

ART PRODUCTION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Can artists escape the logic of cultural gentrification thanks to
collective forms of organization?

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Abstract

Logics of cultural gentrification affect artists in many cities. This thesis aims at understanding if there is a way to contrast those logics and preserve artistic productions in urban environments. This research focuses on the case of the Copenhagen-based organization 'Fabrikken'. The collective organizational form and the accommodating attitude of the artists at Fabrikken are believed to be a solution to the gentrification mechanisms.

The case of Fabrikken is framed into the broader discourse on urban regeneration. Many post-industrial cities are trying to fill up the gap that manufactory industries left in the urban economies. According to part of the literature, the much-discussed 'Theory of the Creative Class' has led to a misuse of creativity and cultural industries in regard to urban regeneration: shifting the focus on consumption rather than production, and increasing logics of cultural gentrification.

Focusing on production, this thesis aims to contribute to the urban regeneration discourse with a specific example from the art industry, providing insights on how to preserve the art production.

This thesis introduces the reader to the cultural industries through the review of the main theories about the topic. It explains why cultural production became so relevant in the new economy and how cultural innovation is influenced by geographical and social factors. Reporting examples from New York City, the literature review proceeds explaining how art and culture's *modus operandi* triggers urban regeneration and therefore gentrification. The review ends showing the negative effects that the creative class has on the cultural district, reporting also the solutions applied so far.

A qualitative method was used to address the research problem. The fieldwork carried out at Fabrikken included the gathering of data through interviews and observations. Due to the limitation of the study it has been decided not to generalize the results. However, the thesis concludes demonstrating how artists organized in collective forms, which also play an active role in the local communities, are more likely to contrast gentrification logics. In particular, artists benefit from knowledge spillovers and availability of improvisational space. Even if organized in a collective form, artists still play an important role in urban regeneration, but the artistic social realm results to be more private in comparison to the one described by the previous literature where artists are not organized together.

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Chapter 1 – Research Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Contemporary economy has undergone important changes in regarding to the structures of production and work. In particular, production methods shifted from high levels of mechanization to high levels of computerization and incessant innovation, at the same time the workforce with cognitive skills increased. Those new characteristics have been labeled as ‘the new economy’ or ‘post-Fordism’ (Scott 2010).

Urban areas are the place where those changes had their greater effect: the manufactory industries that used to be located in industrial cities moved to cheaper places leaving behind a gap in the city economy (Pratt 2008).

It is in this framework that urban policy makers started seeking a new equilibrium for cities economies. At first through hi-tech industry, image promotion and place marketing. More recently the focus shifted on creativity and cultural industries due also to the theory of the Creative Class by Richard Florida (Pratt 2008). According to Florida (2012) urban regeneration can be achieved attracting members of the creative class. In fact, firms will establish themselves in cities with higher concentration of creative class because they need it as creative labor force (Florida 2012).

Cities are competing to brand themselves as the most ‘creative’ in order to attract the creative class. To achieve this goal, policy makers have made instrumental use of creative and cultural industries through cultural policies that focus on consumption rather than production (Pratt 2008). Artists as well have been affected by this urban regeneration theory. In fact, one of the factors, which make cities attractive for the creative class, is the opportunity of consuming an artistic and bohemian lifestyle (Florida 2012). Therefore, artists struggle to keep working in cultural districts, which became attractive residential areas for the creative class (Zukin and Braslow 2011).

On the other hand, Pratt (2008) argues that cultural industries are “one of the potential motors of urban growth and regeneration in their own right” (Pratt 2008, p.2).

Following Pratt’s statement this thesis aim to provide insights for the development of policies that helps stimulating the cultural production in the urban areas. This thesis focuses on one cultural industry in particular: the visual arts.

In urban areas artists are sometimes victims of ‘Cultural Gentrification’, and the policies implemented so far seem not to provide useful results (Zukin and Braslow 2011).

This thesis reports the example of 'Fabrikken for Kunst og Design', a Copenhagen-based collective form of organization where many artists have established their studios. The organization is the subject of this qualitative study. The aim of the research is to understand if a collective form of organization, like Fabrikken, can represent a valid solution to contrast cultural gentrification.

1.2 Research question

The research question that guided this thesis is the following:

'In order to keep artistic productions in the urban environments: can artists escape the logic of cultural gentrification thanks to collective forms of organization?'

Collective forms of organization mean that artists are not individually organized, but they are in a situation, like Fabrikken, where they share a certain space for artistic production.

In order to answer the research question it is necessary to consider also the following sub questions:

1. What happen to the artistic production when artists are organized in a collective form?
2. Does the social dimension, which characterizes artistic production, undergo any changes?
3. Can artists regenerate the surrounding area even if they are organized in a collective form?
4. Does the interaction with the members of the creative class undergo changes when artists are organized in a collective form?
5. What happen to the relation between artists and gentrification when they are organized in a collective form?

1.3 Motivation

This section explains the personal motivation for researching on the cultural industries and in particular the visual arts. The initial idea was to explore the relation between cities and cultural industries, in order to identify practices that would help both policy makers and cultural industries to improve its benefits. The focus on cultural industries derives from my study path while the focus on cities comes from an internship, within urban development, done during the previous semester. However, the research question changed over time. I found out that I could contribute to the general discourse on urban regeneration with a specific example from the art industry.

I have always been passionate about art, and during the time spent working on this paper there has been further stimulus. In fact, the qualitative nature of this research gave me the opportunity to engage closely with the artistic world, in particular in its more private moment: the production phase.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter one introduced the research illustrating the discourse about urban economic regeneration, creative class and cultural industries. Moreover, the research question and the motivations for engaging in this particular topic have been presented.

Chapter two will review the previous literature in order to inform the reader about the on going discourse about cultural industries. In particular, the chapter will focus first on the definition of cultural industries, and then on the cultural production, showing the relation between the geography dimension and cultural product innovation. The review will continue describing the Creative Class theory and how it contributes to the gentrification of cultural districts.

Chapter three presents the research design and the methodological choice regarding the fieldwork carried out at Fabrikken.

Chapter four provides the reader with a description of Fabrikken and a summary of the empirical findings.

Chapter five analyses the empirical findings in relation to the discussed literature. It answers the research questions and lays the foundation for tentative conclusions.

Chapter six summarizes the study, reports the research conclusions and limitations. At last, it provides recommendations for further studies.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter provides a review of the relevant literature, and it combines different theories in order to create the theoretical framework of the research, which will be later compared with the empirical data gathered on the field.

The chapter is divided in twelve sections presented in a sequential way covering three main themes: the cultural industries, the cultural production and the creative class theory.

The first three sections focus on the cultural industries providing an understanding of the origin of the term, the issues related to their definition and why they became so relevant in the new economy. Sections five, six, seven and eight focus on the cultural production showing the characteristics and the relation with the geographical dimension.

The last sections introduce the creative class theory showing which effects it has on the cultural production.

2.2 Cultural industries: origin of the term

The term ‘cultural industries’ originates from its singular form ‘the culture industry’, which was coined by the German philosophers and sociologists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer. They mentioned it for the first time in the chapter ‘The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception’ of the book ‘Dialectic of Enlightenment’ published in 1944 (O’Connor 2010). The term was used to draw attention to the fact that culture and industry, two opposite fields, were actually starting to get closer, this because sometimes culture started to be produced according to economic schemes (Hesmodhalgh 2013). The effects of this trend, identified as ‘the culture industry’, are the introduction of profit motive into culture and therefore the destruction of the ‘autonomy of art’, intended as art and culture autonomy from market logics. The culture industry represents also a shift in the way culture is produced, in fact the term ‘industry’ does not imply the application of any industrial process to culture, but it means that culture is produced for masses and according to a plan (Adorno 2001). Thus, in its original acceptance ‘the culture industry’ was intended as the application of profit motive to culture, subtracting the previous autonomy from market logics, this

process can be summarized as the commodification of culture due to modern capitalism (Hesmondhalgh 2007).

Later the term culture industry became largely used as a way of criticizing the transformation that culture was undergoing, in order to include all complexity of industries that were responsible for this process, the term was converted to its plural form 'cultural industries' (Hesmondhalgh 2007).

Nowadays, the term has lost its critical value and it is used instead to define an economic sector. However, the discussion about the definition is still open therefore the boundaries that delimit the cultural industries are still unclear. In the next paragraph will be presented and compared definitions of the cultural industries according to different authors, as it will be showed those definitions are diverging rather than converging.

2.3 Cultural industries: definition issues

In his process of defining the cultural industries Hesmondhalgh (2007) starts analyzing the definition of culture. Culture is defined as "the signifying system through which necessarily (though other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored" (Williams, 1981:13, original emphasis, cited in Hesmondhalgh, 2007, p.16). According to this definition culture is strictly related with the social order. Therefore, Hesmondhalgh (2007) identifies as cultural industries all those institutions that are "involved in the production of social meaning" (Hesmondhalgh 2007, p.16), the presence of a profit motive it is not essential.

The social meaning is produced and transmitted to an audience under the form of "texts" (Hesmondhalgh 2007, p.16). In order to understand what represents a text and what does not, it is necessary to consider the balance between functional aspects and communicative aspects. Texts tend to have more communicative aspect than functional aspect. Therefore, the cultural industries are the ones that industrially produce and distribute texts (Hesmondhalgh 2007).

Hesmondhalgh (2007) classifies, what he defines as cultural industries, in two main groups: 'the core cultural industries' and 'the peripheral cultural industries'. In the core group are included: Broadcasting, film industries, music industries, print and electronic publishing, digital games, advertising, marketing, public relations and web design. While in the peripheral group are included all the cultural industries, which are always involved in the production of texts, but their production methods are non-industrial or semi-industrial. Therefore, their capability of reaching a wide audience is limited. For those two reasons they are classified as peripheral. Examples of this kind of

industries are the arts and theatre (Hesmondhalgh 2007). Hesmondhalgh (2007) concludes declaring that he focuses on the cultural industries that are characterized by industrial production, deal with the circulation of texts and rely on the work of symbols creators.

Another attempt to define the cultural industries has been made by the Australian economist David Throsby in a dedicated chapter of his book 'Economics and Culture'.

Instead of starting the analysis from the definition of culture, like Hesmondhalgh, Throsby (2001) focuses first on the meaning of the word 'industry'. In the beginning he disclaims any economic motive, pejorative judgment or ideological meaning of the word, while he states that it is used to draw attention on the processes by which cultural goods are produced and brought to the market (Throsby 2001). Throsby's analysis seems to be more interested in the economic effects of cultural industries rather than how they could affect culture.

According to Throsby (2001) what makes so difficult to define the cultural industries is the confusion about the delimitation of cultural products and services. Therefore he provides a definition; "Cultural goods and services involve creativity in their production, embody some degree of intellectual property and convey symbolic meaning." (Throsby 2001, p.112) According to this definition an industry producing a commodity that incorporate all those three characteristics can be included in the group of the cultural industries.

Throsby (2001) proposes a model based on concentric circles in order to group all the industries that can be considered in some way as 'cultural'. However, the delimitations for considering an industry as 'cultural' are not really clear. For this reason Throsby (2001) arranges the industries from the 'more cultural' to the 'less cultural'. The distinguish characteristic for arranging the different industries is represented by 'the creative ideas', which are located in the locus of origin of the concentric circles model (Throsby 2001). Therefore, the activities in the inner circles are the one relying almost only on creative ideas, while in the external circles are the industries where creative ideas are combined with other inputs in order to produce a wider range of products (Throsby 2001). The industries grouped in circles close to the locus of origin are the ones that can be considered as more 'pure' because pursuing more creative values rather than commercial values (Throsby 2001). In the first concentric circle are the creative arts, intended as music, dance, theatre, literature, the visual arts, the crafts, and multimedia arts. In the next groups of concentric circles are included the industries that produce cultural goods combined together with other non-cultural goods.

Comparing the definition of cultural industries provided by Hesmondhalgh with the one provided by Throsby it is possible to notice that the first author tends to have the production of social meaning and the communication of symbols as main features of the cultural industries. On the other hand, Throsby (2001) collocates the creative ideas as main characteristics of cultural industries. In his book Hesmondhalgh (2007) criticizes Throsby's model claiming that his definition could be represented in a concentric circles model as well, but with the difference that in the inner circles he would position the industries with more industrialized forms of cultural production, while in the external circles the one with semi-industrialized forms of cultural production. Therefore, he would arrange the cultural industries according to their degree of industrialized production. On the other hand Throsby uses the ratio of creative versus commercial goals as a discriminating factor between inner and external circles (Hesmondhalgh 2007).

If it is taken into consideration the history of the term 'cultural industries', it could be possible to agree that Throsby's definition of cultural industries is more in line, or at least coherent with the original meaning of the term coined by Adorno. In fact, as mentioned before, the term was intended to be an oxymoron between two worlds that were getting closer but that were originally in contrast: industry and culture. Thus, it could be more logical to position in the inner concentric circles the creative ideas, and the more commercialized ones in the external circles as a way to see the degree of 'contamination' of culture. In this sense Throsby's definition it is better at providing that sense of contrast that was in the beginning, but at the same time it is a good tool to group together industries according to their produced output.

Moreover, Hesmondhalgh (2007) uses the production mode as discriminating factor between core and peripheral cultural industries. In fact, according to Hesmondhalgh (2007) cultural industries with industrial production methods are classified as core, while the ones using semi- or non-industrial methods as peripheral. However, this seems to be in contrast with the original meaning of the term 'the culture industry' provided by Adorno, this because as the latter author writes:

"The expression 'industry' is not to be taken too literally. It refers to the standardization of the thing itself – such as that of the western, familiar to every movie-goer – and to the rationalization of distribution techniques, but not strictly to the production process." (Adorno 2001, p.100)

Thus, the importance given by Hesmondhalgh to the production process it seems not to be a heritage of the previous literature about cultural industries.

It is important to keep in mind that the purpose of this paper is not to find a solution to the controversy about the definition of the cultural industries. However, since the cultural industries are subject of this research it was intended to provide the reader with a general overview on the different opinions about the ongoing defining process.

Moreover, this research will use the definition of cultural industries provided by Throsby because he defines the art industry as core within the cultural industries.

2.4 The importance of cultural industries in the new economy

In the previous section it was presented an overview of the ongoing discourse about the definition of the cultural industries. Now the focus shifts on how the initial polarity between culture and commerce has faded. Moreover, it will be showed how major changes in production processes and products made cultural industries more relevant for the modern economy.

Since the 18th century commerce and culture were perceived as two opposite poles, with antithetical values and no forms of intersection at all. In fact while the industrial revolution brought new production methods and urbanization, on the other side the romanticism movement was trying to preserve the autonomy of art (Scott 2008). The city environment has always been a fertile ground for both culture and economic activity (Hall 1998, cited in Scott 2000). However, proletarian workers and artist were rarely gathering together, and the two different environments could be seen as mutually exclusive until the beginning of the twenty-first century when the two sectors started converging (Scott 2000, 2008). This is an approach from both sides, in fact:

“This phenomenon is a reflection of the tendency in modern capitalism for cultural production to become increasingly commodified while commodities themselves become increasingly invested with symbolic value.” (Scott 2000, p.3)

The above statement by Scott goes further Adorno’s concern about culture industrialization mentioned before. In fact, it is not only culture that starts to be produced according to industrial methods, but it is also used in order to invest commodities with symbolic meaning (Scott 2000).

As a result cultural industries start becoming more economically relevant both from a production and consumption point of view (Pratt 2008). There are two different factors that can be considered the cause of the growing importance of the cultural industries. First thanks to “the growth of disposable consumer income, [the] consumption of cultural products is expanding at an accelerating pace” (Scott 2000, p.3), meaning that the market for cultural goods is growing consistently. Second this tendency of commodities to be invested with symbolic value increases the importance of symbolic value creators in the production process of commercial goods, marking a decrease of the polarity between culture and commerce.

The new focus on the cultural industries is motivated not only by a new market for cultural goods and the introduction of symbolic value creators in production process, but also by main changes in the world’s economy. As stated by Scott (2010), in the late years topics such as creative cities, human capital, innovation, creativity and Florida’s creative class have gained attention by many geographers, sociologists and regional scientists. The raising of the attention on those topics is caused by an important change in the structures of production and work, which can be described as a shift from Fordism to post-Fordism (Scott 2010).

Actually this phenomenon has been labeled in many ways in order to reflect the many different aspects of it, in fact it is possible to talk about: flexible specialization, post-Fordism, the knowledge economy, the new economy, cognitive capitalism or cognitive-cultural economy (Scott 2010). However, it is possible to identify a common trait of these different derivations:

“The prominent features of these phenomena is that they are associated with high levels of computerization and incessant innovation in both process and product configurations, especially when compared with the economy of mechanization and repetition that dominated up to about the 1980s.” (Scott 2010, p.115)

The description provided by Scott doesn’t need much further clarifications; all those different faces of this new economic phenomenon have in common a shift from products made by mechanic and repetitive processes to products that are the result of more cognitive labor carried out through the use of the new technologies. For cognitive labor is intended the exercise of creativity in order to innovate.

This shift marked the end of many industrial cities and the rise of cultural industries as a way to boost new economical growth. In fact:

“Public officials in Europe and North America are motivated mainly by the decline of their industrial economies and the desire to jump-start a new era of post-industrial growth, older industrial cities such as London, Osaka and Yokohama also aim at ‘social inclusion’, which includes targeting cultural services.” (Zukin and Braslow 2011, p.131)

One of the strategies adopted by the public officials in order to stimulate post-industrial growth is the Creative Class theory by Richard Florida that, as it will be showed later, is related in some ways with the cultural production (Zukin and Braslow 2011).

The next sections will focus on the description of cultural production while the discourse on the cultural industries and the creative class will be resumed later.

2.5 The cultural production

This section will illustrate how creative processes that characterize cultural production are linked with the social dimension. Therefore, they are inevitably linked with the environment where they take place as well.

In his model based on concentric circles and used for describing the cultural industries, Throsby (2001) puts the creative ideas at the foundations of his model.

According to Scott (2010) there is some confusion about the word ‘creativity’. This can be due to the fact that the word can assume different meanings and to the recent increased use of the term in many latter publications. Therefore, for the sake of clarification a further understanding of the term ‘creativity’ is recommended.

In his article on the cultural economy and the creative field of the city Scott (2010) includes a short interlude about creativity; the purpose is not to obtain a universal definition of creativity but to investigate about creativity in a social context.

He starts with some clarifying definition of three related terms: learning, creativity and innovation. Learning is defined as a propaedeutic activity; in fact it provides information and procedures for the creative activity (Scott 2010). Creativity is about transforming thoughts and actions into novel

insights, which however, might not have any tangible significance (Scott 2010). Innovation is defined as the practical application in any domains of the insights produced in the creative activity (Scott 2010). The three activities can be seen as three consecutive steps of a process that leads to innovation, however as specified by the author, learning does not always lead to creativity and creativity does not always lead to innovation. This means that those three activities can be highly interconnected but at the same time well separated (Scott 2010).

Continuing on the analysis the author claims that creativity is embedded between two different spheres: the psychological one and the sociological one, meaning that those two polarities both represent a source of creativity (Scott 2010).

The following three points, provided by the author, helps to get a better understanding of how creativity works in a social context.

First it must take into consideration that the daily environment influences the creativity of the individuals living in it therefore some aspects are absorbed by the individuals and reflected back into their creative output. The second point stresses the importance of recognition; creative outputs must be recognized as such by others, meaning that the social context is able to confer meaning to a creative output. Third point is about the opportunity of boosting creativity through transactional networks, an example of this is the use of project-based organization or teams, where individuals with different backgrounds helps cross fertilization in order to achieve a radically innovative output.

As it emerges from the preceding digression, the social environment is inevitably interconnected with the process that leads to the generation of creative ideas, which are at the foundation of the cultural industries. This creative process applies to all the creative industries, which is a broader set where cultural industries are included as well. Cultural industries differ because of their creative process, which is characterized by a “relative (but not absolute) freedom from underlying technological constraints and [...] dominantly cognitive character” (Scott 2000, p.30). The cultural production is therefore characterized by a strong influence by the social environment, as all the creative industries, but it differs because of a relative freedom from technological constraints (Scott 2000, 2010).

The social environment has an influence on the creative process, which is at the fundamentals of the cultural production, this brings into the discussion another parameter; the geographical dimension. The inclusion of this new dimension in the discourse is due to the fact that “all social relationships

are necessarily characterized by extension in space” (Scott 2010, p.121) because of this it is necessary a geographical analysis of the ‘space’ where the creative production process and the influential social relationships take place.

Moreover, a hint about the importance of the geographical dimension is given by the fact that lately it is possible to observe:

“The production of culture tending to become more and more concentrated in a privileged set of localized clusters of firms and workers, while final outputs are channeled into even more spatially extended networks of consumptions” (Scott 2000, p.4).

In other words, cultural industries tend to have the production process situated in specific local environments, while the cultural consumption happens in a global environment. The cultural production process is therefore somehow related with the local environment, this requires an analysis of the production process from a geographical and economic point of view.

2.6 Clustering in the cultural industries

The literature review will continue focusing on the production process and in particular on product innovation, this because of two reasons. First the high focus on innovation, as seen before, is at the core of the New Economy (Scott 2010). Second product innovation can be considered the most important part in cultural industries’ value-creating process because it is in the product innovation process where the intellectual property rights arise (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

As seen before the production of culture tends to be concentrated in clusters (Scott 2000) and it is legitimate to wonder why. In fact the question ‘why do cultural industries cluster?’ is part of the title of the article by Lorenzen and Frederiksen in which through methods of economic geography and literature on cultural industries the two authors answer to the previous question (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The tendency to cluster of some economic activities has already been object of studies more than a century ago; the novelty in the approach of Lorenzen and Frederiksen (2008) consists of analyzing the different types of clustering. In fact:

“A central question in this respect is whether there are systematic differences in the structures and dynamics of clusters that arise in small towns, or hitherto rural regions, versus clusters that arise in urban regions.” (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008, p.156)

According to the authors the answer is positive, clusters that arise in non-urban regions have different positive externalities from clusters arising in urban regions. In particular non-urban clusters enjoy only localization economies while urban clusters enjoy co-localization economies and only in some cases localization economies as well (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The analysis proceeds with the examination of the positive externalities arising from localization and urbanization.

For ‘localization’ is intended the clustering of firms that present similarities in product offer and in knowledge base. Therefore, for localization economies is intended the positive externalities that those firms can enjoy due to the proximity of other similar firms (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

Those positive externalities are caused by three different phenomena.

The first one is the ‘specialization of industry’, which generate two types of externalities. Static externalities resulting in product flexibility and variety: this thanks to the co-ordination between firms that share the same product offer and knowledge base. On the other hand, dynamic externalities are represented by knowledge spillovers among the firms within the cluster, which might evolve in incremental innovation. Dynamic externalities are considered responsible for increases in efficiency due to the fact that knowledge spillovers might increase the completion among the firms (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The second phenomenon is the ‘specialization of labor market’ intended as the creation of an abundant pool of qualified workers in the cluster, which lead to an increase of the quality of the product (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

Third phenomenon is the ‘specialization of institutions and infrastructures’ resulting in the arise of specialized technical services for the firms and also the creation of secondary educations institutes which result in a constant improve of the specific skills (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

Urbanization economies are the positive externalities arising from the positioning of firms in an urban environment. Also in this case those positive externalities arise from three different phenomena (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The first one is ‘diversity of industry’, intended as the co-location of firms characterized by different product offer and knowledge base. This diversity of industries generates static and dynamic externalities. Static externalities arise from occasional collaborations that might evolve, in turn, in novel products or products combinations. On the other hand, dynamic externalities arise under the form of unrelated knowledge spillovers that might lead to radical innovation. Another kind of positive externalities, due to the diversity of industry, is represented by the flow of capitals from well-established industries to industries in need of capital, which result in a fertile environment for start-ups (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The positive externalities related to the ‘diversity of labor market’ depend on the fact that this variety of skills can improve the circulation of ideas and create a fertile environment for entrepreneurship (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The ‘diversity of institutions and infrastructures’ meant as the presence on the urban environment of universities, research centers and infrastructures, as international airports, which all together can facilitates the improvement of skills and the circulation of ideas at a global scale (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

Some cities are able to accommodate different specialized clusters; in this way the firms operating in those cities are able to benefit from both localization and urbanization economies. Therefore, they enjoy all the externalities seen before, this because of the specialization within the cluster and because of the surroundings of diverse cluster within the city (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

Megacities, cities with more than 10 millions habitants, are generally more adapt to support both specialization and diversity. However, city size is not the only factor for being able to combine urbanization and localization economies. In fact the possibility of enjoying externalities from both economies depends also on other factors like: the strength of the city’s global flows of capital and politics or the quality of urban institutions. Meaning that also “medium-sized cities that are globally well connected may support world-class cluster” (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008, p.161).

The previous section explained the relation between product innovation and geography by the fact that social relationships that occur in a determinate space can influence the creative activity. Therefore, they have an influence on innovation as well. It appears that the geographic dimension can influence product innovation (Scott 2010). Now that the externalities deriving from the social

relationships related to localization or urbanization economies have been explained, the explanation of the relation between geographical dimension and product innovation will proceed further.

2.7 Geography of cultural product innovation

Cultural products innovation is achieved through three different innovation types. The majority of the time innovation is limited to product differentiation through variety or novelty, while rarely new radical products are developed (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008). Differentiation through variety consists of replacing products already on the market following the preexistent aesthetic schemes; on the other hand differentiation through novelty consists of the generation of products that are not linked with the already existing aesthetic schemes or genre on the market. Differently, cultural products representing radical innovations consist of the combination of different cultural products or the combination of cultural product with new technologies (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The geographical positioning of a cultural firm influence the kind of positive externalities the firm may enjoy. Since some types of innovation require the fruition of particular types of externalities, it results that the geographical positioning of a cultural firm can influence its capacity to achieve particular forms of innovations. The relations are summarized as following.

In their article Lorenzen and Frederiksen (2008) claims that: differentiation through variety requires localization economies deriving from the clustering of related firms in the same location, differentiation through novelty requires urbanization economies deriving by positioning in an urban environment where different firms operate, while radical innovation requires both localization economies deriving from clustering and urbanization economies. As seen before, this last combination is likely to happen in well globally connected cities that usually are characterized by a high-level population.

The above-mentioned relations are explained as followed:

“Variety comes about through incremental small steps of change, adding to existing products. This is a process of trying out new combinations of existing, related knowledge, which may be undertaken by shifting projects with relatively stable ecologies of related, well-established, firms and freelancers. Hence, localization economies are central.” (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008, p.165)

While the case of differentiating through novelty requires a co-location of related firms in an urban environment, in order for those firms to be able to enjoy the diversity of industries, labor, institutions and infrastructures. This diversity is transmitted under the form of:

“[s]pillovers of aesthetic and ideas from one cultural industry to another- for example, when storylines of video games enter into stage plays, or when music or television shows emulate the styles of street artists- can also spur innovation.” (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008, p.171)

Furthermore the authors provide an explanation why it is precisely the urban environment the location where cultural industries can enjoy the externalities deriving from such diversity. The reason can be found first in the fact that only urban areas provide high quality and specialized services such as legal and financial assistance, in addition to adequate infrastructures. Second explanation can be found in the existence of a series of factors whereby creative people prefer to live in urban areas. Therefore, cultural industries need to be located in urban areas in order to draw from this creative knowledge. This preference is due to the fact that cities are often the location where those creative people are educated (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008). Moreover, according to Florida (2012) the tolerance, diversity and free artistic expression that can be found in cities contributes to attract creative people.

However, it must be taken into account that less established young artists need to live in the city where it is easier to create connection for new jobs or for promoting their artworks, while well established artists who are already ‘famous’ and already possess a broad network could also decide to move to outside the urban environment since they work through the already existing connections (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

The clustering conditions are different for the third type of cultural product innovation.

“While variety and novelty creation cluster in cities, the rare radical product innovation typically takes place only in a few particular cities.” (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008, p.173)

For particular city is meant ‘global megacities’, which are able to accommodate at the same time and in the same place several specialized clusters. In this way firms can enjoy positive externalities both from localization and urbanization economies that increase the possibility to reach radical

innovation (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008). As mentioned before, radical innovation consists of the combination of more different cultural products or in the combination of cultural products with new technologies, for this reason is necessary the proximity of other clusters specialized either in other cultural products or in high-tech fields in order to achieve radical innovations.

In the next sections starts the review of the literature that analyses the locus of cultural production, which as seen, it results to be the place in the city environment where cultural industries cluster, in other words the cultural district.

2.8 The cultural district

From the analysis of the cultural production process it is important to keep in mind two facts: first the environment has an influence on the final output of cultural industries (Scott 2010) and second it results that cultural industries tend to organize their production in urban clusters in order to enjoy urbanization economies, in particular they tend to do so in global cities in order to enjoy localization economies as well (Lorenzen and Frederiksen 2008).

This chapter will focus more closely on the cultural cluster in order to understand its working mechanisms and the relation with the city environment.

In the following part the reader might find some references to New York City, this because the relevant literature uses this city as a case study. Anyhow, as stated by the authors, the results can be inferred and applied to other cities.

The book ‘The Warhol Economy, How Fashion Art & Music Drive New York City’ by Elizabeth Currid provides an insight about New York based cultural industries. The author starts with an historical retrospective about how the city managed to become a world cultural hub, thus through a description of the cultural consumption and production, she finishes demonstrating how relevant cultural industries are for the city economy. The highlighting of the relevance of the cultural production cluster for the city economy can be interpreted as an invitation for the policy makers to take action against the gentrification mechanisms described in the book.

Currid (2007) describes some working mechanisms of the cultural industries whose comprehension appears to be relevant for the purpose of this research.

Unlike other industries, the *modus operandi* of the cultural economy is characterized by a higher degree of subjectivity. Currid (2007) claims that cultural economy is taste-driven and not performance-driven. This because it is difficult to measure the performance of a cultural product in advance, this peculiarity of the cultural products has been named by the American economist Richard Caves the ‘nobody knows’ effect. This effect is reflected also on the choice of collaboration and partnerships in the cultural production, in fact:

“[b]ecause of the ambiguity over how to truly measure the success of a product -or even if its successes is measurable- social dynamics play a determining role in dictating who to hire to do graphic design or what shoe design to send to production.” (Currid 2007, p.78)

Therefore, social dynamics play an important role not only, as shown before, influencing creativity but also affecting the possible future collaborations and opportunities on the job market. Those social dynamics are characterized by a high degree of informality: “deals are not made in the board room, they are made on the dance floor” (Power cited in Currid 2007, p.89). Since social relationships happen in physical space, the importance of the geographic dimension for the cultural industries is highlighted once again. However, unlike before, it is this informal characterization of those social relationships that bring the focus on a particular kind of spaces: the ones that allow informal socialization and serendipitous encounters. This happens on the street, coffee shops, restaurants, galleries, show rooms, nightclubs, bars and so on. Taking ad example New York City the reader might be thinking about how few are the chances of meeting the right person in a coffee shop. The fact is that “[t]he social networks [of creative people] are grounded in particular places where culture is produced and consumed” (Currid 2007, p.79).

From the above-described mechanisms the author infers some peculiarities of art and culture’s *modus operandi*. The first one is: “[a]rt and culture are at their most efficient within their social life” (Currid 2007, p.183). Meaning that both art and culture are inherently social, in fact the social environment influences the creative production process, in particular in the way products are diffused, creativity is evaluated and on jobs offers and careers developments.

The second one is: “[a]rt and culture work best when they are most dense” (Currid 2007, p.183). In this statement the author links the efficiency of the cultural production with a geographical variable. In other words the proximity of cultural industries is positively related with their efficiency.

Summarizing, art and culture work best when they are dense in an environment that allows the development of a very active social life. Therefore, an environment with those characteristics influences positively the efficiency of the cultural production. However, this must not be taken in a strict Darwinian sense. In fact cultural industries are capable of influencing and modifying the environment in order to create the conditions that favorite their working mechanisms. These changes are intended mostly to institute the informal social realm. However, the institution of this informal social realm, that basically consist of venues, coffee shops, small galleries and clubs established with the aim of improving the circulation of cultural products, has as a secondary effect; the regeneration of downtrodden neighborhoods and urban areas (Currid 2007). This regenerating effect is due to the fact that artists originally moved into areas of the city where rental prices were aligned with their low incomes, in many cases old abandoned manufactory buildings started to be used again as housing places by artists. Those lofts are characterized by ample spaces not separated by walls that allow the artists to use them not only for housing purposes, but also as studios and venues for cultural production (Currid 2007).

However, linked to this artists' capability to contribute to urban regeneration there is another effect, which is named after a loft district in the southern part of Manhattan, whose utilization changed during the 1970s from old manufacturing area into artists 'studios and art galleries district.

"The SoHo Effect - artists move to a blighted neighborhood, make it interesting, and then, with rents rising because of the neighborhood's new creative cachet, wealthier residents come in, push up the rents, and push out the very artists that made the place special and interesting in the first place." (Currid 2007, p.179)

Moreover:

"Cultural hubs can attract so much interest that rents rise, space used by artists are converted to more profitable uses at higher rents, and cultural producers can no longer afford to work and/or live there. More affluent members of the creative class move into luxury loft-apartments, which were poor artists' studios; they become the main patrons of the cultural district restaurants, boutiques and bars." (Zukin and Braslow 2011, p.132)

Those two last quotes describe how artists have the capacity of regenerate urban areas making them attractive places to live, in fact after the areas have been regenerated, land prices and rents rise, then wealthier people able to afford them move in, while artists moves out. Usually after a couple of decades the artistic neighborhoods are completely gentrified and more profitable business have taken over the artistic production (Currid 2007).

In the second quote there is a reference to the creative class as a social class that is particularly attracted by the informal social realm of the artistic neighborhoods and therefore tries to move in those creative areas of the city.

The next section will take a closer look to this creative class and the theories and implications behind it.

2.9 The Creative Class

In 2002 the American urban studies theorist Richard Florida presented his book 'The Rise of the Creative Class', in which he described the emergence of a new social class, which was named by the author the 'Creative Class'. According to Florida (2012) this new class had and still has a big influence on what people value, desire and in the way they work, this because creativity is considered as the driving force of economic growth; therefore, the creative class has become the most influential class in modern society.

In his book the author tries to identify the factors responsible for the growth and prosperity of some regions and the recession of others. During his studies Florida (2012) found out a tendency for companies to move or form in places with skilled people (members of the creative class) instead of being people moving where companies were located to seek job opportunities. From this observation the author started exploring the motivation that brought people to move and live in certain places; he found out that the motivations were not driven by jobs opportunity but by lifestyles and interests.

Through the analysis of the Gay Index, measuring the concentration and distribution of gay people in the United States and through the analysis of the Bohemian Index, measuring the concentration and distribution of artists, writers and performers, Florida and his collaborators noticed that

economic growth was occurring in areas that “were tolerant, diverse and open to creativity- because these were places where creative people of all type wants to live” (Florida 2012, p. xxiii).

Summarizing, based on his findings Florida (2012) developed a theory according to which economic growth, in post-industrial cities, can be pursued through the attraction of the creative class.

The purpose of this research is not to confirm or refute the much-discussed theory of Richard Florida. In fact the latter is relevant for the specific reason that the creative class appears to be attracted, in terms of choosing which place to live, by the informal social realm which is established in artistic neighborhoods and cultural districts. Therefore, it is relevant to understand which is the effect of the immersion into the cultural cluster of those members of the creative class.

Job is the only discriminant factor according to which people belong to the creative class: people whose work “create[s] meaningful new forms” (Florida 2012, p.38) are member of the creative class. The class is divided into two groups, the first one is the ‘Super-Creative Core’ and it includes occupations such as:

“Scientists and engineer, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and other opinion makers.” (Florida 2012, p.38)

The second group is the ‘Creative Professionals’ and it includes professions working in “a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries, such as high-tech, financial services, the legal and health care profession, and business management” (Florida 2012, p.39).

According to the author the difference between the two groups is represented by the fact that while the first group is directly involved in the creation of new meaning the second one it is involved in an indirect way (Florida 2012).

Florida has been often criticized because the definition of this new class gathers together a mixture of many different occupations that are substantially different between them. One of the differences particularly relevant for this research is the monetary income, which is incredibly variable among the different members of the class, ad example the income of artists result to be much lower than

managers, lawyers and so forth. Florida (2012) responded to the critic in the revisited edition of his book; the author points out that even if the income of the members of the class is really variable those differences lose relevance when the incomes of the creative class are compared with other social classes (Florida 2012).

This could be considered a valid response to the criticism or not, anyhow when the spectrum of the analysis is limited to the range of the cultural cluster or artistic neighborhood, those differences of income between the members of the creative class result to be very relevant.

Florida (2012) doesn't limit his work to the occupational description of the class, he also provide a description of the preferences in terms of living and lifestyle of the creative class. Among those behavioral aspects the most relevant for this research is the way the creative class relates with culture in the city environment.

The creative class is not attracted by the city's traditional cultural institutions represented by "major art museums plus 'SOB'- the high-art triumvirate of symphony orchestra, Opera Company, and Ballet Company" (Florida 2012, p.145). The era of improving the city's branding with expensive buildings by famous architects has come to an end, as Evans (2003) exemplifies with the case of the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao.

The creative class is attracted instead by "organic and indigenous street-level culture" (Florida 2012, p.148) that doesn't happen in big venues or museums but is more likely to be found in "multiuse urban neighborhoods" (Florida 2012, p.148). Moreover, the members of the creative class don't limit their relation with culture to the sheer consumption: in fact even if they might not be involved in any kind of artistic production they want to mingle with the creators in order to enhance their personal experience and understanding of the artwork (Florida 2012). This activity happens at street-level in bars, restaurants, cafes and other small cultural venues like art galleries, theatres and live music spaces. Those locations are the same ones where artists and people working in the cultural industries mingle and establish the previously described informal social realm.

The presence of a cultural cluster in a city results to be a source of attraction for the creative class, which according to Florida (2012), is a catalyst for economic growth. However, culture is not the only factor responsible for the attraction of the creative class; in fact tolerance towards homosexuality and diversity are also influential factors in the decision process of where the

members of the creative class wants to live and work however those factors result to be less relevant for the purpose of this research.

2.10 Comparison between Creative Class and cultural industries occupations

As seen in the previous section, the members of the creative class prefer to live in places where cultural industries cluster. Therefore, before going into the analysis of the eventual side effects of this phenomenon, it could be useful to compare the people working in the cultural industries with the members of the creative class, in order to understand if there are any differences.

The literature about the definition of the cultural industries will be compared with the description of the creative class provided by Florida (2012). Because of the unclear delimitation of the cultural industries for the description of the latter both the definitions by Throsby and by Hesmondhalgh will be used.

Florida use jobs, occupations and professions as elements to distinguish members of the creative class while the definition by Throsby and Hesmondhalgh use a more general field of occupation. Therefore, in order to make the comparison it will be analyzed if the occupations mentioned by Florida fit in the occupational field of one of the two definitions of the cultural industries.

Table 2.1 gathers together all the occupations and occupational fields described in the literature about cultural industries and about the creative class. The table is organized in the following way: the first column refers to Hesmondhalgh's (2007) definition of cultural industries with the related distinction in core and peripheral cultural industries. The second column refers to Throsby's (2001) definition of cultural industries explained by his concentric circles model, in fact it is also represented the distinction between inner and external circles. The third column refers to Florida's (2012) description of the creative class, which is divided into super-creative core and creative professionals.

Table 2.1 Comparisons Between Cultural Industries and Creative Class Work Occupations

Cultural Industries		Creative Class
Hesmondhalgh	Throsby	Florida
<i>Core cultural industries:</i> broadcasting, film industries, publishing, digital games, advertising, marketing, public relations and web design.	<i>Inner circles:</i> music, dance, theatre, literature, visual arts, the crafts and multimedia arts.	<i>Super-creative core:</i> scientists, engineers, university professors, poets, novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers, architects, nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts, and opinion makers.
<i>Peripheral cultural industries:</i> Visual arts, theatre and cultural activities lacking industrial methods of production.	<i>External circles:</i> activities that combine creative ideas with other products.	<i>Creative professionals:</i> high-tech, financial services, legal, health care and business management.

Source: My arrangement.

The comparison aims to understand how much the creative class occupations differ from the cultural industries occupation fields. Therefore, the professions and jobs in the column of the creative class have been highlighted in green if they match with one of the two definitions of cultural industries while they have been highlighted in red if they don't. As the Table 2.1 shows 9 out of 21 occupations of the members of the creative class can be considered part of the cultural industries. This comparison doesn't take into account the size of each sector or occupations because the aim is only to see how much the creative class corresponds with cultural industries occupation fields.

As shown in the Table 2.1 many of the occupations of the members of the creative class are not related with the cultural industries, this sub class composed by all the occupation highlighted in red and it includes: scientists, engineers, university professors, architects, think-tank researchers, analysts, opinion makers, high-tech, financial services, legal, health care and business management. Those members of the creative class even if they are not working related with the cultural industries still want to live in places where there is a clustering of cultural industries, artists in particular.

Before heading to analyze the immersion in the cultural cluster of those members of the creative class whose occupation is not related with the cultural industries, it will be showed the main differences between members of the creative class working in the cultural industries and the ones working in non-cultural industries. Table 2.2 shows the average annual wage and salaries for the occupation of the members of the creative class in the United States in the year 2010. The original

table has been modified in order to better show the differences between the salaries of members of the creative class working within the cultural industries and the members working in other sectors. Once again the salaries highlighted in green represent the cultural industries occupations while the salaries highlighted in red represents occupation in other sectors.

Table 2.2 Average Annual Wages and Salaries for the Classes, 2010 (partially reported)

Occupations Creative Class	Salary in US Dollar (\$)
Management	105.440
Legal	96.940
Computer and Mathematical	77.230
Architecture and Engineering	75.550
Health Care Practitioners and Technical	71.280
Business and Financial Operations	67.690
Life, Physical and Social Science	66.390
Sales (high-end)	61,484
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports and Media	52,290
Education, Training and Library	50.440

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Occupational Employment Statistics (OES) Survey 2010 quoted in Florida 2012.

The salaries are arranged in descending order, and it is possible to notice that the salary of cultural industries-related occupations are positioned at the bottom of the table.

The comparison between the literature about the definition of cultural industries and the literature about the creative class shows that a part of the occupations of the creative class can be classified as occupation of the cultural industries as well. However, those occupations that belong to both to the creative class and the cultural industries classifications still differ from the others occupations of the creative class because of the substantially lower annual salary.

The comparison also shows that most of the occupations of the creative class are not related with the cultural industries.

2.11 The negative effects of the creative class on the cultural district

This section summarizes the negative effects that the application of the creative class theory by urban policy makers has on cultural districts and cultural industries. Those negative effects consist of an increase of gentrification and of a shift of focus more on the consumption of culture rather than production of culture.

The phenomenon of artists colonizing post-industrial abandoned areas or more in general areas characterized by cheap rents, which they have to leave when wealthier people move in because attracted by the social atmosphere and lifestyle, is a gentrification pattern identified as ‘cultural gentrification of cities’ or the SoHo effect in the specific case of New York City, and it is was already existing before Florida’s theories of the creative class (Zukin 1982; Currid 2007; Pratt 2008).

Florida’s theories can be related to the cultural gentrification of cities in two ways. First they gather together, in an identified class the people attracted by the social atmosphere and life style of the cultural district.

Second Florida’s theories identify the presence of artists and bohemians as one of the features that a city should have in order to attract the creative class and as a consequence to attract companies that will lead to new economic growth (Florida 2012). This encourages policy makers to arrange a prosperous environment in order to host members of the creative class; which results into an enhancement of the cultural gentrification (Pratt 2008).

The other negative effect consists of the shift of attention by the policy makers from cultural production to cultural consumption.

As seen before, in his analysis of the growing importance of the cultural industries in the post-industrial economy of cities, Scott (2000) states that both the consumption and the production dimensions of the cultural industries are of growing relevance for the economy. In fact, “[t]he cultural industries, are, it is argued one of the potential motors of urban growth and regeneration in their own right” (Pratt 2008, p.2). This economic importance of the cultural industries is sometimes not perceived because cultural occupations are decontextualized from related business giving the impression that the artists are the only ones creating value, while in reality culture contribute to the formation of a whole production chain where are included non-cultural business and cultural service business as well (Pratt 2008).

What happen instead is that cultural industries are being exploited to render more appealing the urban policies and theories of the creative class, which focus exclusively on the consumption dimension (Pratt 2008). As report by Zukin as well “[a]s a result, a district that begins by protecting space for creative *producers* risks becoming a space for creative *consumers*” (Zukin and Braslow 2011, p.132, original emphasis). Therefore, the focus on the consumption dimension triggers cultural gentrification mechanisms that consist of sending away producers, leaving space to consumers in the cultural district.

Moreover, the focus of consumption at the expense of production stops the before mentioned regenerating effects that artists and cultural industries have on the city’s environment, because artists tend to disperse while searching housing and working solutions at lower prices (Pratt 2008; Currid 2007).

2.12 Attempts to preserve the cultural districts

There have been attempts to protect the cultural districts from the effects mentioned before.

In the city of New York the program ‘artists-in-residence’ was reserving spaces where artists could work and live, especially in the areas of SoHo and Chinatown. However, the main problem of this program was that wealthier people were enrolling in the program as well, pretending to be part of the cultural production in order to live in the appealing districts, which were reserved for artists (Currid 2007).

Other means of supports to the cultural districts were provided through formal institutions, like in the New York’s ‘Percentage for Art’ program. However, cultural districts follow an organic growth and “creative producers feel that formal institutions are out of the loop when it comes to what’s important in the modern cultural economy” (Currid 2007, p.165). Meaning that supports through formal institutions to the cultural districts are not very effective (Currid 2007).

Some authors sustain the idea that the urban cultural district is not the only privileged center for creative and cultural production. Therefore, there is no need to focus too much on it, while it would be better to start analyzing the rural and suburbia areas where vernacular creativity takes place (Edensor, Leslie, Millington and Rantisi 2009). The critic moved by those authors is that “[t]he champions of creative regeneration have fetishized these urban settings while ignoring forms of creative endeavor that emerge in rural, suburban, working-class, everyday and marginal spaces.” (Edensor and colleagues 2009, p.11) Meaning that the horizons of cultural production can be

expanded looking for extra-urban areas. Moreover, the authors believe that the focus in the creation and safekeeping of the cultural urban district stops the expansion of creative networks (Edensor and colleagues 2009).

According to Bain (2010) there would be no issues in relocating cultural districts in the suburbs, on the contrary there would be extra benefits like, the lower rents that would make housing easily affordable for artists and more important, it would be easier for artists to benefit from the availability of space, in fact the author recalls how 'improvisational space' stimulate creativity.

Many of the facilities and services for cultural workers are located in the downtown, but according to the author relevant information can be sent on-line to the suburbs, while when off-line presence is needed, the artists can always go to the downtown (Bain 2010).

The next chapters will show an alternative way to safeguard the cultural production in cities, in particular there will be shown practices from the city of Copenhagen, trying to understand if the case of Fabrikken can represent a solution.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter explains the research method. According to the nature of the study and to the resources availability, I decided to opt for gathering qualitative primary data. The methodology used for this research follows the book: “Qualitative Research From Start to Finish” by Robert K. Yin.

The next sections of the chapter will show the research design, the approach used to enter the fieldwork, the methods used to collect and record data and at last the coding technique.

3.2 Research design

According to Yin (2010) researchers can decide whether to make use of a research design or not. In this case it has been decided to make use of a research design, the choice is motivated by the opportunity of strengthening the general validity of the study and improving the organization of the research.

In qualitative researches the use of a research design is not very binding, it consists only of seven main points (Yin 2010).

3.2.1 Validity

The first point is whether to act in order to strengthen the validity of the study or not. The validity of this research has been strengthened through triangulation, which means “to collect converging evidence from different sources” (Maxwell cited in Yin 2010, p.79). In this research triangulation has been achieved in different ways:

- Through the utilization of several methods of data collection. Data has been collected through qualitative interviews, observations and photographs.
- Through the interviewing of people with different roles within the organization, in order to overcome bias related to managerial or subordinated positions. In the case of Fabrikken, it was relevant to distinguish between people working for the organization and artists. Therefore, interviews were collected both from artists and from people working for the organization, and in this last case it has been considered also the role within the organization, so interviews were collected both from the director and from the staff.

- Through the collection of data several times over time, in order to check if there have been changes over time.

3.2.2 Complexity of data collection units

The second point regards the clarification of the complexity of data collection units. This research focuses on the art production, and it is geographically limited to the area of the city of Copenhagen, Denmark. Only the organizations of artists that represent a possible solution to the problem of cultural gentrification, addressed in the theoretical chapter, have been selected as units for data collection.

3.2.3 Sampling

The third point illustrates the sampling for data collection. The technique used is the one of ‘purposive sampling’ where “[t]he goal or purpose for selecting the specific study units is to have those that will yield the most relevant and plentiful data, given your topic of study” (Yin 2010, p.88).

The sampling for data collection has been chosen after a multi-steps selection process. First since the scope of the research is limited to the area of Copenhagen and to the visual arts, only the organizations of visual artists based in Copenhagen have been taken into consideration as study units. Second only the organizations that after a preliminary assessment resulted to represent a possible solution to cultural gentrification have been taken into consideration. After this preliminary selection three organizations resulted to be suitable as study units. Those organizations resulted to be: ‘Illutron’, ‘YARD’ and ‘Fabrikken for Kunst og Design’, from here the selection proceeded according to purposive sampling. ‘Fabrikken for Kunst og Design’ has been selected as main study unit because considered the one that could have permitted the collection of more relevant data, this because it resulted to be the more active and known among the three organizations. In fact, it is the only one that often participates to the ‘Copenhagen Art Week’ through the hosting of the art conference ‘Alt_CPH’. Moreover, ‘Fabrikken’ is the one whose activities match better with the topics of the research.

Table 3.1 reports detailed information about the fieldwork carried out at Fabrikken. The table shows name and role of the informant, data type, scope, and documentation. The director of YARD, another organization, appears among the informants as well, that interview can be considered of exploratory nature.

Table 3.1 Sources of Data

Informant	Role	Type of data	Documentation	Scope
Maria Gry Brenbak	Residency coordinator at Fabrikken	Qualitative interview	Transcription (see appendix 4)	1 hour
Marie Louise Helveg Bøgh	Director at Fabrikken	Qualitative interview	Transcription (see appendix 5)	1 hour
Camilla Nørgaard	Artists #1 at Fabrikken	Qualitative interview	Transcription (see appendix 6)	0,5 hour
Torgny Wilcke	Artists #2 at Fabrikken	Qualitative interview	Transcription (see appendix 7)	0,5 hour
Isabel Berglund	Artists #3 at Fabrikken	Qualitative interview	Transcription (see appendix 8)	0,4 hour
Anette Holmberg	Artists and director at Yard	Qualitative interview	Transcription (see appendix 9)	0,4 hour
Riccardo Romano	Researcher	Observations from participation at the event Alt-Cph 14, personal notes and observations from site visit (Fabrikken).	Transcription of the observation, pictures (see appendix 2 and appendix 3)	-

Source: my arrangement.

3.2.4 Incorporation of concepts and theories

The fourth point regards the way concepts and theories are included in the research. For this study it has been followed an inductive approach. In fact, starting from the particular case of Fabrikken, this thesis infers general laws potentially applicable to other artistic productions as well.

3.2.5 Participant feedback

The fifth point regards the sharing of the preliminary findings with the participants of the study. In the case of this research it has been chosen not to do so.

3.2.6 Generalization

The sixth point is about the generalization of the study findings. As written before in the motivation section, the aim of this research is to bring new insights and managerial or organizational solutions in order to overcome the cultural gentrification undergone by visual arts in some cities. The new form of artists organization presented as empirical case is believed to be a solution that could be generally adopted. However, given the limited scope of the research, it has been chosen to not proceed with any kind of generalization of the study.

3.2.7 Research protocol

The seventh point regards the choice of whether make use of a research protocol or not. As stated by Yin “many qualitative researchers resist defying any protocol ahead of time” (Yin 2010, p.102). Making use of a research protocol may cause contractions during data collection, and it does not help in keeping an open-minded approach (Yin 2010). For these reasons, at the beginning it has been decided to not make use of a research protocol. This is also in line with the decision of using qualitative/narrative interviews as a data collection method. In fact, in this kind of interviews the aim is to let the interviewees talk freely, trying to lead the conversation as less as possible (Yin 2010).

However, after the first interview it has been decided that a research protocol might improve the organization of the research and be helpful for making comparisons between different interviews, improving the triangulation process as well. The table 3.2 shows the research protocol utilized.

Table 3.2 Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol for artists and organization staff.	
Personal information	
1)	Ask about the interviewee’s background and previous experiences in the art industry.
2)	Ask how the interviewee got involved with the organization for the first time and the reasons why he/she decided to work there.
3)	Assuming that the organization is the workplace, ask where the interviewee lives.
Cultural production process	
1)	Ask where the interviewee takes inspiration for his/her artworks.
2)	Ask which is the role of the other artists of the organization in contributing as sources of inspiration for artworks.
3)	Ask to describe the innovation process that brings to the creation of a new artwork.
4)	Ask if artwork innovation has changed since the establishing of the studio in the organization.
5)	Ask to describe the importance of the daily environment, recognition of other creative people, and cross-fertilization for the artistic work.
6)	Ask if the artist works following pre determinates aesthetic schemes.
7)	How much is technology and new forms of technology involved with your artistic work?
8)	If you are not from here, why did you decided to work in Copenhagen?
9)	What’s the meaning of innovation in relation to your artistic work?
Cultural consumption	
1)	Ask how does the interviewee reach the market for its artwork.
2)	Ask if being part of the organization brings any advantages in terms of finding a market for the artworks.
Site and organization	
1)	Ask to describe the organization of the collective.
2)	Ask about the activities of the collective.
3)	Ask about the business model of the collective.
4)	Ask how the collective is founded.
5)	Ask who is the owner of the building that hosts the collective.
6)	Ask the history of the building hosting the collective.
7)	Ask about the informal social relationship among the members of the collective.
8)	Ask why the area has been chosen as the site for establishing the collective.
9)	Which is the influence of extra-artistic activities to the balance of the organization?
Neighborhood and surroundings	
1)	Ask to describe the neighborhood or the area surrounding the site where the collective is situated.

2) Ask which are the relations with the people living or working in the surrounding area. 3) Ask if the surrounding area act as a source of inspiration for artworks (artists only). 4) Ask about the situation of the area in regarding to gentrification mechanisms. 5) Ask about the presence of cultural institution in the surroundings. 6) Ask if the collective is surrounded by venues where 'informal social realm' operates. 7) Ask about historical information about the area. 8) Ask information about the area in relation to the city of Copenhagen.
<i>Creative class and gentrification</i> 1) Does the collective get in contact with people that can be defined as members of the creative class? If so, what kind of relation do the members of the collective have with those members of the creative class? 2) Has the area where the collective is situated been subject to gentrification? Is this likely to happen in the future? 3) How long can the collective uses the building where it is located at the moment?
<i>Cultural industries</i> 1) Which is the purpose of the artwork realized here? Are they made to be sold or is there any other purpose? 2) Can you talk about the Copenhagen art scene? 3) How would you position (name of the organization) in it? 4) Which are the relationships with other institutions of the art world?
<i>The city and social life</i> 1) How much is the city important for you in terms of finding new connections for your work? 2) How much are informal social relationship important in findings new connections and opportunities for you work? 3) Is there a place in Copenhagen were it's more likely to find artists hanging out? 4) How much is your working life separated from your social life? 5) Are you more attracted by street level culture or museums and other kind of cultural institutions?

Source: my arrangement.

It must be taken into consideration that even if the protocol presents the form 'Ask' it does not represent a structure for the interviews. None of the questions in table 3.2 have been asked directly to the interviewees. The purpose of having the questions is to be sure that each interview covers all the topics of the protocol in order to be able in the analytical phase to make comparisons between different interviews and strengthen the validity of the collected data as well.

The protocol is divided in eight sections and each section reflects the topics discussed in the theoretical chapter, a part for the first section whose function is to make the interviewee feel comfortable and gaining trust through the exchange of personal information.

The second section of the interview protocol regards the cultural production process. The aim of this part is to investigate if the production mechanisms described in the literature applies to the reality of the artists, and if changes occurs when artists are organized in a collective form.

The third part of the protocol is about cultural consumption. The aim is to understand if artists organized in collective forms may enjoy any advantages in finding buyers for their artworks.

The fourth section of the protocol aims to gather information about the organization and the building where the organization is located. In particular, this section tries to understand how the collective is organized, how it sustains itself from a financial point of view, the history of the

building hosting the organization, and how are the informal social relationships among the members of the organization.

The fifth section regards the neighborhood and the surroundings. It gathers information about the area.

The sixth part of the protocol deals with the topics of creative class and the gentrification. The literature describes how artists relate with those topics therefore this protocol section aims to understand if the relation changes when artists are organized in collective forms.

The seventh section of the protocol is about the cultural industries and the Copenhagen art scene.

The last section of the protocol regards artists' social life. It gathers data in order to have an element of comparison with the one described by the discussed literature.

3.3 Doing fieldwork

According to Yin (2010) the activity of collecting data involves interactions with the real world. The researcher should take into account all the issues deriving from this interaction, paying particular attention to the issues regarding the entering and the exiting from the studied field (Yin 2010).

Yin (2011) considers the entry in the fieldwork to be more similar to a process rather than an event. The researcher should put an effort in maintaining good relationships with the people inside the field (Yin 2010). It does make a difference if the fieldwork is set in a public or private space; anyhow, Yin (2010) advises qualitative researchers to portray their authentic self during the phase of entering the field. This can be achieved through a clear communication of the research purpose: it must be stated what kind of writing the collected data will support, it must be declared in advance how this writing will be shared and the researcher has to be able to guarantee full anonymity to the interviewee.

During the fieldwork, Yin (2010) suggests to have a certain demeanor: researchers shouldn't dress in a showy way; in fact they should be as discrete as possible. Moreover, researchers should be respectful but not condescending, friendly but not ingratiating.

Once the fieldwork has been completed, researchers shouldn't disappear offhand, instead they should maintain good relationships with the people that have been involved in the fieldwork (Yin 2010).

For this research the entering of the studied field has been approached in the following way: the first contact with Fabrikken happened during the conference ‘Alt-CPH 14’ that was hosted by the organization. Being a conference open to the public there was not need to ask any permission. Afterwards, the director has been contacted by email. The relationships with the people involved in this study continued also after the study has been completed.

3.4 Data collection methods

This section reports the choices made about the field-based activities for data collection.

According to Yin (2010) qualitative researchers can make use of four field-based activities in order to collect data. Those activities are: interviewing, observing, collecting and examining materials, and feeling (Yin 2010). Each activity helps collecting different kind of data and it has some limitations therefore relying upon only one could compromise the validity of the research (Yin 2010).

For this research interviewing and observing have been chosen as main data collecting activities, sensations and content deriving from documents and other materials have also been taken into consideration as relevant data, but the majority of the data comes from interviews and observations. Making use of more than one field-based activity for data collection increases the validity of the research because triangulation of data occurs also thanks the different methods used to collect them (Yin 2010).

According to Yin (2010) it is possible to further strengthen the validity of the research by carrying out the field based activities with the help of a formal instrument and using a rigorous procedure.

“For instance, ‘interviewing’ could rely on a fixed questionnaire with explicit interview protocols. ‘Observing’ could rely on photographing unobtrusive signs such as the fronts of vacant houses as part of a neighborhood study.” (Yin 2010, p.131)

Interviews has not been done in formal way because it has been considered more important to keep them as informal as possible, not conditioning the interviewee with structured questions. On the other hand, since observing in a more formal way would not affect the quality of the data, it has been chosen to use a digital camera to take pictures of the area where the study unit is located. The

decision has been motivated by the fact that the geographical dimension is considered important for the study.

The next paragraphs will report the choices made in regard to two main data collecting activities of this research: interviewing and observing.

Interviewing

In his book, Yin (2010) describes two types of interviews: structured interviews and qualitative interviews, he also explains that those two examples represent the extremes, and that interviews can assume all shades in between (Yin 2010).

Structured interviews are characterized by a predefined interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee: they often rely upon a fixed questionnaire.

On the other hand, qualitative interviews are characterized by a complete absence of any questionnaire or predefined interaction with the interviewee. The interviewer experiments a completely new interaction with each interviewee (Yin 2010). Moreover, during qualitative interviews the interviewee talks freely while the interviewer plays the role of a listener (Yin 2010).

For this research it has been used a form of interview very close to qualitative interviews. The decision it has been motivated by the nature of the research. My objective was to study the world of artistic collectives. Since my knowledge regarding that kind of organization was quite limited, I approached the first interview with an open-minded setting, letting the interviewee talk freely. The strategy was to start the interview with a broad question about the background of the interviewee. This starting question has many purposes: at first to make the interviewee feel comfortable, second after the exchange of personal information the interviewee may feel more in confidence and less wary towards the interviewer, third it is a starting point for the conversation, which can be led to other topics later.

Data collected through interviews rely on what the interviewees report therefore they may be biased. As mentioned before the measures taken to reduce the bias and improve the validity of the research, consist of the use of triangulation.

Observing

Observing is the other field-based activity chosen for data collection. In this type of activity data are not filtered: researchers perceived them directly through their senses (Yin 2010). However, the activity of observing is not completely free of issues. Researchers may influence the people

observed, and, in turn, people may influence the way researchers observe. This mechanism is defined as reflexivity (Yin 2010).

The observing activity can vary from a totally passive approach to a participatory approach (Yin 2010). During the conference 'Alt-CPH 2014' which was held at Fabrikken the observing activity has been carried out with a participatory approach. I attended the conference as a normal participant. During the subsequent site visits the observing activity has been carried out in a more passive way.

Yin (2010) defines what is important to observe during the fieldwork:

- Characteristics of individual people, in particular paying attention on the way they are dressed.
- Interactions among people.
- Actions taking place.
- Physical surroundings, with particular focus on the visual cues emerging from the area or neighborhood where the organizations are located.

In order to strengthen the validity of the research it has been decided to take photographs of the areas surrounding Fabrikken. The aim was to record visual proofs of gentrification and artists regeneration.

3.5 Data recording

This section explains the techniques used to record data.

The interviews have been recorded using a portable digital voice recorder. Before each interview the interviewee was asked to authorize the recording of the conversation and the eventual use of it for direct quotes. Afterwards, the recorded audios have been transcribed. Transcriptions have been included in the database of the research.

Observations have been recorded in different ways. The observations during the conference and the subsequent visits have been written down on a notebook on the moment, and later they have been revised and transcribed in a better form. The revised observations have been included in the database of the research. Small and discrete notebooks have been used to take notes on the moment. The notebooks have been organized as following: one notebook for the observations and one notebook as a personal diary, the latter includes the thoughts during the research period as well.

There was no need to include a notebook for the interviews since all the interviewees accepted to be digitally recorded.

The visits around the area and the neighborhood of the organization have been recorded using a digital camera, this more formal way of recording improve the validity of the research. Photographs have been included in the database.

3.6 Structure of the database

All the collected data have been gathered into a database. The database has been structured in order to facilitate the organization of the data: one folder for the interviews, one for the observations and one for the photographs.

3.7 Coding

This section explains the method used for the coding process. The coding of the data has been carried out analogically without the help of any software; it has been conducted directly on printed versions of the interviews' transcriptions.

At first, all the transcriptions have been read carefully, the purpose of this first phase was to identify main categories of topics recurring in the interviews (ad example 'Activities of the organization'). Each portion of decoded text has been encoded with a first level code, one first level code for each category (ad example 'Activities of the organization was assigned code 1.0).

Seventeen categories were discovered at the end of this first phase. Categories are reported in table 4.1 in the empirical findings chapter.

Afterwards, each portion of text to which was assigned a first level code has been decoded again, this time with the purpose of assigning second level codes. Therefore, each category or first level code has been expanded with second level codes. Second level codes provide more specific coded information. Ad example: a portion of text that at first was assigned code 1.0 'Activities of the organization' at a second level coding is analyzed more precisely and assigned for example code 1.1 which stands for 'Aim to endorse the surrounding non-artistic communities' referred to the activities of the organization.

The coding of data helps avoiding “nonsystematic and inconsistent judgments” (Yin 2010, p.188) however it could shift the focus from the data to the coding mechanisms, increasing the risk of not analyzing the data correctly (Yin 2010). For this research it has been decided to make use of a coding mechanism, but in order to avoid reductive interpretation of the data, direct quotes from the interviews are used as well.

Chapter 4 - Empirical Findings

4.1 Introduction to the chapter

This chapter introduces Fabrikken, the organization where the primary data have been gathered. It presents a summary of the empirical findings without analyzing them therefore the reader may formulate his own idea before reading the analysis chapter.

4.2 Introduction to the organization: Fabrikken

‘Fabrikken for kunst og design’, or just ‘Fabrikken’, can be translated from Danish as ‘the factory of art and design’. It is situated in Sundholmsvej on the island of Amager, in southern part of Copenhagen. Fabrikken is a production and resource center for professional artists and designers, and it represents an example of adaptive reuse of an ex-industrial building. In fact, the building hosting Fabrikken was built in 1942 and it is considered one of the few examples of industrial modern architecture in Copenhagen, it is estimated to be of great value, but it is not listed. The history of the ex-industrial building is linked to the neighboring Sundholm center, which is a group of buildings situated a few hundred meters north. Originally the building hosted the industrial laundry serving the nursing home situated in the Sundholm center. The laundry has been in use until the use of Sundholm center changed, and the laundry was no longer needed. At first, the building was re-used for hosting a program founded by the municipality of Copenhagen; the program consisted of involving unemployed people in artistic and craftsmanship production with the help of professional artists and craftsmen. The program went on for six years: from 1994 until 2000 when it was closed down. Then artists asked permission to the municipality to keep using the building as a co-working space/collective for their professional artistic activities. The permission was granted because there were no other suggestions for how to use the building however the municipality agreed as long as the artists were able to cover the expenses for the operating costs, the building is owned by the municipality and in the beginning the artists were not paying any rent.

Today the contract with the municipality has changed, the lease is renewed each year and the organization has to pay the rent and cover the operating costs, the only contribution that the municipality provides comes in the form of a reduce rent comparing to market price.

At the moment there are 75 artists and designers renting the 53 studios, some of them are shared studios. There is no end-date for the renting of the studios, while the 1000m² hall is rented out on a very flexible and short-term base.

Artists have to apply in order to get a space. The staff of Fabrikken evaluates the applications; even once the space has been assigned it can be revoked if the tenant doesn't make an appropriate use of it or doesn't show commitment in engaging with the community.

Above the professional activity of artists and designers, the organization carries out also others kind of activities, which aim to promote artistic production. One of those is 'CPH Artist in Residence' that gives the opportunity to international artists to come and work in Copenhagen, they are hosted by the organization that introduce them to its network and provide a space where to work, this program is carried out with the help of public institutions and foundations. Another program is 'FAIR' which is the organization own program. 'FAIR' focuses more on artists from Scandinavian and Baltic countries. Fabrikken also held some activities whose purpose is to engage the surrounding communities with the organization. Those outreach programs involve homeless people from Sundholm center, students from the neighboring schools and people living in the area.

The organization of Fabrikken is complex; possibly due to the involvement of public institutions and to the fact that several people are involved in decision-making moreover the ownership of the building does not belongs to the users. There are a board of public institutions, a users Council and a Director.

The daily decisions are made by the director, which is appointed by the board in collaboration with the Users Council.

Representative of the Amager Business Council, Amager Culture Council, Academic Council, Danish Artists Council and two representatives of the Users Council compose the board of public institutions. The board is involved in all the matters that are not related to the daily management.

Four members elected by the tenants among them compose the Users Council; its function is to provide the tenants at Fabrikken with the opportunity of being involved in the decision-making process.

4.3 Presentation of the empirical findings

This section presents the findings deriving from the fieldwork carried out at Fabrikken. Table 4.1 and table 4.2 summarize the results from first level coding and second level coding. This section also shows the picture taken during site visits.

Table 4.1 summarizes the findings of the first level coding. As explained before in the methodology section, first level codes represent categories.

Table 4.1 First Level Coding

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description of the category</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
3.0	Features of the organization	27
1.0	Activities of the organization	26
2.0	Financial resources	20
8.0	City of Copenhagen	20
7.0	About the area (neighborhood or surroundings)	19
4.0	Spatial dimension	18
15.0	Rent	17
14.0	Regeneration	16
5.0	Gentrification	14
16.0	Social realm	13
9.0	Creative Class	12
6.0	About the building where the organization is located	9
12.0	Knowledge	6
11.0	Source of inspiration for artistic creation	5
18.0	Cross fertilization	5
10.0	Biographical information	4
13.0	External interactions	3
17.0	Reaching the art market	2

Source: my arrangement.

The first column of the table reports the code, while the second column the description of the category that the code represents. The frequency at which the code recurs in the transcription of the interviews is reported in the third column. The codes have been ordered according to the frequency, from highest to lowest. This because at higher frequency corresponds more reliability of the coded information.

Table 4.2 still reports the first level coding in the first column, but it also shows how those first level coding categories have been expanded. Second level coded information is reported in the fourth column of the table, they have been ordered according to the frequency, from the highest to the lowest, but only in relation to the category.

Table 4.2 Summary of Second Level Coding

<i>Code</i>	<i>Categories (First level coding)</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Description (Second level coding)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
1.0	Activities of the organization:	1.1	Aim to engage the surrounding non-artistic communities.	10
		1.2	Involve schools or art teaching.	7
		1.3	Have a regenerating effect on the surrounding area.	4
		1.4	They vary within the artistic field.	2
		1.5	Have an international reach.	1
		1.6	They depend on the funding.	1
		1.7	Are carried out professionally.	1
2.0	Financial resources:	2.1	Most of the financial resources come from renting out space.	7
		2.2	Artists may share costs for services related with their own activities.	4
		2.3	Public funding is in the form of a reduced rent.	3
		2.4	Salaries are the most expensive voice on the budget.	3
		2.5	There is public funding for some activities.	1
		2.6	The number of activity depends on the funding.	1
		2.7	Artist get subsidies from the city of Copenhagen.	1
3.0	Features of the organization:	3.1	Staff works part-time.	4
		3.2	There is a collaborative spirit.	4
		3.3	External members are involved in the managing of the organization.	3
		3.4	The staff carries out many different tasks.	2
		3.5	Artists are empowered by the fact that they are organized together.	2
		3.6	There are more than 20 studios.	2
		3.7	There are amore than 50 tenants.	2
		3.8	There is a leader.	1
		3.9	The director has an artistic background.	1
		3.10	Each artist pays for his own studio.	1
		3.11	Artists don't have to be involved in extra activities.	1
		3.12	It is a working space.	1
		3.13	Artists have to engage with the activities of the community.	1
		3.14	It is a democratic organization.	1
		3.15	It is a closed organization.	1
4.0	Spatial dimension:	4.1	Importance of a quiet working space.	5
		4.2	Need of wide spaces.	5
		4.3	Space as important resource.	5
		4.4	Presence of big hall.	2
		4.5	Home and working space separated.	1
5.0	Gentrification:	5.1	More people coming to live in the area.	4
		5.2	Fear of not being able to live together with the new comers.	4
		5.3	Fear of having to move out.	3
		5.4	Thinks artists are able to contrast the gentrification process.	3
6.0	About the building where the organization is located:	6.1	It was originally built for industrial purposes.	3
		6.2	It is not opened to the public on a daily basis.	2
		6.3	It is in need of renovation.	2
		6.4	It is not owned by the organization.	2
7.0	About the area	7.1	It is a problematic area.	9

	(neighborhood or surroundings):	7.2	It is undergoing changes.	4
		7.3	The organization has tried to improve it.	3
		7.4	Social housing.	2
		7.5	Industrial area left behind.	1
8.0	City of Copenhagen:	8.1	Promotes projects.	6
		8.2	Has an accessible and wide art scene.	6
		8.3	Is considered an expensive city.	3
		8.4	Owens the building hosting the organization.	2
		8.5	Provides funds.	1
		8.6	Is in close relation with the organization.	1
		8.7	Is involved in the government of the organization.	1
9.0	Creative Class:	9.1	Closeness towards extra-artistic activities.	4
		9.2	Willingness to interact with other extra-artistic world.	4
		9.3	No creative class members among the tenants.	2
		9.4	Activities have to be for artistic purpose.	2
10.0	Source of inspiration for artistic creation:	10.1	The surroundings inspire the artists.	2
		10.2	Isolation helps inspiration.	2
		10.3	Programs with the schools inspire artists.	1
11.0	Knowledge:	11.1	Knowledge is shared among tenants in the house.	6
12.0	External interactions:	12.1	They are international.	1
		12.2	Only within the Scandinavian countries.	1
		12.3	Networking is important.	1
13.0	Regeneration:	13.1	Artists are regenerating the area.	6
		13.2	Artists gave new use to an abandoned area.	5
		13.3	Artists are involved in social programs for the area.	5
14.0	Rent:	14.1	Renting out the big hall contributes to the revenues.	6
		14.2	Rent is reduced.	5
		14.3	Is regulated by a contract.	3
		14.4	Studios are rented out at low market rent.	3
15.0	Social realm:	15.1	There are many opportunities to gather together.	5
		15.2	Sense of community is strong in the organization.	3
		15.3	Networking is important.	3
		15.4	Informal gatherings matter.	2
16.0	Reaching the art market:	16.1	The organization does not help artists reaching the market.	2
17.0	Cross-fertilization:	17.1	Artists within the organization influence each other.	5

Source: my arrangement.

More information about the coding system can be found in the methodology chapter, in the coding section.

The picture taken during the site visits are reported below. Each picture is followed by a caption. The pictures will be brought as empirical evidence in the analysis chapter.

Picture 4.1



Source: taken in person.

Subject of the picture is the empty field located on Sundholmvej, approximately a hundred meters from Fabrikken.

Picture 4.2



Source: taken in person.

The picture shows the building hosting Fabrikken.

Picture 4.3



Source: taken in person.

Subject of the picture are the colorful lampshades realized by the artists of Fabrikken.

Picture 4.4



Source: taken in person.

Subject of the picture is the concrete bench realized by the artists of Fabrikken.

Picture 4.5



Source: taken in person.

Subject of the picture is the building under construction, positioned a few hundred meters from Fabrikken.

Picture 4.6



Source: taken in person.

Subject of the picture is the building under construction, positioned a few hundred meters from Fabrikken.

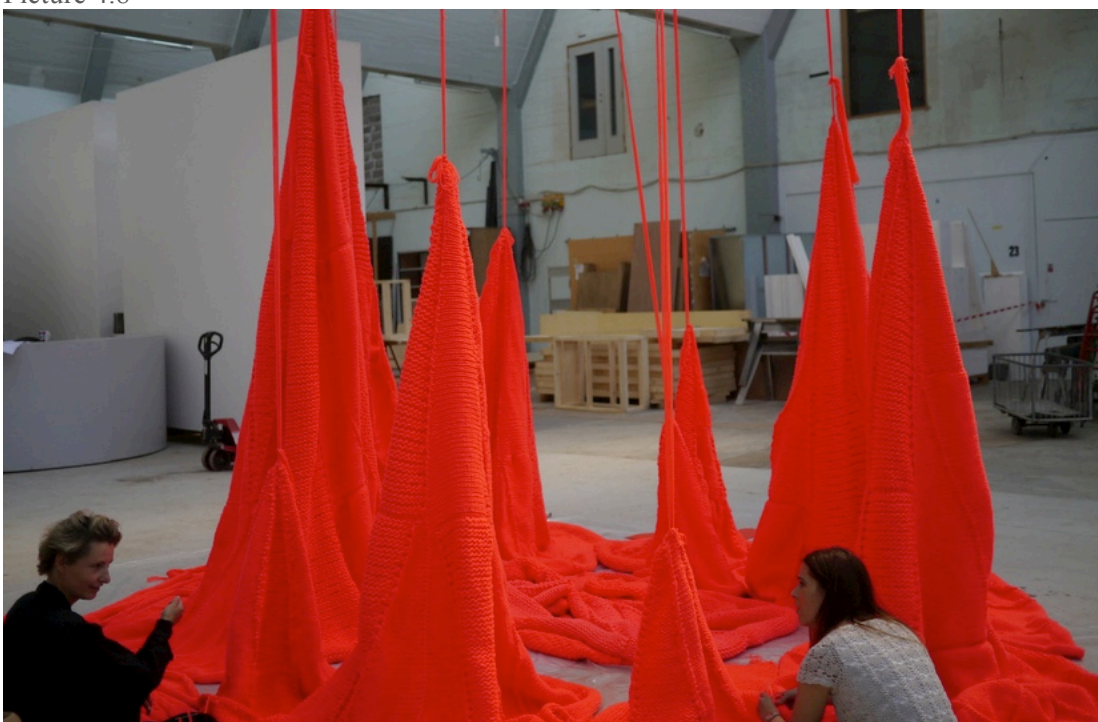
Picture 4.7



Source: www.ffkd.dk.

Subject of the picture is the big hall inside the building hosting Fabrikken.

Picture 4.8



Source: www.ffkd.dk.

Subject of the picture is 'The floating Island of Pearls' by Isabel Berglund, the artwork has been realized with the help of the communities living in the area.

Chapter 5 - Analysis

5.1 Introduction to the chapter

In this chapter the results from the empirical findings will be analyzed and discussed. In the next paragraph a summary of the results will be presented, while in the next sections the main themes emerging from the data will be analyzed in depth.

5.1.1 Summary of the results

From the data it is possible to understand that the organization gets most of its revenues from renting out space: the renting out of studios for long periods represents a steady flow of revenues, while the renting out of the big hall for single events is more irregular. Artists benefit from the sharing of operational costs. The organization takes the form of a small cluster where artists can benefit from knowledge sharing and cross-fertilization, plus the use of the big hall. However, Fabrikken it is not just a co-working space, it assumes the form of a collective where artists are motivated not only by the need of having a space where to work, but they also share a vision of what kind of institution Fabrikken should be. They decide in a democratic way which activities to implement in order to achieve their vision.

The main features of the organization can be summarized in the following points:

- It can be considered a small cluster of artistic production.
- The social realm, which according to the previous literature characterizes art and culture modus operandi, it is present and active within the organization, but it results to be more private than the one described by the theory.
- The regeneration effect involves not only the area but also the surrounding communities.
- More chances of contrasting gentrification.
- As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, members of the creative class tend to be attracted by an artistic and bohemian lifestyle. In the case of Fabrikken seems that the artistic social realm is free from intrusions by members of the creative class.

The research question that guided this research is ‘in order to keep artistic productions in the urban environments: can artists escape the logic of cultural gentrification thanks to collective forms of organization?’ At first sight, the way Fabrikken is organized seems to represent a possible solution to the research question. The research question and the related sub-questions will be answered comprehensively in section 5.3.

5.2 Analysis

From the data it is possible to identify five main themes therefore the analysis is divided into five sections, one per main theme:

- The artistic production in Fabrikken.
- The social dimension in Fabrikken
- Regenerating effects of Fabrikken.
- Gentrification and Fabrikken.
- The creative class theory and Fabrikken.

Table 5.1 reports the five main themes and it shows the related coded information.

Table 5.1 Main Themes Emerging from the Data

<i>Main theme</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Coded information</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
The artistic production in Fabrikken.	4.1	Importance of a quiet working space.	5
	4.2	Need of wide spaces.	5
	4.3	Space as important resource.	5
	8.1	The city of Copenhagen promotes projects.	6
	8.2	The city of Copenhagen has an accessible and wide art scene.	6
	17.1	Artists within the organization influence each other.	5
	11.1	Knowledge is shared among tenants in the house.	6
The social dimension in Fabrikken	15.1	There are many opportunities to gather together.	5
	16.1	The organization does not help artists reaching the market.	2
Regenerating effects of Fabrikken.	6.1	The building was originally built for industrial purposes.	3
	7.1	It is a problematic area.	9
	1.1	Fabrikken aims to engage the surrounding non-artistic communities.	10
	1.2	Activities at Fabrikken involve schools or art teaching.	7
	13.1	Artists are regenerating the area.	6
Gentrification and Fabrikken.	5.1	More people coming to live in the area.	4
	5.2	Fear of not being able to live together with the new comers.	4
	5.4	Artists are able to contrast the gentrification process.	3
The creative class theory and Fabrikken.	9.1	Closeness towards extra-artistic activities.	4
	9.2	Willingness to interact with other extra-artistic world.	4

Source: my arrangement.

In order to identify the main themes, for each of the 17 first level coding categories, the second-level coded information with the highest frequencies were taken into consideration. Afterwards, those second-level coded information have been selected and arranged according to the same scheme used in the theoretical chapter. The scheme included at first the cultural production, taking into consideration the clustering of cultural firms, the social atmosphere of the cultural district and the regenerating effects of artists on the urban environment. A second part of the scheme included the gentrification process and the creative class theory.

5.2.1 Features of the artistic production in Fabrikken

This sub-section regards the features that influence artistic production in Fabrikken. Two main characteristics emerge from the data: first artists seems to enjoy the opportunity of using the big hall for large-scale productions, second they benefit from the knowledge-sharing deriving by having many studios in the same building.

The spatial dimension is a recurrent topic emerging from the data; table 5.2 shows the codes in this regard.

Table 5.2: Spatial Dimension

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Spatial dimension:		
4.1	Importance of a quiet working space.	5
4.2	Need of wide spaces.	5
4.3	Space as important resource.	5
4.4	Presence of big hall.	2
4.5	Home and working space separated.	1

Source: my arrangement.

Coded information 4.3 and 4.2 shows that artists have a great consideration of having available the space of the big hall.

In fact, one of the artists states:

“It helps to have this big space in the middle that you can rent if you are going to make big installations, you can rent a space out here, and you don’t have this limited space that your own atelier would have, you know.” (Artists #3 at Fabrikken 2014, p.1)

Moreover, as it is possible to see in pictures 4.7 and 4.8, the big hall of the building hosting Fabrikken it is suitable for large-scale productions. More precisely, the big hall can be used and it is assigned by square meters, artists who have already their studio at Fabrikken have to pay extra rent for the big hall only if the portion assigned is used for more than a week or if they want to use the entire space (artist #2 at Fabrikken 2014 and Director at Fabrikken 2014).

It is not only artists who regard the availability of wide space as an important feature. In fact, as seen before part of the literature highlights the importance of ‘improvisational space’. In his work Bain (2010) claims that suburbs are perfectly capable of hosting creative activities, and one of the advantages is the more availability of space in comparison with the city.

However, the case of Fabrikken shows that it is possible to keep artistic production a few kilometers away from the city center without compromising on the availability of wide spaces: this is made possible by the collective organizational form. In fact, more artists share one big hall, using it only when more space is needed, while they have their one studio for the daily activities. In this way the city provides only one big space shared by several artists.

The other feature that characterizes the artistic production in Fabrikken is the sharing of knowledge among the tenants.

As shown in table 5.3 the only coded information that could be deduced from the data in regard of knowledge is code 11.1.

Table 5.3: Knowledge

Code	Description	Frequency
Knowledge:		
11.1	Knowledge is shared among tenants in the house.	6

Source: my arrangement.

The artists report more specific examples of how knowledge is shared in Fabrikken:

“It is very important that you have colleagues around you, you have a lot of network, you have a lot of hands on knowledge, if you want to make something you can just ask the others if they have any experience with that. You have the woodshop and the metal shop [...] so there is a lot of knowledge in the house, that’s very easy to get.” (Artists #1 at Fabrikken 2014, p.1-2)

Moreover,

“It is a place where you share a lot and not just tools, but they [referred to the artists] are actually using each others knowledge, if you are working with bronze and you are not really comfortable with that material, then of course you ask people who normally work with bronze.”
(Residency coordinator at Fabrikken 2014, p.7)

The way knowledge is shared among artists in Fabrikken resembles the knowledge spillovers described by Lorenzen and Frederiksen (2008) as part of the positive externalities that firms may enjoy from localization and urbanization economies.

As stated by the residency coordinator (2014) at the moment there are about 75 artists working at Fabrikken. If artists at Fabrikken are thought as one-man firms it is possible to think about Fabrikken as a cluster hosting a considerable number of firms. In particular, artists, or one-man firms, would enjoy dynamic externalities not only in the form of related knowledge spillovers, but also in the form of unrelated knowledge spillovers. This because Fabrikken doesn't only host artists specialized in the same sector, but the organization also makes sure to diversify the overall knowledge in the house.

“We didn't just follow the list, we would look what do the factory needed [...] so if there was someone doing ceramics and we would need someone doing ceramics he would get the studio.”
(Artists #2 at Fabrikken 2014, p.2)

(It is useful to remember that in order to get a studio in Fabrikken it is necessary to present an application.)

A collective form of organization, like Fabrikken, not only provides artists with wide space for large-scale productions, but it also facilitates related and unrelated knowledge spillovers. This last features, according to Lorenzen and Frederiksen (2008) is one of the characteristics that lead to radical product innovations in the cultural industries.

5.2.2 The social dimension in Fabrikken

Data regarding the social realm in Fabrikken will be analyzed in this sub-section.

As seen before in the literature review, the social dimension plays an important role in art and culture's modus operandi. Social gatherings open the way to new collaborations, cross fertilization and peers recognition (Currid 2007). Therefore, it is important to analyze if the social realm of

Fabrikken, where artists are organized in a collective form, differs from the one described by the previous literature.

Table 5.4 gathers together all the coded information falling within the category of the social realm.

Table 5.4: Social Realm

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Social realm:		
15.1	There are many opportunities to gather together.	5
15.2	Sense of community is strong in the organization.	3
15.3	Networking is important.	3
15.4	Informal gatherings matter.	2

Source: my arrangement.

Code 15.1 and 15.2 show that artists at Fabrikken have many opportunities to gather together, and therefore the sense of community is quite strong among the members of the organization.

The kitchen facilities of the ex-laundry are rented out to a catering company. Part of the deal is that every Wednesday tenants and organization staff get a free meal, so they have the opportunity to gather: “in those lunches you talk about what is going on for you and listen about what is going on for the others” (Artists #2 at Fabrikken 2014, p.1).

Many gatherings such as Christmas parties, summer parties and coffee breaks make Fabrikken a place with an active social life where artists have the opportunity of knowing each other well (Residency coordinator at Fabrikken 2014).

However, the social dimension of Fabrikken seems to be characterized by a certain degree of privacy since all the gatherings happen inside the building and most of the times are exclusively for the members of the organization. In fact:

“The doors have been quite closed, it has been a closed institution, and one of our goals is to open it up a little bit more to society, so I hope it will be that it will be more known among customers.” (Director at Fabrikken 2014, p.10)

Moreover, “it is not a public building at such, it is not opened to the public on a daily basis because it is a working space” (Residency coordinator at Fabrikken 2014, p.1).

As described by Currid (2007), when artists are not organized in a collective form, the social dimension tends to be more public. In fact, when artists concentrate in a neighborhood, they

favorites the birth and growth of venues for social gathering, ad example coffee shops, clubs and bars (Currid 2007). According to Currid (2007) the ‘informal social realm’, which artists establish in a neighborhood, facilitate the circulation of cultural products, and improve the efficiency of cultural production because serendipitous encounters might bloom new collaborations or cross-fertilizations. Moreover, the previous literature described how unpredictable is the success of cultural products, also known as ‘the nobody knows effect’ (Currid 2007). This effect can be mitigated thanks to peers’ recognition, which usually take place in social realm (Currid 2007).

As emerge from pictures 4.1, 4.3 and the notes from participant observations (see appendix 3) the area surrounding Fabrikken is devoid of coffee places or social venues.

It is not clear if the absence of social venue is due to the fact that artists at Fabrikken can use the space inside the organization, so they don’t need external venues or it is due to other causes.

Anyhow, the degree of privacy that characterizes the social realm in Fabrikken make the organization differ from the case of non-organized artist, and it is believed to have two consequences:

First it makes the organization less known from the consumption point of view. In fact:

“Among artists Fabrikken is known as a very good production place, but I’m not certain that Fabrikken is known among gallerists and museum people and art collectors, so the one, the people who buy art [...] that’s a point to where that might be very good to work on, to get Fabrikken to get more known among the art people not just among producers, but also, what do you call that people who buy, the consumers.” (Director at Fabrikken 2014, p.10)

Second, the private social realm of Fabrikken makes the area less attractive for members of the creative class, who are seeking for artistic lifestyle. Therefore, since there is no vibrant social atmosphere, the gentrification mechanisms in the area are mitigated.

Gentrification mechanism and interaction with the creative class will be analyzed in detail in sub-sections 5.2.4 and 5.2.5.

It is important to remind that the intimacy of Fabrikken’ social realm does not prevent the organization from regenerating the surrounding area. In fact, as the next sub-section will show, the

organization results to be quite open towards the nearby communities, which however are not professionally involved in the artistic production.

5.2.3 Regenerating effects of Fabrikken

This sub-section regards the regenerating effect that the artists of Fabrikken have on the urban environment. Previous literature describes that for economic reasons, artists tend to make adaptive reuse of abandoned buildings or to establish in problematic areas of the city where rent prices are low (Currid 2007).

In this sub-section will be showed that also artists at Fabrikken make adaptive reuse of a dismissed industrial building. Moreover, the building is located in a problematic area of Copenhagen.

This sub-section will show evidences of how artists at Fabrikken not only contribute to urban regeneration in a passive way giving new use to an abandoned building, but also in an active way, involving the surrounding communities.

After the program of the municipality for unemployed people closed down, the artists stayed in the factory:

“Then gradually the city of Copenhagen sort of said: well we can see that you are working there, you seem to like the building we don’t really know what to do with it [...] and then it sort of became not a squatting situation but the artists were here already, and they didn’t really know what to use the building for, I mean the city of Copenhagen, so the artists got to stay and more and more came.” (Residency coordinator at Fabrikken, 2014, p.2)

It is important to notice that the owner of the building; in this case the city of Copenhagen, didn’t really know what to use the building for. In fact, how coded information in table 5.5 shows, the building currently hosting Fabrikken was originally built for industrial purposes, and the fact that now the building has changed its original use testifies the adaptive reuse made by the artists.

Table 5.5: Building Where the Organization Is Located

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
About the building where the organization is located:		
6.1	It was originally built for industrial purposes.	3
6.2	It is not opened to the public on a daily basis.	2
6.3	It is in need of renovation.	2
6.4	It is not owned by the organization.	2

Source: my arrangement.

Moreover, looking at the picture 4.2 it can be noticed that the building presents the classical features of an industrial building.

In the case of Fabrikken it is important to consider also the area where the organization is located.

Table 5.6: Surrounding Area

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
About the area (neighborhood or surroundings):		
7.1	It is a problematic area.	9
7.2	It is undergoing changes.	4
7.3	The organization has tried to improve it.	3
7.4	Social housing.	2
7.5	Industrial area left behind.	1

Source: my arrangement.

Coded information in table 5.6 shows that the neighborhood of the organization is considered as a problematic area. “It is not a ghetto, but an area that has several social problems” (Director at Fabrikken, 2014, p.5). Moreover, “It used to be sort of a dark and scary place, especially on a winter evening” (Residency coordinator at Fabrikken, 2014, p.4).

How mentioned before in the theoretical chapter, the establishment of artists in blighted neighborhood is not a new phenomenon. It is what has been described by Currid (2007) as ‘The Soho Effect’: artists choose to live in problematic areas in order to benefit from low rent prices, then because of the attractive atmosphere other people start willing to live in the area, and then when rent prices rise, artists have to move out. This phenomenon has been described also by Zukin and Braslow (2011), artists regenerate problematic areas, and then the spaces used by the artists are converted in more profitable businesses.

So far Fabrikken follows the path described by the above-mentioned literature. In fact, the artists of Fabrikken were attracted by very low rent when they established themselves in the building for the first time. Actually there was no rent in the beginning: “we didn’t pay any rent. We paid all what we used of electricity and heating and warm and security [...] the rent is now very low. It is reduced rent” (Artists #1 at Fabrikken, 2014, p.1).

Moreover, coded information in table 5.7 shows that the rent that the organization pays to the municipality, who owns the building, it is reduced, and the rent that artists have to pay for their studios in Fabrikken is kept very low by the organization (Director at Fabrikken, 2014).

Table 5.7: Rent

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Rent:		
14.1	Renting out the big hall contributes to the revenues.	6
14.2	Rent is reduced.	5
14.3	Rent is regulated by a contract.	3
14.4	Studios are rented out at low market rent.	3

Source: my arrangement.

However, even if Fabrikken seems to follow the path of ‘The Soho Effect’ there are some differences.

First, the regeneration effect that Fabrikken has on the Sundholm area is not only the adaptive reuse of the ex-laundry. In fact, Fabrikken does not only organize exhibitions and art events, but it has outreach programs that involve the local community.

Table 5.8: Activities of the Organization

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Activities of the organization:		
1.1	Aim to engage the surrounding non-artistic communities.	10
1.2	Involve schools or art teaching.	7
1.3	Have a regenerating effect on the surrounding area.	4
1.4	They vary within the artistic field.	2
1.5	Have an international reach.	1
1.6	They depend on the funding.	1
1.7	Are carried out professionally.	1

Source: my arrangement.

As coded information regarding the activities of the organization show, the majority of the activities of Fabrikken aim to engage the surrounding communities.

The initial purpose of those outreaching activities was to stop the attacks to the building executed by the teenagers from neighborhood:

“Some years ago there were quite a big few problems actually, with vandalism, and we had Molotov cocktails thrown in the windows, and break in all the times, all sort of that which was really unfortunate, but once the outreach program started and the kids from the area actually saw the building and what it was all about [...] all the vandalism thing actually stopped.”
(Residency coordinator at Fabrikken, 2014, p.3)

Then, the outreach programs became of key relevance in order to anchor the organization to the local area. In fact, it has been decided that from the beginning of 2015 one of the studio will be transformed into a room dedicated only to those outreach programs (Director at Fabrikken, 2014).

The artistic production it is not compromised by those activities, artists can decide themselves whether to participate or not (Artist #2 at Fabrikken). There is a group of artists that tend to be more involved, but the group it is quite dynamic, so the artists involved changes every time (Director at Fabrikken, 2014).

According to the literature, the regenerating effect of the artists is limited to the fact that blighted areas of the city are regenerated and became more attractive place where to live (Currid 2007). However, this regenerating effect do not bring any benefit to the local communities, while in the case of Fabrikken also local communities benefits from the presence of the organization (Director at Fabrikken, 2014).

As pictures 4.3 and 4.4 shows, the organization contributes to the improvement of the area also in a visual way. The organization installed colorful lampshades on the streetlights and an artistic bench in a green area close by. Moreover, picture 4.8 shows the artwork 'The Floating Island of Pearls' by Isabel Berglund (artist #3 at Fabrikken), which she realized with the help of the community living in the area.

In the next sub-section it will be showed how, according to the data, Fabrikken can be considered as a catalyst of gentrification in the area. However, the case of Fabrikken seems to diverge from the cases described by the reviewed literature.

5.2.4 Gentrification and Fabrikken

As coded information 7.2 in table 5.6 shows, the area is undergoing changes. In particular, the municipality has sold some of the land to private firms, which started the construction of new residential buildings (Director at Fabrikken 2014, Residencies coordinator at Fabrikken 2014, Artist #1 at Fabrikken 2014).

It is possible to see the almost finished buildings in pictures 4.5 and 4.6.

A further sign of the regeneration of the area, and the beginning of a gentrification process can be found in the fact that people moving in the new buildings are richer than the people already living in the area. "I think it's quite large apartments, so it is not, what you call that, low income, it's kind of mid-income people" (Director at Fabrikken 2014, p.8).

With the new arrive in April 2015 of the first families Fabrikken will play another interesting role in the area:

“I think that might be interesting because on the other side, we are actually part of Sundholm, we have homeless people living, and in order to live out here you actually need to be homeless. So it will perhaps change the population a bit I think in that context, I think that Fabrikken plays the role of, kind of, a fence between normal people and people on the border of society.” (Director at Fabrikken 2014, p.8-9)

Artists from the organization have already started activities in order to embrace the new people coming to live in the area. In particular:

“I have been talking walks where they have been digging up the ground and I just picked up all these things and I m going to make an exhibition of this in the new buildings, of what was found underneath them.” (Artists #1 at Fabrikken 2014)

According to the coded information in table 5.9 there are more people coming to live in the area, and as seen before those people are richer than the current population. Moreover, the artists are aware of the gentrification process therefore they fear the future possibility of having to move out or to not being able to cohabit with the new comers. In fact, some of the activities carried out at Fabrikken are noisy and sometimes they require the use of big trucks, like in the case of transportation of raw materials or artworks (Residency coordinators at Fabrikken 2014).

Table 5.9: Gentrification

<i>Code</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Gentrification:		
5.1	More people coming to live in the area.	4
5.2	Fear of not being able to live together with the new comers.	4
5.3	Fear of having to move out.	3
5.4	Thinks artists are able to contrast the gentrification process.	3

Source: my arrangement.

However, code 5.4 in table 5.9 shows that there is a general belief of being able to keep being in the factory and to contrast the gentrification process.

“I think artists are perfectly capable of pushing back as well, and I think, well in my view collaboration is definitely one of the keys to do that, and actually to try to be able to adapt and accommodate all that changing scene.” (Residency coordinator at Fabrikken 2014, p. 11)

Moreover:

“It is a very big advantage to join together because you have simply more money and more organization structure so you could actually go and fight in these, or fight, I mean you can play a role, you have money, you can say yes we can do that because otherwise it’s a small group of artists and nobody it is very good at organization.” (Artist #1 at Fabrikken 2014, p.4)

Those evidences from the data are in contrast with the previous literature where artists are described powerless, and they cannot do anything else but moving out in other cheaper areas of the city (Currid 2007, Zukin and Braslow 2011).

At this point it is legitimate to wonder why data shows that this is not the case of Fabrikken. There have been formulated three hypotheses in regard:

1. The opportunity to remain in the area could derive from the fact that Fabrikken carries out activities that regenerate the area, not only in a passive way, but also in an active way trying to engage the local communities in the organization. This makes Fabrikken an institution anchored to the area.
2. Artists at Fabrikken can remain in the area simply because being organized in a collective form that, without considering the extra-artistic activities, give them more financial stability, and therefore the power to contrast cultural gentrification.
3. The opportunity could derive by the fact that artists are concentrated together in one building therefore it is true that they still contribute to regenerate the area and act as catalysts for gentrification, but the fact that they are all together in the same building has as a consequence the creation of an ‘informal social realm’ that remains internal, and does not transform the neighborhood in an attractive place for, for example, members of the creative class, seeking for an artistic lifestyle. This is also testified by the absence of coffee places or other social venues in the area.

Whatever is the reason or combination of reasons, it can be said that in the case of Fabrikken, the collective form of organization in combination with the activities that anchor the organization to the area, although they still triggers gentrification mechanisms, at the same time they provide better opportunities to contrast cultural gentrification.

The next sub-section shows the analysis of the interaction between Fabrikken and the members of the creative class, which are considered by the previous literature as one of the causes of artists' migrations (Zukin and Braslow 2011).

5.2.5 The creative class theory and Fabrikken

This sub-section frames the case of Fabrikken in the creative class theory. The analysis is complicated by the fact that the interviewees were not aware of Florida's theory.

There are two ways of considering the interaction between artists at Fabrikken and the creative class. First it can be assumed that artists at Fabrikken are members of the creative class, more precisely fitting in the definition of the 'super-creative core'. Second it can be assumed that artists at Fabrikken are what Florida (2012) calls the 'the bohemians', which are the artists who make a place attractive for members of the creative class because of their interesting lifestyle.

The analysis will proceed in the following way: quotes from the transcriptions of the interviews will be reported, and then they will be analyzed in order to understand which hypothesis fits best. First it will be analyzed the hypothesis of artists being part of the creative class as super-creative core, and then being part as bohemians.

"I think it is very important when you are an artist that when you come in a place where other artists are, you don't feel strange because if you are in a normal building with a lot of other offices you feel strange because what you make it is different." (Artists #1 at Fabrikken 2014, p.2)

From this quote is possible to sense a kind of artistic brotherhood, meaning that artists feel comfortable to work when they are surrounded by other artists, or at least not surrounded by people working in completely different fields. From this passage it can also be deducted that there is a certain kind of separation between artists and the other professional worlds, and this could be the reason why Fabrikken focuses mainly on production of art and design.

Moreover, when talking about Fabrikken:

“This is actually how artists would like it to be, and no we don’t have any commercial office in the same building because they work differently, they have another economy, so it is a very a big advantage to be together and keep on having the focus, I mean keep on having the focus on artists and not for instance on commercial people or fashion, advertising, because these are two separately worlds in economical sense.” (Artists #1 at Fabrikken 2014, p.5)

Even if Florida (2012) inserts artist in the group of the super-creative core, from the quotes above it possible to feel a strong sense of separation from the other professions included in the group of the ‘super-creative core’. Therefore the first hypothesis of considering artists at Fabrikken as part of this sub-group of the creative class is discarded.

According to Florida (2012), the members of the creative class tend to establish in places where the concentration of bohemians is quite high, this because they are attracted by the artists’ lifestyle and the atmosphere of the cultural district. Therefore, artists at Fabrikken could play the role of attracting creative class members.

As seen before in the sub-section regarding the social realm, artists at Fabrikken generate an active social realm. However, Fabrikken’s social realm do not attract member of the creative class due to the fact that the social gatherings happen inside the building in a private form. Also in the case of public events hosted at Fabrikken, it seems that the participants belongs to the same dimension of the artists at Fabrikken (notes from participant observations, see appendix 2). In fact, Fabrikken tends to attract producers and not consumers (Director at Fabrikken 2014).

Summarizing, from the data emerge a strong feel of separation from other professional worlds that are not strictly related with art. Moreover, because of the collective form of organization artists at Fabrikken generate a social realm that does not result attractive to consumers (in this category can be included members of the creative class as well).

5.3 Answering the research questions

This section will answer the research questions that guided the thesis. The sub-questions will be answered first:

First: What happen to the artistic production when artists are organized in a collective form? On the basis of the data collected in Fabrikken, as seen in sub-section 5.2.1 the organization of artists in a collective form resembles the structure of a cluster. Therefore, artists may benefit from related and un-related knowledge spillovers, which increase the possibility of achieving radical product innovation. Artists organized together can afford to have a big space, also within the city. Therefore, artistic production benefits from the opportunity of improvisational space and more chances of reaching radical innovation.

Second: does the social dimension, which characterizes artistic production, undergo any changes? The case of Fabrikken showed that artists organized in a collective form tend to generate an informal social realm that is characterized by a more private dimension in comparison with the one described by the literature.

Third: can artists regenerate the surrounding area even if they are organized in a collective form? The case of Fabrikken shows that artists keep having a regenerating effect on the surrounding area even if they are organized in a collective form.

Fourth: does the interaction with the members of the creative class undergo changes when artists are organized in a collective form? The artistic social realm at Fabrikken assumes a private dimension. Therefore, it results to be less attractive for members of the creative class.

Fifth sub-question: what happen to the relation between artists and gentrification when they are organized in a collective form? As seen in sub-section 5.2.4 artists at Fabrikken still trigger gentrification mechanisms, but at the same time the collective form and the activities carried out by the organization empower them with the opportunity of contrasting gentrification.

On the basis of the answers to the sub-question it is possible to give an answer to the main research question, which is: In order to keep artistic productions in the urban environments: can artists escape the logic of cultural gentrification thanks to collective forms of organization? The analysis of the collected data shows that artists at Fabrikken are able to contrast the logic of cultural gentrification. This ability comes from two characteristics. First, the collective form of organization provides to artists more organization structure and financial resources (Artist #1 at Fabrikken 2014).

Second, the active regeneration carried out by the artists made the organization an institution in the area (Residency coordinator at Fabrikken 2014). Therefore, the example of Fabrikken represents a solution for artists to keep working in the city and escape the logic of cultural gentrification.

Chapter 6 - Conclusions

6.1 Conclusive summary

This research started illustrating, through a review of the previous literature, the general discourse on the cultural industries, showing how they become more relevant in the new economy and especially for economic regeneration of post-industrial cities. Moreover, it has been shown the characteristics of cultural production and its social and geographical dimensions. Thanks to the examples from New York City, it has been shown the forces at work in the cultural district, especially in relation to artists and to the creative class theory.

Afterwards, the focus shifted to the specific case of Fabrikken, this because the organization was believed to be an example of how to keep artistic production within the city. The aim was to contribute, with a specific example, to the general discourse of urban regeneration through the cultural industries. In order to do so it was necessary to verify if a collective form of organization like Fabrikken could have represented a useful solution.

6.2 Tentative conclusions

The case of Fabrikken from the city of Copenhagen shows a way to keep artistic production in the urban environment and safeguard artists from cultural gentrification. The success of this example is attributed to the fact that artists are organized in a collective form, but also to the fact that artists are involved in activities, described before as active regeneration, which anchor the organization to the area and its community.

In a collective form of organization artists can benefit from knowledge spillovers that can lead to radical innovations and from more space availability in comparison to individual ateliers. The artistic social realm assumes a private dimension that makes the area less attractive for the members of the creative class. Moreover, a collective form of organization doesn't prevent artists from having a regenerating effect on the surrounding area; in fact artists at Fabrikken contribute both in an active way trying to involve the surrounding communities, and in a passive way making adaptive reuse of an abandoned building. In particular this active way of regeneration is also believed to be one of the reasons why artists are able to contrast gentrification mechanisms.

The specific example of Fabrikken can be related to the general discourse on regeneration of post-industrial cities. In fact, according to Pratt (2008) policy makers should focus more on cultural production rather than consumption, this because cultural industries are a potential motor of urban growth. The art industry is able to develop the city's economy (Pratt 2008, Currid 2007 and Markusen 2006), and Fabrikken represents an example of how to keep the artistic production in the urban environment.

Other cities could develop policies aiming to stimulate and help artistic productions following the example of Fabrikken. Artists would be assigned a space in a problematic area of the city, where they will pay a reduce rent, and in return they will agree on engaging in outreach programs for local communities and schools. In this way artists would be still able to carry out their professional activities individually, while they would contribute to urban regeneration collectively. The municipality would benefit both from economic and social regeneration.

It must be taken into consideration that due to the limitations of this study, which will be explained in the next section, the above-suggested policy must be considered as a tentative suggestion.

What can be certainly affirmed regards only the specific case of Fabrikken. In particular, from the analysis of the empirical data and from the answers given to the research questions it is possible to say that Fabrikken represents a way for artists to escape cultural gentrification.

6.3 Limitations

As stated in the methodology section, it was decided not to proceed with the generalization of the results due to the limitations of the study. In fact, empirical data have been collected only from the single case of Fabrikken in the city of Copenhagen, the time spent doing fieldwork and the amount of data gathered were limited in scope. Moreover, data have been gathered only from the organization omitting the other parties involved: like the municipality of Copenhagen and the communities living in the area surrounding Fabrikken.

6.4 Recommendations for further studies

This thesis has shown that in the case of Fabrikken: when artists are organized in a collective form and they are actively involved with the surrounding communities, they have the opportunity to contrast the logic of cultural gentrification. However, in order to understand if this formula can be

extended to other collectives of artists and to other cities as well, it would be of relevance to proceed with further investigations.

In particular, it would be relevant to include in the study units also the surrounding communities, which are in direct contact with the artists, and the municipality. The inclusion of the other actors involved could provide a different point of view on the effects deriving from the presence of artists. Moreover, it would be necessary to extend the scope of the empirical data, including other collectives from other cities.

Further studies could reach a wider scope: urban regeneration through art would be included in a broader discourse about urban development. Considering all the forces that ‘fight’ for urban space, it would be relevant to wonder if there is a right path to follow in regard to urban development. Moreover, how can different forces coexist in the urban environment? Assuming that artists collectively organized are able to create ‘gentrification-proof’ areas within the city, then it is reasonable to wonder what would be the effect of those areas on the development of the city.

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List of appendices

Appendix 1: Second level coded information, tables.

Appendix 2: Transcription of observations from participation at event Alt_Cph 14

Appendix 3: Transcription of personal notes from site visit.

Appendix 4: Interview transcription, Maria Gry Bregnbak, residency coordinator at Fabrikken.
(Selected parts)

Appendix 5: Interview transcription, Marie Louise Helveg Bøgh, director at Fabrikken. (Selected parts)

Appendix 6: Interview transcription, Camilla Nørgaard, artist #1 at Fabrikken. (Selected parts)

Appendix 7: Interview transcription, Torgny Wilckie, artists #2 at Fabrikken. (Selected parts)

Appendix 8: Interview transcription, Isabel Berglund, artist #3 at Fabrikken. (Selected parts)

Appendix 9: Interview transcription, Anette Holmberg, artist and director at Yard. (Selected parts)