitalizing strategy for the area. Frankly, Lavapiés has become a very liveable city area and it was about time that Madrid would invest in some cultural structures. The real problem is, when the local population is forced to leave. In Lavapiés, this created serious struggles among the population. And when I say serious, I mean with intervention of the police and serious fights in the street. This is really sad and the municipalities should consider other ways of implementing new structures, without destroying the ecosystem of an area.

I: Do you think that creative spaces, built to revitalize some areas of the city, can eventually cause gentrification phenomena?

RM: This can evidently happen. As for the example of Lavapiés. Gentrification is not always bad. The real problem about it, is that is it elitist. A gentrification causing only an improvement of the city, without kicking out the locals or the immigrants would be the best way, but of course there is a lot of speculation and also Spain is strongly trying to acquire a new image as destination of culture for the tourists.

I: How can citizens and locals take benefit from the creative centres and structures? Can architecture foster social inclusion?

RM: I think, if creative structures would in a certain way be more inclusive, leaving a certain grade of snobbism and targeting more people, then citizens could also profit from them and maybe they would perceive them as really useful. A real benefit would be, but this is actually already happening on a certain grade, to engage more politically. Theatres, film studios... in this case, being so prominent and visible, they could really create some benefit for the citizens. Some already do. Some cultural centres like “La casa encendida” really work with topics such as gentrification, creating all a series of cultural events around it. If this really works, in the end, is not certain. However, creatives can for sure give a great contribution, if they want.

I: Could you give me one concrete example of urban creative structure or architectonic project that could be beneficial for the community?

RM: As I said, the Casa Encendida is a good example of cultural centre dealing a lot with political topics. Since 2015, Madrid engaged in a huge project with the attempt of becoming an open source city. The whole aim is to increase the quality of democracy and creativity plays a huge role in it. I think that political parties, adopting more bottom-up strategies and making them more appealing through creative strategies could really create an impact and contribute to the creation of healthy and functioning cities. Actually, it should be their role, perhaps responding to the demand of the people. Generally, however, it is fundamental to really be aware of what the multiple strata of population want and what is adapt for them. Creating cultural centres that remain empty and stand as a monolite in the middle of a cleaned-out square will not change how things are socially. Creativity should be for everyone and including everyone. Perhaps, also adopting more design-thinking strategies in various kind of jobs or sectors could be an improvement. Generally, the cooperation between sectors: social, artistic, political (...)

I: Do you want to add something that has not been mentioned yet?

RM: I really think creativity cannot be limited to owning a nice MacBook and working in a SoHo house. Creativity is innated in everyone and the expression of it should be encouraged. The state should give the tools to the citizens to express their creativity in any sector. And it should strongly be implemented in urban

planning but not as a branding strategy. It should make our cities a better place to live in.

Interviewed 9: Unai Fernández de Betoño, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)

I: Tell me something about you. What projects are you currently working on?

UB: I am a full-time professor of urbanism and spatial planning at the Universidad del País Vasco – UPV/EHU. Generally, I am investigating on the sustainability of urbanism and urban planning and, concretely, on the relation between urban models and immaterial territorial patrimony, by which I mean cultural landscape, local identity, language, communitarian development, the endogenous intangible potentials, the indigenous agricultural traditions and so on.

I: What is your relation to urban space in Spain?

UB: What especially interests me in the Spanish case, is the study of its development model, mainly based upon the construction sector (over-offer of flats, huge amenities and infrastructures...) and, especially, on its depredatory touristic model that fostered important changes in its different sociocultural landscapes. A certainly problematic relation that still remains unsolved and that I strongly doubt will ever be. Generally, in Spain they are not yet considering the sustainable development in its global acceptance, limiting themselves on the mere economic development, in terms of supposedly infinite growth. It is interesting, in this respect, the comparison with the concept of urban development in the franquist period, in the decade of the eighties, in the decade of the so-called bubble brick (*burbuja del ladrillo*) and in its late years.

I: What is the role of creatives in contemporary cities? Do they have a social role?

UB: “Creatives” or people from the art sector do not build a homogeneous group; in fact, art itself is not homogeneous at all. Even so, it is possible to affirm that art, even though not necessary, can cover a social role. It can be a discipline that aims at operating social, political and economic critique. Art and the artist can help build a sort of social empowerment. They can contribute the strengthening of community dynamics. Even though it is not necessary in order to be considered art, some

artistic expressions such as songs, murals, buildings or pictures can turn into iconic representations of concrete ideologies and, hence, acquire a social role. The history is full of such examples. This social role, however, can be used for the civil society, with the intention of building a more just and solidary community, or for the political power, with the intention of maintaining a status quo. In contemporary societies, both uses are applied. In huge contemporary cities, it is pretty visible and it already counts many media, the utilization and manipulation of art and artists for political and economic power, in order to reach their own goal: maintain and even reunite more power in order to accumulate more capital possible (of every kind).

I: What do you understand under the definition “Creative City”? Do you think it can be applied to Madrid or other Spanish cities?

UB: Even though a generalization is not possible, I think that the “Creative City” is only another label invented by the urban contemporary marketing: similarly to Smart City, Intelligent City, City of Gastronomy, Green City, City of Sport, City of Vermouth and so on. Its main objective is not to help art and the overall artistic creation, but to encourage them only until they are necessary for the attraction of investments and tourists, with the goal of accumulating, as I mentioned before, more capital possible. The idea of the Creative City is an idea that departs from an economic and in-solidary vision of an urban environment that promotes a city capable of attracting professionals of the creative elite as residents (artists, decorators, architects, designers...) in order to become more competitive in a contemporary, postmodern, globalized world, thanks to its sophisticated and bohemian spirit that will lead to the revalorization of its urban goods. This, without giving importance to the automatic, forced displacement of other, less wealthy residents. It is the contemporary implementation in planetary scale of the SoHO effect of New York of the seventies. This, fostered a huge upgrading of the hood thanks to the “recruitment” (during that time, spontaneous) of residents with a creative style. This, involved one of the first known cases of gentrification or urban élitization.

I: How do Creative Industries influence contemporary cities?

UB: From an urban point of view, as I said, they help the upgrading of the urban properties, thanks to the bohemian and sophisticated style they permeate the city with. They can help attracting resources and tourists. This can be positive for a city

under certain economic aspects, however, it is necessary to analyse its secondary effects. Also, it would be necessary to talk about what kind of creativity is fostered by them and if this contributes to strengthen a homogeneous cultural vision, acritical with the status quo and with hegemonic stereotypes, in which the artist is always a white, middle-aged, western man, speaking the main spoken languages (English, Spanish, French...). If by encouraging the Creative Industries we mean the construction, finance or support, through public funds of supposed iconic spectacle-buildings and private museos-franquicia in which we are only going to expose iconic north American pop-artists, and in the mind of many politicians there is this thought since the notorious “Guggenheim-effect”, then their influence is clearly globalizing and standardizing also on a socio-cultural level.

I: Do you think creative spaces within the city are socially inclusive? What is their importance?

UB: Evidently, they can and should be. Especially those financed in some way by public funds. Freedom of expression is a fundamental idea of society in general and especially in the art world.

I: Do you think creative spaces can stimulate gentrification processes?

UB: Of course, as I highlighted before. But I also believe that gentrification can (and should) be defeated with public socioeconomic means, among which the public participation should be real and directly including the affected community, from the beginning of the process of decision taking. What also should be granted, is that the bigger part of general surplus and economic benefits taken from urban regeneration are actually destined to a fund that directly reverts on projects of social interest for this local community.

I: Could you give me one concrete example or urban creative structure or architectonic project that can be beneficial for the community?

The network of gaztetxeak (houses of youth), created in the last decades in the basque country is very interesting. Even though not all of them are equal, in Araba as well as in Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Nafarroa Garaia, Lapurdi, Nafarroa Beherea and Zuberoa, youngsters of different generations since the eighties occupied buildings in the towns and cities that had been empty for years, with the intention of

designating them to a sociocultural use, for creating workshops, concerts, studios, courses, different artistic practices and so on. These *gaztetxeak* are, hence, a type of self-managed, sociocultural centre, by basque youngsters that give a communitarian usage to an empty place without previous purpose, beyond real estate speculation or the abandonment by the owner. Among the most interesting cases is the *gaztetxe* of Gasteiz (Araba), that is already thirty years old. The municipality saw the great benefit created by the occupation of such structure in the old city and decided to buy it to give it more stability allowing the youngsters to still keep managing the structure. In fact, they keep organizing different sociocultural and artistic events still today.

I: Do you want to add something that has not been mentioned yet?

UB: That the urban renovation and the gentrification are almost two faces of the same coin. Hence, the public institutions should plan and manage the whole process of urban renewal considering from the beginning its negative consequences, in order to ease them in time and effectively. Art can help urban renovation; however, it lacks more public initiative for the generated surplus. The public as well as the private, should invest more in the directly affected communities, avoiding forced displacements and the dangerous urban segregation.

A2: Appendix 2

Affidavit

I hereby confirm by means of my signature that I have prepared the submitted work independently and without the help of others, and have not used any sources other than those specified.

All texts taken literally or meaningfully from published and non-published publications are indicated as such. The work has not been submitted in the same or similar form – not even as excerpts – to any other examination authority, and has not yet been published.

Location, Date, Signature

The provision regarding group work has been set down by the Berlin Higher Education Act (BerlHG). It is compulsory, even if the lecturer believes it is not a prerequisite!! This affidavit is to be signed separately by each group member.