

**The Festivalization of the Creative City**  
**A Study of Two Creative Quarters in Barcelona and Berlin**

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## **Abstract**

In recent decades, the concepts of 'creative city', 'creative class' and 'experience economy' have gained growing attention by scholars and city administrations, bringing fundamental changes to the character of urban space in contemporary cities. These concepts and strategies emphasize the importance of 'soft' location factors and the experiential and cultural characteristics of a place to create prerequisites for culture-led regeneration. In this sense, one of the most popular instruments of cultural planning implementation is focusing cultural development on art festivals, which have become a 'must-have' policy for creative city urban planners attempting to galvanize local cultural life, build continuity of 'happening' and thus attract creative individuals. These factors turn urban space into a constant festival; a phenomenon called festivalization. However, besides the top-down 'creative' initiatives by city councils, the process of festivalization is also produced and contested by interventions stemming from the grassroots level of cultural and community stakeholders, reflecting the peculiarities and aims of creative city strategies in different contexts. Therefore, considering festivalization and creative city development as tightly coupled processes, the research aims to bridge a gap between the two by addressing how festivalization is being produced within the experience economy paradigm. In order to do so, the research aims to analyze the organizational issues of festivalization in the case studies of El Raval in Barcelona and northern Neukölln in Berlin, two quarters facing a process of economic and social regeneration based on the experience economy and cultural activities.

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## Introduction

The present study focuses on cultural festivals as one of the most common instruments of creative city promotion, which have become a ‘must-have’ policy for urban planners of contemporary cities. Cultural festivals, besides presenting and embodying of new identities of revitalized areas, become a main element in construction of a ‘happening’ continuity, galvanizing the cultural life and creating a proper ‘atmosphere’ of the urban space. These factors turn urban space into a place of constant festival, a phenomenon that Häußermann and Siebel (1993) called festivalization (*festivalisierung* in German) of urban policies and space. Unlike it was presented by Häußermann and Siebel as a *festivalization of urban politics*, under festivalization the author implies not solely periodic mega-events but also (and primarily) small-sized festivals that provide the *continuous* festival experience. Taking into account the growing role of happening in urban space, which is an integral part of experience economy, festivalization influences urban space production and consumption.

Current works on cultural festivals and, recently, festivalization have focused on describing various economic, social and cultural impacts these processes produce, usually taking for granted broader socioeconomic settings of festival omnipresence in urban space. On the one hand, current academic studies, focusing on the impacts of festivals and festivalization at the local level, disregard the issue of festivalization production within particular local contexts, and, on the other hand, they do not explore the implementation of international policies at particular local contexts as one of the main prerequisites of festivalization emergence. In contrast to these works, this dissertation explores processes of festivalization formation, regarding them as a product of complex top-down and bottom-up strategies, where the interplay between different actors’ interests, incentives and motivations takes place as a key element for the emergence of festivalization in relation to the international spread of creative city strategies.

The present research consists of two main theoretical elements, which are introduced in this section: creative city theory and festivalization.

### *Creative City turn*

Historical prerequisites of this ‘creative’ vector of urban development can be found in the intertwined processes of manufacturing (Fordist) economic crisis, emergence of globalization, the political and economic restructuring of the Keynesian nation-state and the subsequent decay of industrial urban space in the late 1970s, which led to the formation of New Urban Politics in the 1980s (Jonas & Wilson, 1999) that emphasized, first an ‘entrepreneurial turn’ (Harvey, 1989) and subsequently a ‘creative turn’ (Krätke, 2011) in urban policies aimed at converting former manufacturing based cities into post-industrial economies.

The rise of entrepreneurialism of local municipalities in the 1970s which was determined by shifting from the Keynesian managerialism towards policies of new business attraction to the local areas created necessary conditions for the rise of competitiveness and the emergence of inter-local urban competition (Harvey, 1989). Therefore, this turn to entrepreneurial politics attached prime significance to city branding and place promotion as useful instruments of investment attraction (Brenner, 2004).

As the entrepreneurial New Urban Politics consolidated during the 1990s, in the last decades the accent, within entrepreneurialism, has shifted towards stressing the importance of knowledge and creative priorities in urban economies. Thus, since the introduction of the Creative city concept in 1995 by Landry and Bianchini (Landry & Bianchini, 1995) and its further popularization by Florida (2002) as one of the most promising ways of urban revitalization and enhancing interurban competitive performance, creativity, as well as its main discursive themes (e.g., post-industrialism,

creative class, creative economy, arts-led regeneration, etc.), has become one of the most important terms in urban development strategies. Indeed, facing limited resources and pressures to deliver growth and jobs, municipalities are attracted by the perceived easiness of cultural transformation and achieving positive results in a short period of time, as it is may be concluded from reading ‘pro-creative’ literature. Such a development model (as well as the very notion of ‘creative city’) has become even more appealing as cities face financial crisis and municipalities need to cut (or even refuse of) traditional methods of tax benefits and provision of hard infrastructure. However, the creative turn has also been widely criticized by possible shortcomings of such paradigm application like social and spatial exclusion of non-creative people, difficulties with integration of ‘creative class’ into regional economy, existence of various social and economic nuances that may hinder any positive effects (Peck, 2005; Scott, 2006).

Nonetheless, as a large number of cities all around the world are implementing creative city policies, creativity itself has become the key dimension in which interurban competition for attracting new citizens and creative and knowledge entrepreneurs (usually referred as ‘creative class’) is set. This strive for attraction of creative class induces municipalities to establish not only economic benefits for creative enterprises but also create and promote lifestyle amenities for ‘talent’ elite (Florida, 2002). This context conduced the importance of aesthetic experiences as well as the promotion of the cultural and social activities that the city has to offer.

### *Creative City and Festivalization*

Specific non-material modes of production and consumption, which is a salient feature of creative class made the cities to switch strategic priorities of urban development away from hard location factors (hard infrastructure) to soft location factors with leisure activities and place-based images, emphasizing experiential and cultural characteristics

of a place (Jakob, 2012) . Thus, cultural planning has turned out to be a critical necessity of any urban development strategy. Indeed, cultural development can be regarded as a kind of ‘raw material’ for the creation of place distinctiveness, image building and regeneration of urban fabric (Richards, 2007b). In this sense, one of the most popular instruments of cultural planning implementation is creating city identity and its promotion through cultural festivals, which have become a ‘must-have’ policy for Creative City urban planners (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Evans et al., 2006; Van Aalst & Van Melik, 2012).

It can be argued that the connection between cultural planning for the Creative City and Festival has many layers, which can be illustrated within creative city theory elements. Following the structure proposed by Durmaz et al. (2008), we can distinguish three main components of the Creative City: Creative Industries, Creativity Strategies and Creative Community. Indeed, it is rather difficult to imagine any kind of creative metropolis with no support of cultural and knowledge industries, development of local cultural life or promotion of the city and its initiatives. Festivals, being a very specific form of social, artistic and promotional activity, incorporate all these dimensions.

From the side of creative and cultural industries, these industries can indicate a solid festival contribution, especially by organizing and support of specific domain art festivals (e.g., film, music, performance art festivals, etc.) bringing together art domain professionals, specialists, curators and audiences, helping to enhance network connections as well as promoting the place among specialists and those involved or just interested in the specific cultural field. As Ooi and Pedersen (2009) indicated, this type of city promotion is based on the international acknowledgement of the festival (like Berlinale or Copenhagen film festival) and its program, combined with financial policies aimed at the creation of proper conditions for emerging and attraction of creative industries to the city. This model focuses on the ‘showcase’ role of a festival, demonstrating existing creative industries in the city and acting as an important ‘node’ of

a certain industry (music, film, performance industries, etc.) on the global or at least regional map. As it was argued by Ooi and Pedersen (2009), the focus of festival organizers on industry acknowledgement is often different from the 'city showcase' focus of local municipalities and thus, the organizational and promotional priorities between festival organizers and city branding authorities may not match.

Another connection between creative city turn and festivals can be traced through extensive use of cultural festivals in creativity strategies and cultural planning. Indeed, numerous authors indicate the increasing role of festivals in city branding and culture-led regeneration (idem). If we consider place branding as one of the key creative policies, we can find the festival as a key component of the city brand image. In this sense, they are largely used not only to attract tourists but also creative individuals and foreign investment. Here we can give an example of Edinburgh, where the brand of 'Festival City' has strong connotations to Creative City policies resulting into solid economic and cultural benefits. The very core of the creative city promotion lies in the field of event and festival organization playing the role of 'cultural display' for creation of a favorable image of the city (Quinn, 2005). Again, there are many issues arising from creative city promotion where festival can play a decisive role as it was described by festivals researchers: namely, matching between the brand and the city, providing social inclusion and boosting city brand through festival domain acknowledgement.

Besides the growing importance of festivals in Creative Industries and urban development strategies, academics point at the role of the festival as a cultural activity, having the potential to incorporate all the city residents (artists, knowledge workers or ordinary residents) which help to build a 'creative community' necessary for the formation of cultural capital and the success of the new creative face of the city. At this point, festivals are an effective instrument for providing the sense of inclusion rather than the exclusion of the creative initiatives, albeit with caution about organizational priorities related to mass and elitist cultures. Richards (2007) links the current ubiquitous presence of

festivals to a crisis of legitimization of the welfare state's cultural and public policies arguing for general accessibility of festivals for all the city residents.

Moreover, festivals are used as instruments for the creation of proper 'creative' atmosphere in the urban space, being an indicator of attractive 'climate' for creative individuals and serving as a display of creative city success factors, namely Technology, Tolerance and Talent (Richard Florida's three 'Ts', see Florida, 2002) presence in the city.

In order to create a proper attractive 'setting' in the creative city, we can distinguish two main development models as described in Creative Metropoles report (2010). In spite of numerous interconnections between the two, it is possible to indicate general priorities. While the first model mainly focuses on building an attractive climate for industries and enterprises (through economic benefits, taxation, housing policies, etc.), the second model can also be described as atmosphere-oriented, prioritizing the attractiveness of the urban space. It can be argued that the special role here belongs to cultural festivals, which are used to build a continuity of 'happening' and galvanizing cultural life. In this context, a special role belongs to numerous small-scaled and grassroots festivals, which represent a phenomenon called *festivalization*.

#### *Festivalization: turning urban space into 'happening'*

The phenomenon of festivalization has several definitions and it is necessary to clarify the terminology that we will use further. In general, festivalization can be defined as specific mechanisms of organization and formation of urban space and society activities as well as a way of entertainment of city residents and tourists through increasing the quantity and quality of festivals (Karpińska-Kraskowiak, 2009). At the same time, Häußermann and Siebel (1993) mean by festivalization mainly policies of mega-events, linking festival to economic growth and investment attraction, while Hitters (2007) considers that

festivalization implies continuous festivals, its permanent presence in the urban fabric. Jakob (2012) emphasizes the scalar difference between festivalization and eventification, focusing on her research on small-scaled festivals and other cultural events and thus talking about 'eventification'. In our research we will focus on bringing festivals to the neighborhood level and hence the term 'festivalization' will be used referring to continuous, primarily (but not exclusively) small-scaled festival process. Exploring academic literature, we can distinguish two interrelated types of festivalization: festivalization of cultural policies and festivalization of urban space.

On the one hand, as it was mentioned before, festivalization of urban cultural policies has historical prerequisites from the 1970s, due to legitimization crisis of welfare state's cultural policies, striving for inclusion of the lower strata of city residents into cultural consumption (Richards, 2007). As Hitters (2007) argues, since that time, urban cultural policies started to switch the priorities from traditional high art to mass culture (pop music, ethnic culture, entertainment, etc.), which advanced festivalization processes to the forefront.

Another precondition of cultural policies festivalization was the emergence of new forms of production and consumption determined by the experience economy (Pine et al., 1999). The main characteristic of the experience economy is the *theatralization* of production and consumption processes, where the emphasis is made on experiences, images and memorable events (idem). This context also largely affected the way of how interurban competition increased and the set of instruments for creative class attraction, turning festivalization into an omnipresent phenomenon. This goes in line with Florida's (2005a, p. 99) understanding of creative class attraction, stating that building proper 'vivid' atmosphere for creative individuals through "*visual and audio cues such as outdoor dining, active outdoor recreation, a thriving music scene, active nightlife, and bustling street scene [is] important attractant*". In such a manner, experience economy



took processes of consumption out of the buildings and settled them in the open urban space.

Besides that, festivalization implies certain prioritization of creative class attraction over the attraction of tourists and thus promotion of a place to live rather than a place to visit. Besides that, festivalization implies lowering the scale of the festival with elongating of festival process, sometimes covering the whole year. This makes city policies being focused primarily on existing and potential residents of the city.

On the other hand, festivalization as a process can also be regarded as a means of urban space transformation, turning the cultural environment of the city into an attractor producing a positive image of festivalized space. Orientation of cultural policies on creativity brings to life new modes of cultural production and consumption and therefore creating new models of urban growth strategies and coalitions. These models imply the increasing importance of those *who* produce images and experiences and those *for whom* these experiences are being produced and hence creative class representatives emerge to prominence, especially its 'super-creative core' (Florida, 2002) – individual artists and artist communities.

The structure of the present study consists of seven chapters. The first three chapters constitute a literature review of the present research, where the first chapter is devoted to the definition of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of the festivals and festival studies. This chapter is followed by the analysis of the existing literature on creative cities and various perspectives on this topic. These chapters present two key fields of studies necessary for analysis of the festivalization formation in the context of the creative city. The third chapter aims to bridge the gap between these areas of research and to explore the festivalization process from the experience economy perspective.

The chapters devoted to literature review are followed by the presentation of the methodology of the present research in Chapter 4, providing the necessary rationale for selected approaches to answer the research question of the study.

Subsequent three chapters aim to present and discuss the results and findings of the research. Chapter 5 is devoted to the context analysis of two selected neighborhoods as well as their comparison in terms of festivalization process formation in the creative city context. The following chapter presents the results of stakeholder analysis of six selected festivals in order to understand their organizational structures. Chapter 7 aims to explore the intentionality of festival organizers as well as particular factors influencing the organizational process of the selected events. This chapter is followed by the conclusion of the study, summarizing the analysis results presented in the previous parts of the thesis.

## CHAPTER 1: Conceptualizing Planned Events, Art Festivals and Festivalization

Events play an increasingly important role in contemporary society. With an almost limitless number of forms and sizes, events of all kinds from gigantic projects like Olympic Games to a modest neighborhood-wide art festival next square, they define the rhythm of our social, cultural and economic life. The implications of these events, and the role they play in contemporary society, makes them part and parcel of our cultural and economic lives. In recent decades, the number of events of all kinds has been increasing dramatically, even exponentially. As Yeoman (2004) marked it, only in Europe during the last half a century the number of festivals has increased significantly, which triggered the appearance and fast development of festivals and events industry since early 1990s. At the same time, the field of planned events is rather unlimited, with all diversity of possible kinds of events, their quantity is uncountable. It comes as no surprise that with all the differences in size and goals, initial visions and possible outcomes, financial resources and number of stakeholders involved, events attract ever-growing attention from academia around the world.

Over the course of history, people around the world have celebrated special occasions and devoted time for festive activities and practices (Turner, 1982). During the twentieth century there was a remarkable quantitative upsurge in the field of cultural events. From the Second World War (Klaic, 2014) festivals, fairs and cultural celebrations increased in size and number and has been transforming contemporary urban life (Jordan, 2016; Richards, 2015). According to Yeoman (2004), during the last sixty years the quantity of festivals in Europe has increased from approximately 400 to over 30000 and since the beginning of the 1990s, has appeared and developed a global festival industry (Fjell, 2007). The growth of art events and festivals in quantity has been particularly evident

since the late 1970s and 1980s (Evans & Shaw, 2004) and since that time cultural events and festivals became a part and parcel of urban life in Europe (Olsen, 2013). During the recent decades this trend was marked by the pervasive adoption of event-based cultural development strategies by cities in search of achievement of instrumental benefits. The application of cultural events is truly wide: They are applied as a tool to transform urban landscapes, promote a city on national or international level, improve city image for tourists and investors, increase economic growth and financial benefits (Zukin, 1998).

The aim of this chapter is to overview academic literature on events and festivals, to discuss the most important debates and to outline, conceptualize and thus contextualize the festivalization process. This chapter aims to discuss why and how festivalization, a specific way of organization and formation of urban space and social activities based on festivals, is implemented as a development and urban planning strategy in contemporary city. The principal objectives include identification and explanation of various approaches of using events in urban development. Cities are keen to apply event-based strategies in development programs, festivalization. The purpose of this chapter is not merely to investigate deeply each event-based strategy, but to understand use of events in urban development generally, especially by public entities and festival organizers. In this chapter the three key concepts – events, festivals and festivalization – are introduced and explained.

## 1.1 The Growth of Urban Festivals

Such an apparent increase in the use of art events have several key preconditions. The general context of this process of event and festival growth in European cities is related to and stimulated by generally increased mobility and structural changes: secularization of society, growing migration, democratization of political systems at large and changing development paradigms of the culture and cultural democracy in their specifics (Boissevain, 1992). This general context has led to the enabling economic and social environment of low social and political risk during recent decades, which boosted enormously development of the event and festival industry. Taking a closer look on this process gives an opportunity to conclude that constantly growing interest in events and festivals has come as a result from structural shifts in economic production - the shift from industrial to post-industrial production in Europe and cities' urge to adapt to a new economic model of development, to adjust available resources and infrastructure as new production and consumption strategies require and to find the ways to regenerate, revitalize and enliven historically deprived or disinvested neighborhoods as cultural economy is a priority in post-industrial economies (Quinn, 2005). Other reasons of wide dissemination of event-based strategies are from growing demand perspective: growing economic well-being (which has relation to welfare political strategies in Western countries) contributed to a greater need for participation in cultural activities like events and festivals: *"People buy products they think can satisfy their needs and aspirations, and in this case these products are festivals"* (Fjell, 2007, p. 131). Another explanation of this trend relates to communities' search to reassert and develop their identities in the context of cultural dislocation caused by growing structural changes, mobility and globalization. According to Picard and Robinson (2006), this search of assertion is also connected to the feeling of uncertainty in an environment where established systems of continuity are called into question by the changing contexts of new social, economic, cultural and political milieus.

Therefore, the general process of event and festival development is closely connected to the strategies for entering the new globalized environment (Von Dassanowsky, 2006). In other words, the event and festival industry is changing, yet there is a change in the way how it is applied in social and political contexts as well.

Furthermore, the proliferation of events and festivals has been conditioned in recent decades by the processes of globalization, in economic and cultural terms. Economies become more interdependent and integrated, which makes easier movement of ideas and strategies from one region to another. Besides that, according to Nijman (1999), the process of 'cultural globalization' is speeding up the exchange of cultural symbols, which leads to transformation of local popular cultures. It is a commonplace that events have become a prominent means for this exchange at international level, from small-scale festivals to mega-events, generating and exchanging cultural symbolic value.

This is related to the processes of 'mediatization' and 'mobilization' of contemporary public culture: processes conditioned by rapid technological changes in modern urban life<sup>1</sup>. Mediatization refers to the process readily apparent since the 1960s, when television started to become a key mass medium around Europe, having its social and cultural repercussions. Speaking of the relation of mediatization process to the event field, there is a possibility of obtaining greater notoriety than the stable programming before the era of television and internet. Mobilization denotes the phenomenon started since the 1970s, but rapidly developing since the early 1990s: the process of radical changes on the tourism industry and intensification of international mass tourism and travel (Giorgi et al., 2011). Such technological changes in the ways through which people receive information and growing simplicity of traveling on large distances underpin the transformation of society towards a mass consumer culture from the 1960s to the beginning of the 1990s, which also provoked rapid development of individualized consumer culture confronting mass

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<sup>1</sup> Since the year 2020, it is necessary to take into account the pandemic situation and the change on consumption, especially in the domain of cultural industries' products and events.

forms of consumption from the 1990s and on. These factors need to be considered in order to understand the changing environment of festive culture development in the European context. Furthermore, the growth of the festival field can be explained by demand and supply sides. From supply side, or organizational perspective (Frey, 2003; Frey & Serna, 1993), this phenomenon is preconditioned by the substantial decrease of the costs of hiring and renting costs of event venues, simplification of communication methods, both among organizers (appearance of event industry, field-configuring events and forums) and communication with the audience, significant reduction of political restrictions and cultural and traditional limitations. From demand side, prominent proliferation of events and festivals is related to per capita income growth, reduction of attendance and travel costs, information, general lessening of physical and psychological barriers<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, there is a significant increase in demand for consumption of ‘authentic’ experiences, interaction with locals at distinct, unique and memorable settings (Getz, 2008).

According to Gibson and Connell (2011), festivals started to grow in numbers in the 1960s due to a complex combination of social and economic factors that preconditioned the growth in production and consumption of non-material culture.

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<sup>2</sup> Since the year 2020 it is also necessary to take into account the pandemic situation and related restrictions.

## 1.2 Event Phenomenon and Event Studies

In order to provide necessary contextualization of the festivalization process, first it is necessary to understand the position that festivals and festivalization take in the broader academic field of event studies. All the issues related to planned events (whether it is a business conference, art biennale or music festival) are analyzed by the academic field of *event studies*. Specific academic research in the field of festivals is relatively recent, beginning in the 1970s. Since festivals play an important role in almost all cultures and nations, they first were researched and theorized from anthropological and sociological perspectives (Cruikshank, 1997; Getz, 2010). However, since the decades of 1980s and 1990s, a different approach appeared to festival studies (Cudny, 2014). Noticeable growth of financial aspect preconditioned growing interest in analysis of the economic sphere of festivals as a part of a wider field of event studies (Getz, 1993).

It comes to no surprise that with the great increase of cultural events (in both quantitative and qualitative terms), they play a growing role in contemporary society and provide bigger impact on urban life, which provoked a growing academic interest. The scope of event studies is truly immense: nowadays event studies are drawing on several disciplines from anthropology and psychology to law and management studies (Getz & Page, 2019). The author does not intend to overview the whole spectrum of issues of associated disciplines, approaches, debates and solutions, rather it is important to delineate the field of studies related to the topic of the present research. Indeed, event studies aim to explore underlying ideologies related to event production, to explore existing models of event lifecycle, to understand possible implications related to planned events. To analyze and explain the process of event functioning from the very inception to the resulting outcomes, which requires understanding the role of every stakeholder group involved, its views and meanings attached to an event and its potential outcomes. This helps to create the theory and knowledge base for academic researchers and those who deal with issues



related to events, event professionals and organizers (idem). It also provides better understanding of multifold aspects (societal, managerial and environmental) that help to shape the decision-making process in order to avoid or offset any possible negative impacts.

According to Getz (2010), there are three major approaches: socio-anthropological, economic and management approaches. The first one focuses on the meaning and role of festivals in cultural and social domains (Falassi, 1987). The second one regards festivals as economic and marketing phenomena, with special attention paying to the role of events in tourism and destination development (Frey, 2003; Quinn, 2005; Richards, 2007a). Indeed, festival field can be regarded as one of the most rapidly growing types of leisure and tourism-related phenomena (Dimmock & Tiyce, 2001), which implies using festivals and their quantity as a key instrument to improve a place image and attractiveness of a certain area to tourists. The latter deals with management aspects, dealing with professional sphere of event and festival organization processes (T. D. Andersson & Getz, 2008; Lee, 2017).

### 1.2.1 Characteristics of events

From the sociological or anthropological point of view, events have been existing and developing from ancient times. Being a part of different civilizations, events were used as a way to celebrate a wide variety of key events from traditional to religious (Falassi, 1987) and changing new seasons (Ferdinand & Shaw, 2012). Indeed, it is highly difficult to imagine any society or tradition without any regular event. Nowadays, events and festivals become even more prominent social and economic factor.

Since that times various types of events grew quantitatively and qualitatively, therefore there are a lot of definitions of this phenomenon. It is necessary to understand what is an event itself. In a broad sense, events can be defined as “*an occurrence at a given place and time; a special set of circumstances; a noteworthy occurrence*” (Getz & Page, 2019, p. 51).

Indeed, a broad understanding of this term encompasses a great variety of events from the multitude of fields:

“When you search ‘event’ on the Internet you will encounter its use in many other fields, for example in finance (events that disrupt the markets), physics (e.g., ‘event horizons’), biology (‘extinction events’), philosophy (‘mental events’), climatology (‘weather events’), medicine (‘adverse events’, as in bad reactions to vaccination), probability theory (events as ‘outcomes of experiments’) and even computer science (‘event-driven programming’)” (idem, p. 46).

There is one particular trait that all these examples and understandings of an event have in common: the event, by its definition, have a starting point and an ending one.

Indeed, in most of the cases, the temporal dimension of an event is deemed more significant than the spatial one. Among all the varieties of events (understood in a broad sense), in the context of present research planned events (and art festivals as a type of a planned event) bear importance. Planned events are characterized by the event programming or schedule, public announcement beforehand. Planned events are usually tightly connected to a variety of spaces, even though the spatial factor may vary (a large open space or multiple locations at once) (idem).

It is possible to mark several key common and fundamental factors that characterize planned events. Shone and Brian (2001) describe planned events as unique and intangible phenomena, having limited duration, program and interpersonal

communication. Indeed, it is practically impossible to copy an event in all its details, no matter how meticulously one approaches this task: a particular event is a phenomenon that only occurs once. Planned, and especially recurring events might bear great similarities in form, venue, setting but event participants, facilities used, program and audience (with unique attitudes, prospects and conditions) definitely make them distinctive in physical and experiential ways. There are also changes in the fundamental elements of the communication campaign (poster, brochures informative, etc.). Thus, the 'here and now' factor plays a major role in the very process, action and outcome of the event. This specific trait of planned events is actively used for instrumental, marketing and financial purposes in promotion of an event itself or brand image associated with event locations, brands or experiences.

At the same time, Shone and Brian (2001) define an event as a unique and non-routine occurrence that offers a differential element of the daily life of a group of people. This definition highlights the distinctiveness of an event, which is closely related to the exceptional (as opposed to everyday life) nature of this phenomenon. These factors are closely related to the intangibility of an event or 'ephemera' as some authors term it (Schuster, 2001), a fundamental characteristic of this phenomenon. In this context, intangibility implies impossibility to measure an event and all the related experiences (in all its complexity) quantitatively (without application of abstract variables): an event or festival can be consumed exclusively at a certain time and place, and thus possesses intangible and even ephemeral value. There are certain tangible elements related to the event attended: besides obvious elements of event infrastructure, there is a catalog of a festival, program, tickets, gift items. These are subtle elements that provide opportunity to provoke individual memories of an experience, tangible artifacts that constitute the memory of the event that contribute to the dissemination of a particular occasion, helping to build public opinion (Kennett & De Moragas, 2006).

Another fundamental factor of an event is the individuals who take part in it, either in 'active' or 'passive' way. In this context, it is possible to distinguish several main categories: audience, event participants, the organizers of the event. There are relationships, communication and interaction between them that constitute key factors of the good event production and development.

Besides that, various authors (Falassi, 1987; Shone and Brian, 2001; Getz, 2007) specify ritual or ceremonial trait of any event, referring not only to religious or spiritual events (traditionally related to rituals and ceremonies), but rather to an act or a set of symbolic acts celebrated due to special purposes.

Furthermore, another key characteristic of an event is the unique atmosphere created in every particular setting, which is also a key aspect that determines successfulness and rememberability of an occasion. This aspect depends largely on the event organizers, however, the audience can enhance or lessen this characteristic, which directly influences the experience that event can provide: favorable and appropriate atmosphere affects an extent to which an event is remembered after the time of its carrying.

There is an all-time high academic attention to event research that stems from increasing prominence of planned occasions in many neighborhoods, cities, regions and countries. The phenomenon of planned events undoubtedly needs further conceptualization, research, analysis and explanation. The field of event studies has appeared and developed in recent decades as a complex combination of urban cultural, tourism, leisure and management fields of study. Basing on social science disciplines, these fields aim to analyze various conditions, processes and impacts of planned events as social, cultural and economic phenomenon.

### 1.2.2 From events to festivals

Festivals in all their diversity are usually regarded as a planned event and therefore, analysis of festivals is a segment of event studies. According to Getz (2005, p.16), planned events can be defined as “temporary occurrences with a predetermined beginning and end. Every such event is unique, stemming from the blend of management, program, setting and people”. Among all the varieties of planned events, festivals merit special attention due to several reasons. Firstly, it is a very ancient phenomenon, typical for traditional societies since antiquity (Cudny, 2014). Secondly, the festival is a social construction which provides an opportunity to meet, develop personal interests and grow social capital. Festivals have a strong impact on local communities and celebration traditions of social and personal values. Thirdly, festivals play a fundamental role in the cultural activities of contemporary society. There is a strong relation between festivals and space, cultural values of particular area, region or city.

Festivals can be regarded as a great means to generate cultural exchange, provide social cohesion in the territory in which they are celebrated but, also, are able to create economic impacts.

Festival is an activity that, on the one hand, supplements social and cultural life by fulfilling cultural agendas of its participants (Reid, 2011). On the other, with growth of their importance and recognition among the audience, festivals enhance the creation of certain groups of individuals interested in a particular subject and also develop local identities communities (Carlsen & Andersson, 2011; Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007; Getz, 2010). Festival indeed holds different meanings and it is necessary to conceptualize this phenomenon.

### 1.3 Defining the Festival

*What is a festival? It's something exceptional, something out of the ordinary ... something that must create a special atmosphere which stems not only from the quality of the art and the production, but from the countryside, the ambience of a city and the traditions ... of a region.*

(de Rougement, quoted in Isar, (1976, p. 131)

As it follows from the previous section, art festival, being a type of a planned event, is unique and intangible cultural event, which includes personal communication, has a limited duration, has a ceremonial or ritual component and requires a favorable atmosphere or environment.

Scholars highlight various prominent aspects of festivals as cultural activities, their communicative roles, entertaining meanings. For example, Getz (1993) speaks of festivals as “public themed celebrations”, prioritizing their convivial role for societies and communities, while Degreeef (1994, p. 18) analyzes festivals as ‘*artistically responsible events*’, highlighting the importance of festivals for expression, consumption and assessment of various types of arts, bridging the cultural life of an area and different culture-oriented actors.

Goldblatt (1997) regards the festival very broadly, defining this phenomenon as a special occasion, a unique moment in time with ceremony and ritual to satisfy particular necessities. Since the festival is a social phenomenon that is inherent in virtually all societies, there is a plethora of festival types and typologies.

According to Devesa et al. (2006),

“Festivals have traditionally been a time of celebration, rest and recovery that often followed a hard period of physical work, such as harvest or harvest. Its essential characteristic was the reaffirmation of the community or its culture; cultural content varied from one to another, and many had a spiritual or religious aspect; but music, dance or theater were important elements of that celebration” (p. 69-70).

It is a commonplace that there is no single definition of the festival, but various definitions have been elaborated in sociology, anthropology, event studies and geography (Cudny, 2014; Falassi, 1987; Getz & Page, 2019; Quinn, 2005). However, according to Cudny et al. (2014), the festivals share certain features:

- They are varied, uncommon events, unconnected with work.
- They celebrate elements which are significant in a given community's life and consolidate it.
- They are often related to the culture and religion of local communities.
- They often consist of many different social and cultural events.
- They are regular events.
- Sometimes they are combined with competitions.

As defined by Cudny (2013, p. 108), festivals are “*organized events, representing different emanations of human culture, during which people meet irrespective of their work (except business and sports meetings)*”. At the same time Gibson et al. (2011) claim that “*festivals are enjoyable, special and exceptional, sometimes the only time of celebration in small towns. Festivals are full of rituals of entertainment, spectacle and remembrance, and they bring people together. Most people participate for enjoyment, something different and the pleasure of coming together*” (p. 3).

The main idea of a festival is to organize a planned periodical cultural event that lasts (usually) several days in a year. It can be regarded as a retrospective of completed works in a given field of arts.

According to Falassi (1997), a phenomenon of the festival concerns a periodic celebration involving various ritual forms and events that implicitly or explicitly influences local community. Indeed, literally any festival (its contents, program and participants) manifests the ideological values shared by members of a community and their social identity. Vauclare (2009) identified five fundamental characteristics of the founding, carrying out and development of any cultural event:

- Presence of cultural and artistic value, cultural component, creativity. Primary objective is development, presentation and participation in the art-related activities.
- Organization beforehand, management and presence of the audience.
- Connection to a particular place or area (city, region or even country). To be held in a specific area.
- Time limits, uniqueness, ephemeral component. To be held over a limited period of time.
- Certain value of festival content or program (exceptionality of presented works, activities or performances). There is a program created, produced or performed, presented as a consequence with its own artistic vision.

According to Hen (2007), there should also be a thematic congruence and structure: a festival is a manifestation comprising a plurality of visions in the scope of a particular cultural theme, carried out during a limited period of time in a particular place. The



author also highlights the importance of the relationship between cultural events and tourism (within a country or internationally), as a cultural regeneration factor.

As it follows from the preceding paragraphs, although all presented definitions are not identical and there is no universally accepted definition of a festival, there are several common recurring characteristics that festival holds, underlining temporal, spatial, creative and social dimensions of a festival.

#### 1.4 Festivals in the Context of Social and Cultural Policies

Cultural festivals are ubiquitous in contemporary society, being an increasingly frequent and widespread feature of cultural life, filling the local social calendar and agenda with various cultural activities, performances and contributions. Festival roles are not limited by the limited time an event takes place; rather their prominence grows in social and cultural dimensions as festivals develop qualitatively and quantitatively: from being structures to support cultural groups to mechanisms to promote particular cultural discourse in order to support local pride and identity, as well as to generate income. Since a festival as a phenomenon is more than just a single performance or artistic act, it combines multiple factors, dimensions, ideas and stakeholders. There are many aspects to be considered organizing and analyzing a festival: as Finkel et al. (2019, p. 1) argue, *“special events are microcosms of society. Because they are temporary and usually bound by geographic space, they can be considered reflections of or responses to societal norms and the time they take place”*.

The idea of a festival comprises the organization of a periodical artistic event that usually last several successive days in a year, that aim to present the results of creative work in a

particular cultural domain (Karpinska-Krakowiak, 2009). Festivals are usually aimed to provide a multitude of celebration types and possibilities to enliven surrounding social and cultural life (Prentice & Andersen, 2003).

Speaking of cultural role of festivals, as it was argued by Delanty et al. (2011, p. 190):

“The term itself, ‘festival’ is interesting in that it has come to denote particular kinds of cultural experience and performance. Festivals can be seen as the characteristically contemporary and cosmopolitan form of public culture today. Indeed, it is possible to speak of a certain festivalization of culture more generally in that the festival genre, as found in a mixed arts festival, is having an impact on the more traditional kinds of social institutions, such as museums, political parties and universities. Festivals and biennales have undergone not just a rapid period of expansion, but also a critical phase of differentiation from each other. There are now festivals that aim to showcase contemporary artistic practices and others which combine this function with a more critical focus on the process of innovation and intervention within global culture. It is this tension between the showcasing and the discursive model ‘the voice and the eye’ that circulates within the genre of festivals and which is also expressive of the cosmopolitan form of public culture”.

Indeed, the cultural turn in urban policies instigated a growing interest in art and cultural festivals (in relation to the development of culture-oriented infrastructure that conditioned a demand for specific art activities), which arguably increased creativity of local communities by involving them in the festival organization process (Quinn, 2006). According to Cudny (2006), festivals create a valuable opportunity to express and promote local culture, generate a sense of pride and preserve local cultural heritage.

As there has been a significant shift of cultural policies in many countries over the last decades that influenced local cultural economies, the interrelations between art festivals

and cultural development are well covered in academic literature (T. D. Andersson & Getz, 2008; Palmer, 2004). Due to this turn in urban development, cultural policies, once focused on 'high culture', have expanded to comprise community arts, cultural industry and performances of local artists (Towse & Hernández, 2020).

Besides the cultural influence of local festivals, there is a growing impact of such planned events on the social life of contemporary cities. Festivals significantly influence non-physical geographical areas by affecting social lives spaces. Festivals are an important element in travel destinations development promotion, demand for festival-related programs and services, thus social flows, interactions and communication: a place of social contacts. Festivals indeed play a prominent role in the life of a community where it is held since it provides important social and cultural activities for locals and visitors and enhances local communities image (Getz, 1993). Festivals can be regarded as unique travel attractions, specificity, usually not depend on expensive physical development (or natural or physical attractions); instead it is possible to argue that the key elements defining success of a festival are related to the enthusiasm of local dwellers, community, organizers (Getz, 1993; Janiske, 1996). Such a prominent growth triggered an increase in professional festival organization and management. Since festivals usually do not require hard infrastructure, small events can be organized by applying minimal capital investment and using available infrastructure. Applying volunteers. According to Getz (1993), this makes festivals attractive for generating considerable returns on moderate financial resources.

Diversity of the events and festivals has been growing in recent years (Crompton & McKay, 1997; Getz, 1993). Festivals and cultural events have been dynamically used by organizers, communities and local administrations as leisure and cultural dimensions for residents, for their economic and community development (Getz, 1993).

Communities do share and promote their vision on culture through art festivals: interrelations between local dwellers, place, audience and visitors give an opportunity to create a unique setting for establishment a sense of community and place. Certain festivals are focused on community building and supporting local identity, inclusion, integration and social cohesion (especially with regard to ethnic and minorities festivals), other stress the importance of local cultural activities and innovation, having social aspect and impacts as prominent yet collateral elements of organizational processes (Duffy & Mair, 2021; Olsen, 2013).

According to Wagner (2007), festivals constitute a series of festive or special events with at least three programs, prepared for a hearing, organized periodically, with a clear start and end date and whose main objectives are the mediation of values and community experience. The latter aspect also refers to understanding of this phenomenon by Lyck (2012), who highlights that a festival is a meeting place and audience holding similar values, tastes, interacting through artistic themes that an event deals with.

It is also necessary to stress that each definition can be regarded and determined individually, as a “*conjunction of elements, such as objectives, characteristics, historical or content that fit each particular reality*” (Bonet, 2011, p. 9). From this synthesizing point of view, summarizing or encompassing all presented definitions, one can argue that a festival can be characterized by the presence of a unique program, audience (present either physically or virtually), during a specific period of time, having stable periodicity, presented applying a specific artistic logic.

Hauptfleisch (2007, p. 39) defines a festival as a “*cultural event, which in its own way eventifies elements and issues of the particular society in which it is taking place*”.

The author continues:

“Festivals are not only where the work is; it is where the artistic output of the actor, director, choreographer, etc. is eventified. It is where the everyday life event (performing a play, a concerto, a dance, exhibiting a painting, a sculpture, an installation) is turned into a significant Cultural Event, framed and made meaningful by the presence of an audience and reviewers who will respond to the celebrated event” (p. 39).

According to Getz (2009), festivals are frequently used by local administrations in relation to place promotion, tourism, economic development, with cultural considerations regarded as secondary. Therefore, it is possible to argue that to some extent festivals, as a policy tool, have become separated from their original meaning since increased attention to them implies prioritizing instrumental approach (in the domains like tourism development and city promotion and reimagining) over artistic one (Olsen, 2013). Some authors indicate that there is a gap between arts festivals and cultural policies field in the context of cultural development of contemporary cities (Quinn, 2010): instead of regarding festivals as mere instruments (or ‘quick fix’ solutions) to image improvement, there is a need to incorporate festivals in the development process of local areas and communities “*in order to function as urban laboratories where new and alternative urban and cultural strategies can be tested and developed*” (Olsen, 2013, p. 3).

The same author proposes a categorization model based on this approach: instrumentalized and heterotopic festivals. The former relates to an entrepreneurial approach to urban policies when strong connections between cultural life and economic benefits became apparent for policymakers (Harvey, 1989). Culture became an applied tool in economic development, a marketable product that can be sold and bought (Garcia, 2003). Therefore, the rising interest in ‘instrumentalized’ festivals can be seen as an attempt to promote local areas for economic development in the first instance (Scott, 2004). In some cases, this leads to homogenization, commercialization and serial

production (Richards & Wilson, 2005), which lessens the uniqueness of festivals, their cultural value and authenticity (Sassatelli, 2008).

However, understanding of the festival in the context of social and cultural policies needs to be complemented with deeper explanation of spatial, contextual and territorial aspects of this phenomenon.

### 1.5 Spatiality, Context and Territory Levels in the Festivals

In order to understand the nature of the festival, it is necessary to delve into the space-time analysis of this phenomenon (Janiskee, 1996). This section presents some of the key discussions in academic literature to show the role of cultural festivals play in urban settings. It thereby adds to the analysis of spatial characteristics of festivals, their relation and to cities where cultural take place and meaning in cultural, social and economic contexts. Indeed, there is a clear connection between the development of certain areas and the presence of festivals, which is a prominent research topic in urban geography, social, cultural and management studies.

Cities and urban areas have always been places, where festive and celebration activities took place, allowing people to communicate in ways, different from the routines of everyday life. Festivals are of a great importance as connectors between people and urban areas, integrating personal experiences with collective ones and thus presenting a great interest to urban scientists from varying fields of studies. There are social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of the festival, inherently linked to societal dynamics of place and time.

Art festivals have a complex and constant relation to cities (arguably commercialized one), which has direct influence on local communities, urban areas and cultural identities.

At the same time, festivals are conditioned to a great extent by the social, cultural, economic and political contexts of the area in which they are being organized and held (Bonet, 2011; Carlsen & Andersson, 2011).

By reviewing the expansion of festivals as part of the cultural economy of cities, this section focuses on how cultural festivals are applied in urban areas for sociocultural and economic benefits. There is a prominent role festival play in regeneration of post-industrial cities (Lorentzen, 2013; Richards & Wilson, 2004).

It is important to understand the ongoing relationship between city and festival and its levels in relation to the dynamics of the context (economic, political, sociocultural and technological) and the special aspects of the area where the festival is located (physical, demographic and cultural spheres of local communities). The various fundamental elements that shape event organization, its planning, carrying out and strategic development of the festival are conditioned by an interplay of economic, political, cultural and technological factors. These factors define the general conditions that frame the development of any cultural event.

The main festival-related subjects studied in cultural geography include wide social and cultural issues, which developed from descriptive and purely landscape-oriented studies subject into a research field of new cultural geography that changed an approach to spatial analysis (Mitchell, 1995). This paradigm of new cultural geography regarded space to be something more than just material or physical phenomenon – landscape (primarily urban landscape) started to be explored in film, literature, photography and other visual and aesthetic forms and thus meaning of such depiction requires to be studied and explained. Besides visual aspect, a new trend in cultural geography included analysis of changes in the landscape, urban economy, social dimension of a place and issues of local identity.

Besides that, there is a prominent role of critical studies including themes concerning racial, feminist and subcultural issues (Cosgrove & Jackson, 1987) that were often explored in relation to festivals and other planned cultural events in the context of culture-led revitalization policies, globalization (and issues related to place identity), as well as social and economic effects of festivals (Cudny, 2013). It comes to no surprise that such versatility of planned events in today society conditions growing number of festivals.

Indeed, festivals, being a complex phenomenon depending on various stakeholders and sources, is highly influenced by the economic situation, sources of income (from the contributions of the public administration or sponsors to audience revenue at the day of the event).

In the political context, one can distinguish local, regional and state levels. There are various political decisions made on any of these levels, drawing on the ideology of political parties that are in power, that define the way how cultural policy is being carried out. Festivals depend both directly and indirectly on cultural policies as well as on rules and regulating documents accepted by authorities at any of these three levels.

Technologically, festival preproduction, organization and impact (all phases of the festival) depend greatly on technological means of communication, production, etc. At the same time, specific traits and peculiarities of the area influence the whole process of organization and management of an art festival, inherently connecting the place and the festival (Waterman, 1998). The very concept of territorial dimension incorporates not only geographical characteristics of any location where the festival is being organized, rather it encompasses the general context of the territory, including the local community (its historical, cultural and economic characteristics) (Bonet and Shargorodsky, 2013). Indeed, there is a clear difference between events (even with a similar program) organized in the central part of metropolitan city, in a small town, in the area with a large percentage of tourists, in a district, where spatial or economic transformation takes place with



support of local authorities (political and financial) or in an area, where there is very limited artistic programming.

Any territory is characterized by cultural context (with existing or absent music or art traditions, with the presence of creative industries or their absence). The information on stakeholders and influential actors is of great importance for understanding all the peculiarities of a particular territory and its context.

As a festival is a performance-oriented phenomenon and is characterized by an intense space-time frame, it aims to create a sense of one-time and unique, ephemeral experiences, place specificity adds a lot to the authenticity of an event (Giorgi et al., 2011). Indeed, festivals to a great extent are place- and culture-specific, therefore “*successful festivals create a powerful but curious sense of place, which is local, as the festival takes place in a locality or region, but which often makes an appeal to global culture in order to attract both participants and audiences*” (Waterman, 1998, p. 58).

The festivals, especially their symbolic scope can affect (usually enhance) individual and collective identities and local cultural heritage by presenting and representing meaningful acts, performances and other tangible and intangible elements. Influence on place semiotics, by connecting physical space with symbolic meanings of its objects (Lefebvre, 2003).

Spatial dimension adds to the comprehension of social structures, their relationship with the area. Besides that, the festival context can be used as a case for illustration of the general environment surrounding an event (Davidson & McNeill, 2012). According to Finkel et al. (2019, p. 1), ‘*Special events are microcosms of society. Because they are temporary and usually bound by geographic space, they can be considered reflections of or responses to societal norms at the time they take place*’. Analysis of spatial dimension of event context allows to provide a framework for definition and explanation of policies and strategies related to urban revitalization, as well as place-based inclusion

and exclusion practices of the area (P. Hall, 2013; Soja, 2000). Such an approach provides an opportunity for appreciation of the festival meaning not only in purely economic aspects but also for sustainable urban development (Perry et al., 2020). This includes, through delving deeper into socio-spatial relationships and tensions.

Festivals are characterized by capacity to transform themselves and affect space transformation through intense interaction during festival periods between people and area where it is carried out (Duffy, 2014).

At the same time, future studies should be more multidirectional and wide-ranging. More research is needed related to the influence of festivals on urban areas, especially including international comparisons (Cudny, 2014), which may assist in identifying specific models and theories related to interaction between festivals as planned events and specific geographic areas.

A great number of festival-related academic sources explore the methods that make possible such a prominent influence of events on place identity and local communities through various cultural activities, including music and other performative arts (Duffy & Waitt, 2011; Quinn, 2003). This literature usually explores the interdependence between festival-related activities (organization, participation), community and place applying the lens of representation (Connell & Gibson, 2003). In the case of art festivals, art types, specific styles and performances can be regarded as identity constructions that are connected to certain cultural groups, lifestyles or places (Curtis, 2010). Though these approaches do not provide much understanding of the very processes of community building, especially when speaking of experiential aspects, they help exploring the place and art type-related sense of belonging (Ehrenreich, 2007). Besides that, it provides little information on the process that constitutes the process of festivalization of the everyday.

Festival, especially in the context of globalization is increasingly an international phenomenon, however it is still a place-based dimension<sup>3</sup>, which allows to position the festival as a representation of a place, a world city, competitive on the national and international levels. A lot of academic literature indicates the connection between the process of globalization with the deterritorialization of space, erosion of local traditions and switching priorities from 'authentic' festivals to 'artificial' spectacles for economic benefits, often associated with tourism consumption (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001).

Geographic analysis of festivals (including spatial dimension) can be regarded as a research domain advanced from various courses of study of human geography. According to Getz (2004), it is possible to distinguish a dedicated academic subdiscipline of event geography, which encompasses five interrelated research trends: spatial and temporal patterns of event distribution; economic, social and environmental impacts and sustainability of events; tourism and travel issues; supply-demand relations; event-related contributions to policies, planning and management. However, further intensive empirical, theoretical and comparative research is needed for development of this sub-discipline of human geography (Cudny 2014).

Geographical space is a fundamental element in the field of festival research, which includes exploration of the changes and processes both in objective or physical and subjective or abstract dimensions of geographical space. Thrift (2003) identifies several 'layers' of space studied in human geography: empirical structures (physically present and tangible); social and economic structures; a dimension of images (photos, movies, etc.); and a dimension of place – a layer that provides signs and meanings to personal memory and behavior. Festival geography should analyze processes and changes happening in various layers of both physical and non-physical space. Physical space includes the use or constructing permanent or impermanent infrastructure objects (including the cultural

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<sup>3</sup> However, since the year 2020 this aspect is changing due to the pandemic situation and related restrictions.

landscape of an urban area). The latter dimension of space-place is affected by festivals through behavior, experiences and memories of event participants (both on supply and demand sides): it is possible to argue that space is constructed by people's activities and their behavior (Low, 2003). At the same time, such an understanding of space also implies a certain influence of place on people attending events through a specific setting and atmosphere: for instance, visitor's behavior usually conforms to the atmosphere of a festival or a particular performance (Duffy et al., 2011).

Regarding methodological instruments for analysis of spatial and temporal phenomena, geography keeps available location maps of spatial distribution, micro-scale examinations of festival locations, comparative time-space analysis and temporal changes present at specific territory, participant observation methods widely applied in cultural geography. It is necessary to take into account existing methodological instruments applied in geography. However it is possible to make use of methods from other fields of studies (Cudny & Stanik, 2013).

## 1.6 Eventful City Concept

Events are increasingly used by cities as a way to produce a wide range of impacts from generation of financial benefits to social cohesion. At the same time, there are goals of event organizers, and they may match or run counter: using events as a policy instrument is often constrained by the event's own goals, such as promotion of organizers' brand, economic benefits, etc. It is possible to argue that there is a certain challenge in integration of individual events and festivals agendas into general events program of the city as a whole: there are a growing number of cities with elaborated event policies and

support projects. However, the tendency of regarding events as separate and individual activities rather than as a part and parcel of urban agenda is still present (Richards, 2017).

According to Richards und Palmer (2012), for the ‘eventful city’ it is necessary to develop a general and integral policy of events in order to turn the city agenda from just containing a significant number of events to developing a vision of a holistic approach to eventfulness. Chapter three of this thesis further elaborates on the implications of various models for event and festival policies in cities.

It is readily apparent that organizations, cities, regions and countries use events for achievement of either declared or (in some cases) implicit strategic objectives (Getz & Page, 2016), which implies the situation that some events conform to existing cultural policies, while others can be regarded as one-time occasions. According to Richards und Palmer (2010), there is a certain difference between a ‘city with events’ and ‘eventful city’, which is related to absence or presence of elaborated strategic vision on event agenda, conforming to general development of cultural policy of a city: the necessity of these ‘aligned’ events become more apparent as urban planners and public authorities recognize the benefits of such development approach. During the last decades, this turned events into a fundamental element of urban economic and cultural strategies to address different issues including low-income rates from the tourist sector, low recognizability of the city brand, slow growth of the entertainment sector or need to improve the social cohesion process and physical aspects of urban fabric. These issues are rarely strictly separated from each other and usually need to be addressed in a holistic manner.

The concept of the ‘eventful city’ appeared from the analysis of the constantly growing number of events and festivals and existing trend to apply festivals from the side of local and national authorities to achieve certain policy goals. Cities therefore should not be regarded as mere stages or surroundings for events: they present as active participants, part-and-parcel of the organization process, creators of events.

Events are used as occasions for celebrations, socializing and a means for political posturing, they are often regarded as opportunities to promote and sell products, including the area that hosts an event. However, understanding events as occasions and interim opportunities implies a great role of a factor of temporality.

### 1.7 Temporality as the Key Dimension of the Festival

Cultural occasions like carnivals, events and festivals offer a wide range of experiences and sensations. There has been a general acceptance by academics that (at least in historical perspective) festivals, bear an escapist function, represent a means to temporary escapism from everyday routine of urban life, allowing people to escape from the ordinary, mundane reality (Featherstone, 1992; Urry, 2001). In the context of the event field, Getz and Page (2019) highlight two understandings of the phenomenon of time: as a social and cultural construct and as a commodity. The first understanding refers to treating event experience as a social construct of the liminal/liminoid area with special attention paid to certain values like leisure, escapism, entertainment, 'free time', etc. The former understanding relates to the special value of time in modern society, its role as a commodity with high value. In this sense, this understanding is especially important for event-related activities, as events offer unique experiences and therefore one can regard them as quintessential elements of such an approach to the phenomenon of time.

Temporal dimension is fundamental for understanding events, since they have clear starting and ending points, though, as it was marked by Getz and Page (2019, p. 39): "*The experience of them begins before and possibly never ends!*": visitors as well as event organizers and other stakeholders start to experience the event with its anticipation and have memories of an occasion for a long time after the event is finished. Events and

festivals, providing intense experiences in short periods of time can be considered as highly valuable resource investment.

In this context, Getz and Page (2019), proposes to see planned events as occasions that bring people out of their everyday pace of life: “*We need to think of planned events as a respite, a way to escape these time pressures and if not to slow down, at least to savor the moment*” (p. 52).

At the same time, Shone (2001) defines an event as a unique and non-routine occurrence that offers a differential element of the daily life of a group of people.

However, such a traditional understanding of events and festivity is rather limited: planned events and festivals are much more complex phenomena than a mere intermission of the routine of everyday urban life. Festivals, especially cultural festivals can be considered as representations of complex relationships and tensions between various stakeholders, political, cultural and social strategies and cultural necessities of communities. At the same time, considering festivals as separate ‘worlds in themselves’, stand-alone phenomenon having its own rules, rituals and ceremonies, whole new reality – ‘time out of time’ of Falassi’s defining festivals (Falassi, 1987) – by understanding this way, there is a risk to overlook festivals’ significance to the festival’s environment, surrounding communities and whole cities.

Festivals exist within the cultural or political limitations of the surrounding area and usually do not intend to break the confines of the world outside the event (Festivalization of culture book). In this sense, one may argue that contemporary cultural events and festival follow the tradition of being a sanctioned break or relief from the mundane routine of everyday life. Understood in this way, festivals are an inherent part of everyday activities, supported by numerous quotidian factors, urban dwellers and tourists who prefer to participate in event-related activities. Considering these people for whom

festivals are an integral part of their lifestyle, it is possible to mark the process of the festivalization of the quotidian, festivalization of everyday life.

Gotham (2005) denotes a contradiction of planned urban events represented in conflict between the qualitative characteristic of time as experience and quantified understanding of time as a commodity. Nowadays, event production is “*subservient to clock time, a phenomenon that constitutes a critical form of alienation from what would be the ordinary course of social events and festivals not dictated by clocks.*” (Gotham, 2005, p. 234). According to Lefebvre (1958), before modern times special celebrations, occasions and events were not disengaged from everyday life activities: festivals and rituals were deeply integrated into holistic practices of pre-modern societies. Nowadays, there is a pronounced temporal delimitation of events and festivals that are produced to take place during an exact temporal period and to be ended on a precise time. Conceived in this way, urban events may lack certain suddenness, spontaneity or even creativity, substituting these characteristics with rationalization, specialization and, in a certain sense, fragmentation. This may lead to feelings of estrangement and atomization of participants’ experiences, associated with the perception of an event as a product to be consumed rather than an uncontrived part of their lives and experiences.

Guy Debord, in his seminal work, the *Society of the Spectacle*, analyzes the disappearance of qualitative characteristic and value of time, substituted by its quantified and homogenized understanding (Debord, 1994). Within the context of contemporary production and consumption structures, leisure activities increasingly offer to sell and buy ‘blocks of time’, as Debord puts it. His analysis came to a critical conclusion that nowadays time is turned into a product or commodity: instead of being experienced as a harmonic set of events and occasions, time has turned into the image of itself, an object to be advertised, sold and bought. Therefore, general commodification of time implies mass production and homogenization of events and festivals, aiming not to create and support authentic communities, but rather a sellable image of social and cultural



characteristics of an area. Various studies analyzed this process as *Disneyfication* (Bryman, 1999) and *McDonaldization* (Sorkin, 1992) of urban space and time.

Attending festivals and other cultural events can be understood as a time of celebration and leisure that differs from everyday life (Jordan, 2016). Here, Pieper (1963) regards festive time as an opposite phenomenon to periods of everyday routine. In relation to festivals, Falassi (1987) denotes visual and ceremonial rituals that change the appearance of space for festive times: these procedures aim to delimit special, celebration time from the humdrum of everyday life, symbolize something completely different from the quotidian life, at least for a short period of time.

Such symbolic intensity of the visual elements of the event, as well as its dense program induced alteration of the frame of mind of the visitors, creating a specific and unique atmosphere of the festive time to participate in immersive and thematic activities, experiences and programming of the festival (S. Lash & Lury, 2007).

## 1.8 Festivalization: When the Temporal becomes Permanent

Current works on cultural festivals have focused on describing various economic, social and cultural impacts, these processes produce broader socioeconomic settings of festival omnipresence in urban space. This part aims to discuss why and how festivalization, a specific way of organization and formation of urban space and social activities based on festivals, is implemented as a development and urban planning strategy in contemporary cities. Moreover, looking at the festivalization process as an inherent part of the creative city, this section aims to characterize festivalized cities and reflect on why creative city and festivalization policies are being developed side-by-side. In closing, the author calls

for greater attention to the festivalization process as a prominent dimension of cultural revitalization of contemporary cities.

This part focuses on cultural festivals as one of the most common instruments of creative city promotion, which have become a ‘must-have’ policy for urban planners of contemporary cities. Cultural festivals, besides presenting and embodying new identities of revitalized areas, become a main element in construction of a ‘happening’ continuity, galvanizing the cultural life and creating proper 'atmosphere' of the urban space. These factors turn urban space into a place of constant festival, a phenomenon that Häußermann and Siebel (1993) called festivalization (*festivalisierung* in German) of urban policies and space. Unlike it was presented by Häußermann and Siebel as a “festivalization of urban politics” (1993) under festivalization it is also possible to understand not solely periodic mega-events but also (and primarily) small-sized festivals that provide the continuous festival experience. With the growing role of constant happening in urban space, which is an integral part of the experience economy, festivalization influences both urban space production and consumption of creative cities.

#### *Festivalization: turning urban space into ‘happening’*

The phenomenon of festivalization has several definitions and it is necessary to clarify the terminology that we will use further. In general, festivalization can be defined as specific mechanisms of organization and formation of urban space and society activities as well as a way of entertainment of city residents and tourists through increasing the quantity and quality of festivals (Karpińska-Krakowiak, 2009).

Considering the process of festival omnipresence, Jakob (2013) emphasizes the scalar difference between festivalization and eventification, focusing her research on small-scaled festivals and other cultural events and thus talking about ‘eventification’. This

understanding of the process is highly relevant to this research; however the present study focuses on specific type of events, therefore the term ‘eventification’ is rather broad for this context. In my research I will focus on bringing festivals to the neighborhood level and hence the term ‘festivalization’ will be used in referring to a continuous, primarily (but not exclusively) small-scaled festival process. Exploring academic literature, we can distinguish two interrelated types of festivalization: festivalization of cultural policies and festivalization of urban space.

On the one hand, as it was mentioned before, festivalization of urban cultural policies has historical prerequisites from the 1970s, due to legitimation crisis of welfare state’s cultural policies, striving for inclusion of the lower strata of city residents into cultural consumption (Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007). As Hitters (2007) argues, since that time, urban cultural policies started to switch the priorities from traditional high art to mass culture (pop music, ethnic culture, entertainment, etc.), which advanced festivalization processes to the forefront.

Another precondition of cultural policies festivalization was the emergence of new forms of production and consumption determined by the experience economy (Pine et al., 1999). The main characteristic of the experience economy is the *theatralization* of production and consumption processes, where the emphasis is made on experiences, images and memorable events (Ibid). This context also largely affected the way of how interurban competition increased and the set of instruments for creative class attraction, turning festivalization into an omnipresent phenomenon. This goes in line with (R. Florida, 2005b) understanding of creative class attraction, stating that building proper ‘vivid’ atmosphere for creative individuals through “*visual and audio cues such as outdoor dining, active outdoor recreation, a thriving music scene, active nightlife, and bustling street scene [is] important attractant*” (p. 99). In such a manner, the experience

economy took processes of consumption out of the buildings and settled them in the open urban space.

Besides that, festivalization implies certain prioritization of creative class attraction over attraction of tourists and thus promotion of a place to live rather than a place to visit. It's a common knowledge that tourist destinations usually build their marketing strategies on the basis of tourist seasonality (mega-events, lasting several days is not an exception), while festivalization implies lowering the scale of the festival with elongating of festival process, sometimes covering the whole year. This makes city policies being focused primarily on existing and potential residents of the city.

On the other hand, Festivalization as a process can also be regarded as a means of urban space transformation, turning the cultural environment of the city into an attractor producing a positive image of festivalized space. Orientation of cultural policies on creativity brings to life new modes of cultural production and consumption and therefore creating new models of urban growth strategies and coalitions. These models imply the increasing importance of those *who* produce images and experiences and those *for whom* these experiences are being produced and hence creative class representatives emerge to prominence, especially its 'super-creative core' (Florida, 2002) – individual artists and artist communities.

In some cases using the terms of "festivalization" and "eventification" might be confusing. Under certain circumstances they can be applied as synonyms albeit having certain differences that need to be clarified. Some authors (e.g., see Richards, 2007) use the term 'festivalization' in relation to cultural mega-events, while 'eventification' is related to rather small-scale cultural events, but not only festivals (see Jacob, 2010). In order to stay in line with the domain of festival studies and at the same time to emphasize the 'rescaling' of festivalization process, we prefer to focus on small- and medium scale cultural festivals rather than broader terms of 'cultural events'. This condition on preferring the notion of

'festivalization' to 'eventification' in the present research. More elaborated explanation of the concept will be given in parts 3 and 4 of the paper.

Festivals have spatial and temporal delimitations and hence their primary possibility to produce experiences is through increasing intensity and program. There is a high demand for such an experience and therefore festival organizers and stakeholders of the festival organization process have an ambition to employ events and festivals for creation and development of attractiveness of 'the otherness', understood in both social and temporal ways (Fjell, 2007).

Some of the authors, speaking of 'festivalization of the city' also refer to urban space as 'festival marketplace', highlighting qualitative changes that increasing number of festivals bring to the city: they create urban imagery, turn urban areas into 'stages' and urban experience into a 'spectacle', being a part and parcel of communities' activities (Hannigan, 1998; Laopodi, 2003; Richards & Wilson, 2005).

In terms of festival tourism, Getz and Page (2019), points at critical connotations related to the term of festivalization: it is often applied in the context of over-commodification of cultural events, utilized for economic benefits by place marketers (see Quinn, 2006; Richards, 2007). This understanding of the term implies negative aspects of seeing and utilizing festivals as products and commodities for city promotion. Finkel (2004) calls this phenomenon 'McFestivalization' and analyzing this process comes to a conclusion that the key reason behind festival number and importance upsurge is to improve the city image by means of festival reputation and its promotion, which implies constant imitation that replaces the authenticity of an event. Indeed, if we consider understanding festivals as a commodity, in order to secure capital, event organizers as well as local planners aiming to receive economic benefits from arts and culture need to prioritize consumer demands over local artists' interests. This process inevitably leads to an increase of

homogenization of festivals and their conformity to the audience's tastes, visions and preferences.

The term 'festivalization' can be applied to refer to the growing importance of festivals for contemporary societies that host them, festival influence on urban life, manifested in explicit or implicit ways and in both the short and the longer terms. According to Roche (2011), "*Festivalization processes can be understood as traditions, institutions and genres of cultural performance. These processes operate within social formations and their professional and community networks and have both historical and contemporary aspects. They do so in relation, in particular, to collective understandings and practices of space, time and agency*" (p. 124). Indeed, festivals influence collective place identities through bringing people together, creating opportunities to change, celebrate and animate local places. There is also a temporal dimension of festival influence: recurrent events provoke active acknowledgement of local sociocultural rhythm, provide an opportunity to increase time-consciousness related to a specific area. Speaking of the latter issue of the agency, the process of festivalization understood in instrumentalized way can be regarded as having "*mainly culturally hegemonic and ideological features and impacts*" (idem).

However, such a critical perspective of festivalization is rather limited, omitting positive impacts of festivals both in public and personal dimensions. Growing number of planned cultural events, including festivals, support social agency not only for the audience, visitors and communities, but also for festival organizers, artists and other stakeholders involved in the festival production process.

Roche (2011) understands festivalization as increasing quantitative numbers and importance of primarily 'mega-events' like World Fairs or various international Expos, highlighting the prominence of such events on structural and lifeworld levels. Structurally, this type of events influences production and promotion of desirable place

identity, while on lifeworld level, mega-events espouse hospitality and peaceful coexistence in society.

Richards (2007), speaking of the festivalization process, highlights two main directions of festivalization critique: first, growing level of commodification; the second direction is related to movement of control over festival organization process away from locals to global and market-oriented level. There is also a certain intensification of business-oriented branding that is connected to the festivalization process (idem).

Getz and Page (2019), speaking of festivalization mentions commodification (even using these terms as synonyms), stresses the decrease of cultural authenticity and overproduction of festivals, referring to festivalization as the process of “*exploitation of festivals in place marketing and tourism*” (p. 33).

In this context, Duffy (2014) provides a broader and more inclusive understanding of the term: the process called festivalization concerns how festival events pass through their temporal and spatial limitations, affecting their geographical, social and cultural contexts. Understood in this way, the festivalization process concerns collective temporal, spatial and agential practices that form collective identities and sense of belonging (Roche, 2011). Besides that, cultural festivals in all their continuity in the particular area are inextricably linked to the community’s calendar, local social and cultural rhythm: according to Giorgi et al. (2011), festivals nowadays are indissolubly tied to the public realm both as normative and transformative element.

However, the question of authenticity requires careful analysis in terms of its meaning since it may bring various senses for different stakeholders involved. Therefore, concluding all the definitions, the phenomenon of festivalization is a very powerful social, cultural, economic and political force in terms of its impacts, but many analysts regard it as a negative force.

Karpińska-Krakowiak (2009) also proposes a rather broad understanding of the term, referring to qualitative and quantitative expansion of events and festivals:

“[festivalization] refers to contemporary mechanisms organizing and shaping urban social life and the type of entertainment for urban residents and tourists. In recent studies, it is either considered as a result of people’s search for pleasure deriving from urban consumption or as a consequence of local authorities’ intentions to develop the city by means of festivals and their potential to activate social and economic life” (p. 339).

Indeed, festivalization results in the dominance of festivals in urban space and reinventing local identities (Richards and Wilson, 2004). Arguably, this influence can be observed most clearly within the context of the creative city development. The following chapter aims to present a historical overview, various perspectives on the creative city and existing criticisms of this development strategy in order to provide better understanding of the prerequisites for festivalization process in creative neighborhoods.



## CHAPTER 2: The Creative City

### 2.1 Introduction

The very idea of ‘creativity’, being a part and parcel of contemporary urban policies in Western countries is closely related to various aspects of information society, knowledge economy, post-industrialized economy and post-Fordism (Lee, 2016). Usually, creativity is used as a term in relation to ‘human input’ in the production process, idea-focused and identity-centered symbolic products, fostered by interpersonal collaboration, connection, convergence and network organization. Creativity is a necessary component of a new economic formation, where creative works belong to intellectual property, there is a high level of individualization of workers and public entities affect labor market by investment in education and skills development. These aspects of creativity and creative production (as well as manifold relations between them) have generated a rich discursive construct of ‘creative policies’, ‘creative economy’ and ‘creative city’. Inasmuch as the notion of creativity is extremely broad, its analysis appears to be a highly challenging objective, where different approaches are possible.

It is possible to presume that creativity (that is applied in this study foremost in the context of the cultural sector) is a particularly tacit form of knowledge (Lee, 2016). Indeed, such a tacit character of creativity is attributable to its personal (humane) nature, which is different in comparison to scientific and mechanic characters, since it is incarnated, personified and carried by creative workers. On the one hand, it is possible to refer to creativity to every-day, diurnal, mundane how-to knowledge (Polanyi, 1967), on the other, creativity is often referred to artistic creativity that is characterized by specific socially recognized values (resulting from the social premises that made cultural and artistic development possible) that gained historical recognition that allowed its differentiation from political and market domains (Lee, 2016). At the same time, such an

implicit nature of creativity conditions difficulty of artists' labor duplication or automation, making creativity-related resources highly valuable.

Creativity refers to a process “*by which a symbolic domain in the culture is changed. New songs, new ideas, new machines are what creativity is about*” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p. 8). Charles Landry (1990) stresses that the concept of creativity is associated with experimentation, originality, rethinking established rules and forming a new perspective, it is related to the active use of visualization and imagination and applying them to problems' solutions; identifying patterns in diversity and ability to observe issues from various sides with flexibility. According to Landry (1990), creativity part and parcel of innovation and development, with maximization of the possibilities of any solution, product or environment, and the ability to add value to the results of the commitment in any possible area.

Another essential trait of creative approach is expertise, which is considered indispensable for realization and materialization of creative inputs (Landry, 1990). In relation to creativity, authors also mention the urge for excellence and innovation and its relation to art's domain, which is referred as for the ability to creatively reinterpret the world and solve problems through skill. In the context of cultural policies, creativity is integrated into the 'way of life' of the city.

Therefore, in “*Glasgow: the creative city and its cultural economy*” the concept of creativity, on the one hand, is noted in close relation to the artistic activity and artistic genius (p. 28). This approach is conditioned by the institutionalization of artistic activity, in contrast to the separation between crafts and art. Such a separation is considered as a negative approach, insofar as it was subdivided consecutively in several categories and their respective institutions (Art Council, Crafts Council, Design Council), making it difficult to integrate to a unified approach to economic development.

Landry and Bianchini (1995), identify creativity as a positive change in urban policies, contrasting it with rigidity, rationality and rigid analytical thinking. The authors identify the bases of the term in psychological and aesthetics studies, remarking that genuine creativity involves thinking a problem afresh and from first principles; experimentation, originality; certain capacity to rethink existing rules; to be unconventional. These ways of thinking precondition and encourage innovation and generate new possibilities for solving problems. In this sense, creativity is a modernist concept since it emphasizes the new, it is progress-oriented phenomenon that encourages continual change (idem). At the same time, despite the terms 'creativity' and 'innovation' are often used interchangeably by the authors, creativity is a divergent thought process that generates ideas, whereas innovation is a convergent process related to implementation of ideas (idem).

Thus, creativity is very encompassing term that can be referred as economic approach to urban development (that often manifested by the process of creative activities clustering in the specific area); the agglomerative effect of cultural and creative economic dynamics is highly representative in the economic condition of the whole city; the transformation effect of specific areas by creative activities is highly important phenomenon in contemporary urban planning.

However, the actually existing creative model has been constructed in a precise moment of economic, political and cultural transformation. The present chapter provides an analysis of the creative city model – historical context, various approaches to understanding and development of this model, its constituent parts and criticisms.

During the recent decades, there has been a significant turn in urban development related to culture and creativity (Cochrane, 2007). Historical prerequisites of such cultural and creative vector of urban development, the key topic of the present chapter, can be found in the intertwined processes of manufacturing (Fordist) economic crisis, emergence of globalization, the political economic restructuring of the Keynesian nation-state and the

subsequent decay of industrial urban space in the late 1970s, which led to switching the main focus of cultural policies from social orientation to the urban revitalization in the 1980s (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993), formation of New Urban Politics in the 1980s (Jonas & Wilson, 1999) that emphasized, first an 'entrepreneurial turn' (Harvey, 1989) and subsequently a 'creative turn' (Krätke, 2011) in urban policies aimed at converting former manufacturing based cities into post-industrial economies.

This process of urban policies transformation reached its heyday in the first decade of the 21st century, which provoked growing interest in new entrepreneurs involved in cultural production, creative sector workers and artists as creators of job places and drivers of urban economic and cultural growth (Florida, 2002).

Since the decline of Fordist, there has been a notable switch from industrial to innovative production, focus on production characterized by high added value and importance of human capital that gained crucial importance for urban economic development, which made creativity and culture important elements in urban growth and place branding (Evans, 2003; Landry, 2005b; Markusen, 2006b). In order to understand the structural changes of the evolution of urban policies, it is necessary to discuss historical prerequisites of such a complex transformation, presented by the shift from the industrial to the knowledge-based city and specific factors of the development of urban cultural policies, the topics discussed in the following part (2.2) of the chapter. This discussion is followed by the overview of the process of transformation of the city into creative area, presented (part 2.3) by exploration of the main schools of the creative city theory. This overview is needed in order to understand the development of the creative city today, its main elements, dimensions and current development factors (part 2.4). At the same time, in order to provide a broader understanding of the creative city phenomenon, it is necessary to discuss existing critical perspectives on the creative city strategies (part 2.5). Thereafter, the present chapter creates a framework of prerequisites and existing factors

that lead to the discussion of the festivalization process in the context of creative city discussed in the next chapter.

## 2.2 Antecedents of the Creative City

### 2.2.1 From the industrial to the knowledge-based city

Due to major social, economic and cultural shifts related to the industrial revolution, industrial transformation has been related to the deep changes of the cities themselves since its very inception. In order to designate the scope of societal transformations caused by the industrial revolution, Lefebvre (2003) uses the concept of ‘urban revolution’, applying it in relation to city growth and massive industrialization that preconditioned the current situation of urban issues. Analyzing urbanization through the lens of capitalism development, the author explains urban agglomeration by means of transformation of social relations and condition of economic production present in urban areas. Industrial production, which first appeared in the peripheral areas of the 18<sup>th</sup> century’s Great Britain, steadily approached the large cities in search of three pivotal elements necessary for its development and growth: capital, market and cheap and available labor (idem). Such drastic changes were notable through a new physical level, a new social organization and national policies that preconditioned political and economic expansion of industrialization (Soja, 2000). On the citywide level, industrial capitalism transformed urban fabric through the large-scale manufactures, which soon became essentially urban form of production.

Further ingraining of industrial form of production, which became a decisive aspect influencing urban economic development, had significant impact on everyday life of urban dwellers: their daily journey between work and home and growing urban population moved within the urban perimeter, made necessary to develop and apply specific urban planning strategies to define social and spatial differences between classes,

primarily the two classes that defined the industrial urban capitalism: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (Soja, 2000). According to Bell (1976), industrial society had three distinctive traits, namely drastic growth of urban anonymous society, growing prominence of machinery that changed labor conditions and its very essence and significant polarization of social classes on the level never seen before.

Throughout the twentieth century, industries used urban areas to obtain competitive advantages and increase economic return of industrial production, increasing its economic performance, reduction transportation and transaction costs (Amin & Thrift, 2002). Urban agglomerations offered industries significant market growth advantages, proximity and benefits related to the specialized workforce. However, the growth of industrial production within the city limits had pronounced negative effects related to increased density, automobile congestion, lack of available housing (as well as high-renting prices), high-cost economic conditions and workers' activism, which preconditioned the transfer of industries to the suburban areas (Amin and Thrift, 2002). In after years and decades the dispersion of industrial production continued both to the smaller urban areas, rural areas and other countries, where conditions are more beneficial for manufacturing (lower labor price, ability to accelerate/streamline development of hard infrastructure, tax benefits offered by local governments as a way of attracting foreign investment). Thus, the reliance on the benefits of urban industrial production was challenged in the seventies, following the process of deindustrialization of European and American cities.

In the industrial period, the economic power of countries largely depended on the hard, material aspects of economic production, which defined their position in competition on the international level. However, the above-mentioned factors preconditioned the weakening of prominence of production indexes related solely to raw materials (Bell, 1976). Such context is closely associated with the trend in which the competition between the countries gradually started to shift to another aspects, namely scientific production

and knowledge-based industries. In this context, the leading role in technological development and thus economic growth transited to universities and research institutes, where science and knowledge are generated. At the same time, the driving forces of economic growth moved from manufacturing and agricultural sectors to service-related economic domains, stressing the importance of innovation and technological development that marked the change in social and economic life of the cities (Bell, 1976). The prioritization of knowledge-based production also implies the growing role of human capital: the new 'scientific' industries highly depend on thorough development of theoretical basis prior to the actual production, triggering drastic changes in how work is organized, emphasizing education and specialization factors.

Concurrently, the process of deindustrialization of western cities caused a serious economic and social crisis, high unemployment rates and various social problems. The negative effects of this process hit hardest those urban areas with mono-functional mode of production, which in short order became economically obsolete zones, suffering from severe infrastructural problems. Economic and social crises that happened in the 1970s caused global economic recessions that were also compounded by the gradual loss of efficiency of the welfare society economic model.

The transformation of productive systems added to the development of new forms of political organization conditioned the growth of the importance of cities and urban areas in the 1970s. Indeed, during the industrial period, the central role in policy-making and governance of European cities belonged to the state administrations (due to the development of industrial and protection policies, the importance of heavy industry for national economies), where cities were characterized by rather limited levels of autonomy. However, the crisis in traditional industries (resulted in the reorganization of economic production and increase of service sector) added to the context of the growing competition with the emerging economies triggered active deregulation and privatization

processes characterized by general reduction of state interventionism in economic and social spheres of urban governance.

These changes in the economic, social and political contexts of Western countries, accompanied by the ever-growing globalization process, determined the gradual increase of importance of cities as centers of global command, based on the presence of large corporations, transnational capital and labor power (Sassen, 1990). According to Sassen (idem), the major 'global' cities (such as New York, Tokyo and London) are characterized by the control they exercise over transnational businesses that tend to locate their headquarters in large agglomerations with developed hard infrastructure. In addition to economy-related location factors, these businesses are often attracted by the richness of their cultural life, a number of art facilities (such as museums, theaters, galleries), leisure amenities, developed service and media sectors. The presence of global businesses contributes significantly to the economy of the city (at times to regional and even national economies as well). These structural shifts are specified by paradigmatic transformations of interurban relations, competitiveness between cities, social and symbolic aspects of urban production potential.

Another fundamental aspect of the new transformed global economy is network operation, which implies complex external links between global cities. The idea of global networks is developed by Manuel Castells (1989, 1996), who puts cities in the context of a new phase of capitalism, regarding them as poles of production and economic growth, transmission of knowledge in the new dimensions of global flows (of information, people and goods). According to Castells and Borja (1997), cities can be considered as 'nerve centers' of global economy, operating as nonhierarchical and horizontal network structures in the context of knowledge-based economy (Trullén i Thomàs & Boix Domenech, 2006), oriented on production and distribution of information and knowledge that can be regarded as a key pillar of contemporary cities' production, where concentration of knowledge and innovation is considered as one of the fundamental



factors of urban competitiveness. Indeed, the importance of innovation and knowledge production for urban development is internationally recognized: the strategy “Europe 2020” (2010) exemplify this trend, stipulating the priority of investment in innovation, research and education as crucial factors of urban economic growth. Besides these factors, the document stresses the importance of consumer policies, highlighting the trend of local governments to advance their positions in interurban competition by attracting private companies (involved with knowledge-intensive production) as well as creative individuals (Bontje & Musterd, 2009; R. Florida, 2002). Indeed, although knowledge has always been essential for technological transformations, it is only now constituted as both as resource for production activity and resulting product of this process (Castells, 1989).

Amin and Thrift (2002) stress the importance of local agglomeration processes in the cities as a source of competitive advantages, particularly in the context of global urban networks. As it was advocated by Krugman (1991), production leans towards concentration in a limited number of locations (cities, regions and countries) instead of spreading equally across the world. This is also explained by the trend, where areas with the highest production index are attracting more drivers of economic growth and thus receive higher benefits (ibid). In this context, Porter (1998) stresses the importance of the city as the basis of international competitiveness, since it offers a possibility to accommodate production clusters and interrelated industries. At the same time, Glaeser (1998) highlights the prominence of local proximity benefits to productivity due to reduction of transportation and transaction costs for goods, people and ideas. This goes in line with the vision of the city as a congruent environment to build networks for the establishment of informal business contacts (Amin and Thrift, 2002). Indeed, by providing high density of interrelated production activities, urban environments offer possibilities for continuous social interaction, facilitating the process of the constitution of new knowledge.

That being said, it should be noted that the benefits of agglomeration do not entail that all urban environments possess similar advantages for nourishing economic growth, it rather implies that in various contexts, particular types of businesses can gain competitive advantages, as well as the cities themselves can benefit from attracting external private companies and individual workers. Besides that, the agglomeration process, being a highly complex phenomenon, also has its own dynamics depending on the social and cultural conditions of the territory, not to mention political priorities of local authorities in economic development of the area. These dynamics are discussed specifically in the closing parts of this chapter.

Besides organizational restructuring of urban economies, the post-Fordist production and flexible specialization also determined significant social changes, where the new context of information society results in growing individualization of the production process (Beck et al., 1994): in contrast to the industrial period of economic development, life opportunities in new settings are a matter of access not only to productive capital and material resources, but first and foremost to new information and communication structures. These changes formed the new 'reflective working class', representatives of which can be regarded as key actors in contemporary informational and communicational structures as individualized consumers, as users of related forms of information production and, above all, as producers of knowledge-intensive goods and services (S. M. Lash et al., 1993). Due to rather weak dependency of these workers' production and consumption environments on particular territorial resources, the 'reflective working class' representatives are characterized by a high level of flexibility considering the areas they choose to live and work, which conditions the setting of interurban competition in attracting both private companies and mobile individuals as potential drivers of local economic growth.

Alongside such fundamental changes in the social sphere, the new production context characterized by transmission, exchange and flows of labor, commodities, information

and images (idem) largely defines contemporary economy by ever-growing prominence of signs and symbols production, aesthetic characteristics and design of resulting products and services (the process defined as symbolic value creation). From the consumer side, there is significant growth in demand for intensively designed goods and thus companies that prioritize this dimension are better prepared to the new market demands (Amin and Thrift, 2002). Besides that, the rising importance of the aesthetic in everyday life is a particular trait of postmodernity (Lash, 1993), which prominently widened culturally oriented sectors of urban and national economies. It is also necessary to highlight the prominence of leisure activities and local amenities in the contemporary society in contrast to previous economic and social formations as post-industrial society to a significant extent is specified by the quality of life as measured by services and amenities (health, education, leisure and arts).

Therefore, it is possible to classify the differentiating characteristics of contemporary large post-industrial cities as:

- integrated into a global economy, where information can be considered as one of the essential infrastructures for its operation;
- information and knowledge production are one of the key priorities of the urban economy;
- determination of the territory of the city by new, knowledge-oriented industries and innovation-based means of production<sup>4</sup>;
- prioritizing the role of the new industries that tend to be organized in clusters located in the central (often formerly industrialized) areas of cities;

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<sup>4</sup> Such determination can be found in the old industrial cities as well, however territorial transformation related to the new urban economy is conditioned by other factors and thus fundamentally different in and of itself (which is discussed in the following parts of the chapter).

- the specific (context oriented) organization of industrial production that often adopt a cultural (or creative) vector of development, characterized by innovation, flexibility and aestheticization; and,
- the growing prominence of cultural domain, which besides being a driving force of production growth, can also be considered as a critical factor for the formation of consumption patterns and leisure habits of urban residents.

By such manners, mass production and heavy industries were regarded as drivers of national economic development until the beginning of the 1980s, when they were replaced by more flexible, knowledge-oriented companies that have specific location preferences, which are defined by the possibility of achievement of material and immaterial benefits. These benefits are increasingly recognized in the ever-growing cultural domain of urban economies. The following parts of the chapter discuss the role of culture and creativity in the context of urban policies, their weight in the cities' economy as well as the impact they have on the transformation of the physical territory of cities.

### 2.2.2 The development of urban cultural policies

In order to provide an understanding of the role of arts, culture and creativity in manifold approaches to urban development, the present section aims to present various perspectives on culture and urban development (subsection 2.2.2.1) and a historical overview of the process of democratization of culture by policies (subsection 2.2.2.2).

### 2.2.2.1 Perspectives on culture and urban development

Culture has become a key policy factor in improving attractiveness, fostering innovation and social cohesion, from national to neighborhood levels of policy interventions (Evans, 2009). However, due to the multifaceted nature of culture that touches upon various economic and social spheres, the practical application of culture-based development policies is a rather complex issue: culture-led strategies demand a clear and well-elaborated approach based on developed analytical frameworks.

Culture can be defined as “*a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group that encompasses not only art and literature, but lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs*” (UNESCO, 2009). This definition implies a wide range of economic dynamics (production of culture-related goods and services) as well as active social involvement in the cultural sphere. It is possible to consider culture as a fundamental factor in solving economic and social problems and a valuable resource to find creative solutions to compound issues. Especially in the context of globalization, culture provides opportunities to share ideas, facilitate sustainable development and improve upon social and economic conditions, generating growth and creating work places (García et al., 2015).

Bianchini (1995) applies specific structural framework to analyze culture, seeing it as the result of human imagination (result of ideas development, role as art); as a process of personal improvement (role of culture for individuals); and as an expression of meanings and values within society (anthropological role). Over the initial decades of modern cultural policies development, public entities rationalized public support of cultural sphere by the intrinsic values of culture (‘high culture’, ‘art for art’s sake’ or culture as a ‘civilizing mission’). During the following decades, the focus of justification has shifted to the beneficial effects outside the cultural sphere (Bamford, 2006): cultural role in economic growth, urban and regional development and sustainability.

George Yúdice (2003), analyzing public discourses provides more instrumental vision of culture, applying the concept of “expediency of culture” for public entities and institutions on the national level. According to the author, the legitimization of the state’s involvement in cultural development has rather instrumental and utilitarian rationales. In the context of intensive globalization, national governments use culture as a way to construct a common value system for members of the public. Besides that, there has been a shift of approaches from transcendent understanding of culture to rather instrumental vision as a resource to alleviate social issues and provide opportunities for job creation, which implies the shift of artistic activities to the focus of managerial approach.

This is the question of distribution of diverse complex of cultural resources that can be operationalized for developmental aims and various economic, cultural and social benefits. These cultural resources depend on different aspects of particular urban environments that are markedly different (Montalto et al., 2019). Indeed, the emergence of the very term of cultural planning, the ever-growing prominence of culture in urban governance can be regarded as a result of the necessity to centralize cultural and creative resources in urban development process (Bianchini, 1995). Usually, such centralization implies active engagement of and interrelation between different local sectors: arts, culture, economy, urban environment, education as well as symbolic aspects affiliated to the city image and territorial branding (Landry, 2005). According to Thorsby (2001), culture can be considered as the authentic mode of capital that determines the urban environment and its specific traits. Thus, the concept of cultural resources embraces both material and non-material assets of the city: physical infrastructure, creative capacity of its residents, symbolic characteristics of the city and its historical heritage (both material, in the form of architecture or hard infrastructure and non-material, such as festivals and local traditions). While the Fordist mode of production heavily depended on material resources, the new economic conditions regard immaterial and symbolic assets as a means to achieve particular, often economic objectives.

Lash et al. (1993) indicated several key points regarding the importance of culture in today's society:

- The penetration of culture in the economy both through production and consumption structures.
- The increase in the relationship between symbolic value creation and other economic processes: there is a growing amalgamation of these processes, while economic activities are becoming ever more cultural and aestheticized.
- The growing importance of cultural and human capital accumulation, the process peculiar to workers of the knowledge-intensive and creative specializations.

Through these processes, the cultural sector has dramatically enlarged and gained centrality in present-day societies. This central role is peculiarly relevant in the case of the city, where the cultural sector is largely embedded in the urban economy, being a part and parcel of development strategies (Scott, 2000), where culture-based experiences can be regarded as a crucial asset. Indeed, culture is an inextricable characteristic of urban areas: the cultural heritage and cultural resources of most countries are located in cities and it is evident that the majority of artists and creative individuals would prefer urban location for living and working (Markusen, 2007).

Cities are the nodes of intensive interpersonal communication and culture is a particular phenomenon that emerges due to local characteristics (Lazzeretti, 2008). Such local characteristics and cultural specificities gain particular importance in the context of globalization are of even greater prominence in contemporary society than in the previous periods. Culture offers opportunity to provide differential features for urban territories both for its own dwellers and for those persons, companies and entities located outside the city (visitors, international workers and financial investors). Besides that, culture

fosters the development of local identities, a sense of belonging and facilitates achievement of social-oriented objectives.

The 'value chain' of culture is highly intersectional, engaging various types of social and economic activities due to creative approach inherent in art and culture has prominent spillover impacts (Currid, 2007). As Scott highlights, "the culture-generating capabilities of cities are being harnessed to productive purposes, creating new kinds of localized advantages with major employment and income-enhancing effects." (Scott, 1996, p. 335).

Additionally, the domain of cultural production has been significantly expanded through the incorporation of a new scope of activities and processes, characterized by remarkably weaker ties to the traditional core of the classical arts (cinema, music, photography or media production) (d'Ovidio & Morató, 2017).

The production dimensions of culture and economy that before were considered as rather separated domains, have turned into complex interrelated structure. This interrelation is evident in the form of cultural content, where culture can be regarded as both input and output in the process of value formation (Thiel, 2017), as in the case of knowledge in contemporary production structures that were discussed above. At the same time, the complex interrelations between economy and culture also influence the form of economic dynamics, transforming the nature of mass production systems of the Fordist model of production.

Such a growth in the weight of cultural domain in urban production could not be possible without prioritizing of culture-based initiatives in urban policies.



### 2.2.2.2 Historical overview: the process of democratization of culture by policies

In the past three decades, city planners and administrations have considerably increased investment in urban cultural infrastructure to provide opportunities for creative economy's growth (Comunian et al., 2010). The cultural sector has been regarded as a means of urban revitalization (Evans and Shaw, 2004), economic growth (Scott, 2004) and social innovation (Merli, 2002). Thus, policies focused on the cultural economy have become an intrinsic part of the urban development process (Grodach & Silver, 2012; Van Heur, 2010). Cultural policy can be viewed as a combination of particular actions of public authorities applied to structurize cultural domain. At the same time, the understandings of the meaning of culture and its role in urban economy are still multivocal, implying the wide range of possible political approaches, policies and their practical applications (C. Gibson, 2014). Therefore, it is necessary to understand the contextual basis of the development process of cultural policies.

It is possible to argue that the modern, sector-oriented public cultural policy system is predominately a post-war phenomenon: many Western democracies established their public entities in the sphere of cultural policies after WWII (e.g., 'the Arts Council of Great Britain' in 1946, the French ministry of culture in 1959). The first post-war phase of cultural policies is characterized by an approach that was called by Charles Laundry 'art for art's sake', the approach that developed until the sixties. The arts were valued for their educational and civilizing roles, prioritizing so-called traditional arts and neglecting areas such as design, photography and the media. There is a close connection between the policies of the arts and culture and the general policies of the welfare state accepted in the Western countries.

The main rationale for implementation of cultural policies of that period was related to the process of democratizing of the cultural domain: culture has been considered as a social good and it was needed to provide access to cultural activities and institution to

everyone, including representatives of all social classes and those people that live far from urban centers. On practice this approach implied rather hierarchical focus on the cultural domain: the access was provided to a limited number of cultural works (usually high culture). Since that time, a significant number of studies has indicated that the process of democratization of culture is rather complicated and it is difficult to achieve initial objectives (Booth, 2014).

Landry et al. (1996) note that since the end of the 1960s European cities such as Bologna, Stuttgart, Grenoble, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Lyon developed strategies for improving from the center of their cities, in terms of their physical infrastructure, accessibility and aesthetic aspects. The policies developed then were towards cultural animation programs and festivals, creation of cultural centers, street environments, improving transportation infrastructures and varied aspects of urban furniture, such as lighting. The main objectives were to recover the symbolic role of the center of cities, in terms of civic identity and sociability.

The economic management of cultural sphere was characterized by being largely dependent on public support with the rationale of the avoiding the threat of excessive commercialization that would endanger the artists (Landry, 1990). According to the author, at this point art and cultural policies were detached from purely financial policies: arts policies were associated with social policies in the 1970s, regarding artistic field as a means for social cohesion in the urban areas. In the 1970s and 1980s, several European countries introduced a 'new cultural policy' that focused on blurring the quality differences between 'high' and 'low' culture by paying more attention to folk, amateur and social cultural expressions (on a comparable level with traditional 'high' culture) (Mangset, 1992), which widened the scope of supported cultural forms.

In the contrast to the previous decades, in the eighties Landry (1996) notes the emergence of a new mode of relations between the arts, culture and the economy, not only due to

possibilities of job creation and solving employment and social crises but also in their capacity to create and improve positive images of cities.

The 'new cultural policy' now is rather regarded as a throwback of the 1970s and 80s with a very limited number of states maintaining this strategy in their approaches to cultural development. One can argue that the success of democratization of culture by means of national policies has been rather limited, contributing to a legitimation turmoil of cultural policies field in some countries (Goff, 2020; Martin et al., 2011). It can be concluded that cultural democratization policies have not diminished the gap in activity patterns and preferences between various social categories. Yet, arguably such policy strategies have provided the access to cultural activities, facilitated the access to cultural institutions for many people and provided representatives of all social categories with comparable opportunities to participate in cultural activities (Goff, 2020). Besides that, cultural planning in Europe of this time has been characterized by the establishment of close connections between art, cultural industries and urban regeneration: cultural domain has been regarded as a strategic instrument to conduct physical transformation of the territories as well as facilitation of social and economic development of cities that suffered from post-industrial transformation.

Thus, within the contexts of global economic changes (i.e., the growing importance of services and immaterial production, formation of knowledge-oriented economies) added to the processes within Western societies (increased leisure time, growing prominence of cultural activities and entertainment), there was a continuously growing weight of intertwined local cultural and economic activities for the development of territories (Scott, 2006). In a wide range of countries, there has been a significant 'governmentalization' turn in cultural development, especially at the city and regional levels (P. Hall, 2000). The rise of entrepreneurialism of local municipalities in the 1970s which was determined by shifting from the Keynesian managerialism towards policies of new business attraction to the local areas created necessary conditions for the rise of

competitiveness and the emergence of inter-local urban competition (Harvey, 1989), regarding the development of cultural domain as a source of competitive advantages.

It is possible to argue that the culturalization of policies on urban level has become widely accepted since the beginning of the 1980s in Western Europe and North America. According to Harvey (1989), it is possible to refer to this process as a manifestation of postmodern, culture-based urbanism since it applied cultural approaches of contemporary societies on the city level in the wake of the shift away from Fordism and Keynesianism.

On the practical level this process translated into urban regeneration practices aiming to renovate deprived and disinvested urban areas, usually by formation of a broad variety of public-private partnerships, with a number of actors involved on various levels of operation (Jonas and Wilson, 1999). Gray (2017, p. 318) writes:

“The attachment of local authority arts activities can be seen particularly clearly in the case of local economic development and regeneration strategies in recent years. These have often been based on the idea that cultural and arts activities are an effective means by which local economies can be improved and local areas can be enhanced”.

Arguably, it has provided an impetus to the formation of the new wing of ‘entrepreneurial urbanism’, based on the complex interplay between immaterial (creativity, vivid atmosphere, sense of dynamism) and material aspects (hard infrastructure, cultural facilities, etc.). Therefore, the cultural planners have been setting practical objectives to not only regenerate the built environment, but also to create a vibrant cultural and artistic atmosphere in order to respond to the needs of deconcentrated private actors and stakeholder networks (Evans, 2002).

At the present time, the rhetoric of economic impact is rather shifted to the application of the term ‘spillovers’ in the knowledge-based, cultural and creative sectors (Fleming, 2015).

Such rationales for public cultural initiatives (be they economic-oriented or as spillover effect) stand for conceivable benefits of cultural and creative activities not only within the cultural field but also for industrial, urban and regional development.

As the entrepreneurial New Urban Politics consolidated during the 1990s, in the last decades the accent, within entrepreneurialism, has shifted towards stressing the importance of knowledge and creative priorities in urban economies that are discussed in the following parts of the chapter. Thus, since the introduction of the *creative city* concept in 1995 by Landry and Bianchini (Landry and Bianchini, 1995) and its further popularization by Florida (Florida 2002) as one of the most promising ways of urban revitalization and enhancing interurban competitive performance, creativity, as well as its main discursive themes (e.g., post-industrialism, creative class, creative economy, arts-led regeneration, etc.), has become one of the most important terms in urban development strategies.

Many scholars have challenged the reliability of practical implementations of instrumental rationales of cultural policies (Peacock, 1991). However, according to Vestheim (2008), all cultural policies are rather instrumental. At the same time, the levels of instrumentalization can be varying and over the recent decades there is a clear trend of intensification of policies aimed at receiving ‘external’ positive effects (in the first instance developmental and economic). However, there is no general agreement on whether the art sphere certainly has such beneficial impacts or not. The omnipresence of such an instrumental approach to cultural policies serves as a valid reasoning for the success of Richard Florida’s theory on creative city in the context of festival studies.

At the same time, the practical implementations of urban and regional cultural policies are manifold, depending on the viewpoint to regard culture: from economic perspective, such as local systems of cultural production to even broader approach to understand culture as an eclectic complex of cultural and creative activities (Strom, 2003).

### 2.3 Turning the City into a Creative Area

Due to the changes that have occurred since the 1970s in economic, cultural, political domains, the work in the artistic and cultural spheres as well as the role of culture in urban development undergone drastic transformation. This transformation includes the shift of cultural policies to cultural value generation predominately in urban areas (Landry & Bianchini, 1995); increasing of importance of cultural domain in the new paradigm of socio-economic development of the cities (Scott, 2000); and the transformation of the role of artists and creators, their lifestyle and work conditions (Zarlenga et al., 2016).

Following these transformations, since the beginning of the century there has been a number of scientific and expert attempts to understand and even foster these processes through the introduction of various concepts such as creative industries, creative cities and creative class. The attention paid to this sphere (both theoretical and practical domains) has continued to grow, added to the increased importance of cultural and creative sectors as a key aspect in the social and economic development of contemporary cities.

In recent years more and more cities strive for success on the field of creativity and cultural development, seeing cultural industries and amenities as key elements turning them into livable and economically prosperous places. There is an ever-growing attention paid to the creative city analysis by city planners, developers and decision-makers as a

promising approach to urban development and solution to the decline of industrialized areas and interurban and inter-regional competition (Jakob, 2010). Therefore, in recent years, concepts such as ‘creative city’ and ‘creativity’ has gained growing attention among researchers, local policy-makers and city administrations, and thus, changing the landscape of contemporary cities. Besides that, the creative city concept rapidly became a widely discussed topic in academic debate.

However, one of the main difficulties in creative cities’ analysis is the concept itself. During the recent decades, there has been a considerable growth of attention in academic literature and debates concerning the concepts of creativity in urban development (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Florida, 2002; Hall, 1998; Landry, 2000). The key issue is that the notion of creativity is used in many diverse ways, and, consequently, policies and approaches that are applied on the basis of various assumptions incidental from dissimilar knowledge, also vary in their goals and missions. Since the notion of creativity and related terms (e.g., ‘creative city’, ‘creative class’) have passed through reprocessing and rewording of the popular media, they have lost clarity and accuracy and got narrow into generally the same or bland vision (Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008).

In many cases the creative city strategy is regarded by public administrations and decision-makers as a certain toolkit, a set of prescribed actions and mechanisms that once applied, produce the positive benefits of creative city. In accordance with Landry’s definition, the creative city approach “*describes a new method of strategic urban planning and examines how people can think, plan and act creatively in the city. It explores how we can make our cities more livable and vital by harnessing people’s imagination and talent*” (Landry, 2008, p. 12).

In addition to the wide dissemination of creative city strategies across urban planners and administration, this approach was adopted by both national (e.g., British Council of Creative Cities) and international (Creative Cities Network of UNESCO) institutions.

The very concept of the 'creative city' might be confusing since its definition is rather vague. The term started to be discussed and developed at the end of the 80s/ beginning of the 90s of the twentieth century. With the work of Charles Landry (Glasgow: The Creative City and Its Cultural Economy, 1991) following the hosting of Glasgow the European Capital of Culture event in 1990. The work was related to the use of soft and hard cultural infrastructures developed for ECC event in order to expand the cultural dimension to four directions that would condition innovation to local creativity: development of the local arts, economy, social dimension and urban policies (Landry, 1991). This work on creative city concept was taken further by Bianchini and Landry (1995) and thereafter Landry (2000) was related to rethinking the position of culture-related activities and industries as well as their connection to urban regeneration in the UK in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In these works, creativity is understood in its broadest meaning and regarded as an instrument to innovate and as a means to overcome everyday urban issues. In these works, the accent is made on interactions between artists and communities as well as culture's potential to support and improve economic development and image of the city. The ECC initiative is regarded as an illustration of the academic vision of the concept of 'creative city' related to the revitalization force of cultural development: with the accent on economic development applying cultural and creative interventions and various cultural activities.

In the context of this city, Landry (1991) stresses the need for Glasgow to accept a creative city development approach that is defined as integration of the policies concerning cultural production, their development in a wider scope, establishment of active partnerships between different production sectors, while regarding culture and creativity as a key element for economic and social prosperity (p. 10). The author highlights two key elements, first, applying this approach regards the cultural industries sector (creative and cultural production) as the central aspect of such a strategy. Second, the idea of a creative city is closely associated with the concept of innovation, applied in the spheres of



information economy, arts and social policies (p. 10). In this context, the author also emphasizes the necessity to attract investors that contribute to the social and cultural innovation of the city, which goes in line with the vision of the Glasgow creative city approach as ‘international city’ strategy (p. 132).

As it was discussed in the above sections, in the recent decades, as many of the economies have shifted from industrial, to post-Fordist and postindustrial forms of production, there have been several academic writers that posited a close connection between encouraging the development of local creativity and economic growth (Å. Andersson, 1985; Landry & Bianchini, 1995). However, the popularization of the creative city concept as a dominant paradigm for economic and cultural urban development is inextricably linked to the publication of Florida’s (2002) “The Rise of the Creative Class” (D. E. Andersson et al., 2011). Citing the ideas of urbanist Jane Jacobs, Florida (2014) focused to expand the priorities of economic and cultural development of cities far beyond cultural industries and related enterprises to include people and places as well. According to the author, cities need to prioritize attracting members of various ‘creative’ occupational groups (that consist of the ‘creative class’ and ‘super-creative core’ of artists, professors, designers and other thought leaders) over focusing on firms and organizations. This could create the proper ‘people climate’ to foster economic and cultural development. Such an approach raised a certain level of enthusiasm over local and regional decision-makers across the globe.

The concept of ‘creative city’ has been applied by various authors to denote different meanings. It is possible to divide the theoretical explorations of creative cities into two conceptual groups, one emerging in the United Kingdom, focus their attention in the role of creativity in fostering urban regeneration; the other, initiated in the United States, focusing in the role of creativity in connecting businesses with workers through creativity.

### 2.3.1 The UK School: creativity for urban regeneration

Regarding the first group of scholars, authors such as Landry, Bianchini, who first coined the term, disseminated widely their understanding to other academic writers and with local administrations to promote their vision on urban cultural development. Their work with local municipalities resulted in analysis of practical and concrete examples of the cases. Considering culture as a key element of urban development (Landry, 1991), the first authors broadened its scope to include the idea of ‘creativity’ that is closely related to innovation in the spheres of the arts, economy and social domain (p. 10). Applying such an approach, the authors seek to widen the spectrum of artistic programming of the city (particularly regarding ECC event as a starting impulse, as in case of Glasgow) and thereafter to develop it further by including and integrating it into the sphere of cultural and creative industries. This should attract investors to the city, preconditioning its development and economic prosperity. This goes in line with the vision of the creative city concept as a brand instrument that represents the set of instruments and approaches to strengthen the cultural and creative industries of the city. Box 2.1 provides a brief overview of the concept of the creative industries.

#### **Box 2.1.** Creative industries

In the recent decades, the cultural and creative industries have been under a magnifying glass of academic writers from diverse fields (such as urban planning, economics and sociology) and policy-makers due to growing importance of combination of culture, creativity and economics (Nijzink et al., 2017). There is a notable boost of the number of scholar studies and policy documents on the topic of creative and cultural industries that is indicative of its growing importance for cultural policies on local, national and international levels (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005).

At the same time, despite the growing popularity of the creative industries concept, it is hard to consider it as a new approach since artistic and cultural industries have a long history in the context of urban development (Å. E. Andersson et al., 2014). It is often the case that the notion of creative industry is regarded as an alternative to 'cultural industries' term, applied to lessen the negative connotations (especially in relation to commodification of culture) of the latter (Pratt, 2009). Indeed, some of the sectors usually ascribed to cultural industries domain (e.g., performing arts and music) should also be referred as 'creative industries' types of activities (Fahmi et al., 2016). According to Galloway and Dunlop (2007), both cultural and creative industries engulf production of symbolic values and thus unavoidably have certain common points and overlaps. At the same time, features as growing digitalization and protection of copyrights are usually referred as creative economy characteristics that aimed at stimulation of market properties development and provision of financial benefits (Hartley, 2005; Scott, 2006).

Landry (1991) argues that this vision reinforces the impact of the cultural domain on the city, but also involves its growing influence on other industrial sectors, advocating it as a very relevant conceptual change in urban policies.

Such interpretation of the creative city implies regarding it above all as a place of creative industries concentration and their support (Montgomery, 2005), where cultural consumption is treated as a rather secondary aspect.

This vision emerged in the continuity of the relationship between culture and urban regeneration. Landry (1991) sets out certain criteria to define whether a city is creative, represented in the research that the author applies in relation to Glasgow (p. 111):

- The presence of at least one financial, industrial or commercial headquarters located in the city. The presence of a group of companies that compete on international level, induces and even impose innovation into the related sphere (e.g., in investment activities, research and development or applying local patterns/systems to international networks);
- The presence of a combination of innovative industrial sectors and traditional industries. This factor stimulates the spread of innovation and knowledge spillovers.
- The presence of developed educational and research institutions (synergy between research, development and production).
- The existence of scientific and technological research services (in a form of consultancy). This aspect is deemed important as it provides opportunity for spreading creative skills, knowledge and innovative practices.
- The presence of developed transport and communication infrastructure (both in terms of transport logistics / transportation services and information / data transfers).
- Both formal and informal mechanisms of information and knowledge sharing (conferences, fairs, seminars, events) as well as presence of vivid street life ('third places' in terms of Florida) with a variety of informal meeting places.
- The presence of available investment capital for small- and medium-sized companies.
- The existence of a network of specific services for companies to operate (particularly management, law, marketing, etc.).
- The existence of innovation hubs (scientific parks, business incubators and advanced research organizations).
- High level of accessibility to educational, cultural and leisure facilities.

- Availability of diverse real estate market (both central and peripheral).

As one can see, the author indeed stresses the importance of creative industries and hard infrastructure development that can be viewed as a hallmark of the first theoretical current of creative city research.

In order to tackle the indefiniteness of creative city strategies, Landry and Bianchini (1995) and Landry (2008) provide a wide range of practical suggestions and recommendations to form 'creative' approach of urban governance. However, they should not be considered as definite answers for creative city development; rather they can be regarded as ideas to answer the question of "*what are the conditions my city can create for people and institutions to think, plan and act with imagination and ride the wave of change so that it can benefit?*" (Landry, 2008, p. 17). The authors argue for a more encompassing understanding of the creativity concept, which encloses social and political changes that accompany a creative approach to city management and technological innovation.

The authors provide standardized development criteria that have been applied to develop a creative city. These are usually presented in a form of a checklist of necessary elements, steps, or requirements (e.g., new art gallery, creative industries cluster, presence of public art, etc.). Insofar as these assets might provide an initial impulse to develop creative initiatives, there is very little attention given to the actual process of creative and cultural development (Comunian et al., 2010).

Another approach to the concept of creative city is to view it as a brand instrument (Landry, 1991). Therefore, it is possible to discuss the 'creative city' term in the context of other concepts related to place branding (especially in connection to urban development) proposed to take advantage of certain prerequisites (such as the existence of physical infrastructure, amenities or qualified workers) and processes of technological

development and innovation. Among other related terms in this line, it is possible to mention 'knowledge cities' and 'smart cities', however, unlike the latter, creative city is closely associated with culture and urban regeneration. The popularity of creative city strategy was preconditioned by a context of economic and social decline that affected the old industrialized areas. As it is explained further, creative city is highly related to the formation shift from industrial production mode of economy to another, based on new, knowledge and creativity-related production. The understanding of the need to adapt economic model to the new context brought about new 'orbit' of interurban and inter-regional competition in the field of investment attraction, development of new production sectors, creation of new job positions for skilled and creative workers.

It is necessary to take into consideration that the creative and cultural economy can be regarded as a complex production and consumption system with a broad spectrum of possible variables. It is inherently dynamic structure, characterized by a large complex of both intrinsic and extrinsic tensions and indeterminacies (Thiel, 2017).

### 2.3.2 The USA School: creativity for enhancing the economy

The second conceptual current is strongly marked by a business vision of the city. This group consists of the works of Richard Florida and his team and it is characterized by the shift of the understanding and application of the concept from urban regeneration objectives (established and defined by Landry and Bianchini with the focus on the physical, social and economic aspects) to a business-oriented methodology, making the special accent on a new 'creative class' as a key driving force of economic development (Florida, 2002b).

Certain physical aspects of an area are indelibly linked to the need for economic development (Florida, 2005) and evaluation factors that the talented supposedly consider for selection of places to live and work (e.g., aesthetic values, political priorities, level of services and opportunities for professional development). This approach is targeting a specific primary audience: highly educated workers related to activities within the scope of production of knowledge, referred by the author as a 'creative class'.

It can be described in generalist aspects that link creativity and economy, paying special attention to the place qualities and their analysis. Such an economy-oriented approach is also evident in the close connection between the domains and concepts of 'creative city' and even more general 'creative class' domain (R. Florida, 2010). The generalist nature of this approach made it easily absorbed by urban marketers, which explains the wide dissemination of creative class theory, suggesting the close interconnection between economic development of a city and the presence of a 'creative class' (Florida, 2002).

This class (discussed in depth in the next sections of the chapter) consists of a wide range of creative professionals, which goes far beyond creative industry workers (where workers involved in creative industries are only a small proportion).

Applying this hypothesis, the 'creative city' concept can be interpreted as the city with the very high concentration of (or high attractiveness to) the creative class representatives. Therefore, applying such a paradigm of development, cities compete to develop their potential to attract creative class workers in order to be successful. Florida (year) argues that, in order to appeal to creative class representatives, cities need to develop their cultural infrastructure, diversity and sphere of entertainment.

This group prompted the emergence of two other major theoretical currents in the creative city debate: the first one consists of the production of other academic authors, characterized by an analysis directly related to specific case studies, collecting examples of creative city strategy application around the world (REIS, 2009); while the second

current consists of works discussing theory of Florida hypothesis and related theoretical conceptions (see Hall, 2000), including the production of academic research that addresses the relations of creativity and urban development from economic perspective (Scott, 2006; Lazzeretti et al., 2008) and the management aspects in the cultural economy (DeFillippi et al., 2007).

### 2.3.3 Coming to terms with the creative city

The prominence of creative city concept and related discourses surrounding it is readily apparent both in terms of urban policies and academic writings. First, there is a growing interest in creative cities on the local, national and international levels, there are diverse measures and projects related to the related field (UNESCO, 2011). On the city level, there is a wide adoption of urban policies considering creativity and innovation as an essential and even central factor for definition of urban strategies for economic growth.

Second, in terms of academic production, there is a number of varying discourses and viewpoints on the phenomenon of creative cities, creative class and related industries. Analysis of this theme across the areas of urban studies, cultural and economics.

As it follows from these narrative strands, there is a wide range of justifying discourses arguing for the creative city approach to urban development. Besides that, there is a wide diversity of creative cities in practice. According to Pratt (2010), there is a complicated and constantly changing 'matrix' of creative city rationales and realities, which makes it highly difficult to identify a direct correspondence between creative city goals, missions, objectives on the one side and policies with their results on the other. It is not unusual that goals and missions are not defined precisely and are unclear, while processes are not



analyzed properly, which on practice results into absence of valid relationships between causes and results.

Today the concept of a creative city, besides implying social and political instrument also play a prominent aspirational role within the field of urban policy used for promoting certain vision on priorities of urban development. As it was discussed above, the creative city approach is highly popular among urban planners and it is necessary to clarify what benefits this approach offers for municipalities, private sector and urban residents.

According to Landry (2005), the very concept of 'creative city' since its inception has been an 'aspirational' term, that can be interpreted in a sense that many, if not all places have a varying potential to develop and it is possible to develop it by providing basic set of conditions from local governments as well as individuals to find creative solutions for urban problems. Landry (idem) mentions social poverty, economic wealth creation and unemployment, as well as aesthetic issues (improvement of hard infrastructure and visual appeal of urban areas). Even though creative individuals are understood far beyond the scope of arts to include employees of various kinds, scientists, business areas, the author emphasizes that artistic activities legitimize creativity and have necessary innovative qualities that match the needs of the specific economic model of the creative economy application (idem).

Another perceived benefit the creative city approach offers to urban development lies in its promotion of creativity and livability for all. This approach promises revitalization of deprived areas, distinctiveness of city's image, creation of economic profits as well as social benefits for the city and its residents (Landry, 2008). However, the question rises, what principally changes within the city, and for whom possible benefits of such transformation are produced?

Though the creative city concept is repeatedly promoted as an instrument to achieve just and inclusive urban development, in practice the reality is often different. Instead of

ethical and just development, the creative city potential is often reinterpreted in order to develop urban economy growth (focus) and urban entrepreneurialism for urban elites. Rather than being something fundamentally different, creative city policies result in extension of the same policies (Jakob, 2010). A more detailed discussion of creative city policies pitfalls and criticisms is presented in the closing section of the chapter.

## 2.4 Creative City Today: From Regeneration to Competitiveness

In the last decades, the concept that has gained traction in developing creative strategies across the world and in shaping the academic debate has been Richard Florida's approach. Within the extensive number of academic writings concerning the topic of creative cities, the work of Richard Florida (2002b) merit special attention not least due to its role in actualization and mainstreaming the subject.

Indeed, facing limited resources and pressures to deliver growth and jobs, municipalities are attracted by the perceived easiness of cultural transformation and achieving positive results in a short period of time, as it may seem from reading 'procreative' literature. Such a development model (as well as the very notion of 'creative city') has become even more appealing as cities face financial crisis and municipalities need to cut (or even refuse of) traditional methods of tax benefits and provision of hard infrastructure. However, the creative turn has also been widely criticized by possible shortcomings of such paradigm application like social and spatial exclusion of non-creative people, difficulties with integration of 'creative class' into regional economy, existence of various social and economic nuances that may hinder any positive effects (see Peck, 2005; Scott, 2006).

Nonetheless, as a large number of cities all around the world are implementing creative city policies, creativity itself has become the key dimension in which interurban

competition for attracting new citizens and creative and knowledge entrepreneurs (usually referred as ‘creative class’) is set. This strive for attraction of creative class induces municipalities to establish not only economic benefits for creative enterprises but also create and promote lifestyle amenities for ‘talent’ elite (Florida 2002). This context conducted the importance of aesthetic experiences as well as the promotion of the cultural and social activities that the city has to offer.

There is an extremely large body of literature on the subjects of the creative city, the creative class and industries, offering often polarized viewpoints on such developmental dimension, regarding it either as a promising economic growth driver and source of job creation (Scott, 1996) or as a booster of neoliberal models of governance that reinforces social exclusion and threatens local communities (Peck, 2011).

In the present study, I do not aim to focus on either full and direct support of Florida’s claims or abrasive criticism of creativity-based development strategies. Rather, this chapter primarily seeks to untwist the cultural, social and economic aspects of the creative city approaches, grasping intrinsic ambivalence of production and consumption processes related to these approaches, as well as both positive and negative implications of such a vector of creative and cultural development.

Florida (2002, 2005) proposes a pronounced growth-oriented vision of culture-led development policies of urban areas, suggesting that the main competitive advantage for localizing innovative activities and hence stimulation of economic development is closely related to the concentration of ‘creative capital’.

According to the author, this advantage is manifested in attraction of creative and talented individuals, whose activities precondition local economic growth. Therefore, in order to succeed in an increasingly competitive environment, cities and regions need to actively develop their cultural liveliness, increase levels of social inclusion, tolerance and general ‘quality of life’.

Notwithstanding heavy criticisms from the side of academic authors (as for theoretical weaknesses, as in terms of practical effects), the creative city theory is remarked by a strong following among decision-makers and urban authorities. By such manners, over the last two decades, a growing number of urban planners have applied this rationale as a key pillar for local development strategies, often interpreting Florida's works as kinds of 'procedure instructions' to shape urban and regional policies.

Most of the case studies discussing the practical interpretation of creative city paradigm into actual local policies - brought into a question for the haziness of its applications, for a host of unresolved issues concerning governance mechanisms on various levels, for its conceivably unequal implications for local societies as well as for high levels of complexity in terms of defining and assessing its policy outcomes.

In the context of the latter issue, it is possible to argue that whereas applying an explicitly 'normative' line of discourse, Florida (2002) provides rather deficient explication of methodology about ways of his theory's application and adjustment to varying contexts of urban governance, one can argue that his writings are intentionally written in a way that entails a whole range of possible interpretations and application methods in the field of practical policies. Giving a priority to the highly complicated field of applying theory to the actual planning mechanisms and existing urban policies, the author leaves out of account a variety of complex relationships between stakeholders, decision-makers, existing political or economic resources and socio-cultural practices peculiar to the urban field. On the one hand, such a disinclination to delve into analysis of detailed policy contexts and provide practicable solutions to emerging issues is an apparent weakness of Florida's writings, however, on the other, it can be regarded as a sign of a high level of political inclusivity, a key factor of his theory's success among such a big number of urban planners. Thus, according to Ponzini and Rossi (2010), the creative city term may serve as an example of post-modern intellectual approach that is elastic and adaptable enough to use it in any type of urban or regional context. However, it does not imply that such an

approach should be applied irrespectively of institutional, cultural or political particularities or existing governance mechanisms of any area, rather the opposite, the theory provides a general framework for development direction of urban governance and policy interventions that should be applied with thorough consideration of local social, economic and cultural contexts. That being said, Florida's theory is a resourceful and attractive conceptual framework that (with certain limitations and stipulations) can be productively applied for urban economic and cultural development in an array of local contexts (Rantisi et al., 2006).

However, besides enthusiasm such a popularity also provoked stinging criticism (e.g., see Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). More particularly, critics are skeptical about the driving factors of urban economic growth (E. Glaeser, 2005; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008); calling into question how creative class representatives make decisions about places of living and self-realization (Markusen, 2014) and level criticism at the very idea of creative class for provoking and intensifying different forms of inequality (Frenette, 2017; Leslie & Catungal, 2012; Stern, 2014).

In academic and policy discourses and debates, there is a clear accentuation of the prominence of human capital as well as of the growing understanding of a creative class as a key driver of urban regeneration and economic growth. In accordance with Florida, *“visual and audio cues such as outdoor dining, active outdoor recreation, a thriving music scene, active nightlife, and bustling street scene [are] important attractants”* (Florida, 2005: 99) for the talented.

In the current urban creativity research, it is possible to distinguish two debates originated from Florida's (2002; 2005) works. One debate that took critical shape concerns the main factors of creative city development as well as discussion of the consequences of instrumentation of Florida's claims in policy making. The other debate contravenes the assumptions of competitive-city strategies incorporation for urban

regeneration, as creation and development of cultural creative clusters often has a significant impact on real estate markets and eventually results in gentrification processes that endanger local communities and threaten 'low priority' cultural workers (Zukin & Braslow, 2011). Indeed, those creative producers that are also members of 'traditional' working class and local communities commonly do not regard themselves as a part of the professional cultural sphere (despite being socially, culturally and economically involved in community's life and focusing on the needs of local neighborhoods) and therefore "*the power of culture these actors embody contrasts with Florida's vision*" (García et al., 2015, p. 2), which questions universalistic idea of the creative city as a place of creativity for all (Pratt, 2011).

The central aspect of Florida's viewpoint on creativity is related to the activities, work and lifestyle of a creative knowledge person that represents the basis of a new economic formation driven by the creation of ideas, knowledge and innovation. Such a new kind of worker (considering specific patterns of behavior) is quintessentially different than the type of worker specific to a Fordist economy mode of industrial production characterized by predominating and significant economic power of large manufacturing companies. As the industrial workers needed to adjust themselves to the new economic model and cultural processes, the new type of workers' lifestyle priorities disconcertingly differs from previous mainstream patterns, shaping new modes of production and consumption in the city. Therefore, those social groups and individuals that were marginalized before, have been gradually incorporated into the process of value creation due to the growing role of knowledge and ideas in transformation of the economic system (Florida, 2002a).

### 2.4.1 Creative class as the perceived factor of economic success

In recent decades, the discussion of interurban and inter-regional competitiveness has altered its object from traditional location aspects, e.g., access to hard infrastructure, technical peculiarities or taxation systems (Storper & Manville, 2006) to more ‘symbolic’ and soft location aspects, including aesthetic cultural amenities (T. N. Clark et al., 2002), vivid cultural scenes, presence of various meeting places, lively nightlife, tolerance for non-traditional lifestyles and ethnic diversity (Florida, 2002)<sup>5</sup>. As discussed in the previous chapter, besides ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ factors dichotomy, there is also a growing interest in theories that focus on the prominence of local networking and industrial clustering.

Analyzing urban economic development (and more especially in the context of creative cities), it is possible to observe general agreement on the importance of knowledge-based activities for interurban competitiveness, where the term of ‘creative class’ is receiving growing attention. In the academic literature, these terms are usually referred in relation to soft location factors since those companies and individuals involved in ‘creative’ production tend to accord attention to specific qualities of places where they choose to live and work (in social, cultural and physical aspects) in comparison to companies and employees involved in other economic domains<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, as in the case of ‘creative city’ concept (or even the ‘creativity’ term itself), the creative class notion is defined and

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<sup>5</sup> Newman and Smith (2000) distinguish between ‘building-centered’ approach, where development is closely related to hard infrastructure, especially constructing flagship objects of cultural significance and ‘people-centered’, which prioritizes cultural production and consumption aspects.

<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding the foregoing lines, this claim is also receiving certain amount of critique, since unbalanced prioritization of each of the soft qualities of places (e.g., local networking, clustering or accessibility) can result in producing negative effects for local residents as well as the general economic situation in cultural neighborhoods.

applied in a rather loose way; therefore, it is necessary to put into perspective how these concepts are understood in this study.

According to Florida (2012), in order to be successful cities and regions need to attract creative class representatives, those who apply their creative potential, produce and share knowledge, *'whose function is to create meaningful new forms'* (p. 38). In order to attract these individuals, areas need to provide access to advanced forms of technology, cultural and social amenities and comfortable environment - or 3 T's in Florida's terms (technology, talent and tolerance). Such an approach, however, can be understood as a specific type of neoliberal policies: mainly due to prioritizing particular social group, its interests and priorities. Besides that, cities tend to apply specific policies to bolster cultural resources (including the aforementioned 3 T's), regarding them as factors of economic development (Peck, 2005). Another question is whether the very presence of creative class representatives is enough to support and nourish high levels of creative production and consumption in a particular area. Beyond that, Glaeser (2005) argues that Florida tends to overestimate the potential of creative class and social diversity for urban development, while human capital receives insufficient attention in his writings. In addition to this critical notion, cause-effect relations between presence of local amenities and creativity could have an opposite direction: *"Skilled cities are growing because they are becoming economically productive (relative to less skilled cities), not because these cities are becoming more attractive places to live"* (E. ; S. Glaeser A., 2003, p. 1).

Within the debates surrounding the concepts of 'creative city' and 'creative class', the greater part of scholars has considered artists as a pivotal or 'core' creative group (Florida, 2002; Markusen, 2006). Discussing the role of artists in the contexts of cultural urban policies and creative city, it is possible to highlight two dominant discourses (Markusen, 2006). From the first perspective, artists are regarded as certain 'privileged' class within the framework of creative city development, since they heavily impact the cultural domain of the contemporary city and therefore have growing resources and influence on



development priorities. From the second, opposite perspective, artists are considered as creative persons (or groups of individuals) that oppose growing commodification of arts and neoliberalisation of urban policies. Nevertheless, it is rather difficult to attribute one specific role to this group since artists are a very heterogenous and proactive type of stakeholders in urban policies and therefore their contribution to urban development is more complex than the proposed dichotomy (Markusen, 2006). It is necessary to take into account such a complexity in order to avoid stereotyping the multitude of artists' implication for urban development, especially across various contexts.

According to Florida, the creative class concept is closely related to the level of personal skills rather than to a particular economic sphere, prioritizing individual qualities over affiliation with creative industries (Florida, 2005) and thus understanding it as a conceivable assemblage of people whose creativity and knowledge adds economic value (idem). The author divides creative class representatives into the creative core and creative professionals, where the first category is about 12% of those involved in creative production (Florida, 2002) and include professional categories such as scientists, engineers, researchers, artists, musicians, architects as well as opinion leaders: those involved into the creation of new designs, shapes and knowledge and characterized by the highest levels of qualifications and generates most of the economic value. Besides this super-creative core, the author broadens the creative class concept to embrace the larger second group consisting of creative professionals, well-educated and skilled individuals that occupied not only in creative industries, but also in a wider spectrum of knowledge-based industries, high-tech industries, research, education, financial services, legal field and business management.

The author argues that contemporary society is entering the 'creative age' that prioritizes individuals carrying various types of new ideas and valuable knowledge (Florida, 2002). Citing Jacobs (1961), Florida claims that talented individuals select cities with variegated communities and tolerant environment for living and development of their careers. He

stresses the importance of attraction not only knowledge-intensive firms and businesses, but rather focusing on people with creative potential and ideas, those who might establish such businesses themselves. Therefore, the focus on the attraction of the people who represent so-called 'talent pool' (both inside the country and internationally) is the nucleus of Florida's understanding of creative city development.

Yet the empirical studies carried out by Florida (2002; 2005) and other scholars (on the scale of urban centers and countries) are indicative of a strong relationship between talent and per capita income (which goes in line with the studies about the relationship between human capital and economic development), there are many scholars (E. Glaeser, 2005; Markusen, 2006a) pointing at a rather loose way of defining the central concepts of Florida's writings as well as deficient empirical indicators of clear cause-effect relations between development of local soft infrastructure, economic growth and attraction of creative individuals.

As the matter stands, the logical relation between creative representatives' attraction, the definition of what creativity implies in particular local contexts as well as success criteria has been questioned (Markusen & Schrock, 2009).

Besides that, the claim that suitable conditions for nourishing creative class and creative industries attraction and development can be found in an array of cities and regions, face heavy criticisms. According to Hall (2004), the central role of agglomerations in creative, knowledge-oriented activities is beyond doubt; however, he claims that creative-based development that has insufficient contextual (historical, social or geographical) preconditions is rather problematic. Other scholars argue that in many cases 'creative' economic development is rather dependent on the city's position within global networks and presence of international connections than particular local conditions and policy priorities (Simmie, 2005). Analyzing the comparison of metropolitan areas in the US,

Hoyman (2009) argues that there is much more apparent interconnection between economic development and the presence of human capital than Florida's 'talent pool'.

Besides that, there are intentional or unintentional 'elitist' connotative meanings of the very word 'class' and some scholars point at repeated applying of creative city policies as a form of neoliberal entrepreneurialism that is focused on the benefits for those high-educated, upper-class representatives, a form of policies that has certain potential to exacerbate economic and social polarization of an area (Wilson & Keil, 2008). Barnes et al. (2006) argue that it is hard to anticipate alleviation of social issues by application of creative class development policies.

Wilson and Keil (2008) counterpose Florida's understanding of creative individuals to the 'real creative class' represented by the urban poor. In response to these critiques, taking into account the risk of exacerbating of social and economic differentiation as an outcome of creative city policies implementation, Florida holds to an opinion that every single person possesses creative potential and thus 'the creative age' provides social, cultural and economic advantages for all.

Whereas there is no shortage of critical comments of Florida's writings, it is also necessary to take into account the widespread implementation of creative city policies, their impact on contemporary urban forms and meaningful ideas of creativity as a driving force of economic development. It is of great importance since over the recent decades, the growing number of urban administrations have launched strategic programs to implement creativity-based policies, to attract creative class representatives and to (re-)organize activities within cultural areas, neighborhoods and other types of creative milieus.

Scott (2006) proposes an alternative theoretical framework to discuss the concepts related to the creative city and the creative class within the context of other theoretical ideas. The author argues for the term of 'the creative field', defining it as

“a set of interrelationships that stimulate and channel individual expressions of creativity (...). At one level, this phenomenon coincides with the networks of firms and workers that make up any given agglomeration and with the multiple interactions that go on between these different units of decision-making and behavior. At another level, it is partly constituted by the infrastructural facilities and social overhead capital (...). At yet another level, it is an expression of cultures, conventions, and institutions that comes into existence in any agglomerated structure of production and work.” (Scott, 2006, p. 8).

This term, despite being even wider than ‘creative class’ or even ‘creative city’, aims to embrace growing ‘creativity’ complex by combining the elements of other related frameworks. A creative field includes both broad networks of creative industries entities and those individuals involved in creative production, it also encapsulates agglomeration economies frameworks as well as clustering theoretical approaches. The multi-scalar nature of such an approach allows to include local amenities development and attraction of creative individuals as well (Bontje and Musterd, 2009).

Creative class concept (as in case of creative city strategies) therefore can be regarded as a conceivably mobilizing policy approach. Analyzing existing case studies of the creative city policies implementations it is possible to come to a conclusion that such approaches can be considered as a specific type of political discourse that on the one had incentivized cultural and social stakeholders to be actively involved in regeneration activities, and, on the other hand, mobilizes economic interests in creative or cultural development of an area (Ponzini and Rossi, 2010).

Ponzini and Rossi (2010), refer to the creative city approach as the ‘discursive-regulatory project’ where specific, newly assembled ‘macro-actor’ of the creative class plays the key role. According to the authors, such a macro-actor is a result of subjectification process, in which selected actors, or a group of actors can be reinvented by regarding them in the

context of the other actors by applying certain theoretical frameworks<sup>7</sup>. Such an assemblage has been made possible by bringing together local actors on various levels as well as by enacting different urban policies on varying levels of governance.

Such a generalized vision implies understanding of urban governance beyond exceptionally contractual relations between institutions and organizations. This ‘discursive-regulatory’ approach proposes the leading role of local or regional authorities making the variety of efforts to incentivize other actors and thus form their activities, including those actors whose agency does not specifically involve financial or instrumental goals (e.g., artistic groups or individual artists). These forces are applied within the contexts of interurban competitiveness, economic development, neighborhood revitalization or the political capital formation by contouring and changing specific network shapes. However, regarding all the creative class representatives as unified macro-actor provides little opportunities to consider often opposed interests and incentives to participate in cultural activities and processes.

Within the context of structural change in urban areas, there is a growing number of people occupied in creativity-related spheres. According to Florida (2002; 2012), the number of such ‘creative’ individuals might be as large as 25-30% of the workforce in the developed countries and generate a growing proportion of regional or national income. This category includes scientists, engineers, artists, musicians, designers, researchers, knowledge professionals, among other occupations. In the recent decades, creativity, understood as the ability to generate ideas and knowledge, has become the key production component and growth driver of urban economies (Florida, 2005).

According to Florida (2002), those involved in creative production can be seen as a main development factor, since areas with significant concentration of creative workers gain

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<sup>7</sup> In the case of the creative class, it is the collection of Florida’s works and related indicators, such as cultural diversity, development and tolerance.

competitive advantages, becoming poles of innovation that attract individuals, companies and investment. However, the simple presence of creative class or companies is hard to consider as the only condition to become successful innovation center, there is also a significant role of production structure in the area.

The centers of creativity and innovation (being a result of the social and economic reorganization of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century) have greater possibilities of becoming financial winners in interurban and inter-regional competition since the high density of creative class representatives fosters interactions, with social environment is prone to innovative and creative behavior (Desrochers & Leppälä, 2011). Individuals in dense knowledge-intensive networks exchange expertise and have an advantage of a better position to acquire valuable information and use it forward than those in more isolated position (Scott, 2010).

The members of the creative class are characterized by high mobility level and are attracted to places and lifestyles characterized by tolerance, openness, good environmental conditions and a diversity of cultural offer. Arguably, in the context of creative class attraction and retention, soft location factors and social climate are more important than traditional factors of business climate.

According to Asheim and Hansen (2009), the creative class is the result of three different types of knowledge: synthetic, analytical and symbolic. These are the different mixes of codified and tacit knowledge, qualification and specialization in the context of particular challenges and pressure factors for innovation. These three types can be connected to specific professional occupation categories. Analytical knowledge corresponds to those linked to basic research, whose applications are translated into new products and processes (as well as starting new companies based on innovation). Synthetic knowledge is associated with professions related to applied research, where tacit knowledge has a greater importance. Finally, the symbolic knowledge deals with the creation of aesthetic

attributes of products, designs, images and symbols. Its importance is related to the dynamism of cultural production (cinema, music, ads, design and fashion), a large part of its application aims and creating or reinventing ideas and images.

Tolerance is another key component of the creative approach deals with the specific characteristics of places that attract and retain the creative individuals and high-end industries, considering the supposed high mobility of talent and technology.

Therefore, open, diverse and socially/culturally tolerant places supposedly present higher concentration of the creative class and knowledge/ideas production that provide certain competitive advantages. Such territories are more attractive to occupations related to analytical and symbolic knowledge than synthetic knowledge (Asheim and Hansen, 2009).

Tolerance level, measured by the 'melting pot', gay and bohemian indexes (proportions of foreign-born, homosexual and creative professionals' indexes respectively) is indicative of the level of openness as well as potential to drive innovation and growth both in old industrial areas as well as the growth of newly defined creative neighborhoods and cities.

The criticism around tolerance indexes has focused on the relative difficulties of defining relationships and mechanisms from an operational point of view, as well as the questionable causal relationship between tolerance and economic growth.

Many political actors assimilate tolerance to the simple presence of cultural diversity in the city. However, tolerance should be understood in the line of a society open to new ideas in regard to change in a broad sense (institutional, social, economic and cultural) and therefore, possible limitations to the generation of knowledge and innovation. More diversified local economies tend to stimulate more innovative behaviors and activities than more specialized ones, by providing greater opportunities to interact with

individuals and companies that they have different knowledge and skills (Desrochers and Leppälä, 2011).

The diversity of productive activity is important for economic performance, but also alongside it demographic diversity plays a role relevant when driving innovation and growth in cities as the works of Jane Jacobs have already pointed out in their day. So, just as it is on low barriers to market entry for businesses, Richard Florida argues that barriers to entry for people in a community should be similarly low, that is, that newcomers are soon accepted in all kinds of economic and social activities. Unfortunately, in the last decades a considerable number of actions and public investment projects and also private in urban areas have limited reaching a higher degree of diversity of these communities and consequently of their levels of creativity and innovation (Florida, 2005).

It is hard to challenge the claim that the symbolic value of goods and services has become no less than the value of their pragmatic usage due to the growing trend of increasingly individualistic modes of consumption and lifestyles (Scott, 2004).

Such a context conditions a hasty growth of the sectors that focus on creating this symbolic value. The nuclei of these economic sectors range from arts and design to software and crafts (Kloosterman, 2004; Pratt, 1997). These sectors also tend to centralize in a rather limited number of metropolitan areas, attracted by the availability of highly skilled workers and presence of economic and professional networks (Bontje & Musterd, 2009; Scott, 2004; Zukin, 1998).



### 2.4.2 The city as resource and intensifier of creativity

Cities are often considered as the privileged areas for artistic and cultural development since, on the one hand, they are the spaces of promotion and administering cultural and creative production and consumption, and on the other, possess necessary constituents of system-related instability that has high potential to grow the local creative atmosphere (d'Ovidio & Cossu, 2016). Urban areas have always been hubs of innovation, artistic and cultural activities and centers of economic growth.

The prominence of growth potential of urban agglomerations in capitalist environments is conditioned by the economic potential to accommodate capital and presence of certain prerequisites that are related to traditional models of economic development that prioritize the accessibility of resources and hard infrastructure. However, the instruments prioritized within the traditional framework of economic growth are rather incomplete in the context of post-industrial economic setting.

Other factors, such as lifestyle, ethnic and cultural diversity and 'people climate' (Asheim and Hansen, 2009) differ contemporary urban competitiveness in comparison with the factors associated solely with production and hard infrastructure accessibility (such as 'business climate').

The number of urban areas with high potential to attract creative class representatives is rather limited, due to the number and complexity of necessary prerequisites for success in attracting and nourishing talent and technology-intensive activities (high standards of life, socio-cultural diversity and high levels of tolerance).

For other authors (e.g., see Taylor, (2011), territorial competitiveness to a greater extent relates to the aspects that prioritize productive environment (business climate), which is inextricably linked to institutional capacity, business network relationships and a culture of trust in local environment that generate possibilities to develop economic advantages

of low replicability and therefore an ability to attract new industries in a particular area that possess these advantages.

Landry (2008) stresses the importance of cities in relation to geographical and agglomerative aspects, with aspects related to interventions in public space, both symbolic (like landmarks) and physical infrastructure, social environment (e.g., local identity) and economic priorities. These three urban domains (social, political and economic) that the author gives prominence to in creative city development process.

Urban areas have possibilities to create suitable conditions for the members of Florida's 'creative class' through nourishing tolerance and creation of cultural and social amenities. In this context, cities are the places of variegated environments for the creative knowledge persons and those cities that achieve highest levels of tolerant and comfortable environment are expected to benefit the most in the future creative and experience modes of economic development.

Bianchini and Landry (1995) propose an interdisciplinary and inclusive approach to solve urban issues through creativity, which implies a high level of flexibility for planning process with involvement of the sides that hitherto have been excluded from the policy-making process. The authors draw special attention to the contextual-based approach, highlighting three key sets of changes:

- In industrial production, that is no longer based on raw materials and manufacturing, but instead on the production of knowledge. Therefore, there is a need for interdisciplinary and integrative basis for development necessary qualities for nourishing creative urban environment.
- Technological changes, which are necessary to make cities less dependent on access to certain raw materials for industrial production.

- Changes in how locals live and work, changes preconditioned by globalization and work conditions. These changes give rise to the current competitiveness between cities and regions (to attract knowledge-based companies and industries). The authors stress the importance of the aspects related to the image of the city, its brand and symbolic objects, with the notion of possible threats of these 'surface' aspects that may replace concerns of the urban planning and ethical aspects.

It is a deeply flawed perspective to regard urban space as either blank mediator or inert setting, waiting for external forces to fill it with proper activities and start necessary processes. On the contrary, it is the location of complex social structures, relationships and identities, and specific environment that produces and reproduces these structures and identities. Besides that, different actors and groups of actors in such settings have different values and priorities that are translated into urban space.

The body of academic (mainly economic) publications analyzing the relationship between creative city approach with urban space largely discuss two related perspectives of such relationship. First direction regards urban settings as an enabling environment for culture-led development initiatives and creative undertakings, offering diverse resources (Merkel, 2008; Rantisi, 2004) such as cultural actors, public and private entities, networks, experiences and milieus that, on the one hand, foster cultural and creative production and on the other, encourages cultural consumption (Currid, 2007). Thus, in economic terms, diverse urban settings can be regarded as the major driver and the central force of the cultural economy.

The second research direction of economic literature considers urban areas as fundamental medium that translates economic growth into various interrelated urban markets, such as land, labor or real estate (Lange, 2008; Thiel, 2017) by creation of job places, changes in political priorities and urban space values.

In other words, urban agglomerations can be considered as both a resource of cultural dynamics and reinforcer of economic growth. However, these claims imply both positive and negative effects for the development of creative city strategies, for example increase of land prices resulting from economic development and image beautification of certain areas can lead to benefits for one group of actors, while negatively affecting the other, producing largely unequal aftereffects.

### 2.4.3 Creative production and consumption milieu

Despite the multiplicity of conceptual understandings and developmental perspectives' discrepancies of creative city term, it is possible to distinguish two main approaches to urban areas in creative and cultural economy: regarding it as a production and as a consumption milieu.

The first approach can be considered as a business-related perspective that prioritizes the importance of creative producers (usually in the form of creative industries) as key drivers for innovation and economic growth. Compared to other sectors of economic activity, creative production possesses important distinctiveness, being a prominent domain for innovation and technological advancement, relying on small creative and cultural enterprises and interpersonal communication.

The second approach regards urban areas preeminently as creative and cultural consumption milieu that stresses the importance of specific place qualities for creative class attraction and retention. These place qualities precondition the attraction of the talented, culture-oriented businesses and future financial investment (Florida, 2002). This consumption-based approach also highlights the role of local amenities in urban development process (D. Clark, 2004). It is also possible to trace this idea back to the writings of Jane Jacobs (1961), since her studies discussed various traits of cultural development of urban areas that are nowadays interpreted as a creative city approach.

In spite of the differences between these two approaches, it is hard to distinguish them as a matter of actual practice. Rather they represent different priorities in particular urban policies that usually combine both perspectives, the more so as some of the place characteristics refer to both categories of milieu, which is explained by the close relationships between work and leisure environments among creative class representatives and private entrepreneurs. Indeed, urban environments combine specific work conditions, lifestyles and leisure patterns that rather complement each other, especially considered as a part of a unified creative city development strategy. Besides that, creative class representatives can be regarded as both producers of cultural and creative products or services as well as local consumers that actively use urban amenities. Therefore, it is possible to argue that production and consumption are the two sides of the same creative and cultural milieu of contemporary city (Trip & Romein, 2010).

Trip and Romein (2010) propose analytical framework for production and consumption milieu that distinguishes three types of urban space: social (complex structure of activities, interrelationships and interactions), symbolic (space meaning and perception of the particular value of places) and physical space (morphology and the location characteristics of urban areas, urban fabric). The author highlights that these spatial categories are constantly changing due to the societal impacts: social stratification of urban space due to growing individualization and levels of income serves as a clear illustration of these dynamics.

With the rise of popularity of Florida's works (2002, 2005), the consumption milieu has received growing attention both from policy-makers as well as from academic writers, though the former usually tend to focus on the production side of creative city development, especially due to potential economic benefits and financial investments (Banks & O'Connor, 2009). It is also explained by the post-industrial transformations of

urban areas, where municipalities needed to regenerate economically deprived zones. These processes precondition economic orientation of creative city strategies and their entrepreneurial character. At the same time, predominately growth-oriented strategies are prone to induce tensions and conflicts at the local level, especially applying creative city approach that involves an array of stakeholders and actors.

Thus, in order to achieve a certain level of sustainability of creative strategies, decision-makers need to take into account a variety of variables and factors that influence the effectiveness of interventions and overall success of creative city approach. Empirical evidence suggests that rather than deprioritizing the creative production, cultural and creative city approaches need to encompass both production and consumption milieu and address these two dimensions in the aggregate.

In addition, the broad range of place characteristics that refer to the creative and cultural production and consumption milieu suggests the difficulty of successful development if creative city strategies are planned and employed by a single public entity (or by a small number of entities): it is necessary to incorporate manifold government and planning activities, with a broad range of departments (beside cultural or economic departments). Such a strategy allows more integrative approach, including a variety of policy fields (including social policies), spatial development, real estate domain, cultural and leisure activities.

The importance of such a combination of these dimensions raises the question of what are particular characteristics of viable creative production and consumption milieu? In this context, Florida (2002, 2004) highlights the term 'quality of place' that refers to manifold characteristics ranging from physical availability of 'third places' allowing informal meetings and various cultural venues to intangible factors such as place authenticity, identity, openness and tolerance. Due to its elusive nature, the latter group of intangible factors are hard to measure (though Florida approached this issue by

introducing the set of ‘indexes’) and thus it is difficult to build precise development strategies in reliance on these aspects. In addition, it is hard to unify creative class representatives’ preferences for production environment and lifestyle patterns as their choices differ depending on various factors (age, income, stage of career development and personal attitudes).

Within the context of Trip and Romein’s (2010) analytical framework, it is possible to refer particular place qualities to urban space types: working spaces, hard infrastructure and amenities refer to physical qualities; street life characteristics, actors’ networks and communication can be categorized as social place qualities; and local values, authenticity and image perception as symbolic place qualities. At times such spatial qualities are applied in relation to particular geographical scales even beyond city limits (e.g., regional level), however, in the context of creative policies they are predominantly used in connection to city and neighborhood levels. Arguably, the latter level provides the most favorable conditions for creative policies interventions, which are discussed in the following parts of the chapter.

To a large extent, the level of effectiveness of creative city interventions depends on the availability of contextual preconditions for such transformation. In relation to consumption milieu, it is possible to highlight the prominence of historic amenities, educational facilities, presence of vivid cultural life and event agenda, certain spatial characteristics that create specific and unique atmosphere of the area. In the context of production milieu, contextual preconditions include the presence of creative dynamics, private companies working in cultural and creative domains, as well as economic advantages for such companies or talented individuals. Alternatively, it is much harder to form sustainable creative development strategies in those cities and neighborhoods that do not possess such place qualities (Trip and Romein, 2010). This is indicative of the key role of contextual characteristics for creative city development: indeed, organic and unconstrained evolution of cultural neighborhoods (where creative activities are already

present) can be regarded as a prominent resource for further sustainable development and a basis for successful creative city interventions. In its turn, this claim implies the growing importance of area-specific character of policies and creative city strategies in contrast to trivial copying of successful practices and policy models.

#### 2.4.4. Clustering process and scale: place qualities and creative milieus

Though place qualities are pertinent for the production milieu of urban areas (in particular considering the importance of clustering process) are foremost discussed in the context of consumption milieu dimension (Scott, 2006; Pratt, 2004).

Lorentzen and Frederiksen (2008) distinguish three key place qualities that attract both creative class representatives and industries: the first factor refers to co-location possibility that allows private companies and individuals to build connections, create specific production networks, benefit from existing services, spillover effects and knowledge sharing; the second set of place qualities considers the role of developed local labor market that besides providing necessary job opportunities for individuals and workforce for private companies also provides enrichment of workers' skills and technological innovations of companies; the third category of characteristics includes a diversity of available infrastructure facilities, favorable policy settings and institutions facilitating creative production process.

As discussed above, in some cases it is possible to see pronounced governmental planning of cultural neighborhoods, while in other cases the key decisions are made by other cultural stakeholders. However, following Zukin and Braslow (2011), at times it is difficult to distinguish one type of cultural agglomeration from another as the development of a large majority of cultural neighborhoods is usually enabled with certain



level of assistance from public entities (e.g., through place branding, image formation or promotion of particular forms of consumption). The authors distinguish three interrelated processes in the formation of cultural and creative neighborhoods: migration of creative class representatives, construction of appropriate reputation of the area and development of appealing visual image of urban spaces (ibid). Artists, creative class representatives and those involved in cultural businesses are attracted to neighborhoods with particular material and symbolic characteristics that foster creative production and consumption (Lloyd, 2004). Arguably, urban places can be considered as inherent part of the cultural and creative person's identity, ensuring a comfortable environment, providing necessary conditions for emotional wellness and inspiring interpersonal communication. These place characteristics include both symbolic and material aspects: appealing image of the area, presence of social and cultural networks, existence of appropriate hard infrastructure and other amenities. The symbolic characteristics are often manifested through vibrant street life, rich cultural agenda, festivities and street performances of all kinds that construct neighborhood image as distinctive and recognizable. According to Gainza (2017), favorable area reputation is essential for success of territory as cultural and creative agglomeration. Indeed, besides fostering cultural activities and unlock the creative potential of individuals by establishing and supporting of relationship between artistic works and place peculiarities (distinctive image of the place), it can also attract attention of external audiences to cultural and creative dynamics of the area, ensuring the growth vector of the neighborhood and build desired reputation of the neighborhood (Costa & Lopes, 2013).

The migration of the 'first wave' of the talented and reputation of the cultural agglomeration subsequently attracts other creative class representatives with high cultural capital that share the same values with the artists, often with the intention to align their professional career development with neighborhood identity. As the process gains momentum, the rent prices growth becomes noticeable and real estate capital gets

highly interested in the neighborhood and those pioneers with high cultural capital and low-income rates need to move to other areas, being replaced by those with higher levels of income and eventually by managerial middle class, large-scale speculators, companies and capitalists (Ley, 2003). In such a way, artists become the initial drivers of gentrification, catalyzing drastic transformations of local economies and thereafter the industrial landscape of urban areas, where the process of change starts with small-scale 'trendy' shops opened by new locals that at a later date become accompanied by larger boutiques and chain stores, gradually increasing the rent prices, making the original 'pioneer' stores disappear from the neighborhood (Zukin et al., 2009). Thus, it is possible to argue that symbolic and reputation transformation of the area advance gentrification processes as well as certain changes in dynamic development of urban area from production to consumption-based priorities (Costa et al., 2008).

Having depicted such a stage-oriented model of arts-led gentrification process, more recent empirical evidence indicates that common narrative of gentrification by cultural and creative activities is rather one potential scenario of arts contribution to the area's transformation (Grodach et al., 2018) and more detailed understanding of the interconnection between urban development, the arts and gentrification is needed.

The field of art is extremely diverse and various segments of this sphere have different priorities and incentives for their activities and thus produce varying effects on place change. For example, some art organizations and collectives are rather drawn in the area by progressively growing environments in order to expand the clientele (especially in case of commercial arts) than participating in their formation and thus often it is hard to establish causal linkages between the arts and gentrification and displacement processes (ibid). Nevertheless, the authors also highlight that it is necessary to consider the particular context of certain areas, in particular the presence of concentrated arts and cultural activities and establishments in surrounding neighborhoods (which increase the

possibility of arts-led displacement) and to address potential gentrification effects through specific policies (Grodach et al., 2018).

#### 2.4.5 Analysis of cultural agglomeration in the Creative City: from cities to neighborhood level

Cities create specific environments for collective manifestations of creativity, providing adequate settings for communities, interactions and communication. The everyday life of particular areas plays the key role in perception of local identity and values formation that form locality and by which area's livability is characterized. The local can be regarded as a favorable level to analyze the dynamics of social life, spatial change, political interventions and cultural activities (García et al., 2015). According to Miles (2005), focusing on cultural expressions and day-to-day creativity of local areas can be regarded as a more sustainable approach to urban cultural development (both economically and socially) than commitment to global image formation drawing on flagship and large-scale projects such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao.

The following section introduces a series of concepts related to the process of territorial agglomeration of cultural and artistic activities in connection to creative city policies design and implementation.

Within the general framework of the creative city, the municipalities apply strategies that can be considered as 'creative placemaking' on various scales of action (Redaelli, 2016). These strategies include specific zoning of cultural activities, reuse of built environment and other instruments to involve various actors (cultural producers, developers, arts mediators, etc.) in centralizing within culture-oriented urban areas. The rationale behind these incentives is related to the capacity of such actors to reinvigorate deprived

neighborhoods and transform them to foster cultural production and consumption, to enrich the cultural agenda and turn particular urban zones into centers of eventification (by means of organizing numerous festivals, fairs, celebrations, etc.) (Goldberg-Miller & Heimlich, 2017). Indeed, one can notice that cultural and creative actors (due to various factors discussed below) tend to consolidate in particular areas and thus creative city strategies on practice imply formation and support of particular creative areas and neighborhoods<sup>8</sup>. Landry (2005) also stresses the prominence of the built environment for the creation of the ‘creative milieu’ alongside the importance of physical infrastructure and local policies applied to solve emerging issues in area development. These three factors are combined to provide an opportunity to create a particular environment and provide instruments to form specific stakeholder structures (Landry, 2005).

Considering such strategies, the matter of scale has been discussed in a number of scholar studies (Kloosterman, 2004; Bontje and Musterd, 2006), focusing on the context of creative class attraction and interurban competitiveness as well as on the conditions these settings impose in order to define whether cities should attempt to designate particular areas to form creative or ‘bohemia’ types of milieus. Speaking of particular location of creative milieus, it is possible to notice the broad diversity of where these areas are located. Though the clustering process tend to emerge in core areas of the cities (E. J. McCann, 2007), it is not an indispensable condition. Depending on social, economic, cultural and historical contexts, these areas emerge not necessarily in the very central areas of the cities or the areas in close proximity to the inner city (in particular, Amsterdam, Berlin, Helsinki, Munich and Manchester) (Bontje & Musterd, 2009; Bontje & Sleutjes, 2007).

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<sup>8</sup> Yet, it is necessary to consider that ‘creative’ actors and other types of bohemian residents (e.g., artists, musicians and other groups involved in creative production) have specific (often individual) lifestyle considerations and thus have distinguishable preferences in residential and working milieus (R. Florida, 2005a; Landry, 2005b; Musterd & Deurloo, 2006; Zukin, 1998).

Such a focus on location and place aspects as a key point of creativity has made local interventions a determinant of efficiency of creative city initiatives.

The most prominent economic reasoning of fostering localized cluster development derives from Florida's (2002) understanding of creativity as a prime engine of the new economic system and thus it is essential to attract the creative class representatives by applying specific cultural policies and shaping favorable local environments. Therefore, urban regeneration programs that are applied within the wide spectrum of creative city approaches instead of being introduced on the city-wide level, often centralize in particular areas of cultural clustering, creative neighborhoods. From space (and scale) - oriented perspective, Pratt (2008) advocates the claim that the prominence of creative strategies on the neighborhood level is rather related to the presence and quality of local amenities for fostering cultural consumption, than the effects of creative production.

The development of cultural clustering process is often related to regeneration goals. Regarded from this perspective, cultural industries and related creative representatives offer the possibility for flexible usage of derelict built environment, which is often the case of those neighborhoods with industrial background (Hutton, 2009).

For the local public entities, the rationale for supporting cultural neighborhoods is not always solely refers to fostering creative economy, but to creation and development of the place image (Mommaas, 2004). Yet, in a vicarious manner, this process also implies receiving economic benefits, since the changes that promote development of specific 'attractive' neighborhood image are usually applied to draw attention of visitors and customers and thus revitalize the local economy.

Besides that, agglomeration of creative activities offers the possibility to provide positive effects on the social capital of an area by fostering engagement of local dwellers and community-organization process (Stern & Seifert, 2010). Active development of cultural

sectors also provides employment possibilities for local residents (Evans, 2009), the objective that commonly goes in line with declared goals of local politicians.

In spite of the above-mentioned rationales and expectations of positive effects of cultural and creative clustering, artistic activities may or may not flourish within specific areas, conditioned by the social and structural specifics of the actors involved as well as the inherent dynamics of cooperation patterns, which can define the success of various clustering forms.

By such manners, clustering process can be regarded as the fundamental aspect in creative city and creative class approaches, the process that directly corresponds to the development of cultural neighborhoods and artistic milieus (Evans, 2009). Arguably, the phenomenon of cultural clustering emerged within economic and political frameworks as a type of specific urban development strategy focused to address the issues of the new economic and social contexts (Lorenzen and Frederiksen, 2007). Over the past decades, various urban development initiatives have been focused on fostering the development and support of cultural clustering and creative neighborhoods, suggesting that dense location and concentration of cultural and creative activities largely benefits both social and economic aspects of the area, stimulating revitalization process (d'Ovidio & Cossu, 2016).

The concepts of cultural and creative cluster, quarter, neighborhood or district have become widely applied over the recent time. However, according to Chapain & Sagot-Duvaurox (2020) there is a certain overlap between cluster, district and quarter notions, that has become even larger during the last decades. Indeed, many authors relate these notions to the economic effects of agglomeration (predominantly, the term of 'cluster'), focusing on production characteristics of an area (often applying the concept of 'district') or prioritizing top-down initiatives of clustering phenomenon (using 'cluster' and 'quarter' notions) (Chapain & Sagot-Duvaurox, 2020; Evans, 2009). However, in this

study it is necessary to broaden the view to encompass cultural and social dynamics of consumption as well as cultural production goals beyond economic rationales. Therefore, in the present thesis I use the term of cultural or creative neighborhood in order to accentuate both territorial and location specificities as well as the complex economic process of cultural clustering. In the context of this research, cultural or creative neighborhood can be defined as a particular urban setting with a high degree of concentration of companies, institutions and individuals involved in cultural and creative activities that form specific stakeholder structures.

There have been several valuable academic inputs published in the last two decades providing classifications of cultural and creative areas and milieus (Cinti, 2008; Mommaas, 2004). However, these writings usually form related typologies focusing on a limited number of selected case studies that rarely supplement each other (Chapain & Sagot-Duvaurox, 2020). As in case of the terms of ‘creativity’ and ‘creative city’ there is no cogent definition and consolidated understanding of what is territorial cluster in terms of urban cultural development (due to a wide range of academic disciplines studying this phenomenon), adding to the difficulty of implementation of clustering approaches (Chesnel et al., 2013). Indeed, the body of literature on agglomeration processes within cultural and creative neighborhoods comprises different academic fields, particularly economic geography, urban studies, policies and management research. However, it is hard to regard the multiplicity of theoretical understandings and approaches as a necessarily negative phenomenon, rather it provides the diversity of visions and understandings that foster the development of interdisciplinary approaches. Besides that, the wide range of multidisciplinary approaches attributing to the analysis of clustering phenomenon can be exceptionally relevant to particular case studies where monodisciplinary approach restrains the understanding of a whole set of complex processes.

Besides that, it is necessary to take into account the wide range of clustering forms in urban context, from those with significant involvement of public sector, usually characterized by policy-maker incentives with clear intentions to promote particular foci in economic and socio-cultural development of an area to those typified by bottom-up approaches, where the leading role belongs to other, non-governmental actors (e.g., the third sector, artistic groups or local communities) (Mommaas, 2009; Evans, 2009).

Usually cultural and creative milieus are regarded from top-down initiatives' perspective with declared goals and policy programs; however, it is important to consider other initiatives of creative development and clustering process. Due to the very nature of cultural and creative environments, it is necessary to take into account objectives that have cultural and social origins (Sagot-Duvaouroux, 2020). It is also important to consider that incentives and goals of clustering are not permanently fixed and can alter over time, being rather dynamic factors that change development frameworks of the areas as well as network structures of local stakeholders.

The number of scientific publications on cultural and creative clusters has increased dramatically since the mid-2000s, while the terms of 'cultural clusters' and 'creative clusters' have been extensively used to describe the phenomenon. However, as it was discussed in above sections, the popularity of the term 'creative' is growing, which can be explained by the accentuation of developmental dimension of the term and shift of scholar and political interest to economic focus of territorial governance and diversity of its social and cultural impacts (Chapain & Sagot-Duvaouroux, 2020; Flew & Cunningham, 2010). In economic terms, the clustering process is contextualized by the production of goods and services that heavily depends on creativity and intellectual property (Santagata, 2002), which involves prioritizing of value chain analysis as well as economic indicators of local development.



Chapain and Sagot-Duvauroux (2018) distinguish two main trends of discussion existing in the literature related to cultural clustering: namely, *economic dynamics* of clusters and *urban regeneration policies* that apply cultural agglomeration strategies. The *first trend* refers to the cultural and creative economy sphere as well as its interconnections with particular territories, usually analyzing factors that precondition and contextualize the processes of creative industries agglomeration (Bader and Scharenberg, 2010). Such approach is characterized by planning-oriented framework of analysis that considers cultural quarters as “*easily delimited physical concentrations of cultural activities with the aim to foster cultural production and/or consumption through the advantages of economics of urbanization (i.e., diversity and mixed usage)*” (Chapain and Sagot-Duvauroux, 2020, p. 20). This implies specific perspective of contemporary urban areas as milieus of knowledge production, innovation and creativity in the contexts of new economic formations and the growing role of artistic activities. These contexts are best explained by the concepts of information city (Castells, 1989, 2010), the creative city (Jacobs, 1961; Florida, 2002) and the creative clusters notion (Porter, 1998).

The *second trend* refers to urban regeneration policies and place branding, regarding the phenomenon of cultural clustering through the lens of post-industrial areas’ revitalization and place branding, emphasizing the role of creative activities, public and private actors in fostering local production and cultural consumption (see Montgomery, 2004). Another field of analysis that is incorporated in this category considers the transformation of cultural districts into areas of creative class attraction. This notion is closely related to the above-mentioned analysis of the life cycle of creative quarters by Zukin and Braslow (2011), who brought to light certain development patterns that are characterized by replacing artistic production with consumption services in gentrification dynamics. At the same time, the particular cultural or creative image that public agencies try to develop and promote through place branding initiatives are not necessarily aligned with the perception of local dwellers and communities (McCarthy, 2006).

As it was mentioned above, there are creative neighborhoods that appeared due to bottom-up initiatives and receiving following support from local administrations and those 'creative' areas that were conceived and developed by means of public incentives as a certain instrument for the regeneration processes of disadvantaged areas of the city. While the latter approach depends heavily on public expenditures' strategies, the former strategy of those 'naturally' emerged cultural neighborhoods can be regarded as more sustainable formations as they are characterized by high density of cultural producers, which stimulate agglomeration of creative consumers in the local area as well (Zukin and Braslow, 2011). It is possible to mention the SoHo neighborhood in New York City and Kreuzberg in Berlin as illustrations of such type of cluster formation. The specific 'organic' principles of formation of these areas are usually regarded as a desirable basis in strategic policy interventions in order to foster the economic growth of the area (which, in its advanced stages often disregards the interests of original creative class residents) (Dean & Higgins, 2011).

At the same time, a wide range of urban areas across the globe have applied the approach of deliberately formed cultural and creative placemaking (where clustering policies often play a starring role) in order to increase urban livability aspects (Peck, 2012). Though such an approach may be considered aspirational and promising, many authors question the sustainability of these initiatives by marginalization of local dwellers, lack of community involvement and overall efficiency of creative class to produce a new, revitalized neighborhood (Catungal & Leslie, 2009).

Urban municipalities focus on producing cultural planning strategies that usually involve a range of stakeholders from public, private and non-profit spheres to conceptualize the role of arts and culture in the new social and economic contexts. Usually, planned cultural neighborhoods are developed by local public planning institutions and in a best-case scenario actively involve a number of stakeholders, including those on the community level. This process often implies formation of specific coalitions of actors from public,

private and non-profit sectors that share the same incentives and goals (Goldberg-Miller & Heimlich, 2017). At the same time, Montgomery (2004), using urban planning perspective highlights key aspects that make creative cluster policies effective, which include initial interventions to foster local development, the built form of such actions and the meaning that these policies carry. There are many evidences that clearly show possible and existing contradictions and conflicts that such an approach can provoke and highlighting the prominence of cooperation of the stakeholders involved in revitalization and development initiatives. Ponzini (2009) stresses the importance of thorough consideration of existing cultural networks within the policy frameworks of top-down interventions.

By contextualizing the agglomeration process of creative and cultural activities and incentives in the next chapters, the present study focuses on characterization of dynamics present within both naturally-formed and planned cultural creative neighborhoods.

Zarlenga et al. (2013), taking a broader, multidimensional look at the clustering process in Barcelona (encompassing both social and management aspects) distinguish three 'ideal' types of clustering formed, depending on the preponderant means of interaction: the cultural cluster as a bureaucratic system, as a market-oriented association and as a community dynamic.

The first category refers to those clustering formations that heavily depend on cultural institutions, policies and relationships between public entities (as well as formal systems that condition public-private sector interactions). This type of cluster formation follows a pronounced top-down development logic, which implies that the project design and the most part of the transformation process heavily depend on the public entities and policy-makers' decisions. Though in some areas there is a certain (and even high) level of independent cultural sector involvement, in most of the cases the development of such type of creative neighborhoods is determined by local administrative structure and official

hierarchies leaving rather limited space for intersectoral collaborations (Zarlenga et al., 2016).

The development peculiarities of urban space itself is highly related to the nature of the clustering process. The bureaucratic organization type of cultural agglomeration often applies urban regeneration strategies, which in turn often imply a significant level of spatial transformation. In many cases this involves creation of various barriers considering everyday life of local dwellers considering their relationship with urban space, significantly changing the residential dynamics and reorganizing the existing fabric of artistic communities and independent groups of artists.

The second type corresponds to the clustering formations with the pronounced focus on cultural production and consumption (often commercial), in which stakeholder coalitions are usually project-based and rather flexible. This type of clustering implies a wide spectrum of bottom-up initiatives, where stakeholders are interested in brand qualities development, favorable image formation and attraction of new customers. Therefore, it is possible to consider this type as an instrumental phenomenon. However, in some cases the project emerges as a top-down initiative. This type does not focus particularly on urban space transformation, rather prioritizing utilization of benefits of available resources (e.g., short walking distances, compact and dense location of urban amenities) by creating spaces with high concentration of artistic groups and activities.

The third category is attributed to clustering process that is formed on the community level, typified by significance of common values, shared ideas with predominance of informal relationships. It is also characterized by high density of artists and creators. Specific trait of this type of cultural neighborhood is its dependence on community dynamics with cross-sectional interaction, which leads to more 'organically' developed bohemian and artistic subcultures. Areas typified by such clustering process rarely undergo significant spatial transformations organized on the community level.

By and large, bureaucratic-centered organization neighborhoods can be regarded as an efficient approach for transformation of urban areas and arguably fosters attraction of public attention. However cooperation dynamics that stem from public initiatives are immature (Zarlenga, 2016). At the same time, industry-oriented creative neighborhoods are also characterized by a relatively low level of cooperation, especially in the context of low intersectoral coordination or absence of common projects. On the contrary, areas that are characterized by active artistic communities indicate decent cooperation and high cultural production levels, creating various forms of local subcultures and associations that form a unique artistic milieu, fostering cultural production and consumption (ibid).

Such categorization facilitates understanding of the dominating social and institutional dynamics of clustering process. However, it is hard to consider this typology as strict development models, where each creative neighborhood can be classified into one particular category, rather above-mentioned discrepancies should be viewed as features of the open structure, proposing theoretical types of creative neighborhoods that not necessarily imply following each characteristic in empirical cases: these types distinguish and highlight particular *predominant* characteristics that condition development patterns and clustering dynamics of the area, not all of the traits and processes that characterize the area.

Therefore, it is possible to refer to artistic and cultural neighborhoods as specific areas with a high level of concentration of cultural and creative activities, abundance of artistic expressions in the public space (urban design, performances, festivals, etc.) and profusion of culture-related entities (such as galleries, foundations and institutions).

There are a growing number of the cities that have their specific areas of such type, that have a distinction of being at the differing stages of urban development and cultural agglomeration, where those areas characterized by advanced stages of such processes are usually more commercialized and gentrified than others (Pareja Eastaway et al., 2010).

While the very idea of whether such 'bohemian' areas should be (re-)developed and turned into economically effective clusters is questionable, the widespread change of development priorities to either bohemian-oriented place or industry-oriented one by application of various policies, power interplay and stakeholders involved can serve as an exemplification of the potential for the wide diversity of the actors related to creative city development. Indeed, taking a closer look at the actors it is hard to amalgamate all the cultural and creative stakeholders into one unified category of creative class: while some of the actors are rather forceful and possess economic resources, others are much less influential. Besides that, the interests and incentives of the 'creative class' representatives may differ drastically. Thus, one of the necessary conditions that facilitate sustainable creative development of cultural neighborhoods is prioritizing the complex interrelations between policy interventions and local communities' dynamics as well as the particular conditions that specify different types of cultural agglomeration processes (Zarlenga et al., 2016).

Since their very emerging, culture-led regeneration approaches have been concentrated around old industrial zones to provide important infrastructures, to develop ground environment, to densify cultural agenda by intensification of cultural events and apply place-branding approach to create new, favorable image of the area (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). However, over the recent decades the original prioritizing of flagship projects and massive interventions have been replaced by more precise small-scale culture-oriented projects at the neighborhood level (Mommaas, 2004). Indeed, since flagship projects often produce rather questionable effects (especially considering the long-term sustainability of the area), some scholars argue for switching the focus on the local cultural production and endogenous development (Indergaard, 2013) that arguably imply scaling down policy interventions to the neighborhood level instead of applying them on the city-wide scale.

Therefore, the rationale of fostering cultural clustering on the neighborhood level embraces economic and regeneration benefits that are usually associated with creative city development. Moreover, cultural, creative and knowledge-based clustering process contributes to the emergence of positive effects due to the factors of knowledge spillovers and innovation, which is especially prominent in the case of cultural production, which is heavily dependent on serendipity and cross-pollination (Malmberg & Maskell, 2002). Therefore, instead of being unilateral sector-specific formation, cultural neighborhoods usually are constituted by representatives of a wide variety of sectors that share similar values and esteem informal communicative environments (Lazzeretti & Cinti, 2012). The latter aspect is also related to the presence of the informal places of interaction between the creators and cultural industries workers (the ‘third space’) that offer a high level of possibilities for face-to-face communication, which enables knowledge exchange to take place (Currid, 2007). This facilitates information sharing and project discussions due to specific informal environment. It is also possible to stress the importance of advanced ‘art scene’ (Molotch & Treskon, 2009) or ‘buzz’ in terms of Storper and Venables (2004), that refers to spaces for cooperation, discussion and innovation between cultural and creative actors, that additionally offers the possibility of bringing financial benefits by attracting visitors and customers.

In conclusion, it can be argued that there are various characters of cultural clustering, while their dynamics have different nature depending on starting incentives of key actors involved in neighborhood development as well as interaction patterns between stakeholders that support and reinforce creative city approach.

It is possible to consider the formation of clusters as one of the most prominent phenomena that have fostered and advantaged the urban reorganization process as well as the formation of identity of large parts of the city. This overview provided us with the general understanding of the benefits and pitfalls that come laden with creative and cultural clustering process as well as the types and variants of its development within

creative city dynamics. Yet, it should be noted that it is hard to distinguish ‘ideal’ types of creative and cultural clustering processes. Indeed, there are both deliberately and naturally formed associations (or top-down and bottom-up initiatives in other terms) that present in most of the creative areas synchronously, influencing the specifics of interaction within the neighborhood and conditioning the wide range of hybrid forms of emerging cultural quarters. Therefore, cultural and creative neighborhoods are often regarded as places of festivals, cultural events of various types.

## 2.5 A Critical Take on the Creative City

But what do such aspirational comments imply in effect? The opinions vary and many scholars criticize the writings of Florida and Landry as ready-to-apply toolkits for urban development. It is possible to distinguish three interrelated lines of critique: from an *economic* point of view, from a *policy-making perspective* and from a *social-oriented position*.

The first line of critique refers to the lack of empirical evidence of direct connection between creative city approach and economic development of urban areas (Malanga, 2004). In particular, some authors stress the need of more precise identification of the creative class representatives that play the key role in expositive and analytical indexes (Ponzini & Rossi, 2010). These very indexes have been harshly criticized as well, being the key pillar of the creative class theory methodology, tolerance and gay indexes are questioned in terms of their reliability, methods of calculation as well as their correspondence with economic development of the area (D. Clark, 2004; Nathan, 2005). The same line of critiques has been addressed to the creative index as the core factor in economic prosperity in the contexts of neo-liberalism and interurban competition (C.



Gibson & Klocker, 2005). These criticisms directed against creative class theory conceptual framework (in particular reflected in Florida's writings) as well as against its direct application in specific urban settings refers to pronounced instrumentation of sociological categories and social indexes. Critics have marked the general oversimplification of these indicators that provoke narrow and limited strategies for urban economic development that produce hardly predictable outcomes on both economic growth and the urban social environment. Other authors put a question mark over the possible positive impacts of the existence of diverse artist communities for the public domain of particular local contexts, since usually these social groups are typified by rather weak interrelations with local public authorities and management structures (Miles & Paddison, 2005). However, the matter of the latter critique is very context-dependent, and the following parts of the chapter discuss the wide range of possibilities for successful interrelations between artistic communities and local government structures.

The second direction of critique is related to widespread understanding of creative city strategy as a 'fast urban policy' paying little attention to the local context of particular cities and neighborhoods (Peck, 2005, p. 767). There are certain restrictions of creative city theory regarding predominant top-down understanding of urban development, creative class attraction and economic growth. This line of critique refers to the limited understanding of the complex structures of urban cultural and creative production by the creative class theory that, according to Thiel (2017), consists of two main elements, namely creative class representatives and the urban setting. The author highlights the lack of attention paid to intermediate elements in such understanding of the complex structure of urban economic and social development, namely absence of organizations, labor markets or infrastructure. In a similar vein, Ponzini and Rossi (2010) highlight possible intricacies of linking various institutional entities at different levels, as well as the difficulties associated with integration of various agents into the planning process. Other

authors emphasize high possibility of poor integration of cultural and creative policies with broader planning strategies of urban development (Cunningham, 2004). Following the writings of Harvey (1989) and Catungal et al. (2009) question the meaning of 'creativity' term in the creative city approach that can be regarded as practical capacity to rewrap an entrepreneurial system of urban management through creation of specific urban environments with certain place qualities (particularly liveliness and diversity), using it as a façade for profit-driven governance model. In other words, from this point of view, creative city approach does not interfere with the existing model of urban entrepreneurialism, but on the contrary, only extends it (Peck, 2005). Another line of policy-related critique concerns the prioritization of the 'display' of the city, its image and place branding instruments over focusing on practical support of artistic and cultural activities and innovation (Catungal et al., 2009). Often such an approach leads to construction of large-scale flagship cultural projects that are questioned for the lack of local approval of the new image of the area and possible contradictions between local and global visions on the area and its positioning (Ponzini, 2011).

Additionally, some authors have questioned considering cities as areas of cultural consumption (Pratt, 2008), which is a distinctive characteristic of the Florida's approach to creative city development. From this point of view, Florida promotes oversimplified vision of urban space as consumable setting, considering it as a complex of soft location factors aimed at satisfying the preferences and lifestyles of a particular social group, while undervaluing social and special processes existing in particular areas (Siebel, 2011).

The third set of criticisms bears a relation to the social dimension of creative city development. Regarding creative city approach as entrepreneurial policy, there is a potential threat of provoking the rise of social inequalities. Various authors have pointed at the role of culture-based policies implications as triggers for intensification of gentrification and social exclusion processes, contributing to the growth of inequalities in urban areas (Evans, 2009; Zukin & Braslow, 2011). Critics have underlined the relation

between the attraction of creative class representatives and subsequent growth of renting prices in the area, which leads to gentrification at a neighborhood level (Peck, 2005). Therefore, there has been raising concerns related to urban planners' initiatives to apply culture and creativity as a means to encourage social inclusion in urban areas (Garcia, 2004; Jakob, 2010). Another line of critique related to gentrification effects of creative city approach refers to the supposed connection between concentration of cultural activities and possible negative implications for local communities due to transformation of economic environments of the area, where prices are increasing, traditional shops are replaced by trendy boutiques and financial investments are aggravating conditions for long-term residents of the neighborhood (Zukin et al., 2009).

Comunian (2010) distinguishes several general contradictions existing in creative city policies that can be explained by the broadness of the terms of creative class and creative city as well as the variety of possible understandings and practical implementations of these approaches.

The *first* contradiction refers to the relation between creative class and creative industries workers. Often incorrectly taken as a single category, creative class representatives, cultural workers and creative industries employees in certain circumstances have various interests and incentives and thus can be considered as different types of stakeholders (Markusen, 2006). The interrelations of stakeholders in networking structures need to be considered carefully. Also, since the creative city strategy takes various shapes of economic structuring, ranging from small companies' networks in cultural neighborhoods to large initiatives implemented by international businesses, economic development on the local level often ignites conflicts between different stakeholders (Tremblay & Pilati, 2013).

Besides that, taking into account location factors, creative class embraces a wide multiplicity of sectors that at times appreciate different conditions for lifestyle and work environments (Markusen, 2006).

The *second* contradiction concerns the perspectives on local identity in the context of globalization, referring to the types of specific values and assets that are put forward as well as what are perceived recipients of such actions: are they oriented towards creative class representatives or to all residents of an area. Indeed, in some cases such an approach can result in prioritizing ‘globalized’ culture in local development that further leads to the loss of local cultural identity. Indeed, prioritizing ‘global’-oriented approaches often implies development of large-scale flagship projects, constructing buildings by famous architects or hosting cultural mega-events, which often have little connection to a particular area, making such initiatives a highly unsustainable development priority. In its turn, this leads to potential lack of authenticity of ‘creative’ areas (especially in the context of place branding) that at times are supposed to create the impression of attractive places or build appealing frontage instead of fostering original and intrinsic place qualities. Jakob (2010) stresses the negative effects of increasing similarity of instrumentalized and commercialized consumption-based strategies to develop place-related qualities and features that gives rise to homogenization and banalization of urban experiences that threatens the essence of authentic creative city, undermining innate cultural value of the area. According to Bailey et al. (2004), culture-led development strategies need to prioritize local sense of place and involve pre-existing social and spatial qualities that characterize the area. However, while focusing development priorities on local communities is a very effective strategy, it is hard to expect fast economic benefits since spending capacity of local dwellers is rather limited, especially compared to external professional elites that often regarded as a core audience of creative city strategies.

The latter notion goes in line with the *third* contradiction between short and long terms of policies efficiency. Comunian (2010) highlights the tendency of public authorities to

prioritize short-term policies while regarding the balance between nonresident talented individuals and the local creative potential as rather secondary goal. Besides that, putting forward policies of attraction implies continuous competition in creative class retention with other cities embarked on creative approaches in urban development (Evans, 2009). Applying the perspective of urban policies in the context of nourishing local environment for development set of culture-related amenities and cultural diversity in order to raise place attractiveness, the creative class theory provides little explanation on how exactly creative class representatives co-operate with these assets and place qualities.

In order to address these problems of the creative city strategies, the decision-makers need to take into consideration many cultural, social and economic aspects of the contemporary urban settings. Arguably, one of the possible options in increasing sustainability of the creative city paradigm of development is finding a more balanced approach that relates to experience economy and festivalization as its intrinsic component. The following chapter aims to present the explanation of urban development characteristics in the context of experience economy, discussing experiences as a connection of the creative city approach with urban development of the area and the role of festivalization in this setting.

## CHAPTER 3: ‘Festivalized Experiences’: Urban Development in the Context of Experience Economy

### 3.1 Introduction

The present chapter focuses on the way festivalization strategies are introduced and applied as an economic and development planning approach in the context of creative city development.

The complex set of interrelations between the creative city and festivalization includes the prominent role of the latter process for *urban economic development and regeneration policies in the context of experience economy* as part of creative city turn; the role of festivals in *interurban competition* in the context of widespread creative city development; *lifestyle patterns* of the creative class representatives as part of development priorities; as well as complex *stakeholders’ interplay* within both creative city and festivalization processes. It is important to note that all these aspects, besides explaining relationships between creative city and festivalization process are also closely linked between each other and can be regarded as mutually dependent elements of a complex system.

### 3.2 The Experience Economy: Linking the Creative City with Urban Development

It is hard to overestimate the prominence of cultural production and consumption distinguishability and visibility for liveliness of urban environments that directly corresponds to the amount and quality of local amenities (Jakob, 2012). Therefore, what creative city strategy primarily implies for cities – in particular, cultural and creative neighborhoods as areas of highly intensive creative activities – as both economic

development vector and urban policy approach is in the first turn experience planning that in practice leads to festivalization strategies.

In the issuance of economic and social transformation processes of the creative city approach, as well as univocal necessity to attract global, national, and regional attention, experience policies are regarded as an instrument for local authorities to produce and shape these attractions (Jakob, 2012).

The shift of development priorities to experience production and consumption provides necessary context to understand the role of everyday small-scale festivalization. Therefore, it is important to provide an explanation of why experiences and their economic dimension became a part and parcel of contemporary urban society.

### 3.2.1 The Experience economy

There is a certain ‘experience turn’ in urban development and policies domain that is evident from both consumption and production-related perspectives. Experience economy policies are primarily geared towards those who want to enrich day-to-day life through experiencing new impressions and taking part in activities with a focus on self-improvement and entertainment. These commitments to search and find something new and unique allow consumers to develop desired skills, receive knowledge and in such a manner to expand their social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2000). New experiences can be regarded as sources of new memories, formation of identities and ways to enrich social capital. Thus, these choices guide specific consumption patterns, which makes it possible to consider contemporary consumers as experience seekers (Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie, 2019). Partly, this state of affairs is conditioned by the ever-growing importance of social media that has become a public journal of everyday lives, which raises the necessity of experiences and their reverberations on digital platforms. Intentionality to consume is the willing to accumulate experiences, where *‘the ultimate souvenir is a*

*lasting memory*' (Yeoman and McMahon-Beattie, 2019, p. 117). Due to a strong trend in collecting exceptional and therefore more valuable experiences, this also implies growing interest in searching for unique experiences and consumption patterns. In such context, the intangible experience has become a prominent and valuable type of asset, which is impossible to quantify. However it represents one's individuality and authenticity. At the same time, Lorentzen (2009) points at the priority of leisure consumption in experience economy development with the key role of place-specific products and services, local cultural amenities and authenticity, especially in the event field.

The recent developments of the creative city approach have noticeably intensified general tendency of experience-related activities to centralize in urban areas, specifically in cultural and creative neighborhoods, with precise focus on place qualities development. Within the context of urban policies, a growing number of cities are applying experience economy strategies through investment and development of creative consumption policies, leisure activities, place marketing campaigns as well as intensive capitalization of urban areas. Cultural and creative neighbourhoods are centers of such an approach due to the broad multiformity and intensiveness of cultural activities and local spaces offering rich cultural programs (Lorentzen & Hansen, 2009). The immediate role of experience economy strategies preconditions the prominence of both experience planning relation to particular territory's environment as well as the practical, physical, cultural and economic outcomes of experience-based development.

Pine and Gilmore (1999) stress the importance of experiences in the economic sector as an instrument of business development, indicating that producers of goods and services steadily increase the competition in the sphere of experiential aspects and qualities of goods and services by active involvement of the consumer. Such a trend results in two interrelated processes: firstly, intensification of leisure activities that turned realization of experiences into a separate economic sector; and secondly, experience-based management strategies, offering an opportunity to form desired narratives associated



with experience consumption, became a prominent instrument in marketing of goods, services and, above all, urban areas. Indeed, these strategies gave additional impetus to place branding with increased aestheticization of particular areas turning cities into areas of experience consumption.

Specific nonmaterial modes of production and consumption, which is a salient feature of creative class made the cities to switch strategic priorities of urban development away from hard location factors (hard infrastructure) to soft location factors with leisure activities and place-based images, emphasizing experiential and cultural characteristics of a place (Jakob, 2013). Thus, cultural planning has turned out to be a critical necessity of any urban development strategy. Indeed, cultural development can be regarded as a kind of ‘raw material’ for the creation of place distinctiveness, image building and regeneration of urban fabric (Richards, 2007a). In this sense, one of the most popular instruments of cultural planning implementation is creating city identity and its promotion through cultural festivals, which have become a ‘must-have’ policy for Creative City urban planners (see Bianchini and Parkinson, 1994; Evans, 2006; García, 2004; Van Aalst and Van Melik, 2012).

### 3.2.2 Experience-led development of the creative city and Festivalization

It can be argued that the connection between cultural and experiential planning for the Creative City and Festival has many layers, which can be illustrated within creative city theory elements. Following the structure proposed by Durmaz (2008), it is possible to distinguish three main components of the creative city development approach: creative production domain and related industries; creativity strategies and policies; and creative community development. Indeed, one can hardly imagine any kind of creative metropolis with no support of cultural and knowledge industries, development of experiential domain of local cultural life or promotion of the city and creative initiatives of its

residents. Festivals, being a very specific, yet encompassing form of social, artistic and promotional activity, incorporate all these dimensions.

From the side of creative, cultural and experience-led production, public cultural institutions initiatives can indicate a solid festival contribution, especially by organizing and sustaining of art festivals (e.g., film, music, performance art festivals, etc.), bringing together art domain professionals, creators, specialists, curators and audiences, helping to enhance network connections as well as promoting the city or particular neighborhood among specialists and those involved or just interested in the specific cultural field. As Ooi and Pedersen (2009) indicated, this type of city promotion is based on the international acknowledgement of the festival (like Berlinale or Copenhagen film festival) and its program, combined with financial policies aimed at the creation of proper conditions for emerging and attraction of creative industries to the city. This model focuses on the 'showcase' role of a festival, demonstrating existing creative industries in the city and acting as an important 'node' of certain industries (music, film, performance industries, etc.) on the global or at least regional map. As it was argued by Ooi and Pedersen (2009), the focus of festival organizers on industry acknowledgement is often different from 'city showcase' focus of local municipalities and thus, the organizational and promotional priorities between festival organizers and city branding authorities may not match. Besides showcasing the role of usually well-known festivals, smaller events also receive (at times significant) support from public departments, either due to their cultural significance or as community initiative that fosters social cohesion in the area.

Another connection between creative city turn and festivals can be traced through extensive use of cultural festivals in creativity strategies and cultural planning. Indeed, numerous authors indicate the increasing role of festivals in the city branding initiatives and culture-led regeneration (idem). Taking a closer look at place branding as one of the key factors of creative policies, we can find the festival as a prominent component of the city brand image. In this sense, they are largely used not only to attract tourists but also

creative individuals and foreign investment. It is possible to exemplify this factor by the case of Edinburgh, where the brand of 'Festival City', referring to the large number of diverse cultural festivals, has strong connotations to the creative city policies, resulting into significant economic and cultural benefits. The very core of the creative city promotion lies in the field of event and festival organization playing the role of 'cultural display' for creation of a favorable image of the city (Quinn, 2005). Again, there are many issues arising from creative city promotion where festival can play a decisive role as it was described by festivals researchers: namely, matching between the brand and the city, providing social inclusion and boosting city brand through festival domain acknowledgement.

Besides the growing importance of festivals in the domains of creative production and urban development strategies, it is also possible to highlight the role of the festival as a cultural activity, having the potential to incorporate all the city residents (such as artists, knowledge workers or 'non-creative' residents) which help to build a 'creative community', necessary for the formation of cultural capital and the success of the new 'creative' image of the city. At this point, festivals are an effective instrument for providing the sense of inclusion by creative initiatives and celebrating of shared values, albeit with caution regarding organizational priorities related to elitist approaches. In this sense small-scale festivalization process is of greater priority since local communities rarely possess significant financial resources to organize and support large-scale events. Richards (2007) links the current ubiquitous presence of festivals to a crisis of legitimization of the welfare state's cultural and public policies arguing for general accessibility of festivals for all residents of the area.

As many municipalities have employed experience-oriented strategies of development, this also fostered physical, spatial and, first and foremost, nonmaterial transformations of urban areas. Therefore, traditional land use oriented policymaking is fading to the new, network-based policies aimed at the development of soft infrastructure, experiences by

applying transformative, action-focused approaches. In part such changes derive from the growing intensity of pressure on decision-makers to brand cities to upgrade their positions in the context of interurban competition.

### 3.3 Art Festivals in the Context of Interurban Competition

The experience turn in urban development priorities results in transformation of particular urban areas (especially in cities employing ‘creative’ development approach) into spaces of production and consumption of everyday experiences and entertainment (Mullins et al., 1999) or manifold ‘leisure field’ that provides multiformity of amenities and specific ‘vibrant’ atmosphere with intense cultural offer. The success of cities is thus defined by their specific cultural production systems, consumption patterns of their residents and, in general terms, their cultural distinctiveness (Markusen & Schrock, 2009). According to Schulze (2005), in the context of experience society any area or entity needs to compete for attention<sup>9</sup> in order to stimulate interest and financial benefits.

It is a common strategy for cities, especially those areas that suffered from deindustrialization processes and economic reorganization, to promote and brand themselves to form and sustain favorable reputations and images as covetable areas to live and work (Quinn, 2019). However, in order to be successful in contemporary context, urban areas, besides providing developed hard infrastructure also need to create a visible image to national and international audiences, which usually involves an increasing number of cultural attractions and experiences (Smith, 2012).

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<sup>9</sup> What, in its turn conditions ‘economics of attention’ in terms of Lanham (2006).

Thus, the attraction-oriented interurban competitiveness, which fosters place branding strategies that involve both internal dynamics between local stakeholders (e.g., by discussion of the desired image to promote) and external communication with the various markets and audiences located outside the city. Indeed, the image of the contemporary city has turned into a product that is promoted on the national and in many cases, international levels, which determines the cultural and developmental policy strategies of cities. In the contrast to ‘democratization of culture’ policies of former times that considered culture as a type of welfare good, nowadays culture is turned into a nationally and globally marketed sphere (C. R. Gibson & Freestone, 2006). In this context, festivals of various scales and other types of events are increasingly applied within policy strategies to define and brand urban areas, by providing recognizable image to the local community or to the city itself (Getz & Page, 2016). Thus, public administrations often initialize and sustain rich event programs to reach desired objectives, to combat the problems of deindustrialization crisis (Harvey, 1989) and to succeed within the context of interurban competition. Indeed, the growing number of urban areas have applied entrepreneurial approaches in order to create positive images, which use art festivals and other planned events as cornerstones of capital raising by investment attraction (Paddison, 1993). In such a way, cities and creative neighborhoods create and sustain an increasing number of events, festival and cultural activities that span the whole year.

At times, this process results into a kaleidoscope of events and festivals of various nature and size in order to provide a high level of visibility and distinctiveness, which, in its turn, reorganizes urban fabric into a place of continuous performance (Bevolo, 2014). In the context of mega-events, such an approach may lead to what Richards (2015) called ‘stage it and they will come’ strategy, where significant local resources are being assigned to carrying out large events, bidding and organization processes and subsequent promotion. However, such strategy is often criticized as highly unsustainable approach, often leading to rather various undesirable effects than significant financial returns.

Contemporary urban events (especially those of large scales) are often characterized by being a result of thorough production, marketing and subsequent consumption processes instead of representing cultural dynamics of local communities. In such context, the symbolic dimension of the festival is detached from local residents (while providing and reinforcing relationships between local residents and place can be regarded as an inherent function of festival phenomenon) in order to create a favorable image to external audiences. Such 'thematization' of urban experiences is widely criticized (Sorkin, 1992; Bryman, 2004) due to potential homogenization of cultural production, its 'serial reproduction' (Richards and Wilson, 2004, p. 1932) and providing limited attention to local communities, undermining local distinctiveness.

In such context, small-scale everyday festivalization (ironically being a part of creative city strategies, which face heavy criticism for homogenization of urban areas), can be regarded as a possible approach to address these issues due to its deep engagement into day-to-day functioning of local communities.

In order to create a proper 'climate' in the creative city, we can distinguish two main development models as described by the European Creative Metropolises report (2011): 'Creative industries entrepreneurial model' and 'cultural creative city'. In spite of numerous interconnections between the two, it is possible to indicate general priorities. While the first model mainly focuses on building an attractive business climate for industries and enterprises (through economic benefits, taxation, housing policies, etc.), the second model can be also be described as *atmosphere-oriented*, prioritizing the attractiveness of the urban space. In such context, festivals are used as instruments for the creation of proper 'creative' atmosphere in the urban space, being an indicator of attractive 'climate' for creative individuals and serving as a display of creative city success factors, or in Florida's (2002) terms, technology, tolerance and talent presence in the city. In this sense, festivals appear as 'creative image' of the neighborhood, reflecting its cultural and experience diversity, innovation and vibrancy. One can argue that it is hard

to achieve such a favorable authentic atmosphere by means of a single albeit large-scale festivals, rather a multitude of various planned events is needed. It can be argued that the special role here belongs to cultural festivals, which are used to build a continuity of 'happening' by galvanizing cultural and social domains of the urban environment. In this context, numerous small-scaled and grassroots festivals play the starring role, representing a phenomenon of everyday festivalization.

### 3.3.1 Festivals and lifestyle priorities

In the context of creative city and experience economy, cultural festivals have turned into a means of urban brands and images formation and support, however, what is arguably more important, they reorganized urban space into a place of continuous spectacle, embracing various kinds of cultural activities of local communities. Such widespread recognition of such type of planned cultural events conditioned the growing number of festival-related terms such as 'festivalization', 'festivalization of the city' or 'festival marketplace' (Harvey, 1991; Richards and Wilson, 2004) that besides highlighting growing importance of the festival phenomenon also refer to an increasing number of those who highly value urban cultural experiences and actively participate in festival-related activities.

Contemporary economy needs to respond to the new level and quality of human demands concerning the rising quality of life (Toffler, 1970). Largely, these demands deal with increased need in leisure and entertainment as contemporary consumption is largely intensified. Rising standards of life and steadily increasing leisure time (as well as working day reduction) only intensify this trend (D. E. Andersson & Andersson, 2006). Besides that, demographic (increase of the average age, decrease of the birth rate in Western countries that condition easing of financial restrictions) and educational transformations of contemporary society adds to the growing importance of leisure and

recreational activities. The latter type of transformation implies a growth in demand for knowledge-intensive consumption (cultural activities and arts). Such structural changes fuel the dramatic growth of experience-based economic sectors with specific sets of products and services, with increased attention to non-material factors of consumption (especially speaking of cultural consumption), which can be referred to the aestheticization of everyday life (Schulze, 2005). Such a shift towards the increase of importance of symbolic and aesthetic-oriented products also transformed interpersonal relationships, means of communication and lifestyles, added to the increased number of people involved in experience-related projects and creative activities associated with production and consumption of experiences that often become the defining factor of personal identity (Lund et al., 2005).

In this context, festivals offer the possibility of gathering complex cultural experiences (Hannigan, 1998), providing rich opportunities for socialization, education and leisure. At the same time art and cultural festivals are characterized by high potential of integration of individuals with varying social and cultural backgrounds and to sustain favorable atmosphere of liveliness, facilitating the translation of positive experiences onto places and processes affiliated with these festivals (such as a creative neighborhood or a city). By such means, the development of cultural festivity can be regarded as a prominent image formation factor.

Experience-oriented consumers often use cultural offer in the form of festivals and other kinds of planned cultural events as a form of creative consumption and maintaining of personal identity. In response to that, cities apply various strategies aimed at enhancing visibility of their images and encouraging experience consumption, especially in cultural and creative neighborhoods. The growth of importance of creative and experience economy conditioned significant interest in theoretical research of consumer preferences, demand for experiences and cultural consumption, as well as supplying growing cultural demand as a matter of practice and urban policies (Frey, 2003). Thorsby (2010) highlights



the non-rational basis of cultural consumption related to the very nature of artistic outputs as well as to formation of specific relationship between consumer and the product in the context of experience economy. Indeed, the differentiating feature of cultural and creative products and experiences can be found in the interconnection between the consumer and the product or specific characteristics of the product, including spatial features, material and immaterial factors and traits (Lorentzen & Jeannerat, 2013). Therefore, cultural festivals, regarded as experience product, provide a specific setting, where individuals “may identify with a city or region as the locus of creativity, and find themselves visiting or living there as a result of a cycle of regeneration and enhanced brand development, wherein a core community value may reflect an arts and culture-based image” (Goldberg-Miller & Heimlich, 2017, page 123).

At the same time, urban areas encourage cultural and experience consumption of both local dwellers and visitors since vibrant local artistic community that provides rich cultural agenda (often in form of cultural festivals) serves as an important attraction factor for new ‘creative’ residents (Markusen & King, 2003). Besides that, creating favorable conditions for arts and culture consumption through small-scale festivals nourishes local community values and provides a variety of ways for getting involved in cultural activities on various levels (as an attendant, as an organizer or an artist). Besides that, festivals offer a broad variety of celebration forms, to animate and inspire their surroundings (Prentice and Andersen, 2003), sustaining a more meaningful image of the hosting area (often cultural and creative neighborhood). From a consumer perspective, festival visitors tend to share the values and meanings of area imagery.

Nowadays, a large number of festivals apply specific targeted marketing approaches, in particular through social media services and networks that aimed to create a specific image of the festival, to make it appear as certain ‘lifestyle attainment’ by means of experiential and cultural consumption (Finkel & Platt, 2020). Specific segmentation of festivals is an additional factor of their promotion as an experience product that should

possess favorable image and be congruent with particular values and lifestyles of its consumers. From such a marketing perspective, art festivals celebrating diversity, creativity and innovation of all kinds, implicitly or explicitly match the target audience of creative city policies aimed at attraction and retention of creative class representatives.

In such context, festivals of all kinds have grown in numbers (densifying cultural agenda of the area) and nowadays can be regarded as a mainstay of urban lifestyles (Getz, 2010), first and foremost in the specific setting of creative city approach and experience economy.

### 3.4 Cultural Actors in the Creative City

There is a growing understanding that cities need to provide favorable spaces for new types of experience and creative production and consumption activities. As a matter of actual practice, this implies the shift from ‘managerial’ approach to ‘entrepreneurial’ form of urban governance (Healey, 2007), which, further entails prioritizing network structures over strictly hierarchical systems (Landry, 2005a) in order to achieve more effective generation and distribution of resources. By accepting this transformation, urban administration often involves omnigenous stakeholders in policy-making and deliberation processes combining efforts and perspectives of a wide range of actors and their incentives to foster social, cultural and economic development of particular areas. According to Lorentzen and Hansen (2009) at times even long-established welfare approaches become incorporated in new interurban competition strategies and place branding. However, such entrepreneurial perspective on urban development applying creative and experience-related approaches also come laden with increasing of potential threat of social stratification as not all urban residents represent the target demographic of such policies.

The following part of the chapter show how and why local stakeholders are pursuing creative city initiatives, analyzes their aspirations, actions and the limitations of their approaches in the particular setting of everyday festivalization process.

In the context of experience planning, there is a certain shift in the process of decision-making and policies' formation that is conditioned by the transformation of developmental priorities and objectives, increasing the importance of new actors, stakeholders and platforms for policy design and negotiation that have a significant effect on governance and urban management processes (Healey, 2007).

New modes of governance and urban development imply the prominence of flexible and constantly changing network structures between artists, public authorities, private companies and third sector. It is necessary to investigate the dynamics of stakeholders' motivations and activities in the experience economy and the governance frameworks of experience-based urban planning, the roles of public, private and civic sectors' stakeholders as well as the emergence of new interaction structures between them.

The process of creative city strategies enactment is based on material and intangible resources and place qualities is conceived and supported by particular actors and is usually thoroughly discussed, embedded in the existing set of institutions and political frameworks. In line with other urban and regional policies, creative city approaches do not exist in a vacuum, but are founded on existing structures and institutional networks and specific sets of interrelations (Uitermark, 2005). Therefore, creative city initiatives, regarded from the top-down perspective, are being applied by decision-makers and political élites as a channel of dynamic governmental rationalization (Ponzini and Rossi, 2010).

Indeed, inherited network structures and local institutions can be regarded as authentic factors that largely define the effects and implications of creative city approach in the local context (Currid, 2007). Landry (2005) refers to the importance of clear delineation of

public institutions' roles for the successful development of creative city approach. Employing institutions as flexible governance frameworks is a widespread approach to provide more effective implementation of top-down initiatives.

In this context, creative city approach implies development of specific milieu that besides attraction of the talented to live and work in the area, also fosters direct and indirect economic profit earning from their activities. From such an economic-centered perspective, while enabling innovative practices in the area, creative class exploitation also threatens preexisting social, cultural and creative networks and structures, thuswise producing disadvantaged stakeholders of such territorial development. By focusing on the interests of local political and financial élites, this institutionalized form of operation and territorial governance inhibits opportunities for development of other, more democratic and experimental forms of urban management.

Therefore, new multi-level policy and governance structures emerge (Jessop, 2002, 2004) in which cities growingly incorporate non-state concerned actors in the policy-making process (private stakeholders, creative content producers, community actors and third sector). At the same time, such opportunities to participate in decision-making process have not been equal: often these processes are prioritizing some stakeholders over others. Mayer (2013) points at the growing role of private actors in this context.

As it was argued above, since the creative class representatives encompass varying groups of companies and individuals, they include distinct profiles, and characterized by high levels of diversity and dissimilarity. Thus, one of the key factors that adds to the complexity of the policy-making process is the multidirectionality of stakeholders' incentives and ambitions.

Such context makes creative and experience development processes a specific setting, which is prone to conflict generation, especially when policy interventions are applied in a real-case scenario: there are certain tensions between economic-focused territorial

development and creative stakeholders' interests that manifest through gentrification processes of creative and cultural neighborhoods, everyday cultural life of local dwellers and hosting mega-events.

So far, we discussed primarily top-down incentives and policy interventions, however bottom-up initiatives are also of a great prominence for the topic under discussion. In some cases, alternative and underground culture takes the leading role in fostering creative development of territories, as usually there are close connections between mainstream cultural and knowledge production and formation of 'alternative' cultural manifestations (Krätke, 2012). At times, cultural manifestations are divided on mainstream, organized, planned and underground activities, usually spontaneous, unrestricted and thus prone to innovation. Decision-makers acknowledge underground artists' activities (festivals, venues, performances, galleries) as valuable elements of creative economy (Pruijt, 2004), establishing connections between independent artists and public authorities (Pruijt, 2013). It is not an uncommon phenomenon when underground and independent scene represents attractiveness of creative neighborhood, not only for temporary visitors and tourists but, above all, for other creative class representatives, creative industries and investors.

This turns creative and cultural milieus into local advantages both as a cultural phenomenon for attraction and retention of creative class representatives and investment, but also in terms of general urban development, since these areas are nuclei of cultural capital that by means of creative city approaches is transformed into economic benefits (Mayer, 2013). Such cultural activities that are closely related to alternative and independent artistry can be used as a marketing advantage, representing the authenticity of the area (Zukin, 2009). According to Pratt (2011), since cultural policies become part and parcel of the urban revitalization process, even the most independent forms of artistic activities add to regeneration and in some cases, gentrification effects of the area.

Being active dwellers of creative neighborhoods, artists also take part in bottom-up and nonhierarchical activities. They explicitly or implicitly participate in gentrification processes, but at the same time they often confront these processes by reconsidering and questioning profit-oriented growth systems, often collaborating with local communities (Pradel-Miquel, 2017).

Cohendet et al. (2010) propose three levels of symbolic value creation: the underground, referring to independent artists and talented individuals; the middle ground, that consists of the places and spaces of inter-level cooperation, that is a specific level of territorial and virtual platforms, where cultural knowledge is produced and shared; and the upperground level, referring to the private cultural enterprises and public institutions, operating in the field of culture and creativity.

This three-level perspective fosters understanding the process of cultural production and cooperation in contemporary creativity-driven economy, the interests of various actors involved, communication as well.

The role of artists and creative individuals in the development of the creative city policies and their application has been thoroughly studied (Jakob, 2010; Zukin & Braslow, 2011), highlighting the importance of culture-based dynamics in gentrification and often referring to artists and creators (as well as their activities in the deprived areas) as harbingers of gentrification. However, artists, being a highly heterogeneous group of stakeholders, often use cultural and creative expressions as instruments for questioning existing social dynamics, redefining the values, enrichment of social identities, involving and empowering wider communities (Novy & Colomb, 2013).

Understanding the crucial role of professional artist has made their activities a prominent public cultural policy focal point. Often this is manifested in public financial support to artistic professions and their activities. However, a large percentage of artists in most countries still consider themselves as precariat, having rather unpretentious work

conditions and unstable income situations (Mangset et al., 2018). According to many empirical evidence, despite significant cultural policy attempts during the post-war period, artistic work is rather insecure, financial rewards for artistic activities are generally lower in comparison with other professions with comparable levels of education and human capital (education or training), implying the necessity to have additional sources of income, thus multiple job positions (Goff, 2020). Arguably, without public support policies, the level of income among artists as well as their precarious work conditions would have been even worse (Florida, 2012). There is also certain disbalance in income distribution, where acclaimed artists receive very high incomes, as the bigger percentage of artists receive very low-income rates and experience precarity, artists generally in arrearages of income growth (Goff, 2020).

In significant number of cases institutionalization factor also provides support to the artists, particularly during the initial periods of their careers, by ensuring their involvement in local networks and collectives, as well as promoting their activities and protecting their interests on the neighborhood and citywide levels (d'Ovidio & Pradel, 2013). As cultural and creative neighborhoods reach advanced stages of development, artists also receive additional attention outside the local area (Gainza, 2017).

Festivals (and small festivals are no exception) are an expanding market for artists that besides offering a platform to showcase artistic works, also transforms the production process itself: as argued by Jordan (2016), festivalization process of cultural exhibition results in transforming the very nature of artistic works that are being created increasingly to be presented in the festival settings. These works often share the same festive aesthetics with the setting where they are to be presented, performed or experienced.

In the intertwine of creative and experience economy strategies and festivalization, the critical factor in the success or failure of these strategies is the attraction and involvement

of artists. Indeed, artists have a two-dimensional involvement in festivalization in the context of the creative city: as a part of the target audience of city attraction policies (and, therefore, consumers of urban space, amenities and services), and as well as producers of cultural (or ‘creative’) content.

Firstly, in the context of growing importance of individual creativity – with the recurrent notions like ‘everyone is creative’ (Leadbeater, 2000; McRobbie, 2004), it is possible to regard artists as the most creative part of the creative class or, in other words, its ‘super-creative core’ (Florida, 2002). This makes artists highly welcomed to the creative city for the sake of local creativity boosting, image improvement and attraction of broader strata of creative individuals and creative industries. Indeed, in the context of their specific and vanguard pattern of cultural consumption as creative class representatives, make them an aim for creative talent attraction policies. In this sense, the attractiveness of the city for the artists, matching their lifestyle and consumption modes is a pivotal element of creative city success. In terms of festivalization, local artists as usual residents of festivalized areas (mainly creative districts, quarters and neighborhoods) can also be seen as those affected by urban policies or consumers of festivalized space.

Secondly, it is possible to consider local artists not only as a target audience’s core of creative talent attraction policies, but also as producers of festivals in terms of creative city strategies. Costa et al. (2009) point out the close relationship of three notions in the context of a creative city, namely *creativity*, urban *competitiveness* and *vitality*. Indeed, one can argue that in terms of creative city and experience economy, urban competitiveness is defined by the ability of the city to attract creative individuals and enhance local creativity of people and spaces, which leads to the concept of urban vitality. In this context, vitality can be regarded as the “dynamic dimension of energy and movement” (Costa et al., 2009, p. 10), which implies the presence of cultural activities like events, festivals and performances. In all these factors artists play a crucial role and hence can be regarded as producers of vitality or ‘creative atmosphere’: it is impossible to



imagine any art festival without artistic content and in certain types of festivals (e.g., music, performance art) without the immediate presence of the artist. Yet, in the creative city, artists are not only passive producers of the atmosphere or part of the urban landscape. They are necessarily entrepreneurs in the process of creating the urban space festivalization and thus vitality. As it was suggested by Bekker (2007), artist entrepreneurialism goes beyond purely financial benefits and commercial outcomes, being also related to the new ways of employment generation, practicing craft and professional opportunities. These aspects are determined by the 'self-initiative' position of artists as entrepreneurs (Von Osten, 2007), resulting into high rates of self-employment. This makes artists being responsible not only for producing the artwork, but also for its promotion and selling. Therefore, the 'producing' role of artists can be traced not only within the festival itself, where artists act as content providers, but also within festivalization as a process, where artists act as entrepreneurs having their own incentives and goals.

Jakob (2012) points at two different elements of festivalization processes. On the one hand, top-down initiatives driven by policy-makers, and, on the other hand, bottom-up initiatives driven by individual and collective artists. However, this classification is too narrow: such a twofold approach does not take into account the side of creative industries (festival and cultural promoters, private cultural organizations, etc.) that can also be regarded as the initiator and active supporter of festivalization processes.

Besides that, by focusing in the agential role of only policy-makers and artists, it is possible to overlook two important sets of actors and processes. First, such approach obviates the potential role in festivalization of ('non-creative') neighborhood residents and economic actors (local business, real estate developers, etc.). Secondly, taking such a narrow approach it is also easy to overlook the complexity of how these actors interrelate with structural processes such as governance regimes or cultural and historical trajectories of development. Therefore, it is necessary to add another factor of

festivalization – specific urban setting in which the process takes place, namely the creative neighborhood or (in some cases) the whole city, since urban space besides being socially constructed also shapes production, consumption and organizational modes of forming festivalization. We cannot imagine festivalization of *any* urban setting, it should have certain historical, tangible and intangible *specificity* related to urban governance and residents of the area.

Thus, focusing on relations of these complex components of the process rather than on one particular element, it is possible to assume that festivalization is a continuous process, produced by municipal strategies, artistic community, creative individuals and local contexts of the area.

At the same time, some scholars point at a certain weakening of the adversarial positions between private (commercial) sector and the independent cultural producers, due to the formation of new creative dynamics between cultural domains and shared values (Becker, 2008).

However cultural stakeholders, despite having common values have different starting positions and may have opposing interests. Besides that, the modes of interaction dynamics between individuals are usually determined by the particular roles they interpret on structural, organizational or hierarchical level and therefore, interests and incentives as well as the form of communication may vary. In the context of creative city policies and their implementation, there could be different interests in structures of urban configuration, reorganization, social dynamics or cultural production and thus emerging conflicts. The level of solidarity and concordance of interests can be a defining factor in success or failure of specific policies design and implementation (Zarlenga, 2016).

Since the second half of the 1980s, there has been a significant growth of arts festivals and nowadays, they can be regarded as a readily apparent mainstay for policy making and

urban tourism<sup>10</sup> (Gotham, 2005; Quinn, 2010). There is considerable academic interest and literature covering both positive and negative impacts of the festivals on economic, sociocultural and political spheres of contemporary society (Quinn, 2010). Moreover, there is general acceptance that festivals offer significant opportunities for urban development and shaping of local identities by making it possible for local agents, activists and enthusiasts to act and influence their areas and social life (Bakhtin, 1984; Waade, 2002).

Positive sides usually include identity-development and enhancement dimensions of a festival, however negative perspectives usually related to growing instrumental role in the context of interurban competition, urban revitalization and place marketing (Evans, 2003; Pratt, 2008; Quinn, 2010).

In some cases, ‘marginalized’ local stakeholders can form projects based on alternative vision on local development that aimed at provision of empowerment (Moulaert, 2013) with the new forms of collective collaboration to solve sociocultural problems providing both material and immaterial resources for those parts of the community that cannot receive it from the market or public institutions. Fostering diversity, democracy, and equity.

In certain areas, parts of local communities cooperate between each other to provide solutions to social (and sociocultural) issues without a leading role of local public authorities, which, arguably help to obtain a certain level of social justice, empower and shape more democratic forms of power structures (Moulaert, 2013). Usually, such initiatives take place in the local context on the neighborhood-level structures that shape possible dynamics between local stakeholders.

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<sup>10</sup> The pandemic situation has imposed significant limitations on public gatherings, including festivals and other types of public events.

The perspectives and aspects explained above suggest that it is highly important to investigate the role of organizing stakeholders in the festivalization process. Understanding their positions, intentionality and means of participation in the festival organization process provides opportunity to explore the factors influencing the process of festivalization. Besides that, it is necessary to determine characteristics of existing models of festivalization, the phenomenon of growing prominence, especially in the context of the creative city development paradigm.

## CHAPTER 4: Researching Festivalization in the Context of Creative City

### 4.1 Introduction

As it was explained in the previous chapter, this study seeks to investigate the unstudied interrelation between festivalization processes and cultural creative city strategies. However, identifying the field of interest raises a whole set of questions: *in which particular way this interrelation should be researched? What data sources should be used? Which analytical approach is the most appropriate one?* This chapter explores these questions by discussing, explaining and justifying the methodological approach suited to address the research goals of the dissertation.

The chapter starts by defining the research questions that will be investigated in the two case studies to then move to outline the research design. Since the inquiry posed by the conceptual framework exposed in the previous chapter and the research questions drive the field investigation, there is a need of a consistent methodology, and therefore, in the correct selection of methods and data collection. Therefore, in the next part I give the detailed justification of methodology and methods selected for the present study: starting with the explanation of comparative case study approach selected for my study, I discuss what results I expect to attain with it. Subsequently, I introduce and justify selected case studies and particular festivals for further detailed analysis. Focusing on research aims of the study, I describe the elements, which constitute the data corpus, which is followed by a detailed explanation of the steps which I took in order to analyze the data once it was gathered. The chapter closes with concluding comments regarding methodological approach of the study and summing up of the analysis process.

## 4.2 Research Question of the Study

As argued in the previous chapter of the present thesis, current studies on creative city and festivalization have rarely regarded these fields of study as interconnected domains (Franklin, 2004; Gordin & Matetskaya, 2011). As such, festival studies focused on several key issues including mega-events and tourism (T. D. Andersson & Getz, 2008; Getz, 1997; C. M. Hall, 1992; Ritchie, 1984) describing various economic (Smith, 2012; Vrettos, 2006) and sociocultural (Andrews, 2003; Garcia, 2003; Small et al., 2005) impacts of festival omnipresence in urban space, yet not exploring the issues of how or why creative city and festivalization happen to influence each other. At the same time studies on creative city turn in urban development usually either omit festivalization processes or consider festivals as one of the numerous instruments of local creative potential showcasing (Vlachopoulou & Deffner, 2011). Having said that, it does not mean that the 'intersection field' between festivals and the domain of creative city approach was not investigated: there are several academic studies indicating the importance of this phenomenon (Franklin, 2004; Gordin & Matetskaya, 2011; Karpińska-Krakowiak, 2009; Richards, 2010), though these studies are rather focusing on the outcomes of creative city festivalization, paying little attention to *how* it is being formed and what actors and processes are prominent in this field.

In contrast to these studies, the objective of my research is to study the process of festivalization within the context of the creative city, regarding it as a product of interaction between main actors participating in its formation: policy-makers, local artists and social associations. The present study focuses on these primary actors' interests in festivalizing the city, their incentives and organizational processes that form festivalization within the aim of transforming cities into creative ones. Therefore, the main research question for this dissertation can be stated as "*How Festivalization Processes Are Produced Under Different Creative City Strategies?*" which can be broken down into three sub-questions:

- *What are the incentives of local artists, policymakers and social associations for producing festivalization?*
- *How do actors' incentives and actions interplay in producing festivalization?*
- *What festivalization strategies emerge?*

Drawing on the goals of the study, in the following parts I define study methodology and particular methods suited to address the research question.

### 4.3 Comparative Case Study Approach

As it follows from the formulation of the research questions, they are comprised of both explanatory (or “*how?*” questions) and descriptive (or “*what?*” questions). Descriptive questions are posed in order to provide necessary information about characteristics of a particular case, which contribute to an understanding of the specificity of urban environments and processes happening in there. However, for a robust analysis, describing a certain phenomenon is not enough by itself. It should be accompanied by its explanation, which brings theoretical depth to the analysis process (Zuckerman, 1997). In the present study, it is possible to indicate clear dominance of explanatory approach since the main research question formulated is a ‘*why?*’ question with lead towards explaining *how* festivalization is being formed within the context of the creative city. As argued by Denters and Mossberger (2006), “*In the social sciences, a valid explanation requires that the researcher can understand this phenomenon in the light of theoretical propositions about the behavior of individual actors in their social contexts and the more general macrosetting of this context*” (p. 5). To do so, research methods should be suited accordingly. Therefore, in order to *explain* festivalization of the creative city we need certain depth of analysis, which can be achieved through downscaling the research focus to specific areas. In order to do so, I apply a case study methodology, since “*the key feature*

*of the case study approach is not method or data but the emphasis on understanding processes as they occur in their context"* (Hartley, 1994, p. 227), which helps to explore certain issues in particular area and construct an effective approach to describe and explain phenomena in detail (Hamel, 1993). As it was argued by Yin (2009), *"the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events – such as individual life cycles, small group behavior, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change [...] and the maturation of industries"* (p. 4).

Besides that, since one of the key issues of the present research is related to local 'creative city' policies in particular areas, I apply detailed case study approach as a *"window onto local governance, helping to illuminate deeper aspects of local politics and power structures"* (Bassett et al., 2002, p. 1773). This is needed since formation of festivalization processes (as well as creative city policies) is not possible in *any* neighborhood of *any* city: it is highly context-dependent phenomenon where interplay between different actors, their incentives and hence festivalization forms differ from one case to another.

However, if the process of festivalization are context-dependent phenomenon, focusing on a single case study poses the risk of either reduction of all the explanation of contingent-local processes or extracting generalizations from a particular conjunction of processes taking place in the particular area. Thus, one can argue that the best way to address this question is to apply comparative case study methodological approach. As argued by Ragin (1987, p. 1), *"comparison provides a basis for making statements about empirical regularities and for evaluating and interpreting cases relative to substantive and theoretical criteria. In this broad sense, comparison is central to empirical social science as it is practiced today"*. Besides that, comparative approach is a common tool in urban governance research to unpack causal mechanisms and drivers of political, economic, and social change at the urban and neighborhood levels (Pierre, 2005); and, more precisely is a popular methodological approach in both festival (Getz, 2010;



Nicholson & Pearce, 2001) and creative city (Costa et al., 2008; Kratke, 2011) fields, it is surprising that there is a lack of comparative approach at most case-specific studies located at the intersection of these domains.

Yet, there are many ways to approach comparative research. In this regard, I depart from a relational comparative framework as presented by Ward (2010). The distinctive characteristic of this framework is the recognition of both territorial and relational contexts that influence areas' development. Such recognition rests upon three main standpoints: first, it regards urban areas as embedded in broader settings, dynamically evolving and context-specific entities. This standpoint suggests theorizing the areas under comparison as an open and complex set of social relations and actors' interactions "*that are always formed out of entanglements and connections*" (Ward, 2010, p. 479) embedded in the broader context beyond locality. As urban territories are not autonomous in their policies and approaches, taking into account the general context of the particular area is regarded as necessary in the present study. As cities becoming interconnected and interdependent to an increasing degree, relational comparative studies in urban field become of a greater importance (Boudreau et al., 2007). Second, and related to the above, there is the necessity of taking into account the socially constructed nature of urban scales, their complexity resulting from an interplay between social relations, actions and institutions. Finally, Ward (2010) argues for a context specificity of each urban area and each case study: studying a particular phenomenon in urban areas, the researcher should avoid superfluous generalizations, extending the results to the national or regional levels.

Such a close attention to embedding the study in general as well as considering local contexts is necessary since the research is aimed at investigating local implementations of international strategies and hence different models of festivalization formation. In order to do so, the research complements a relational approach with the encompassing strategy of comparative case study. As it was described by Tilly (1984), encompassing

strategy “*places different instances at various locations within the same system, on the way to explaining their characteristics as a function of the varying relationships to the system as a whole*” (p. 83), which is the most advantageous way of categorizing various strategies in studying different local settings (Ward, 2010).

Besides that, in order to ensure unpacking the areas' complexity resulting from an interplay between social relations, actants and institutions (the second standpoint), I apply multiple levels of analysis:

“In the social sciences, an adequate explanation implies the necessity to understand social phenomena as a result of the behavior of individual actors in their social contexts and the more general macrosetting of this context” (Denters & Mossberger, 2006, p. 554).

Such a manifold approach requires a comparative analysis allowing “*inferences about the interactions between two, three, or more levels of analysis*” (ibid.; p. 554). In the present study, these layers are represented by three different yet deeply interrelated levels of analysis that are discussed in the corresponding part of the chapter.

Having discussed the relevance of comparative case study approach to the present study, it is necessary to explain which (and how many) particular case studies are the most appropriate for it.

#### 4.4 Selection of the Case Studies

As careful selection of the case studies is another crucial issue for comparative analysis, this process needs to be thoroughly explained. Lijphart (1971) has advised researchers doing a comparative analysis to consider only *comparable* cases: those cases that are generally similar in secondary aspects: scale, size, demographic parameters, etc. This allows the researcher to focus on the distinguishing aspects relevant for the research goals of the study. Moreover, as suggested by Denters and Mossberger (2006), a comparative case study with the small number of case studies “*offers more opportunities or sorting out the effects of different explanatory factors*” (p. 13). These conditions qualitative approach that keeps the analysis focused on the peculiarities of selected areas by means of increasing the number of interviews, observations and other data gathering methods within each case.

The choice of small-number approach to case studies selection can also be explained by the research field of the dissertation: “*Topics for which it is productive to examine relatively few cases include [...] particular forms of urban political systems*” (Collier, 1993: 105), as in terms of creative festivalization of urban areas there exist only few pronounced territories that contain the comparable aspects of interest.

Besides that, small-number comparative research can also be justified in terms of research limits: as Lijphart (1971) puts it, “*given the inevitable scarcity of time, energy and financial resources, the intensive [comparative] analysis of a few cases may be more promising than the superficial statistical analysis of many cases*” (p. 685).

In such a manner, in order to answer the research questions, the present study applies two selected explanatory cases: Raval in Barcelona and Neukölln-Nord in Berlin. Why I consider these two cities the most appropriate for the present study? First, Barcelona and Berlin are the two main metropolis in Europe embracing cultural creative cities strategies while facing a deep process of functional, economic and social regeneration based on the

experience economy (e.g., see study “Creative Metropolises: Situation Analysis of 11 cities. Final Report”, 2010). Secondly, cultural policies represent the key factors of the two cities’ functional changes: there is strategic policy to define the priorities and objectives of cultural development (e.g., Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1999; Ebert and Kunzmann, 2007; Ertel, 2006). Thirdly, both cities assign cultural festivals a significant part of their urban cultural policies (e.g., Impacte del moviment festiu a Barcelona, 2013; Senatsverwaltung, 2005). And finally, Barcelona and Berlin, being cultural nodes at regional, national and international levels, organize an increasing number of large as well as small-scaled festivals and events all around the year.

Within these cities, two cultural quarters were selected as case studies: El Raval (Barcelona) and northern Neukölln (Berlin). I use the term 'cultural quarters' referring to urban spaces containing a high density of cultural and creative activities, usually being regarded as entertainment nodes of a city and characterized by high concentrations of cultural actors’ networks (Wynne, 1992). Following the classification proposed by Evans (2009), under cultural quarters we understand mixed-used, highly diverse urban areas, being festival and cultural centers of a city. Quarters of El Raval and northern Neukölln are promoted as Cultural and Creative and characterized by high density of cultural activities (including a growing number of festivals) within their cities. Table 4.1 contains a brief comparison of two quarters settings: development background, urban setting characteristics, institutionalization of cultural activities and roles of festivalization actors.

**Table 4.1.** A brief comparison of local settings in El Raval and northern Neukölln

	El Raval	Northern Neukölln
Cultural quarter background	<p>Gentrified, inner-city, former working-class neighborhood. Can be regarded as a center of cultural life of Barcelona.</p> <p>Characterized by the presence of multidimensional spaces of creativity and artistic infrastructure.</p>	<p>Recently gentrified neighborhood, former working-class residence area. Relatively dispersed cultural activity. Surrounded by other cultural quarters: Kreuzberg and Freidrichshain.</p>
Urban Setting characteristics	<p>High percent of immigrants: 47,7% Ajuntament 2017).</p> <p>Formerly deprived area with high rates of crime and drug trafficking.</p>	<p>One of the most populated quarters in Berlin. High percent of immigrants: about 40% (Neukölln-Programm 2015/2016), formerly deprived area with high rates of crime and cheap housing.</p>
Structure of artistic quarter: institutionalization and artistic life	<p>Cultural and creative infrastructure clustered around major cultural players as MACBA, the CCCB, CIDOB. Intensive artistic atmosphere (with pronounced top-down initiatives).</p> <p>High concentration of cultural activities.</p>	<p>Polycentric artistic cluster, characterized by few cultural institutions.</p> <p>Primarily bottom-up clustering process.</p> <p>Rather dispersed and spontaneous cultural activities.</p>

<p>Roles of Festivalization actors</p>	<p>Strong local identity has been developed and it is supported by association and collectives of various kinds.</p> <p>Pronounced influence of cultural institutions and creative industries.</p> <p>Events and festivals include Sónar (until 2013), Raval(s), Art i Cultura as well as plethora of small-scaled events in different venues of Raval.</p>	<p>Combination of creative city policies with strong artistic communities and subcultures.</p> <p>Relatively weak influence of cultural institutions. High rates of artists' auto-promotion and self-management.</p> <p>Several 'flagship' festivals like 48 Hours Neukölln, Night and Fog as well as numerous small-scaled (often grassroots) events.</p>
<p>Festivalization characteristics to be identified</p>	<p>Scale and number of festivals, by whom are organized, what aims do organizers follow.</p>	<p>Scale and number of festivals, by whom are organized, what aims do organizers follow.</p>

As it can be seen from the table, both quarters experienced a period of social, cultural and economic deprivation followed by revitalization through cultural transformation of the areas. However, such a similar development scenario (common for many post-industrial territories) was positioned in two different contexts. While El Raval was transformed into a *center* of contemporary culture of Barcelona (the process started in the late 1980s), northern Neukölln is one of the most recent art clusters of Berlin surrounded by other (previously gentrified) neighborhoods. Despite clearly different timescales, both areas experience similar levels of festivalization processes with pronounced 'experience-oriented' cultural policies. Therefore, both case studies have several similarities (creative city strategies, festivalization processes) as well as differences (different geographical

location of the quarters, different stages of creative city strategies implementation) that need to be considered while explaining the local contexts of the areas. As it was suggested by Tilly (1984), in the context of comparative urban studies, differences between the two cases are rather valuable than undesirable since they are conducive to indication and analysis of various models of strategies formation in different local settings. Understanding of these differences as factors influencing the emergence of local strategies derived from international policies is necessary in the context of the increasing speed of policies transferring from one place to another, which creates a complex phenomenon of urban policy mobility: on the one hand we have gathering pace diffusion of attractive policies (e.g., Creative City policies) and on the other – local urban factors, place-grounded specificities and policymaking, where significant impacts of local peculiarities are inevitable (E. McCann & Ward, 2011).

Secondary data collection identified six festivals (three in El Raval and three in northern Neukölln) that can be considered as the most appropriate case settings. The festivals were selected with regard to their scales, organizers, program and stated objectives. Three festivals in each case study area were selected in order to receive more detailed data on festivalization. Despite the current study is predominantly qualitative, in order to have a general picture of festivalization in the selected quarters, a certain level of representation is needed. Due to time limitations of the thesis, three is a maximum number of festivals possible to analyze in detail in each case study.

In the context of the present study, two most important factors is the influence of a festival on the area (defined by scale, number of artists involved, appearance in official documents, media, interviews, etc.) and typicality of the festival organizational model in the area. Talking about influence, usually the search ends up with largest festivals that have the biggest impact on the cultural landscape. In case of northern Neukölln, one can easily see the two largest (though still very different in scale) festivals: 48 Stunden Neukölln (48 Hours of Neukölln) and Nachtundnebel (“Night and Fog”). 48 Hours

Neukölln with its 170 venues, more than 350 events and about 50,000 visitors, is without peradventure the largest art festival in the Neukölln-Nord neighborhood and one of the largest festivals in Berlin, which offers a free two-day immersion into the diversity of Neukölln's artistic life. Nachtundnebel is another local art festival with a similar concept to 48 Hours Neukölln, albeit having smaller scope with about 15 thousand visitors and over 80 mostly free events each year. Both festivals are organized by sociocultural non-profit associations: Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln e.V. and Schillerpalais e.V. respectively. The third festival was selected based on typicality<sup>11</sup> of its organizational model, which is Boddinale film festival (having independent bottom-up organizational structure typical for northern Neukölln). Due to its 'underground' character and low budgets, Boddinale is a small-scale (which is also typical for the area) festival with about 70 little to no-budget movies and several parties, DJ sets and concerts in the program.

In case of El Raval, after moving Sónar Festival out of the quarter, it is also possible to distinguish two relatively big festivals, which are l'Alternativa and Raval(s). The first one is one of the most influential (maybe even the main) film festival in the city, as it follows from its name fully devoted to alternative cinema attracting an ever-growing audience (the 2013 edition attracted over 30,000 people) with a diverse program of 340 movies and participation of about 120 directors and film producers. It is organized by the cultural foundation "La Fàbrica de Cinema Alternatiu" with active participation of the CCCB, one of the main festival organizers in El Raval. The second one, Raval(s) is a community-based art festival coordinated by social association Tot Raval and during its four editions in 2013 attracted about 15,000 visitors with more than 70 different activities organized. The third festival, Lapsus, as in case of Neukölln was selected due to popularity of its organizational model: in case of El Raval it is a private company collaborating with public cultural

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<sup>11</sup> The prevalent organizational structures of the festivals in Raval and northern Neukölln are explained in the part 6 of the present thesis.



institutions. This is a rather small-scale (700 visitors) electronic music festival organized by a same-name company (which, besides organizing the festival runs its own record label and a radio station) with the CCCB. Another reason to choose Lapsus is its newness, which illustrates that its organizational structure is relevant and presumably regarded as sustainable. Hence, in total we have two influential and one typical festival in both Neukölln-Nord and El Raval.

#### 4.5 Data Collection

In order to gather data relevant to the present investigation and to provide a triangulation necessary for ensuring its validity and transferability, I relied on several sources of information. Interview transcripts, official documents, promotional materials and news articles were compiled into the data corpus, which later was analyzed to answer the research questions. Clarification of data corpus is necessary for further categorization and identifying research elements, their interpretation and analysis.

Here we should mention the key role of data sources selection criteria, their origins, reliability and relevance for the present research. Conducting the preliminary data collection and gathering of secondary data for constructing the corpus (Stage 1: '*Desk research*' in Hajer's framework, see Table 4.3), allows provisional evaluation of the local setting and important sources of two case studies (this includes collecting statistical data on the cultural quarter, historical and spatial setting of the area, presence of key cultural actors, etc.) and highlights the priority of several key data sources that frame the research corpus:

- Official documents and reports on city, district and quarter levels: mainly cultural development plans and official papers vested by festival organizers.

- Official documents of stakeholders involved in the festivalization process.
- Interviews with policymakers (representatives of local district administration, representatives of public cultural institutions).
- Interviews with local artists (individual artists as well as representatives of art-groups).
- Interviews with social foundation representatives and other festival organizers (festival promoters, private cultural institutions, etc.).
- Festival promotional materials and publications.

Table 4.2 presents the description of the main documents and the number of interviews carried out in two areas.

**Table 4.2.** Main components of the data corpus

	El Raval	Northern Neukölln
Main official documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Barcelona Strategic Plan for Culture. ICUB, 2006</li> <li>- Impacte del moviment festiu a Barcelona. ICUB, 2013</li> <li>- El Raval: un barri en transformació. Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000.</li> <li>- Protocol Festiu de la Ciutat de Barcelona, 2012</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kultur-Entwicklungsplan Neukölln. Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft Arbeit und Frauen in Berlin. Kulturwirtschaft in Berlin, 2009</li> <li>- Talente, Technologie und Toleranz – wo Deutschland Zukunft hat. Berlin-Institut für</li> </ul>

		Bevölkerung und Entwicklung, 2007
Official papers of stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- From the Xino to the Raval: Culture and Social Transformation in Central Barcelona. CCCB, 2006</li> <li>- Engagement by the Citizens for the Citizens. Fundació Tot Raval, 2007</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kulturinitiative Berlin. Förderband, 2012</li> <li>- 48 Stunden Neukoelln: 1999 - 2008. Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln, 2008</li> </ul>
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policymakers</li> <li>Local Artists</li> <li>Social foundations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policymakers</li> <li>Artists</li> <li>Social foundations</li> </ul>

Regarding the official papers presented in the table, in each case study I considered primarily cultural development plans and programs created by public bodies of cultural development and other relevant public offices. The documents and official papers were defined according to the time limitations related to the periods of intensive cultural revitalization of two quarters until the present time, as well as their relevance to the festivalization processes.

The method of semi-structured interviews was applied “*to elicit rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis. Its object is to find out what kind of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined kinds of things that the research already believes can happen*” (Lofland, 1971, cited in Fielding and Thomas, 2001, p. 125).

Potential interviewees were defined during desk research and secondary data collection. Conducting 'helicopter interviews' with public and individual experts (stage 2 in Hajer's framework) helped to identify main festivalization actors in two areas. Besides that, snowball sampling technique was also applied.

In order to gather data on particular topics derived from the research questions, I compiled an interview agenda with necessary topics and open-ended questions, which allowed the interviews to be flexible yet pertaining necessary consistency. In total 28 interviews were conducted (15 in Raval and 13 in Neukölln). Even though stakeholder groups in two quarters are similar (public management, local artists and social and cultural foundations), the number of interviews I conducted with each group is different in Raval and Neukölln. The reasons of such a disparity are related to the roles of each group in festivalization processes and are going to be discussed in the following chapters of the dissertation.

The interviews were transcribed and analyzed using ATLAS.ti software for qualitative data analysis. The reasons for using this software include its ability to structurize textual data using a wide range of tools for qualitative data analysis (codes, categories and annotations) as well as support of multiple data formats. In addition, several studies recommend this software for qualitative research and content analysis (Friese, 2019; Friese et al., 2018; Hwang, 2008).

## 4.6 Data Analysis

In order to address the research aims of the study, three complementary methodological approaches were selected: qualitative content analysis (in order to indicate valuable concepts and elements of the research), stakeholder analysis (in order to understand who and how stakeholders are participating in festival organizational process). The combination of these two approaches is aimed at uncovering how and by which factors festivalization process is being produced. Considering the research aims as well as available analytical tools of these three methods, it is important to note that they are applied in a complementary way, as different layers of a single analytical process. The rationale of such a complementary approach is presented in the following paragraphs.

Regarding the research process itself, despite the far-reaching application of content and stakeholder-oriented analytical approaches in the domain of urban research, the particular methods of how to organize the investigation procedure and conduct an analysis itself them has received limited systematic attention. The general framework of research design is based on the strategy proposed by Maarten Hajer (2006), see Table 4.3. The author prescribes conducting data collection and its further analysis with regard to the context of interaction between different actors, which is of great importance for comparative case-study research of festival organization process (Getz, 2010). This implies the analysis of actors' practices within particular social and territorial 'settings', allowing a researcher to reach broader understanding of the question. At the same time, the original framework was developed for conducting discourse analysis and thus was altered for the present research.

**Table 4.3.** Research stages of the study

1. Desk Research - initial stage of gathering contextual and secondary data
2. 'Helicopter Interviews' - interviews with several actors having general ('helicopter') view on the field under research.
3. Document Analysis - identification of main concepts and ideas
4. Interviews with key players - gathering detailed information from the key players (or particular case studies) identified during three previous stages
5. Sites of argumentation - Searching for information to account for the argumentative exchange and interview analysis.
6. Juxtaposition of the analysis results.

This framework is commencing with initial 'contextual' research (stages 1 and 2), which then develops into gathering of detailed information used to analyze the case studies (stages 3, 4, 5) and conduction of the comparison between the selected case studies.

#### 4.6.1 Content analysis

According to Bardin (1977), content analysis can be regarded as both quantitative and qualitative research technique, where the priority of applying either first or second approach depends on the research aims and particular analysis procedures required. Taking into account the large data corpus of the research, content analysis can be

regarded as a necessary method of identifying relevant data objects, the ‘elements’ of analysis. Being focused rather on ‘presence/absence’ aspect of these objects than on quantifying them in statistical way, this process is highly related to the qualitative approach of content analysis. In contrast to quantitative approach, where the focal point is the frequency of mentions, statistical ‘weight’ of certain elements in comparison to the others and so forth, the present research aims at unpacking the core factors of festivalization forming and hence all the relevant data elements need to be considered. Since the general focus of the research is on actors’ incentives and their roles in the formation of the process, within the context of present research qualitative content analysis may be considered as an appropriate approach for combination with stakeholder analysis.

Content analysis is applied for interpreting the received data. The data were obtained through recorded personal interviews and analysis of relevant documents and online sources.

Content analysis is a specific research method that provides opportunities to organize and analyze received qualitative data in a systematic and reliable way that allows drawing conclusions – based on the categories of relevance for the study (Haggarty, 1996).

According to Günlü et al. (2009), there are several key approaches to organize a code system: based on previously determined concepts; based on the concepts identified during data analysis process; based on the general framework of research.

Holsti (1968), regards content analysis as “*any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages*” (p. 26). According to the author, content analysis is characterized by three key attributes: objectivity, systematicity and generality. The first attribute refers to formulation of clearly defined rules of analysis prior to the analysis process that enables consistency and objectivity of obtained results from the documents. The second characteristic is based on

the selection of content or categories in concordance with specifically set criteria of selection, which precludes selecting only those aspects and categories that support previously defined hypotheses. The latter attribute of generality refers to the theoretical value of the findings, which suggests taking into account content characteristics (e.g., sender, recipient, meaning). These requirements of content analysis allow the validity of the analysis of textual content.

According to Haggarty (1996), in the context of content analysis, categories can be regarded as specific compartments that store content units of text. Holsti (1968) stresses the importance of careful definition of categories that should represent the basis of the researcher's theory, where inclusive approach is of particular importance to ensure that every element applicable to the research can be categorized (however, at the same time, in order to avoid duplication, the elements of the study should be mutually exclusive).

According to Kohlbacher (2006), qualitative content analysis can be regarded as a helpful instrument for data analysis in case study research, which is characterized by several essential traits. First, the author remarks its ability to deal with significant levels of complexity that can be explained through the combination of openness of this approach with ability to structures and strictly control the research process: "*The procedures of summary, explication and structuring step-by-step reduce complexity and filter out the main points of analysis in an iterative process. Therefore, qualitative content analysis perfectly fits the credo of case study research: helping to understand complex social phenomena*" (Kohlbacher, 2006, p. 18). Secondly, qualitative content analysis is characterized by ability to contribute to the theoretical basis of the research through identification of prominent concepts at early stages of analysis and comparing them with existing literature (Eisenhardt, 1989; Kohlbacher, 2006). Thirdly, content analysis enhances context integration of a case study by taking into account secondary data and latent content that ensures the quality of the whole analytical process (Atteslander, 2003). This aspect is tightly linked to the fourth trait of qualitative content analysis highlighted



by Kohlbacher, namely its ability to integrate different kinds of data. Indeed, in order to provide a comprehensive analysis, the researcher needs to deal with various kinds of information (i.e., interviews transcripts, documents, media sources, websites, etc.) and ability to integrate all of them into a single analytical process is extremely useful. Finally, qualitative content analysis is marked by a high level of compatibility with other analytical procedures (Mayring, 2004). It stands to reason that qualitative content analysis is more compatible with qualitative approaches (idem). However, Kohlbacher (2006) points out that this technique needs to comprise the advantages of quantitative content analysis by dealing with large amounts of information in order to gain more deeper understanding and general view of the setting.

Following Bardin's definition of content analysis as "*the group of techniques used in analyzing communications that tend to produce indicators (quantitative or not) using systematic and objective procedures for describing the content of messages, permitting the inference of knowledge relating to the conditions of production/receipt (social context) of these messages*" (Bardin, 1996: 32, 2nd ed.), it is possible to mark the complexity of content analysis, availability of several techniques depending on the research priorities. Taking into account the descriptive role of content analysis, two main aspects of the corpus need to be considered: first, the 'profile' of the documents that constitute the data corpus (the form of 'expression' of the information, the type of medium, the author and target audience) and second, the content of data corpus (extensity, presence/absence of certain topics and ideas related to the research) succeeded by categorization and identifying research elements in order to enable further interpretation and analysis of indicated discourses.

In order to increase the reliability of the study (especially when combined with other types of analysis), content analysis should be regarded as a tool for discovering the presence of valuable concepts and elements of the research, leaving more inferential approach for following discourse analysis.

In the case of working with official documents, where the unit of analysis can be defined as texts, content analysis will be used for systematic coding of textual elements regarding policies and goals prioritization, organizational models, festival management, etc. (J. H. Gray & Densten, 2005). This will require applying qualitative approach in order to capture a richer sense of the concepts expressed within the data.

As an important stage of content analysis, it is possible to mention the process of organizing identified data elements into categories, in other words, finding relevant commonalities between them.

Categorization is widely recognized as content analysis technique, primarily due to its significance in quantitative research (Maneri & Ter Wal, 2005). However, the role of categorization and data organizing should not be underestimated within the qualitative analysis as well, allowing us to form and structure data elements for the following discourse analysis. As Riba (2004) notes, “*categorization is equivalent to a consolidation of the material and a systematic reduction of the data*” (p. 235), which is crucial for unpacking the discourses presented in the texts.

The code system is highly dependent on interpretation of the data. In the present study I rely on mixed code system: deductive, where the researcher uses a theory and attempts to apply its central elements, including variables or categories and inductive, where the approach is rather the opposite, ways of codification). The categorization was undertaken according to the system of rules set out by Olabuénaga (2007).

The retrieved codes were organized into 9 categories:

- General information about the interviewee (or institution that interviewee represents).
- Relation to the cultural planning

- Relation to creative policies
- Festivals (general)
- Goals of Festival organization
- Festival organization process
- Stakeholders' interplay
- Means of festival organization
- Level of involvement into festival organization process

At large, content analysis is applied in order to define the elements of discourses, specific ways in which they are presented and to provide a basis for data organization (through codes, labels, denominations, etc.). This helps to add to the theoretical and practical understanding of the research object by providing a deeper insight into festivalization process and general picture of the contextual settings in El Raval and northern Neukölln allowing to conduct further analytical procedures.

#### 4.6.2 Stakeholder analysis

Considering the research aims of the dissertation, it is possible to highlight the presence of a clear organizational dimension, especially considering second and third research sub-questions: *How do actors' incentives and actions interplay in producing festivalization?* And *What festivalization strategies emerge?* Analyzing the research questions becomes clear the key role of concepts of organization and participation. Therefore, defining the level of participation for the key festival organizers (e.g., public sector, local artists and

social associations) in the festival process is the key aspect to be considered. In order to facilitate the analysis process to answer research question, it is possible to suggest four dimensions of participation indicators for festivals selected:

- Identifying the initiator of the festival organization: whether it is one of the actors or there are several initiators.
- Indicating the organizers: defining the organizers as well as the number of primary and secondary organizers (and possibly sponsors).
- Defining the level of involvement, which includes:
  - providing financial resources devoted to festival organization (percentage of funding, finding sponsors);
  - material resources (festival infrastructure, promotional materials);
  - time spent (organizing and participating in the discussion sessions, decision-making, organizing a festival and performing during the festival).
- Identification of the way of involvement, which includes
  - providing money / financial support;
  - promotional support;
  - providing festival venue;
  - organizational support;
  - performing during the festival.

Moreover, the specificity of collaboration during the festival organizing process between three units should be considered as well. This aspect will help to understand the specificity in the initiatives and actions interplay in the festival organization process. Besides that, the specific pattern of collaboration will lead us to an answer to the last sub-question on general festivalization strategies in the two localities. It is possible to distinguish four key factors are of particular importance for answering this sub-question:

- How the roles (and obligations) in the festival organization process are distributed.
- Discussion process itself and power relations (voting system, deliberative/non-deliberative practices, inclusion/exclusion of certain actors).
- Planned benefits (if any), e.g., financial, promotional, organizational, etc.
- Is there any conflict of interests between different actors?

It is a complicated task to analyze festivalization strategies as well as actors' interplay without particular methodological approach to unpack the organizational structure of the festival stakeholders.

Before discussing approaches to analyzing the organizational structure of festival stakeholders, it is necessary to clarify the way how two main concepts, 'organizational structure' and 'festival stakeholder', are defined in the present study.

The first concept can be roughly related to various forms that organizational activities, actors' relations and cooperation, decision-making and power-plays can take during the process of festival organization. As it was defined by Mintzberg (1979), the organizational structure represents "*the ways in which [organization] divides its labor into distinct tasks and then achieves coordination among them*" (Kushner & Poole, 1996, p. 2). In case of festival organization, these activities as well as styles in which they are taken are

highly related to who is organizer (private/public/non-profit), what are the goals of the festival and finally, the number and character of stakeholders involved.

In most of the cases, organizing a festival implies the cooperation of several stakeholders, including public, private or not-for-profit actors. Besides that, stakeholder satisfaction is crucial for festival/event viability (Abramson & Kamensky, 2001; Eden & Ackermann, 1998), effectiveness of policies and strategic development (Bryson & Crosby, 1993; L. R. Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000; Van Schendelen, 2002). A great number of studies indicate the strong need in identification and grouping of key stakeholders as well as the ways and styles of their communication, dependencies and influences (T. D. Andersson & Getz, 2008; Arcodia & Reid, 2005; Larson & Wikström, 2001; Quinn, 2005).

There are dozens if not hundreds of stakeholder definitions varying in how to determine the width of an array of actors and sides who should be considered as stakeholders, which highly depends on the field and specific research. Since festival operation is reliant on the stakeholders who are the most involved in the organizational process (Reid and Arcodia, 2002) (as well as considering the research question), it is possible to highlight following stakeholder definitions:

- “People or small groups with the power to respond to, negotiate with, and change the strategic future of the organization” (Eden and Ackermann, 1998, p. 117).
- “Those individuals or groups who depend on the organization to fulfill their own goals and on whom, in turn, the organization depends” (Scholes et al., 2002, p. 206).

Due to a complex nature of festivals’ organization and necessity of cooperation between the organizers, the concept of stakeholder theory is capturing growing attention in the festival and event management literature (T. D. Andersson & Getz, 2008; Carlsen & Andersson, 2011; Getz & Page, 2019; Van Niekerk & Getz, 2016). As it was marked by Richards (2007), stakeholder theory “*provides a number of concepts that can be useful*

*in analyzing the construction, development and impact of events on the various groups involved in creating them*” (p. 34). Being focused on organizers, their actions and motivations, stakeholder theory also “forces attention on the scope and nature of inter-organizational relationships, how they affect the focal organization” (Getz & Andersson, 2007) and hence can be regarded as highly valuable for studying the process of festival organization. In general, stakeholder theory deals with the wide range of groups or sides involved in a process (either those that can affect or to be affected by the results of a process) (Freeman, 1984; Sautter & Leisen, 1999), however, as it was mentioned before it is possible to frame the definition of stakeholder on the basis of research field, study interest and particular research question (Bryson, 2004; Mitchell et al., 1997). Focusing on the organizational side of the festivalization process and hence using rather narrow definition of stakeholder (primarily festival organizers), the present research also takes into account the environment in which festivals are being organized as well as those sides who usually do not participate in the organizational process (secondary or involuntary stakeholders) but nevertheless play a significant and sometimes decisive role in the decision-making process (e.g. the case of Sónar in Raval).

Event literature indicates that in many studies stakeholder theory is used as a tool to, firstly, identify the roles of and secondly, the relations between stakeholders involved (Getz et al., 2007). The theory stresses stakeholder differences between levels of involvement and influence (Sautter and Leisen, 1999). There are several classifications and grouping strategies of stakeholders and relations between them. The traditional stakeholder grouping is based on influence and control that some sides can have over festival organization (‘primary’ or ‘voluntary’ stakeholders: direct organizers, suppliers, participants, etc.) or, in opposite, be affected by the outcomes (‘secondary’ or ‘involuntary’ stakeholders: neighbor communities, local businesses, etc.). Getz et al. (2007) proposed a more elaborate way of classifying stakeholders based on resources available and corresponding organizational roles taken by different groups: internal organizers (usually

initiators and owners of a festival), facilitators (resource-providers), regulators (policy-providers), co-producers (supportive stakeholders and participators), allies (professional associations), suppliers and venues (sponsors and partners) and affected stakeholders (festival public and local residents). The classification provided by the second group of authors can be regarded as the most appropriate for my research, since it is more focused on organizational process and stakeholder networks that make festivals possible. As it was highlighted in the work of Getz et al (2007), the boundaries between festival organizers are not clear and usually one organization plays several roles at a time. Besides that, since the main focus of my research is on festival organizational process and decision making, I will consider primarily internal organizers, owners and those related to decision making and will try to analyze specific foci of their activities.

Another prominent aspect of stakeholder analysis is indication and understanding of existing (or non-existing) relationships between the parties involved. One of the most popular approaches to analyze stakeholder interactions was presented by Savage et al. (1991) who prioritized competitive (threatening) and collaborative (co-operation) manners of dealing with other stakeholders with four gradual strategies: 'defend' (high opportunity for threat and low for cooperation), 'monitor' (low for both types), 'collaborate' (high for both types) or 'involve' (high possibility for cooperation and low for threat). Several authors emphasized dependence of specific stakeholder relationships and collaboration strategies on the form and goals of organization (Getz, 2008; Reilly, 2001), for example non-for-profit festivals tend to choose co-optative strategies as opposed to competitive ones.

Due to the broadness of stakeholder theory, it is usually (but not always) applied in combination with other theories, approaches and techniques. Approaching stakeholders' interactions from a resource perspective can be considered as highly useful addition to stakeholder theory since 'resource-dependence issues have a strong bearing on how



festival organizers conceive of their festivals and which strategic choices they make' (Getz and Andersson, 2010).

Regarding the theoretical framework of the present thesis, it is possible to highlight two key aspects in relation to stakeholder analysis: firstly, festivalization is being produced by certain actors. Evidently, each case is different and highly dependent on historical, social and cultural contexts and stakeholder analysis provides deeper understanding of the organizational process of selected festival. Secondly, festival organizing process as the key element of festivalization is highly complex activity that needs to be scrutinized in order to answer the research question of the study. Making emphasis on the resources and hence dependency of one stakeholder on other ones helps to clarify interorganizational relationships between festival organizers and how these relationships are constructed with regard to financial support, festival venues, promotion channels, etc. This approach allows us to map and group stakeholders on the basis of the control they possess over resources, needs they have and in the result, make clear their motivations and priorities (e.g., venue, funding, promotion, autonomy, etc.). Matching up this data with ownership type and interorganizational connections between different groups of organizers allows better understanding of festivalization processes in the areas of interest.

## 4.7 Conclusion

In this part I aim to present an explanation of the comparative case study approach as I determined that as the most comprehensive way to analyze the topic. Within comparative case study framework, I triangulated the methodology to ensure presence, reliability and validity of the data in order to answer the research questions. Besides that, in order to address all the necessary issues of festivalization forming processes I applied complementary structure of analytical process (see Table 4.4).

**Table 4.4.** Complementary analytical approach of the study

	Data	Focus	Objectives
Content analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Official documents, reports and stakeholder publications</li> <li>- Semi-structured interviews</li> <li>- Promotion materials</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Primary and secondary data analysis</li> <li>- Codification and categorization of the data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To define the elements of discourses, specific ways in which they are presented and to provide a basis for data organization (through codes, labels, denominations, etc.).</li> </ul>
Stakeholder analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Official documents, reports and stakeholder publications</li> <li>- Semi-structured interviews</li> <li>- Promotion materials</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Organizational process of festivals</li> <li>- Actors' interactions</li> <li>- Actors' interference</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To clarify interorganizational relationships between festival organizers and how these relationships are constructed</li> <li>- To map and group stakeholders on the basis of the control they possess over resources and needs</li> </ul>

As it follows from the table, data sources for all analytical stages are the same, albeit varying in the levels of application depending on the focus and objectives of each stage.

Three stages of analysis are used in a complementary way, where each stage of analysis provides necessary information for the following step and therefore is crucial for addressing the main research question. In this way, content analysis is necessary for identifying related aspects within primary and secondary data as well as providing necessary background information to gain a broader picture of the selected areas. Stakeholder analysis is the stage where I investigate each festival from six selected cases by deepening the context knowledge and adding new organizational layer of analysis needed to understand the festivalization process from actors' positions. Finally, discourse analysis is applied in order to explain the meaning of actors' ideological discourses and inform how festivalization process is being formed into the context of selected creative quarters. The structure of empirical part of the present thesis is bearing a close analogy: next three chapters present the results of context, stakeholder and discourse analyses by discussing the context of El Raval and northern Neukölln (Chapter 5), organizational structure (Chapter 6) and explanation of festivalization formation processes (Chapter 7) respectively.

## CHAPTER 5: Festivalizing Barcelona and Berlin: El Raval and Northern Neukölln

There are several aspects that make Barcelona and Berlin most appropriate case studies for explanation of why and how festivalization process is being formed in creative city setting. Both cities are well known as cutting edge creative and cultural capitals of Europe. This recognition was achieved through intensive social and economic regeneration processes that started in the 1980s. Since the very beginning, these processes were based on cultural rediscovering of once deprived urban areas (AJUNTAMENT, 1996; Senatsverwaltung für Wirtschaft, n.d., 2005), which transformed their cityscapes and turned both cities into global art centers with vivid day- and nightlife attracting many people and cultural professionals to move there.

Both cities embraced cultural creative cities strategies turning them into wide-known creative capitals where regeneration policies are based on the experience economy (Evans, 2009; Creative Metropoles Report, 2011). Besides that, cultural policies represent the key factors of the cities' functional changes and cultural festivals are a significant part of their urban cultural policies having an increasing number of large as well as small-scaled festivals and events all around the year.

The development paths of two cities created certain prerequisites for the formation of their creative potential. During the second half of the twentieth century, two cities passed through different development stages that shaped their social and cultural life as well as streetscapes of local neighborhoods. Barcelona experienced industrialization under Francoist regime, followed by deindustrialization, reinventing itself as Catalan capital, hosting the Olympic Games and consecutive massive cultural regeneration; while Berlin passed through the postwar divide of the city, development under GDR's socialist economic model, reunification, successive inflow of immigrants and, finally discovering

itself as a creative city.

Despite such different development paths, both cities passed through severe social crises and successive art-led regeneration practices including festivalization. At a certain point of urban development, these two metropolises were in quest of new urban identities: in case of Berlin, it happened after reunification with sudden availability of impressive amounts of extremely cheap or even free spaces in East Berlin (and later, when the city has outgrown the image of 're-unified' one with a clear need to elaborate a new image). In Barcelona it was after the end of the dictatorship and beginning of a new democratic state, a period of massive urban regeneration driven by the Olympic Games celebration in 1992. In both cases, festivals receive a lot of attention by their cultural policies, not only as an entertainment feature of an area and promotion technique, but also bearing the symbolic meaning of urban identities change (Waterman, 1998).

Within these cities, two quarters have been selected as case studies: El Raval in Barcelona and northern Neukölln in Berlin. Facing roughly similar problems in the socio-economic sphere, cultural quarters of El Raval and northern Neukölln represent pronounced manifestations of evolved cultural district approach, where cultural and creative domains become a key element connecting various local actors, which helps to encourage and promote the revitalization of the area. Cultural neighborhoods can be defined as urban spaces containing a high density of cultural and creative activities, usually being regarded as entertainment nodes of a city and characterized by high concentrations of cultural actors' networks (Wynne, 1992). Following the classification proposed by Evans (2009), under cultural quarters we understand mixed-used, highly diverse urban areas, being festival and cultural centers of a city. The quarters of El Raval and northern Neukölln are promoted as cultural creative enclaves and characterized by high density of cultural activities (including a growing number of festivals) within their cities (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1999; *Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft in Neukölln*, 2010). Besides being conditioned by study limitations, focusing on particular quarters help us to analyze the

processes under investigation in a deeper and more explanatory way. In order to understand the general situation in cultural development and festivalization processes, this chapter aims to examine the particularities of the context of the selected case studies, putting a greater emphasis on development background, urban setting characteristics, institutionalization of cultural activities and general overview of festivalization processes in the selected quarters. In order to do so, I used the data retrieved from academic literature, policy documents, personal interviews, official websites of local institutions and newspaper articles. Here it is important to note that the availability of different sources is not similar in Raval and Neukölln-Nord: while El Raval is rather thoroughly studied case with numerous available data sources, cultural transformation of Neukölln-Nord until recently was in the sidelines of other Berlin neighborhoods (specifically Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg) and hence this case study does not have the same level of contextual documentation that is present for El Raval neighborhood.

## 5.1 Social and Cultural Contexts of El Raval

*It is a very hard task to briefly describe Raval's cultural life... Raval is very diverse quarter in terms of population and one can say that there are a lot of 'Ravals', socially and culturally speaking.*

(Nuria Paricio, the Executive Director of Fundació Tot Raval)

Being a part of the centrally located Ciutat Vella district (Figures 5.1, 5.2), El Raval neighborhood nowadays can be considered as one of the main cultural nodes of Barcelona (Tremblay and Battaglia, 2012). However, recognition of strong creative identity was prefaced by a gradual reduction of manufacturing, most noticeable between the 1960s and 1980s, a period that was followed by decay of deindustrialization. This period was characterized by significant increase, decay of infrastructure and general administrative neglect of neighborhood development, which resulted into serious problems of poverty and unsanitary. The southern part of the quarter was also known as Barrio Chino (or 'Chinatown') and its high crime rates, drug dealing, brothels and street prostitution converting the quarter to a deprived slum where “*any means of control was difficult to establish*” (M. M. Degen, 2008, p. 82). In general, the neighborhood was characterized by deteriorating social conditions that came as the result of the deindustrialization processes indicative for the whole city of Barcelona. However, in El Raval, which was predominantly industrial and working-class neighborhood (due to its location and proximity to the port) deindustrialization triggered extensive decay in the social, economic and territorial domains. This stimulated the establishing of the negative image of a depressed area populated by lower classes and stigmatized as excessively marginalized, poor and unsafe place.

**Figure 5.1** Context map of El Raval

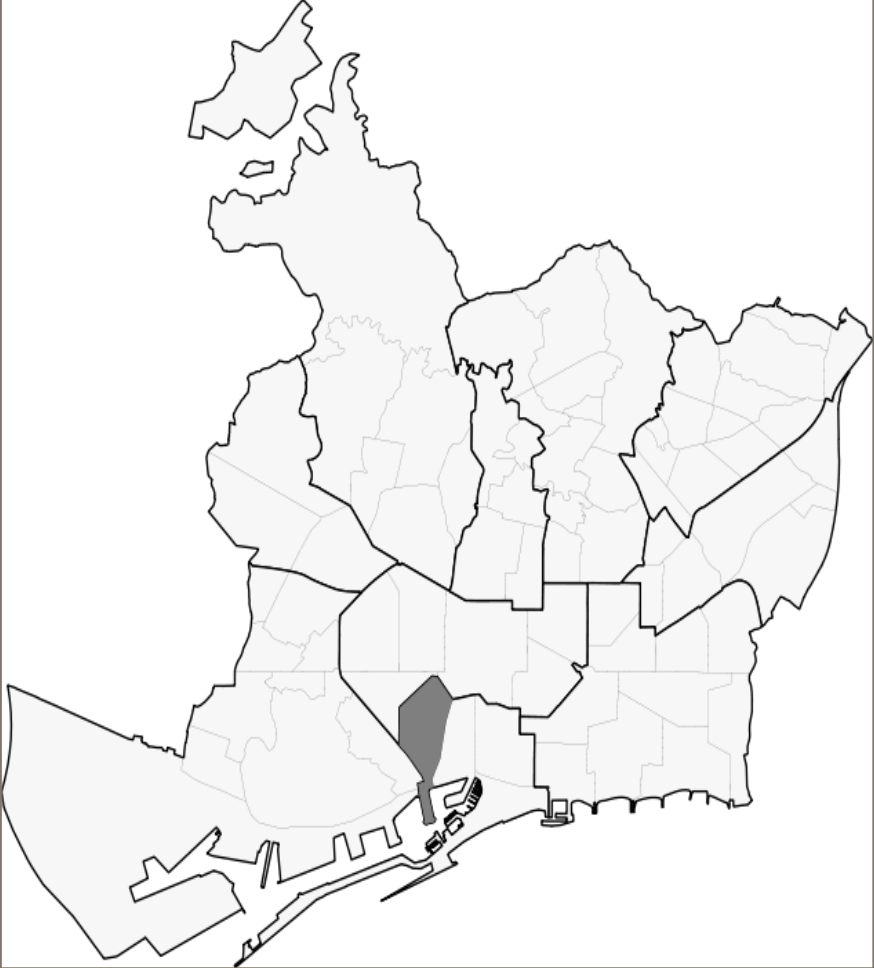




Figure 5.2. Street map of El Raval



The dramatic marginalization of El Raval resulted into massive flight of local residents during the 1970s and 1980s, while strong social cohesion of those dwellers who stayed in the neighborhood led to organization of resident communities that became an important actor on social and political scene of the quarter. The high level of involvement of the local communities into regeneration processes makes Raval an emblematic case study. Besides that, social associations still can be regarded as one of the paramount actors of the social and cultural life of the neighborhood.

Due to such a poor condition of the central neighborhood (bordering la Ramblas, the most touristic street in the city) especially in light of forthcoming Olympic Games, the municipality accepted a cultural revitalization plan, which included the improving of public spaces, development of cultural institutions, promotion of entities related to production of design and fashion, leisure zones as well as other small businesses aimed to improve the general 'atmosphere' of the quarters, namely cafes and restaurants. Therefore, in the late 1980s started its regeneration which led to the displacement of certain groups of neighborhood dwellers, transformation of hard infrastructure and subsequent gentrification of the quarter (Degen, 2008).

Such a deep reconstruction of the neighborhood conditioned the change in terms of population as well. During recent decades, Raval witnessed the significant increase in population: according to the Municipal Register, in 1991 there were only 14.9 new dwellers for every thousand, while in 2002 their number grew up to 202.8 (CCCB, 2006).

El Raval always has been the most diverse side of Barcelona that is located close to the city port. But immigration from the 19th century up until the 1960s was mainly consisted of other parts of Spain, while the extra-communitarian immigration dramatically increased in the second half of the 1990s. In such a manner, nowadays El Raval is the neighborhood with the largest percentage of the immigrant population in the city, where

the majority of newcomers is represented by Pakistani, Spanish and Ecuadorian communities (idem). Besides that, most of the immigrants choose the northern part of Raval to live, which creates a unique social and spatial mix where modern cultural institutions are surrounded by kebab places and Pakistani mini markets. By and large, immigration can be regarded as an important factor transforming the spatial, social and cultural identity of El Raval neighborhood. However, immigration is not the only issue of the quarter in terms of population: cultural regeneration of the quarter brought about another class of people coming to El Raval. Here I am talking about representatives of so-called *creative class*: artists, creative professionals, students, representatives of alternative subcultures, etc. Technically, a significant part of these people can be regarded as immigrants as well, since many of them are foreigners that came to live in Barcelona. However, these creative class representatives differ a lot from both locals and immigrant communities allowing us to distinguish them into another social group that play a great role in the area. They are different by specific lifestyle pattern, spatial preferences, behavior and certainly by their needs. Moreover, there is statistical evidence (CCCB, 2006) that this community (if it is possible to collate such a diverse creative class representatives into one single 'community') is one of the most rapid-growing in the area. This tendency can be explained through the growth of housing costs in El Raval: while fifteen or twenty years ago immigrants moved to the neighborhood because it was the cheapest central quarter to settle, today the newcomers increasingly more are represented by those of upper- and middle-class ones. However, it is not the only explanation here. First, not all creative class representatives are equal in terms of financial resources, since many of them do not have permanent jobs and work as independent artists or freelancers. Second, taking into account the fact that the housing prices are relatively similar in the whole Ciutat Vella district, it is clear why these people tend to choose Raval among other central quarters as a place to live: among all other perceived benefits of living in Raval resulting from its central location it is possible to highlight unique El Raval's sensescapes and its specificity of sensorial consumption of architectural, urban and social

surroundings of the area (M. Degen, 2010). Such a specificity forms a distinctive atmosphere of the neighborhood, promoted in a campaign called 'ravalejar' (meaning 'to do', or 'to live' El Raval). This marketing strategy emerged in 2005 was financed by the city council of Barcelona and aimed at changing of well-established negative perspective of El Raval and promote the positive sides of living in the quarter.

Decent cultural offer enhanced by the multicultural background of the neighborhood. As it was argued in the report "From Xino to Raval" (Subirats & Rius, 2008):

"Going to live in the Raval is, to some extent, seeking a lifestyle that differs from that in other areas of middle-class residence. Living in the Raval, and to some extent anywhere in Ciutat Vella, usually means distancing oneself from the family (which tends to live outside the former walled city or in the peripheral zones) and also distancing oneself socially from both the upper classes (who reside in the north of the city) and from the working-class districts of the periphery" (p. 27).

Indeed, many of the newcomers are attracted by specific atmosphere of Raval. As noted by Sergio Marcovich, manager of art association 'El Arco de la Virgen':

"Raval is something very special in terms of its atmosphere for experimentation, for playing, for creating something new and explore yet unexplored. It is very inspiring. That is something that is impossible to omit here if you are an artist. Not sure where it came from, but I believe that this atmosphere is created by a multicultural background of Raval making it a sort of a melting pot of different cultures, lifestyles and ideologies. It is a unique trait of Raval" (personal interview).

Discussing El Raval's trait of being attractive to manifold cultural elements of the neighborhood, it is also important to mention a certain level of attraction of sexual minorities' representatives. With its bohemian reputation in the past, Raval is still well known as being one of the homosexual 'nodes' of the city: there are several bars and clubs

in the neighborhood (especially in the barrio Chino) that are famous for being homosexual meeting places, for example, La Concha and Cangrejo. Besides that, there is the largest gay and lesbian film festival of Barcelona that is conducted in Filmoteca de Catalunya (located right in the middle of Raval). This is indicative of high levels of tolerance (one of the famous Florida's 'Three T's': talent, technology and tolerance) that is highly important for building a new 'creative' image of the neighborhood.

Such a change in perception of the quarter (from 'Chino' to 'Raval', from 'deprived' to 'creative') would not be possible without evident top-down initiative to ensure the coming of creative middle-class people into the neighborhood or, in other words, to promote a 'creative' image of El Raval.

Creating an image of cultural quarter forces policymakers to redesign urban areas as well as levels of governance (E. L. Glaeser, 2000; Sassen, 2013; Veltz, 1996). One can argue that there are two main emblematic (or image-making) projects that changed the perception of Raval both within and outside the neighborhood. The first one is constructing cultural cluster around Plaça dels Àngels in the northern part of the quarter. The second emblematic project is Sónar (which until 2013 was held at Plaça dels Àngels as well), one of the most popular music festivals in Southern Europe. While the first project alongside with construction of la Rambla de Raval represents major reconstruction of hard infrastructure or hard location factors in the area, the second one is related to development of so-called soft location factors focusing on leisure activities and place-based images, emphasizing experiential and cultural characteristics of a place. These two projects represent creative city approach through revitalization of deprived urban area, promotion of culture and creativity by attraction of 'creative' individuals as well as rising financial support of cultural industries and amenities. This evokes a combination of two different strategic priorities of urban development: it is possible to state that in case of Raval soft location factors complement hard infrastructure. It can be

argued that the initiator and the main actant of both regeneration processes and subsequent image change is the administration. Therefore, the processes of revitalization of the neighborhood have clear top-down nature and the rationales behind these changes are predetermined by how the administration sees the future of the quarter. In a way, this model maintains a determinant one in festivalization process that is going on in El Raval today.

However, despite the topping role of the top-down initiatives, El Raval also characterizes specific type of cultural and creative areas, where different actors play a prominent role of transforming a deprived area into a new creative cluster (Aisa & Vidal, 2006; Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2004, Ajuntament 2010; Delgado & Carreras Gutiérrez, 2008; Subirats & Rius, 2008). This was accomplished through active involvement of different cultural actors by means of several public cultural institutions that can be regarded as certain 'nodes' of cultural and creative life in the neighborhood.

In order to change social and economic dynamics in Raval, two flagship cultural centers were constructed, namely the Centre of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB) and the Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona (MACBA) (Around Plaça dels Àngels, the pivotal area of regeneration in the Olympic model (see Evans, 2001). These institutions have not only moved the cultural 'pole' of the city to Raval, but also thereafter “*have become creative incubators and spaces of experimentation*” (Tremblay & Battaglia, 2012, p. 61) with active support of bottom-up artistic activities. In some time, these cultural centers have turned into creative 'incubators' for local artists. As it was stated by Subirats and Rius (2008), “*The raising cultural cluster of Raval embedded in the Angels Square is the main positive aspect of reforming and change process of this quarter*” (p. 97). Indeed, the presence of the creative cluster in Raval is usually regarded as one of the most positive elements of the revitalization and transformation of the quarter, where both MACBA and the CCCB with their topical exhibitions, festivals and debates, interactive

projects and civic activities of any kind have turned themselves into centers of cultural life not only in El Raval, but in the whole city of Barcelona. But why the transformation was that effective and why this cluster is so successful in the cultural and creative fields?

First, one can argue that it is not possible to construct a creative cluster out of nowhere so there is vivid artistic, cultural and professional (or industrial) life that creates cultural activities (exhibitions, events, discussions and festivals) that are connected to the cluster through participation of various cultural and social actors and supporting of the initiatives from the side of the administration. Secondly, we should mention the high level of integration of the institutions that constitute the creative cluster with the surrounding social and cultural environment: all the interviewed artists mentioned that they have (or at least had in the past) certain projects with the cluster (mainly with the CCCB). Thirdly, collaborative projects between private companies (as well as artists and artist groups) proved a decent level of economic viability: as examples we have the emblematic case of constantly growing Sónar Festival, which became one of the most recognizable trademarks of Barcelona. Besides that, we can mention the central location of the cluster, which is another success factor of becoming a center of cultural life of the whole city.

These factors alongside with the historical background of the quarter, besides making Raval a center of cultural life of Barcelona (here we are talking predominantly about contemporary culture) also turn the neighborhood into a laboratory or so-called *Raval-LAB*. As noted by Tremblay and Battaglia (2012), “*Raval-urban laboratory is the core and the meeting-networking space; it represents a geospatial and sociocultural laboratory of experiments and convergences of cultures and territories*” (p.61). A mix of strategic approaches represented by top-down and bottom-up levels (which relation to festivalization is going to be discussed in detail in the chapter 7) superimposed on contradictory development path of the neighborhood represents complex relationship between social, economic and cultural dimensions of the neighborhood, turning it into a

place of experiment or laboratory.

Considering the notion of a 'laboratory' in terms of mix of different *active* elements, we need to mention social association Tot Raval as another important actor, which plays a role of a cohesive element of El Raval connecting different social, economic and cultural parts of the neighborhood. The association is a platform of 60 associations, private companies and Raval dwellers and acting in three major domains: social, cultural and economic. Its mission is to identify, meet and coordinate local social and cultural actors (citizens, small local enterprises and their associations) in order to encourage their participation in the governance process and quarter development (Blanco et al., 2010; Casellas, 2003; Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2004; Uldemollins, 2008). As stated by Núria Paricio, the Executive Director of Tot Raval:

“In Raval there are more cultural institutions than in any other quarter in the city. Besides all major organizations and institutions, there is also a huge number of small cultural entities, artists, theaters, art groups, creative spaces, etc. Therefore, Raval has two main poles of cultural life: macro-cultural, represented by public institutions and micro-cultural, comprised of local artists and cultural enterprises and we are working for bringing these two poles together” (personal interview).

Thus, besides these two 'poles' of public institutions and local artists, cultural associations (especially Tot Raval, as the largest 'umbrella' entity) can be seen as the third main actor in the cultural life in the area.

One can state that El Raval neighborhood was transformed heavily during the last two decades. Here I am intentionally using passive voice in order to highlight the top-down nature of these transformations. And unlike numerous negative examples of top-down



approach to revitalization of urban space, in case of El Raval it is hard not to notice the positive shifts in almost every aspect of the neighborhood's vital activity. In terms of social dimension, the administration managed to render public life healthier by constructing new urban areas (newly constructed Rambla de Raval can be considered as the main 'meeting point' of the whole neighborhood with 'El Gato de Raval' by Botero that became one of the main symbols of the quarter). In terms of economic dimension, there is a clear success with turning Raval into another tourist destination of Barcelona, which is conditioned by the flourishing of the local commerce. It is hard to overestimate the role of Sónar Festival (which we are going to discuss in the next part of the chapter) for the attraction of people's attention to the neighborhood. And finally, in terms of cultural dimension, during these twenty years El Raval has become a center of contemporary culture of the whole city with decent cultural agenda throughout the year and innumerable artistic events of various scales and topics.

As it was mentioned above, the clear top-down approach does not mean that the administration is the only actor in Raval's revitalization process. In fact, the positive results of the neighborhood's regeneration are rather indicative of the opposite; one can regard these effects as an outcome of two main factors: a high level of collaboration between different social and cultural actors and rich artistic background that is present in El Raval. The existence of local creativity is an irreplaceable element of any successful cultural revitalization. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the key success factor of the top-down policies in El Raval is related to acknowledgement of rich creative potential and subsequent arrangement of conditions for its further development.

However, such a positive picture is just one side of the revitalization process that is happening in El Raval. There are several negative issues that go side-by-side with the redevelopment of the neighborhood. Here it is necessary to mention the issue of gentrification, which, in fact, can be seen as a reverse of the medal of revitalization

policies. Indeed, rising of the housing prices almost inevitably lead to expulsion of some groups of the population that cannot afford to pay the rent and therefore need to move to cheaper neighborhoods, usually in urban fringes.

Even though there are certain indicators of gentrification of Raval, it is still not as pronounced phenomenon as, for example, in the other case study of the present research – northern Neukölln, which is discussed in the section 5.3. As it was stated by Judit Carrera, the director of Centre de Documentación y Debate of the CCCB:

“As Raval's regeneration goes on, middle and upper-middle classes even if not coming to live; at least they come just to visit the neighborhood. So it broke down an invisible border that existed in the past as Raval was a kind of no-go area. It was the whole policy with MACBA, with housing, education, social and economic development. It was also a cultural policy, but not only. It is not possible to change social conditions only through culture. I'm very critical about gentrification and the way things go in society with politics in general, but I am not sure whether gentrification happened in el Raval at all. For example, in the development plan of the 80s and the 90s there was something that was not planned: the arrival of immigration flows. While the neighborhood was improving and changing, housing was improving conditions etcetera, new flows of immigration settle here in Raval and there were other forces that wouldn't facilitate the gentrification of the neighborhood... In that research that I was talking about, independent professors demonstrate that only five percent needed to be resettled and all of them were resettled within the old city of Barcelona. So even though there were new middle classes that come to live here in Raval, the Raval still holds the poorest social indicators in town. So, it was not gentrified as Born or Gotic quarter has been” (personal interview).

Indeed, certain policy outcomes like immigration and overpopulation of the neighborhood (El Raval is the most populated quarter in Barcelona) were rather unforeseeable, rapid and uncontrolled. But it is not necessarily the negative aspect of regeneration: for example, ethnic diversity of Raval is usually seen as a positive and distinctive trait, enriching cultural and social life in the area. However, not being directly related to the regeneration process, there are some purely negative everyday characteristics that are still present in El Raval: tumbledown buildings, well-known 'peecorners' and among other traits, pickpocketing of tourists. Such challenges related to improving of the living conditions and discarding of the negative image are certainly evident and need to be addressed by the local administration.

In this part we discussed the process of revitalization of El Raval and turning it into a creative quarter. The next chapter is focused on the general context of festivalization of El Raval as a creative area.

## 5.2 Creative Festivalization of El Raval

Not long after the opening of the CCCB was established Sónar annual international festival of the advanced music and multimedia art, being a result of collaboration between three public and private actors: led by the private 'Advanced Music' S.L., cultural association, and joined by the Sociedad General de Autores y Editores (SGAE, the main copyright collecting agency in Spain) and the CCCB. It is possible to argue that this festival, organized in the space between the CCCB and MACBA (Placa dels Angels, until the year of 2013, when it was moved to Plaça d'Espanya, out of El Raval) became one of the main representations of Raval's cultural identity and truly an emblematic case of a successful public-private partnership. The festival besides bringing the cutting-edge

electronic music and visual arts to the quarter also became one of the main exported cultural 'brands' of Barcelona, organizing its editions in many cities around the globe, including Reykjavik, Tokyo and Osaka.

One can argue that festivalization of Raval as a creative quarter started with Sónar Festival. By the time it started to develop, "*Sónar filled the newly constructed cluster at the Placa dels Àngels with true experiential constituent, some kind of a clear manifestation of its meaning... Raval was changing for these couple of days*" (Georgia Taglietti, head of International Media Department of Sónar Festival). Indeed, Sónar Festival in terms of numbers is the biggest event happened in Raval: there were 12,000 people around the area every day of the festival (by the year of 2013, Georgia Taglietti, personal interview). Indeed, it is hard to name any other event that would be that important for the cluster, the neighborhood and in a certain sense for the whole city: Sónar, being one of the first electronic music festivals in Europe brought Barcelona and Raval to the forefront of contemporary music and multimedia scenes. At the same time, Taglietti describes the initial goals of establishing of the festival:

"In the early years it was hard to explain what kind of goals we want to achieve since electronic music wasn't that popular. Sónar was founded in the time when cultural offer in terms of alternative music and audiovisual experiments was almost inexistent in the whole country. So, we wanted to encourage and to develop this alternative scene... and I suppose that we were quite successful in these terms" (personal interview).

Speaking of the role of Sónar for the music scene besides general popularization of the alternative scene, it is also important to highlight another key role of the festival, namely bringing different cultural actors together and developing their connections. For Raval, which is an area of many co-existing 'Ravals', the role of mediator is highly important. Unlike Tot Raval, which was founded to fulfill the role of nexus-provider mainly (but not

only) in the social sphere, Sónar Festival was operating in the field of music and audiovisual industry, that in the mid-90s in Barcelona was represented by rather autonomous actors (G. Taglietti, personal interview). This role of Sónar as a meeting point was very important both when the festival was small (due to lack of communication, information and general underdevelopment of the Internet) and when it grew into one of the flagship events of Barcelona (due to the attraction of wide range of international music industry actors: promoters, producers, artists, etc.).

However, talking about the relationship between Sónar and local administration as the main actor in the neighborhood, it is possible to indicate certain changes in the level of communication with the growth of the festival. As it follows from the interview with Georgia Taglietti and official documents (Advanced Music, 2011), in the beginning the level of collaboration with the municipality was higher than after decades of development of the festival. It is possible to guess that it is so due to the necessity of figuring out the framework, support and the general development of the festival during the early stages. Later there were periodical meetings with local municipalities in order to explain why and how the area is going to be changed for the festival days, but there was no influence from the side of municipality or public institutions (Georgia Taglietti, personal interview).

In order to explain the change of the neighborhood for the days of the festival, we need to understand the structure of Sónar. One of the main traits of the festival is the division of its contents between daily (Sónar de Dia in MACBA and the CCCB, more experimental part) and nightly (Sónar de Noche, entertaining part) activities. At the same time, the daytime part was more efficient in terms of the image than in terms of finances: as a playground for experimental sound and media that was referential for all the alternative festivals started after Sónar.

With the rapid growth of the festival (from the year 1994 with about 6000 visitors to the edition of the year 2000 with 53000 visitors), alternative music grew in Raval from niche

genre to popular and commercial phenomenon. With such rapid growth dynamics, Sónar de Noche was moving from del Pavelló de la Mar Bella to la Fira de Barcelona en L'Hospitalet de Llobregat. Later, in 2012 all the festival activities were moved there and therefore Sónar is no longer organized in Raval. Despite not being a 'cultural space', the new location could provide the space for capacity, which was regarded as the key issue. According to Georgia Taglietti, there was no political intention behind. It is complexity to deal with large events within the city center: there is a limit of growth (personal interview).

One can argue that it is impossible to understand the experiential side of the cultural life of Raval omitting the context of Sónar Festival. In particular, two main connection points between them can be identified: first, symbiosis of physical space of the cluster with festival infrastructure ("*while constructing other buildings in the cluster we also changed our shape – it affected our logistics system. Hence Sónar was changing along with el Raval neighborhood*", idem) and secondly, focusing on the same group of people: a new target audience of regenerated El Raval was rather similar to the core audience of Sónar: relatively young, educated representatives of creative class. Besides that, Sónar, as well as Raval is very international: "*We definitely contributed to the raise the level of the interest to the area in terms of cultural life*" (idem).

Being part of the Raval's history, besides attracting the attention, Sónar also encouraged other private cultural companies and artists to engage into experiential side of revitalization of the neighborhood: according to Albert Salinas Claret, a co-founder of the newly launched Lapsus festival: "*every festival in the last ten years in Barcelona and especially in Raval, has been in the direct light of Sónar Festival. And they are still working hard for Barcelona and electronic scene here*" (personal interview).

However, in a way Sónar is still connected to Raval, not only historically. First of all, in order to get to the new location of the festival from the city center, one needs to cross El

Raval. As it was pointed out by Georgia Taglietti, Sónar organizers carried out a spatial research on places where visitors usually go: "*Through geotagging and check-in services we see that a lot of people are still there in Raval, where they used to be and used to go, it happens by force of habit I suppose*" (personal interview).

Moving from El Raval has also changed the event. In the new festival venue organizers are tending "*to build the same kind of atmosphere that it was in Raval, with the new area that is not a residential one, with minimal interaction with the outside space: everything is inside, food, drinks, wearables, etc.*" (Taglietti, personal interview). At the same time, prior to the festival relocation, the approach to interaction with the surrounding area was completely opposite. Sónar was incorporated into the surrounding urban space to the utmost: from collaboration with local organizations to logistics and food and drink supply for the visitors. This can be explained by the fact that the cultural cluster (mainly the CCCB and MACBA) is open to all the sides of the neighborhood: during the days of the festival there was a live and constant dialog, or circulation between Sónar, buildings and the quarter. Yet, it needs to be noticed that the main dialogue partner of the festival was the CCCB: talking about dialog in non-figurative sense, Taglietti remarks that "*the CCCB, as one of the centers of cultural activity in the area was the main communication partner for as all these years, it is like a girlfriend or family for us*" (personal interview).

Such a close relation is not a unique case of Sónar Festival. Indeed, among numerous cultural institutions in El Raval, the CCCB can be considered as the main partner for various small private cultural entities of the neighborhood.

One of the distinctive traits of the CCCB is close collaboration with cultural actors, for example through its 'associated collectives' program. This program is aimed at providing support and usually space in order to work on artistic projects that go in line with the interests of the CCCB. This helps to promote the artists, gives them resources to

experiment and, in a way, stimulates the development of creative sector of Raval's economy. Besides that, the phenomenon of associated collectives is one of the clearest examples of the district administration's ambitions to engage local artists into public-private partnership. Table 5.3 shows the list of associated collectives by the year of 2006 as it was presented in the work "From Xino to Raval" produced by the CCCB itself.

<b>Associated collectives</b>	<b>Activities</b>
Advanced Music	Sónar – Festival of advanced music
Orquestra del Caos	Zèppelin – The sound of the other, the cause of the other: sonorous psychogeographies
City Mine(d)	Symbiosis: urban laboratory of advanced communication
Conservas	InMotion
d-i-n-a	The Influencers – Festival of Culture Jamming, modified technologies and radical entertainment
La Fàbrica	The Alternative – Barcelona Festival of Independent Cinema
Marató de l'Espectacle (Entertainment Marathon)	Days of Dance – International Dance Festival in Urban Settings
OVNI (Observatori de Vídeos No Identificats – Observatory of Unidentified Videos)	Video archive Independent video screenings
Platoniq – Platform for the selection and production of projects relating new technologies with culture	Media Space Invaders



Projectes Poètics Sense Títol (Untitled Poetic Projects)	Proposal – International Festival of Poetry and Polypoetry
100.000 Retines	BAAF – Asian Film Festival of Barcelona
Almazén	Xinaxittà – Festival of Animation Cinema Socio-cultural animation activities

**Table 5.3.** Collectives associated with the CCCB and their activities. Source: Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, 2006

As it can be seen from the Table 5.3, the main sectors of activities of these associated collectives are electronic music and sound art (Advanced Music and Orquestra de Caos), cinema and visual art (La Fàbrica, OVNI and 100.000 Retines), dance (Marató de l'Espectacle), poetry (Poètics Sense Títol) and media activism (Conservas, d-i-n-a, Platoniq and City Mined). Such a diverse set of collectives represent rather experimental, innovative alternative segment of cultural spectrum of El Raval contributing to diversification of the cultural agenda:

“They work on innovative or reflective aspects of debates on contemporary culture. In many cases these are collectives that work for the most part on the fringes of the sector or in sub-segments that are not part of the establishment or, in any event, they are not seen as being canonical in the discipline concerned (sound art, documentary, Asian cinema, polypoetry, etc.) if they are not clearly pluridisciplinary” (CCCB, 2006, p. 49).

Moreover, the list of activities indicates that nine out of twelve activities are festivals (Sónar, Zeppelin, InMotion, The Influencers, l'Alternativa, Days of Dance, Proposal,

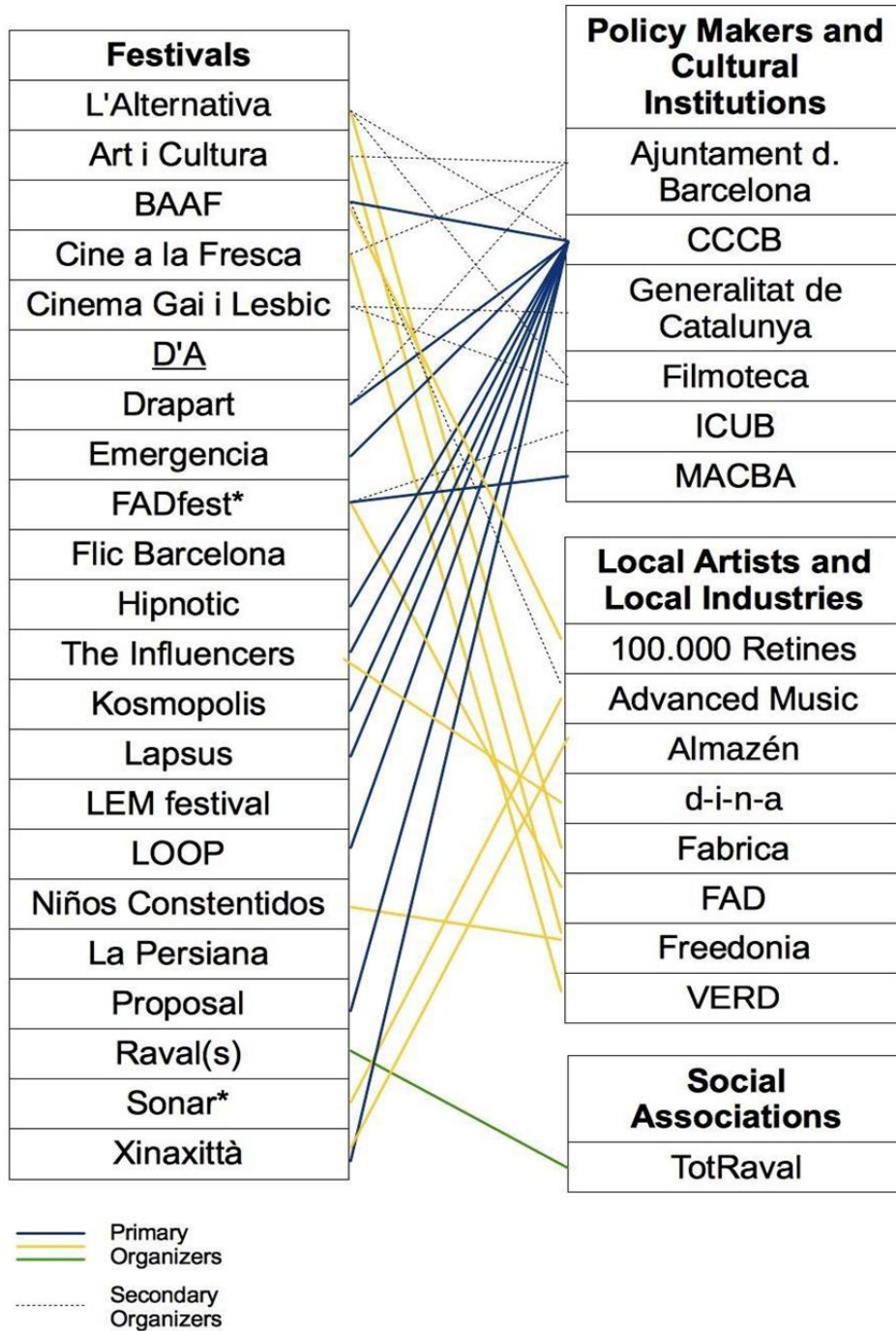
BAAF and Xinaxitta). In a way, the Center is located at the forefront of festivalization process of the neighborhood: by hosting Sónar festival for almost twenty years, stimulating festival initiatives, providing necessary resources for festival organization. Besides that, co-organizing numerous small festivals (which are discussed below), the CCCB turns the cluster into place of constant festival. Therefore, festivalization can be regarded as the main instrument or channel of public-private collaboration that is operated through the CCCB. At the same time objectives of festivalization go beyond mere attraction of visitors or industry promotion:

“The aim of most of the associated groups at the CCCB is not to hold a festival in whatever year happens to represent the discipline. The CCCB avoids the hackneyed *festivalitis* that has been used for the economic promotion of the city. On the contrary, the philosophy of the associated groups is to have an annual project that may be reflected in some event, festival or show, but the important thing is that the project is in keeping with the lines of work and reflection of the Centre and not just the festival’s capacity for bringing in the crowds” (CCCB, 2006: 49).

At the same time, it might be seen contradictory that public institute takes under its wing the most alternative and critical art-groups like Conservas or Telenoika. It is indicative of two main aspects: openness of the public institutions to carry on a dialogue (dialogues and public discussions are one of the key activities of the CCCB) and clear top-down approach to develop cultural initiatives in El Raval (starting from regeneration policies in the late 1980s). Abstaining from commenting on whether it is good or bad for mainstream or independent culture, in this thesis I discuss which traits such situation adds to festivalization of the area. One can state that besides demonstrating the openness of the cultural institutions, there are two reasons of active collaboration with the most alternative artists: first, it keeps all the sides of cultural life (mainstream and alternative) under control and second, avoiding expulsion of important (and alternative culture is a

prominent part of Raval due to historical reasons) elements with top-down regeneration of the neighborhood. The top-down approach becomes even clearer if we look at general picture of contemporary art festivals in El Raval (see Figure 5.4).

**Figure 5.4.** Festival organizers in El Raval



The Figure 5.4 presents the main organizational actors of the festivals related to creative festivalization in El Raval. Contemporary art and creativity festivals were selected premised on their relevance to the creative city promotion. Therefore, it is important to note that the data presented in the figure (based on the online sources official documents and personal interviews) excludes ethnic events and those 'traditional' festivals that present in the neighborhood. Besides that, since the figure aims to present the general (and historical) context of festivalization, it also contains festivals that were moved to other quarters (Sónar, FADfest) or were discontinued (Lem, Xinaxitta).

As it can be seen on the figure, the absolute majority of festivals either directly organized by municipality and public institutions or receive organizational and financial support from them. Moreover, a significant number of festivals (16) were co-organized by the CCCB (l'Alternativa, BAAF, D'A, Drapart, Emergencia, Flic, Hipnotic, Influencers, Kosmopolis, Lapsus, Lem, Loop, Persiana, Proposal, Sónar, Xinaxitta). As we can see, private initiatives also receive certain support (financial, organizational or promotional) from city administration or regional government.

By any large, one can mark the high level of institutionalization within the process of festival organization in the quarter. Considering the gentrification strategies that took place in the neighborhood, which included construction of creative cluster in the very center of Raval and stimulation of cooperation between top-down and bottom-up initiatives through this cluster or other public institutions, we can see the specific festivalization organizational 'shape' existing in the quarter. Such a 'shape' is characterized by extensive support coming from the side of public cultural institutions as well as the domination of small-scaled festivals.

As it was stated by Georgia Taglietti, "Barcelona is becoming the festival city. It is the capital of festivals in Southern Europe. The future of the neighborhood is more related to

the smaller events. Events that are keeping alive the discussion about the area" (personal interview). It is also clear that Raval is located at the forefront of the festivalization of the whole city. Besides mere quantitative indicators such as a number of festivals and visitors, there are several evident reasons why Raval became festival and cultural center of Barcelona: its central location, historical heritage and diverse cultural potential. And festivalization is one of the acknowledged elements to unpack this potential. I argue that during the last twenty years festivalization has become one of the indicative areas where flagship festivals due to different reasons (their size is arguably among the main ones) are being replaced with small-scaled but numerous festivals, stretching festival experience throughout the year. Sónar festival, which can be considered as the most famous, popular and successful (both in cultural and financial terms) artistic event in the quarter, for decades being the 'trademark' of Raval, is not by a jugful the only festival in the neighborhood. Festivalization became a key element of not only collaboration between different actors in Raval but, what is more important, indispensable characteristic of the cultural neighborhood.

### 5.3 Social and Cultural Contexts of Neukölln

*“Every couple of weeks there is an opening of a new bar, trendy art shop or gallery where abandoned pharmacy, cheap barber’s shop or simply empty ground-floor space used to be. So, these new people coming from other sides of Berlin altogether make sure that you will not get bored stepping a bit further than Kreuzberg...”*

(Jason Benedict, the art-director of Werkstatt Kulturverein, personal interview).

Northern Neukölln (or Neukölln-Nord) quarter is a part of Neukölln - one of the biggest districts in Berlin. The quarter is located in the southern part of central Berlin, bordering long-established Kreuzberg (Figure 5.5) neighborhood famous for its residents’ and squatting movements, artistic and gay scenes, and various counter-cultural organizations (Bader 2005). Northern Neukölln is historical center of the district, hosting over a half of its population, approximately 155.000 of 310.000 people.

**Figure 5.5.** Street Map of northern Neukölln



Through the whole twentieth century the area had quite an ambiguous reputation. By the end of the nineteenth century, present-day Neukölln was a city of Rixdorf with approximately 80,000 residents absorbed by the rapid-growing Berlin metropole. Interestingly, the name of the area was changed to Neukölln in order to obviate its bad fame as a deteriorated neighborhood with high crime rates and low standard of life. After the World War II the district became a part of the American sector of Berlin and afterwards a quarter of West Berlin. With the demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the northern part of Neukölln district became ‘pushed’ towards the very center of the city. However, new perceived ‘centrality’ did not bring many positive changes to the



neighborhood: during the last 20 years northern Neukölln faced numerous challenges: from relentlessly growing crime rates in 1990 to recent gentrification issues making it one of the most conflicting quarters of the city. In fact, this part of the city until recently was considered as the most dangerous place to live and to visit.

German director Detlev Buck (2006), in his movie titled 'Knallhart' ('Tough enough'), tells a story of a small family of Berliners that is forced to leave its house in the posh neighborhood of Zehlendorf and move to the troubled northern Neukölln quarter. The latter is presented as a highly unfriendly area: a boy (the main character of the movie) suffers from recurring beating in school and finally becomes taken under the wing of a local criminal kingpin who makes him a drug dealer. This made-up story obviously overlaps with the real case of the famous Rütli-Schule, which also became famous in 2006, when teachers at this school went publicly declaring that they are not able to work there anymore. Stating that they cannot fulfill their professional commitments due to aggressive behavior of the students (85 per cent of which had a non-German origin), which made teachers feel themselves unsafe. It is not a surprise that Rütli-Schule became a symbol of the failure of multicultural integration. Without getting into further specifics of the movie, it is possible to argue that the choice of the director to take Neukölln-Nord as a destination area of such a 'forced downshifting' within the borders of the city was not coincidental.

Indeed, despite its rather central location on the southern-east border of central (or so-called 'small') Berlin, northern Neukölln neighborhood is well-known far beyond city borders for its characteristic traits: very high density of population, high level of immigration (more than 40 percent of people are either foreigners or people with foreign background) and deep social crisis, which resulted in being considered as the "*country's worst trouble spot, a lawless place run by juvenile gangs*" (Spiegel Online, 2011<sup>12</sup>). In

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<sup>12</sup> <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/gentrification-s-victims-berlin-fears-rise-of-new-slums-a-748532.html>

the recent past the neighborhood was carrying the palm of being Berlin's most criminal area: especially famous for drug dealing, heists and stabbing accompanied by deep economic crisis:

“If northern Neukoelln was an independent city, it definitely would be the poorest city in whole Germany. It is hard to speculate about core reasons, but we had a very high rates of unemployment and people were dependent on public money to cover their expenses... In the 1990s there was a big interest in the drug dealing and dogfighting. And there were some murders as well... So, people were quite afraid and every journalist who was interested in our neighborhood wrote about the awful situation in the area” (Martin Steffens, project manager of KulturNetzwerk Neukölln e.V.).

Drug dealers usually used subway stations in the neighborhood as a means of transportation and local stations were famous for being drug selling spots making the U7 and U8 lines crossing Hermannplatz the most hazardous subway lines (Eva Hubner, public relations manager at Förderband e.V.). U8 metro line, which connects the Neukölln district with Wedding (an area in the north-west part of central Berlin) was even dubbed as a ‘drug line’ (idem). The situation is steadily improving, though the crime rates in Neukölln district are about 40 per cent higher than Berlin’s average. Besides that, Neukölln is the leading area by the number of the ‘areas with special development requirements’ (9 out of 17) or, simply put, crime nests.

As it often happens to derelict neighborhoods, a complex criminal situation is usually complemented by high unemployment rates. Therefore, it should come as little surprise that northern Neukölln is marked by the highest number of welfare recipients in the city and unemployment rate significantly (22,8%) higher than the Berlin’s average (Häußermann et al., 2008).

Besides that, as it was mentioned above unimpressive social conditions were

complemented with immigration issues. According to statistics, Neukölln has one of the highest percentages of immigrants in Berlin: according to census data, the proportion of foreign nationals (made up of an impressive number of 160 nations composed) varies from around 17 to 37 percent for different street areas while the proportion of population with migration background is significantly higher and varies from around 43 up to 66 percent<sup>13</sup>. During the recent years, the number of non-German residents has risen by 2.8 per cent, while the proportion of the German population has declined by 0.7 per cent. As in the rest of Berlin, immigrant communities are represented by people of Turkish, Arab and Russian backgrounds, however, on the contrary to the general situation in the city, in recent years the percentage of Arab people “*has become larger than the traditionally most strongly represented migrant group, people of Turkish extraction*” (Scheffer, 2011, p. 61).

*En bloc*, people of German origin do not form the majority in the society. On its own account high percentage of immigrants does not infer troubled neighborhood, however, coupled with social problems and economic crisis, multi-ethnic environment automatically becomes associated with ‘bad neighborhood’ image and negative outcomes of socio-economic decay (Mayer, 2003). According to Haußermann et al. (2008), in northern Neukölln social problems common for the entire city of Berlin are exacerbated, which is also can be associated with highly multicultural population composition of the area: the unemployment rate of the residents with foreign origin is about 24% higher than among the German population. Therefore, the unemployment of the residents with foreign background in northern Neukölln is one of the most persistent problems of the district, which needs to be addressed from the side of the government in order to prevent the exclusion from the social life of the residents with non-German origins.

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<sup>13</sup> Senate Department of Urban Development and Environment (<http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de>)

At large, several years ago it was possible to state that northern Neukölln would be the main area to depict social 'stigmas' of contemporary Berlin as it was done by Detlev Buck. However, the movie exploited the image of the pre-revitalized (and pre-gentrified) area of the neighborhood, which has been changing significantly during the recent years. Nowadays northern Neukölln is appearing with ever-increasing frequency in German and international newspapers, this time as a New Berlin's 'trendy' area, a place of cultural activities and nightlife, attracting a growing number of artists, students, hipsters and other bohemians. Here northern Neukölln goes in line with neighboring quarters' context of recent decades: suffice it to recall the case of Kreuzberg with "*a new population of 'young alternatives' (who liked the multicultural and anti-authoritarian atmosphere) squatted in the empty buildings in the neighborhood*" (Heebels, 2012, p. 42), that in result created a powerful cultural alternative scene of Kreuzberg. Something similar has started to happen in the recent years in the northern part of Neukölln district.

Over the last years, northern Neukölln has become particularly popular among artists, cultural workers and intellectuals as a residential and production site, increasingly developing its creative potential predominantly through a vibrant artistic scene. Such an approach corresponds with the general context of Berlin's success with turning the city into a creative one under the famous city mayor's Wowereit slogan "*Arm, aber sexy*" ("Poor, but sexy"), which stands on comparatively cheap housing and renting prices as well as reach independent art and music scene, that flourished with possibilities to reuse of abandoned places that Berlin has a lot to offer. Within this context, the gentrification process once started in Prenzlauer Berg and Kreuzberg neighborhoods now is gaining momentum in northern Neukölln.

During the recent years, there is quite an interesting image being formed about Northern Neukölln as once derelict and poor neighborhood, where life becomes more and more hip with every passing day:

“Meanwhile, areas such as northern Neukölln, neighboring Kreuzberg and other parts of the city traditionally populated by workers and immigrants are becoming increasingly popular with middle-class residents and hipsters. Tourists are also attracted to the areas by glowing articles in the international media” (Spiegel Online, 2011<sup>14</sup>).

But what provoked such a noticeable change in perception and allure of this area as a place to live and work? The reasons of such a trend can be found in comparatively low housing prices (as well as the availability of empty spaces) and improvement of the living conditions in the area.

The first factor of housing prices, albeit can be applied to the whole city of Berlin, is nowadays most important for previously non-gentrified areas like Neukölln and Wedding since housing prices there are usually lower than in the very center of the city. As it was mentioned by Gianluca Baccanico, cofounder of Loophole (a group of artists running a small event space in Berlin):

“First, we were running our place in Friedrichshain, a slowly gentrifying neighborhood, albeit a bit faster than Neukölln since it started before. So about two years ago we were kicked out since the building we were in was bought and completely sealed. And the place we found, a former brothel in the northern part of Neukölln was completely free and it was giving away... So, we considered it as a perfect new location for us” (personal interview).

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/gentrification-s-victims-berlin-fears-rise-of-new-slums-a-748532.html>

Here it is also possible to mention *Zwischennutzung* (temporary occupation of unused spaces for artistic needs), a phenomenon that is to a certain degree similar to “No Longer Empty” movement in New York, which created necessary preconditions for the thrive of independent music scene and emergence of hundreds of art galleries (Jacob, 2011). Local administration, albeit acknowledging the prominence of such a movement for cultural development (as well as the well-established artistic image of the city), usually allows to occupy only spaces with no possibility to be profitable in the foreseeable future. In general, any emerging conflicts and tensions over the occupied space mean that artists have to move: the great example of such a state of affairs can be found if famous Tacheles case, where even popularity and certain cultural value did not save the venue (Kulish, N., 2010). However, in previously deprived and still ‘difficult’ areas like Neukölln the process of *Zwischennutzung* is regarded as a means to develop cultural sphere of the neighborhood with little to no cost. We will discuss this process more closely in the next part.

The second factor is related to social policies undertaken by city and district administration that were preconditioned by deep socioeconomic crisis of the neighborhood. One of the organizational measures that caused most visible changes in neighborhood everyday life was creation of the nine neighborhood administration (Quartiersmanagement) areas in northern Neukölln assigned by the Senate Department for Urban Development in order to regenerate ‘socially disadvantaged’ areas characterized by bad socio-economic indicators, ethnic tensions and the dire state of public infrastructure. As stated by Bettina Busse, the chief of the department of cultural work and education of Neukölln, the principal aim of this project was the promotion of the neighborhood to the actual residents and coming residents to take care of the area where they live:

“The government supports local projects such as taking care of public spaces, green spaces, cleanliness as well as trainings for immigrants and aid to local schools, participation in cultural events like 48 Hours Neukölln Festival. Certainly, there is no big money in these projects, but it helps local residents to understand that this area is their home, which will fall to desolation without their care” (personal interview).

In general, this project succeeded: according to Catherine Biel, the head of the Department of Culture of Neukölln, local residents supported this project by active participation in the quarter’s public and cultural life, which significantly improved social atmosphere of the neighborhood (personal interview).

These factors combined with relative proximity to the center and reach cultural potential of the area provoked the inflow of ‘new migrants’, this time not from Turkey and Arabic countries but from neighboring gentrified (and therefore more expensive) quarters of Berlin. Indeed, with the loss of a ‘no-go area’ reputation, the quarter became more attractive for work and living. According to Bettina Weber, “*In recent ten years a lot of new artists came here, the whole community changed, so we look how to react on these changes, what and how we can do about it*” (personal interview). Indeed, the inflow of new residents changed the neighborhood and how people (both in cases of residents and non-residents) perceive it.

A few years ago, a general first rule of entertainment and nightlife in Neukölln was “Go to Kreuzberg!”. This rule is no more so up to date, since gentrification came, there are more and more bars and discos. The best example will be the Weser-Str in so-called *Kreuzkölln*. During the week, and especially on weekends, dozens of local bars are occupied by students from not only Neukölln, but also from Kreuzberg due to low prices, vivid music scene and growing audience.

However, these changes are often referred as a trigger for gentrification of northern Neukölln (figures 5.5 and 5.6). In order to understand this process, one might take a look at statistical indicators: there are three main evidences showing that northern Neukölln is experiencing gentrification process in a large scale. First, the neighborhood is characterized by a very low level of inhabitants with at least five years of residency in the area in comparison to surrounding areas (Rafieyan, 2012).

Second, according to the housing reports of the area, there is a significant increase of median household income in northern Neukölln<sup>15</sup>.

Third, during the recent years, the median rent prices have increased dramatically as well<sup>16</sup>. Therefore, it is possible to state that with rising demand for housing displacement becomes a clear characteristic of the area.

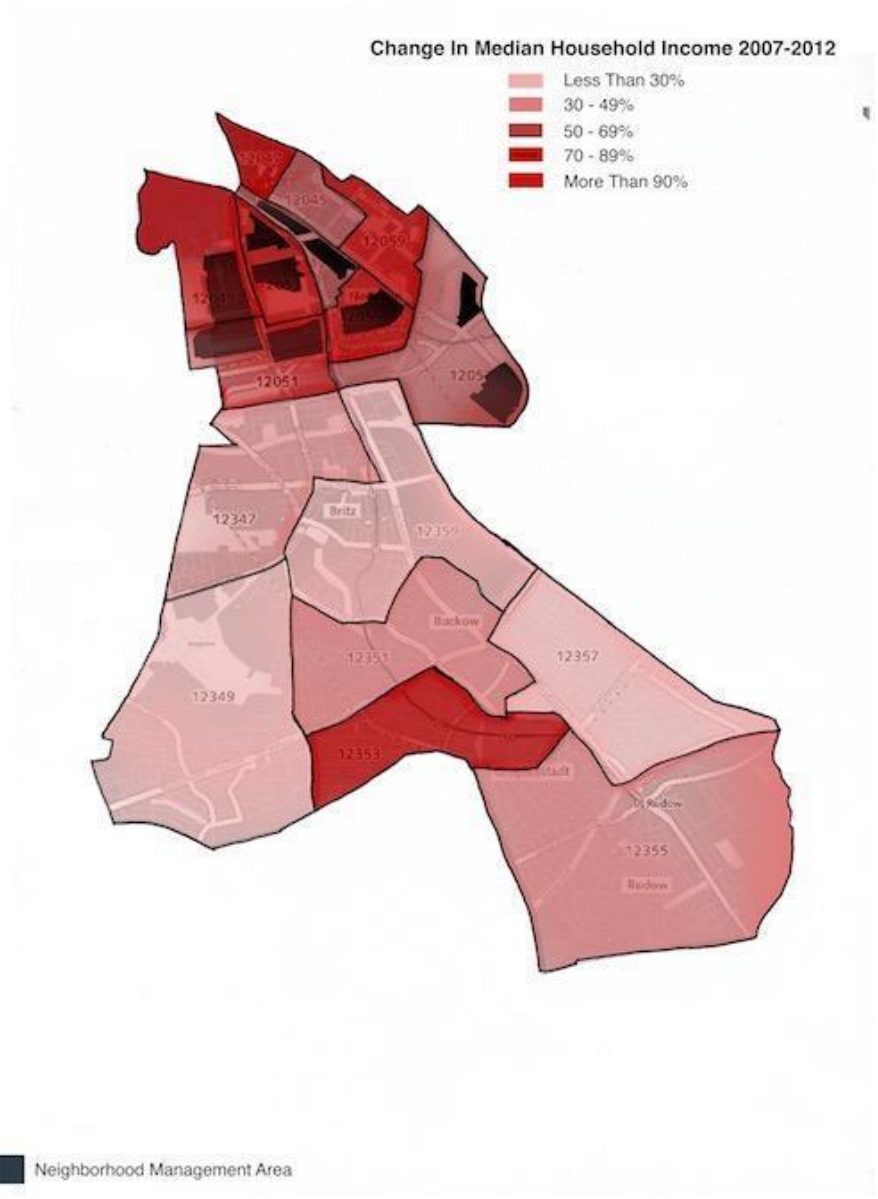
**Figure 5.5.** Change in Median Household income in Neukölln (Source: Rafieyan, 2012)

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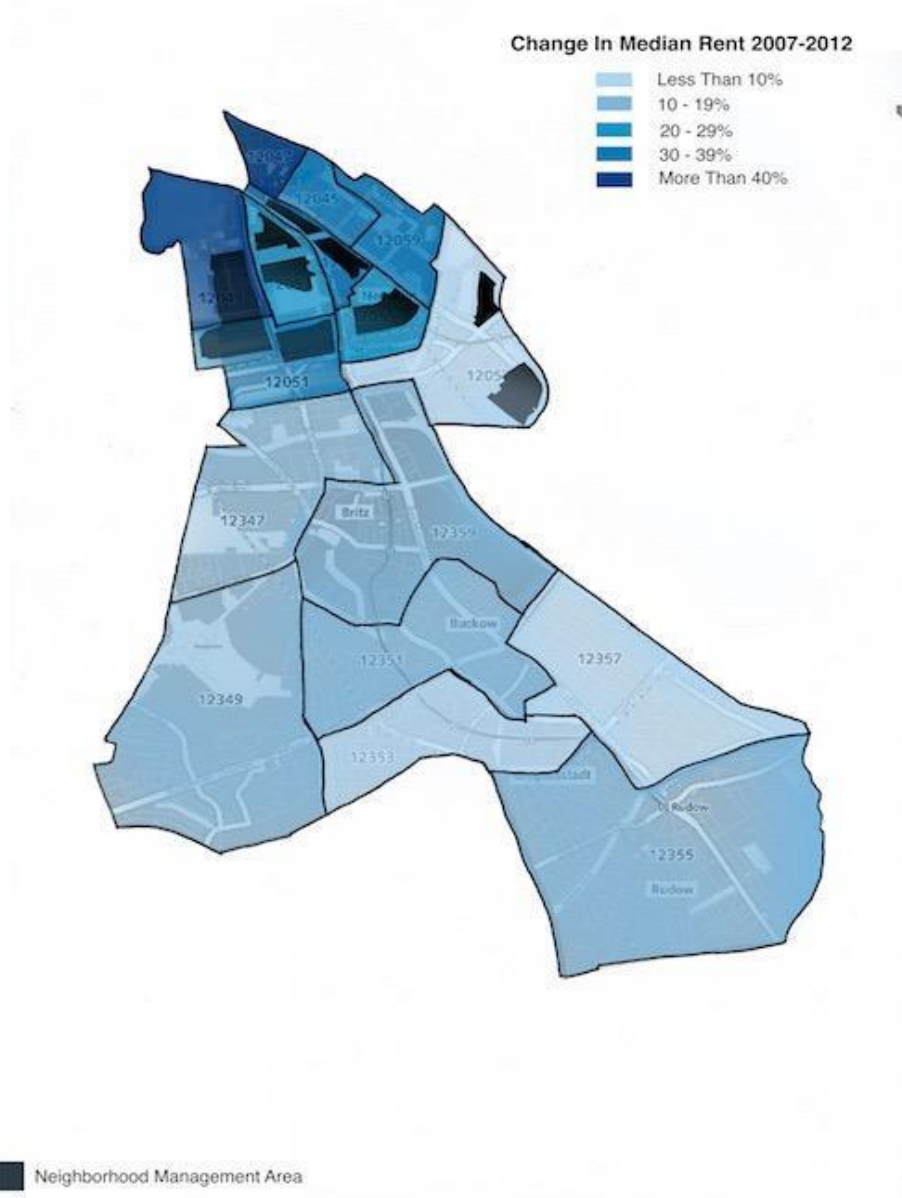
<sup>15</sup> GSW Housing Market Report. Rep. Berlin: GSW Immobilien AG, 2008; GSW Housing Market Report. Rep. Berlin: GSW Immobilien AG, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> GSW Housing Market Report. Rep. Berlin: GSW Immobilien AG, 2010; GSW Housing Market Report. Rep. Berlin: GSW Immobilien AG, 2011; GSW Housing Market Report. Rep. Berlin: GSW Immobilien AG, 2012.





**Figure 5.6.** Change in median rent in Neukölln (Source: Rafieyan, 2012)



As we can see from the statistical data (figures 5.5 and 5.6), both the rise of household

incomes and the major increase of rent prices happen to be in the northern part of the district, which is located closer to more central quarters of Berlin, which is indicative of the 'sprawling' nature of gentrification in northern Neukölln.

However, with all the evidence of gentrification processes going on in the neighborhood, the issue of what triggered its appearance and conditioned its scale remains open. It is a common perception amongst many residents of Neukölln that wealthy creative class representatives coming to the neighborhood are provoking rent prices growth and in such a manner forcing the local poor to leave the area:

“Suddenly, they were all here. All these students, artists, layabouts. The complete mob called creative class... and suddenly all was changing. The rents were no longer cheap, the drug dealers left the Reuterplatz, whorehouses closed; instead, we got open-minded and open-gendered galleries, junk dealer became to dealer in antiques, and dirty dog shit was turned into peaceful baby buggies. More general this phenomenon is called gentrification” (“Offending the Clientele” by Matthias Merkle, Retsina Film).

It is possible to state that these newcomers, get such an amount of blame due to visible changes that they bring to the area they live in with all these new trendy bars, shops and galleries. However, it is unfair to blame solely hipsters and bohemians for these changes: the influx of new residents was rather an after-effect of changes happened in Neukölln as well as in the rest of the city. I already described social sphere improvements with the development of Neighborhood Management Areas which are prominent factors in general revitalization of the neighborhood, where gentrification is an inevitable side effect. At the same time, as it was argued by Rafieyan (2012), one of the key roles (if not the main one) in the gentrification process was played by specific public policies in the field of real estate management, namely abandonment of control over housing prices: while in the year of 1990 the share of state-owned housing in Berlin was about 30 percent,

nowadays this share is only 13 with about 200,000 state-owned apartments and houses being sold during the last two decades (Aalbers & Holm, 2008).

Therefore, the most part of the social housing was redistributed from the government to private companies, developers and individuals. Such an example of general a shift from managerial approach to urban governance to more neoliberal market-based one almost eliminated the phenomenon of social housing in northern Neukölln (as in the rest of the city). This in its own turn created demand for the development of those parts of the city, which were not regarded as attractive beforehand (including the area under investigation). Besides that, gentrification processes were urged forward by absence of almost any interventions (usually by means of subsidies) into the housing market by the side of local administration (Bernt, 2012). In such a way, a large part of local residents turned out to be not able to afford renting housing in newly ‘regenerated’ areas (and northern Neukölln is one of the most striking instances of such gentrification) needing to move to the urban fringes, for many people from northern Neukölln to the southern part of the district. Hence, city hall created necessary conditions for gentrification of Berlin that started from central areas and during the recent years has spread to areas like northern Neukölln and Wedding.

Consequently, it is possible to conclude that gentrification-related issues are rather an outcome of regeneration factors (public-led bottom-up social initiatives of neighborhood administration (Quartiersmanagement) and following inflow of creative class representatives) accompanied with change of real estate policies (or even an absence of such).

However, these ambiguous processes brought about striking changes to the neighborhood and its perception amongst Berliners. If before U8 metro line was dubbed as a ‘drug connection’ of the city, *“these days the line connects the two most culturally interesting areas in the city: Neukölln and Wedding”* (Eva Hubner, personal interview). Even

negatively famous Rutli School, once a symbol of dilapidation of Neukölln and its deep social crisis, is not considered as such nowadays:

“It is nearly impossible these days to find an apartment near the Rütli School. Real estate agents see these properties virtually snatched from their hands, even though rents have shot up (even doubling in some cases) within a short space of time. Students and artists from around the world are eager to get into the area and apartment viewings often draw 50 people at a time” (Spiegel International, 2011<sup>17</sup>).

Such a complex history of northern Neukölln mixed with recent changes creates a unique context of today’s quarter: here, besides the best doner in the city and communicative drug-dealers one can find diverse art galleries, trendy shops and extremely dense schedule of cultural events, all without leaving the neighborhood.

It can be argued that during the last years, the creative class turned into one of the key players in northern Neukölln, setting the scene for the whole cultural and (to a significant degree) social development of the neighborhood. In the next section, I argue that newly gained allure of Neukölln for new ‘creative’ residents is highly related to festivalization process going on in the area.

## 5.4 Creative Festivalization of Northern Neukölln

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/gentrification-s-victims-berlin-fears-rise-of-new-slums-a-748532.html>

Even though the revitalization of north Neukölln is an ongoing process, it has already changed the landscape of the quarter, establishing a new creative image with a wide range of cultural activities with a prominent role of events and festivals. As in case of Raval, festivalization of the neighborhood as a new creative area of Berlin started with one ambitious festival '48-Stunden Neukölln' ('48 Hours Neukölln') that afterwards evolved into a flagship event of the neighborhood. The festival was named this way due to its characteristic feature to be held for two full days (48 hours) in a row. Established in 1999 by social non-profit cultural association *Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln*, the festival was a reaction on two main issues: municipal cuts of cultural budget of the area and establishing of a strong negative image of the neighborhood (Normann, 2015). According to Martin Steffens, the Project Manager of *Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln*, the festival aimed to brighten up the cultural life of the neighborhood as well as mitigate severe unemployment conditions of the area:

The festival was founded when public money for culture was short. We decided to hire unemployed people and give them an opportunity to work in cultural spots in the quarter. In such a way, we were giving a temporary job to people who needed it and organizing cultural agenda for Neukölln. There was unknown cultural life, and while government was not promoting it, there was a clear need to reflect it somehow to Neuköllners and to the rest of Berlin (personal interview).

The second reason is related to media attention that received Neukölln since the mid-1990s as a neighborhood with high concentration of social problems, strongly associated with decay, crime, unemployment and, as a cherry on the cake, high rates of immigrant population not willing to be integrated into German society. Such an attention was brought to the next level (rather deservedly) with *Spiegel* article called "Endstation Neukölln" by Peter von Wensierski (1997) depicting this district as an 'outcast ghetto' with everyday shootouts, teenagers' gangs and housing sector turned into slums. During

the next years, plenty of articles with similar vision of the area have appeared in the local media with almost no regard on more positive sides of Neukölln: “*Responsible people from the cultural field found that media reported on negative sides of the quarter but did not react on innovative and creative side of Neukölln*” (Martin Steffens, personal interview). Therefore, the festival was established as a manifestation of cultural potential of the neighborhood and its ‘alternative’ image, which, in several years replaced the ordinary one of a ‘degraded’ neighborhood.

After almost fifteen years of development, the festival has evolved from a small neighborhood event into an internationally acclaimed art and cultural festival representing a successful model of community-based arts and cultural presentation. In 1999, the festival began with only 25 locations involved providing space for about 100 events. Since that, time festival has become the main cultural 'brand' of Neukölln, which programs and venues number doubled during the last ten years. Despite certain support from the side of the municipality (e.g., inclusion into Be-Berlin promotional campaign) the festival is still chronically underfunded.

During subsequent years, the number of participating artists and venues increased steadily. For example, in 2008 the program included 165 venues with more than 350 events presented and approximately 50,000 visitors. However, as in case of Sónar in Raval, 48 Hours Neukölln faced certain problems with its size and in 2010 the decision was made that the scale of the festival needs to be reduced (this issue is discussed in more detail in comparative section of this chapter): in the year of 2014 there were about 300 venues and 800 events.

Considering the reasons why the festival was founded as well as the size and popularity of this event in the neighborhood, 48 Hours Neukölln could not avoid touching the social issues of the area. The festival plays a role of a meeting place between different social

groups living in northern Neukölln:

“[In Neukölln] there is a problem of immigrant groups that stick together and not willing to be integrated to social and cultural life. Therefore, we are creating opportunities for people to meet and communicate by exchanging of artistic daily-live living. Besides hiring unemployed people to engage them into cultural life, we also create a platform to communicate, where everyone interested is invited to establish new contacts and learn something new. We need to think of how non-creative citizens — immigrants, merchants and sellers — work together with artists. So, we have some projects unifying the citizens, for example during the festival there are some workshops for local youth and open-air art project that we organize in Karl-Marx Strasse” (Martin Steffens, personal interview).

The results of such activity are rather positive: the festival manages to create a platform for residents, artists and visitors to experience local environment in an unusual way. During the first editions of the festival, its programs aimed to grant visitors access to places that they did not know previously, to uncover the hidden spots and corners of northern Neukölln through artistic presentations. For many people this factor became a necessary trigger that awaken their interest to know more about the neighborhood and participate in the social and cultural processes going on in the area. Arguably, 48 Hours Neukölln became a first step for residents of the deprived neighborhood to overcome the isolation (both in social and cultural ways) and to enliven surrounding urban space, at least on a temporal basis (as it was in the beginning of festivalization process).

48 Hours Neukölln became a powerful spur to further development of creative festivalization as a successful model of a community-based festival: besides being a platform for visitors, the festival also became a platform for communication and cooperation for local artists, venues and cultural entrepreneurs: “*From the very*



*beginning cultural initiatives belong to independent artists. We organized Kunstfilialen (Art Branches) as a place for artists to meet and to talk in every neighborhood” (Steffens, personal interview).*

As a result, many contemporary art festivals of various scales have appeared in the recent years: as an example, the second-largest festival in northern Neukölln, *Nachtundnebel* organized by the largest community gallery in Neukölln called *Schillerpalais*, was inspired by 48 Hours in terms of its community-based model and form (multiple open-door events). However, the main incentive of its organization, instead of being *spatially* oriented as it was in case of 48 Hours (Neukölln as an *area* that needs to make a turnaround from decline to renaissance) is more focused on the *temporal* dimension of local cultural life:

“We created *Nachtundnebel* because 48 Hours festival occupies only two days a year, in the beginning of bright and shiny summer season. But what happens here the rest of the year? We took the gloomiest season of autumn to organize this festival, to show that there is so much hidden artistic energy. During the long and dark night, we open the doors and windows, so the light comes out to the streets. During the first edition, we worked closely with the taxi companies to provide a free ‘shuttle’ between galleries and spaces, which is very unusual for locals. Now it is not necessary anymore because there is more light and more galleries open and participating in the festival. And many people are moving with bicycles” (Klaus Eichner, the director of *Schillerpalais e.V.*, non-profit association organizing *Nachtundnebel* festival, personal interview).

Yet through it all, socio-cultural associations being pioneers of art festivals in the neighborhood, are not the only engine behind festivalization process. Rapid increase of festivals’ number would not be possible without artistic community of Neukölln:

*“Kulturnetzwerk would not start the festival to promote cultural development in Neukölln if there was simply nothing to promote. [...] It was a bottom-up activity from the very beginning (Martin Steffens, personal interview).*

Arguably, the reason for this activity can be found in vivid subculture and independent scene common for whole Berlin. According to Scharenberg and Bader (2009), the origin of this phenomenon can be traced back to the 1970s and 1980s, when independent subcultures and youth social movements appeared and developed in inner-city areas of West Berlin (mainly in Mitte, Charlottenburg and Kreuzberg). This gave rise to the luxuriance of various independent entities like small record studios, radio stations, music labels, etc., which at an early date formed broad networks of underground activities. On the periphery of the western part of divided Berlin (especially in Kreuzberg) this process overlapped with squatting (and above-mentioned *Zwischennutzung*) of abandoned spaces turning them into clubs, bars and housing for representatives of various subcultures. These squatting movements facilitated the development of a lively subculture that flourished in the 1990s in deindustrialized districts, stimulating the growth of local independent music scenes (especially those of techno and electronic music). The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 ‘pushed’ once peripheral subcultural ‘nodes’ towards the eastern part of the inner city. However, with newly acquired centrality, areas like Kreuzberg faced the new issue of intense gentrification, which forced creative class representatives (since independent artists and small companies usually do not have a lot of money to spend on leasing of premises) to move somewhere else. Arguably, the vicinity of Kreuzberg neighborhood played a significant role in the way cultural life and festivalization process developed in northern Neukölln:

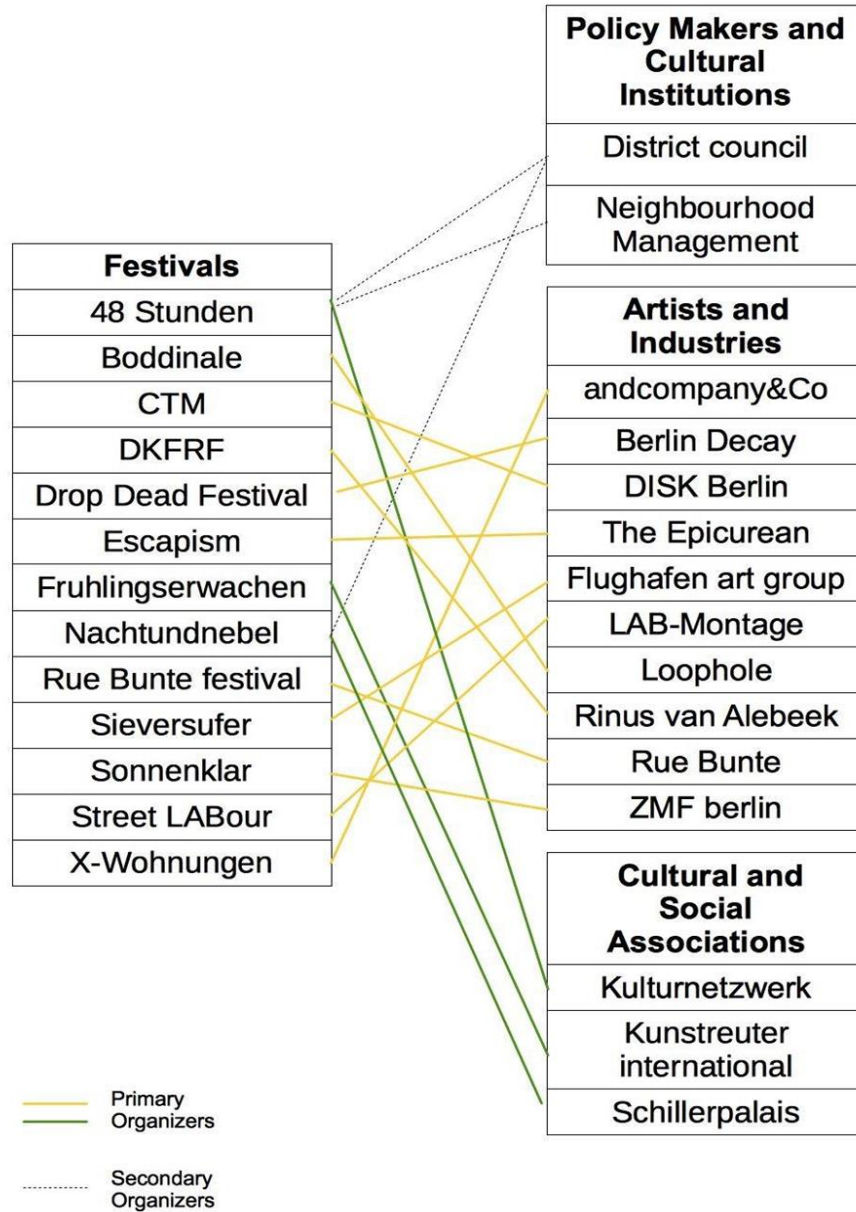
“The growth of festival movement is part of general cultural context, things that happen here in Neukölln... Those new people that are coming to Neukölln to live and work, they come with certain luggage of their experience. They bring their

ideas and activities with them, they know which ways can be successful and go their own way” (Tanja Strehle, project manager of Förderband Kulturinitiative Berlin).

Indeed, 11 out of 13 local art festivals are organized without any practical involvement from the side of either city or district administrations: as it can be seen from the table, blue lines indicating public institutions as primary organizer are absent. Local administration, albeit remarking the highly important role of independent scene, focuses budget expenditures mainly on 'high culture' institutions like state museums, theatres and opera houses. At the same time, “the independent art scene is able to scale out its own niches undisturbed” (Spiegel online, 2012) with more than fifty per cent of independent cultural producers are unaware of financial support opportunities and even less ever attempted to receive it (Stiftung Zukunft Berlin, 2011).

It does not mean that Neukölln administration is ‘excluded’ from festivalization process, it rather signifies the specific goals that it pursues with it: while “in other areas like Wedding the relationship between district management and art entities like galleries is quite intense [...] in terms of promotion, money and other kind of support, in Neukölln administration is more interested in social events. (Eva Hubner, Förderband, personal interview). Indeed, as it follows from the Figure 5.7, public authorities prefer to cooperate in festival organization process with social associations (albeit playing a supportive role), whereas local art-groups and companies are left on their own. Running a few steps forward, it is possible to explain through level of similarity between incentives of district management and goals of social associations in festivals’ organization.

**Figure 5.7.** Festival organizers in northern Neukölln.



In terms of quantity, the main part of the festivals organized in the quarter are private and established by independent artists. One can find certain dependencies between

gentrification strategies applied in the neighborhood and existing festivalization 'model' in northern Neukölln. Vivid independent music and artist scene, which flourished in northern Neukölln due to a set of conditions, resulted in the appearance of many small-scaled festivals usually run by either artist group or small cultural commercial organizations. Moreover, festivalization of northern Neukölln is characterized by a high level of inter-involvement: small festival organizers also participate in larger events like 48 Hours Neukölln and Nachtundnebel.

## 5.5 Comparison

Having explained the peculiarities of contexts and festivalization processes in El Raval and northern Neukölln neighborhoods, we need to understand how they stand one to another. In this part I explain and analyze general differences and similarities of historical development paths of El Raval and northern Neukölln and their relation to festivalization formed in two areas.

As it follows from the previous sections, historical contexts of two case studies are rather similar: both neighborhoods had been characterized by deep social and economic crises that were followed by regeneration with a clear accent on the development of cultural potentials of the areas. However, despite similar development 'scenarios' it is important to highlight differences in the time frames: while the regeneration of El Raval started in the late 1980s right before the Olympic Games held in Barcelona in 1992, cultural revitalization of northern Neukölln became truly visible about 10-15 years later, in the mid-2000s. It does not mean that El Raval 'outgrows' northern Neukölln, it rather highlights the fact that these scenarios developed by applying different strategies. Besides that, such a large gap in time frames and differences in strategies applied is indicative of dissimilarity that El Raval and northern Neukölln have regarding their position in Barcelona and Berlin contexts, respectively.

Starting from the beginning, the comparison of the ‘original’ pre-regenerated settings in two neighborhoods points at the high level of similarities between the two: both areas were characterized by poor social conditions, high crime rates, economic underdevelopment compared to other neighborhoods of a city and a significant share of the immigrant population. Data analysis regarding the histories of two quarters clearly shows the general ‘negative’ images of pre-regenerated El Raval and northern Neukölln that were predominant in the media of that period. Both neighborhoods were ‘black spots’ of their cities in the eyes of policymakers and almost ‘no-go areas’ for city dwellers as well as tourists. In both cases, there was a clear need to improve the situation.

However, the regeneration processes, being preconditioned by different reasons also developed in different ways. As mentioned above, the starting point for El Raval’s revitalization was planned in the general framework of preparations to host Olympic Games and the quarter instead of being a ‘no-go’ area in the very center of Barcelona was designated to become a contemporary culture center of the whole city. In contrast to such a defined starting point of regeneration process, it is hard to find one in northern Neukölln: regeneration of the neighborhood was rather gradual, where the starting point is somewhat blurred. This can be explained through the general approaches to regeneration: while the process of turning El Raval into a cultural center of Barcelona was planned, initiated and conducted by the municipality and therefore had its starting point and defined schedule, the one in northern Neukölln albeit started with gradual implementation of new organizational and housing policies, had a clear bottom-up orientation with development of street associations on a micro-level and coming of new ‘creative’ residents, which apparently took more time to develop and become noticeable.

In a certain way, both differences in the time frames and dissimilarities between strategies applied are related to the way how both quarters are incorporated in cultural life and the

positions El Raval and northern Neukölln occupy in their cities. Indeed, El Raval, being turned into *the center* of contemporary culture of Barcelona has a unique position in the city: with large investments into infrastructure redevelopment, numerous cultural institutions and impressive amount of attention fixed on the quarter make it the only area in the city with pronounced creative orientation in development. El Raval's centrality (both in geographical and cultural terms) preconditioned certain level of urgency in the quarter development before and after the Olympic Games as well as clear top-down approach: it was necessary to include newly built cultural public institutions into cultural life of the area.

Revitalization of northern Neukölln was also incorporated in general Berlin context, though in a different way that it was in case of El Raval in Barcelona. It is possible to argue that regeneration and gentrification processes that took place in northern Neukölln was a continuation of the same processes happened in other Berlin quarters earlier: Prenzlauer Berg, Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg. While these (centrally located) neighborhoods were gentrified during the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, northern Neukölln (as well as Wedding neighborhood on the other side of the city), due to its geographical position has been experiencing regeneration processes since the mid-2000s. It does not mean that the situation in northern Neukölln simply copy what has happened in neighboring areas: the scales of revitalization and gentrification vary from quarter to quarter and even from street to street as well as the level of acceptance of such processes. In addition, northern Neukölln still has a chance to avoid those significant negative aspects that took place in other gentrified areas of Berlin. Besides that, historical development of Berlin after reunification also conditioned its *polycentric* cultural context, with no defined center of contemporary art, uncountable art centers and micro-clusters dispersed across the city and with clear inclination towards more alternative and independent art and music scenes, which created a unique liberal artistic atmosphere of the city (Bader and Scharenberg, 2010). This is also related to a relatively small number

of interventions in the cultural life of northern Neukölln from the side of the government (again, in comparison to what one can observe in El Raval).

It is possible to argue that massive top-down regeneration of El Raval was operated through significant investment in hard infrastructure redevelopment - construction of the art cluster and reorganizing the central part with construction of Rambla del Raval. Contrariwise, revitalization of northern Neukölln happened prioritizing soft infrastructure development: beautification (with usual bottom-up initiatives) of public gardens and parks in Neukölln is rather incomparable to construction of a whole new art-cluster and new quarter center that happened in El Raval.

Another important difference between two case studies that follows from above-mentioned contextual dissimilarities is in the level of institutionalization of their cultural life: while the presence of numerous public cultural institutions of El Raval, their political (as public entities) and territorial (in a form of art cluster in the northern part of the quarter) interconnections reflect the government-driven regeneration process with pronounced intention to obtain a high level of *patronage* over local artistic life, one cannot help noticing the absence of such a branching network of public cultural entities in northern Neukölln, where even the intention of city hall to play any significant role in cultural life is rather minimal (more detailed discussion of such a dissimilarity is presented in the Chapter IV of the present study) the exception is provided by the social-oriented events, e.g., multi-ethnic ones. It is possible to argue that in case of Berlin's neighborhood lion's share of cultural life belongs to grassroots initiatives. In such a way, *cultural* dimension (in contrast to social one) of revitalization process in northern Neukölln was predictable (having experience of neighborhoods like Kreuzberg) albeit unplanned and such a change can be regarded as a side effect of social and housing policies of the neighborhood.



What all these changes mean for turning these two areas into creative ones? Despite such dissimilar approaches, both quarters became considerably popular for creative class representatives. One can notice a significant inflow of so-called hipsters, bohemians, creatives, artists or gentrifiers in both El Raval and northern Neukölln. Arguably these people are attracted by a mix of several factors, where the main factors are adequate standard of living that matches the lifestyle of the newcomers (as well as redefined identities of the quarters that are transmitted through new 'attractive' images in the media), affordable rent prices and vibrant artistic atmosphere.

The latter aspect become more important the more creative people are living in the area. Coming to live to the new area these groups of people also bring their own lifestyle and habits and the more the share of these people is present, the more these lifestyles become visible: with all the trendy shops, bars, galleries and festivals of any kind. This created prerequisites for development of creative and experience domains in the economy of the neighborhoods where festivalization plays an important role. In this perspective, this chapter identifies the understanding of contextual background of the neighborhoods as a pivotal factor for the present research, defining the development paradigm of the two selected quarters in recent decades. This contextualization helped to explore specific factors that enable the formation of creative city trajectories of development as well as the role of the festival in local cultural landscapes. At the same time, this contextualization of the areas requires to be complemented with the deeper layers of the festivalization process in order to understand profoundly the role of the planned artistic events in the cultural transformation of El Raval and northern Neukölln. In that way, the following chapter presents the description and analysis evaluating six selected festivals from contextual and stakeholder analysis perspectives.

## CHAPTER 6: Organizational Comparison of the Selected Festivals

Content analysis provided an opportunity to understand the crucial role of contextual setting for festivalization forming and showed how historical, social and economic factors affected the way festivalization developed in northern Neukölln and El Raval. Several factors are indicative of high context dependence of modern art festival movement formation in these areas: different levels of institutionalization, particular reasons of festival organization and festival organizers themselves. In the light of this research project, the latter factor should be considered as the key aspect since defining primary organizers as well as the level and mode of participation between them leads us to the answer to the research question of the thesis. Therefore, in order to answer the research question, the next step in gaining a deeper understanding of festivalization is to understand who stands behind it, what actors organize it and how organizational processes are being formed.

In order to do so, in this chapter I will take a closer look at six selected festivals, namely l'Alternativa, Raval(s) and Lapsus in Barcelona; 48 Hours Neukölln, Nachtundnebel and Boddinale in Berlin. Festival organizing process as the key element of festivalization is highly complex activity that needs to be scrutinized in order to answer the research question of the study. Making emphasis on the resources (and hence mutual dependencies of festival stakeholders) helps to clarify inter-organizational relationships between festival organizers and how these relationships are constructed with regard to financial support, festival venues, promotion channels, etc. This approach allows us to group stakeholders on the basis of the control they possess over resources, needs they have and in the result, make clear their priorities (e.g., venue, funding, promotion, autonomy, etc.). Matching up this data with ownership type and inter-organizational connections between different groups of organizers allows better understanding of festivalization processes in the areas.

With the object of defining key organizers as well as the way they take part in the festival organization process, each festival is analyzed as a separate case through the use of four consecutive steps:

The first stage concerns identification of festivals' initiators and which actors participate in festival organization and decision-making processes. The second step concerns analysis of stakeholders' resources and the ways of involvement, which is done through analysis of several indicators (that are explained in Chapter 4). This step is aimed at unpacking the way how organizers understand their positions in organizational processes. The third stage involves the analysis of organizational processes and their specificities in order to understand how festivals are being formed. In order to do so we apply analytical approach presented by Getz et al. (2007) and Savage et al. (1991), which will help us to understand the specificity of the initiatives and actions interplay in the festival organization process. Finally, inter-festival collaborations are discussed for the purpose of understanding levels of cohesion that are present between the festivals in question.

Six selected festivals are divided into two groups (those of El Raval and those of Neukölln-Nord) and arranged in the order of decreasing scales.

## 6.1 L'Alternativa: Barcelona Independent Film Festival

*The Barcelona Independent Film Festival*, also known as *L'Alternativa* is one of Barcelona's benchmark events and the most important film festival in the city that has played a prominent role in development of non-commercial film industry and forming a community of independent directors, producers and audiences. The festival is dedicated to creative, independent and innovative movies, taking place during a week in November and from there carrying out activities that have replications throughout the year: even in the context of financial crisis, the festival and surrounding activities in total include about 160-180 films (Tess Renaudo, personal interview). The festival's structure aims to offer film enthusiasts and professionals multiple platforms to discover new names and art pieces, to communicate, debate and criticize.

The festival is specialized on movies that are usually reckoned in relation to the underground movement, films that usually pass unheeded by mainstream festivals and cinema theaters. The festival is focused on experimental films, video research works and visual avant-garde of contemporary art.

Fran Benavente, in his article devoted to a tenth anniversary of *l'Alternativa*, regards the festival as an opposing force to "*the major enemies of free cinema are money, television and show business, which turn it into a consumer good rather than a tool for discovering the world*" (Benavente, 2004, p. 68). In contrast to mainstream film production, cinemas and festivals, *l'Alternativa*'s framework consists of low-budget movies usually produced by small crews with specific priority of *reality* over *entertainment*:

“[The festival] opted for alternative productions with low budgets and a high degree of commitment to reality and focused on events, environments and discussions on the margins of the markedly informative agenda on television,

giving a voice and face to people excluded from the concerns of the consumer society. Where television imposes a flow of events and oblivion is systematic, alternative film, such as that advocated by *L'Alternativa*, proposes a critical change in the framework, a return to the real material under the reflexive prism and a recovery of memory. In short, it poses a precise establishment of time and a lingering gaze to tackle the diffuse temporariness and critical dissipation that has become widespread in the age of audiovisual production” (Benavente, 2004, p. 68).

Though content structure of the festival is rather complex, such complexity is arguably one of the festival’s strongest points, incorporating vast areas of activities and stakeholders’ networks. There are two contest sections of the official platform of the festival (*l'Alternativa Official*): Feature Films and Short Films (about 30 movies in total from around 2,000 participating in the selection process). Besides that, the festival offers several complementary platforms: *l'Alternativa Parallel* is focused on unknown projects and new names: premiers, discovers and tributes, while *l'Alternativa Hall* offers a highly intensive and diverse program of screenings (free of charge) in a unique setting in order to provide a “*mixture of atmospheres embodies the festival as a celebration of filmmaking*” (website of the festival<sup>18</sup>).

Moreover, *l'Alternativa* also includes projects beyond festival screenings: *L'Alternativa Activities* project is related to organization of film schools and workshops as a platform for education, communication and debates, while *l'Alternativa Professionals* puts into practice seminars, discussions and consultancy for those related to independent movie production.

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<sup>18</sup> <https://alternativa.cccb.org/2013/en/hall/>

Established in 1994, L'Alternativa festival has been one of Barcelona's most prominent contemporary art events for more than two decades. The year of its first edition is important in the context of cultural life in El Raval, since it is also a year of the CCCB foundation, the permanent venue of the festival. The festival has undergone a long way of development from the time of its foundation until the present time. According to Cristina Riera, co-director of l'Alternativa, these changes are largely conditioned by external circumstances: development of independent film industry as well as film-related challenges that faces Barcelona. These factors influenced active development of the educational component of the festival, prioritizing involvement of kids and whole families into learning workshops and screenings, *“showing them the process of bringing their ideas to reality, to create and understand visual images and messages”* (personal interview).

In 1996 (the third edition of l'Alternativa) the network of the festival's started to grow and included the French Institute, Maldá Cinema, the Apollo Cinema, the SGAE (Society of Authors and Editors) and Catalan Institute of Latin American Cooperation, while the CCCB remained the central venue of the festival. In subsequent years, this network has been gradually expanding and now includes significant part of Barcelona's cultural institutions and associations. This allowed the festival to enlarge the role of the festival in the cultural landscape of the city, making it an amalgamating platform for independent movie producers, supporters and curators. Taking into consideration these changes, in 1997 the name was altered in order to reflect such a transformation of the event by adding *“the Barcelona Independent Film Festival”*. That time l'Alternativa also gained a more developed program structure by including parallel and educational sections.

Since the year 2000, l'Alternativa has been one of the first festivals to embrace digital revolution in movie production with including digital video formats into its program. In the official statement of the organizers, the reason of such a change explained by

expensiveness of film formats traditionally used in filmmaking process and affordability of digital recorders (Benavente, 2004). This goes in line with general concept of the festival, which is focused on low-budget, independent or even underground movies. Nowadays digital format is an industry standard while mobile phones are capable to shoot award-winning movies expanding possibilities for independent filmmaking.

Recent editions of the festival annually attract over 30,000 visitors, its program features hundreds of screened movies and invited filmmakers. Unequivocally, it is impossible to imagine the unique role of l'Alternativa in Barcelona's cultural life without its organizational structure that has been elaborated throughout 20 years of its existence. Following paragraphs delve into the roles of l'Alternativa organizers and collaborative institutions in festival organization process.

### 6.1.1 La Fàbrica De Cinema Alternatiu

The festival was established by La Fàbrica de Cinema Alternatiu (Factory of the Alternative Cinema), a nonprofit cultural association that focuses on supporting and promotion of independent films and audiovisual projects that usually afflict with finding their audiences and for the most part go unnoticed by cultural institutions, cinemas and promotion agencies. La Fàbrica was founded in 1992 as an initiative of film producers, directors and industry professionals as a response to near absence of non-mainstream movies in the cultural agenda of the city (Tess Renaudo, personal interview).

All activities of La Fàbrica are directly related to its largest project, l'Alternativa Festival. Apart from it, the association organizes two other projects. The first one, *Exchanges* program, aimed to offer and receive movie selections to and from other film festivals in

order to promote l'Alternativa own program and at the same time enrich festival period with selections of affiliated events. In recent years l'Alternativa exchanged its programs with FCST (Buenos Aires), Imago (Portugal), IndieLisboa (Lisbon), Documenta (Madrid), Signes de Nuit (Paris), Open Cinema (Saint Petersburg) and many other festivals across the globe. The second project, *l'Alternativa Takes a Trip*, is organized since 2006 as a traveling program with a selection of movies from past editions of the festival in order to promote and screen independent cinema in various venues like cultural centers, cinemas, universities, etc. Along with *Exchange*, this project is also organized worldwide. The association is a virtual center of all festival activities responsible for putting together festival organizers, partners, institutions and sponsors. Besides that, La Fàbrica's representatives select l'Alternativa jury and annual festival program.

Despite the ever-increasing scale of the festival, festival organizers need to cope with limited financial resources available for the festival organization, which is conditioned by the economic situation in the country (Cristina Riera, personal interview). According to Tess Renaudo, editions of 2013 and 2014 have been significantly restrained by a tight budget of about €150 000 (in comparison to the 2010s €360,000) and l'Alternativa success these years was possible solely by virtue of a committed team behind the festival, "Our existence is a matter of will and commitment of people backing it despite continuous budget deficit that we face" (personal interview).

### 6.1.2 Other Organizers

As it was mentioned above, the Fàbrica managed to create the whole new network of institutions and organizations participating in l'Alternativa. At the same time, the festival has the only primary organizer (La Fàbrica) and other actors can be regarded as active collaborators participating in the festival organization. Nevertheless, their roles are



crucial for the festival organization process and its success. First and foremost, among these partners, we need to mention the CCCB. According to Tess Renaudo, the center is “the closest partner of La Fàbrica since the very beginning. We share the office here and also it is the main location and the headquarters of the festival; it is where we receive our guests and organize two screening rooms. The CCCB is a flagship in the sense of the production, but also in the sense of tight collaboration with entities to bring the diversity not only to programming, but also to the neighborhood” (personal interview). Indeed, the festival is held at the CCCB since its first edition in 1994, the same year the CCCB was opened itself. As stated by Cristina Riera, the center is even more than just a partner of the festival – “It is our ally and almost inseparable affiliate helping to organize l'Alternativa” (personal interview). Even the official website of the festival is located under the domain of the CCCB. The most part of the center's support is related to the provision of festival (as well as Fàbrica's) spaces, infrastructures and materials. The main ‘cinema theater’ of the festival is also located in the Center: “*we [l'Alternativa] convert the bunker downstairs the CCCB into a huge cinema theater for our movies, where we have screenings their free of charge*” (Tess Renaudo, personal interview). Besides that, the role of the CCCB also related to involving locals (cooperation with Tot Raval Social Association), including those people that not always tend to follow new exhibitions and cultural activities. Therefore, it encourages further audience development, “*with the support of the center we can afford very accessible pricing and a number of free screenings and activities*” (idem).

As mentioned before, besides the CCCB there is a plethora of other official supporters of the festival: Barcelona City Council, Cultural Department of the Generalitat, Ministry of Culture, Filmoteca (as part of ICEC, Catalan Institute of Cultural Companies), Barcelona Inspira and Institut français. In general, their roles are fairly similar (some of them provide financial support and other spaces for screenings), however, arguably Filmoteca (national film institute) has special importance as another cultural center of El Raval and

new regular venue of the festival. As it was stated by Cristina Riera:

“Usually we have a special development program, in which we tend to look how to make a bridge with the neighborhood and the city. We organize it through different collaborations with other associations and institutions in the neighborhood like Tot Raval and Filmoteca. On practice it means forming participant video groups and making screenings in cultural associations” (personal interview).

Moreover, l'Alternativa Festival is among official partners of another large festival of the neighborhood, Raval(s), which is discussed in the next case study.

### 6.1.3 Stakeholders overview

As it follows from the data analysis, La Fàbrica and the CCCB contribute the most part of the resources needed for the festival organization: the former entity is responsible for the creation of the festival agenda, finding financial support (public and private sponsors), forming the network of festival organizers (partners, institutions and sponsors), while the latter is providing main festival venue, financial and technical support and facilitates festival organization process. Therefore, the decision-making process largely depends on primarily La Fàbrica and secondly on the CCCB.

In terms of organizers' classification provided by Getz et al. (2007), L'Alternativa organizers can be classified in the following way: internal stakeholder (la Fàbrica de Cinema Alternatiu, the initiator of the festival); several coproducers, with a varying degree of involvement (the CCCB, Filmoteca); regulators (city hall, ICEC) and allies and collaborators (associations of film producers and social associations). Some of the regulators also play the role of facilitators of the festival.

The first two groups of actors are the most involved in the organizational process, La Fàbrica is the single initiator and the CCCB is the main partner of La Fàbrica, co-organizer and co-producer of l'Alternativa. While direct regulatory activities of the city hall and the Generalitat come down to the amount of financial support provided to the festival, their role is extended through public institutions that are involved in the festival organization process like the CCCB and many of the co-producers that are responsible for noticeable widening of the festival network, its development and diversity. The group of collaborators forms two dimensions of l'Alternativa community: professional (independent film producers) and social (locals of Barcelona and El Raval in particular).

In order to understand the organizational process of the festival, it is fundamental to unpack the relationships between all identified stakeholders. Within the framework presented by Savage et al. (1991) that prioritizes competitive (threatening) and collaborative (co-operation) manners of inter-stakeholder relations, l'Alternativa Festival has a strong collaborative focus.

Due to the very high level of collaboration and number of resources they contribute to l'Alternativa, both key stakeholders of the festival (La Fàbrica and the CCCB), have '*collaborative*' positions in the organizational process (high opportunity for threat and high for cooperation). The rest of festival partners mentioned above take '*involvement*' position, which implies high possibility for cooperation and low for threat. Such an inclination towards co-optative strategy is common for non-for-profit festivals, where the goals of organizers coincide or at least do not have general contradictions between each other.

Moreover, because of active collaboration with numerous cultural organizations in El Raval, l' Alternativa gained a strong social- and cultural-oriented set of festival activities

both within its program (through educative projects that became a constant part of the event) and beyond it. A good example of the latter is presenting specific selection of l'Alternativa program during Raval(s) festival.

At the same time, according to the opinion of interviewees from La Fàbrica, the major threat for the festival is declining budget support coming from public sources. Within this context, it is understandable that festival communities gain additional influence in l'Alternativa organization. Indeed, the pronounced characteristic of the festival is joined forces of major cultural organizations with large facilities and l'Alternativa community, which along with active networking largely increase the sustainability of the event, even at times of severe budget cuts caused by economic crisis.

## 6.2 Raval(s): Festival of Art and Culture of Raval

*Festival de Culturas del Raval* or Raval(s) is a community festival traditionally organized by Tot Raval Association during three or four days in the middle of November. The name stands for an invitation to discover different cultural sides and 'faces' of the neighborhood:

“Raval(s) is an event that is open for participation and collaboration for every individual or institutional actor in our neighborhood, aimed to unveil multiple facets of the cultural life of the neighborhood, at least some of them... With this festival we establish links between local organizations and individuals via organizing of joint cultural activities” (Nuria Paricio, the director of Tot Raval Association, personal interview).

Festival activities are held in numerous venues (both indoor and open-air) and consist of

an extensive program: performances, concerts, workshops, screenings, walks and visits to cultural institutions. These activities are usually accompanied by festival fairs and offers from local stores and residents. By doing that, the festival creates spaces of dialogue and interaction between various cultural actors of the neighborhood by sharing resources and creating common goals, helping to vitalize and promote El Raval both to locals and newcomers (official website of the foundation<sup>19</sup>).

Festival organizers also emphasize that the residents of El Raval are participants and visitors (along with locals from the rest of the city and numerous tourists in the quarter) of the festival activities at the same time, which puts a special accent on the intercultural activities to foster better understanding and build relationships between members of the local community: “*Basically, the only criterion of participation is believing that culture is a catalyst for social transformation, generating dialogue and improve conditions of coexistence here*” (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

Festival activities take place in numerous areas of the district including major cultural centers of MACBA, the Maritime Museum, Gran Teater del Liceu, the Institute Miquel Tarradell, Filmoteca and local art galleries, among others. Many of the activities (concerts, workshops, performances, exhibitions and visiting routes) are organized outdoors, where the main focus is La Rambla del Raval<sup>20</sup> and surrounding streets.

Raval(s) festival originated from a project called ‘Raval Springs’, which emerged in 2002 by the initiative of the Cultural Committee of the Foundation Tot Raval. A year later it transformed into the first edition of Raval(s) festival conducted in October 2003. The festival has been growing year after year considering the number of participating entities, activities and attendees. With the pace of time, the festival has grown from only 5 to over 130 participating organizations, with more than 70 activities organized (with

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<sup>19</sup> <http://totraval.org/ca/projectes/festival-de-cultura-ravals-fet-la-gent-del-barri>

<sup>20</sup> The central walking street of the quarter

approximately 1,000 people involved), attracting more than 4,000 visitors and therefore has established itself as one of the main cultural events of the quarter.

In 2009, in order to expand the foundation's framework and give recognition to all organizations and individuals that are actively involved in community projects, it was decided to create a special committee of Tot Raval friends and protectors, which includes about 80 members.

Arguably, the most important change regarding festival organizational structure occurred in 2013<sup>21</sup>: in this year Raval(s) was transformed from a 'regular' four-day festival, into several series of artistic, cultural and educational events through the whole year that 'culminate' in the final event in November. According to the director of Tot Raval, 2013's edition of the festival contained four parts:

“Under ‘umbrella’ of Raval(s) festival, we organized four events or mini-festivals, two during the summertime and two during autumn. Hence the program is also diversified and apportioned during the year through a series of actions developed at different times and divided by thematic areas, for example one of the summer festivals is devoted to music performed by local bands. Such a division was done due to necessity to change the dynamics, to pay attention to different facets of El Raval and showcase different parts of the cultural life of the quarter during the whole year” (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

With these four events, festival organizers try to group the great diversity of actions that were usually: Performing arts and music (June), the second summer festival in July is devoted to the history and architecture of the neighborhood (July); October's event is dedicated to education and youth and final culminating event celebrates visual arts,

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<sup>21</sup> As an experimental feature of the festival

performances and artistic interventions (November). This change in the structural form of Raval(s) also concerns the level of collaboration with major cultural institutions of El Raval, making collaborative activities “*more precise and intense; with this step we are able to optimize resources and synergies that exist in the neighborhood*” (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

Over 12 years of existence, the festival has significantly increased collaboration between cultural actors in the quarter as well as the number of artistic, cultural and educational activities organized. According to Tot Raval director, “*the direct involvement of individuals, institutions and neighborhood associations working together with the foundation Tot Raval has always been its key value*” (idem). In order to get better understanding of how this value is being formed, next paragraphs explore actors participating in the organization of Raval(s) festival.

### 6.2.1 Tot Raval Foundation

The festival is organized and coordinated by social and cultural foundation Tot Raval, founded in 2002 as a platform of 60 associations, institutions, private organizations and individuals operating or connected to El Raval neighborhood. According to the official website of the foundation,

“The operation is based on the amount of effort and coordinated work in order to optimize the resources of intervention in the area, to participate in the promotion and development of the neighborhood and run programs related to cultural, social and economic spheres” (official website of Tot Raval<sup>22</sup>).

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<sup>22</sup> <http://totraval.org/ca/projectes/festival-de-cultura-ravals-fet-la-gent-del-barri>

Since its inception, the foundation has been funded by City Hall, Generalitat de Catalunya, companies, institutions and private contributions from members who have signed the initial agreement (Foment de Ciutat Vella, the CCCB, MACBA, Liceu, Regesa) and some individual members. Throughout its existence, the subsidies have steadily increased in order to provide the growth of the participation in the project, involvement of more entities and generating community projects like Raval(s) festival (*Participació i Treball En Xarxa Al Raval 2002-2010*, 2011). As stated by Nuria Paricio, the major difficulty is to find funding for activities that involve networking expenditure and staff (promotion and coordination of committees, working groups, patronage, support for neighborhood projects, etc.) since these projects are usually the most complex and resource-consuming (personal interview).

A common goal of all Tot Raval members is to improve the quality of life and to foster a sense of neighborhood and social cohesion in Raval through networking and cooperation between different actors of the area (the associations, companies, institutions, public administrations and individuals). The ever-growing scale of Tot Raval, heterogeneity of its members and broadness of its activities makes the foundation a unique social and cultural organization in the quarter. Indeed, unlike most of the foundations that usually operate in one specific field, Tot Raval has within itself entities working in cultural, social and economic fields. Cultural and artistic fields emphasize community revitalization and social cohesion in El Raval through cultural activities, constant support of existing cultural initiatives and strengthening the relationship between cultural centers and local residents. Organization of Raval(s) Festival falls into cultural domain of Tot Raval activities. Social field focuses on education and social cohesion, the use of public spaces, collaboration and participation. Economic domain concerns commercial revitalization of the neighborhood, promotion of trade associations as well as data collection and analysis with special focus on involvement of immigrant merchants in local trade associations. Another aim of economic domain is to improve employment in El Raval by linking



commercial organizations and employment offices. Besides that, additional goal of the foundation is to promote local activities and generate positive news of the neighborhood. For this reason, Tot Raval has several media channels, such as websites, monthly advertising space in online resources and local newspapers. According to the director of the foundation, Tot Raval's strategic priority lines are defined collectively in general meetings and workshops with representatives of all members and affiliated organizations (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

Such broad fields of Tot Raval activities and participating members condition its complicated structure that consists of four main decision-making and participative layers. The first one, General Board of Tot Raval (Patronat de Tot Raval) is comprised of 53 foundation members and have meetings twice a year to approve the activities plan and the organization's budget. The second layer consists of Tot Raval Friends and Protectors that include 83 organizations, institutions, companies or individuals, that are not members of Tot Raval, albeit actively participating in the community projects of the neighborhood. The third layer is Tot Raval Council (Junta), which meets every two months to keep track of the Foundation's projects and implement proposed changes in strategic analysis. It includes about 15 representatives of the foundation's members. Finally, the fourth layer is comprised of Working Groups (Grups de treball) that are focused on specific projects and objectives. In total there are 12 working groups, where one is dedicated specifically to Raval(s) festival. According to an official report of Tot Raval (*Participació i Treball En Xarxa Al Raval 2002-2010*, 2011), there are 96 organizations, institutions, and individuals involved directly in Raval(s) festival working group making it the largest single project of the foundation. According to the foundation's director, Festival de Cultura Raval(s) is the most important part of the cultural activity of Tot Raval with 135 organizations participated during the 2013 edition, “*being an entry door for cooperation for all the big and small cultural entities located in El Raval*” (Nuria Paricio, personal interview). The festival is organized with the general understanding of

its founders that networking and generating synergies between institutions positively affect their visitors and local residents.

As stated by Nuria Paricio, “*Usually we start to prepare the festivals 5-6 months in advance, however, since the switch to the 4-parted structure of the festival these meetings take place throughout the year*” (personal interview). Being the initiator, main organizer and coordinator of the festival, the foundation is responsible for bringing together all activities related to the festival. According to Nuria Paricio, the main tasks include constant cooperation with activities' organizers, support of festival partners, coordination of festival programs, advertising and public relations (personal interview). Tot Raval is also responsible for finding funding sources: Tot Raval is applying for support through various channels such as public grants, private sponsorship and contributions from the foundation's members, partners and friends. Despite the difficulties related to the financial crisis, the General Board managed to find resources and new ways of financing, particularly through private sources (idem).

Arguably, the major role in the festival organization process is played by the foundation; however, as Raval(s) festival is a set of smaller events and activities held in specific cultural venues and spaces, a significant share of organizational responsibilities belongs to other stakeholders, namely cultural public institutions and small art groups.

## 6.2.2 Other Stakeholders

The variance of organizing stakeholders of Raval(s) is exceptionally broad, however, in order to keep precise focus on the cultural role of the festival regarding the topic of the present research (festivalization process in the context of a creative city), this section is devoted primarily to those organizers related to contemporary art: cultural institutions and small art groups, galleries, artist associations and creative spaces. Moreover, since their responsibilities in the festival organization process often coincide (albeit on a different scale), they are reviewed in a single section of 'other stakeholders'.

Cultural institutions stood at the origins of Tot Raval Foundation itself in 2002: institutions like the CCCB and MACBA are major constituents of the foundation in the cultural sphere, their representatives are members of general board, the foundation's committee and working groups and therefore are important co-producers of Raval(s) festival. According to Manel Lopez (cultural activities officer at the CCCB, personal interview), usually, festival activities of these institutions are related to audiovisual arts, exhibitions, music events and workshops located on the territory of these institutions (Manel Lopez, personal interview). For example, Filmoteca de Catalunya together with Tot Raval organize screenings, “Del Raval al Raval” specifically dedicated to movies that were either shot in El Raval or have some relation or images of the quarter. Besides that, regular (non-festival) activities like celebration of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CCCB are often included in the festival's leaflets as 'additional activities' and therefore “putting Raval(s) into the general cultural context of the quarter” (ibid).

Cultural public institutions usually provide financial support to the festival: according to the director of Tot Raval, annually the CCCB and MACBA give several thousand euros to the festival (Nuria Paricio, personal interview). Such a support is also complemented by financing from the side of other public bodies, for example Generalitat de Catalunya

devoted about 10,000 euros for the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Raval(s) festival (Financial report of Generalitat). Being comparatively large institutions (especially on a scale of the quarter), cultural public institutions of El Raval also have the possibility to provide human resources (organizational and technical) to different cultural projects of the foundation, including the Raval(s) festival.

The second group of organizers that should be considered in this section consists of small art groups, galleries, artist associations and creative spaces that constitute a significant part of the total number of Raval(s) organizers. Organizational role of one of these groups, namely art association and creative space “Arco de la Virgen” is discussed in the next paragraphs.

The nonprofit cultural association and creative space "Arco de la Virgen", founded in 2009, is a meeting place for the neighborhood's artists and event venue related to various kinds of artistic disciplines: live music, book presentations, photography exhibitions and poetry readings, trying to become a space of communication between artists, curators and neighbors. Albeit its general goal is rather similar to the one of Tot Raval, it has certain specificity: prioritizing horizontal networking between its members. According to Sergio Marcovich, the general manager of the association,

“The main challenge was to build an artistic community around our space... Many artists here are leading lonely lives, being absolutely introspective or having their micro-circles of two or three close friends. So, we want to become a place to establish close connections between artists, locals or whoever interested in art” (personal interview).

Indeed, as it follows from the rapidly growing number of members, such an idea is highly sought in El Raval.

During the recent editions, the association has organized several activities for Raval(s) festival: "poetic brothel on the street" ("el Prostíbulo Poético en la calle"), provocative poetry reading sessions accompanied by music and singing performances; special screenings of L'Alternativa Festival with about 10 short films from the selection of l'Alternativa Exchanges; El Rastro de la Virgen, a second-hand fair of artistically recycled pieces. Besides that, "El Arco de la Virgen" together with six other local organizations of El Raval manage *Ruta de Cultura 'ravalera'*, a project of 'open doors' for the time of the festival that aims is to spread the creativity and to raise awareness of the arts scene that exists throughout the year in the neighborhood.

In regards to the festival organization process, the association is responsible for provision of artistic content, partial funding (usually there is certain help from either Tot Raval or private sponsors) as well as local promotion activities. All the technical responsibilities also fully belong to the association: "We help to set up a room or any other space for the event, like bringing decorations, setting up scene and music, beamers, instruments and so on" (Sergio Marcovich, personal interview).

### 6.2.3 Stakeholders overview

As it follows from the provided above stakeholders' exploration, the festival has three main organizers: Tot Raval Foundation, public cultural institutions and local artists. The initiator and main coordinator of Raval(s) is Tot Raval foundation that has a highly elaborated structure with regular and frequent meetings on different levels of organization. According to the interviews and official documents, its responsibilities include bringing together members of the foundation, strategic planning, constant

cooperation with other festival organizers, coordination of festival programs, advertising as well as finding funding sources through various channels such as public grants, private sponsorship and contributions from the foundation's members, partners and friends. Within organizational framework provided by Getz et al. (2007), Tot Raval is identifiable as a key internal stakeholder of the festival.

As in case of l'Alternativa, regulatory role of local government comes down to direct and vicarious support operating through numerous cultural public institutions involved, such as Filmoteca, the CCCB, MACBA, Maritime Museum, etc., which can be regarded as facilitators of Tot Raval. Moreover, considering significant share of resources (practical organization, provision of personnel, artistic content, partial funding and promotion) provided by local artists (art groups and associations) it is possible to refer them to 'co-producers' of the festival.

In terms of stakeholders' interrelationship, due to an exceptionally high number of stakeholders involved and a very complex and elaborated structure of the festival organization process, Raval(s) identity has a pronounced collaborative nature. This feature, along with a broad network of Tot Raval members and allies preconditioned a deep 'embedding' of Raval(s) into the cultural life of the neighborhood, which manifests itself in numerous local actors participating in the festival.

### 6.3 Lapsus Festival

Lapsus festival is a two-day music event based in the CCCB. The festival was founded in 2014 by *Lapsus Arts* SL as a project devoted to avant-garde visual arts and cutting-edge electronic music. The festival has a balanced line-up consisting of local, national and international musicians and audiovisual artists. According to Albert Salinas, co-director of Lapsus Arts, the festival aims to find its own niche in already highly intense Barcelona's electronic music agenda:

“It is hard to stand out from other music festivals here, since a lot is going on here in terms of electronic music and most of these things are of great quality. A growing demand interested in this type of sound. Each festival city has a very strong personality, and each has a well-defined area of action, which we only complement each other. As we are more focused on non-commercial stuff, independent labels, experimentation and research, we want to operate as a search and promotion engine for innovative artistic proposals” (personal interview).

It is fair to say that such an approach turned out to be quite successful. The first editions of the festival (of 2014 and 2015) definitely did not go unnoticed: tickets were sold out days before starting the events, a short documentary dedicated to the first edition of Lapsus festival was selected to the official program of *In-Edit* film festival and highly positive press that the festival received during the year between its first editions (articles about the festival appeared in *Wired*, *Spin*, *Resident Advisor*, *The New York Times* and *Pitchfork* among other magazines and newspapers). Such an international recognition is rather unusual for a small event like Lapsus with only about 800 attendees of its first edition. A small number of visitors is preconditioned by peculiarities of the festival venue, Sala Teatre of the CCCB, which cannot host more than 500 people at a time. Such a small scale of the festival is one of its core specifications that goes in line with organizers'

priorities: as it was emphasized by Albert Salinas,

“One of the main aims of this cultural event is to provide a comfortable experience for the visitor through limited capacity [of the festival]. We want to ensure that the experience of live music is optimal for listening and viewing. So, our aim was to make an uncrowded space with comfortable surroundings, a single, but well-organized stage and choicely adjusted artistic program” (personal interview).

There were several small organizational differences between the first and the second editions. For example, a short opening day that had been used for introduction was removed from the program in order to intensify the schedule. Due to the success of the first editions, the festival is going to continue its development at the same venue.

### 6.3.1 Festival Organizers

Due to the small scale of the event and a single venue where it is held, the list of Lapsus organizers consists of only two positions: Lapsus Arts SL and the CCCB.

Lapsus Arts is a private company established in 2004 by three avant-garde music enthusiasts (Albert Salinas, Carles Guajardo and Albert Miralles) as a multidisciplinary artistic platform and within ten years of existence has developed three areas of complementary activities: *Lapsus Radio* (a program on Radio 3 at Radio Nacional de España (RNE)); *Lapsus Records*, an independent record label, devoted to electronic music and *Lapsus Festival* at the CCCB. These branches are operating through three different periods: the radio program is a weekly event; the record label releases new pieces every three months, and the festival is organized annually. The festival was timed to coincide with the tenth anniversary of Lapsus project:



“We wanted to do something special and after some time, efforts and negotiations it took the form of a festival being held in a unique setting of the CCCB Teatre. In the beginning we were not sure about whether it is possible to continue it next years, but in view of the reaction that we received after the first edition we decided to continue” (Albert Salinas, personal interview).

However, the festival was founded not only as a celebration party (otherwise it would be just a 'celebration event' rather than a 'festival'), but as consolidating artistic platform around different branches of Lapsus Arts. Therefore, the festival program directly depends on Lapsus and partly composed of musicians related to Lapsus Records and Radio:

“Our projects interact with each other all the time. In fact, Lapsus Radio itself is a small festival every week, since for each program we arrange interviews and live performances [...] that allow us to get in direct contact with senior representatives of national and international electronic scene. This helps us to be very up to date with what happens week after week in the field of electronic music. This constant generation of content ends up naturally affecting other two areas of activity” (Albert Salinas).

Lapsus Arts structure consists of six different teams: apart of three co-directors mentioned above, there are two artistic directors, technic production team responsible for constructing the visuals and general technical support for the festival, artistic production team in charge of communication with the artists, public relations team (websites, emails, social networks) and graphic team responsible for design. In total there are eight persons actively involved in the company's activities (some responsibilities belong to the same people), however, during the festival this number grows up to about

50 including personnel of the CCCB (about 20 people working on the festival).

Organization-wise Lapsus Arts, besides forming the lineup and communication with artists, is responsible for finding financial support (total budget is about 70-80 thousand euros), where the main input comes from Lapsus own funds and private sponsors. About 15 per cent of the total festival budget comes from the second co-organizer, the CCCB. Besides financial support the center is responsible for providing festival venue, organizational and technical support for the festival.

As stated by Albert Salinas, the whole process of negotiation with the center took about a year and a half, which ended up with active support from the CCCB: “as we explained our idea of the festival, they were really happy with it and without their partnership I doubt that the festival would be able to take place. For us it is an honor to organize a festival there” (personal interview). As explained by Manel Lopez, Lapsus festival was highly suitable for the center due to its focus on avant-garde electronic scene since the most prominent festival related to this field, Sónar, changed its venue from the CCCB to Fira Barcelona. Not being a direct substitution for Sónar due to certain reasons (their scale, budget, acknowledgment, etc. belong to completely different leagues), Lapsus with its first editions coped to fill the vacant niche of popular electronic music event at the CCCB, being presented as one of the celebration activities for the center's twentieth anniversary.

### 6.3.2 Stakeholder overview

As it follows from the description of the festival's stakeholders, organizational structure of Lapsus is rather simple: there are only two main organizers, Lapsus Arts and the CCCB that share responsibilities of festival management and development. The first entity is the initiator of the festival and also a contributor of solid financial and human resources, organizing communication with artists and sponsors and forming the artistic 'contents' of the festival. The CCCB is responsible for financial, organizational and technical ways of supporting Lapsus festival, not to mention providing the festival venue. In terms of classification proposed by Getz et al. (2007), both organizers fall into 'coproducer' category. At the same time, the representatives of Lapsus Arts and the CCCB emphasize close collaborative relationship between these two organizations, especially one or two months before the event. According to Albert Salinas, the organizational process does not comprise any conflicts of interests due to a small number of stakeholders: "The general idea was not to have a big team. Less people – less problems" (personal interview). Such an approach has its strengths (small number of stakeholders and relative easiness of collaboration) and weaknesses (over-reliance on one partner and absence of alternative choices), however, taking into account a plethora of similar CCCB-based festivals it is possible to assume that this model is quite sustainable.

## 6.4 48 Hours Neukölln Festival

"48 Hours Neukölln" (or „48 Stunden Neukölln” in German) festival was briefly discussed in context analysis of northern Neukölln in the previous chapter due to its prominent role for cultural development and festival movement of Neukölln. As it was discussed before, during the 1990s Neukölln neighborhood faced deep social crisis that determined strong negative image of the area. Established in 1999 by social non-profit cultural association *Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln*, the festival was a reaction on two main issues: municipal cuts of cultural budget of the area and establishing of a strong negative image of the neighborhood, which was introduced to a wide audience by Peter Wensierski in his critical piece in *Spiegel* called ‘Endstation Neukölln’ (1997), where the cultural and economic situation was described as being in the poorest condition in whole Germany due to the very high rate of unemployment crime (Normann, 2015). As stated by Martin Steffens, the head of *Kulturnetzwerk*, the reason of founding the festival was that responsible people from the cultural field found that media tends to emphasize negative sides of the quarter while neglecting the innovative and creative sides of Neukölln.

It stands to reason that in the 1990s the neighborhood strived to overcome the isolation (both in social and cultural ways) and to enliven surrounding urban space, at least on temporal basis. In such a manner, organizing a showcase festival, demonstrating solid artistic potential and diversity of northern Neukölln was regarded as one of the best possible ways to change the situation in the quarter. Although the focus of 48 Hours Neukölln is on the visual arts, the festival is also a platform for all branches of artistic creativity, where the diversity of artistic expression is an asset. During the festival one can encounter various exhibitions, performances, concerts, installations in public spaces, temporary and permanent galleries, theaters and other activities across the whole quarter, usually presented by local artists. Commonly festival venues include both public and private spaces like streets, parks, backyards, gardens, roofs and even basements.

In order to awaken the interest of local residents, visitors and media to know more about the neighborhood and participate in the social and cultural processes going on in the area, 48 Hours Neukölln aimed to create a *forum* for residents, artists and visitors to experience local environment in an uncommon way: to grant visitors access to places that they did not know previously, to uncover the hidden spots and corners of northern Neukölln through artistic presentations (Normann, 2015).

Established by initiative of Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln, e.V. in June of 1999, the festival was originally thought of as a *weeklong* event devoted to the cultural and artistic life of the neighborhood. However the same year the conception was converted into more condensed one, which turned festival to be limited to 48 hours in a row. Moreover, this format also gave a new remarkable characteristic and a catchy name to the event.

The form of the festival turned out to be highly appropriate to the stated objectives due to its ability to concentrate and imbue strictly limited short period of time and thus address well-established image of northern Neukölln as deeply deprived area. Instead of this image festival organizers proposed an alternative vision of the territory: the quarter as one of the centers of cultural life of the city. Such a vision in 1999 seemed to be too ambitious, however, during the recent years it turned to be rather dominating, which is confirmed by the influx of so-called 'creative class' representatives. Interestingly, they are coming not to just have fun and spend free time, but rather to stay, live and work. Noteworthy, the first annual festival theme introduced in 2013 was named 'A Change of Perspective' and arguably Berliners' perspectives on Neukölln were finally changed (in no small measure by these fourteen years of 48 Hours festival development).

Starting with only 25 venues and about one hundred events during the first edition of the festival in 1999, the number of participating artists, venues, events and partners

increased steadily. Since 2001, in order to ensure quality of festival content and to sharpen the focus of the presented art works, organizers introduced evaluation juries and self-curated events. In 2004 the festival area was strictly limited to the quarter borders of northern Neukölln, which helped to increase the density not only in terms of time, but also in terms of space. At the same time organizers proposed more decentralized distribution of festival venues in order to ensure the involvement of all neighborhood areas. In 2005, so-called 'Kunstfilialen' ('Art Branches') were established in order to establish and develop connections between local artists in all areas of Neukölln. Such a reorganization helped to sustain the improvement of cultural infrastructure as the network concept has been further strengthened. The art branch offices act as an important interface between the artists themselves and ensure that the resident in clusters know each other learn and form lasting networks. In addition, they ensure the cultural structure of the individual neighborhoods work out more than was previously possible. In total there are eight Art Branches (Schillerkiez, Flughafenkiez, Körnerkiez, Reuterkiez, Donau-Nord, Anderswo, Richardplatz and Passage). The number of these art branches is not static: due to the high density of events in the area between Hermannplatz, Karl-Marx-Strasse, Sonnenallee and Erkstrasse in 2012 one extra art branch was added - Kunstfiliale Donau-Nord. In the year of 2008 largest scale with 300 venues with more than 800 individual events presented with more than 50,000 guests visited the festival over a weekend, as many as never before (Strauss, 2010). However, as it was discussed in the previous chapter, 48 Hours Neukölln Festival became too massive for its organizational structure and in 2010 the decision was made that the scale of the festival needs to be reduced in order to provide higher quality of presented artworks: *"we want a smaller and a better festival, better in terms of art and quality. It was a question of priorities, and the main priority is provision of quality of art to show"* (Bettina Busse, project manager of the Department of Culture of Neukölln and a member of 48 Hours festival jury, personal interview). Besides that, since 2013, the festival includes a mandatory annual theme in order to sharpen the profile of the festival.

Nowadays 48 Hours Neukölln along with Festival of Cultures and Berlinale is one of the largest festivals in the city: it is an internationally acclaimed art and cultural 'showcase' of the neighborhood, representing a successful model of community-based arts event. As we can see, with its development and growth, the festival gradually gathered new stakeholders and developed its organizational structure. Following paragraphs delve into the background and operational roles of the festival's organizers: Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln, Art Branches, local Department of Culture and other stakeholders.

#### 6.4.1 Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln e.V.

The initiator of the festival, cultural association *Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln e.V.*, was established in 1995 in the wake of massive budget cuts in the cultural sector of the district, as a measure of funding and networking strategy for local cultural workers with the idea to show the potential of cultural and ethnic diversity of the area and thus to improve tarnished reputation of the area (Martin Steffens, personal interview).

In order to provide Neukölln's cultural production with needed personnel resources and at the same time to help local unemployed people to find at least a temporary job, Kulturnetzwerk actively cooperated with the Job Center of Neukölln and social employment services of Berlin (e.g., Förderband Kulturinitiative).

In total, the organization employs about 100 workers, where only 7 persons have permanent positions as management crew. The association is responsible for creating and managing a network of local cultural and art institutions, projects and actors of Neukölln. Its 40 members include both small local art projects and large institutions well known far beyond the district border (for example, the Neukölln Opera or *Werkstatt der Kulturen*), representing the whole spectrum of cultural diversity of Neukölln. At the same time, the

main goal of members like the Neuköllner Cultural Association (*Neuköllner Kulturverein e.V.*) and Friends of Neukölln (*Freunde Neuköllns e.V.*) is to widely promote local arts and culture<sup>23</sup>. However, Kulturnetzwerk is not limited to solely cultural organizations, but also includes local educational and social organizations (e.g., VHS Neukölln, BIGHELP e.V.). The common goal of Kulturnetzwerk members is "*to maintain cultural life contrary to all cuts in public budgets and to keep social and cultural actors of the district in an intensive exchange of ideas and activities*" (Normann 2009, p. 241). The association is being managed by Central Committee ('Steuerungsrunde') consisting of representatives of Kulturnetzwerk members.

Kulturnetzwerk is constantly developing and participating in various cultural projects. However the main activity is the festival (Martin Steffens, personal interview). Being the initiator and main organizer of the festival, the association brings together all activities related to the festival. According to Steffens, the main tasks include support of festival partners, coordination of its programs, advertising, public relations as well as development of thematic priorities. Kulturnetzwerk is also responsible for finding new funding sources and providing the festival with necessary personnel. Large art projects like 48 Hours festival require a lot of funding to be organized. Kulturnetzwerk is applying for support through various funding agencies such as the Sociocultural fund (Fonds Soziokultur), Lottery Foundation of Berlin (Lottostiftung des Landes Berlin), Youth and Family Foundation (Jugend- und Familienstiftung Berlin). Finally, Kulturnetzwerk is responsible for finding and cooperation with sponsors (commonly representatives of the local economy), private supporters and media partners. However, usually artists are responsible for the provision of funding and realization of their projects themselves.

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.kulturnetzwerk.de/mitglieder.html>



#### 6.4.2 Art Branches and Local Artists

Besides being a platform for visitors, the festival also became a platform for communication and cooperation for local artists, venues and cultural entrepreneurs. “From the very beginning cultural initiatives belong to independent artists. We organized Art Branches as a place for artists to meet and to talk in every neighborhood” (Martin Steffens, personal interview). The art branches became a permanent part of festival organizational structure since 2005, functioning as coordinating centers between artists of eight designated areas that help organizers to cope with significantly grown workload and encourages artists to get involved into the festival organization process (Scholl, 2012). In addition to being a ‘pillar’ of the basic structure of the festival, art branches “acted as a platform for networking in particular to increase awareness of artists, activists and other local residents of what is going on in Neukölln... To establish and strengthen their connections between each other more sustainably. And of course, supporting horizontal connections” (Jason Benedict, the head of Kornerkiez art branch, personal interview). Art branches were created as independent organizational structures comprised of local networks of various artists' groups and communities, which give them more sustainability. According to Vince van Geffen, a participant artist of 48 Hours Neukölln, it is important to scale down the size of collaborative networks in order to evoke a response from every person interested in cooperation (personal interview).

On the practical side, art branches are responsible for publication of promotional materials and information points designed to facilitate visitors' experience of the festival and orientation in specific areas of northern Neukölln. The art branches also tend to be distinguishable one from another: each year they select their specific self-designed themes and features. Besides that, art branches are supposed to organize “networking meetings” at most prominent steps of festival preparation process. However the number and dates of such meetings vary from one area to another. But the schedule is

incorporated into a more general one: there are three meeting rounds at different levels. The first set of meetings, 'big rounds' is organized monthly for participating artists and companies in order to keep abreast of the festival progress and general issues. The second one is a 'control round', where representatives of Kulturnetzwerk, cultural institutions of Neukölln and artists together create long-term planning and where important decision-making process happens. And finally, the third main set of rounds is the 'art-branch Round' that gathers the leaders of all the art branches in order to clarify coordinating issues and priorities<sup>24</sup>. As it is possible to see, it is necessary for representatives of local artists and art-branches to participate in all three major meeting rounds, not to mention smaller and more practice-oriented gatherings.

Furthermore, participating artists, their cultural places, galleries, project spaces and shops are hosts and organizers of the festival. Each year, besides providing contents and meaning of 48 Hours, namely its artworks, they also provide spaces for the festival. Some of art branches like Kornerkiez also incorporate art galleries tours into festival fabric (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

Kulturnetzwerk as well as the Department of Culture try to financially support local artists and encourage them to participate in the festival, however, with such a large scale of the event and limited amount of financial resources it is impossible to pay for each artwork: "Artists and volunteers often spend their own money to create and present artworks and sometimes artists do not agree to work for free and refuse to participate" (Bettina Busse, project manager of the Department of Culture, personal interview).

Artistic communities can be regarded as the basis of the festival: according to Martin Steffens,

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<sup>24</sup> <https://48-stunden-neukoelln.de/de/page/leitbild>

The festival exists mainly because of the creative commitment of those involved. In total there are over 1000 persons involved into the festival organization: artists, supporters and staff that works behind the scenes. But mainly artists... before there were institutions that took solid part in the festival, but since 2006 we have rapidly growing scene that is responsible for festival growth. First, we were asking people from outside of Neukölln to take part in the festival [...], we invited quite a lot of artists to join Neukölln, to bring their activities here. I think since 2006 Neukölln started to be totally different, because of the strong art scene that was established here” (personal interview).

#### 6.4.3 Department of Culture of Neukölln

The Department of Culture (Fachbereich Kultur Bezirksamt Neukölln) is one of the most important partners of both the festival and Kulturnetzwerk association in terms of financing and activities coordination. According to Martin Steffens

“[Kulturnetzwerk] has significant financial support from the district. But it is not so much, only 20,000 euros... Which is about 25 percent of our total budget, that is 80000 thousands in total and it highly depends on the general financial situation in the quarter and the city as a whole. Their support relates to our organizational, coordinative and promotional activities, opening ceremonies and technical equipment and also simplifies our relations with the job center. And, of course, the department of culture takes political measures related to the cultural development of the district” (personal interview).

As stated by Katharina Bieler, the head of the Department of Culture, the festival is on the

list of prioritized projects. Indeed, in comparison to other cultural events, 48 Hours has the largest amount of financial and promotional support from the side of the Department, which is conditioned by the size of the festival and its social and cultural importance for the quarter.

Moreover, the festival's jury consisting of 5-6 persons from Kulturnetzwerk, Art Branches and representatives of the independent scene also includes a representative of the cultural department. The festival organization process includes carrying out meetings and discussion sessions on general and practical issues. Usually there are about 10 general meetings during the year.

Besides taking part in festival organization, the Department of Culture of Neukölln publishes analytical studies such as the "Cultural Development Plan 2009" and organizes its own events such as the workshop called "Culture and the Creative industries in Neukölln" (Bezirksamt Neukölln von Berlin, 2011) in order to address the importance of art and culture. At the same time, some analysts emphasize the lack of an actual political strategy for promoting art and culture not just as an important economic factor, but also as a driver for social cohesion (Scholl, 2012).

#### 6.4.4 Stakeholders overview

All things considered, nowadays the festival is the largest platform for cooperation between different actors in the neighborhood, which would not be possible without organizers' initiative to change the neighborhood.

As it follows from the previous sections, 48 Hours Neukölln has a complex and highly elaborated organizational structure comprised of three main elements: Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln, local artists and Art Branches and the Department of Culture of Neukölln

district. Regarding the organizational structure, we can identify Kulturnetzwerk e.V. as an initiator, which provides support and resources and coordinates local actors who organize particular performances. Local art-branches and artists themselves can be classified as ‘*co-producers*’. Besides that, significant support is being provided by the cultural department of the city hall operating in the neighborhood, which can be regarded as a “*facilitator and regulator*”. Regarding the categorization of festivals by ownership, 48 Hours is rather not-for-profit event.

Since there are several actors taking part in the festival organization process with high density of meetings and discussions throughout the year, the festival can be considered as one with a high level of cooperation between its stakeholders. One of the main perceived strengths of the festival is deep rootedness into local cultural and social lives, where constant and active contribution of time and human resources into community development gives sustainability to the festival structure and its further development.

### 6.5 Nachtundnebel Festival

Nachtundnebel (“Night and fog” in German) festival is a six-day art and culture event in November established in 2002 by non-profit association Schillerpalais e.V. The festival is aimed at discovering the diversity of artistic life in northern Neukölln during the nighttime by organizing special art-tours and walks around the neighborhood, when visitors are offered the opportunity to discover the latest works of local art scene. Usually, these tours include about one hundred locations (including galleries, basements, workshops and private spaces) and are used to expose the creation and presentation process on the spot. The selection of art types is rather wide and includes painting, sculpture, multimedia installations, readings, performances and live music. Since the festival does not have any jury, it operates on a non-competitive basis. The only festival-

related competition is an annual design contest for promotional materials and event's webpage, where the winner is chosen by the Board of Schillerpalais and festival sponsors.

Due to close cooperation with social services, another focus of the festival is providing possibilities for artists and visitors with special needs to participate in the festival and to be included into artistic communication. As a matter of practice, this means providing festival venues with access infrastructure, printing promotional materials for blind people and active collaboration with associations of people with special needs.

Being the second-largest festival in the area with about 10,000 visitors, Nachtundnebel is often compared to the most popular event in the quarter, 48 Hours Neukölln. Indeed, Nachtundnebel Festival was founded three years later after the first edition of 48 Hours and applies a lot of features of the latter. First, according to the curator of Schillerpalais, Klaus Eichner, one of the festival missions includes vitalization of local cultural agenda in autumn in the same way as 48 Hours vitalizes the beginning of Summer in the neighborhood:

“Since 48 Hours festival already existed in 2002, we decided to make a similar festival in November, one of the most gloomy and dark months here to show that there is so much hidden artistic energy. During the long and dark night, we open the doors and windows, so the light comes out to the streets” (personal interview).

Other missions of Nachtundnebel are also similar to those of 48 Hours: area promotion, facilitating of networking and connections between artists (*ibid*). Secondly, as a matter of pursuing the objective of Neukölln promotion, a significant part of Nachtundnebel's activities consists of a large number of open-door events and frequent gallery tours, in a similar vein to 48 Hours. Thirdly, another common peculiarity is a very broad variance of art types (from paintings to theater and music), which implies that both festivals share

significant part of participating artists. Finally, organizers of both festivals use alike festival organization structures, where social and cultural nonprofit association acts as main coordinator, a significant amount of resources is devoted by local artists and where close collaboration with public bodies (both social and cultural) takes place (or at least took place until 2012).

With the success of both festivals for multiple editions, such an organizational model proved to be rather sustainable. However, there are certain differences between organizational structures of these festivals: the proportions of stakeholders' participation vary a lot as well as *Nachtundnebel* is missing the network of Art Branches – a specific feature of 48 Hours festival.

During twelve years of existence, the festival has grown from “*the event that was organized for the crew of Schillerpalais*” that *Nachtundnebel* was in 2002 to a festival with almost a dozen thousand people and over one hundred participating venues” (Klaus Eichner, personal interview). Undoubtedly, the festival has become one of the noticeable events in the cultural agenda of Berlin; there are visitors from all around the city. However, during the recent years due to economic constraints and organizational issues, the number of venues decreased by 10-15 places. Next paragraphs delve into an analysis of actors responsible for festival development, *Nachtundnebel*'s organizers, and their role in festival activities.

### 6.5.1 Schillerpalais e.V.

The main organizing body of the festival is Schillerpalais e.V. (founded in 2002), which is a non-profit social and cultural association with general aim to promote art and culture in northern Neukölln through regular exhibitions, artistic and cultural events, cultural

education access and artistic processes. The association enables the improvement of communication of living in the neighborhood artists and cultural workers, where *Nachtundnebel* is the only festival organized and the main cultural activity of the organization. Besides being an association, Schillerpalais is also a gallery space and a regular venue for exhibitions, lectures, seminars and screenings. Such a specific role of Schillerpalais as a cultural association and gallery space quickly turned it into a functioning link between cultural and social public bodies and local art scene.

Through its events (and especially the festival), Schillerpalais position as a place of art in northern Neukölln grew during the recent years. However the association is quite small and consists of only 8 people constantly working for it (Klaus Eichner, personal interview). To accomplish its goals, the association used to rely on its own resources, private and public funds. However due to budget optimization of the Department of Culture of Neukölln, for the years of 2012 and 2013 Schillerpalais received no public money, while it used to be about 3,000 euros during previous years (ibid). Therefore, the most part of the festival support (about 10,000 – 12,000 euros in total) comes from the association's funds (mainly from gallery rent), various donations and fund-raising companies. Due to financial constraints, during the recent years the importance of latter activities grew significantly and besides that a small participation fee (about 30 euros) for *Nachtundnebel* artists was introduced. However, many artists do not support such a decision. According to Klaus Eichner, the budget of Schillerpalais is still 'precarious' and planned for about 3 months ahead (personal interview).

By and large, Schillerpalais e.V., being the main festival organizer and coordinator, is responsible for the most part of organizational activities: budget forming, networking activities and promotion campaigns. However, there are certain tight connections with another stakeholder – Förderband.



## 6.5.2 Other Stakeholders

As it was mentioned above, *Nachtundnebel* (similarly to *48 Hours*) besides being an art festival, has a strong social dimension collaborating with unemployment offices to provide unemployed people with temporal works in the cultural sphere. Even though practically all the decision-making process happens within *Schillerpalais* it is necessary to discuss another cultural entity that largely affects festival organization process. Socially and culturally wise, *Schillerpalais* works most closely with another non-profit foundation, *Förderband Kulturinitiative*, which is an additional funding body of the festival. Moreover, *Förderband* representative is one of three co-directors board of *Schillerpalais* and participated in its establishment in 2002.

Founded in 1989 by few east-Berlin artists, *Förderband* focuses on supporting artists and cultural projects by offering advanced education for artists and cultural workers, establishing and supporting new cultural entities, providing cultural employment all over the city (Tanja Strehle, project manager of *Förderband*, personal interview). According to Eva Hubner, project manager of *Förderband* and co-director of *Schillerpalais*, the first intention of *Förderband* was to provide jobs for artists directly, but then the approach was changed:

“We decided that the better way would be to give them the possibility to produce art. That means supporting places where they [artists] can show what they are doing with manpower support. That was the case of *Schillerpalais*. And that is how we help to develop cultural infrastructure of the city; we develop programs supporting free scene and independent projects” (Eva Hubner, personal interview).

As a matter of actual practice, this means that the foundation receives certain number of jobless people from unemployment offices and send distribute them to different cultural

organizations (about 300 in total) all over the city. There are about 10-15 people working in Schillerpalais through this program and for some people it is a part-time job (Klaus Eichner, personal interview). These people have certain organizational training and art education in Förderband, obtaining knowledge on how to organize an event, what kind of techniques are necessary to apply and what organizational measures are needed.

Förderband largely depends on public bodies: its budget is formed of public money (80-90 per cent of the total budget) and donations of other foundations (10-20 per cent). Besides that, the foundation works closely with cultural public bodies:

“Förderband is a member of Council of Art and works together with Senate Council of Labor and Senate Council of Art<sup>25</sup>. We also work quite closely with some of the district administrations, we discuss which local projects need support, which institutions, galleries, art spaces, etc. Cultural administration of Neukölln is among them as well” (Eva Hubner, personal interview).

Therefore, even considering recent cuts of direct support of Neukölln Cultural office, Schillerpalais still receives support from the City Hall in a vicarious manner, through Förderband foundation. Besides that, it is necessary to highlight the role of local cultural office in the establishment of Nachtundnebel Festival, since there was cooperation with the government from the very beginning, otherwise it would not be possible to create a place like Schillerpalais and organize the festival.

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<sup>25</sup> *Senatsverwaltung Arbeits and Senatsverwaltung Kunst*

### 6.5.3 Stakeholders overview

As it follows from the previous sections, the organizational structure of Nachtundnebel is rather straightforward, with only one main organizer (Schillerpalais e.V.), which can be regarded as an internal stakeholder, since it is responsible for providing a major part of resources and organizing the decision-making process. Social association Förderband, providing human resources for the festival, can be considered as a coproducer and supplier.

Being a non-profit association, Schillerpalais highly relied on the direct support of public institutions which eventually put its further development (as well as the development of Nachtundnebel) in jeopardy. Though previously there was cooperation with the government (Bezirksamt Neukölln), in 2012 the support from the city hall was discontinued, which made the budget of the festival 'more precarious' (Klaus Eichner, personal interview).

### 6.6 Boddinale Festival

Boddinale is an independent community film festival entirely dedicated to low- to no-budget films that are usually ignored by commercial movie festivals and cinema theaters. Founded in 2013, the festival is named after the street where it takes place, Boddinstrasse in northern Neukölln. Boddinale takes place at the same running dates as the largest film festival in the city, famous Berlinale film festival, and thus aimed to represent an alternative point of view at the local movie scene and to offer unknown directors an opportunity to show their films to those interested in such an art and thus to find their audiences. It is hard to find any two festivals that would be so drastically different as Berlinale and Boddinale. These two film festivals represent Berlin's cultural life in its two

opposite facets: high-budget mainstream and grassroots independent dimensions, respectively. Even considering drastically different facades of Berlinale and Boddinale, while the former is a mix of limousines, red carpets, shiny suits and evening dresses flooded with flashlights, Boddinale's main location, art space called Loophole, is a small and unshowy three-room art space that is usually crowded with people wearing jeans and sweaters.

Besides that, all screenings during the first edition of Boddinale were free, but later an entrance fee was introduced (5 euros) in order to support artists and provide prizes for the winners. The lack of strong promotion campaign and capacity restrictions of the main venue (about 100 people at a time) results into a limited number of visitors; however, even the first edition attracted over a thousand visitors (according to Zoran Stevanovic, one of the Loophole co-founders, spontaneously organized).

Program-wise, there are only two main rules of participation in Boddinale: movies need to be somehow connected to Berlin (by topic, location or produced by filmmakers from Berlin) and directors need to be present during the festival time since interaction is one of the key concepts of the festival. As stated by Gianluca Baccanico:

“The general rule is that you need to be somehow connected to Berlin. Berlin is a weird and strange city and people usually do not live here for long, not all of them. So, we have a lot of people coming here every two or three months a year. But somehow all the people, local, those who live here for long or those who just pass by, are connected. That is the main story line, a narrative work” (personal interview).

Boddinale program consists of about 100 movies including featurettes, visual art pieces, improvised recordings and feature-length films. The screenings are usually followed by

interviews with directors and several hours of DJ sets. Keeping in mind an interactive focus of the festival, which implies priority of communication over competition, the edition of 2014 also included evaluation jury consisting of several invited Berlin-based artists and five awards (three awards are given by the jury, another one by the team of Loophole and the fifth one is the Community Award given by the audience). As stated by Zoran Stevanovic, the festival tries to be an inclusive, rather than exclusive event:

“We are one hundred per cent independent festival with independent and underground movies, but it is not a super-strict rule. We have a lot of movies from cinema schools, academies and they are independent, but with support (cameras, editing) from the schools. If we would try to strengthen the criteria of 'being independent' we would cut a lot of quality” (personal interview).

Space limitations and festival success that were present during the first edition of Boddinale stirred festival organizers to find additional venues for festival activities: “After the first Boddinale we decided to include more of our creative neighbors on Boddinstraße and beyond, so right now Loophole with other places form together some kind of a 300-seat cinema during the festival” (Gianluca Baccanico, personal interview). For example, the third edition of Boddinale is hosted at Loophole (as the main venue) in cooperation with other local art spaces focused on movies and videoart: Keleidoskop (also located on Boddinstraße) and Kino Movimiento (in Kreuzberg).

Despite collaboration in terms of festival hosting with other art spaces, Loophole stays the only main actor in the organizational process of Boddinale, which is discussed below.

### 6.6.1 Loophole

Loophole is a Neukölln-based art space, studio and collective of artists that offers a year-round program covering a wide range of artistic expressions through various exhibitions and events with main focus on experimental, independent and avant-garde facets of contemporary art. Loophole was founded and managed by a collective of four artists: Jan Gryczan, Gianluca Bacchanico, Zoran Stevanovic and Mattias Turini, who try to create a platform for local artists to gather and exchange their ideas.

Most of the artists with whom we cooperate are either from Berlin or from Neukölln. It is a real community, hundreds of people living in the area. They know us, they come to do stuff with us, sharing ideas and projects. (Gianluca Bacchanico, personal interview).

Being established in 2008 in Friedrichshain, the company faced financial problems due to growing rent prices in the district and just like many of their colleagues found a new (abandoned) space and moved to Neukölln in 2012:

“First, we were running our place in Friedrichshain, a slowly gentrifying neighborhood, a bit faster than Neukölln since it started before. So, we were kicked out since the building we were in was bought and completely sealed. Actually, it was not a specific decision to necessarily move to Neukölln, we were searching for venues everywhere in Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg, but we did not find anything suitable. I was living here [in Neukölln] that time, and another friend of mine also moved here recently, so we decided to take a closer look at Neukölln as well. We did not want to occupy a space that is already well known by the people, we wanted to make something by our own. And this particular space [Boddinstraße 60] was something special so we decided to try it out just for a month and then find out

whether we can make something out of it or not” (Zoran Stevanovic, personal interview).

Indeed, Loophole retraced the same path of many art groups and independent artist from Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg that were looking for a cheaper yet not-so-far location in Berlin to move. Interestingly, forced to change location by financial reasons, the artists chose Neukölln for its arts diversity as well. As stated by Gianluca Baccanico, the group was aware about multiple events, festivals, parties and all the cultural and art ‘stir’ going on in the district: *“above all, there is just amazing artistic community in Neukölln... There are artists from any kind of field having completely different backgrounds, which is very important for us. So finally, the decision was made, and we have never regret about it. Well... so far.”* (Gianluca Baccanico, personal interview).

After the moving, in order to blend into the community, Loophole art group started to actively participate in the cultural life of the quarter, for example, they presented their art pieces during 48 Hours Neukölln and Nachtundnebel Festival. Not to mention the organization of their own events and projects in the fields of music, theater, painting and dance. According to Zoran Stevanovic,

*“many artists in Neukölln are also active in film and video art, but almost all of them are in the underground area and away from the big festival program. Therefore, we thought that we would like to give them a chance to show these works, to make a small community-driven festival. They would probably have no way to ever be shown at the Berlinale and I think that hardly anyone would have thought to register there”* (personal interview).

Finally, in a year it was decided to organize the Boddinale Festival: “In fact it was truly a spontaneous decision, so we did not have much time to prepare. But the results were very surprising, the festival definitely got much attention... Visitors, newspapers, internet issues, cultural agendas, you name it” (Zoran Stevanovic, personal interview). All the promotion for the first edition of the festival included only 5000 printed flyers, a Facebook page and a dedicated website, initial promo materials that managed to start a ‘chain reaction’.

Loophole also has a license to operate as a bar, which, along with donations construe the major share of the budget. The budget of Boddinale is about 1500 euros with practically no financial support from anyone except Loophole itself.

#### 6.6.2 Stakeholders overview

Boddinale festival has the simplest organizational structure among all the festivals in question. All the resources needed for the festival organization, the decision-making process and even the main festival venue belong to the initiator and facilitator of Boddinale - Loophole art group. According to Gianluca Baccanico, festival organizers highly appreciate their independence from any public institutions or any other stakeholders in general:

“Apart of communication with artists and other screening spaces, the only thing where we cooperate with others is our jury. We like our independence. We choose the program, we choose what we like and what we want... maybe it is boring, but it has some special thing inside. It has our identity, a fingerprint... and we put it into



the program” (personal interview).

Therefore, all the communication and decision-making take place within Loophole:

“Loophole is a kind of a ‘base’ for us, where we are brainstorming which direction everyone wants to go. We are all different and sometimes consensus is possible, sometimes not. No one is supposed to do the work that he is not interested in. We know each other for a long time, we always check if it works or it does not” (Zoran Stevanovic, personal interview).

Such autonomy (in financial terms, not social or artistic) allows Loophole and Boddinale to be flexible and ‘mobile’: there is no one to direct or evaluate them besides themselves. However, it is evident that if the festival continues to grow, the appearance of additional stakeholders is inevitable.

## 6.7 Comparing the Festivals

As stakeholder analysis of each festival in question suggests, there are certain differences and similarities between organizing actors and organizational processes in Raval and northern Neukölln. In order to illustrate it in a concise way, a comparative table is presented below.

**Table 6.1** Organizational comparison of the selected festivals.

	<i>El Raval</i>	<i>Neukoelln-Nord</i>
<i>Festival initiators</i>	Festivals initiated by local cultural association (La Fàbrica), non-profit social and cultural foundation (Tot Raval) and a private company (Lapsus Arts).	Festivals initiated by non-profit social and cultural associations (Kulturnetzwerk and Schillerpalais) and a group of independent artists (Loophole).
<i>Organizers</i>	Public cultural institutions (CCCB, Filmoteca), social and cultural foundation (Tot Raval), cultural institution (Fàbrica), local art groups (Arco de la Virgen)	Local artists and art groups (Loophole), social and cultural associations (Kulturnetzwerk, Schillerpalais and Förderband Kulturinitiative), Cultural Department of Neukölln District.
<i>Resources / Way of involvement</i>	Funding is provided by public cultural institutions (the CCCB), festival initiators (Lapsus Arts), donations and private sponsors. Venues are provided by the CCCB (l'Alternativa, Lapsus) and local artists (Arco de la Virgen) Human resources are provided by local artists and public cultural institutions. Promotion is provided by festival initiators (Tot Raval, Lapsus, La Fàbrica) and public cultural institutions (the CCCB, Filmoteca). Organizational support to	Funding is provided by social associations (Kulturnetzwerk, Schillerpalais), local artists (Loophole) and Cultural department of Neukölln. Venues are provided by local artists (48 Hours, Nachtundnebel and Boddinale) Human resources are provided by social associations (Förderband), local artists and employment offices. Promotion is provided by festival initiators (Kulturnetzwerk, Schillerpalais, and Loophole) and cultural department of Neukölln.

	festival facilitators is provided by cultural institutions and local artists.	Organizational support to festival facilitators is provided by social associations (Förderband) and cultural department of Neukölln.
Organizational processes	Festival structures vary from highly complex (Raval(s) festival) to quite simple (Lapsus)	Festival structures vary from highly complex (48 Hours Neukölln) to basic (Boddinale festival).
Inter-organizational collaborations between selected festivals	L'Alternativa organize screenings during Raval(s) festival.	Loophole (alike many of local artists) participate in both 48 Hours and Nachtundnebel festivals.

As it follows from the table 6.1, one specific group of festival initiators in El Raval and northern Neukölln is similar, namely social and cultural associations and foundations. Indeed, two out of three festivals in both quarters are initiated by this group of local actors, which can be explained through strong social orientation (and prominence) of cultural life in these two areas. However, two small-scaled festivals (Lapsus and Boddinale) despite representing a minority in this selection, are in quantitative majority in the selected neighborhoods: whereas in El Raval most of the festivals are initiated by private companies (specific industry-oriented), in northern Neukölln this role belongs to local independent artists and art groups (whether they are registered as private companies or not).

Considering organizing stakeholders of the festivals in question, one can notice a very prominent role of public cultural institutions in El Raval, which in northern Neukölln is substituted (albeit not to the full extent) by involvement of local cultural department. As in case of festival initiators, there is clear similarity in the roles of local artists and social

and cultural associations.

Specificities of resources provision are quite interesting in both cases. Speaking of funding sources, it may be noted that while all three festivals of El Raval enjoy solid financial support from the side of the government and city hall, in Neukölln only 48 Hours festival receives direct support from the department of culture, which is related to the lack of a broad network of public cultural institutions that is present in El Raval. Similar juncture is customary for provision of festival venues: whereas in Neukölln almost all of them are provided by local artists (galleries and art spaces), Raval's festivals actively use those of local cultural institutions, mostly provided by the CCCB.

Speaking of the provision of human resources, Neukölln's social and cultural foundations actively collaborate with Berlin's employment offices and foundations, while in El Raval such a collaboration is not so active (present only in the case of Raval(s) festival) and substituted by cooperation with cultural institutions.

The situation with promotional activities and sources of organizational support to festival facilitators are rather similar: whereas festival promotion is done by main organizers, the main source of organizational support is related to public bodies and institutions.

In consideration of more practical side of organizational processes, one can notice that the older and bigger a festival is (e.g., 48 Hours or l'Alternativa), the more complex its structure: there are more stakeholders involved and discussion meetings occur more frequently. At the same time, two young and relatively small festivals are characterized by quite basic organizational structure.

Finally, it is evident that non-specific festivals, celebrating broad (or even unlimited) number of kinds of contemporary art are more inclusive for various local cultural actors. Thus, such festivals tend to cooperate with as many local actors as possible, which crystallizes into broad networks of stakeholders involved.

Stakeholder analysis indicates that festivals of El Raval and northern Neukölln in their diversity are developing in two different paradigms: while those of El Raval are located between *socio-cultural* and *industrial* spheres of action, Neukölln's festivals act in the space within *socio-cultural* and *independent* scopes.

Missions, goals and organizational structures of El Raval's events are indicative of certain axes of activities, where social roles of cultural events and industry-oriented benefits are located on the opposite sides. Indeed, one of the largest festivals in the area, Raval(s), being organized by social and cultural foundation has a strong character of socially oriented cultural events. At the same time, the largest festival in El Raval, l'Alternativa, is an industry-oriented festival (that focuses on promotion of independent movie scene) with a decent level of social focus as well, mainly through specific workshops, educational programs, screenings and cooperation with social associations like Tot Raval. Finally, Lapsus festival, being organized by a private company is a good example of an event completely devoted to celebration and promotion of one particular field of music industry: electronic music scene. Here Lapsus represents a large number of festivals organized in cooperation with the CCCB, where there are only two main organizing stakeholders, private company and the CCCB itself, promoting different fields of cultural industries: books (Kosmopolis Festival), hip-hop music (Hipnotic Festival), etc.

Analysis of Neukölln's festivals shows rather different situation: local festivals operate on the axis between social benefits of cultural festivals and independent (alternative, underground) scene. Two largest festivals of the area, 48 Hours and Nachtundnebel are organized by social and cultural associations and have a clear orientation on social benefits production through creating (at least temporary) workplaces, providing intercultural social-cohesion effect and focusing on providing access to art for disabled people. At the same time, they promote local independent artists, trying to create and support their communities. One good practical example of a successful community project aimed to establishing closer cooperation between local artists is *art-branches*

project, introduced by 48 Hours festival. The third festival, Boddinale, is organized by an independent art group and represents the interests of local grassroots filmmakers. There are important differences between Boddinale and l'Alternativa: while both festivals have a clear orientation on alternative cinema, their approaches, scales, programs, audiences, budgets and contents differ a lot (Boddinale is characterized by a much smaller scale than l'Alternativa), which preconditions different 'dimensions' of development.

## CHAPTER 7: Festivalizing the Creative City

In the previous chapters, I have discussed contextual framework of the festivalization processes happening in El Raval and northern Neukölln (Chapter V) and what actors take active part in its formation (Chapter VI). In order to understand why and how festivalization is being formed in the creative city context, in this chapter I am taking the next step, bringing the results of content and stakeholder analyses to a more general level by means of content analysis. Content analysis helps to inform motivational and organizational processes, how cooperation between different entities and actors takes place. Besides that, taking into account results of content analysis allows to uncover how stakeholder relations form the internal structures of the selected festivals. I will start with unpacking the incentives and goals of main festival stakeholders identified in the previous chapter to organize cultural events, which is necessary to understand why festivalization is deemed desirable. In other words, this part is focused on explaining why different actors have a necessity in organizing festivals. Specifically, the discussion will be centered on two main aspects. Firstly, I will take a closer look at organizers' goals, interests and missions through analysis of personal interviews and official documents. Therefore, starting with analysis of initiators' motivations to form particular planned events of varying scales and types, I hope to answer why festivalization is being formed on organizational level in El Raval and northern Neukölln. Secondly, I will analyze how these incentives might be compared: in which ways they are similar or opposed, how do they influence and condition stakeholder relations in festivalization process. This analysis implies identification of the peculiarities of stakeholder relations, which are maintained and reproduced by the key actors.

These two areas are discussed in a sequential manner, where concluding parts of both segments of the chapter are devoted to framing festivalization in the creative city context existing in these cultural and creative neighborhoods. The argument will be centered on

specific festivalization models' characteristics of El Raval and northern Neukölln, what traits they possess, what interdependencies exist between creative city and festivalization and how they are related to local creative policies and interests of festival organizers. This will help me to inform general relations between the phenomena of creative city and festivalization as well as unpacking the specificities of their combination. Consequently, in order to understand more fully the complex ways in which festivalization exists in El Raval and northern Neukölln, I will compare key features of these two cases as well as the interference between creative city strategies and festivalization in two neighborhoods, providing an explanation of existing 'creative festivalization' models peculiar to these two areas.

## 7.1 Festival Organization Process in El Raval

### 7.1.1 Unpacking the incentives of the festival initiators

In the previous chapter devoted to stakeholder analysis of the festivals under discussion, I analyzed festival organizers and structural frameworks of the selected planned events. In other words, the discussion was focused on the question of “*by whom* festivalization process is being formed?”. Grounding on the results of stakeholder analysis, this chapter is aimed at answering *why* and how festivalization is being formed in the context of the creative city. Starting with the case of El Raval, the first step in this direction is to understand why festival organizers need festivals, i.e., what aims do festival initiators pursue by establishing these events.

Stakeholder analysis identified five main organizational stakeholders that take part in festivalization process: cultural associations, social associations, private sector, public institutions and local artists. According to the findings, the festivals under consideration



have three initiators: a cultural association (La Fàbrica de Cinema Alternatiu), a social foundation (Tot Raval) and a private company (Lapsus Arts). According to the conducted stakeholder analysis, those entities are internal stakeholders that influence festival programming and decision-making the most; but what is more important in the context of this part, their intentionality plays the initial role in the unfolding of the selected festivals. In what follows, I will get deeper in the missions, goals and incentives of the initiators as the first step of the analysis and of other key stakeholders as the second part of intentionality analysis. These two steps are presented separately due to importance of understanding of triggering pulse of festival organization as an initial stage of festivalization process. As festival initiators are responsible for the very founding of an event, its strategies and programming, their incentives are highly relevant for the analysis of the reasons of festivalization formation in a particular area.

The analysis of data received from festival initiators indicated several main reasons of starting the festivals. In broad terms, these issues cover a spectrum of concerns ranging from those related to local goals such as social cohesion and community support to those related to external issues beyond the interests of local communities like creating an international network of film festivals.

As it was discussed in the previous chapter, the understanding the reasons of festivalization formation highly depends on the goals of the festival organization process and can be analyzed by the exploration of the perspective of the festival initiators and key organizers.

Since festival initiators have to deal with various interests and goals that influence the actual framework of aims to establish and continue a festival, it is possible to argue that festival incentives of an initiator are not homogenous and consist of different types of interests and goals of a parent organization. While in some cases, various incentives of a

festival initiator are clearly distinguishable, in other cases they are combined and complement each other.

The following section presents the results of content analysis aimed at classification of incentives to bring the selected festivals to life in El Raval. As it follows from analysis of the interviews, websites and primary documents (through building a codebase and following classification of marked codes that have direct relation to reasons to organize an event), all incentives of the initiators can be classified in two main groups: *field-oriented and sociocultural goals*.

#### 7.1.1.1 Field-oriented goals: building networks and artist promoting

One of the main sets of goals of art festivals is related to the domain of professional fields, e.g., promotion of specific type of art, bringing together professionals of a certain field, to encourage communication between different entities (artists, art groups, art entrepreneurs, local and foreign institutions, local administration, etc.). This is reflected in the positioning of art festivals as a tool to create and develop specific platforms of meeting, communication and debates on the issues related to art industries, e.g., independent cinema, visual arts, electronic music, etc. Moreover, art and music festivals, playing the role of meeting platforms are often regarded as crucial for the field configuring process, which has become an important focal point of event studies in the recent years (Rüling, 2008; Schüßler et al., 2015). In case of El Raval, field-oriented goals are a highly prominent set of incentives in the interviews of genre-specific festival initiators.

Two out of three festival initiators (La Fàbrica and Lapsus Arts) mentioned field-oriented goals among their primary incentives to establish festivals, which can be explained by industry development priority (and often stated mission) of primarily genre-specific

festivals<sup>26</sup>. However, despite close interrelations, field-oriented goals have rather clear specificities, and each set has its own characteristics that I will discuss in this part.

The results of content analysis identified that the field-oriented goals can be divided into five interrelated groups: networking with professional community; network organization with local institutions; building and sustaining inter-festival networks; supporting internal organizational structure of professional activities; and professional promotional incentives to organize and support the festival.

The first category of field-oriented goals refers to organization and sustaining of professional community networks. L'Alternativa Festival, being the largest film festival in the city, is characterized by the most perceptible and broadly ranged field-orientation goals among three selected planned events in El Raval.

As it was explained in the previous chapter, La Fàbrica de Cinema Alternatiu, the initiator of L'Alternativa, was founded as a response to omnipresent mainstream film institutions and platforms, which often are not interested in supporting alternative and independent film producers (Benavente, 2004). It stands to reason that the goals of the festival and its parent organization are never delineated in official documents, websites or personal interviews. On the contrary, L'Alternativa, being the central project of la Fàbrica, is regarded as a key means to fulfill the goals of its parent association, which have been field-oriented since the very establishment of the festival:

“La Fàbrica de Cinema Alternatiu was founded in September 1992 as a natural reaction against traditional film institutions. It was the initiative of directors, producers and other professionals from the audiovisual sector. [...] La Fàbrica's principal aim is to support and promote innovative film and audiovisual work by

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<sup>26</sup> In case of the selected festivals, l'Alternativa and Lapsus can be considered as genre-specific events. On the opposite, Raval(s) festival is excluded from this festival type due to its focus on a pronounced encompassing approach to artistic forms and sociocultural activities.

creating a necessary space for screening, learning, debate and reflection” (the website of l’Alternativa)<sup>27</sup>.

Within this category, one of the main types of particularly field-oriented goals of la Fàbrica is *network-building*. La Fàbrica’s focus on rather specific film industry type (primarily low budget and independent movies) explains the priority of networking as a major goal of the festival: “*we founded L’Alternativa to find and connect like-minded persons and organizations. And other dedicated festivals, of course*” (Tess Renaudo, personal interview).

As it was stated by Tess Renaudo: “*by making the festival, we organize several activities here [in El Raval], which are to stimulate professional industry. We are trying to create and broaden our network and keep in touch with other professionals*” (idem). Indeed, industry-oriented festivals are usually regarded as an efficient instrument to create links among professionals of certain field, providing opportunities for disparate actors and participants to perceive shared concerns, share information and knowledge, discuss their visions, coordinate efforts, form new or even subvert existing agendas as well as influence specific field settings (Anand and Jones, 2008).

The festival is regarded by its organizers as a tool to create spatial and temporal platform for communication: “*la Fàbrica also helps to set up thought-provoking spaces where film professionals can get together and discuss key issues, as well as offering education and training opportunities in different areas of filmmaking*”<sup>28</sup>. This is indicative of a key role of involvement and interaction between festival participants to provide benefits for the industry according to the views of festival organizers. It also addresses professionals in the cultural and creative industries by bringing major players to Barcelona and offering audiences the opportunity to interact with them (at temporally and spatially bounded

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<sup>27</sup> <https://alternativa.cccb.org/2019/ca/festival/lalternativa/presentacio>

<sup>28</sup> <https://alternativa.cccb.org/2020/en/festival/la-fabrica-de-cinema-alternatiu>

sites) to stimulate the processes of knowledge acquisition, idea generation and sharing, creative exploration and other activities to drive the changes in the industry.

At the same time, network-building incentives of l'Alternativa Festival are highly multifaceted. Within the field of industry professionals, the festival *“provides opportunities for the exploration of the artistic field, trends, concerns... and, of course, invite other professionals into our family, our festival network is absolutely open”* (Christina Riera, personal interview). Indeed, the openness of the festival for field professionals, as a meeting and communication platform is highly valued by the organizers. The festival is characterized by open calls for content and low financial constraints to participate in the festival's program. Such an approach reflects the field priorities of the organizers, highlighting the necessity of giving the stage and access to the audience to a wide range of filmmakers, even those who struggle to find a decent budget for movie production and promotion.

The second category of field-oriented incentives involves networking between local institutions. Due to high density of cultural institutions in El Raval, the festival can be considered as an eligible platform for building and supporting inter-institutional networking.

In case of L'Alternativa, establishing links with a broad range of institutions was one of the main goals of the festival organization, in order to generate possibilities for wider recognition of local creatives. L'Alternativa Festival itself a result of networking and cooperation between local institutions: the CCCB, Filmoteca<sup>29</sup> and Institut Francais (and a broad range of local institutions and projects) and therefore, networking is an inherent

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<sup>29</sup> According to Renaudo (personal interview), Filmoteca is regarded as one of the closest allies of the festival.

part of this event.

Among the festival goals, there is also connection to the area through cooperation and networking with a wide variety of local institutions:

“In the development program we tend to look at how to make a bridge with the neighborhood and the city. We do it through different collaborations with other associations in the neighborhood. Participant video groups, making screenings in cultural associations like Tot Raval” (Tess Renaudo, personal interview).

The answer demonstrates the importance of creating and supporting of inter-institutional networks and communication as well as enrichment of cultural agenda of the area. Though its organizers highlight that the festival is international, it is still a place-based event: “*L’Alternativa seeks movies from those parts of the world usually omitted and thus unknown to Barcelona*” (Tess Renaudo, personal interview).

The *third* category of field-oriented incentives is related to networking with other festivals and is related to the previous type of incentives, involving intensive collaboration on the international level added to strengthening local connections. The festival has expanded its program in 2006, organizing festival activities last throughout the year. These activities are brought into action through building and maintaining of close cooperation network between several festivals of various sizes: “Exchanges with other festivals and ‘L’Alternativa takes a trip’, a traveling program, formed by the selection of films that have participated in the Festival”.<sup>30</sup>

As a matter of practice, such exchanges are conditioned by close collaboration with other institutions on both national and international levels: “*L’Alternativa’s itinerant*

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<sup>30</sup> <https://alternativa.cccb.org/2015/en/festival/la-fabrica-de-cinema-alternatiu>

*programmes have screened in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Mexico, Spain and the USA*".<sup>31</sup>

The prominence of program exchanges is also confirmed by Tess Renaudo: *"It is very important for us that film programs are traveling to other festivals, cultural centers nationally and internationally"* (personal interview).

It is of great importance to highlight that the key incentive behind such cooperation is also a field-oriented incentive, focused on facilitation of the access to a specific kind of cinema:

"Our goal is to increase access to independent films by preparing programmes to be screened in cultural centres, cinemas, festivals, universities and film societies" (the website of l'Alternativa).<sup>32</sup>

These three network-oriented sets of goals highlight pronounced openness of La Fàbrica, its close relationships with cinema industry professionals, local cultural institutions as well as other festivals. Such orientation on building and sustaining of professional networks is seen as a factor for festival operation stability, its 'ability to survive' (Christina Riera, personal interview), maintaining the festival's role in the field of professional communication. As it can be seen from the diversity of the field-oriented goals of the festival, it is indeed the major set of incentives for La Fàbrica.

The fourth category of main incentives of festival organization refers to supporting internal organizational structure of professional activities. As it was explained in the beginning of this section, the initiator's priorities to organize a festival stem from the main focus of the parent organization and thus define major goal of particular festival establishment, as it is in the case of Lapsus festival<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> <http://alternativa.cccb.org/deviaje/es/>

<sup>32</sup> <http://alternativa.cccb.org/deviaje/es/>

<sup>33</sup> Due to the confinement, the last edition of the festival was organized in 2019.

Taking into account the complex structure of the festival initiator (Lapsus Arts), which operates within the field of electronic music not only by means of the festival, but also a record label and a radio program, the festival is not the only activity organized by the company, yet a prominent part of the structure: *“we want to support our activities with Lapsus festival. We thought how can we combine our activities and develop them, we decided to start our own festival”* (Albert Salinas, personal interview). Similar vision on company structure is also reflected on the website of Lapsus: *“Thanks to these diverse activities, new content is constantly generated throughout the year, consolidating Lapsus as a vehicle for quality cultural content”*.<sup>34</sup>

This answer is indicative of a specific vision of the festival as ‘an acme’ of the all-year activities of the company, especially in relation to finding and selecting of cultural content offered by the artists. Albert also highlights that the festival *“is a very important way for our company to have this opportunity to have a place to meet and share our work”* (Albert Salinas, personal interview).

According to Albert Salinas (personal interview), another important intentionality behind the festival is maintaining company’s activities occurring during different time periods: *“These branches are working through three different periods: radio station is working on a weekly basis, our label is every three months more or less, and festival is organized once a year”*<sup>35</sup>. Interestingly, such understanding of the organization’s activities as repetitive events can be viewed as a specific ‘rhyme’ or time pattern, where the festival plays its own part in concordance with other repetitive events.

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<sup>34</sup> [www.lapsusfestival.cat/about](http://www.lapsusfestival.cat/about)

<sup>35</sup> It is important to note that the last edition of the festival in 2019 was organized as a three-acts event: the first ‘act’ was organized in March, the second in the end of September and the third ‘act’ was held in the middle of December. Programmmations these ‘acts’ of the festival were also thematized differently.



The answers are indicative of specific incentives behind the festival establishing: prioritization of the content production framework and sustaining of the temporal structure of the internal network.

The fifth set of field-oriented incentives to organize a festival mentioned by initiators is related to *field promotion*, which implies promotion of the industry or specific view on the professional field and its development. It is possible to ascribe this set to field-oriented goals category since the object of promotion is related to either a particular type of art (artistic field) or specific vision of its development. However, the difference from abovementioned networking goals involves the focus of promotional incentives on nonprofessional audiences rather than industry experts (yet not excluding this dimension). As it is stated at the official website of L'Alternativa festival, the mission of La Fàbrica is “*to promote, screen and spread the word about independent films from Spain and overseas*”<sup>36</sup>. This formulation of the mission is indicative of specific vision of the festival's role in supporting of a particular type of cinema, the international coverage of its program, highlighting the interests of festival organizers that are not limited by regional or national borders.

l'Alternativa is not the only example of field-oriented promotional priorities in starting a festival. Lapsus Arts, the initiator of Lapsus festival also prioritizes promotion among the impulses to start Lapsus festival.

The festival was organized for the first time for promotive reasons as well, besides the development of the network of its parent company. Prior to explanation of this set of incentives, it is necessary to mention that Lapsus festival itself underwent a transformation:

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<sup>36</sup> <https://alternativa.cccb.org/2021/en/festival/la-fabrica-de-cinema-alternatiu>

“We decided to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Lapsus project with a party, to meet people there, maybe to spread the word. We wanted to do something very special and, ultimately, with the nonsense, finished taking the form of festival in a unique setting such as the Teatre CCCB. And, in view of the reception given to the event during its first edition, we decided to continue it”. (Albert Salinas, personal interview).

The following answers are indicative of a particular vision of such transformation as a step further in the event development:

“Organizing Lapsus was a fresh start for us, it was a kind of evolution from first Lapsus in Apollo Mira followed by real Lapsus in the CCCB” (idem).

“We have better conditions in the CCCB, if we are talking about promotion of our work, our artists. So, we decided to take a step forward and move it [the festival] there” (idem).

The latter answer can serve as an explanation of the key incentive behind such transformation of the festival: promotion of specific cultural content and artists producing it. This is also confirmed by the intention of the company that influences all activities of the organization: *“we [Lapsus Arts] definitely want to connect artists, local artists, to worldwide electronic scene”* (idem).

As it was further explained by Albert,

“Our main goal is to spread our feeling to electronic and visual arts. Lapsus inside the CCCB is a brand-new festival that tries to be different from the others. It is not an easy job nowadays because there are a lot of things happening here in Barcelona. We are more focused on non-commercial stuff, experimentation and research” (Albert Salinas, personal interview).

This answer is indicative of the pronounced will to promote the specific vision on the field of electronic music and visual arts, where the festival can be considered as a way of expression of such a vision.

The specificity of this vision can be explained in the content and programming of the festival, where local artists play a prominent role:

“What we seek is a balance, without fear, between national and international proposals” (idem).

“Since we have a radio station, we invite local artists to participate in the festival. We are in the constant contact with the scene”; “each year we have local musicians performing at the festival and several visual artists from Barcelona” (idem).

In summary, this subsection presented the variety of field-oriented goals identified by two initiators of the selected festivals in El Raval divided into five sets:

- organization and sustaining of professional community networks;
- networking between local institutions;
- building and support of professional networks with other festivals;
- support and development of internal organizational structure of professional activities;
- field-promotion.

However, this set of goals presents only one side of intentionality behind festival organization process in El Raval: it is also necessary to discuss the importance of organizers' incentives related to social and cultural domains of the area.

It is worthy of note that financial benefits are mentioned by the interviewee, but not prioritized among festival goals, rather they are connected to future growth plans of the

company: *“In the future we are planning to grow and have some financial benefits. It is investment in the future so far”* (idem).

#### *7.1.1.2 Sociocultural goals*

Besides pronounced field-oriented goals, the analysis of interviews, published documents and websites indicated the strong influence of the socio-cultural dimension of festival organization initiatives. The leading role here belongs to Tot Raval foundation as the initiator of Raval(s) festival; however, organizers of L’Alternativa Festival also indicated sociocultural intentionality of festival establishment.

From interviews and official documents, it is possible to distinguish three main sets of social and cultural goals to initiate the festivals: *local communities support, facilitation of local networking* and *neighborhood’s public image improvement*. The following subsection aims to present and discuss these sets.

##### *7.1.1.2.1 Support of local communities*

According to interviews coding process, it is possible to distinguish two general topics appeared in the interviews and online sources that refer to local community support: regarding the festival as a ‘motor of change’ for the neighborhood and presence of sociocultural goals related to education and training.

It is necessary to note that in comparison to the case of La Fàbrica and its festival, the activities of Tot Raval foundation goals are broader than the goals of the festival Raval(s). The goals of the foundation are highly related to improvement of social cohesion, coexistence and increasing of quality of life in the neighborhood, as well as fostering a

sense of belonging in the neighborhood (official website of the foundation). Indeed, according to the director of the foundation, *"the mission of the organization can be stated as to increase the quality of life of neighborhood dwellers. And it is a very broad mission, but I don't have more defined or narrowed mission"* (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

Such an encompassing vision prioritizes social dimension, but also includes economic and cultural goals. This broad mission of the foundation conditions branched structure of Tot Raval Foundation, broad range of goals and social and cultural activities organized. The festival can be regarded as a means to organize cultural activities organized by the foundation: *"The festival supports the initiatives and activities of regional organizations by offering a platform where the variety of actions take place"* (the website of the foundation).

This vision of the festival is also confirmed by the director of Tot Raval: *"our festival is the entry door for all the big and small organizations who are located in El Raval and do or want to do any cultural activities. We serve as a first contact for them."* (Nuria Paricio, personal interview). From this point of view, the festival can be regarded as the initial stage of the grassroots culture in the quarter, which stresses the importance of festival form itself as well as the role of *Raval(s)* for the cultural life and bottom-up initiatives in the neighborhood.

This approach is also reflected in the intentionality related to the provision of support to local organizations and individuals, regarding them as the key actors of the event: *"The protagonists of our festival are persons and organizations that live in the neighborhood and building it"* (idem).

This vision of the festival also implies regarding it as an instrument for promotion of participation and local associationism in El Raval, helping to build and sustain associations' networks as well as providing support for the growth and development of

local initiatives in the fields of social environment and cultural life<sup>37</sup>. Indeed, the festival can be regarded as the tool to drive the changes, fostering bottom-up social initiatives, where culture is regarded as a means to achieve social benefits: *“We regard the cultural life of our neighborhood, and our festival being a kind of manifestation of it, as a motor of change and social transformation of El Raval that generates benefits for coexistence and dialogue”* (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

Festival is aimed *“to give a collective response to the common challenges of the neighborhood”*<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, thematic framework of the festival, which is selected by the festival committee for each edition is aimed at enhancing local values and celebration of the neighborhood’s diversity in social and cultural terms (idem).

Moreover, the multiformity of Tot Raval’s social and cultural goals related to festival establishment and organization is also conditioned by understanding of the event as a process of cooperation between different local entities, which operate in various areas:

“What is our festival? It is a process of participation and networking that aims to raise awareness of the cultural richness of the neighborhood image while fostering coexistence and sense of identity by conducting a series of actions that have benefited the involvement of more than 80 cultural, artistic, social and educational organizations” (Tot Raval, 2014).

Such multiformity (while being a distinctive trait of Raval(s) yet is also suitable to relate to l’Alternativa) can be further explained by the desired outcomes of festival activities, specifically in the domain of education and training.

In tandem with local communities’ support and providing desired changes to the social life of the neighborhood, the festivals also play an important educative role with the aim

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<sup>37</sup> <http://totraval.org/ca/projectes/festival-de-cultura-ravals-fet-la-gent-del-barri>

<sup>38</sup> <http://totraval.org/ca/projectes/festival-de-cultura-ravals-fet-la-gent-del-barri>

to increase social cohesion. In case of Raval(s), the aim of educational activities is directly connected to the promotion of social cohesion:

*“[Raval(s) festival] generates educational and recreational resources through artistic and cultural connections which are established to promote intergenerational and intercultural coexistence and social cohesion”* (Tot Raval Foundation, 2014).

In case of social-oriented interests of L’Alternativa, the festival is also highly embedded in the local cultural life of Barcelona and particularly, El Raval (besides incentives presented in previous sections). These interests are introduced through offering training and education activities: *“Alongside the screenings, l’Alternativa Activities includes masterclasses, debates with creators, panel discussions, a symposium, creative workshops for children and grownups and Film Schools seminars”* (website of l’Alternativa festival). However, in contrast to Raval(s), these activities are characterized by cultural domain, related to the primary field of l’Alternativa:

*“Our festival is actively working with local film schools and cinema enthusiasts and has a significant cultural impact on visitors each year. But l’Alternativa goes further through partnerships with other organizations in these activities to give exposure to alternative cinema”* (Christina Riera, personal interview).

It is possible to conclude that educational activities are regarded not as goals by themselves (especially in the case of l’Alternativa), but rather as a means to pursue specific social and cultural aims related to general missions of festival organizers, which differ for these two festivals, being more social-oriented in case of Raval(s) and field-oriented in case of l’Alternativa.

#### 7.1.1.2.2 Network building and network supporting

The second category of sociocultural goals includes facilitation of local networking, communication and cooperation. In the context of local networking, the intentionality of Raval(s) festival initiator is stated as following: [during the festival] *“a large number of activities are proposed and developed collaboratively between the different participating organizations, to promote networking, mutual knowledge and cooperation”* (website of Tot Raval Foundation). As it follows from this citation, the focus of the foundation is related to establishing connections between local organizations, knowledge exchange and promotion of shared activities. This is achieved through organization commissions, working groups and forums during the event.

Indeed, according to the foundation, the festival is regarded as an appropriate setting *“to create a meeting space for the social, economic and cultural fabric of Raval and promote common projects”* (idem).

As it is explained by Nuria Paricio, this goal is also related to building and strengthening horizontal links between local associations on a neighborhood level: *“every street has its own association... And by organizing Raval(s) we also help these associations to be connected to each other”* (personal interview). As it is explained further, *“another goal is to connect and link people. During all the year we organize meetings with 30-40-50 different organizations. We are animating everyone to participate, coordinating participants and also establishing links and connections between them”* (idem).

This aim is also confirmed in the report of the foundation, explaining the goals and activities of Tot Raval, where the role of the festival is regarded as to *“strengthen the associative network and facilitate the creation of synergies between the different organizations to promote neighborhood acquaintances, partnerships and / or joint projects”* (Tot Raval, 2014). The foundation aims to achieve these objectives by



contribution of resources and involvement of the local communities in Tot Raval's activities : *"We share our resources and create common activities with participation of local communities"* (ibid.)

However, besides horizontal links, the incentives of the festival initiator also address the formation of vertical connections in the area: *"we are trying to create a non-conflict environment for such a diverse neighborhood as Raval. We want to help people and enterprises to organize connections with the city hall"* (idem).

These citations highlight the prominence of networking activities of Raval(s) initiator. As it follows from the analysis, the aims of Tot Raval foundation with establishing the festival are two-dimensional: creating 'vertical' (connecting local organizations, communities and individuals with city administration) and 'horizontal' links (forming links between local organizations, associations and individuals). The festival here can be regarded as a mediator that facilitates both horizontal and vertical connections.

#### 7.1.1.2.3 Improvement of El Raval's image

The third category of social-oriented goals includes enhancing of the neighborhood's image by means of festival organization and related activities.

This intentionality is clearly stated in the only case of the selected festival, Raval(s). One of the goals of its initiator is formulated as *"to work together with organizations to influence the image of the neighborhood, promoting the idea of common identity in permanent construction"* (website of Tot Raval).

According to information received from Tot Raval Foundation, the festival plays a prominent role to achieve this goal. As discussed in previous chapters, the very name of Raval(s) festival aims to reflect multiple facets of the area:

"We want to demonstrate different Ravales existing in the neighborhood. The only policy that we have is to demonstrate cultural diversity. It is important for everyone to understand that there are many Ravales". (Nuria, personal interview)

This intentionality is addressed through increasing the number of visitors, where the festival can be regarded as an instrument to demonstrate local cultural amenities: *"Raval(s) invites the public to visit the neighborhood and know local cultural initiatives to promote a new image of Raval from the projection of its cultural wealth"* (Tot Raval, 2014).

Besides increasing the number of visitors, the importance of the neighborhood image is also reflected in the attention paid to media coverage: *"We are constantly monitoring media on the image of Raval and other linked topics"* (Nuria Paricio, personal interview). Indeed, according to the foundation, the festival aims to *"enhance the appearance of positive news about the neighborhood in media"* (Tot Raval, 2014).

Discussing the image-related objectives to organize the festival, it is also worthy to note the aim of promotion of local artists by Raval(s) initiator. However, in contrast to similar topics in the field-oriented goals section (where it was regarded as an aim itself) in case of Raval(s) festival, artist promotion is regarded as a means of achievement of image-improvement objectives:

*"Besides social goals, communication and image of El Raval we try to promote local artists, of course. But it is related to interests to the whole community, of course... When some people find out that one or another good artist is from Raval, the image of our neighborhood gets better"* (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

As it follows from this section, social and cultural domains are intertwined in various aims of festival initiators, as in case of Raval(s), as in case of l'Alternativa Festival. However, it is possible to conclude that the social-oriented objectives of Tot Raval are of central

importance and cultural domain is regarded as a means to achieve multiple social goals. At the same time, in the case of l'Alternativa, sociocultural domain is rather oriented on field-specific activities, even if an activity deemed socially oriented (e.g., education, training). Lapsus festival initiator did not mention socially oriented goals among incentives to establish and maintain the festival.

As it can be concluded from this part of the chapter, there are two general sets of goals pursued by festival organizers: field-oriented objectives and sociocultural goals. Each of these groups is not unidirectional; rather they are diverse and focus on related yet varying aims.

The first group includes networking with professional community; network organization with local institutions; building and sustaining inter-festival networks; supporting internal organizational structure of professional activities; and professional promotional incentives to organize and support the festival. En bloc, field-oriented goals support the development of specific industry through various strategies or visions of how this industry should be changed in the future.

The second group consists of three subcategories: local communities support, facilitation of local networking and neighborhood's public image improvement. Pursuing sociocultural goals, festival initiators 'shape' art events' programs, structures and general themes accordingly (e.g., by adding meeting and discussion platforms or education activities).

As it follows from data analysis, festivals are regarded as an appropriate strategy to develop specific fields or achieve the main goals of the parent organization. As it follows from content analysis, selected festivals are considered in public sources and interviews as a 'foreside' of their initiators and public statement of their goals and missions.

After understanding what incentives and perceived outcomes make festival organization (and thus festivalization process) deemed desirable by its initiators, it is also necessary to understand what factors make festivalization feasible and therefore helps to delve deeper into the topic of how festivalization is being shaped, what factors influence the form of festivalization in El Raval.

### 7.1.2 Incentives of other stakeholder groups of the selected festivals in El Raval

As discussed in the previous part, the incentives of festival initiators (or, in case of the selected festivals, internal organizers) are located in two general dimensions: field-oriented goals (organization of professional networks; local inter-organizational networking; cooperation with other festivals in the field; international organization network; and promotion of specific industry) and sociocultural (local communities' support; building both vertical and horizontal links and networks; and improvement and promotion of the area's image) goals. As it follows from stakeholder analysis, besides direct initiators, operation process of selected festivals in El Raval also includes several key groups of organizers (coproducers; suppliers; facilitators; and regulators), which also pursue their own goals through related festivals. However, as explained in the stakeholders analysis chapter (Chapter 6), suppliers are added to the *coproducers* category due to the relationship between events and performing groups in selected festivals also include organizational support besides performing during the event.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, in case of selected planned events, interviewed festival performers, artistic groups and associations can be considered as not only suppliers performing during the

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<sup>39</sup> In many cases festival performers and artistic associations also provide organizational resources for the festival.

festival, but also as co-producers of the festival, actively participating in the formation of the event. Besides that, in case of the selected festivals, *facilitators* and *regulators* categories are also merged, since these groups are presented by the same festival stakeholders (ICUB, ICEC and Raval Cultural as an initiative of the City Hall).

Sections below present the results of stakeholder interviews, websites and documents analysis answering why these groups of actors participate in the festival organization process and what aims do they pursue. Their goals are categorized in corresponding categories.

#### *7.1.2.1 Coproducers and suppliers*

According to the stakeholder analysis chapter, in the case of El Raval's festivals under discussion, the group of coproducers and suppliers includes public cultural center (the CCCB), public cultural entities (presented by Filmoteca) and artists' associations (presented by Arco de la Virgen, Freedonia and Telenoika).

The process of interviews' coding applying qualitative analysis software (ATLAS.ti) revealed three groups of stakeholders' incentives of participating in the organization process: promotion of culture; promotion of artists; and horizontal networking.

The first group of incentives includes two subcategories of cultural promotion, depending on specificities of activities and general goals of an organization, which help to inform the reasons of taking part in the festival organization process. According to Judit Carrera,

“CCCB is a multidisciplinary cultural institution with the objective of promoting the debate and cultural activities on cities and other key aspects of contemporary society. We do that through three main formats: big thematic exhibitions, festivals of all kinds (electronic music, architecture, video, cinema) and debates and

conferences, more academic program. Our mission is, again, to promote debate and cultural activity around cities and key aspects of contemporary society by mixing different audiences and different kinds of publics around these topics” (personal interview).

As it follows from this answer, the key goal of the center is formulated in a rather broad manner, defined as ‘promotion of debate and cultural activities’, which are often related to urban issues and particular field-oriented festivals (along with other activities organized by the CCCB) are regarded as a means to achieve this objective. Such a manner of formulation of the objectives is conditioned by the broad operational field of the entity and extremely wide spectrum of activities organized by the CCCB.

Such understanding of festival-related objectives of the center is also supported in case of two festivals coordinated by the CCCB:

“In case of these festivals that you mentioned, l’Alternativa and Lapsus, of course, the scales of these festivals are different, but we want to achieve the same goals as in case of other events we coordinate here, we want to promote cultural activities, to encourage interest in art and culture. And as a multidisciplinary institution, CCCB holds a variety of festivals... and each festival is focused on a certain type of art, for example electronic music, cinema, or poetry” (Manel Lopez, personal interview).

Another stakeholder categorized as a co-producer (of l’Alternativa festival), Filmoteca de Catalunya, being a public entity, has a general mission that defines the whole set of activities of the institution: “*We belong to the general plan of improving living conditions of the quarter, but we are not able to change everything. We can contribute, but it’s not our main responsibility*” (Esteve Riambau, personal interview). To a great extent, such a broadly defined goal is applicable to all public cultural institutions and does not provide

a clear understanding of what are the incentives of the entity in the festival organization process. According to Esteve Riambau, the main objective of Filmoteca's activities is highly field-specific:

“What distinguishes us from other cultural players in the quarter is our specificity on cinema. Other players also screen video and films, but in a different scale. So, the key purpose of our activities, including festivals, is to impulse cinema as a vehicle of culture and artistic expression” (personal interview).

Interestingly, festival organization incentives are even more specific and related to a particular type of cinema: *“We have three film branches: classic films, cultural dialogue with other institutions and contemporary cinema. The third point is where we do festivals. And l'Alternativa is of no exception, of course”* (idem).

The second category of goals pursued by festival co-producers and suppliers is related to the promotion of artists. In case of Lapsus festival, it is the main intentionality for the artist group Telenoika to take part in the organization process: *“Speaking about organizing festivals, the only benefit that we have and what we want is to make sure the vision of the artist who performs there meets public. So basically, it is promotion.”* (Eduard Llorens, personal interview).

Similarly, the same objective is pursued by Freedonia, artist association taking part in Raval(s) festival organization: *“our general mission as a small company is artists' promotion. And we participate in Raval(s) festival for the same reason. We work with many local artists on a regular basis”* (Jorge Sánchez, personal interview). Moreover, another coproducer and supplier of Raval(s) festival, Arco de la Virgen, shares the same intentionality: *“our goal is to spread art, but we do so in an interdisciplinary way.*

*We therefore call for the involvement of the artist in the festival, we make the dissemination of artistic works as broad as possible” (Sergio Marcovich, personal interview).*

The third category of objectives to participate in festival-organization process concerns establishing and supporting of horizontal networks in El Raval. In case of Freedonia, the goal to take part in the festival organization is establishing connections between artists: *“we try to create links between the artists themselves. Our goal is to get people together. In big cities people are separated, including those people making art” (Jorge Sánchez, personal interview).*

The same intentionality is shared by the artists’ association of Telenoika: *“our goal with any festival is to meet as many people as possible. We’re artists who want to meet artists to establish stronger nexus and support our community” (Eduard Llorens, personal interview).*

These citations indicate general orientation on building connections between artists, prioritizing benefits of the artistic community. However, this set of incentives also includes establishing connections between residents of the neighborhood through artistic activities, the objective stated by artists’ association of Arco de la Virgen: *“We try to stir the cultural life of the Raval and contribute to better relations between the neighbors because we believe that the social fabric can be articulated from interdisciplinary projects such as music, exhibitions, audiovisuals” (Sergio Marcovich, personal interview).*



### 7.1.2.2 *Facilitators and regulators*

Due to the specific setting of cultural activities in El Raval and high level of involvement of public entities, they often participate in the festival organization process by various kinds of support pursuing their goals. However, at the same time, they often act as festival regulators as well, since their approval is required to produce a festival. Besides the necessity for financial and organizational support provided by public entities, local policies, and development orientation (as well as selected means of promotion of cultural activities) create a general framework of cultural life in the neighborhood. Therefore, in the case of El Raval it is possible to combine the categories of facilitators and regulators for two cultural institutions (ICUB and ICEC) and a project of the City Hall of Barcelona (Raval Cultural).

The set of incentives of facilitators and regulators to participate in the festival organization consists of four general objectives: promotion of cultural domain in the area; activities coordination; strengthening the connection between local residents and the area; and image improvement of El Raval.

The *first* category is related to the promotion of cultural domain in El Raval. This category in its turn is multifaceted and includes several cultural dimensions prioritized by festival stakeholders under discussion.

As in case with other public institutions, the goals of ICUB can be considered as rather broad and all-encompassing:

“The main goal is to promote culture in the city and the cultural heritage through museums, historical sites and so on and also public libraries, civic centers, events and cultural activities, there are a lot of things, and festivals play an important role here” (Josep Castiella Viu, personal interview).

Indeed, such formulation leaves a lot of space for speculation, where several more narrowly defined incentives of local facilitators and regulators may provide clearer understanding of incentives of public entities to actively participate in the festival organization.

According to Raval Cultural representative, the main objective of the public organizations in El Raval is providing support for local creative initiatives:

“The goal of public institutions here is to help and support initiatives that appear in the quarter. We try to achieve this goal multilaterally: ICUB, district administration, and also existing public cultural institutions of the quarter” (Ana Terra, personal interview).

In this context, the role of Raval Cultural concerns provision of a support ‘channel’ for local cultural projects:

“Our goal is to create the specific channel of support for cultural projects of the quarter, including festivals. We are creating a technical resource fund for interchangeable use among all the cultural entities and projects in the quarter” (Ana Terra, personal interview).

Another way of cultural promotion concerns fostering of cultural production in El Raval. According to ICEC representative, the institution “*aims to inspire and support cultural production in the city. And the festival [l’Alternativa] helps to support local cinema and therefore to promote the development of the cultural domain*” (Monica Garcia Massague, personal interview).

The institution is also aiming to support cultural domain by promotion of local cultural consumption: “*Through its actions, the ICEC collaborates in the construction of a*

*competitive and quality cultural fabric and also promotes consumption habits and the generation of audiences” (ICEC website).*

Another subcategory of cultural objectives is supporting cultural content promotion through fostering development of creative industries. This goal is also related to the general development of local creative industry development and investment attraction:

*“Festivals help to promote culture in many ways, they attract attention and visitors, they can positively influence the image as well. So, another goal is to deal with this attention and support a new kind of small cultural or creative business and practices in Raval” (Ana Terra, personal interview).*

As discussed in this subsection, cultural promotion plays a prominent role in the intentionality of facilitators and regulators of the selected festivals. The latter answer is also related to attraction of attention and construction of attractive image of El Raval. Indeed, the objective of improvement of the image of the area was mentioned by the representatives of two cultural entities of the quarter Raval Cultural and ICUB.

According to Ana Terra (Raval Cultural), *“in general, we have two main objectives we want to achieve by supporting local activities: to improve the image of the quarter and to connect different big and small spaces between each other”* (personal interview). This citation indicates that supporting local cultural activities is regarded as an instrument to achieve the key goals of the organization: image improvement and local networking. While the latter goal was presented in the previous set of goals, the latter needs and explanation. According to Raval Cultural representative,

*“Raval is very diverse quarter in terms of population and we regard culture as something unifying people, it should be for everyone. Cultural festivals help us to communicate, to get to know each other, to share our thoughts and perspectives.*

This works for those who live here, for visitors and for the media. Instead of being a stigmatized neighborhood, we want to be a kind of union or community” (idem).

Indeed, as in case of Tot Raval Foundation, here the festival is seen a suitable instrument as a platform to foster communication as well as to present the cultural and creative side of the neighborhood instead of ‘stigmatized’ one that was formed in the past. The same necessity is also expressed on the website of the project: “*It is necessary to redirect urban action towards other areas of municipal activities and focus on external communication of the image of El Raval centered on cultural production*” (Raval Cultural website, author’s translation).

Similar intentionality concerning the improvement of El Raval and attraction of creative class representatives is shared by ICUB: “*we want to attract cultural investment in the area. Tourism, of course, there are many tourists visiting the festival, but not only tourism. We want to attract artists, cultural businesses*”. (Josep Castiella Viu, personal interview).

At the same time, the intentionality of ICUB to make the area attractive is directed not only outside the neighborhood, but also inside El Raval. This aspect is related to a specific vision of the area, and immediate usage of public space:

“From the point of view of cultural organization, the main goal to organize a festival is to get public space and people closer to each other. To help people use public space as something related to “fiesta”, a specific Spanish word related to cultural event that facilitates the relationship between people” (idem).

Thus, the intentionality of facilitators and regulators to participate in the festival organization in El Raval hinges on promotion of cultural domain in the area; activities coordination; strengthening the connection between local residents and the area; and image improvement of El Raval both outside and inside the area.

Considering these areas of interest of various actors involved in the festival organization process, the next step is to compare the intentionality of the identified stakeholder groups in El Raval.

### 7.1.3 Comparison of the incentives of the key stakeholder groups

In order to unpack the correspondence between festival stakeholders' incentives, it is necessary to consider and compare their incentives to participate in the festival organization. Table 7.1 presents a brief overview of the key stakeholders' intentionality to organize and take part in the festival organization process.

**Table 7.1.** Organizers of the selected festivals and their incentives to support and participate in festival organization process

<i>Stakeholder category</i>	<i>Type of organization</i>	<i>Name of organization</i>	<i>Incentives to organize, support or participate in a festival</i>
Initiators (internal)	Non-profit association	La Fàbrica de Cinema Alternatiu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field networking</li> <li>• Local industry networking</li> <li>• Inter-festival networking</li> <li>• International cooperation</li> <li>• Field (independent cinema) promotion</li> <li>• Social benefits</li> </ul>
	Foundation	Tot Raval	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community support</li> <li>• Social networking</li> <li>• Image improvement</li> </ul>
	Private company	Lapsus Arts S.L.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field promotion (electronic music)</li> <li>• Artists' promotion</li> </ul>

Coproducers and suppliers	Public multidisciplinary cultural centre	The CCCB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promotion of cultural activities and debates</li> </ul>
	Public entity	Filmoteca	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Field-oriented goals (promotion of cinema as artistic expression)</li> </ul>
	Artists' association	Arco de la Virgen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Artists' promotion</li> <li>Horizontal networking</li> </ul>
	Artists' association	Freedonia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Artists' promotion</li> <li>Horizontal networking</li> </ul>
	Artists' association	Telenoika	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Artists' promotion</li> <li>Horizontal networking</li> </ul>
Facilitators and regulators	Public cultural institute of Barcelona (part of City Hall structure)	ICUB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promotion of cultural activities</li> <li>Strengthening the connection between locals and the area</li> <li>Promotion of El Raval</li> </ul>
	Regional public cultural institute (part of Generalitat de Catalunya structure)	ICEC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promoting artistic creativity and production</li> <li>Distribution and dissemination of cultural content through the development of cultural industries</li> <li>Promotion of cultural consumption and expanding markets for Catalan culture</li> </ul>
	City hall	Raval Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coordination of cultural activities</li> <li>Support of local cultural activities and initiatives</li> <li>Area's image improvement</li> </ul>

As seen in the table 7.1, there are certain congruences in stakeholders' incentives (where festival organizers pursue similar goals of festival organization). In case of the festivals under discussion, planned cultural event is regarded as a platform or an instrument for fulfilling particular objectives of its stakeholders. At the same time, the scales of these objectives are multifarious: while some of them are rather broad and all-encompassing, others are more precise and defined narrowly.

Results suggest that while the festivals' organizers and stakeholders see selected festivals as a desirable means to pursue cultural and social goals (e.g., contributing to cultural promotion and community cohesiveness), they do not regard them as a substantial source of financial benefits.

While these results to a certain degree run contrary to the findings that prioritized the economic contribution and financial benefits of festivals (Thrane, 2002; Kim et al., 1998; Crompton and McKay, 1997), they are compliant with the obtained results of research in sociology domain (Chwe, 1998; Rao, 2001). Indeed, festivals can be regarded as providers of field-related and general public benefits (apart of economic growth generation), due to their unique role of a place of gathering, common activities, exchange and participation in common activities, providing prominent opportunities for fostering cohesiveness and sense of trust among members of local (or field) communities (Chwe, 1998).

At the same time, a wide spectrum of social-oriented objectives in organizing and supporting festivals presented by many interviewees, suggests that the festival stakeholders consider festivals as a source of social benefits than the social costs. This is indicative of the shared viewpoint of the organizers on festivals as generally benefiting activity for local social domain and community cohesiveness. The findings also indicate that the festival organization is seen as an effective method to promote cultural activities on varying levels (from international level to individual artists' promotion).

It is also possible to conclude that the goals of different stakeholders never contradict each other, rather being complementary: the absence of noticeable contradictions between different objectives of festival organizers is an important factor for the festival organization process. Indeed, many interviewees clearly state the absence of conflicts in the festival organization process:

“I suppose that for everyone the objectives are pretty much the same: to improve the relations and improve the image of Raval” (Nuria Paricio, personal interview).

“[The festival] was considered a success because it meant that the project was perceived by the associations and facilities as a good channel to share goals, come forward and participate” (Marina Rius, Tot Raval, personal interview).

“We do not have any conflicts, we are free to negotiate who come here asking for collaboration. So, if we accept a proposition and we agree it’s easy to cooperate” (Esteve Riambau, personal interview).

“For us it is very easy to have a dialogue with other institutions because we have cross-field activities and shared interests. We use cinema as a way to have a dialogue with other institutions” (Esteve Riambau, personal interview).

“Usually, we have no conflicts of interests, maybe sometimes with sponsors. In general, if there are any problems, these problems are related to financial aspects, not philosophical or ideological” (Manel Lopez, personal interview).

While the usual situation of for-profit companies in organizational processes is pursuing individual stakeholder goals, which can be related to a more competitive characteristic of stakeholder interrelations during the festival organization, it is not the case for public entities, non-for-profit organizations and cultural associations.



In the case of selected festivals, the goals of varying types of stakeholders do not contradict to attainment of collective outcomes. This factor conditions sustainability of collaboration.

Achievement of collective goals such as community benefits or network development is possible due to intensive collaborative relationships between stakeholders and shared values. Therefore, achievement of collective goals implies involvement of stakeholders in the integrative elaboration of the planned event. Indeed, Yaghmour and Scott (2009) argued that development of shared meaning and networking may be applied as pronounced and planned goals of the festival, where specific attention should be paid to collective goals, primarily by development of stakeholders' trust (prominent aspect of collaboration). Therefore, this is indicative of the importance of clear structure in the development of festival governance systems, which relates to perceived benefits and effectiveness of the festival.

Besides that, according to Spyriadis (2006), there are a wide range of interstakeholder relationships, varying from positive (cooperative) to negative (high level of competition between organizations). While it was possible to expect signs of conflicts or competition between festival organizers, the relationships' characteristics indicated in the interviews were positive and cooperative. These results are illustrative of collaboration inter-stakeholder setting in festival organization that fosters facilitation aspects of relationships rather than threatening ones.

The reasoning of such setting may be found in the following aspects:

- Prior to participation in the festival organization process, each stakeholder communicates (discusses) the programming, goals and incentives which results in a rather consistent range of stakeholders that share common values and pursue similar goals.

- Phenomenon of survivor bias in organization process, which refers to 'selecting-out' negative collaboration members or potential festival organizers, which fosters more co-operative setting (Landry and Bianchini, 1995).

These two aspects are associated with the procedure of festival organization process. As it can be seen from the Chapter 6 and 7 (parts), the selected festivals in El Raval rely heavily on public institutions (as coproducers, facilitators and regulators) in terms of financial support and provision of other resources needed for organizing the festival. Thus, these institutions possess the power to select festival initiators to cooperate with and eventually to organize a festival. The case of the CCCB may serve as an illustrative example of such state of operations. Ad initium, cultural activities' projects and proposals are evaluated and redirected to a specific cultural institution:

“We offer our support almost to any cultural activity in the quarter. And there's a call every year for cultural activities. So, when someone ask for funding, we can decide that it is more for ICUB or CCCB and send the application there” (Ana Terra, personal interview).

Thereafter, the proposal is being evaluated by the institution:

“First, we evaluate the idea, then we identify whether there are enough resources to bring this idea to life. If not, we look for solutions or hybrid option or else. And normally we do not enter in the program of the event or festival. We don't have any structural standards; every activity is very different and unique. If we see that the project is interesting and doable, we take it.” (Manel Lopez, personal interview)

“Usually there is festival organizer or any entity interested in festival organization somewhere in the city or Spain and interested in consolidating their projects in CCCB or the area of Raval. Each year we receive at least 200 applications, but only 30-40 projects that pass the first selection stage. A major part of them is refused due to

different reasons. And others are accepted because of cultural reasons” (Manel Lopez, personal interview).

Interestingly, in case of emergent controversies, the selection process includes either contention resolution or rejection of the proposal:

“We are open and our borders are not clearly defined. For example, l’Alternativa here shows movies that would never be screened in the commercial film halls. It is important because you guarantee that in the city there is a spec for alternative cinema, so this is a goal that is shared by organizers and by the CCCB. Of course, there are disagreements, and we receive a lot of proposals that we do not accept. But with those that we host, we have a good general framework” (Judith Carrera, personal interview).

These aspects help to elucidate the organizers’ intentionality and festival organization process in El Raval. The next chapter is aimed at unpacking the festival initiators’ incentives and festival organization process in northern Neukölln.

## 7.2 Festival Organization Process in Northern Neukölln

### 7.2.1 Unpacking the incentives of the festival initiators

Stakeholder analysis identified four main groups of organizational stakeholders that take part in festivalization process in the selected festivals: cultural and social associations, private sector, public institutions and local artists. The findings indicate that the selected festivals in northern Neukölln have three primary initiators: two cultural associations

(Kulturnetzwerk and Schillerpalais) and an artist collective (Loophole). Besides influencing festival program, these internal stakeholders define the development paradigm of each corresponding festival. Therefore, in order to understand the festival organizers' motivations and their interplay, it is first necessary to unpack the missions and incentives of these three festival initiators.

As in case of El Raval, the data analysis received from festival initiators revealed several key sets of goals of establishing the festivals ranging from independent scene-oriented incentives to social and neighborhood-related motivations. This part offers the results of interviews' analysis presenting the categorization of incentives to establish festivals under investigation in northern Neukölln. Resulting from analysis of the interviews, websites and primary documents, the incentives can be grouped in two general categories: those related to local artists promotion and social-oriented goals.

#### *7.2.1.1 Networking and promotion of artists*

According to the results of the interviews conducted on the topic of intentionality of festival organization, one of the key sets of goals of art festivals in northern Neukölln is related to the domain of independent scene is promotion of local artists, fostering communication between individual artists and local artist communities, building and sustaining networks between artistic communities. However, in contrast to the analysis of the selected festivals' initiators in El Raval, it is rather difficult to distinguish particular categories of artist-oriented goals in case of festival initiators in northern Neukölln, since the objectives are either closely related one to another or too specific to be distinguished in particular category. Therefore, while this set of goals, having rather clear orientation

on certain implied benefits of artistic field, distinguishes itself through varying aspects of local networking and art promotion.

All three festival initiators (Kulturnetzwerk, Schillerpalais and Loophole) referred to artist-oriented goals among their primary incentives to start festivals. Arguably, this is related to a vibrant independent art scene, a distinctive feature of northern Neukölln.

The festival is with the most pronounced orientation on artist-oriented intentionality is Boddinale.

According to a manager of artists' collective of Loophole, Zoran Stevanovic, the original idea to start the organization and to open the art space was "*to have some artists focusing on their stuff and working in the same space, shared studio*" (personal interview). According to this answer, Loophole had artist-oriented goals as the key incentive to establish the whole organization.

This statement is confirmed by the other manager of Loophole, Gianluca Bacchanico:

"We do not do that much for making money, it is more about establishing the space as a center of the community, expanding our network. Of course, there is also a financial factor - we would like to see the outcome since there's so much work that we do. But it is not something super-important; otherwise, we wouldn't be working here" (personal interview).

This answer reflects the intentionality of network building and promoting of the space opposing these goals to financial interests. However, the financial benefits of artists are also mentioned, though also in relation to the artistic network: "*We try to make the community grow and make sure that everyone can live by their art*" (idem).

At the same time, network building is considered as the main goal of the festival:

“Everyone has its own network of 10-20 people in the field of cinema. But if everyone would put all these networks together, it would help the promotion. That is our main goal and motivation, to create the community” (idem).

“Of course, we have in mind the interests of our participants. Let’s say there is a movie that a director or a producer wants to push, and we want to help them to do it. But then there is a communication between these guys and other producers because everyone is interested in building a long-lasting connection.” (idem)

This vision of the festival as a beneficial platform for artists to communicate and create professional connections is also extended to the festival initiators as well: “*We regard the festival as an investment, because we’re looking forward to broaden our network, maybe even include the institutions in our network*” (idem).

The festival, being the only recurrent planned event of Loophole artists’ collective clearly reflects the intentionality of its organizer:

“Definitely, the goals of Boddinale match our goals as an artist group one hundred percent. Because everyone like movies. It is a nice feeling to share the passion with other people. Especially in the way how we do it, it is a construct of ‘us’ together in a way we want to be” (Zoran Stevanovic, personal interview).

As it follows from the citation, besides reflecting the incentives of the organizer, the festival is also regarded as a tool to communicate the specific ‘construct’ of the collective. Such a ‘self-construction’ approach is also reflected in the way how Boddinale is organized: “*We downplayed a lot of the competitive part of the festival. It is not about winning, it is not about who is winning, because we want to facilitate mutual support*” (Gianluca Baccanico, personal interview).

Indeed, creating professional connections can be regarded as the main objective of the collective:

“The collaborations that take up the bulk of our work here in the Loophole. We have, therefore, the term social architects found for us, perhaps best expresses what we are trying to achieve. A platform by creatives for creatives outside the ordinary restrictions and hopefully with a sustainable impact on the creative process in Neukölln and Berlin” (Zoran Stevanovic, personal interview).

The answer demonstrates the close connection between festival initiators, participants and audience, presenting Loophole as a key element in community building process in the area.

The objectives of artists’ promotion and networking are also shared by Schillerpalais:

“What we want to do with Nachtundnebel is to separate out some time in November to celebrate local creativity, give an opportunity for artists to show what they do, to discuss, to promote themselves with their art. We want to promote them by giving this opportunity, there are a lot of people attending the festival” (Klaus Eichner, personal interview).

“Our artist network offers artists the virtual opportunity to exhibit works to the whole Neukölln art scene, and to other districts and cities too” (idem).

The interviewee also highlights the temporal aspect of the festival: “*Our mission is to present the variety of art in autumn. It is so important to celebrate local art even during this time of the year*” (Klaus Eichner, personal interview).

According to Klaus Eichner, establishing and organization of Nachtundnebel Festival happened “*because there was the 48 Hours festival in the summer and when*

*Nachtundnebel started everything it was kind of sad, autumn is dark and dull and we decided to show that there is so much hidden artistic energy”* (personal interview).

The same intentionality is presented by Kulturnetzwerk representative: *“our goal is to support and tell the world about artists in Neukölln. Our name is devoted to networking and our festival program devoted to local cultural offer, to producers of art pieces here, in Neukölln. 48 Hours is a very place-connected festival”* (Martin Steffens, personal interview).

This goal is also explained on the official website of Kulturnetzwerk: *“... cultural workers are faced with a demanding task that can presumably only be mastered by exchanging creative approaches. The Neukölln cultural network [Kulturnetzwerk] offers a good basis for this exchange thanks to the multilayered synergies with its 56 members”*.

As it was explained in Chapter 6, in the case of 48 Hours Neukölln Festival, an important role in local networking and cooperation structure is played by local ‘art branches’ – small artists’ associations to simplify communication and mutual support. At first, these branches were created as operational artistic ‘nodes’ for 48 Hours festival, however, through time these associations’ activities went beyond the festival and started to organize their own activities (like street parties, seminars or art tours).

As it can be concluded from this section, the artist-oriented promotional and networking incentives play a prominent role for local festival initiators. However, as stated by Martin Steffens, *“it is hard to separate our artistic and social motives. They are connected and I would say even inseparable for us”* (personal interview). Therefore, the next section aims to discuss the social-oriented goals of festival initiators of the selected festivals in northern Neukölln.



### 7.2.1.2 Social goals and Neighborhood image

Besides identified field-oriented goals, the analysis of interviews, documents and websites indicated the strong influence of the social dimension of festival organization initiatives in northern Neukölln. In this dimension, the leading role belongs to Kulturnetzwerk and Schillerpalais associations as initiators of 48 Hours and Nachtundnebel festivals, while initiators of Boddinale Festival did not indicate socially oriented intentionality of festival establishment.

From interviews and official documents, it is possible to distinguish two key sets of social-oriented goals to initiate the festivals: *facilitation of local networking* and *neighborhood's image improvement*. The following subsection aims to present and discuss these sets.

The first set of festival initiators' objectives to establish a festival concerns facilitation of local networking and connections that go beyond the artistic community. According to the website of Kulturnetzwerk,

“It is the unifying character of the cultural offers that makes their role in society so indispensable: through them we become part of a community. For example, as a visitor to a concert, a theater performance, an exhibition, a festival, a club or as a participant in an art project. We are connected to other people in our experience. That feeling is immensely important. [...] Also for the producers of cultural contributions, because cultural production is not a one-way street”.

The importance of local communities is explained in the following lines:

“Cultural events strengthen the "we-feeling" because they make the "we" tangible. And that is so important, especially in times of uncertainty. Even 25 years

after the festival was founded, one of the Kulturnetzwerk's concerns is to stimulate and facilitate exchange and to respond appropriately to the challenges of the time with innovative formats" (idem).

Such a vision on local communities' prominence is confirmed by Martin Steffens: "*with our festival we have an idea of everyone coming together, being in contact and learn something new. We want to create opportunities for people to meet and communicate. And we know that these opportunities are highly desirable here*" (personal interview).

The importance of cultural events and spaces as a convenient platform for meeting and communicating is also mentioned on the website of the association: "*The topics that concern people are changeable, but what remains is the basic need for meeting spaces, as only provided by the cultural sector*".

Besides Kulturnetzwerk, Schillerpalais association representative also mentioned socially oriented incentive as a reason to establish the festival:

"Our interdisciplinary exhibitions are facing the dynamic challenges of contemporary art, and to make it more accessible we wanted to provide educational opportunities for those who are interested in art. And also, to provide a temporal opportunity to share thoughts... I am sure that it is useful not only for the visitors, but for artists too" (Klaus Eichner, personal interview).

The second social-oriented subcategory of intentionality to organize a festival is related to the improvement of the image of the quarter. As it was mentioned in Chapter 5, this intentionality played the crucial role in the decision to establish 48 Hours festival:

"The reason of founding the festival was that responsible people from the cultural field found that media reported on negative sides of the quarter but did not react on innovative and creative side of Neukölln" (Martin Steffens, personal interview).

“We are not paid for ‘propaganda’ of Neukölln. We try to push the cultural image”  
(idem).

The following section presents explanation of the incentives of coproducers, suppliers, facilitators and regulators of the festivals to take part in the festival organization process.

### 7.2.2 Incentives of other stakeholder groups of the selected festivals in northern Neukölln

As it follows from the previous part, the incentives of festival initiators are located in two general dimensions: artist-oriented goals (organization of artistic networks and communities) and sociocultural objectives (providing opportunities for communication, promotion of the area’s image) goals. As it follows from stakeholder analysis, besides direct initiators, operation process of selected festivals in northern Neukölln also includes two key groups of organizers, namely coproducers and suppliers; as well as facilitators and regulators, which also have their own goals through related festivals. The sections below present results of stakeholder interviews, websites and documents analysis answering why these groups of actors participate in the festival organization process and what objectives do they pursue. Their goals are categorized in corresponding categories.

### 7.2.2.1 Coproducers and suppliers

According to the stakeholder analysis chapter (Chapter 6), in the case of northern Neukölln festivals under discussion, the group of coproducers and suppliers includes non-profit cultural association (Förderband), cultural foundation (Bürgerstiftung Neukölln), artists' association (Werkstadt) and individual artists (presented by Vince van Geffen).

The process of interviews' coding applying qualitative analysis software (ATLAS.ti) revealed one general group of stakeholders' incentives in participating in the organization process: artists' support and promotion (including creation and support of artists' networks).

The first subcategory refers to the provision of support to local artists, their promotion as well as the organization of artistic networks.

According to Förderband representative, one of the main aims of the association to participate in the festival organization is *“to support artists and cultural institutions but also to support local art spaces, to bring people there”* (Tanja Strehle, personal interview). Interestingly, the latter intention was also a result of the initial incentive to support local artists:

“The first intention was to provide jobs for artists, but then we decided that it wasn't a right way. So, we decided that the better way would be to give them the possibility to produce art. That means we support places where they can show what they are doing - manpower support” (Tanja Strehle, personal interview).

Another Förderband representative also stressed the diversity of artists' support activities of the organization:

“We want to support artists and cultural projects and it is still the main aim. But the ways we are doing that are quite diverse. We offer further education for artists or other people working in the cultural field; and we support cultural projects (Eva Hubner, personal interview).

The interviewee also marked the importance of ‘free scene’ and ‘independent’ projects for the organization:

“We try to bring artists together, to develop programs supporting possibilities for the free scene and independent projects” (Eva Hubner, personal interview).

Another representative of *coproducers and suppliers* group of festival stakeholders, the head of Werkstatt artist collective and art space owner, Jason Benedict, also stresses promotion of artists as an objective to take part in 48 Hours Neukölln Festival:

“We really want to help artists to promote themselves. That worked in our case, a lot of people discovered us, they did not know about us before the festival. Sometimes people do not want to visit space that they do not know” (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

“In the beginning it is mostly self-promotion, to make people realize that you are there. And then, of course, always promotion of [other] artists because they assure the quality level of the event, they spend a lot of energy and time, and they need to feel that it is worthwhile for them” (idem).

"We want to make access to art as easy as possible" (idem).

The interviewee also highlights the festival as an applicable format to promote unknown artists:

“A lot of artists are not recognized as artists by art community or just by age but with combination with well-known ones – it opens a lot of doors” (idem).

“Festival format even on a small scale creates interesting energy spillovers and draws attention. You need festivals to get known, to attract people” (idem).

“Originally, the festival [48 Hours] was the reason to set up the “Werkstadt” as an “art branch”, which was supposed to coordinate the artistic activities in the neighborhood” (idem).

Additionally, the interviewee explains the necessity of artists’ involvement in the promotion process:

“The main idea for us as a group of artists we create opportunity for ourselves with our own ideas. And for other artists, they need it and understand that they need to participate in their promotion process, otherwise just sitting in art school or studio, no one will know about them” (idem).

Vince van Geffen, an individual artist participating in 48 Hours Neukölln Festival stresses the promotional benefits as the main objective to organize and take part in the event:

“Feasibility and promotion. We were asked to count the visitors who come to see our exhibition, so I did it this last 48 Hours edition. I counted 1600 visitors. It is a great number of people, because in a normal gallery opening it is maybe 50 people, who are mainly your friends. And then you have your 3-week exhibition with maybe 2 people a day. So, the feasibility is so great. This is very important. And this is the main factor to take part in the festival” (Vince van Geffen, personal interview).

Besides that, the interviewee highlights the benefits of promotion activities, particularly in northern Neukölln:

“Another reason to participate in this festival organization is the quality of the public. It is very different from other places. People here are very interested in your work. They ask you questions, they respond. In general, I see more participation in the art shows, festivals and exhibitions than anywhere else. Much more” (idem).

Besides local public, Jason Benedict also marks ‘positive atmosphere’ of local artistic community as a distinctive feature of the area:

“We started meeting other artists coming here. The places were relatively inexpensive, so artists were attracted to move to Neukölln and building a network. And there was a positive atmosphere of everyone trying to do something against its bad reputation” (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

These factors provide an opportunity to elucidate the intentionality of various coproducers and suppliers to organize selected events in northern Neukölln. The following section aims to explore the intentionality of the district office of Neukölln, being the only *facilitator and regulator* in the festival organization process of the selected events.

### *7.2.2.2 Facilitators and regulators*

In contrast to the case of El Raval, the category of facilitators and regulators consists of only one stakeholder, the district office of Neukölln.

The incentives of facilitator and regulator to participate in the festival organization can be categorized into three main categories: social cohesion, support of the artists and image improvement of the district.

One of the main incentives to participate in the festival organization process is perceived benefits of festivals (specifically 48 Hours Neukölln) for social cohesion:

“48 Hours is also a great tool to bring people together and start the conversation” (Katharina Bieler, personal interview).

According to the head of the cultural department of the district office, this implies bringing together local artists and non-creative residents of the area:

“We need to think of how non-creative citizens, merchants and sellers work together with artists. So, we have some projects unifying the citizens. For example, we have some pieces of art to put in Karl-Marx Strasse during the festival, open-air, and also workshops with young persons, also there” (Katharina Bieler, personal interview ).

Besides social-oriented objectives, local administration aims to provide support to artists and artist communities present in Neukölln:

“With the festival we try to give artists a platform to exhibit their art and work” (idem).

“The district has responsibility for the promotion of artists. The large quantitative growth of the artist's presence in Neukölln requires new orientations of promotion activities” (Bezirksamt Neukölln, 2009).



According to the document, these orientations include “*promotion of the development of economic independence of the artist and cultural workers through support of their work and creative industries, provision of economic independence of artists. Support existing and building new networks*” (idem).

This support should be focused on “*Supporting artists through consulting, financial aid and infrastructure development*” (idem).

The head of the cultural department also highlights the inclusion of the artists with a foreign background:

“We think about artists who are coming from non-EU countries, their adaptation into the cultural life of the neighborhood. 48 Hours helps to do so. That is one of the main priorities” (Katharina Bieler, personal interview).

However, due to a small number of people and financial constraints, support of the administration is limited: “*We need to make decisions, because our human and financial resources are limited, we cannot support everyone*” (Katharina Bieler, personal interview).

The role of artists and artistic activities also recognized in the area of image improvement of the area:

“[There is] the potential of artists and cultural institutions of the district and the cultural landscape in general to be used in the field of urban development, such as upgrading and improving of the image of Neukölln, as in the case of 48 Hours Neukölln Festival” (Bezirksamt Neukölln, 2009).

The head of the cultural department acknowledges the role of the festival in neighborhood promotion: “*The festival [48 Hours] is a great way to promote the quarter*” (Katharina Bieler, personal interview).

Taking into account peculiarities of intentionality of different festival organizers, the following section aims to compare identified incentives of the organizing stakeholder groups in northern Neukölln.

### 7.2.3 Comparison of the incentives of the key stakeholder groups

The festival exists within a complicated network involving various organizational stakeholders pursuing their own objectives. The interests of each key stakeholder are important to the continuing success of the festival, and it is a difficult balancing process for the main organizers to combine intentionality of each involved stakeholder with operation of the festival organization.

In order to unpack the correspondence between festival stakeholders’ incentives, it is necessary to consider and compare their incentives to participate in festival organization. Table 7.2 presents a brief overview of the key stakeholders’ intentionality to organize and take part in festival organization process of the selected festivals in northern Neukölln.

**Table 7.2.** Organizers of the selected festivals and their incentives to support and participate in festival organization process of the selected festivals in northern Neukölln

<i>Stakeholder category</i>	<i>Type of organization</i>	<i>Name of organization</i>	<i>Incentives to organize, support or participate in a festival</i>
Initiators (internal / main)	Non-profit association	Kulturnetzwerk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Area's image improvement</li> <li>• Artists' promotion</li> <li>• Artists' networking</li> <li>• Social benefits (a platform for communication)</li> </ul>
	Non-profit association	Schillerpalais	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Artists' promotion</li> <li>• Artists' networking</li> <li>• Social benefits (education and communication)</li> </ul>
	Artists' collective	Loophole	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Artists' networking</li> <li>• Artists' promotion</li> </ul>
Coproducers and suppliers	Non-profit cultural association	Förderband Kulturinitiative Berlin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Artists' networking</li> <li>• Artists' promotion</li> </ul>
	Cultural foundation	Bürgerstiftung Neukoelln	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social benefits</li> </ul>
	Non-profit artists' association	Werkstadt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Artists' promotion</li> <li>• Artists' networking</li> </ul>
	Artist	Vince van Geffen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Artists' promotion</li> <li>• Self-promotion</li> </ul>
Facilitator and regulator	District office of Neukölln	District office of Neukölln	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social cohesion</li> <li>• Support of local artists</li> <li>• Area's image improvement</li> </ul>

As seen in the table 7.2, there are certain similarities in stakeholders' incentives, where festival organizers pursue analogous goals of festival organization. In case of the selected events, the festival is regarded as a common platform or as a relevant tool for achieving certain aims of its stakeholders. At the same time, the scales of these objectives are multifarious: while some of them are related to the benefits of the area (social cohesion and image improvement), others concern interests of local artists.

Results indicate that while the core organizers regard the festivals as an appropriate means to achieve abovementioned cultural and social goals, they do not see them as a significant source of financial profits: "*Financial part matter for us when we organizing things, not as a result of carrying out an event*" (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

However, limited budget to support cultural activities in the district is brought to light by several interviewees:

"We support some festivals, 48 Hours, Nachtundnebel... It depends on who comes to us and ask for help. And we do not have a lot of money, so our support is financially limited" (Katharina Bieler, personal interview).

"Nachtundnebel does everything by their own, we just give them financial support, not a lot, basically for promotion. For the 48 Stunden Neukölln we have much more money to support them. There is never enough money, so you need to look out how it goes" (idem).

"On the one hand, the artistic activities make the district attractive, on the other hand, the budget from programs such as "Socially Integrative City" is no longer sufficient for the rush of funding requests" (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

“On the streets you see new artists and galleries, some of them come here and ask for help. Artists are free to come here or not, but we are not able to support them with a lot of money. We only can support small-small things. We know this because we have a lot of asking for money. The last year a little bit less, but two years before it was really horrible, we could give forty thousand euros for something while they were asking for eight hundred thousand euros altogether” (bezirk).

These limitations at times imply precarious position of cultural activities and necessity to introduce fees for participants:

“Nachtundnebel is a bit more loosely organized festival and one of the things about it is that it has been under a lot of pressure during these couple of years and every year there is a question: is it going to continue? [...] They do not seem to have the capacity to have big structures... They just say: this is a program, the deadline, please apply. At some point they changed the framework and it turned some people off because it was not there before. I can understand why they did it - they are fighting for their survival. A lot of people do not like that they are asking money to participate, but gosh, it is just twenty-thirty euros and it is easy to understand why they are doing it, and they are doing it for a good thing. We tried to support that” (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

The interviewees note strong collaborative relationship between festival organizers and involvement into festival organization process:

“The workers of Schillerpalais who organize Nachtundnebel are employees of Förderband for this gallery and for this festival” (Tanja Strehle, personal interview).

“In Neukölln we are working closely with Schillerpalais, the gallery founded by us together with artists of Neukölln. In my opinion out of the community gallery is the longest existing one” (Eva Hubner, personal interview).

“Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln organize 48 Hours, but we also participate in the organization process. We participate in the organization by discussions how we change things, in-between the festivals; [discussing] any new ideas and how we can do it. But basically, they do it by their own responsibility” (Katharina Bieler, personal interview).

“In 48 Hours and to a certain extent Nachtundnebel we are very involved, management, organisation, you know, running after people reminding about deadlines etc” (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

Neukölln district administration is involved in festival organization process through cultural department:

“I am really happy that we are part of this project [48 Hours Neukölln Festival]. But as a cultural department, the rest of the administration is rather disconnected from the festival process” (Katharina Bieler, personal interview).

Yet, according to Katharina Bieler, the festival initiator has complete discretion in its decisions: “*What is good that 48 Hours are free to do whatever they want to. Maybe they will have less money from the government next year, but clearly, they can do whatever they want*” (idem).

At the same time circumscribed budget creates situation when not all artists agree to provide their artworks for free: “*With such a festival you cannot pay for everything, for*

*each artwork. So sometimes artists do not agree to work for free and refuse to participate” (idem).*

However, the head of Werkstatt notes that it takes a long time to establish active relationship with the cultural department: *“There is a new director of Culturamt and they invited us to make an exhibition and curate artists working in a network. We have been here for five years until they talked to us”* (Jason Benedict, personal interview).

Regarding the festival organization procedure, Jason notes high number of participants involved in the organization process:

*“48 Hours because of its network, wide network and open format when a lot of people are invited to participate and a lot of discussions made about what is the topic, what do you want to concentrate on. They try to be inclusive. Which has its own pitfalls too, because people can be very vocal about minor details. One of the things that they are doing is trying to shrink the festival a little bit in order to lower the quantity but raise the quality. They started to have curatorial mechanisms: what is included has to be made specifically for the theme of the festival, not just ‘that is my studio’ thing. In some places they exhibited same art project every year for eight years! What is the point?”* (idem).

The interviewee also highlights intensity of discussions during 48 Hours Neukölln Festival organization: *“People can get very emotional. There are open discussions with about fifty people and some of them are yelling...”* (idem).

Regarding the festival programming, the representative of the department of culture also marks the necessity of balancing between artistic and social components of the festival: *“If it is more ‘arty’, you have less people working on it, and if it is more social, it*

*gets boring in terms of art. We are trying to find our place somewhere in the middle”* (idem).

In the case of 48 Hours Neukölln, the artists’ works need to be in line with the general topic of the edition and subsequently artists need to find a place to exhibit or perform it:

“Because the organization says you can enter the festival since you are in the theme. If you do something quite outside the theme, they will not accept you. Which is reasonable if there is no coherence. Then you have to find the space and of course owners can make a choice from different artists, look for the artists that go well with him or her” (Vince van Geffen, persona interview).

“Firstly, a theme gets known, so you start thinking and then every month there is a meeting between artists, space owners and organizers come together to talk, it is a kind of networking. So you can make contacts there: if you are an artist and you need a space, you show around there. Many artists have problems with finding a space, so space owners can select. For example, they can enter a café and they say "well, I want something, which has to do with music to attract people" (idem).

According to Spyriadis (2006), there are a wide range of interstakeholder relationships, varying from positive (cooperative) to negative (high level of competition between organizations). While it is possible to expect signs of conflicts or competition between festival organizers, the relationships’ characteristics indicated in the interviews were rather positive and cooperative. These results are illustrative of collaboration inter-stakeholder setting in festival organization that fosters facilitation aspects of relationships rather than threatening ones.

It is possible to conclude that the goals of different stakeholders do not contradict each other in the key elements, rather being complementary. Indeed, considering contextual



background of the area, three major groups of the organizers' incentives (artists' benefits, social benefits and the image improvement of the area) are rather interconnected.

The absence of general contradictions between different objectives of festival organizers is an important factor for the festival organization process. However, as it can be seen in the interviewees' citations above, three factors create prerequisites for certain tensions during the festival organization process: financial restrictions affect all three festivals (though in case of Boddinale this factor imposes limitations on the size of the festival, not the structure or cooperation between stakeholders); wide horizontal networks (especially in the case of 48 Hours festival) involves many people into the actual organizational process, which in its turn conditions possible complexities during discussion sessions; the third factor concerns keeping a balance in the festival's programming, where artistic benefits need to be merged with social benefits (applicable for 48 Hours festival and Nachtundnebel) in order not to contradict to attainment of collective outcomes, which, considering complex structures of these two festivals, conditions sustainability of collaboration.

Achievement of collective goals such as community benefits or network development is possible due to intensive collaborative relationships between stakeholders. Therefore, achievement of collective goals implies involvement of stakeholders in the integrative elaboration of the planned event.

These aspects help to explain the organizers' intentionality and festival organization process in northern Neukölln. The next chapter is aimed at comparison of the festival initiators' incentives and the festivalization models in two selected neighborhoods.

### 7.3 Comparison of the Festivalization Models in Two Selected Creative Neighborhoods

According to the conducted analysis, the present comparison of the case studies aims to bring together intentionality of the festival organizers in the two areas and specificities of the festival organization process, which aims to understand incentives and motivations of festival initiators and key stakeholders in the formation of the festivalization process.

According to the analysis results, the festival establishing incentives originated from the sides of a non-profit association, a foundation and a private company in El Raval, while festival initiators in northern Neukölln are represented by two non-profit associations and an artists' collective.

As it follows from the analysis, one group of festival initiators in El Raval and northern Neukölln is similar, namely social and cultural associations and foundations. Indeed, two out of three festivals in both quarters are initiated by this group of local actors, which can be explained through strong social orientation (and prominence) of cultural life in these two areas. However, two small-scaled festivals (Lapsus and Boddinale) despite representing minority in this selection, are in quantitative majority in the selected neighborhoods: whereas in El Raval most of the festivals are initiated by private companies (specific industry-oriented), in northern Neukölln this role belongs to local independent artists and art groups (whether they are registered as private companies or not).

As it can be seen in the tables 7.1 and 7.2, original incentives to establish a festival can be categorized into three general sets of goals: social benefits, artists-related benefits and improvement of the image of the area. Although each festival initiator pursues its own aims by organizing a festival, it is possible to elicit certain common features.

It is possible to note that four largest festivals (Raval(s), l'Alternativa, 48 Hours Neukölln and Nachtundnebel) among the selected events are characterized by the presence of

social-related intentionality. However, the prioritization of this broad category of goals depends on the specificity of the event and initiator's profile: while social-oriented aims of l'Alternativa Festival are field-specific and related to cinema, incentives of the organizers of the other three festivals pursuing this set of goals are not field-specific and encompass a broad and multifaceted variety of activities. Therefore, it is possible to state that social-related goals are a strong incentive for the festivalization process in both neighborhoods.

At the same time, comparing another major set of aims to establish a festival, it is possible to mark certain specificities related to each area. While the festival initiators in El Raval indicate a strong relation of benefits of artists in particular field of artistic activities (with the exception of Raval(s) Festival, characterized by prevailing social orientation), the festival initiators in northern Neukölln emphasize the prominence of achievement of artistic benefits beyond specific professional field, highlighting artists' networking within the neighborhood (as in the case of Art Branches of 48 Hours Neukölln Festival). Even the organizers of field-specific Boddinale festival indicate active participation in local multifaceted (in terms of professional activities) artistic communities. Therefore, considering incentives to establish artistic festivals and spheres of interest of their initiators, it is possible to delineate existing festivalization processes existing in two neighborhoods. The festivals of El Raval and northern Neukölln in their diversity are developing in two different paradigms: while those of El Raval are located between *socio-cultural* and *industrial* spheres of action, Neukölln's festivals act in the space within *socio-cultural* and *independent* scopes.

Missions, goals and organizational structures of El Raval's events are indicative of certain axis of activities, where social roles of cultural events and industry-oriented benefits are located on the opposite sides. Indeed, one of the largest festivals in the area, Raval(s), being organized by social and cultural foundation has a strong character of socially oriented cultural event. At the same time, the largest festival in El Raval, l'Alternativa, is

an industry-oriented festival (that focuses on promotion of independent movie scene) with a decent level of social focus as well, mainly through specific workshops, educational programs, screenings and cooperation with social associations like Tot Raval. Finally, Lapsus festival, being organized by a private company is a good example of an event completely devoted to celebration and promotion of one particular field of music industry: electronic music scene. Here Lapsus represents a large number of festivals organized in cooperation with the CCCB, where there are only two main organizing stakeholders, private company and the CCCB itself, promoting different fields of cultural industries (literature, hip-hop music, etc.).

Analysis of Neukölln's festivals shows rather different situation: local festivals operate on the axis between social benefits of cultural festivals and independent (alternative, underground) scene. Two largest festivals of the area, 48 Hours and Nachtundnebel are organized by social and cultural associations and have a clear orientation on social benefits production through creating (at least temporary) workplaces, providing intercultural social-cohesion effect and focusing on providing access to art for disabled people. At the same time, they promote local independent artists, trying to create and support their communities. One good practical example of a successful community project aimed to establishing closer cooperation between local artists is *art-branches* project, introduced by 48 Hours festival. The third festival, Boddinale, is organized by an independent art group and represents the interests of local grassroots filmmakers. There are important differences between Boddinale and l'Alternativa: while both festivals have a clear orientation on alternative cinema, their approaches, scales, programs, audiences, budgets and contents differ a lot (Boddinale is characterized by much smaller scale than l'Alternativa), which preconditions different 'dimensions' of development.

## CHAPTER 8: Conclusion

Taking into account previous set of discussions and the interpretative analysis of the data collected during the present research, the following chapter aims to discuss the findings, provide a comparison of two case studies analyzed in the precedent chapters and therefore answer the research questions of the thesis.

Such an approach provides opportunity for understanding of how Festivalization processes are produced under different creative city strategies, which constitutes the main research question of the present study. The previous chapter was entirely devoted to analyzing the intentionality of the festival initiators and key stakeholder as well as their interplay in the festival organization process, answering the first two sub-questions of this study (*What are the incentives of local artists, policymakers and social associations for producing festivalization?* and *How do actors' incentives and actions interplay in producing festivalization?*). At the same time, the findings presented in the chapters 5, 6 and 7 indicate that there are several main factors constituting specific festivalization formation models in the Creative City context. The following paragraphs aim to provide explanation of these factors and compare selected areas in terms of existing festivalization models. By investigating these factors, the author aims to answer the final research sub-question (*What festivalization strategies emerge?*) and thus provide the answer to the main research question.

As explained in Chapter 5 and 6, the festivalization of the areas depends on the context of the area and its transformation into a 'creative city', a process targeting the development paradigm of the territory. The historical contexts of two case studies are characterized by direct similarities: both neighborhoods had been marked by deep social and economic crises followed by regeneration transformation with a clear accent on the development of cultural potentials of the areas. Indeed, data analysis regarding the histories of two

quarters clearly shows the general ‘negative’ images of pre-regenerated El Raval and northern Neukölln that were predominant in the media of that period. Both neighborhoods were ‘black spots’ of their cities in the eyes of policymakers and almost ‘no-go areas’ for city dwellers as well as tourists. In both cases, there was a clear need to improve the situation.

However, the regeneration processes developed in widely different ways. While El Raval’s revitalization was planned in the general framework of preparations to host Olympic Games (the quarter instead of being a ‘no-go’ area in the very center of Barcelona was designated to become a contemporary cultural center of the city), the regeneration process of northern Neukölln was developing by the gradual influx of creative class representatives. This can be explained through the general approaches to regeneration: while the process of turning El Raval into a cultural center of Barcelona was initiated and conducted by municipality, the one in northern Neukölln albeit started with gradual implementation of new organizational and housing policies, had a clear bottom-up orientation, involving the development of street associations on a micro-level and influx of new ‘creative’ residents, the process, which apparently took more time to develop compared to the case of El Raval.

Therefore, El Raval, being turned into *the center* of contemporary culture of Barcelona has a unique position in the city: with large investments into infrastructure redevelopment and multiple public cultural institutions make it the area with pronounced creative orientation in development as well as its top-down approach.

Revitalization of northern Neukölln was characterized by a different development paradigm. It is possible to regard regeneration and gentrification processes that took place in the area as a continuation of the same processes happened in other Berlin quarters earlier (e.g., Prenzlauer Berg, Friedrichshain and Kreuzberg). It does not mean

that the situation in northern Neukölln simply reiterates what has happened in the neighboring areas: the scales of revitalization and gentrification vary from quarter to quarter and even from street to street as well as the level of acceptance of such processes. Besides that, historical development of Berlin is characterized by its *polycentric* cultural context, with multiple contemporary art centers, district artistic associations and micro-clusters dispersed across the city and with clear inclination towards more alternative and independent art and music scenes, which created a unique artistic atmosphere of the city (Bader and Scharenberg, 2010). This is also related to a limited number of interventions in the cultural life of northern Neukölln from the side of the government. One can argue that the revitalization of northern Neukölln happened prioritizing soft infrastructure development.

These dissimilarities in regeneration processes and the creative city development paradigms also condition the level of institutionalization of the creative city transformation in the two neighborhoods. It is possible to argue that the presence of numerous public cultural institutions in El Raval, their diversity and influence reflect the government-driven regeneration process with pronounced intention to obtain a high level of *patronage* over local artistic life. At the same time, northern Neukölln does not have such a branching top-down network of public cultural entities, where their role in cultural life is rather limited, largely as a result of financial constraints (more detailed discussion of these limitations is presented in Chapter 7). Thus, it is possible to argue that in case of Berlin's neighborhood, a major share of cultural activities, including festivals, belongs to grassroots initiatives.

Despite such widely different approaches, both areas became considerably popular for creative class representatives attracted by a mix of several factors, arguably including adequate standard of living that matches the lifestyle of the newcomers (as well as

redefined identities of the quarters that are transmitted through new 'attractive' images in the media), affordable rent prices and vibrant artistic atmosphere.

The latter aspect become more important the more creative people are living in the area. Coming to live to the new area these groups of people also bring their own lifestyle and habits and the more the share of these people is present, the more these lifestyles become visible. This created prerequisites for development of creative and experience domains in the economy of the neighborhoods where festivalization plays an important role. Interestingly, festivalization started to have an important impact on the creative city construct of northern Neukölln with the growth of 48 Hours popularity and the influence of the festival, serving as one of the main show windows of the neighborhood. Nowadays festivals to a greater extent is a means of communication of creative city development inside the neighborhood as well as abroad, transmitting the image(s) of the neighborhood both inside and outside the area.

The results indicate that festivalization formation process in two creative neighborhoods developed in conformity with the general creative city development paradigms. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, there are pronounced top-down and bottom-up approaches of both Creative City and Festivalization formation in El Raval and northern Neukölln, respectively. Festivals' case studies confirm this mode of festivalization development, on the 'inner' level of the festival organization process. This vector of the festivalization process is pronounced both in the contextual analysis of many art festivals in the area as well as in detailed analysis of the organizational structure of the selected six festivals.

The analysis of the organizing stakeholders of the festivals in question suggests a very prominent role of public cultural institutions in El Raval, which in northern Neukölln is



played (albeit not to the full extent in comparison with El Raval) by involvement of local cultural department. As in case of festival initiators, there is certain similarity in the functional roles of local artists and social and cultural associations, however artistic communities in northern Neukölln are characterized by existence of strong horizontal connections (e.g., through Art Branches).

Results indicate that the funding sources of all three festivals of El Raval receive significant financial support from the side of the government and city hall, while in Neukölln only 48 Hours Festival receives significant direct support from the department of culture, which is arguably related to the lack of broad network of public cultural institutions. Similar situation can be observed in provision of festival venues: while in Berlin's quarter almost all of them are provided by local artists, galleries and independent art spaces, El Raval's festivals actively use those of local cultural institutions, mostly provided by the CCCB. While direct regulatory activities of the city hall and Generalitat come down to the amount of financial support provided to the festival, their role is extended through public institutions that are involved in festival organization process (e.g., the CCCB and many of the co-producers) that are responsible for extension of the festival network, its growth and diversity.

However, besides general benefits of increasing festival budgets, public support dependence possesses its own threats, including precarious economic situation, dependency of projects' scales (and possibly thematic areas) and dependency on funds allocation priorities that have a tendency to change over time. Change of policies and funding highly influence local events, as in case of L'Alternativa's significant change of public funding and thus the festival's budget. This factor presents a potential threat of festival development in the neighborhood. At the same time, relative independence from the public financial support also implies economic instability and necessity to gather funds from other sources (e.g., introduce visitor or participant fees, search for partnership, enter into contracts with sponsors, etc.), while offering greater flexibility.

Festival organizers also pay attention to these strengths and threats and try to find a considered balance. As in the abovementioned case of l'Alternativa festival, the budget reduction was followed by increasing the role of the festival communities in the organization process. Indeed, the pronounced characteristic of the festival is highly elaborated network between major cultural organizations and l'Alternativa's community, which along with active interaction largely increase the sustainability of the event, even in times of significant budget cuts.

Regarding the provision of human resources, it is possible to conclude that Neukölln's social and cultural foundations are characterized by high level of cooperation with Berlin's employment offices and foundations, while in El Raval the collaboration between these actors is rather limited (in this research present only in the case of Raval(s) Festival) and arguably offset by cooperation with cultural institutions.

It is also possible to notice that non-specific festivals celebrating multiple kinds of contemporary art are more inclusive for various local cultural actors. Thus, such festivals tend to cooperate with as many local actors as possible, which crystallizes into broad networks of stakeholders involved.

It is possible to conclude that the two discussed models of the festivalization formation and development possess both similarities and contrasts, bearing their own benefits and weaknesses. At the same time, the results illustrate that the processes of creative city development and festivalization are inextricably linked in the areas under discussion. Moreover, these two processes influence each other to a large extent. While creative city development paradigm creates prerequisites for the growth (in size and numbers) of art and cultural festival through reallocating resources necessary to develop cultural domain, festivalization process influences the development of cultural agenda of the creative neighborhood, development of specific network structures between cultural actors of the area, creating opportunities for social cohesion, building (or reinventing) the image of the

territory, influencing local cultural life and formation of its unique atmosphere. Therefore, it is possible to elucidate the two-way character of interrelation between the creative city strategies and festivalization, considering growing importance of festivalization as both an outcome of cultural transformation of the area as well as an input into creative city project in the quarter.

Besides that, as the findings of the present study suggest, socio-cultural factor play a highly prominent role in festivalization of the neighborhoods under discussion. According to the literature review, creative city strategies carry as potential benefits and potential threats and points of weakness, usually related to social domain. The results of the analysis of festival organizers intentionality indicates that in the context of the creative city development, the festivalization process is conceived to play a twofold role: strengthening the benefits of creative city strategies through fostering development of cultural sphere, while mitigating possible social threats. Indeed, as empirical analysis suggests, the festivals are considered as one of the most prominent means (or at least perceived as such) to enliven cultural life (through cultural promotion, image building and other incentives) as it is seen by the majority of interviewees. At the same time, interview analysis suggests a strong belief in social benefits (social cohesion, establishing links, community building, etc.) of the festivals, which makes festivalization a highly important strategy of social and cultural life development of the area. At the same time, interviewees did not indicate belief in the downsides of festivals or festivalization process, focusing on positive outcomes.

Besides this, it is possible to argue that festivalization is nowadays transformed from a mere instrument of policy-makers into a full-fledged strategy within the creative city paradigm that enriches and transforms the city in which it occurs. Therefore, decision-makers need to understand the potential role in festivalization of neighborhood residents and economic actors as well as the complexity of how these actors interrelate and their relationship with structural processes such as governance regimes or cultural-historical

trajectories, which constitute a specific urban setting in which the process takes place, namely creative district, quarter, neighborhood or (in some cases) the whole city, since urban space besides being socially constructed also shapes production, consumption and organizational modes of forming festivalization. Indeed, it is hard to successfully festivalize *any* urban setting, it should have certain historical, tangible and intangible *specificity* related to urban governance and residents of the area.

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