

# Transforming Urban Space

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## Planning Creative Milieus with case studies from Barcelona and Vienna

by  
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# MASTERARBEIT

Transforming Urban Space:  
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from  
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# **ABSTRACT**

Structural changes on macro- and micro-level unleashed global transformation processes in order to increase cities' competitiveness and attractiveness. The thesis explores strategies for urban and economic revitalisation by implementing creative milieus through planning. Grounded in theoretic and empirical research methods, the analysis of two case studies examines the possibilities and restrains of top-down measures. As research shows, planned milieus suffer serious deficits in regard to their capability to produce milieu-like structures which emphasizes the importance to complement existing planning paradigms by bottom-up approaches.

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Keywords. Creative industries, creative milieus, urban transformation, Barcelona, Vienna

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

Urban development is increasingly characterised by an amalgamation of urban and economic transformation processes. As outlined by Florida (2012) and Frey (2009), a shift can be witnessed from the service economy to urban economy accompanied by urban phenomena such as re-urbanisation and gentrification. Urban economies benefit in particular from externalities caused by inner-city locations, e.g. vicinity of facilities and amenities and thus are often associated with the creative industries (Montgomery, 2007). Not only in the Western Hemisphere scholars and urban practitioners have recognised the win-win situation deriving from location and working patterns of the creative sector. Besides eco-friendliness and demand for highly-skilled workers, the creative sector and workforce are involved in economic, social and spatial revaluation of central urban areas (Scott, 2004, Fleming, 2004). In light of globalisation, international competition and industrial vacancies, the creative industries are regarded as panacea for urban problems and therefore constitute the priority target group of current urban policies.

To what extent urban and economic transformation processes and respective urban planning tools generate new urban areas adjusted to the needs and demands of the creative industries, is the focus of this research project. In order to introduce the general framework of this study, problem setting, research question and design as well as methodological approach are elaborated in the following.

## 1.1 Creativity and creative milieus on the rise: problem setting and objective of thesis

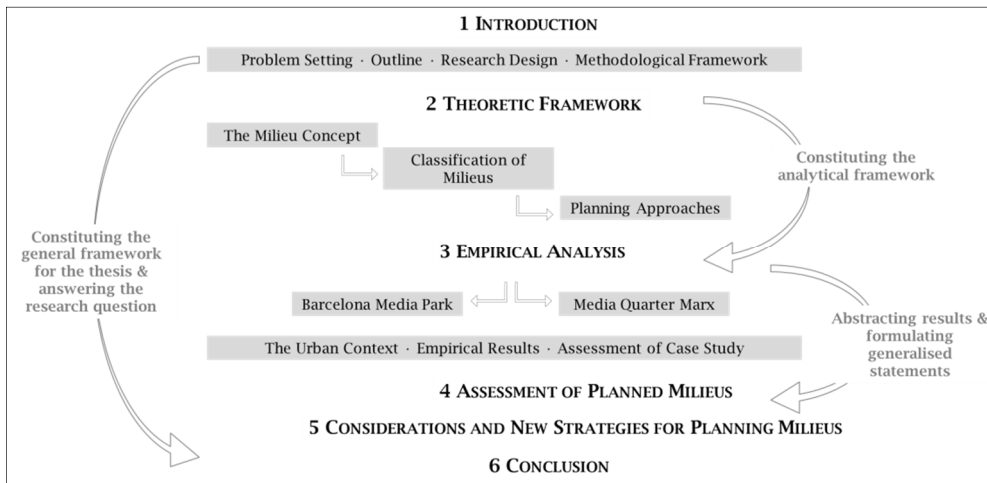
Within the field of urban planning a reassessment of urban space and its economic value has been evident in new urban models resulting in emerging recognition of the concept of creativity not only in Europe, but also in America and Asia (Kunzmann, 2005, Foord, 2008, Evans, 2004). For finding solutions to urban problems related to shortage of housing, unemployment in periods of recession and global instabilities as well as increasing competition over capital and talent (Creative Metropolises, 2010), the concept of creativity culminates in newly developed urban areas for the creative industries and has advanced to a prominent tool for municipal decision makers. *Mediapolis* in Singapore (Media Development Authority, 2011), *The Fringe* in Cape Town (The Fringe, 2011) and *Dubai Media City* (Dubai Media City, 2013) prove the global dimension of creativity-led urban development (Evans, 2009). By reusing old warehouses or run-down industrial districts, these newly created ‘creative spaces’ shall accommodate creative industries sounding the bell for a shift from service economies towards creative economies in cities. As examined and often cited, Florida’s calculations indicate that one third of the US workforce belong to the creative industries justifying recently raised recognition of this economic sector (Florida, 2012). Due to structural changes on the macro-level, which indicate that people have replaced natural resources as main driver for growth (Landry, 2008), municipalities set up local planning schemes aiming at fostering, maintaining and introducing creative hubs in their urban fabric and economic structure. As benchmark function creative milieus, which “(...) *historically have emerged organically from cultural producer and fringe workshop areas with lower land/rents and looser controls, such as licensing, planning and ‘policing’ (...)*” (Evans, 2009, p. 1031). Such milieus are characterised by high volumes of human interaction and intense social networks which are often centred on a nexus of buildings and institutions (Landry, 2008).

Undoubtedly, the replication of those creativity-led regeneration strategies raises questions on possible oversupply, sustainable urban growth, unrealistic expectations on an ever increasing creative economy as well as the efficiency of those created milieus in terms of their original assets (Foord, 2008, Evans, 2009). Therefore, it is time to analyse top-down planned creative milieus and to assess which benefits they offer to the creative industries. Being conceptualised and branded as creative milieus, the projects’ capability to produce local networks among actors is the focus of the present research.

## 1.2 Outline of thesis

In order to generate a coherent and logical structure of this thesis, it is divided into six sections (cf. figure 1).

Figure 1. Structure of thesis



Source. Illustration by author

**Chapter one** is dedicated to the introduction of the research question and the methodological framework. A mixed-method approach has been applied enabling the analysis of network structures and identification of factors favouring the viability of milieus. In order to embed the research question within an academic framework, **chapter two** examines the concept of milieus. Selected authors are reviewed before a categorisation of different types of milieus progresses towards a discussion about the viability of planning creative milieus. The last subchapter considers various approaches – from soft and hard measures to political, social and property-led developments – and illustrates their effects with the help of examples from European cities. The empirical analysis **in chapter three** elaborates specificities of planned milieus according to the previously defined research design. For this purpose revitalisation projects in Barcelona and Vienna have been chosen. In the following, these findings provide the basis for **chapter four**. By means of SWOT-analysis, hindering and facilitating aspects for planning milieus are particularised before considerations for future action are concretised in **chapter five**. **Chapter six** summarises the main results, reviews the methodological approach critically and defines possibilities for further research.

## 1.3 Research design and choice of case studies

In spite of sceptical stances towards “*creativity-led economic development*” (Foord, 2008, p. 91), it is pursued globally by municipal planners and local governments. The dilemma lies in the notion of organically grown milieus, which is often seen contradictory towards planning approaches in terms of authenticity and efficiency of the established local networks (Evans, 2009). In order to enhance the discussion about the viability of planned milieus, the paper focuses on the following aspects:

***To what extent have urban development measures, applied in the Barcelona Media Park and Media Quarter Marx, generated creative milieus which correspond to the current notion of the creative milieu?***

- *What is the current notion of the creative milieu?*
- *Which development measures have been applied in the chosen case studies? How did they impact the development of milieus?*
- *In which aspects do the Barcelona Media Park and Media Quarter Marx under- or outperform? What does this imply for spatial strategies aiming to plan a milieu?*

The research matter is approached by comparative analysis of two case studies: the Barcelona Media Park (BMP) in Barcelona and Media Quarter Marx (MQM) in Vienna. Targeting both urban and economic revitalisation by pursuing creative milieus, they constitute the focus of the empirical research.

In order to assess the concept of creativity for holistic regeneration based on creativity and knowledge intensive industries, it is necessary to understand the psychological process of creativity. How is it defined and how can it be triggered?

Due to activities of JP Guilford, psychological research on creativity gained momentum during the 1950s (Sternberg & Lubart, 1996). More than half a century later, still no all-encompassing and generally accepted definition of creativity does exist. The concept of creativity differs according to the individual emphasis of the researcher. Thus, it can be considered as a personal trait and cognitive ability, as an intellectual or artistic product and even as a dynamic process resulting from individual experiences with the social environment (Stokols, Clitheroe & Zmuidzinas, 2010). Despite the diversity of approaches towards creativity, it is generally related to two essential factors. First of all, creativity implies the generation of new ideas and novel solutions. Secondly, these mental and material artifacts have to be accepted and recognised as creative by the individual’s socio-cultural environment (Glävenau, 2010, Sternberg & Lubart, 1996, Amabile, 1983). In order to narrow down the concept of

creativity, Lubart (2001) considers creativity as cycles of divergent and convergent thinking (for more on divergent thinking, cf. Guilford, 1967, Khandawalla, 1993, Runco, 1991 in Lubart, 2001) which lead to new, alternative solutions to an initially *“ill-defined problem”* (Lubart, 2001, p. 302). In contrast to this complex process, everyday problem solving involves mainly convergent thinking and thus a lesser degree of creativity, as people apply acquired procedures and search for ready-made solutions. The distinction between these two kinds of creativity is widely supported within academia. For example, Beghetto & Kaufmann (2007, in Hennessy & Amabile, 2010) introduced the terms of *Big C* and *Little C* following the categorisation made by Lubart (2001). According to the current debate within psychological research on creativity following conclusions can be drawn: A context-driven point of view towards creativity and creative activities seems most useful for further investigation on creative milieus, since creativity is defined as a process which is facilitated by its socio-cultural and socio-spatial environment and results in the generation of new ideas (Glävenau, 2010, Simonton, 2000). It is considered as *“(...) a complex social-cultural-psychological process that, through working with “culturally-impregnated” materials within an intersubjective space, leads to the generation of artifacts that are evaluated as new and significant by one or more persons or communities at a given time”* (Glävenau, 2010, p. 87). As a consequence individual abilities as well as cognitive aspects are neglected while the role of the individual's environment is stressed for this study. The context-driven approach emphasizes the requirements put on a milieu. It has to serve and facilitate social encounters enabling dynamics and processes related to the *Big C* (a process based on convergent and divergent thinking), as creativity-led regeneration aims for economic prosperity and entrepreneurial success through the production of goods with major cultural, symbolic and economic impact (Foord, 2008).

These findings play an important role for assessing creativity in selected case studies. The BMP in Barcelona and MQM in Vienna have been chosen in compliance with selected criteria:

Initially, it is important to emphasize that creative milieus which have not organically grown, but whose *existence is mainly the result of planning efforts*, are studied. Milieu-like structures (cf. chapter 2.2.3), such as cultural and social heterogeneity, appealing urban environments, local infrastructure as well as spaces for working and living date from local development frameworks, private-public investment, marketing campaigns, zoning plans, or revitalisation strategies. However, the level of political involvement, in order to consider a milieu as planned or unplanned, cannot be defined in an all-encompassing matter. Important indicators are the intensity of political involvement and its time of occurrence. Attempting this matter, the *cluster life cycle* of Enright (2003 in Ingstrup & Damgaard, 2013) provides a general framework for evaluating the maturity of milieus which in turn helps to evaluate the local level of

planning involved in its generation and maintenance. For example, a lesser extent of planning is involved in already existent milieus which receive public funding in order to increase their international visibility than in emerging ones in which investments are taken in order to establish a critical mass of creative actors, e.g. by renovating buildings for creative and artistic purposes. Due to reasons of comparability and practicability the chosen samples are in an early stage of their life cycle. Their existence dates back to political attempts to rebuild, restructure and revitalise the respective areas in form of local development plans and private-public management, which is also backed up by **branding** them as creative milieus.

For their realisation so-called **creative intermediaries** are often considered as key players in the generation of networks in planned milieus and appear in form of, e.g. influential individuals, public agencies or private consultancies. Through the organisation of training activities and joint projects, provision of support services and meeting platforms, intermediaries play an influential role in trust building among local actors and networks (Fleming, 2004, Ingstrup & Damgaard, 2013).

Strikingly, many planned milieus **result from urban regeneration processes**. At first glance, those areas unite characteristics typical for business clusters. From a conceptual point of view, planned milieus shall result in a local concentration of interconnected companies of related industries which is characteristic to both clusters and milieus (Porter, 2000, Scott, 2004). The aim of spatial proximity is to “*compete but also cooperate*” (Porter, 2000, p. 15) making clear distinction of both types of spatial developments difficult. According to Evans (2009) the development and final form of the area is crucial to its categorisation. In contrast to cluster development, milieu strategies are much more integrated in local area regeneration, conservation of historic building stock, city marketing and image building, culture-led regeneration and related visitors economy.

These milieus are associated with specific dispositions which affect the economic development of, in this case, creative industries positively (Zheng, 2011, Evans, 2004, Fleming, 2004). A high local concentration of one specific industrial sector raises questions about its characteristics. Which branches are ranked among them? Does any common modus operandi exist? What kinds of products are produced and how?

Table 1. Definitions of the creative industries

	KEA EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (EUROPEAN COMMISSION)	AUSTRIA	CATALUNYA (SPAIN)
DOCUMENT	KEA European Affairs 2006, <i>The Economy of Culture in Europe</i>	Creativ wirtschaft austria 2010, <i>Vierter Österreichischer Kreativwirtschaftsbericht</i>	ICEC 2012, <i>L'ICEC i els sectors culturals 2012 (english version)</i>
DEFINITION CREATIVE INDUSTRIES	"In the "creative sector", culture becomes a "creative" input in the production of non-cultural goods." (p. 2)	"(...) acquisitive companies, which deal with the generation, production, (digital) distribution of creative and cultural goods and services." (p. 40)	-
MAIN CRITERIA	Culture as a resource for creativity, production of non-cultural goods	Acquisitive companies	-
ECONOMIC SECTORS	Design (fashion, interior and product design); architecture; advertising	Architecture; design; music, books & artistic activities; radio & TV; software & games; publishing; video & film; advertising; libraries, museums, botanical gardens and zoos	Information services & information technology; advertising; technical architectural services; specialised design activities; photography; development of videogames & IT programmes

Source. Illustration by author

Examining the creative industries is impeded since no universal definition is applied in Europe. Due to the fact, that local and national governments use own criteria, comparative analyses are complex. The British *Creative Industries Mapping Document* and its follow-ups still function as international role-model (DCMS, 2001). As demonstrated by the table above, the role and function of culture is fundamental to the definition of the European Commission (KEA, 2006). While for the creative sector, "(...) culture becomes a "creative" input in the production of non-cultural goods" (KEA European Affairs, 2006, p. 2), cultural industries actively produce cultural goods either non-reproducible in form of the arts or for the purpose of mass-dissemination and mass-production in form of, e.g., books, games, music or press publishing. The approach of the Catalan government shows some similarities with the definition of the European Commission as economic branches are similarly classified except for the performing arts, which constitute an own category together with artistic creation, show venue management and libraries (ICEC, 2012, Ministerio de Cultura, 2011, Council of Europe & ERICarts Institute, 2013). In contrast to Spain, attempts are being made to set up general guidelines for the creative industries on national level in Austria. Defining creative industries, the Austrian government includes "acquisitive companies, which deal with the generation, production, (digital) distribution of creative and cultural goods and services" [translation by author] (cwa, 2010, p. 40), i.e. ranging from architecture to publishing and even libraries (cwa, 2010). Since none of these classifications are neither free from discrepancies and criticism nor overlap completely nor do all activities of the production chain involve equal amounts of creativity (Montgomery, 2007, Florida, 2012), quantitative and qualitative analyses always have to take into account local frameworks and contexts. In fact analysis will show that in practice cultural and creative industries are tightly interwoven.

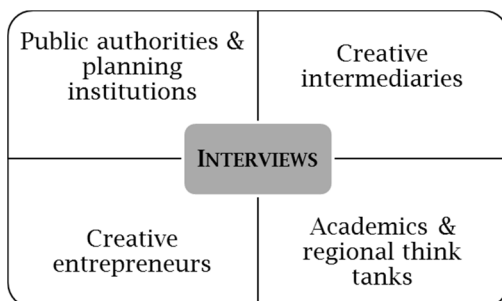
In the end a **limited geographical scope** of milieus has shown itself necessary in order to be able to meet the research requirements. Due to the importance of personal

encounters, the assessment of milieus had been constrained to those which constitute a manageable urban area. In favour of this last criterion is the fact that planned milieus are often conceptualised less open and more localised, as they result from creativity-led regeneration which is merely applied to abandoned warehouses, factories or barracks as demonstrated by projects like the Custard Factory in Birmingham (Creative Metropoles, 2010) or Zeche Zollverein in Essen.

## 1.4 The methodological framework

In order to understand the dynamics of planned creative milieus, a multi-disciplinary approach has been chosen. Primary and secondary literature has been studied to elaborate a theoretic framework taking into account different milieu concepts from various academic backgrounds which function as reference system for the empirical analysis. For the assessment of samples, ideas and strategies of discourse analysis (cf. Keller, 2011) have been applied to critically assess local development plans, governmental reports, press releases and marketing brochures. Statistical data from

*Figure 2. Relevant actors for the planning and implementation process*



*Source. Illustration by author*

municipalities provide additional background information on demographic and economic structures which has been used to identify the creative potential of each case study. By conducting semi-structured interviews with important stakeholders, grounded insight has been gained into structures, dynamics and influences on local networks and vitality of milieus. The choice of interview partners is based on suggestions obtained from literature research (cf. Kunzmann, 2005) which have been classified into four relevant categories (cf. figure 2). Since each group of actors operates differently and fulfils different functions, it has been paid attention to interview an equal amount of actors respective to the different categories resulting in twelve interviews. Personal meetings were arranged by email and phone prior to site visits, which have been conducted in March and April 2013. A detailed list of interview partners can be found in the appendix.



Table 2. Interview partners

	<b>PUBLIC AUTHORITIES &amp; PLANNING INSTITUTIONS</b>	<b>CREATIVE INTERMEDIARIES</b>	<b>CREATIVE ENTREPRENEURS</b>	<b>ACADEMICS &amp; REGIONAL THINK TANKS</b>
<b>VIENNA</b>	2	2	2	-
<b>BARCELONA</b>	1	2	2	1

*Source. Illustration by author*

Although each of the interview guides was set up with respect to the individual background as well as past and present activities of the interviewee, the interviews followed a general structure focusing on the role of the interview partner for local networks, the creative industries on city scale (size, dynamics, development) and the project itself (cf. appendix).

Qualitative analysis has been complemented by a survey among local entrepreneurs and employees in the respective case studies for the purpose to shed light on the experience of target groups, i.e. local economic agents, with planned milieus. Besides general concepts and ideas resulting from literature and online research (Garavan & Mc Carthy, 2008, Laberge, unpub., Littlejohn, nd), a study carried out by the Berlin Senate (IPZ, 2013) has introduced essential guidelines for designing the survey using EFS Survey System provided by unipark.de (cf. appendix). After having researched local agents during on-site visits and via the internet, relevant companies have been contacted via email distributing the survey online. Difficulties occurred as no up-to-date and reliable information about local entrepreneurs could be obtained, as information obtained online mismatched with addressed companies on site and vice versa. Despite being accessible for four weeks and repeatedly contacting local actors, the response rate remained low and no valid results could be acquired. In order to compensate for this lack of information, the following analysis attaches more importance to other forms of data collection, i.e. through the interpretation of statistical data and consideration of the built environment. To analyse the completed questionnaires, the statistical programme SPSS has been used. With MS Word, Power Point and Excel figures and tables have been formatted and photographs have been processed with Adobe Lightroom.

## **2 THE CONCEPT OF MILIEUS**

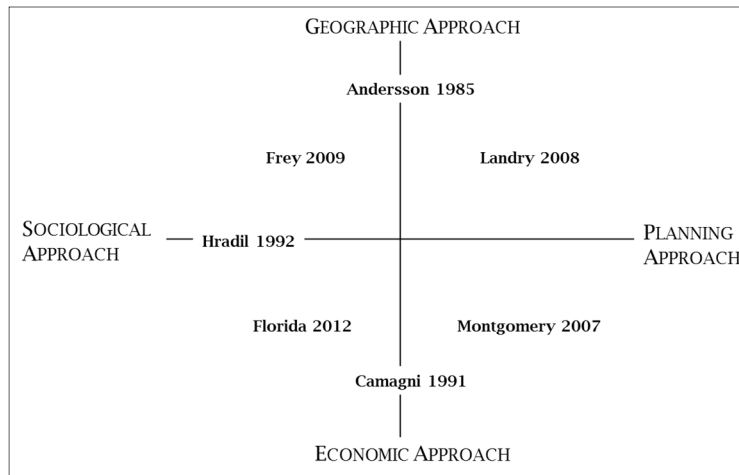
The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the underlying theoretic framework necessary for a well-founded empirical analysis. Due to the variety of concepts, an own reference system is elaborated by progressing from general definition of milieus towards categorising different types finally leading to a discussion of the viability of planning milieus. The findings of this chapter result from primary and secondary literature research.

## 2.1 The Milieu: an elusive concept

Scholars, such as Evans (2004) and Santagata (2002), consider pre-industrial crafts-based urban quarters and Marshallian industrial district as the beginning forms of the milieu. Today's notion of milieus, however, dates back to social instabilities in the 1980s. In the field of sociology early concepts of milieus derived from lifestyle studies and emphasized increasing social polarisation and individualisation as a result of changes in social structures, i.e. an isolation of "subjective" way of living from "objective" living conditions as well as socio-cultural pluralisation. Due to decreasing social norms on the one hand and increasing safety, mobility, freedom, new lifestyles and the generation of new social norms and values on the other hand, milieus were formed around natural, social, socio-economic, political-administrative, cultural as well as religious and spiritual aspects affecting a certain group of people in their thinking and behaviour (Hradil, 1992a & 1992b). Sociological milieu research has been strongly influenced by Pierre Bourdieu's work *Habitus* and Ulrich Beck's *Individualisierungsthese* (Hradil, 1992a). Soon after, a shift from societal aspects towards the spatial dimension of milieus has been notable. With his essay *Creativity and Regional Development* Åke Andersson's (1985) identified milieus as key factor for competitiveness and successful regional development. Researching the economic performance of both peripheral and central areas showed that peripheral regions lag behind their urban counterparts and trouble to overcome structural instabilities. Andersson traced this underperformance to the absence of technological development and research activities as well as the dominance of small firms leading to the conclusion that prosperous regions are characterised by intensive internal and external communication, a wide spectrum of competences, unsatisfied needs and cultural environments constituting the main features of an economic milieu.

Since then many theorists have followed Hradil and Andersson highlighting the importance of milieus for regional and urban development in numerous local settings (e.g. Landry, 2008, Camagni, 1991a, Florida, 2012, Frey, 2009).

Figure 3. Selected authors on milieu research



Source. Illustration by author

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, figure three shows a small, but representative choice of influential milieu theorists and practitioners which are being considered for the theoretic framework. Paying attention to both the academic background of authors and time of origin of their theses, the compilation considers established and more recent works equally and highlights different aspects of the contemporary discussion on milieus and thus stem from sociology, economy, planning and geography. The final choice of papers goes back to their eligibility on milieu research, which has been proven due to their consideration in various smaller meta-studies (e.g. in Montgomery, 2007, Frey, 2009, Landry, 2008, Hall, 2000). Although the milieu is a diverse concept, it has been possible to gather common characteristics. It has to be noted, however, that not all of the criteria, listed below, were simultaneously present in all discussions. This should not necessarily be considered as a weakness, but should highlight the variety of concepts contemporarily being at work. Seven qualities are determining the understanding of milieus for this paper:

1. Milieus have a *spatial dimension* and cover limited geographical areas. Their scale can range from single buildings to blocks, streets or whole neighbourhoods. Due to their objective to establish and maintain personal networks, it is more likely that they occur in comparatively smaller units (cf. Landry, 2008, Camagni, 1991a, Montgomery, 2007, Florida, 2012, Frey, 2009).

2. Milieus have a *social dimension*. Social differentiation processes were the initial drivers for milieus and social aspects have remained important until today. Even though milieus claim to be open networks, participants are characterised by certain internal coherence based on personal traits, professions, interests, lifestyles and values which constitute peer groups, but also may lead to the exclusion of others (cf. Florida, 2012, Hradil, 1992b, Frey, 2009).

3. Milieus *promote social exchange* organised in strong and loose social networks. In virtue of proximity of peers, face-to-face interactions are of specific importance, as internal and external communication flows nurture the milieu and lead to its growth. Social encounters appear in a variety of constellations, e.g. between two individuals, between a group of people, between an institution and an individual or considering larger dimensions even between two different milieus (cf. Andersson, 1985, Landry, 2012, .Camagni, 1991a, Florida, 2012, Frey, 2009).

4. Milieus are *driver for creativity and innovation*. Social density generates flows of ideas which trigger creativity and innovation (cf. Landry, 2008, Camagni, 1991a, Florida, 2012, Frey, 2009).

5. Milieus are *sites for production* of both material commodities and immaterial products, such as experiences, resulting from social encounters and anticipated creativity (cf. Landry, 2008, Camagni, 1991b, Montgomery, 2007, Florida, 2012, Frey, 2009).

6. Milieus *follow the market rules of supply and demand* and urban entities are usually only able to sustain one milieu of a kind. The type and amount of milieus depends, among other factors, on the size and scale of the city, local structures, population dynamics, policies and economic performance (cf. Montgomery, 2007).

7. Milieus *develop under specific preconditions*. Besides the built environment and urban landscapes, also lifestyle amenities, diversity of people, leisure facilities and (street level) culture play an important role in the emergence of milieus. To trigger network activities, a liberal environment is needed to encourage artistic, social and creative activities (cf. Florida, 2012, Landry, 2008).

## 2.2 Classifying, categorising and characterising different types of milieus

Due to structural changes, contemporary city planning applies the concept of milieus to various problem settings which are summarised under the terms innovative, cultural or creative milieu. In theory and reality proper and clear differentiation of the different kinds is difficult, as they stem from the same processes and promote the same objectives, i.e. informal networks through increased face-to-face interactions. Even if these labels are used synonymously, an unambiguous distinction of the various types is necessary for choosing adequate case studies and applying accurate analysis criteria.

Table 3. Innovative, creative and cultural milieus in comparison

TYPE OF MILIEU	INDUSTRIAL SECTORS	PREFERRED LOCATION	SCALE	ROLE OF CULTURE	NATURE OF NETWORKS	NETWORKING LINKAGES	SELECTED EXAMPLES
CREATIVE MILIEU	Creative Industries	Inner city areas Urban fringe Downtown areas Old warehouses	Streets Quarters Neighbourhoods Cities	Central input factor	Informal Networks based on mutual trust Triggering collective learning processes and creative ideas	Creative Individuals Creative Companies Business services Social groups Public authorities External linkages	Poblenou - Barcelona/Spain Digital Media City - Dubai/UAE Media Quarter Marx - Vienna/Austria
CULTURAL MILIEU	Cultural Industries	Inner city areas	Quarters Neighbourhoods	Central output factor	Semi-formal networks btw. the audience and the artists Informal networks within the audience	Public authorities Cultural institutions Social groups	Museumsinsel - Berlin/Germany Museumsquartier - Vienna/Austria Kaapeli - Helsinki/Finland
INNOVATIVE MILIEU	Industries concerned with technological creation	Campus-style environments Urban fringe or periphery	Quarters	Supporting network activities	Informal networks Triggering collective learning processes, synergies and competitive advantages	Innovative Companies Business services Public authorities External linkages	Silicon Valley - San Francisco/US Münchener Technologiezentrum (MTZ) - Munich/Germany

Source. Illustration by author

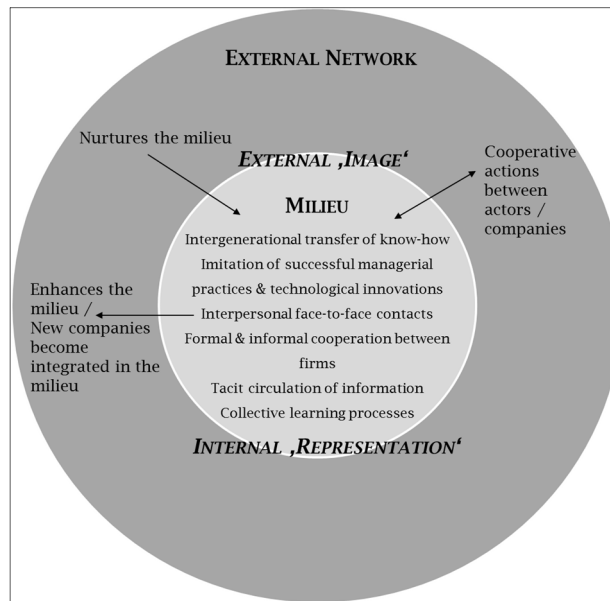
Besides the affiliation to economic sectors enabling cross-company linkages and collaborations, the role of culture plays another main feature for distinction. Whereas for creative milieus culture is seen as central input factor in their production chain, cultural milieus are concerned with the production of culture itself in form of exhibitions, dance or theatre performances. In contrast to the creative and cultural milieu, culture merely supports network activities in innovative milieus. Further distinguishing features cover location patterns, scale and dynamics of networks. In the following each type with their respective theoretic framework will be examined in more detail in order to enhance the eligibility and validity of the performed differentiation.

## 2.2.1 Innovative milieus: supporting technology-driven industries

Members of the *Groupe de Recherche Européenne sur les Milieux Innovateurs* (GREMI) provide extensive research on changing economic patterns describing the emergence of strong territorial production systems, known as innovative milieus (Crevoisier & Maillat, 1991, Camagni, 1991a). These new places of economic production constitute an “*innovative environment*” (Quévité, 1991, p. 64) bringing together a “*production system, technical culture and protagonists with a common mode of appending situations, problems and opportunities*” (Crevoisier & Maillat, 1991, p. 19). According to GREMI-member Camagni (1991a, p. 3), the innovative milieu “*(...) may be defined as a set or the complex network of mainly informal social relationships on a limited geographical area (...)*” enabling and leading to collective learning processes and

cooperative behaviour among companies in order to secure competitive advantages and to adapt to a new global order of economic dynamics. Similar to sociological conceptualisations, shared identity deriving from internal reputation and external image influences relationships among actors in- and outside of the milieu (cf. figure 4) (Camagni, 1991a).

Figure 4. The dynamics of a milieu according to GREMI



Source. Illustration by author according to Camagni, 1991a & 1991b

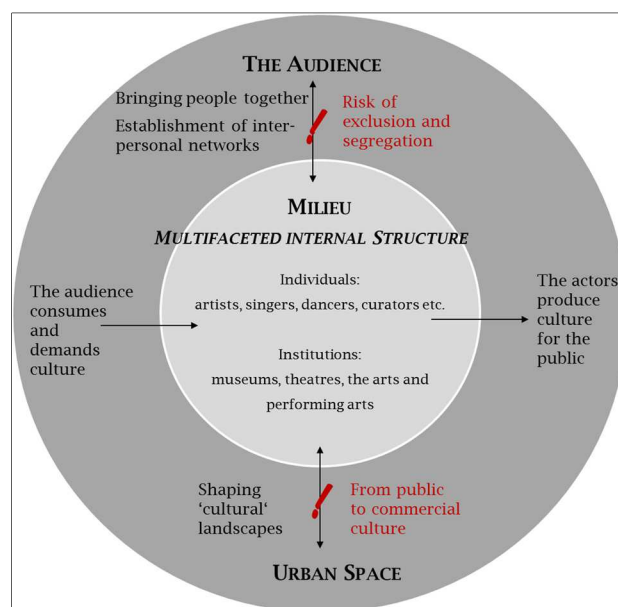
These conceptual ideas are spatially transferred in start-up and high-tech centres. Franz (1999) emphasizes competitive advantages in innovative milieus deriving from linkages between research and development as well as transfer of knowledge among local actors. The most successful example in regard to innovative milieus is Silicon Valley in California. As stated by Zhang (2003), the valley has developed through waves of innovation, e.g. chipmaking in the 1960s, the computer years in the 1970s and 1980s as well as the commercialisation of the internet technology in the 1990s which have been accompanied by a growing number of start-ups. The consistent success of the valley relies largely on constant technological innovations enabled through spatial proximity and close collaboration of affiliated industries. For the development of Silicon Valley culture has been neither a central output nor a central input factor. Camagni (1991a, p. 1) even states that “*creativity and continuous innovation are seen as the result of a collective learning process, fed by (...) interpersonal face-to-face contacts (...)*”. The assumption, that culture is however important for the networking process itself, is underlined by Perrin (1991) who highlights that innovation networks are composed of economic actors organised in (quasi-)formal relations and dependent from their environments. In this line of thought culture helps to establish relationships and eases networking processes.

## 2.2.2 Cultural milieus: cultural production sites

Approaching the cultural milieu by economic sector, Santagata offers reasonable starting points emphasizing that “(...) [the cultural milieu] is a spatial agglomeration of buildings dedicated to performing arts, museums, organisations which produce culture and related goods, services and facilities.” (Santagata, 2002, p. 19). Considering examples like the Museumsquartier in Vienna and Museumsinsel in Berlin, cultural milieus focus on (semi-)public facilities specialised in the local production of culture. Since culture is considered as public good, cultural milieus go beyond mere business locations and according to Porter and Barber (2007) and Landry (2008) are also involved in fostering social cohesion and inclusion, sustainability, civic pride as well as mental and physical well-being. From Zukin’s (1995) point of view, cultural industries or the so-called symbolic economy are crucial to cities in the global competition for economic prosperity due to their capability to produce cultural symbols. Imaging the city is increasingly associated with tendencies of commodification and the rise of commercial culture to the detriment of local authenticity by ‘purifying’ and ‘homogenising’ experiences in public space.

Recognising possible negative and positive externalities, it seems reasonable to specify dynamics within cultural milieus. In contrast to innovative and creative milieus, conceptualisations of the cultural milieu do not exist, as it is often seen interchangeably with creative milieus. As a consequence an attempt is being made based on the authors discussed.

Figure 5. Approaching the cultural milieu





*Source. Illustration by author*

In contrast to creative industries, cultural industries produce immobile goods having to be consumed on the spot. This results in milieus which focus on the establishment of informal temporary interactions among its users. However, this shall not overshadow that cultural milieus also offer economic advantages for those working in the cultural industries (Santagata, 2002). The internal structure of cultural milieus can vary from small-scale cultural initiatives to national museums and theatres. In general terms all types of institutions can be present in any possible constellation. The examples of the Museumsquartier in Vienna and the Museumsinsel in Berlin again illustrate very well the different scales (high culture in Berlin, high and low culture in form of children museums, fashion/design and new media in Vienna) and how they are implemented in the urban structure. In Vienna the Museumsquartier has been constructed on an obsolete area within the centre; in Berlin the Museumsinsel is an advancement of already existing cultural institutions (MuseumsQuartier Wien, 2013, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2013).

### 2.2.3 Creative milieus: bringing forward the creative industries

In the present discussion cultural and innovative milieus can be seen as two poles – one type emphasizes the aspect of innovative technological creation, the other focuses the production of cultural goods and social cohesion in the first place (Santagata, 2002; Porter & Barber, 2007, Camagni, 1992b). Within this strata creative milieus form the connecting piece between the two incorporating elements of both extremes and merging them together to create own dynamics. The primary purpose of creative milieus is neither to produce public or semi-public cultural goods nor innovation in a purely technological sense, but rather to support the economic growth and place value of creative industries through culture and personal networks.

During the recent decade, the creative milieu has attracted a lot of attention by scholars. Apart from other authors, especially Landry and Florida are two important representatives of (creative) milieu research. Both offer context-driven approaches towards creative milieus emphasizing the importance of the built environment:

*“The built environment – the stage, the setting, the container – is crucial for establishing such a milieu. It provides the physical preconditions or platform upon which the activities or atmosphere of a city can develop.”*

(Landry, 2008, p. xxvii)

*“A creative milieu is a place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole or a region – that contains the necessary preconditions of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions.”*

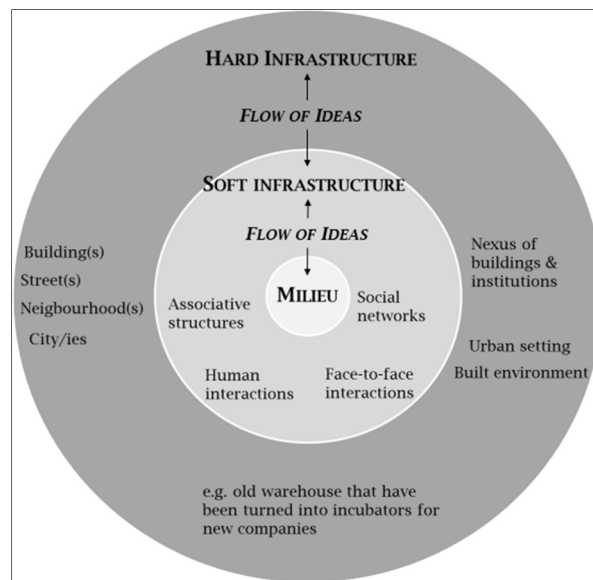
(Landry, 2008, p. 133).

*“Cities are not just containers for smart people; they are the enabling infrastructure where connections take place, networks are built, and innovative combinations are consummated.”*

(Florida, 2012, p. 189).

While Florida examines the behaviour of a specific social group when examining creative milieus, Landry’s approach is much more encompassing in socio-demographic terms elaborating on general creative behaviour in the city. According to the latter the milieu consists of ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ infrastructural assets (cf. figure 6). ‘Soft’ infrastructure describes a dynamic system of social networks and human interactions which encourages the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions, whereas ‘hard’ infrastructure implies the physical urban setting.

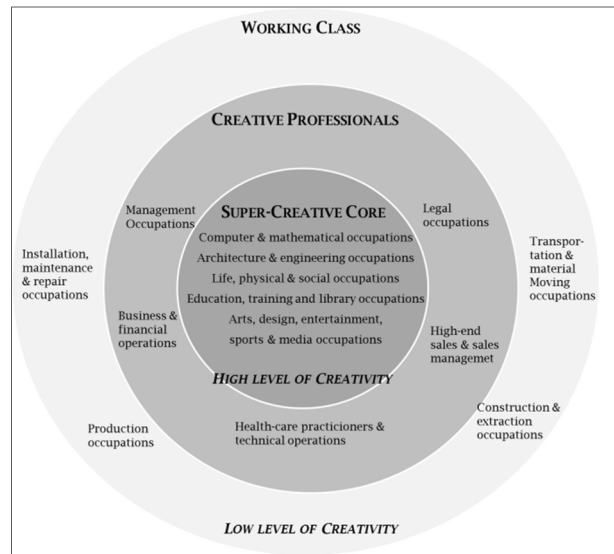
Figure 6. The milieu approach according to Landry



Source. Illustration by author

These two poles contribute to an open-minded environment and enable face-to-face interactions nurturing the generation of fresh ideas, new products, services and institutions. As a consequence infrastructure controls and fosters the city’s liveability and its economic success (Landry, 2008).

Figure 7. Creative occupations according to Florida



Source. Illustration by author according to Florida, 2012

In contrast to Landry's more general approach, Florida (2012) focuses on the Creative Class, a social group composed of 'creative' professions and common norms and values, such as individuality, meritocracy, diversity and openness. As visualised in figure seven various gradations of creative occupations do exist: the working class (almost no creativity involved), the creative professionals and the creative core (highest level of creativity involved). These creative occupations demand new type of workspaces, most famously the coffee shop, as the office loses its central function. Informal workplaces enable the individual to interact with others which in turn nurtures their creative behaviour. While new micro spaces emerge, Florida also observes changes on macro-structures. In order to remain competitive his research points out, that sustainable economic growth and innovation are driven by technology, talent and tolerance. While technology is the key to growth, skilled, talented and educated people are the central force to drive economic and technological progress. However, innovation has become geographically more concentrated and places have to adapt to the needs and demands of creative people in order to be able to keep up global competition. Florida finds strong correlation between tolerant places, i.e. places that are open to diversity and new ideas, and economic prospering places.

For cities this implies that they have to provide an environment that nurtures creative lifestyles. Thus, *"creative centers provide the integrated ecosystem or habitat where all forms of creativity - artistic and cultural, technological and economic - can take root and flourish."* (Florida, 2012, p. 186). His theory on new economic dynamics has experienced heavy criticism by e.g. Peck (2005), Malanga (2004) and Glaeser (nd)

pointing to the general empirical data collection, choice of case cities and validity of cause-and-effect-relationships.

The examination of characteristics of creative milieus and strategies to increase the local creative potential makes up a substantial amount in both theses. Florida (2012) emphasizes the importance of general urban attractiveness through the presence of cultural heritage in the building stock, but also local urban amenities such as street level culture and favourable nightlife are highly appreciated as new spaces for the Creative Class. Similar to Florida, Landry (2008) presents a list of attractive (= creative) and dull (= non-creative) urban assets. While “(...) *low-quality of and fragmented built fabric; over-engineered road systems, insufficient accessibility, lack of transport options, (...) inadequate adjustment to new economy needs, (...) low educational achievement and choice at different levels resulting in low expectations; strong social stress; and low levels of cultural provision, urban programming and animation.*” (Landry, 2008, p. xxxv) are obstacles for creativity, the table below includes advantageous factors. Significantly, ‘soft’ and hard-to-grasp features, such as regulatory framework, labour climate, quality of life and community identity are strongly overrepresented in Landry’s list compared to ‘hard’ aspects, such as infrastructure, financial capital and built structures.

Table 4. Urban assets fostering and nurturing creativity

MATERIAL ASSETS	ACTIVITIES	MATTERS OF ATTITUDE	PERCEPTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONCERNS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Natural setting and location</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Urban housekeeping, e.g. noise maintenance, social care, waste collection</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Levels of openness, tolerance, joined-up thinking, a ‘can do’ approach, entrepreneurship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Organisation, management &amp; delivery, e.g. empowering individuals and companies</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Heritage and the built fabric</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tangible and intangible traditions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Perceptions of the city internally and externally</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Traditions of ‘walking the talk’</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infrastructures from the physical to information technology connectivity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Presence of industries and services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Presence of a culture of curiosity, creativity and competence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strong Partnership working and rethinking the regulations and incentives regimes</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Levels of skills and talent</li> </ul>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Range of activities, e.g. trade fairs, sporting, artistic and community-based festivals and events</li> </ul>		

Source. Illustration by author according to Landry, 2008

By compiling favourable urban assets, Landry and Florida, among others, suggest different tools to urban planners and authorities how to achieve more creativity and generate creative urban space. In order to highlight some development strategies, the next chapter addresses the complex issue of planning creative milieus by examining examples from Europe.

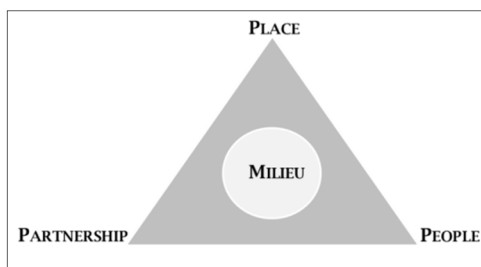
## 2.3 Planning the creative milieu: examples from Europe

Based on previous discussion in chapter 2.2.3 the term creative milieu describes an urban area combining distinctive features which support the economic growth of the creative industries. Besides other factors, culture functions as key factor to unleash creative potential of the individual. Considering research findings of Landry (2008) and Florida (2012), creative behaviour needs to be nurtured in multiple ways:

- by the place where creative individuals work
- by the place where creative individuals live
- by the company they work for
- and last but not least by the people they interact with

In short, it can be formulated that place, people and partnerships determine the internal dynamics of the creative milieu which is visualised in the 'creative triangular'.

Figure 8. 'The Creative Triangular'



Source. Illustration by author

The first 'P', *partnership*, is concerned with the role of local economic agents as part of the internal dynamics of the creative milieu. According to Florida (2012), Montgomery (2007) and Fleming (2004) small and micro companies are dominating corporate structures in creative milieus due to their specific spatial demands. This economic structure shall be

supplemented by one or two larger 'anchor-firms' ensuring high volume of orders that supply smaller companies and as a consequence function as key network actor.

For milieus, the social composition of groups is essential to local dynamics and capability to generate fresh ideas. Florida (2012, p. 109) highlights that "*ideal interactions occur among people whose roles are different enough to give them different perspectives, but who have enough common knowledge and common interest to know what would be mutually useful*". While it is important to acknowledge that creative *people* do share some personal traits and values, they also need stimulations from outside their peer groups.

In order to facilitate a variety of social encounters, the third 'P', *place*, plays a significant role. In the triangular structure it functions as organising unit bringing together single components and setting the scene for milieus to emerge incorporating

aspects of physical and material setting, but also soft features such as regulatory frameworks and openness to diversity.

Applying this three-tier conceptualisation, chosen European case studies highlight strategies aiming to implement creative milieus locally. Although authors such as Montgomery (2007) and Landry (2008) express specific recommendations how to unleash creativity and generate creative milieus, it has to be emphasized that every action taken needs careful consideration of local conditions and needs. Therefore no fixed development schemes or 'to-do-lists' are expressed here, rather a selection of good-practice examples are used to discuss various strategies. In general, measures target - if appropriate - the distinctiveness of place, the dynamics and function of partnerships as well as the composition of inhabitants and users.

### ***Planning for Places***

Proposed by context-driven approaches, place-specific aspects are from major importance for the creative milieu. Considering elaborations made by Kunzmann (2005), planning creative places is full of obstacles for authorities and involved initiatives, since

*“Creativity (...) seems to evolve where urban planning is absent, where non-conformists, creative squatters and micro-developers are given the freedom to do whatever they wish to do in terms of space.”*

(Kunzmann, 2005, p. 10)

This citation sums up the complexity of planning distinctive creative places within the city. On the one hand the target group demands spaces that are largely authentic in regard to urban amenities, socio-economic composition of inhabitants and local industries. On the other hand, decision makers aim to accomplish those features top-down in order to control urban and economic development. Nonetheless, a variety of examples proof the possibility to create and plan spatial assets beneficial for milieus to emerge (cf. Montgomery, 2007, Creative Metropolises, 2010). Albrechts (2005, p. 19) even emphasizes the importance of top-down approaches for planning milieus:

*“Besides a bottom-up approach, rooted in conditions and potentialities of diversity, a complementary multi-level, top-down policy aimed at introducing fundamental and structural changes is indispensable.”*

In order to exploit the maximum potential of those top-down approaches it is necessary to consider the category *place* synonymous to environment. In doing so it will be ensured that besides hard infrastructure also measures to improve soft infrastructure locally will be taken. In table four in chapter 2.2.3 urban assets which help to attract creative individuals have already been discussed. The implementation

of those changes is influenced by local planning culture, administrative structures and, often more importantly, is dependent on personal commitment of individual planners, policy makers or alike who drive change (Kunzmann, 2005). Since governmental decision-making processes evade meaningful and complete analysis, this aspect experiences no further consideration. Focusing rather on their spatial outcomes, the value of the built environment and local heritage shall be highlighted:

*“The old-industrial buildings located in the inner city offer opportunities for a new form of communication and a workplace organization as well as new forms of the workforce reproduction. With their physical organization the old industrial buildings in inner cities are one factor of “innovation” and an “economic actor”, since the floor flat, the size and the infrastructure provide opportunities for a new organization of work and leisure. “Tacit and sticky” knowledge needs locations that permit a face-to-face exchange.”*

(Dangschat & Frey, 2005, p. 2)

*“Much new development in these [old industrial] areas has focused on building a new cultural economy by means of a conscious effort to use the relics of the industrial past as core elements of a reprogrammed landscape of production and consumption.”*

(Scott, 2004, p. 479)

Even or maybe even due to a change in utilization these places allow the reproduction of symbols. Symbols are considered important as those are often referred to as sources of inspiration and are being translated in creative action by users themselves (Dangschat & Frey, 2005).

Besides beneficial prerequisites resulting from the built environment, soft urban infrastructure is equally important, since creativity is often unleashed in times of a *“spirit’ moving a city”* (Kunzmann, 2005, p. 7) at a certain period in time when new images of the city are being created (Kunzmann, 2005). Therefore, festivalisation strategies (for more on festivalisation cf. Häußermann & Siebel, 1993) play a central role in creating the creative city or milieu. Besides measures affecting the city as a whole in a more general sense, such as European Capital of Culture, festivals specifically for the creative industries function both as a platform of stakeholders, but also increases the reputation of a city on (inter)national level. Festivalisation strategies are often being applied at an early development phase. As soon as an image change of an area gains momentum and own multiplier effects develop, festivals and events function as a platform for (in)formal partnerships and networks.

In regard to organisation and target groups a wide range of festivals and events do exist. Whereas festival target specific industries and professionals, other events are more open to the general public. The DMY International Design Festival in Berlin, for example, is a platform for designers and companies to showcase current

developments, to launch new products and to discuss current trends. It focuses on established brands, professional and up-coming designers, but also creative research centres and design schools. Due to its international scope, the Design Festival plays a crucial role in global fairs and events related to the design industries (Creative Metropoles, 2010). Contrary, *Sónar* in Barcelona, the International Festival of Advanced Music and New Media Art, equally addresses professionals and enthusiasts through three central pillars: *Sónar by Day* allows professionals to discover and track new talents through concerts and showcases; *Sónar by Night* showcases established artists in all areas of musical and audio-visual production; activities around *Sónar<sup>D</sup>* foster the relationship between creativity, technology, mobility, innovation and business through workshops, sound, visual and interactive installations and discussion panels. Targeting multiple audiences *Sónar* has achieved reputation as leading international festival for electronic music and new media since 1994 (Advanced Music SL 2013a, Advanced Music SL 2013b, Advanced Music SL 2013c).

Besides macro-scale events, festivalisation strategies on the local level can create an impact on the creative scene, too. As Florida (2012) suggests creative industries are driven locally by street-level culture. Similarly, Montgomery (2007) emphasizes cultural animation of a place through public art, café and evening economy in order to create interest and enthusiasm in and for the area (for more on this matter see the example of Temple Bar in Dublin, pp. 322-329).

### ***Planning for Partnership***

Often highlighted, planned milieus heavily rely on public subsidies even after their spatial implementation (Fleming, 2004). Thus, achieving a critical mass of profitable businesses is important to enable autonomous dynamics and processes within an area. The creative industries, however, are often excluded from traditional financing through bank loans making market entries and business survival difficult. Other funding opportunities, therefore, play a significant role in establishing the creative industries locally. Throughout European cities various grant programmes are currently at work stimulating entrepreneurial activities of already established businesses as well as the formation of small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in order to maintain, develop or establish a critical mass of local creative businesses (Montgomery, 2007).

In Oslo, for example, a grants and guidance programme, has been set up in order to support individuals to transform their ideas into start-ups. Besides targeting the financial needs of young entrepreneurs the programme is complemented by training and consulting. The grants, co-financed by the state and the municipality of Oslo, are administered by Innovation Norway, Norway's most important instrument to support the creative and innovative industries on national level (Creative Metropoles, 2010, Innovasjon Norge, nd). In Berlin the VC Fonds Kreativwirtschaft supports SMEs by



providing investment capital which derives from the Investitionsbank Berlin – the public bank of the Berlin state – and the EU Regional Development Fund. Scheduled for a period of five years until 2013, its key factor for sustainable promotion of the creative industries lies in the unique integral approach, i.e. the VC Fonds becomes a minority shareholder in the portfolio companies for five to seven years in order to monitor developments and provide qualified guidance including human resources, marketing, sales as well as networks and financial investments (Creative Metropoles, 2010, IBB Beteiligungsgesellschaft, 2013). Despite its success, venture capitalist systems in general are risk-prone to the creative industries. During the recession in Germany in 2009, venture capitalist activities have dropped by almost 50% making it necessary to find new ways of co-financing. Overall this approach shows high compatibility with various segments of the creative industries, e.g. software, games, multimedia, music and TV. Based on the experience made by VC Fonds, branches which show a higher coherence with the cultural industries are more suitable for other means of funding (Creative Metropoles, 2010).

As an initial step to approach milieus, the establishment of a critical mass is pathbreaking. Utterior proceedings are concerned with building partnerships and networks among entrepreneurs. The Filmregion Stockholm-Mälardalen has been founded by the municipalities Stockholm, Solna, Botkyrka, Nynäshamn, the Regional Council of Örebro and the interest group of the film industry in Stockholm in order to promote Stockholm and its surrounding region as production centre for movies and films on the one hand and to build a network among the local film industry on the other. The organisation of new cooperations and the establishment of a film commission marketing the Stockholm region lead to new private investments and doubling of film productions between 2007 and 2008 (Creative Metropoles, 2010). Typically for the creative industries in general and not only for the film industry, different segments are often mutually dependent from each other and need to collaborate. Fostering these interdisciplinary cooperatives is the aim of 'Turning Talent Into Business' (TTIB) in Amsterdam. The initiative focuses on the fashion industry, which has traditionally suffered due to a lack of entrepreneurial skills, production and distribution facilities, platforms for exchange and abilities to generate growth and investments in start-ups in the Netherlands. In collaboration with private and public partners these problems are addressed by TTIB resulting in a new Fashion District, an Amsterdam-based fashion magazine, expansion of local networks through workshops and support of selected designers. Since these efforts also required public support, the municipality and (housing) development organisations have been involved as well (Creative Metropoles, 2010). Especially, the well-organised cooperation of involved stakeholders has turned out very advantageous for the realisation of these measures.

The fact that creative industries are often organised in (regional) clusters or networks in order to mobilise different actors and organise the production of goods and development of the creative industries is demonstrated by Creative Amsterdam and Clubmission Berlin. The former coordinates projects on a regional level and brings together business actors, educational institutions and public bodies. While it shows a more formal way of organising local networks, the Clubmission Berlin is a society of 110 registered members and focuses on the cooperation of official institutions, politicians and its members to increase the awareness of and establish the local club scene as a serious industry (Creatie Metropoles, 2010).

On the micro-level the research team of the project Creative Metropoles (2010) highlights that *“collaboration practices are encouraged in working environments through weekly meetings, an ‘open door’ culture and a supportive community of creative workers. Interdisciplinary and international networks can be developed by linking with co-working spaces abroad and by other mobility measures.”* (Creative Metropoles, 2010, p. 87). Designed as an open-plan office and conceptualised as an open platform, single workspaces and commonly used infrastructure are rented to freelancers and alike in the Betahaus in Berlin. The co-working space exists since 2009 and provides its user equally a business-friendly atmosphere and due to its spatially implemented network idea the chance to communicate and form new networks with affiliates (Creative Metropoles, 2010). With its variety and flexibility of rental periods, those offices do respond to the needs of the creative employees and employers. With workloads experiencing peak and down-times, co-working spaces replace the traditional office system with long-term rentals.

Although partnerships are also driven by individual interest and sympathy, different ways have been tried and successfully tested to set up new and enhance existing collaborations among economic agents. Besides ensuring a critical mass, efforts do aim to generate network structures on the meso- and micro-level by providing platforms and opportunities organising specific projects and tailor-made activities.

### ***Planning for People***

The last pillar, *people*, is of central importance for the milieu since *“people resources have supplanted natural resources as the main source of competitiveness.”* (Landry, 2008, p. xxxiii). What is missing so far, are planning approaches that favour social conditions as well as cultural and social diversity. These can have various forms and be implemented in multiple ways including hard- and soft measures, such as housing regulations, campaigns targeting a multicultural society or governmental programmes in education facilities.

In Amsterdam, for example, spaces for living and working have become scarce with the boom of the real estate market. With often unsteady income, the creative

industries are specifically sensitive to increasing rent levels and the municipality runs into danger that creative groups are evicted from the city. In response to this situation, the city council initiated a programme, called Art Factories (Broedplaatsen), which provides expertise in real estate to creative individuals, mediates the allocation of creative workspace, develops tools and policies in support of the factories as well as distributes grants to building projects. Efforts aim to increase the availability of affordable studios suitable for both living and working in order to keep creative individuals in the city (Creative Metropolises, 2010).

In general terms, investments in (social) housing and education facilities are essential for the creative potential of an area, since they influence the status of creativity and foster creative and social diversity in an area. Kultus in Helsinki and the Cultural Rucksack in Oslo are both programmes which focus on implementing culture in children's education via web-based databanks listing appropriate events nearby and by bringing professional artists to schools (Creative Metropolises, 2010).

***Implications for urban planners and the planning process***

The variety of examples has demonstrated the complexity of planning approaches aiming to establish a creative milieu. Considering the statements given in literature (e.g. Kunzmann, 2005), the effectiveness of planning in its traditional sense has to be doubted. As the examples show, multiple ways do exist to plan a milieu or rather its specific cornerstones. The needs of specific social groups and industries are determining the pace and the orientation of urban planning. Problems do exist since planning approaches are often restrained by complex multi-tier governments, bureaucratic and slow administrative procedures and regulatory frameworks which do not leave much space for creative urban and regional planning in city regions (Kunzmann, 2005). Planning systems and governance structures have to create a climate conducive to fresh ideas (Albrechts, 2005). Innovative thinking, openness to new approaches and new forms of leaderships carried out by enthusiastic individuals will help to ease the way for novel ideas (Landry, 2008, Albrechts, 2005). Taking this consideration into account, it is assumed that top-down planning approaches do not necessarily exclude efficient, well-functioning and organic creative milieus despite the opinion of author scholars (Albrechts, 2005).

# 3 CREATIVE MILIEUS IN BARCELONA AND VIENNA

Creative milieus have advanced on the one hand to important centres of economic production and on the other hand to integrated eco-systems with opportunities for both living and working (Florida, 2012). In order to examine how these new social and economic production sites can be delivered through means of planning, the development of two European urban projects are the focus of this chapter. First, the BMP, centre for media production in the revitalising neighbourhood of Poblenou experiences an in-depth analysis in regard to its development, planning measures and local structures. The second part of this chapter focuses on a comparable project in the third district of Vienna, the MQM.

In view of the fact that creativity is locally embedded as demonstrated by psychological and milieu research, the following analysis applies a context-driven approach to its procedure. In order to ensure a holistic examination of the case studies and to enhance the understanding of their dynamics, social and economic conditions are taken into account as well. As a consequence the analytical procedure follows the three-tier conceptualisation of milieus as defined in chapter 2.3. In figure nine the different levels and their respective analysis criteria are shown, which have been chosen along to the ideas of, among other authors, Landry (2008), Frey (2009) and Florida (2012).

Figure 9. Three levels of analysis

<p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Internationality</li> <li>▪ Integration of foreign population</li> <li>▪ Openness &amp; tolerance</li> <li>▪ Creative potential</li> <li>▪ Networking among local employees</li> </ul>	<p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Local economy on city and project scale</li> <li>▪ Creative intermediaries</li> </ul>
<p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Natural setting &amp; location</li> <li>▪ Infrastructure &amp; accessibility</li> <li>▪ Ideologic &amp; strategic concept of the project</li> </ul>	

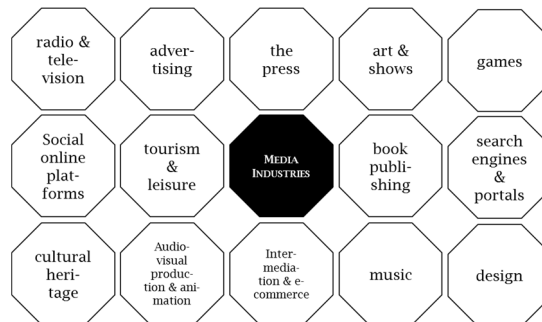
Source. Illustration by author

In order to operationalize each single criterion, different items have been chosen which are presented in more detail in the appendix. For the purpose of information gathering, the results of interviews with stakeholders, a non-representative business survey, development brochures and schemes as well as official statistical data are used.

### 3.1 Case study 1: Barcelona Media Park in Poble Nou / Barcelona

The creative industries have grown historically in Barcelona and Catalonia. Publishing, film, graphic and plastic arts make up the traditional creative sectors. In reaction to globalisation and digitization processes new sectors recently emerged and created an amalgam of various industries forming a dense network of the creative industries in the region (Parjea, 2013, pers.comm., AdB, 2012f). Analysing the creative industries in Barcelona, it is important to reconsider the definition of the creative sector, which departs from the definition of the Catalan Government presented in chapter 1.3. The focus of the municipality is on companies related to the “*production, creation, publication, distribution, operations and management of information and experiences*” (AdB, 2012f, p. 8). The so-called media industries in Barcelona include likewise sectors of cultural and creative industries as well as tourism (cf. figure ten) making analysis of creative milieus difficult.

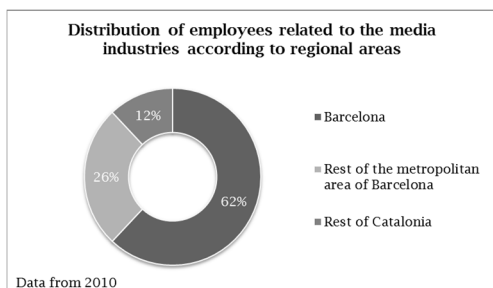
Figure 10. The subsectors of the media industries in Barcelona



Source. Illustration by author according to AdB, 2012f

Thanks to its long-standing history, the media industries are significant for regional and local economic performance in terms of size and turn-over. In 2008, the creative sector contributed 4% to Catalonia’s GDP and more than 155,000 jobs belonged to media-related professions. In Barcelona as the regional capital, the majority of these activities are located. As visualised in figure eleven, the city accounts for 61,8% of all creative employees in Catalonia (AdB, 2012f).

Figure 11. Distribution of employees related to the media industries in Barcelona and surroundings



Source. Illustration by author according to AdB, 2012f

However, these numbers have to be put in the local context. Due to including cultural and tourism related sectors, the creative industries are considered much more economically influential than their actual contribution might be. Nonetheless, the creative industries form a competitive market due to the presence of SMEs and large companies as well as private-public collaborations according to the Chamber of Commerce (AdB, 2012f). To what

extent private-public partnerships (PPPs) influence the dynamics of local industries is elaborated by the analysis of the BMP which is part of Barcelona's flagship project, the 22@ District. Since it is conceptualised as "(...) *an environment for collaboration and exchange (...)*" [translation by author] (AdB, 2012f, p. 14) for media-related businesses, it constitutes the focus for the following analysis.

Approaching the milieu, the transition of Poblenou is being highlighted first in order to introduce the local urban context. In the subchapters two and three an in-depth analysis of the case study is carried out leading to a final SWOT-analysis summarising and evaluating current and more recent developments as well as local conditions in regard to its capability to generate milieu-like dynamics.

### 3.1.1 The urban context: historic development of Poblenou

Considering the morphological layout of streets and urban structures, Barcelona can be roughly divided into pre-1860 and post-1860 Barcelona. Until 1860, the city's development was limited to the medieval walls surrounding today's historic city centre which resulted in a dense urban network of narrow and angular alleys lined with multi-level dwellings. External territories did not experience serious urbanisation processes until the implementation of a new urban development plan laid out by Cerdà. Still visible today, the post-1860 expansion phase resulted in a grid pattern distinguishing it from the medieval centre. In the course of the city's expansion peripheral settlements were integrated in the city and new neighbourhoods, such as

Poblenou, emerged (Charnock & Ribera-Fumaz, 2011, Clos, 2004). Due to its advantageous location close to the coast and south to the river delta Basós, the area advanced to the industrial production centre of Barcelona since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In light of on-going industrialisation based on textile and metal industries, transport and logistics services the area became known as the “*Catalan Manchester*” (Sans, 2013, pers.comm.) (Clos, 2004, Cubeles, Muñoz, Pardo, 2011). Similar to other industrial regions in Europe, this long and steady phase of continuous industrial growth was followed by deindustrialisation processes causing the degradation of the former prospering district. Resulting from this complex process of rapid industrialisation, urban extension and deindustrialisation, Poblenou has been a district of little structural homogeneity (Clos, 2004):

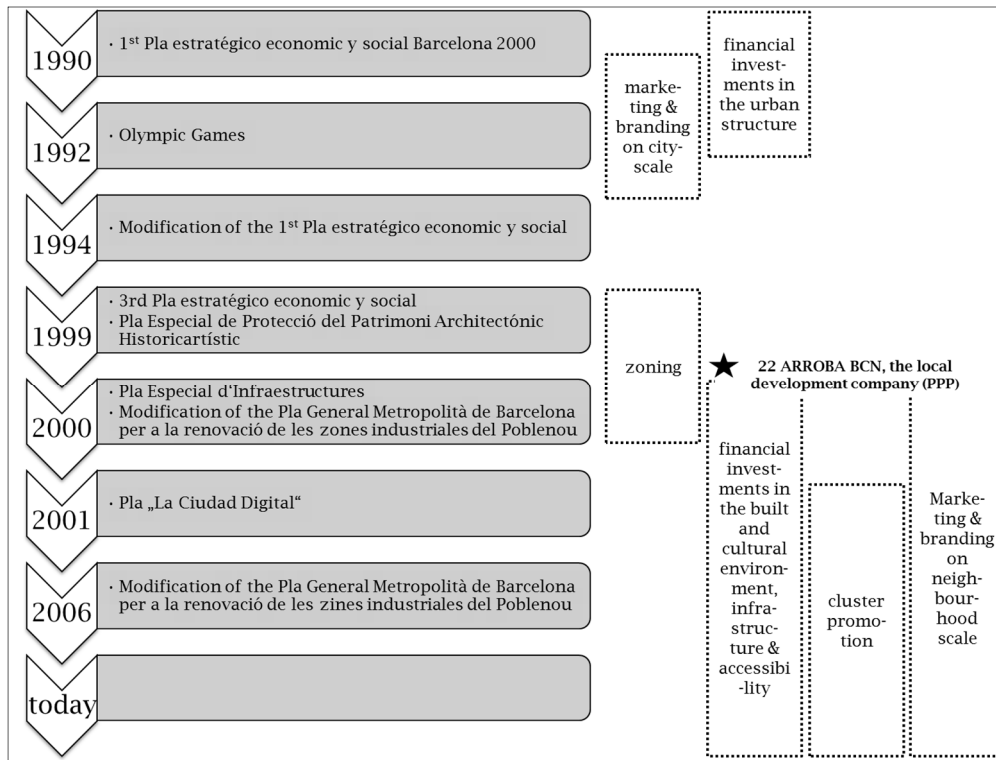
*“(...) coexistence of industrial, residential and service sector buildings, of greatly varying size, importance and styles, in very close proximity, and with (...) brutal discontinuities and breaks. (...) There are huge industrial sites, residential tower blocks, virtually separate individual houses, simple single-story industrial constructions, potent concrete industrial buildings of over five floors (...)”*

(Clos, 2004, p. 192)

With an ever-increasing global competition together with local economic and urban decline political pressure increased to transform this part of the city. A comprehensive plan for urban, social, economic and cultural regeneration was defined in 1981 with the application for the Olympic Games in 1992. In fact, the Olympic Games were only one step, but probably the most important, within this transition from an industrial-based society and economy towards new forms of social and capital production. Recognising the momentum caused by the organisation of the Olympic Games, a long-term strategy for the “*post-Olympic city*” (Cubeles, Muñoz, Pardo, 2011, p. 220) was adopted by the end of the 1980s (Cubeles, Muñoz, Pardo, 2011, Barcelona Field Studies Centre, 2013a). During the following decade, the transformation process was characterised by the adoption of various urban planning measures paving the ground for the final delivery of the 22@ District. Figure twelve provides an overview of the complex development listing important schemes and planning tools.



Figure 12. The transformation of Poblenuou into the 22@District



Source. Illustration by author

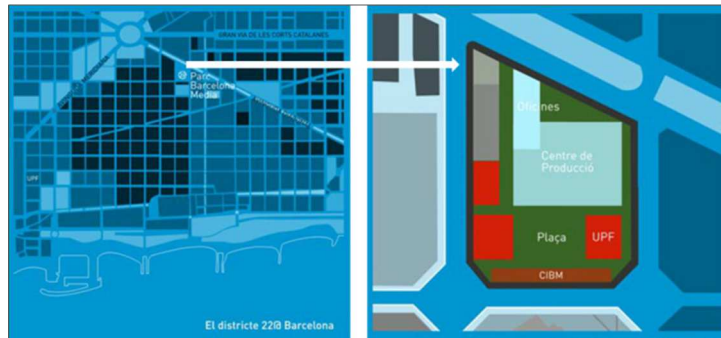
The third strategic development plan, elaborated by the Association of the Strategic Metropolitan Plan of Barcelona and published in 1999, was insofar important as it finalised the concept and approach to transforming Poblenuou (Cubeles, Muñoz, Pardo, 2011). Since the new development contributes both to an improvement of internal structures in regard to the city's urban fabric, social composition and economic performance, it reflects the general principles of the Pla Estratègic Metropolità de Barcelona (PEMB) and reinforces the leadership position of Barcelona within the Mediterranean area (PEMB, 2010, Cubeles, Muñoz, Pardo, 2011). Following the leitmotif of the compact city (PEMB, 2010, 22 ARROBA BCN, 2012, Cubeles, Muñoz, Pardo, 2011, Charnock & Ribera-Fumaz, 2011) the 22@ District aims to create "(...) an environment where different urban agents can interact and exchange information and generate the critical mass necessary to develop an agglomerative economy." (22 ARROBA BCN, 2012, p. 6). As a consequence "(...) it favours the networking of the different professionals working in the district and encourages and supports innovative projects that foster collaboration among companies, institutions and residents as well as social, educational and cultural organisations." (22 ARROBA BCN, 2012, p. 1). Emphasizing the economic point of view, "(...) the 22@ Barcelona District fosters the establishment of new formal and informal networks of relations aimed at establishing joint or cooperative ventures between local and international firms." (22 ARROBA BCN, 2012, p. 46).

Its development process has been entirely based on an entrepreneurial paradigm strongly reflecting principles of the Barcelona model (for more on the Barcelona model, see Charnock & Ribera-Fumaz, 2011). During the course of more than a century, festivalisation, privatisation and liberalisation have become institutionalised strategies in order to access capital and secure regeneration processes. As outlined above, the 22@ project experienced political embeddedness through legally binding documents defining a complex interplay of various planning tools. Festivalisation, zoning and PPPs have shown the greatest impact on Poblenou: hosting an event of international scale offset city-wide transformation processes; changing the land designation from industrial usage to a more detailed plan provided space for new infrastructure, public spaces and amenities, (social) housing, new economic uses and cultural heritage (22 ARROBA BCN 2012); introducing a new legal body in form of private-public development agency responsible for planning, implementing and managing local infrastructure allowed for appropriate delivery of construction and urban services as well as projects related to economic revitalisation and public space (Cubelles, Muñoz, Pardo, 2011). These transformations have been complemented by investments in the built environment and the promotion of new economic activities. Targeting new economic actors already started at an early development phase with the new label of the area. Its name '22@' derives from its traditional industrial land designation '22a' and shall convey both path-dependency but also mark the start of a new era (Sans, 2013, pers.comm.). In order to accomplish the transition from classical industrial sectors towards competitive industries, the growth of knowledge-based industries, i.e. industries related to media, energy, medtech, ICT and design, has played a central role (22 ARROBA BCN, 2012, Sans, 2013, pers.comm.).

### 3.1.2 Barcelona Media Park in detail: concept, local structures and dynamics

As shown in the map below the BMP lies in the northern part of the 22@ District and is confined by one of the busiest and most important accesses to the area, namely the Avinguda Diagonal. Carrer Tànger restrict the area to the south, Carrer de Roc Boronat and Carrer de la Llacuna to the west and east.

Figure 13. The location of the BMP



Source. Modified according to 22@ Parc Barcelona Media, nd

Since the area is located on a comparatively small plot of land within the 22@ District, its local embeddedness plays a significant role for analysing the local milieu. On the basis of the conceptual work in chapter 2.3 and the matrix defined in the beginning of chapter 3, the BMP is going to be analysed in terms of its users and local inhabitants (*people*), the local industry as well as the capability and type of partnerships created within the area (*partnership*) and its place-specific characteristics (*place*).

### **Place**

Dynamics triggered by spatial aspects are examined first, since the surrounding environment determines where and how creativity is locally embedded. Before an in-depth analysis of place specific aspects of the BMP is being carried out, a general assessment of Barcelona as a location for creative milieus helps to identify natural resources which can hinder and facilitate networks. Within this context it has to be highlighted that neither favourable climate nor efficient transportation per se will lead to the emergence of a milieu. These assets on macro- and meso-scale moreover influence the quality of place which is considered to be an important prerequisite for milieus (Florida, 2012). Due to changing decision-making procedures in companies, the importance of lifestyle amenities for location decisions and economic growth shall not be underestimated (for more on location factors, see Döring, Knappitsch, Aigner, 2010).

With 1.6 million inhabitants Barcelona encompasses a manageable urban area delimited between the river Riu Llobregat in the south and the river El Besòs in the north. Due to its status as one of the main tourist destinations in Spain, the city is equipped with numerous cultural and leisure facilities. Its quality of place is favoured by climate and topography. Located on the Mediterranean Sea a mild climate of 16° C average (TdB, 2012) and dropping away from west to the sea in the east, Barcelona offers diverse recreational activities. Worldwide flight connections (Aena Aeroport, 2013), passenger and cargo routes via sea (PdB, nd), efficient railway transportation (Renfe 2013a & 2013b) further help to establish Barcelona as a metropolis of European

scale. On city-level, the public transport network makes use of trams, metros and busses securing good accessibility to the case study area. With improving transportation and communication by installing bike-sharing system and fibre-optic networks, the city actively influenced the attractiveness of Poblenou for creative businesses and workers as well as implemented the network idea locally through fast and essay communication and transportation.

Besides this general framework of Barcelona, an in-depth examination of the case study is going to shed light on spatial characteristics and dynamics which derive from the conceptualisation of the BMP, the role of local heritage and urban design as well as cultural stimulation.

The BMP can be considered as 'spatial product' of the cluster promotion strategy pursued by the city and developing PPP. The intensification of media activities within Barcelona shall be supported by the construction of a local media centre designated for "(...) *companies, universities, institutions, citizens, focusing on excellence in research, technology transfer, innovation and training and culture.*" (AdB, 2012f, p. 14) (Barcelona Field Studies Centre, 2013b). 115,000 m<sup>2</sup> of office spaces and 60,000 m<sup>2</sup> for additional service have been decided by the city council to be sufficient to generate a milieu inviting its users to tie up informal networks and set up collaborative projects (AdB, 2012f). This is supported by an industrial focus on audio-visual companies: Dolby and Barcelona's media company Mediapro are operating in the field of film and TV-production which is complemented by the Communication Campus with faculties of audio-visual communication, journalism, advertising and PR of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF); the Yahoo research lab and the company Barcelona Media represent non-university education and training facilities. From a conceptual point of view, spatial proximity can be detected as leitmotif for this new space of creative production. Marketing material aims to promote the BMP as "*an open space*" (AdB, 2012f, p. 14) facilitating innovation and culture (AdB, 2012f). Contrary to the image created by developing institutions in charge, the BMP appears to be closed in itself, since the inner courtyard is fenced off from the public through office towers and entrance gates (cf. figure 14). The BMP limits personal encounters and informal meetings due to its disadvantageous urban design. The inner courtyard functions as physical and mental barrier separating 'insiders' from 'outsiders', i.e. students from creative professionals and ordinary inhabitants, since only the UPF has direct access to the courtyard. This separation of social groups based on employment status becomes especially visible considering the location of gastronomy. Whereas the higher-priced restaurant is located in the basement of the newly constructed office towers, the university canteen can be accessed through the courtyard. Publicly accessible and collaboratively used media facilities shall further promote personal exchanges in the BMP, according to interviewees. Whether or not networks are being constituted here, is, however, out of reach.

Figure 14. Barcelona Media Park: views from the in- and outside



Source. Photographs by author

As shown in figure 14 the appeal of the BMP lies in its mix of architectural types. Modern office towers with up-to-date equipment satisfy the needs of large anchor companies whereas renovated buildings of the former textile factory convey path- and time-dependency. The juxtaposition of former factory buildings, chimneys, large empty halls and modern buildings (cf. figure 15), which is preserved by means of the Pla Especial del Patrimoni Arquitectònic Historicoartístic de la ciutat de Barcelona (22 ARROBA BCN, 2006a), create a very distinctive and unique image of the neighbourhood.

Figure 15. Architectural mix in the 22@ District



Source. Photographs by author

Despite these beneficial circumstances, it is being claimed that local heritage is merely used as “*decór*” or “*public art*” (Charnock & Ribera-Fumaz, 2011, p. 626) criticising commodification of industrial heritage. Besides positive externalities on the urban atmosphere, renovated industrial sites also offer beneficial features for artists and creative workers in form of high ceilings and open layouts. In light of its attractive urban layout for the creative industries a holistic revitalisation of the district took place. A mapping document of the organisation *Poblenou Urban District* (2013, cf. appendix) demonstrates the liveability and diversity of the neighbourhood. Although none of the major tourist attractions is located in Poblenou, creative and economic

stimuli, such as galleries, restaurants and small studios have emerged in relatively short period of time contributing to creative atmosphere and generating demand for local services. In order to both attract and foster new creative sectors, in particular design and fashion, interviewees have revealed municipal plans to a new museum including a design laboratory in Poblenou in 2014. This twofold strategy underpins the fact that the city pursues economic goals through cultural strategies.

Considering relevant aspects, the BMP fulfils spatial requirements for a thriving milieu only to a limited extent despite beneficial prerequisites on macro- and meso-level. The majority of deficits are concerned with the BMP itself. Especially its small scale has limiting effects on network dynamics and gives rise to its surrounding as creative meeting places. In direct vicinity the Centre Comercial al les Glòries and the Rambla del Poblenou offer a diverse range of local and commercial shops and restaurants. These are complemented by take-aways, bars and cafés along the Carrer de la Llacuna. Non-consumerist places and a small park are located on the neighbouring plot of land of the Fundació Vila-Casas (22 ARROBA, nd). On the one hand this secures an integration of the creative sector and its employees within the urban fabric, on the other hand the BMP itself cannot be considered as a complete and efficient milieu. Although the BMP is considered as successful urban project according to stakeholders interviewed, it can be doubted whether it constitutes an autonomous milieu given its spatial prerequisites. As the milieu is not only influenced by spatial structures, but also how these are socially and economically filled by users and uses, the next two sections elaborate on the economic structure and social composition within Barcelona and the case study.

### ***Partnership***

Adopting an economic point of view, an analysis of the local economic structure will help to identify opportunities for establishing networks among local actors. Is a critical mass existent within the city and case study? How homogenous are the creative industries? Which role do they take up in the urban economy? After having identified fundamental characteristics of the local economy using macro and micro-analyses, possibilities for local economic actors are laid out allowing them to build up informal and formal networks.

As outlined in the beginning of chapter 3.1, Barcelona follows a relatively broad definition of creative industries including equally creative production, artistic activities as well as industries related to tourism and cultural heritage. A detailed analysis of the creative sector is difficult due to outdated data and its broad definition. Industrial sub-sectors of the media industries relate to the statistical categorisations *hospitality, arts, entertainment and recreation, information and communication* and *professional, scientific and technical activities* which account for approximately one third of the city's economy (AdB, 2012e). Although Barcelona's

economy has successfully transformed from industrial-based to service-based economy, it lacks big headquarters and national companies weakening its power. Barcelona's economy is dominated by SMEs: in 2011 only 0,3% of all companies had more than 200 employees (AdB, 2012e). In light of regional structures the presence of middle and large as well as international companies in the BMP is exceptional. The developing bodies have succeeded in establishing a mix of academia and economy albeit smaller agencies are lacking in the BMP. Due to its limited space and capacity, it is questionable, nevertheless, to what extent synergies are produced locally. The interviewed actors admitted that the BMP is a locus of and for creative enterprises due to high density and spatial proximity of creative businesses, but synergies are being created on city scale. In fact, *"proximity can [only] help to establish contacts, but it's not the reason for the contacts."* (Planas, 2013, pers.comm.). Since local workers value common experiences more relevant than spatial proximity, creative intermediaries are deployed in order to compensate for the lack of path-dependency, inherited structures and local traditions by developing and maintaining informal and business networks. Intermediaries can take various forms and are characterised by varying levels of formality, intensity of contacts and objectives (cf. appendix). The discussed intermediaries have proven to be either relevant for the creative industries generally or for the BMP in particular and incorporate festivals, business services and network associations.

For networking purposes creative industries benefit from diverse festivals and trade fairs happening in Barcelona throughout the year which originate from its long-standing tradition in festivalisation (Charnock & Ribera-Fumaz, 2011). While events were institutionalised in the past as source for financing urban development, a shift is notably towards public mean for economic growth inasmuch as amenities have advanced to important aspects for business (re-)locations. A variety of traditional and seasonal festivities, displayed in table four, generate diverse street-level culture with low entry barriers. In particular many events relate to the performing arts and the audio-visual sector *"bridging between the [creative] underground and upperground [in form of formal economy and formal jobs]"* (Pareja, 2013, pers.comm.).

Table 5. Festivals, conferences and congresses in Barcelona

MONTHS	NAME	ORIENTATION
February	Mobile World Congress	Mobile communication
March	DeProp Festival	Music & video art
March	Kosmopolis. International Literature Festival	Literature
April	ZOOMVL Festival of Videoclip Artists	Video & video art
May	Loop. Video Art Festival	Video art
June	OFFF Let's feed the future. Festival of Digital Art and Culture	Digital Art
June	Sónar. International Festival of Advanced Music and Multimedia Art	Music & multimedia art
June-July	Circuit 2013. Fotografica documental (in Poblenou)	Photography
June-September	MECAL-Air. Barcelona International Short Film Festival	Film
June-October	Barcelona Design Festival	Design
July	Annual Conference of the International Federation for Theatre Research	Theatre
October	Sitgest International Fantasy Film Festival of Catalonia	Film
October	International Conference on Multimedia - ACM Multimedia	Multimedia
October	Annual European I-Gaming Congress & Expo - EIG	Gaming & I-Gaming

Source. TdB, 2012 & 2013, Circuit Foto Barcelona, 2013

While festivals favour informal networks, business congresses and trade fairs aim for maintaining business networks. Often mentioned during the interviews is the importance of the annually held Mobile World Congress in Barcelona. Further relevant congresses cover the sectors gaming (e.g. Annual European I-Gaming Congress & Expo - EIG) and multimedia (e.g. International Conference on Multimedia - ACM Multimedia) (TdB, 2013).

Another type of intermediary may take form of services offered as part of business development programmes. Admitting that these actors often provide more formalised structures for networking, it is being assumed, that through sharing common experiences during workshops, training or using common facilities, opportunities for networks are being created. Within the 22@ District and the BMP, three actors are relevant: the Business Incubators led by Barcelona Activa, the Network Association and Barcelona Media. The latter functions as official cluster developer through the organisation of consortiums and panels as well as mediation between companies. Despite changing its legal framework from a department at the UPF into an autonomous institution in 2005, its main purpose – bridging university, academia, industries and agencies – remained the same. Barcelona Activa maintains two business incubators in close proximity to the BMP. They offer office space and additional training and business services to selected start-ups. Passing an application procedure, the city plays a significant role in the composition of local SME within the BMP (Barcelona Activa, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d). The third intermediary, the Network Association, originates in a coalition of initially six local companies aiming to contribute to the success of the 22@ District through joint projects and informal business breakfasts since 2004. Experiencing steady growth in number of businesses, the role of the association is only marginal reduced to initiating collaboration and networking activities. From a theoretic point of view the objective and strategies of the



discussed business intermediaries seem reasonable, but reality proofs different. Their sole focus on the formal economy and selective application procedures do lead to a homogenous environment. Additionally, often objective and measurable outputs are lacking to verify the effects they claim.

Among the creative intermediaries, creative production centres are characterised by high level of informality and intensity of contacts. Hangar is one of the most important creative centres in Barcelona. Publicly funded and privately managed the organisation turned from a creative squat into a legal body adapting to the transformation process of Poblenou. Starting out in an old textile factory of Marqués de Santa Isabel in Poblenou, the organisation refurbished the factory in order to fight the shortage of workspaces for artists and to establish a resource centre for artistic production already in the 1990s. Today, Hangar maintains an international exchange programme for artists, a Medialab, an Interaction Laboratory besides art research facilities and an extensive art archive, grants, workshops and residences (Fundació AAVC Hangar, nd). Although the scope of the community centre Can Felipa is smaller than of Hangar, it exhibits art and organises artistic workshops in Poblenou (Centre Cívic Can Felipa, nd). Hangar and Can Felipa demonstrate the importance of creative centres for the milieu, since they maintain and offer informal arenas for creative workers to meet and resulting from this even my influence commercial activities.

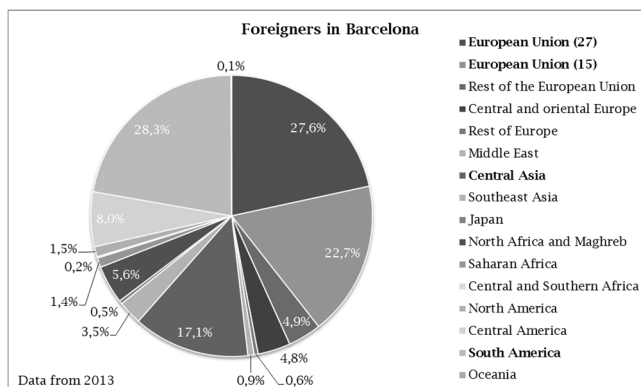
Summarising aspects related to *partnerships*, no sufficient mix of SMEs and anchor companies has been achieved for the local milieu when considering the BMP in isolation. Due to higher level of diversity, the integration of the BMP in surrounding areas is crucial to the emergence of a local creative milieu. Due to the fact that networks are hindered by the dominance of largely autonomous businesses, the wide variety of intermediaries in general and informal actors in particular is beneficial for SMEs to integrate.

### ***People***

Since the milieu is based on three cornerstones, social aspects are analysed finally. In order to assess the social structure, the situation of foreign population is highlighted, besides local levels of diversity and homogeneity on city and neighbourhood scale.

A high level of foreigners (17,4% in 2013 according to AdB, 2013a) allows for the assumption that in general terms Barcelona offers favourable conditions and is highly attractive for migrants. Individuals from South America, EU-27, EU-15 as well as Central Asia form the largest groups of foreigners as demonstrated in the figure below.

Figure 16. The distribution of foreigners in Barcelona



Source. Illustration by author according to data from AdB, 2013a

Due to “a situation of austerity” (Pareja, 2013, pers.comm.) the share of South Americans and Asians has significantly dropped between 2004 and 2013. Besides Europeans migrating to Spain, individuals from the Middle East account for more than 10% of immigrants. Although they represent only a minority, they bring along new stimuli for the civil society. A closer look on foreign population with the highest shares reveals that young and well-educated immigrants from Europe and Middle East constitute a very productive and economically valuable social group. Compared to Europeans, the Asian population in Barcelona is younger and less educated (AdB, 2013b & 2013c).

The city district, Sant Martí, is culturally diverse with 13% foreigners (AdB, 2013d). Taking into account the place of birth, it becomes evident that every other inhabitant living in Sant Martí was not born in the city of Barcelona: A small percentage of 6,9% are from other parts of Catalonia, 21,4% from other parts of Spain and 19,5% are foreign-born resulting in a balanced mix of natives and immigrants (AdB, 2011a). In the course of two decades and with steady growth of foreigners (AdB, 2013d), the proportion of non-native individuals multiplied tenfold with a comparatively moderate increase of total population by 8,1% to 231,584 persons in Poblenou (AdB, 2011b). Whether or not this change is the direct result of regeneration efforts cannot be clarified entirely. It can be speculated that the supply of new possibilities for living and working did influence migration patterns. In this sense the current deceleration of population growth could be caused by the completion of the majority of projects and recent cutbacks in employments.

Beside an evolutionary perspective on the situation of foreigners, it is worth to discuss the integration of ethnic communities in the Barcelona society, too. As measurable indicator the development of Spanish-foreign marriages is considered. During recent years these experienced a significant increase up to 31% in 2010 (AdB, 2012b). Although it would be necessary to conduct a more in-depth study of the

integration and possible exclusion of non-Spanish communities and individuals, this number already indicates - in general terms - a well-integrated residential community in Barcelona. Besides multi-cultural marriages, civil unions experienced an increase by 177,1% between 2007 and 2011 (AdB, 2012c). The development of same-sex and Spanish-foreign marriages allow also for the assessment of the level of openness and tolerance which is ranked high overall. Despite the limited indicators used, the chosen aspects provide reasonable insights in local society, but for a more in-depth evaluation more indicators would need to be considered.

From an economic point of view, the distribution of population according to age groups is crucial for the milieu because a strong workforce is needed to locally develop industries. Considering social aspects, the presence of peer groups and affiliates are important both as 'carriers' and 'triggers' of creativity. In this regard, Barcelona offers favourable conditions: The majority of population (58%) are of working age and around 20% of population belong each to pensioners (65 years +) or to children and young people (0-24 years) (AdB, 2011c). Within this context, additional information on the level of skills emphasizes the importance of young professionals, both for economic development and for the creative milieu itself. While 23,1 % and 13,5 % of the workforce between the age of 25 to 39 years hold a degree either in "Universitarios superiores" or "Universitarios medio", individuals between 40 and 64 years are comparatively poorly educated with proportions of 13,1% and 9% respectively (data refers to 2001, AdB, 2012a).

These social prerequisites - young and highly skilled individuals, cultural and ethnic mix and a tolerant attitude towards different lifestyle - are highly favourable assets for the milieu on macro- and meso-level. Given prognosis on future population development in Barcelona, which prospect a decline in residents (AdB, 2012d), this offers both new needs and demands of local inhabitants, but also new possibilities for authorities to intervene in the city's development. Considering research carried out by the Imperial College London (Leon, 2008) shows that municipal efforts need to further focus on migration services and reduction of languages barriers (dominance of Catalan). Whereas the further was evaluated as facilitating factor to integrate in Barcelona society, the latter is perceived as major obstacle for internationals. Improvements related to these aspects will help to strengthen the position of Barcelona as a socially liveable and open space and finally have positive implications for local milieus.

### 3.1.3 Barcelona Media Park: an insufficient milieu?

The previous analysis of information collected through on-site visits, interviews, surveys, statistical and municipal data allow for a concluding assessment of the BMP. The figure below summarises the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats identified during the analysis process.

Figure 17. A SWOT-analysis of the BMP

<p><b>STRENGTHS</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Holistic transformation: improvements in economy, culture, housing, public space and infrastructure lead to cohesive revitalisation and functional mix</li> <li>Protection of industrial heritage: remaining authenticity</li> <li>Investments in both hard and soft infrastructure</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Business development programmes maintain and develop critical mass of economic agents</li> <li>Variety of networks (public, private, economic- and culturally-led) actors help to position the BMP and Poblenou (inter)nationally and locally</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Presence of higher education facilities and creative potential</li> </ul>	<p><b>WEAKNESSES</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the BMP: misleading urban design of public space</li> <li>Lack of informal meeting places and creative space</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the BMP: lack of SMEs and dominance of large companies which are full-service agencies operating mostly independently from small agencies</li> <li>In the BMP: lack of subjective proof that synergies are existent</li> <li>Lack of creative underground due to the partial eviction of artists during the transformation process</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mismatch between current inhabitants and local professions</li> </ul>
<p><b>OPPORTUNITIES</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Beneficial conditions in regards to location, climate, accessibility and connectivity</li> <li>The image change is gaining momentum opening possibilities for further investments in soft infrastructure in Poblenou</li> <li>Plans to re-structure the roundabout at the Avinguda Diagonal offers the possibility to design an adequate „entrance“ to the district</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Emerging collaborative workstyles open new possibilities for business services and design</li> <li>Plans to open a design museum offers the possibilities to further enhance the district's portfolio and character; needs to be accompanied by further actions</li> <li>Path-dependency in the creative industries</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improvements in basic education provides access to higher education and highly-skilled professions of the BMP; similar situation for adult education</li> <li>In Poblenou: Social diversity and ethnic heterogeneity</li> </ul>	<p><b>THREATS</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cutting cultural budgets: threatens survival of existent artists and creative underground (esp. Hangar)</li> <li>Efforts by the city to regulate economic development of the area can lead to over-regulation and over-restriction hindering authentic and bottom-up economic development of the area</li> <li>Generally, no common identity and no sharing among the actors, but competitive climate</li> <li>Planning efforts focus in formal economy; not sensitive enough to the demands of the creative industries</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In Barcelona: Lack of large companies and headquarters due to the dominant position of Madrid</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Displacement of working class people and gentrification: loss of social diversity and creative potential</li> </ul>

Source. Illustration by author

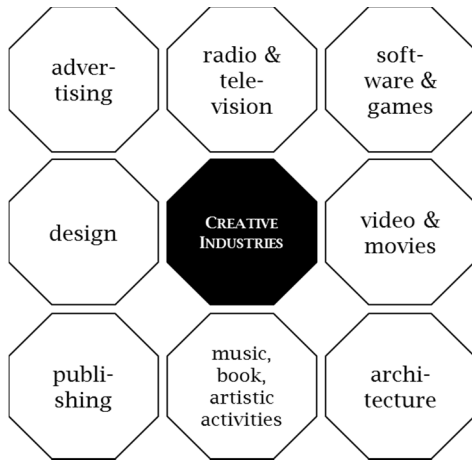
Based on the findings it can be stated, that Barcelona is attractive for the creative industries. Although the purpose of the BMP has been to spatially embed the creative economy and to raise its visibility, the BMP has substantial deficits in regards to scale, economic structure and functional mix leading to the conclusion that the BMP itself cannot be understood as a creative milieu. Nonetheless, the 22@ project has been successful both as an urban and as an economic process delivering new stimuli for the revitalisation of the area. Over the course of 10 years 4.000 new social dwellings, 145.000 m<sup>2</sup> for new public facilities, 114,000 m<sup>2</sup> for new green areas have been developed accompanied by 1,502 firms bringing 44,600 workers to the area (22 ARROBA, nd). Additionally, existent cultural facilities partially experienced an intensification of activities and new facilities settled revitalising the area also economically and socially. Addressing the points raised, it is therefore more reasonable to understand the whole neighbourhood Poblenou as a milieu. In regard to diversity, economic and population structure it constitutes a thriving and authentic environment for the creative industries.

## 3.2 Case study 2: Media Quarter Marx in Neumarx / Vienna

The Barcelona case study has a proven track of successful and less successful aspects leading to the conclusion, that the BMP itself is an insufficient milieu. In order to be able to make a statement about the viability of planning milieus in chapter four and five, a second case study is analysed. Following the same procedure, a short and complementary introduction to the local understanding of creative industries and the wider urban transformation process is setting the conceptual framework, before an analytical examination of the Viennese case study is carried out.

Fundamental to the creative industries is the Österreichischer Kreativwirtschaftsbericht in Austria. Nationally constituted, it offers valid starting points for local practices as well. In light of the fact that the report is renewed in two-year intervals since 2003, the Austrian government has shown early awareness and applies effective measures to monitor the development of the creative industries comprehensively and carefully. The creative industries, shown in the figure below, include businesses that are oriented towards profit and at the same time produce original content (cwa, 2010).

Figure 18. The creative industries according to the Austrian definition

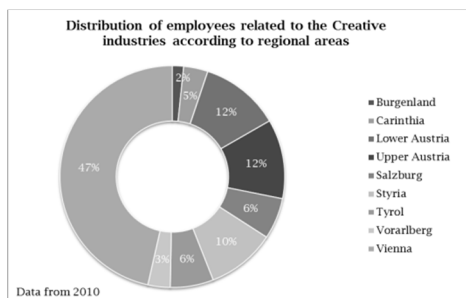


Source. Illustration by author according to cwa, 2013

Demonstrated by findings of a study on creative industries in Austria by FAS.research (2010), creative workers are generally well-connected; cross-sectoral, intraregional and well integrated networks do exist in Austria. According to economic data Austria's capital can clearly be recognised as the regional and economic centre of the creative industries. Almost half of the entire creative workforce is located in Vienna (cf. figure 19) and the city also scores highest considering absolute numbers of companies, turnover and gross value added (GVA) (cwa, 2013).

Due to the pure amount of creative individuals and high level of diversity, the creative scene is scattered all over the city which leads to many sub-centres with comparatively low level of clustering (FAS.research, 2010).

Figure 19. Creative employees according to Austrian regions



Source. Illustration by author according to cwa, 2013

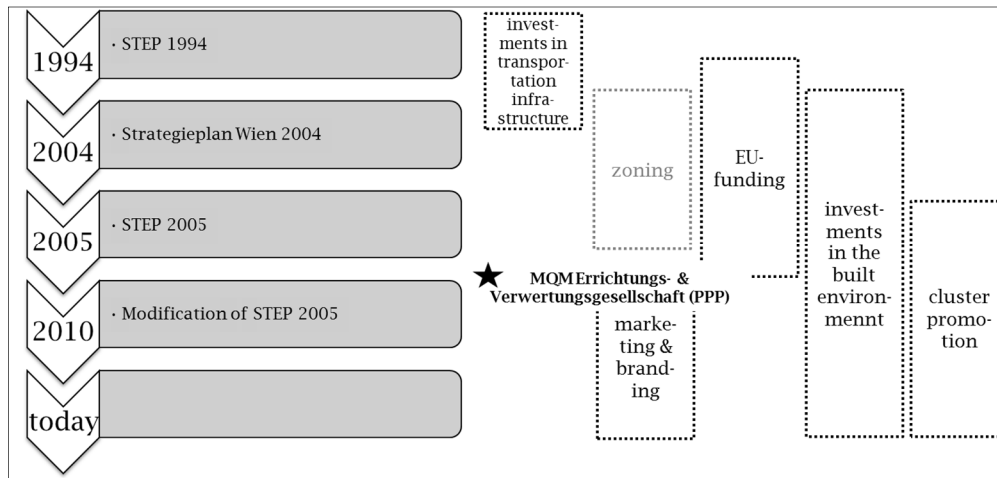
In light of this situation it is hoped that a project like the MQM may improve creative networks and linkages among them. Since it focuses on creative industries and makes use of top-down urban and business development strategies, the selected case study constitutes a similar conceptual framework as Barcelona enabling comparative analysis.

### 3.2.1 Neumarx & Media Quarter Marx: a district in transition

The city of Vienna is characterised by a dense morphological structure, rich architectural heritage of the Gründerzeit period and small plots (MA 18, 1994). This is especially true for the inner districts, which are separated by the Gürtel from the outer, historically more recent districts, which developed during several expansion phases. Similar to other cities, Vienna is challenged by various phenomena like suburbanisation, economic and social globalisation, demographic ageing as well as desolate inner-cities brownfield sites resulting from deindustrialisation (Hatz, 2008). The selected case study, the MQM in the district Landstraße, primarily deals with economic revitalisation and brownfield development.

After its incorporation in the 1850s, the original rural village developed quickly towards the city's most important meat production centre (BVS Landstraße, nd, MA 53, 1994). Over the course of time, loose and large-scale economy settled around the slaughter area (MA 53, 1998). Being unable to operate competitively and due to pending and comprehensive renovation needs, the decision was made by the city council to re-locate the food sector in the 1990s (MA 53, 1994 & 1997). The downturn of the character-giving economic centre entailed a vast and comprehensive space in central location leading to municipal plans to renew the area by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (MA 53, 1998). The strategic concept of the slaughter area is legally anchored in a variety of urban models and development schemes, such as the Strategieplan Wien (MA 18, 2004), Stadtentwicklungsplan (STEP) 05 (MA 18, 2005, project descriptions see also MA 21 nd.a & nd.b) and Modification of the STEP 05 (MA 18, 2010).

Figure 20. An overview of the transformation process in Neumarx and MQM



Source. Illustration by author

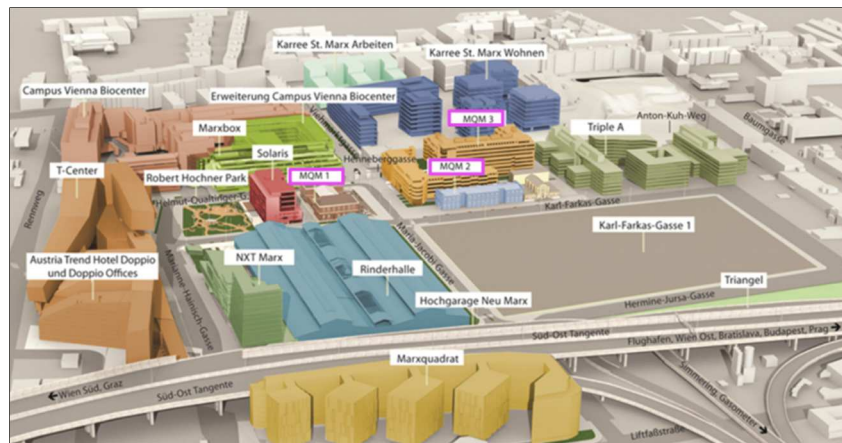
In order to visualise the complex planning process, the left-hand-side of the figure above lists the various political planning documents and the right-hand-side gives an overview on the applied planning tools. Although, the regeneration project was not publicly debated before 1998, the STEP 1994 is insofar important as the principal planner Klotz raised awareness for the importance of creativity for local growth already in the 1990s: “(...) to strengthen our position it seems important to me (...) to promote the creative potential in and around Vienna (...). For the success of companies and also for regions and cities, knowledge and creativity of the employees are becoming increasingly important.” [translation by author] (MA 18, 1994, p. XVI). In the beginning however urban concepts focused on “the development of the slaughter area St. Marx into an outstanding quarter for economy, technology and research” [translation by author] (MA 53, 2001). Only in 2004 creative industries had been identified as one of the future economic growth sectors which resulted in the project MQM and associated PPP in 2005 and 2006 (MA 18, 2004, Hatz, 2008, ZIT, 2007). Urban models and EU-funds paved the way to spatially deliver the new urban quarter by applying neoliberal planning approaches. Besides PPPs, urban branding has been used to position the MQM as new location for innovation and creativity in Vienna and furthermore to convey path-dependency in the area. Buildings (e.g “Marxbox”, “NXT Marx” or “Marxquadrat”) and even the naming of the new quarter relate to the long history of the area which functioned both as hospital and more recently as slaughter house (MQM, nd.d, WSE, nd, Neu Marx Standortmarketing, 2010). In light of communication plans and strategies concerned with quality of life, a holistic transformation process is encouraged through improving local amenities and liveability (MA 21, nd.c & nd.d).



### 3.2.2 Media Quarter Marx in detail: concept, local structures and dynamics

Similar to Barcelona, the MQM is embedded in a three-tier planning structure. The MQM consists of four different buildings and is part of the neighbourhood renewal Neumarx, which itself is part of the urban target area Central Station-Erdberger Mais defined by the STEP 05.

Figure 21. The location of Neumarx and MQM



Source. Modified by author according to WSE, nd

Progressing from the general framework, an in-depth study of the MQM's spatial, economic and social dynamics is presented.

#### Place

Considering soft assets in general, Vienna is an attractive location surrounded by hills and vineyards and many diverse recreational sites including green spaces, parks, and recently renewed urban areas such as the Gürtel or Donaukanal which are likewise attractive for families, professionals, entrepreneurs and creative individuals. The city is often described as “Gateway to Eastern Europe” (cf. Hatz, 2008, p. 312) relating to its beneficial topographic location close to Maribor, Prague, Budapest and Bratislava which is further increased by its high level of connectivity via a system of highways, railway lines, air routes and ferry connections to Bratislava (CDR, 2011). In light of an efficient system of trams, metros and busses Vienna is internally well connected (MA 23, 2012a). The overall high level of accessibility and connectivity is however not reflected in the case study area which negatively influences ‘natural’ urban flows leaving the area relatively isolated. Direct accessibility to Neumarx is restricted since

the former slaughter area is delimited by offices and highways. Additionally, none of the public bike stations is located in convenient proximity restricting its accessibility further (Citybike Wien, nd).

Although Vienna is appealing for urban economies due to its assets on macro-scale, it is necessary to consider to what extent industries are attracted by the MQM itself. First and foremost the leitmotif has been to generate a themed business location focusing on the creative industries and the (audio-)visual sectors (MQM, nd.a). Similar to the BMP, developing actors rely the project's success on spatial proximity of economic actors from similar industries. Due to the Austrian definition of creative industries, the MQM targets marketable and profitable businesses which is reflected both in terms of rent level and marketing activities. The MQM shall go *"beyond the establishment of perfect infrastructure. Creative minds and service providers from various disciplines shall meet in this location and form lucrative networks."* [translation by author] (MQM, nd.a). The term 'networks' however is strictly restrained to business and professional networks, since *"networking means on the one hand to bring together science and education. On the other hand specialised media companies shall be located in spatial proximity with a wide spectrum of complementary service."* [translation by author] (MA 21, nd.e). In light of limited access to the area and spatial separation of SMEs and anchor tenants, which results from the availability and layout of office spaces, as well as mono-functional uses missing housing and local supply, it is critical to what extent the expectations placed on the project are met.

The MQM has been delivered in different phases allowing for a careful renovation of listed building stock, its functional reuse as well as integration of newly constructed buildings as demonstrated in figure 22.

*Figure 22. The buildings of the MQM*



*Source. Photographs by author, Neu Marx Standortmarketing, 2010*

This juxtaposition of different architectural types (cf. figure 22 & 23) is perceived necessary for the area conveying urbanity and path-dependency, although the new buildings are hardly integrated in the existing urban fabric. Since the red brick buildings stand out, the new quarter shows little homogeneity which can either negatively or positively affect the creative potential of an area leading to 'creative diversity' or 'disruptive appearance'.

Figure 23. Architectural mix in Neumarx



Source. Photographs by author

Besides thriving urban layouts, cultural facilities are essential for creative milieus, since they provide necessary creative stimuli. Concerning this matter Neumarx as the larger spatial entity shows severe deficits, as cultural actors are absent which diminish its level of urbanity. Despite efforts by the developing actors to compensate for the lack of culture, i.e. through realising urban interventions such as urban gardening and public art, they do not succeed in creating an authentic urban milieu. In fact these activities even strengthen the impression of planned and artificial environment as shown in the pictures below.

Figure 24. Urban interventions in the MQM

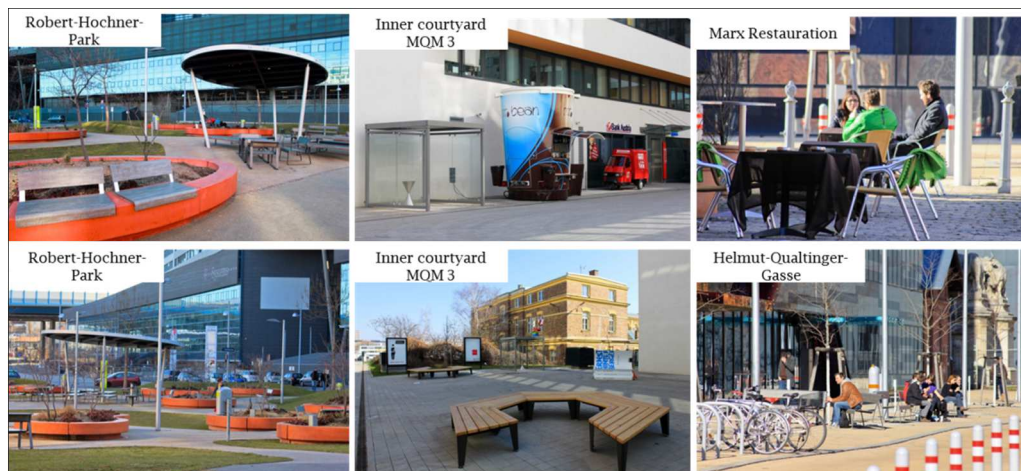


Source. Photographs by author

The low level of local embeddedness impacts also the quantity and quality of local places for creativity and networking. In contrast to the Spanish sample, informal meeting points are restricted to the Viennese case study itself as displayed in figure 25. Despite its limited scope, the small local park, the inner courtyard, gastronomy, the Rinderhalle and public spaces in front of buildings constitute diverse informal arenas. During interviews especially the importance of gastronomy as facilitator for networks has been emphasized: “Whenever I go to the restaurant to have lunch, I can always meet someone from the Wiener Zeitung who spontaneously needs an advertising spot or on the other side of the restaurant sits someone whom I can book spontaneously as a speaker.” (Euler-Roller, 2013, pers.comm.). With increasing numbers of local workers, plans have recently been realised to open further gastronomy in the area

(MQM nd.b & nd.c). Whether this will entail a vitalisation of the area or lead to functional loss of the MQM 1 as central meeting point cannot be anticipated.

Figure 25. Networking places in Neumarx and the MQM



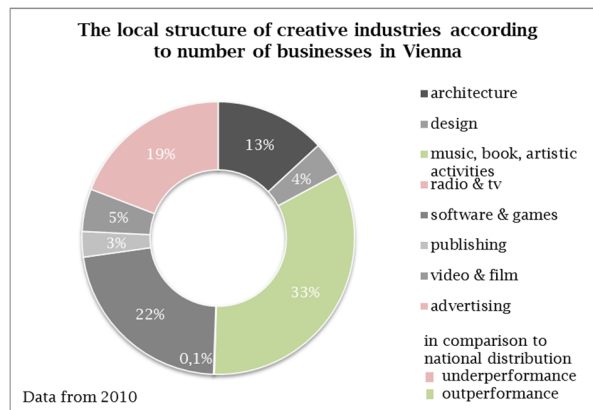
Source. Photographs by author

Based on the discussed spatial characteristics the local capability to produce a milieu is low. This is accounted for by the fact that the whole area is still in a development state although the majority of projects have already been delivered. Until the open space in front of the MQM 2 is redressed, a continuous use and function is implemented in the Rinderhalle and housing possibilities are constructed and filled, the MQM only provides reasonable starting points for further actions in terms of the production of a local creative milieu.

### Partnership

The assessment of macro structure reveals beneficial conditions for the creative industries to thrive in Vienna. In light of its role as capital, the city's economy is dominated by the tertiary sector (MA 23, 2012b) and is appealing for large companies and headquarters related to creative and non-creative branches. Beneficial locational advantages, as outlined in the previous section, together with high levels of public support have favourable effects on the development of creative industries making Vienna the national creative centre. Since 42% of all creative businesses are located in the city, the market is already saturated making market entries of SMEs difficult (cwa, 2013, Hohenburger, 2013, pers.comm.), but also ensures critical mass. According to sectors, the majority of businesses relate to *music, book, artistic activities, software & games* as well as *architecture* (cf. figure 26). The most striking deviations from national average affect the categories *radio & tv, advertising* and *music, book, artistic activities* whereas the latter outperforms and the former two underperform.

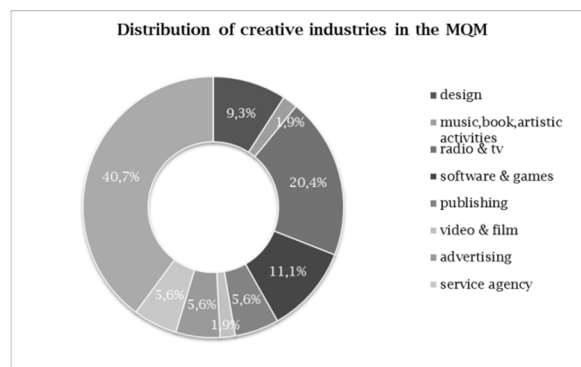
Figure 26. The structure of the creative industries in Vienna



Source. Illustration by author according to cwa, 2013

Progressing from macro- and meso-scale to micro-economic characteristics, the sectoral distribution of creative industries in the MQM shows little congruency with local structures. Although *radio & tv* only accounts for a small share of the creative industries in total, 20% of companies in MQM are active in audio-visual production. Given the fact that out of approximately 54 companies a high share is classified as non-creative according to the Austrian model including consultancies, event management, education and training facilities as well as real estate, raises the question why the local creative potential has not been attracted to the MQM. It can be doubted whether the remaining creative businesses create the necessary critical mass needed for milieus.

Figure 27. The structure of the creative industries in the MQM

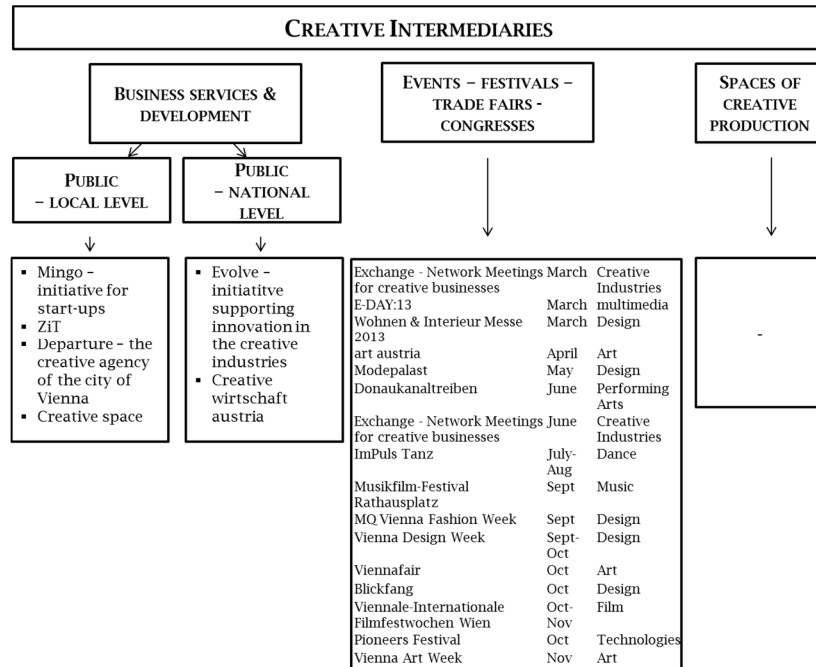


Source. Illustration by author according to online research and on-site observations

Despite deficits in the sectoral mix of local entrepreneurs the management company has succeeded generally in generating a well-balanced mix of SMEs and anchor tenants. With bringing together leading actors of TV (PULS 4) and print (echo & Wiener Zeitung) the MQM has become the most important media production centre in Austria.

Due to the overall high level of organisation, which derives from public initiatives and the pure size of the creative economy in Vienna, a variety of more or less institutionalised intermediaries are involved in the local milieu production.

Figure 28. Creative intermediaries in Vienna



Source. Illustration by author according to ZIT n.a & nd.b, Departure, nd, Wirtschaftskammer Wien, nd, bmwfi, nd, Wien Tourismus, 2013, cwa, 2009a & 2009b

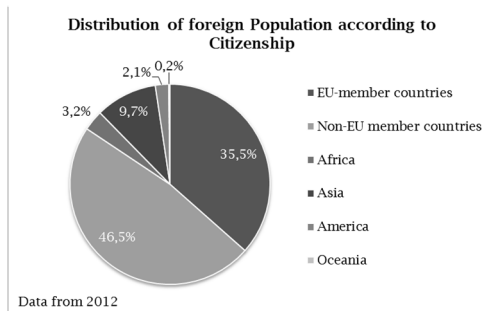
Due to the absence of creative centres and dominance of private-public services local networks are formed around formal actors, i.e. services including offices, legal and business advice, business development services, training and funding. Given evidence by interviewees high level of organisation results in dense creative networks. Formal intermediaries are complemented by a wide variety of festival, events, fairs and awards leading to both visibility of and easing new relationships within the creative sector. Despite generally favourable prerequisites for economic growth, the absence of local creative laboratories weakens the creative capability of the MQM and emphasizes its role as business location.

**People**

From analysing local population according to selected criteria, conclusions can be drawn to what extent the local milieu is grounded on a socially sustainable basis. Social and demographic influences are assessed and finally results of an own survey shed light on personal networks among local actors within the MQM.

Measured by the percentage of foreigners living in the city, Vienna's attractiveness increased over time. Since 2006 the share of people with non-Austrian citizenship increased by 27,6% leading to 22,3%. The majority stems both from EU and non-EU member countries and their numbers are likely to increase, since neighbouring countries, such as Poland, Hungary, Germany and Slovakia, show highest net increases.

Figure 29. Foreign population in Vienna



Source. Illustration by author according to MA 23, 2012c

Considering social composition regarding age and education, the Viennese economy benefits from young and dynamic workforce, who positively affect local milieus, but future development is generally threatened by demographic ageing (MA 23, 2012c). However, no precise prognosis on its effects for the MQM can be made yet. In comparison to structures on city-scale the district Landstraße does not show any significant differences in

regard to its social composition despite slightly higher shares of academics (28% compared to 21%) and foreigners (24% compared to 22%) (MA 23, 2012c, MA 23, 2012d).

Complementing the situation of foreigners in Vienna, the development according to citizenship reveals that despite an increasing level of integration between 2002 and 2005, no long-term changes can be witnessed.

Figure 30. Marriages in Vienna



Source. Illustration by author according to MA 23, 2012c

Although the development and distribution of foreign-Austrian marriages indicates already a relatively high, albeit declining, level of integration, it is worth considering the religious beliefs among the inhabitants as a further indicator for the level of openness and tolerance in Vienna since data on same-sex marriages could not be accessed. Despite little heterogeneity with every second person being Roman-Catholic, various smaller communities of faith do exist parallel to each other (MA 23, 2012c) which positions Vienna and the case study as tolerant and open-minded places.

Notwithstanding positive externalities resulting from social composition on city and district level, an assessment of the actual situation in the MQM by means of a business survey allows to portray social dynamics on micro-level (cf. appendix). Due to its small-size sample only trends and tendencies are elaborated. As expected the majority of the workforce is well educated and consider personal networks (very) important for their success. Their networks are largely centred on their colleagues in general, but they keep close relations with creative individuals such as artists or musicians emphasizing the importance of creative centres in close proximity to the case study. The weak creative potential of the MQM is reinforced by the fact that the majority of networks are maintained with people outside the case study. Results regarding workplace preferences and network activities set the agenda for further adjustments of local network services, economic, social and spatial characteristics. Aspects demanded of respondents and which can be influenced through planning efforts are related to, e.g., *multicultural environment*, *proximity to like-minded people* and *diverse surrounding space*.

### 3.2.3 Media Quarter Marx: a developing milieu?

Given evidence by both local entrepreneurs and planning bodies the MQM is considered as successful urban project, notwithstanding a concluding analysis of the examined characteristics is revealing (dis)advantageous features for the local milieu.

Since the priorities of the planning process have been centred rather on the production of a new business location than on a holistic approach targeting the local milieu, the case study cannot yet be considered as working and independent milieu. Despite some circumstances affecting milieu structures positively, lack of sensitive planning lead to high levels of creative homogeneity and poor levels of authenticity and (cultural) embeddedness which need to be addressed in the course of the development of the remaining vacancies. Future projects in MQM have to target the feeling of urbanity by implementing carefully leisure and (low-)cultural facilities as



well as retail and housing to create a lively quarter which functions largely autonomous and facilitates bottom-up movements and artistic activities.

Figure 31. The MQM: a SWOT-analysis

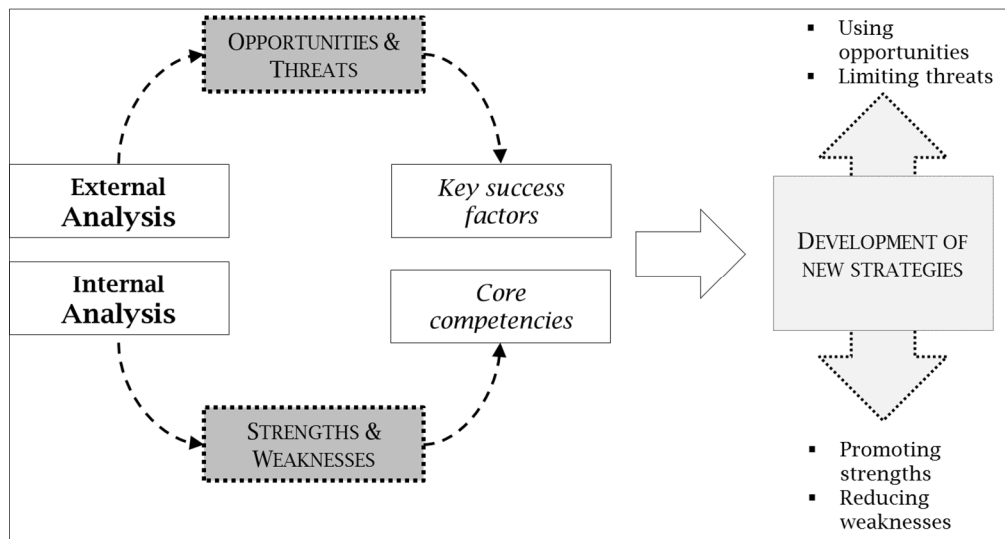
<p><b>STRENGTHS</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Embeddedness of the project in a wider neighbourhood development programme</li> <li>▪ Juxtaposition of protected and newly constructed buildings: stimulators for creativity and authenticity</li> <li>▪ Urban design: Robert-Hochner Park as central meeting point</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ High level of organisation in regard to business networks and the creative industries (incl. events, congresses, awards)</li> <li>▪ Economic mix within the MQM: anchor companies and SMEs</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Presence of higher education facilities and creative potential</li> </ul>	<p><b>WEAKNESSES</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Developing priorities on office spaces than on amenities and housing ; lack of functional mix</li> <li>▪ Low accessibility of the case study area</li> <li>▪ Efforts to plan urbanity lead to artificial impression</li> <li>▪ Lack of urban animation and creative stimulation</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Focus on formal economy: rent levels exclude certain creative industries</li> <li>▪ Lack of authenticity, urbanity and creative underground cause stagnation of the milieu</li> <li>▪ High share of non-creative industries in the MQM hinder creative networks due to the lack of critical mass</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lack of local housing possibilities</li> </ul>
<p><b>OPPORTUNITIES</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Gateway to Eastern Europe</li> <li>▪ Vitalisation of the area through amenities, housing, public transport</li> <li>▪ Functional re-use and of remaining open spaces will change the district's character providing further space for the creative industries, housing and urban facilities</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Path-dependency in the creative industries</li> <li>▪ Vienna as the national centre for the creative industries</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Tolerant and open attitude towards multiculturalism</li> <li>▪ Dense network of the creative industries already existent</li> </ul>	<p><b>THREATS</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Low level of spatial integration of Neumarx into the neighbourhood</li> <li>▪ Efforts by managing parties to regulate the economic development of the area can lead to over-regulation and over-restriction hindering an authentic and bottom-up economic development of the area</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Small size of the creative industries can hinder new business entries of start-ups and new economic actors</li> <li>▪ Many creative hubs in the city (e.g. 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> district)</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Demographic ageing</li> </ul>

Source. Illustration by author

# 4 PLANNED MILIEUS: AN APPRAISAL

The in-depth study of the BMP in Barcelona and MQM in Vienna has revealed aspects that positively and negatively affect local milieus. In the next step, these results are compared and abstracted allowing the definition of generalised aspects which have proven to be either necessary or hindering. Based on the explanatory notes of Pelz (2012) on conducting SWOT-analyses, the course of action focuses on identifying core competencies and strategic success factors of planned milieus before recommendations for future actions are formulated in chapter five.

Figure 32. The SWOT-analysis



Source. Illustration by author according to Pelz, 2012

Urban frameworks have been applied with the aim of urban and economic revitalisation. By means of planning, this process can be initiated, controlled and monitored balancing public and private interest and ensuring holistic solutions. In order to ensure an equally all-encompassing analysis of planned milieus, the findings below make use of the previously applied three-tier strategy.

Figure 33. Strengths and weaknesses of planned milieus

<p><b>STRENGTHS</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Holistic urban transformation process: generating functional mix, urbanity and authenticity</li> <li>▪ Architectural mix &amp; industrial heritage: convey innovation, attractiveness, path-dependency</li> <li>▪ Embeddedness in local planning schemes: beneficial for the delivery of urban transformation and investments</li> <li>▪ Appealing urban design &amp; third spaces: beneficial for networks</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Local facilities that foster economic development: business incubators and alike</li> <li>▪ Critical mass &amp; balanced mix of adequate companies foster the establishment of new networks</li> <li>▪ Path- &amp; time-dependency: positive effects on economic development and generation of networks</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Local education facilities: training of creative workforce</li> </ul>	<p><b>WEAKNESSES</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lack of creative underground: lack of urbanity, authenticity and the creation of networks</li> <li>▪ Planning efforts solely focus on formal economy: neglecting amenities and creative production</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Unbalanced mix of local enterprises regarding sector &amp; size: increases competitive than collaborative attitude, lack of economic dependency of firms hinders networks</li> <li>▪ Lack of critical mass: no visibility of the area and sector; no sufficient networks</li> <li>▪ Mono-functional use: lack of third spaces and spaces for creative production/creative labs: hinders the development of creativity and networks</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mismatch between the local level of skill and talent and newly established jobs: decrease in local integration and embeddedness</li> </ul>
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Source. Illustration by author

The application of traditional planning tools has proven to have significant impact on the delivery of urban transformations and the general spatial framework for the milieu especially in situations where milieus are 'build' from scratch. Besides neo-liberal approaches, zoning has had significant effects on the early phase of project development. Emphasis on holistic and place-sensitive approaches towards urban development ensures maximum level of urbanity and authenticity. Within this context it shall pointed to the fact that neo-liberal approaches are not a panacea for contemporary urban problems. It requires careful consideration and critical reflection on the use of those strategies in order to ensure general public interest and avoid negative externalities such as eviction of artists and gentrification. Often economic and political pressure leads to the negligence of dedicating space to the 'creative underground' which is necessary for a bottom-up development of the area. The entrepreneurial mix and critical mass need to be considered carefully. Networks emerge when companies are sectorally linked and are mutually dependent from each other, i.e. fulfil different functions of the chain of production. With developing actors that are responsible for local structures, the core competency of planned milieus lies in the capability to have direct control on the entrepreneurial composition risking however over-regulation and over-restriction. Nonetheless, a sensitive approach to local (industrial) structures may be crucial for the success of such development projects. Another important factor closely related, is the importance of path-dependency. Analysis shows that planned milieus with local history of creative activities perform better than those which have been entirely built from scratch. Together with heterogeneous social compositions, mix of high and low qualified jobs

and education facilities, local inhabitants and entrepreneurs are able to mutually benefit from each other and generate milieus that are socially and economically integrative.

Since the success or failure of urban projects is not only subject to the internal conditions, but is also influenced by developments and changes on macro scale, it is worth considering possible influences from the 'outside' affecting internal dynamics.

Figure 34. Opportunities and risks of planned creative milieus

<p><b>OPPORTUNITIES</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Local embeddedness (spatial, cultural, social, economic): increases acceptance, contributes to a vital and attractive environment, conveys authenticity</li> <li>▪ Traditional planning tools in early development phases can generate necessary pre-conditions for further actions</li> <li>▪ New trends in urban design: digitalisation, e.g., helps to increase local amenities for the creative class</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Emerging collaborative work-styles offer new starting points for the design and conceptualisation of offices, workspaces and public space</li> <li>▪ High level of organisation: (inter)national visibility of the creative industries -&gt; strengthening economic activities and networking</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ International mix of local population: heterogeneity</li> </ul>	<p><b>THREATS</b></p> <p><b>PLACE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Developing in an austerity age &amp; recession: cutting cultural budgets leading to the reduction of cultural input and fundament for economic acquisition</li> <li>▪ Overproduction of creative milieus: market saturation and global competition; not all creative sectors thrive to re-locate to and be present in such increases risk of not achieving a reasonable critical mass</li> <li>▪ Gentrification of surrounding areas: loss of creative heterogeneity</li> </ul> <p><b>PARTNERSHIPS</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Overregulation of the economic development: loss of authenticity and bottom-up developments</li> <li>▪ Embeddedness in local planning schemes: no significant effect on the establishment of personal networks; risk of overregulation</li> </ul> <p><b>PEOPLE</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Demographic ageing and shrinking processes: loss of peer groups; decrease in active and productive workforce</li> <li>▪ Globalisation: migration of people to more attractive and dynamic places</li> </ul>
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Source. Illustration by author

Frankly, the urban transformation process of both case studies started in the early 2000s with the result that they have been affected only marginal by the recession in 2008 and are almost completed today. While the embeddedness in local planning schemes showed benefits for the delivery of the urban transformation, planning tools have had no traceable or only marginal effect on the formation of networks. This situation can be dated back to one-sided and deficient consistency in implementing strategic decisions. Adapting already newly constructed infrastructure, work- and public space to new trends and emerging preferences, can still influences the economic structure and attractiveness of the projects in the aftermath. In doing so, it needs referred again to the impact of local embeddedness of the place, people and firms. Embedding new structures in existing ones needs to be one of the main strategies to form a thriving milieu. Regenerating existing and obsolete building stock into an attractive and lively new quarter is crucial to respond to shrinking processes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Being aware of this, projects, plans and strategies need to pay attention to detail and distinctive local conditions.

## 5 APPROACHING THE CREATIVE MILIEU: CONSIDERATIONS AND NEW STRATEGIES

Although the case studies aim for both urban transformation and economic revitalisation, they pursue merely economic-driven approaches, i.e. focusing on dynamics and conditions beneficial for the formal economy within the creative industries. Based on the identified deficits, there is a need for applying more place-driven approaches when aiming for an economic revitalisation through milieus. Particularly the BMP and the MQM illustrate the effects of inconvenient urban design and place making. Being closed off through physical and mental barriers, the liveliness and social mixture of both areas are limited. This induces a vicious circle leading to a lack of urbanity unappealing to creative workers. This in turn hampers the establishment of critical mass which inevitably leads to the absence of effective and productive networks. The following recommendations thus are centred on *place* itself which is identified as linchpin for networks. The suggested strategies shall provide generic advice for planners and decision-makers alike and are not limited exclusively to the BMP and MQM.

### **1. *Creative districts need creative urban planning.***

In order to create high-quality creative quarters, urban planning has to be equally creative to deliver solutions appropriate to the complex needs of the creative workforce. In both case studies the municipalities applied innovative measures in order to ensure high-quality in the long run. In Barcelona, new land designations have been implemented provided that the private land owners assign one third of their plot to the municipality. This way, the municipality gained valuable space which was used to implement necessary infrastructure and amenities. In Vienna, the municipality remained owner of the land in order to prevent land speculation and gentrification. These are only two examples how to apply urban planning tools for the advantage of public interest. Applying neo-liberal approaches only with careful consideration will give rise to more unconventional ways of planning, force planners to think outside the box which at best will lead to more public participation.

### **2. *Rethinking priorities.***

One aspect often criticised is the lack of urbanity and authenticity. Although clearly stated in their development schemes and strategic guidelines, holistic measures, which promise lively urban quarters, often fail to do so. This situation makes it necessary to rethink current priorities during the planning process. After delivering the physical environment efforts focus on establishing a local economy through cluster promotion strategies and additional infrastructure for entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, development strategies often fail to acknowledge that especially social structures, which are equally important to the milieu as industrial ones, need time to develop and grow. Whereas purely industrial networks might develop from necessity, social relationships are entirely based on individual preference, sympathy and also out of opportunity. As a consequence, everyday requirements, social facilities and housing need to be implemented at an early phase of the development to ensure a maximum level of mutual trust among local inhabitants, social networks and community feeling. Considering continuous interweaving of work and social life (Frey, 2009), reinforces the importance to dedicate more efforts to the development of social facilities.

**3. *Ideological proximity before spatial proximity.***

From the point of view of developers and decision makers the key feature of planned milieus is spatial proximity: spatial proximity between different economic agents, between academia and economy, between students, young professionals and senior staff members. Given the results of the empirical analysis, however, spatial proximity of economic parties does not lead to new collaborations necessarily. What seems more important is a certain level of shared identity and common sense of belonging. Furthermore, planning tools need to intervene in the economic composition more carefully ensuring higher levels of cooperation through diversity and similarity. This does not necessarily include more planning, but rather a more sensitive approach towards economic structuring allowing for bottom-up developments and to literally get in line with the idea of maximising profits in the emerging phase of the milieu.

**4. *Fostering all facets of creativity.***

Considering the dominance of economic development strategies applied in those projects, privileging the formal economy is evident to the detriment of creative and artistic activities. In both case studies measures target the audio-visual sectors in general and the media industries in particular. For creative stimulation, festivalisation strategies have been pursued. Recognisable though, is the fact that the informal creative basis has not been targeted, although it plays a significant role in creative production. In the case of Barcelona partly artists, that had settled prior to regeneration measures, have even been evicted during the transition. In Vienna, a creative collective or alike never existed in the former slaughter area. Although both transformation processes started with different conditions none really achieved to

implement a creative underground. However, as claimed by Prof. Pareja (pers.comm., 2013) real creative cities consists of three layers of creative production:

- The creative overground: the formal economy and profitable businesses
- The creative middleground: act as mediators between the creative over- and underground; often in form of festivals and events
- The creative underground: the creative basis including artists, musicians, writers, performing artists etc.

Considering the aim of these projects, to implement creativity on district level, these layers should be equally present. Further, it is expected that a change in this direction will significantly contribute to the authenticity and liveliness of place.

##### ***5. Picking up new trends.***

Almost every development project - no matter what type of development it is aiming for - is being delivered as PPP nowadays. Financial and organisational arguments are bound to be raised to justify the decision to outsource municipal competencies to new legal bodies. As the delivery and planning procedure of a project is no longer attached to a political party it operates independently from changes of government and is, thus, able to react quicker to changes of circumstances. Given these new organisational structures, it is, however, inscrutable why little attention is devoted to emerging trends in regard to new work preferences of the Creative Class. As discussed by Florida (2012), work hours are shifting and are becoming increasingly aligned to individual preferences. Further, collaborative work-styles are becoming key factors in the mode of creative and economic production. Nonetheless, the discussed projects apply conservative measures to target the creative workforce. Co-working spaces or public wifi, to name two examples, are not the centre of interest, although both promote and support the milieu locally as well as constitute unique selling points.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to analyse planned creative milieus in regard to their milieu-specific characteristics since creativity-led approaches for urban regeneration have gained momentum during recent decades. Based on selected criteria, two case studies located in Barcelona and Vienna have been chosen in order to examine the subject matter not entirely theoretically, but also to apply and test hypotheses in field.

The analytical procedure has been guided by the finding that milieus consist of three cornerstones: *place, people, partnership*. A mixed-method approach consisting of qualitative and quantitative ways of data collection has revealed valuable information about past and current urban development processes, economic dynamics and local distinctiveness. Whereas valid results could be obtained from interviews with relevant stakeholders in both case studies, the statistical power of the business survey among local economic actors turned out to be too low. Addressing respondents by phone instead of email and making the study accessible for a longer period of time might have influenced the response rate positively. Since the validity of the quantitative analysis is limited, the focus of analysis shifted and devoted more attention towards municipal data testing the statements made by interviewees. The third component of the methodological approach made use of comparative analysis allowing for the abstractions made and the formulation of future considerations for planning milieus. In the course of the study, the principles of further analytical strategies, such as discourse or SWOT-analysis, minimised the risk of “*one-dimensional description*” (Evans, 2009, p. 1006) procedure and enabled this research to go beyond the sole examination of two samples.

The results of research demonstrate that the analysed milieus do neither function autonomously nor do they meet the expectations placed in them, since the conceptual ideas of authorities and the expectations of the target group diverge widely. This applies not only to the underlying concept, but also to the delivery and implementation of projects. Over-regulation in combination with disadvantageous micro-economic structures and inconvenient urban design can be named as important reasons for these projects’ underachievement. Considering the urban transformation only, the projects have accomplished tangible successes: new, attractive (mixed-use) quarters have been delivered by means of traditional planning tools, such as zoning and neo-liberal approaches including PPPs and city branding. The processes initiated have been merely focused on economic dynamics, i.e. considering location dynamics of the formal creative economy sector in a specific local setting. No or only marginal



efforts have been dedicated to the social side of milieus. Except for higher education facilities, housing, community building, provision of creative laboratories and urban amenities have played a tangential role. In Barcelona the delivery of the innovative and creative district preceded even the eviction of artists and creative squats paving the ground for the new formal, profit-making creative economy (Pareja, 2013, pers.comm).

For the realisation and implementation of milieu structures, traditional planning tools have proven to be appropriate and even partly necessary. Although neo-liberal planning tools need to be considered with caution, they offer specific advantages. With the flexibility of PPPs, authorities are theoretically able to operate more autonomously and, thus, to respond to changing demands and needs without tedious bureaucratic procedures. Festivalisation manifested its legacy already in numerous case studies all over Europe. City or district branding proved to be necessary for place-making and promoting shared identity especially in newly developed areas. Although branding provides multiple possibilities not only for economic but also social purposes, it is merely applied by means of cluster promotion strategies fostering the projects' status rather as business locations than milieus. Since planning tools are implemented almost exclusively top-down, it shall be pointed to the need and importance of bottom-up approaches for milieu building: *"(...) a mere top-down and centrally organized approach runs the danger of overshooting the local, historically evolved and accumulated knowledge and qualification potential, while a one-dimensional emphasis on a bottom-up approach tends to deny, at least to underestimate, the importance of linking local differences to structural macro tendencies."* (Albrechts, 2005, p. 19). As a consequence more sensitive planning is needed in those projects, which shall, however, not result in a complete denial of the discussed tools. Since top-down strategies are able to deliver the political, urban and economic framework, which either nurtures or hinders bottom-up approaches, other means of (non-)planning need to be involved in community building, forming creative collectives and mounting joint projects. For planning creative milieus, both top-down and bottom-up measures form a complex interplay with specific advantages and disadvantages. The case studies have demonstrated that the emergence of milieus is a tripping and long-winded process which is positively and negatively affected by environmental impacts. As a consequence, only short-term actions with a long-term view build beneficial prerequisites for many years.

Whereas this research has illustrated the development process of milieus and their outcomes, the study also poses new questions for further investigation. Dedicating more time and effort to the analysis of the role of intermediaries and third spaces may provide further insights in the underlying processes of building milieu structures in top-down planned milieus. The identification of network dynamics and the role of key players may also lead to new strategies to compensate lack- and path-dependency of an area. From a geographic and planning point of view, it is worth considering new

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governmental efforts to improve the interplay of bottom-up and top-down developments. Gathering further insights into these matters may help to develop planning strategies that are more sensitive, flexible and adjusted to the needs and demands of creative individuals and their respective industries.

Characters (blanks included): 135,157

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# APPENDIX

*Figure. Interview partner*

CASE STUDY	DATE	NAME	FUNCTION	COMPANY / INSTITUTION
BARCELONA	29 April 2013	Antoni Oliva	Technical Secretary	22@ Network Association
BARCELONA	30 April 2013	Marc Sans	In-City Promotion	Barcelona Activa & Barcelona City Council
BARCELONA	30 April 2013	Xavier Cubeles	Culture and Tourism Laboratory	Barcelona Media
BARCELONA	30 April 2013	Marta Ysern	Business Development	Barcelona Media
BARCELONA	2 May 2013	Prof Montserrat Pareja	Associate Professor	Universitat Barcelona
BARCELONA	3 May 2013	Emi Planas		Mediapro
VIENNA	4 March 2013	Anonymous	Public Relations	Property development company
VIENNA	4 March 2013	Matthias Euler-Roller	Managing Director	Sugarman
VIENNA	5 March 2013	Thomas Berndt	Property and location development	ZiT
VIENNA	5 March 2013	Günter Kloibhofer	Center Management MQM	Sapio Immobilien Management
VIENNA	6 March 2013	Anonymous	Leading position	Local company
VIENNA	7 March 2013	Hohenburger	Self-employed	Self-employed
VIENNA	11 March 2013	Anonymous	-	Service agency

*Source. Illustration by author*

Figure. Interview guideline

The interview guide was modified for each interview partner. The general structure remained the same.

<b>Semi-structured Interviews</b>		
Date:	Duration:	Place:
Interviewpartner:		
Company/Institution:		
Position:		
Publication of name: yes / no		
<p>Presentation of research / Introduction:</p> <p>If one believes the media and press, the creative industries are gaining more and more importance for the local as well for the global economy. Researching the specific behaviour and location patterns of people working in the creative industries, researcher proved that the creative people are preferring locations with specific amenities. I am summarising those amenities by the term “creative milieu” including besides political circumstances, also an open and tolerant environment with a vibrant culture and possibilities for inspiring leisure activities. With global competition over financial capital and qualified employers, municipalities all over the globe and also in Europe begun to artificially create such milieus. In my research I am analysing strategies and efforts that are focusing the generation of a vibrant milieu with all its specific characteristics, most importantly informal and personal networks. Due to your specific competence, I am very happy that you are meeting me.</p>		
<p>Part I: Presentation of Interview partner</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The company: products, assignments and tasks</li> <li>▪ Role of interview partner within the company</li> </ul> <p>Part II: The creative industries in Vienna/Barcelona: its size, dynamics and development on city scale</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The economic structure of creative industries: dominant sectors, historic development, recent and past changes in its composition and influences</li> <li>▪ Threats and opportunities for the creative industries</li> <li>▪ Networks: existence of (multiple) networks, kinds of networks, development of networks and their status for creative and economic production, openness and clustering of networks, presence of common identity</li> <li>▪ Persons/institutions/places/events functioning as network facilitator</li> <li>▪ Governmental support of the creative industries</li> </ul> <p>Part III: The project BMP &amp; 22@ / MQM &amp; Neumarx</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The conceptualisation of the projects: aims, challenges, evaluation of and role during delivery process, strategies to increase networking locally</li> <li>▪ Perceived level of networking among local actors: importance for entrepreneurial success, influence of local actors, developing and managing company, working climate</li> <li>▪ Responsibilities, role and function for and within local networks</li> <li>▪ Evaluation for those projects for creative industries in general and the interview partner in particular: decisive factors to relocate business to such an urban environment, key success factors, deficits of the project regarding services, liveliness, authenticity, transport and accessibility, networks etc.</li> </ul>		

Source. Illustration and concept by author

Figure. Business survey

	CONTACTED COMPANIES IN NUMBERS	RESPONDENTS IN NUMBERS	VALID IN NUMBERS	SURVEY ONLINE	LOCALISATION	CONTACTING
VIENNA	34	15	9	10 June - 5 July 2013	German, English, Spanish	11 June & 2 July 2013
BARCELONA	13	0	0	10 June - 5 July 2013	German, English, Spanish	11 June & 2 July 2013

**1 Language selection**

**Please select a language.**

English  German  Spanish

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**2 Front page**

According to the media and press, the creative industries are gaining more and more importance for the local as well for the global economy. Due to increasing national and international competition municipalities actively began to promote the creative industries locally by providing attractive urban spaces, high-quality urban design, investment in cultural facilities and leisure activities.

The purpose of the research paper is contribute to the analysis of dynamics of the creative industries and their informal networks. The master thesis, written for the 4CITIES UNICA Euromaster in Urban Studies, elaborates likewise on urban transformation processes, location patterns of the creative industries and informal networks in selected case studies in Barcelona (Parc Barcelona Media) and Vienna (Media Quarter Marc).

Results and information obtained from this survey will only be used for the above mentioned research. The data is collected anonymously.

For further information, do not hesitate to contact me via [a1105109@unet.univie.ac.at](mailto:a1105109@unet.univie.ac.at).

Thank you very much for your attention and cooperation.

Vanessa Hünemeyer

**3 Opening Question**

**How did you get to work today?**

Please specify the mode of transportation (car, metro, bike etc.)



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**4 Your daily routine - 1A**

**In the following please indicate whether you (totally) agree or (totally) disagree with the below listed statements.**

Please use the following scale: Totally agree - agree - disagree - totally disagree

	Totally agree	Agree	Disagree	Totally disagree	No answer possible
I often meet with colleagues after work, during lunch or in my free time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I meet my colleagues we often go to places close to our workplace.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can easily reach interesting leisure and cultural facilities from my workplace.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often use leisure and cultural facilities, which are close to my workplace.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Meeting with my colleagues we often chat about problems, solutions and recent trends related to our professional fields.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I experience problems to complete a task at work, I have a lot of befriended colleagues with a broad variety of knowledge, who can help me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In my company the whole team is often meeting for the purpose of brainstorming	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Own ideas are welcomed in my company and are being debated with the whole team.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In my company we use wikis for our projects. This way we can easily distribute our ideas, work progress and information.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am able to decide independently on my working hours and my working location. Thus it also happens that I work late at night or at home, for example.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My work is mainly project based. Therefore I often work in interdisciplinary projects.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In my free time I like to do sports and/or enjoy nature.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In my free time I like to visit cultural events and institutions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy social activities, e.g. cooking with friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Whenever I experience problems at work, I often go for a walk, running or swimming in order to find solutions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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**5 Your daily routine - 1B**

**In the following please evaluate how important the below listed aspects are for you at the workplace and in a second step how satisfied you are with the presence of them at your workplace.**

	Importance					Satisfaction				
	Totally Important	Important	Less Important	Not Important	No answer possible	Totally satisfied	Satisfied	Less satisfied	Not satisfied	No answer possible
Multicultural and socially mixed work environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flexibility and independence at the workplace in regards to working mode, working hours and locations etc.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A close and friendly relationship to colleagues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The possibility to realise own ideas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Spatial proximity to like-minded people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Spatial proximity to cafés, restaurants and leisure facilities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attractive and alternative modes of transportation to get to and from work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cheap rents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Diverse urban surrounding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**6 Your personal networks - 2A**

**How important do you consider personal and informal networks for your career?**

Very important   
  Important   
  Less important   
  Not important

**7 Filter F1: Personal Networks: Important**

v\_32 Your personal networks - How important do you consider personal and informal networks for your career? - Your personal networks - 2A (von Seite 6: Your personal networks - ungleich 4 2A)

**7.1 Your personal networks - 2B**

**How do you care for your network?**

Multiple answers possible

On trade fairs  
 Via internet and social media platforms  
 Business activities outside the office, e.g. networking activities, business lunch  
 Private activities outside the office, e.g. common leisure activities, such as biking or climbing  
 Business activities within the office, e.g. company events, projects, meetings  
 Via email and phone  
 On seminars and further training  
 Other:

**7.2 Your personal networks - 2C**

**I experience a friendship/lot of personal contact with persons from the following positions:**

Multiple answers possible

Principal/Employers (within the field of profession)  
 Contractors (within the field of profession)  
 Suppliers (within the field of profession)  
 Colleagues (within the field of profession)  
 Principal/Employer (outside the field of profession)  
 Contractors (outside the field of profession)  
 Suppliers (outside the field of profession)  
 Educational facilities  
 Business development corporations  
 Creative people, e.g. musicians, artists, writers  
 Political decision makers  
 Neighbourhood initiatives  
 NGOs  
 Other:

**7.3 Your personal networks - 2D**

**My most intensive personal contacts are located in:**

Multiple answers possible

Within the Media Quarter Marx / Parc Barcelona Media  
 Within Neumarx / 22<sup>o</sup> District  
 Within Vienna / Barcelona  
 Within Austria / Spain, but outside Vienna/Barcelona  
 Within Europe  
 Outside Europe, please specify:

**7.4 Importance of CMS - Introduction**

The term 'cluster management' covers either one single actor or a variety of actors engaged in the management and promotion of the economic activities of local Enterprises within a specific spatial entity. To do so, they arrange a variety of events and services, such as human resources training, legal advice, business meetings, trade fairs, breakfasts, etc.

**7.5 Importance of CMS - 3A**

**Have you ever heard of Cluster Management Services (private and/or public) active in your working area?**

Yes   
  No

**7.6 Filter F2: CMS: Yes**

v\_57 Importance of CMS - Have you ever heard of Cluster Management Services (private and/or public) active in your working area? - Importance of CMS - 3A (von Seite 7.5: gleich 1 Importance of CMS - 3A)

**7.6.1 Importance of CMS - 3B**

**These local agencies / initiatives are offering:**

Multiple answers possible.

Collaborative technology and product development  
 Support to acquire third party funding  
 Development of human resources and training  
 Matchmaking and networking with internal and external partners  
 Entrepreneurial support  
 Internationalisation  
 Other:

**7.7 Importance of CMS - 3C**

**In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks.**

Please use the following scale: very important - Important - Less important - Not important

	Very important	Important	Less important	Not important	No answer possible
For my professional career and networking activities communication and knowledge exchange is	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The cluster management service supports my professional career by providing access to market information, which to me is	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My professional career and network activities are strengthened by a joint promotion of the area and local businesses on the (inter) national level by a common trademark and corporate design / joint PR. To me this is	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being supported during the matchmaking process for cooperations by the cluster management, is to me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Getting support for collaborative technology and product development, is for my professional career and personal networks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Getting support for the funding of innovation and start-ups by facilitating access to venture capitalists, sponsorship and business advisors is	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
Getting support for the development of human resources is	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
For my professional career and personal networks, I consider joint trade fairs as	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	
<b>7.8 Filter Communication and Knowledge Exchange</b>						
v_74 For my professional career and networking activities communication and knowledge exchange is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - For my professional career and networking activities communication and knowledge exchange is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 4
and v_74 For my professional career and networking activities communication and knowledge exchange is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - For my professional career and networking activities communication and knowledge exchange is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 5
<b>7.8.1 Communication and Knowledge Exchange</b>						
<b>Previously you considered communication and knowledge exchange important for your professional career. Do you attend events/activities organised by cluster Management services which promote communication and knowledge exchange?</b>						
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No, because I do not know about any offers.	<input type="radio"/> No, because I do not feel the need to participate in specific events/activities.				
<b>7.9 Filter F4: Access to market information</b>						
v_75 The cluster management service supports my professional career by providing access to market information, which to me is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - The cluster management service supports my professional career by providing access to market information, which to me is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 4
and v_75 The cluster management service supports my professional career by providing access to market information, which to me is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - The cluster management service supports my professional career by providing access to market information, which to me is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 5
<b>7.9.1 Access to market information</b>						
<b>Previously you considered access to market information important for your professional career. Does the local cluster management service publish informations about the current market situation on a regular basis?</b>						
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> I do not know.				
<b>7.10 Filter F5: Joint promotion of the area</b>						
v_76 My professional career and network activities are strengthened by a joint promotion of the area and local businesses on the (inter)national level by a common trademark and corporate design / joint PR. To me this is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - My professional career and network activities are strengthened by a joint promotion of the area and local businesses on the (inter)national level by a common trademark and corporate design / joint PR. To me this is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 4
and v_76 My professional career and network activities are strengthened by a joint promotion of the area and local businesses on the (inter)national level by a common trademark and corporate design / joint PR. To me this is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - My professional career and network activities are strengthened by a joint promotion of the area and local businesses on the (inter)national level by a common trademark and corporate design / joint PR. To me this is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 5
<b>7.10.1 Joint promotion of the area</b>						
<b>Previously you considered a joint promotion of the area by e.g. a common trademark important for your network activities. Does the local cluster management service succeed in this aspect?</b>						
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No	<input type="radio"/> I do not know.				
<b>7.11 Filter F7: Matchmaking</b>						
v_78 Being supported during the matchmaking process for cooperations by the cluster management, is to me	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - Being supported during the matchmaking process for cooperations by the cluster management, is to me (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 4
and v_78 Being supported during the matchmaking process for cooperations by the cluster management, is to me	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - Being supported during the matchmaking process for cooperations by the cluster management, is to me (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 5
<b>7.11.1 Matchmaking</b>						
<b>Previously you considered support during the matchmaking process with partners important for your professional career. How does the cluster management service support you during the matchmaking process?</b>						
Multiple answers possible.						
<input type="checkbox"/> Providing up-to-date print/web material						
<input type="checkbox"/> Press releases						
<input type="checkbox"/> Presentation of the cluster on trade fairs						
<input type="checkbox"/> Specific events/workshops to present the cluster, its activities and its members						
<input type="checkbox"/> Tailor-made consultancy for the cluster members						
<input type="checkbox"/> Make contact/bridging gaps between companies						
Other: <input type="text"/>						
<b>7.11.2 Matchmaking II</b>						
<b>Based on those efforts, have you been able to set up new cooperations with the support of the cluster management service?</b>						
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No					
<b>7.12 Filter F8: Collaborative development</b>						
v_79 Getting support for collaborative technology and product development, is for my professional career and personal networks	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - Getting support for collaborative technology and product development, is for my professional career and personal networks (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 4
and v_79 Getting support for collaborative technology and product development, is for my professional career and personal networks	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - Getting support for collaborative technology and product development, is for my professional career and personal networks (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 5
<b>7.12.1 Collaborative development</b>						
<b>Previously you considered support for collaborative technological and product development important for your professional career and network activities. How does the cluster management service support you?</b>						
Multiple answers possible						
<input type="checkbox"/> Organisation of task forces/work groups						
<input type="checkbox"/> Initiation of collaborative projects for cluster participants						
<input type="checkbox"/> Services for joint projects						
<input type="checkbox"/> Support in patents and licensing issues						
Other: <input type="text"/>						
<b>7.12.2 Collaborative development II</b>						
<b>Have you been able to be part of a joint initiative and develop new products based on these service offers?</b>						
<input type="radio"/> Yes	<input type="radio"/> No					
<b>7.13 Filter F9: Funding</b>						
v_80 Getting support for the funding of innovation and start-ups by facilitating access to venture capitalists, sponsorship and business advisors is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - Getting support for the funding of innovation and start-ups by facilitating access to venture capitalists, sponsorship and business advisors is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 4
and v_80 Getting support for the funding of innovation and start-ups by facilitating access to venture capitalists, sponsorship and business advisors is	In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - Getting support for the funding of innovation and start-ups by facilitating access to venture capitalists, sponsorship and business advisors is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)					ungleich 5

**7.13.1 Funding**

Previously you considered getting support for acquiring funding (e.g. for start-ups) important for your professional career and network activities. Does the cluster management service succeed in this aspect?

Yes   
  No   
  I do not know.

---

**7.14 Filter F10: Human resources**

v\_81 Getting support for the development of human resources is    In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. -    ungleich 4  
 Getting support for the development of human resources is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)

v\_81 Getting support for the development of human resources is    In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. -    ungleich 5  
 Getting support for the development of human resources is (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)

**7.14.1 Human resources**

Previously you considered support in the development of your human resources important for your professional career and personal networks. How does the cluster management service support you in this aspect?

Multiple answers possible

Setting up vocational training courses/study courses in cooperation with educational facilities  
 Recruitment of specialists  
 Personal development possibilities  
 Other:

**7.14.2 Human resources II**

Support for recruitment and training offered by the cluster management services are attractive and cover a broad variety.

Very broad and attractive   
  Broad and attractive   
  Less broad and attractive   
  Not broad and attractive   
  No answer possible

---

**7.15 Filter F11: Trade fairs**

v\_82 For my professional career and personal networks, I consider joint trade fairs as    In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - For my professional career and personal networks, I consider joint trade fairs as (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)    ungleich 4

and v\_82 For my professional career and personal networks, I consider joint trade fairs as    In the following please evaluate the below listed activities according to your personal importance for business success and networks. - For my professional career and personal networks, I consider joint trade fairs as (von Seite 7.7: Importance of CMS - 3C)    ungleich 5

**7.15.1 Trade fairs**

Previously you considered local trade fairs important for your professional career and personal networks. Has the local cluster management at least once organised a joint trade fair with all local entrepreneurs in order to promote the cluster?

Yes   
  No   
  I do not know.

**7.15.2 Filter F12: Trade fair - Effectiveness**

v\_144 Trade fairs    Previously you considered local trade fairs important for your professional career and personal networks. Has the local cluster management at least once organised a joint trade fair with all local entrepreneurs in order to promote the cluster? - Trade fairs (von Seite 7.15.1: Trade fairs)    gleich 1

**7.15.2.1 Trade fair - Effectiveness**

As a result I was able to enhance my personal network.

Yes, I agree.   
  No, I disagree.

---

**7.16 Importance of CMS - 3D**

Please evaluate the contribution of specific activities for your networks.

	Very helpful	Helpful	Less helpful	Not helpful	No answer possible
In order to make new social bonds, I consider events (e.g. After-Work-Parties, Business Lunches, Discussion Evenings etc)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In order to make new social bonds, I consider consultancy services (e.g. workshops for start-ups, legal advices etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**7.17 Importance of CMS - 3E**

Please estimate the number of persons that you get to know on any kind of event or activity of a cluster management service and you are still in contact with.

0 persons  
 1-3 persons  
 4-8 persons  
 More than 8 persons

---

**8 Demographic and Occupational Info - 4A**

Your Age:

---

**9 Demographic and Occupational Info - 4B**

Your sex:

Female   
  Male

---

**10 Demographic and Occupational Info - 4C**

What is your highest education?

High-School or similar  
 A-Level or similar  
 Vocational Training or similar  
 Bachelor  
 Master / Diploma  
 Habilitation / PHD  
 No school diploma

---

**11 Demographic and Occupational Info - 4D**

This is written on your business card:

---

**12 Demographic and Occupational Info - 4E**

**Number of employees in the company you are working for:**  
Please do not count freelancers and subcontractors; only consider staff that is employed at the company.

1, only me

2-5

6-10

11-20

21-50

51-200

201-500

501-1.000

1.001-5.000

More than 5.000

---

**13 Demographic and Occupational Info - 4F**

**Your local business cluster:**

Media Quarter  
Marx / Vienna

Parc  
Barcelona  
Media /  
Barcelona

---

**14 Demographic and Occupational Info - 4G**

**Your place of residence:**  
Please indicate your local postal code. In case your place of residence is outside Vienna / Barcelona, please use 00.

---

**15 Comment section**

**In case you have any remarks on the questionnaire or the subject matter, feel free to leave a comment.**

---

**16 Endseite**

This is the end of the questionnaire.  
I thank you very much for your support.  
In case you are interested in the final thesis, please feel free to write me a short notification to my email-address (a1105109@unet.univie.ac.at).  
Kind regards, Vanessa Hünнемeyer

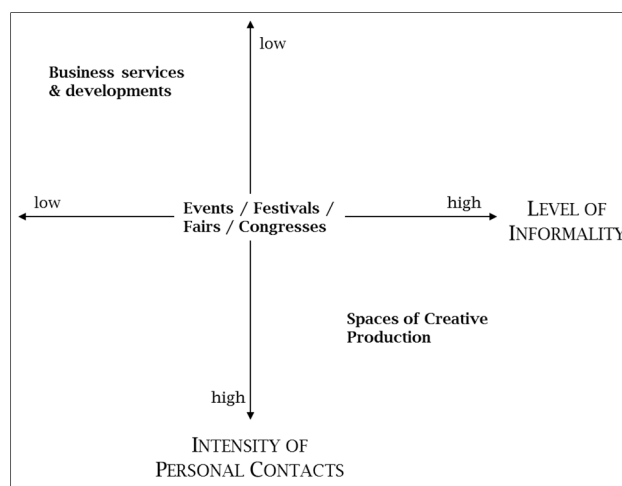
*Source. Illustration and concept by author*

Figure. Comparative analysis: categories, indicators and items

CATEGORY	INDICATOR	ITEMS
PLACE	Natural setting and location	Climate, topography, local specificities, role and function within the urban hierarchy
	Infrastructure and accessibility	Physical accessibility: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ (Inter)national connectivity via highways, airports, trains, ferries</li> <li>▪ Internal connectivity via car, metro, tram, bus, bike, foot</li> </ul>
		Digital accessibility: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Information and communication, fibre-optic networks</li> </ul>
	Ideologic and strategic concept of the project	Target group, purpose and aim, leitmotif, building activities
	Local heritage and built fabric	Conservation and re-use of local heritage, integration of old and newly built structures
	Cultural stimulation	High culture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Museums, theatre, opera and other cultural facilities</li> </ul>
		Low culture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Street art, street-level culture (restaurants, bars, galleries etc.)</li> </ul>
Local meeting and networking places	(Public) places for informal meetings, human interactions and gatherings	
PARTNER-SHIPS	Local economy	Economic structures: distribution of industrial sectors and creative industries, share of SMEs and headquarters (citywide and on case study level)
	Creative intermediaries	Festivals, events, congresses, trade fairs (relevant for the creative industries as a whole and for the industries located in the case study)
		Service agencies (relevant for the creative industries as a whole and for the industries located in the case study)
		Creative production centres (in or in direct proximity to the case study)
PEOPLE	Internationality	Share of foreigners in general and according to nationality and place of birth, development of immigration according to nationality (on city and case study level)
	Integration of foreign population	Development and share of native-foreign marriages
	Openness and tolerance	Development of civil unions and same-sex marriages (in Barcelona), religious beliefs (in Vienna)
	Creative potential	Distribution of population according to age and education
	Networking among local employees	Own survey, results of other research studies

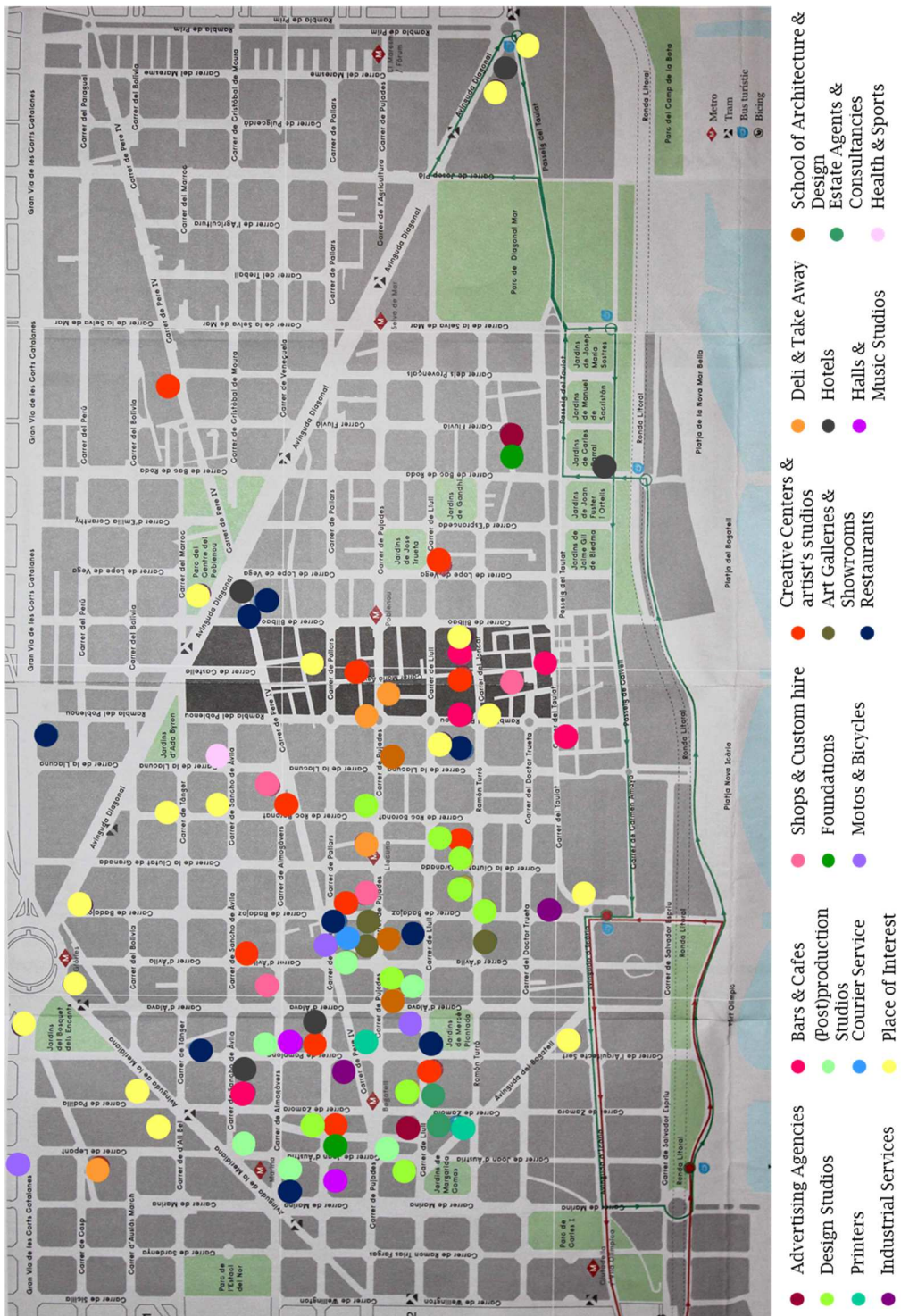
Source. Illustration and concept by author

Figure. Categorisation of creative intermediaries



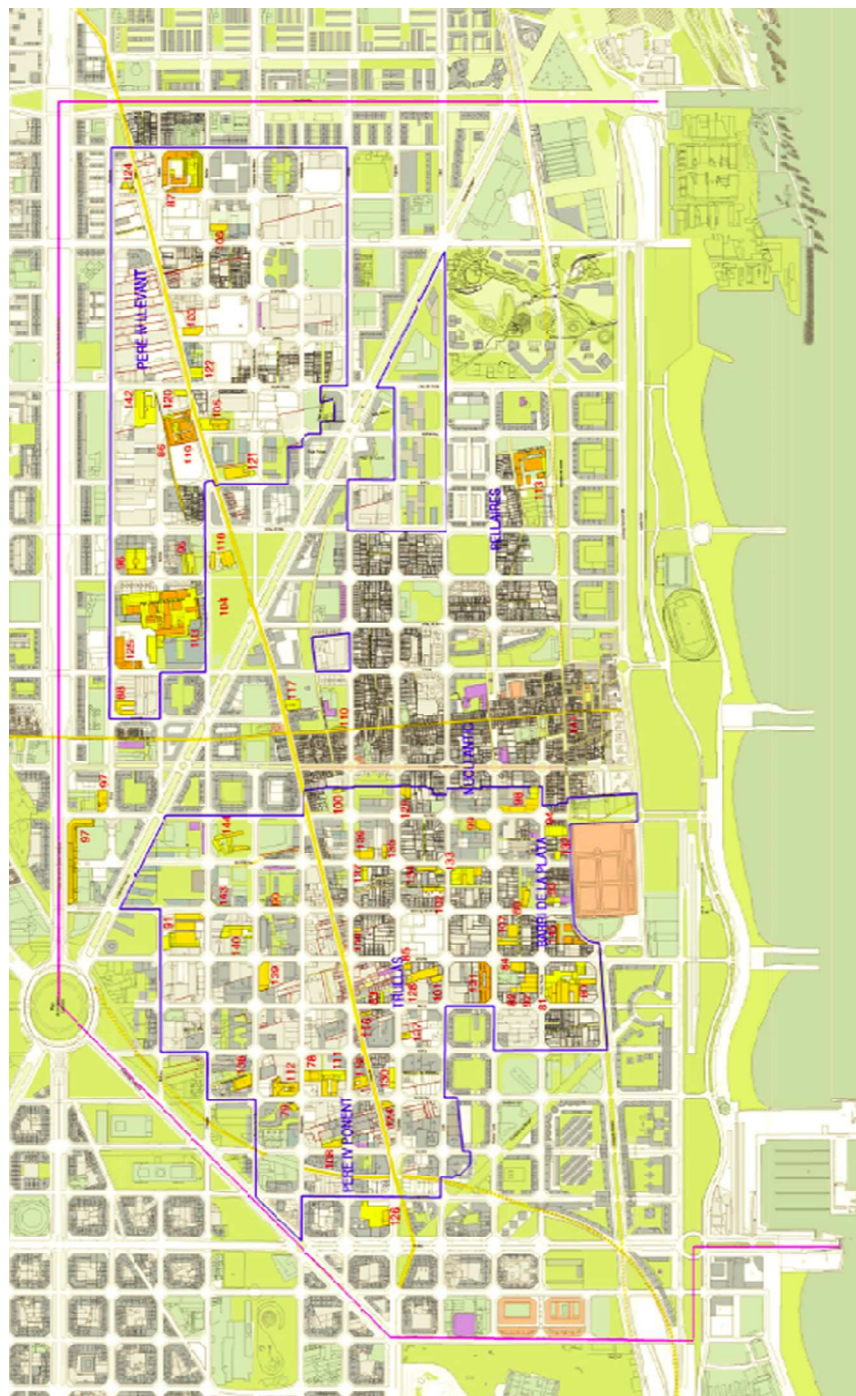
Source. Illustration by author

Map. Facilities in Poblenou



Source. Modified by author according to Poblenou Urban District, 2013

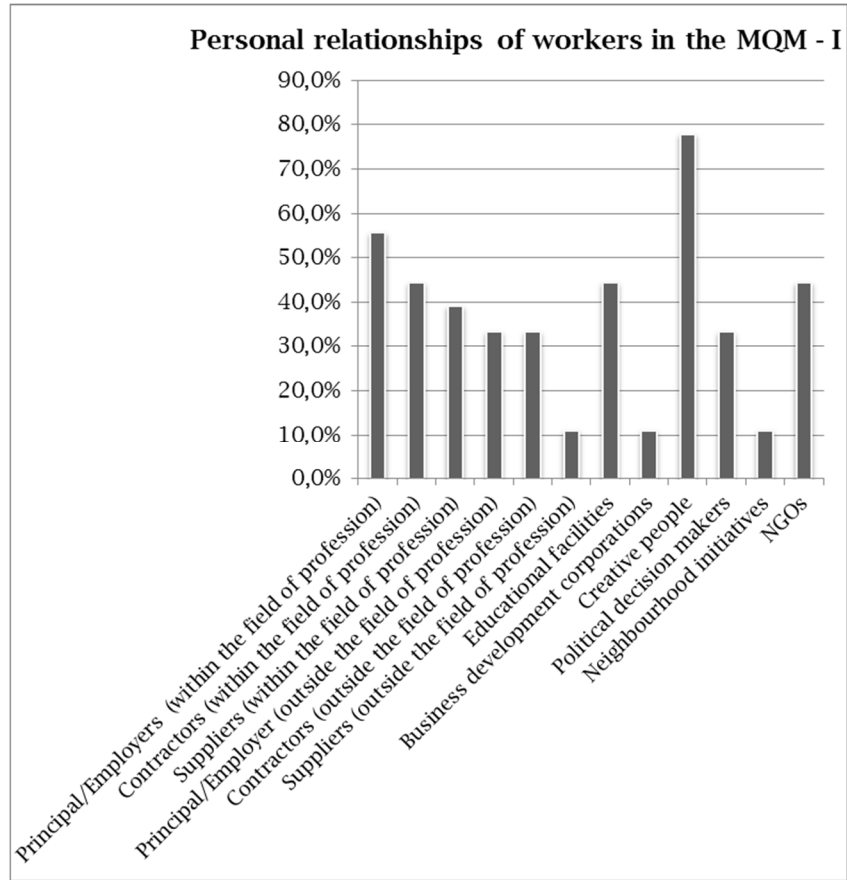
Map. Industrial heritage sites according to level of protection in Poblenou and 22@ District



- Elements Industrials del Poblenou inclosos al catàleg
- Elements no Industrials del Poblenou inclosos al catàleg
- Elements Nivell B
- Elements Nivell C
- Elements Nivell D
- Poblenou
- 22@
- Traces històriques

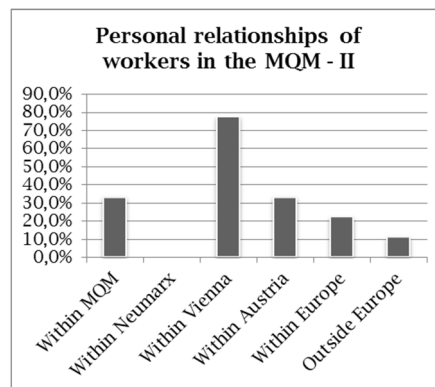
Source. Modified by author according to 22 ARROBA BCN, 2006b

Figure. Personal characteristics of workers in the MQM - I



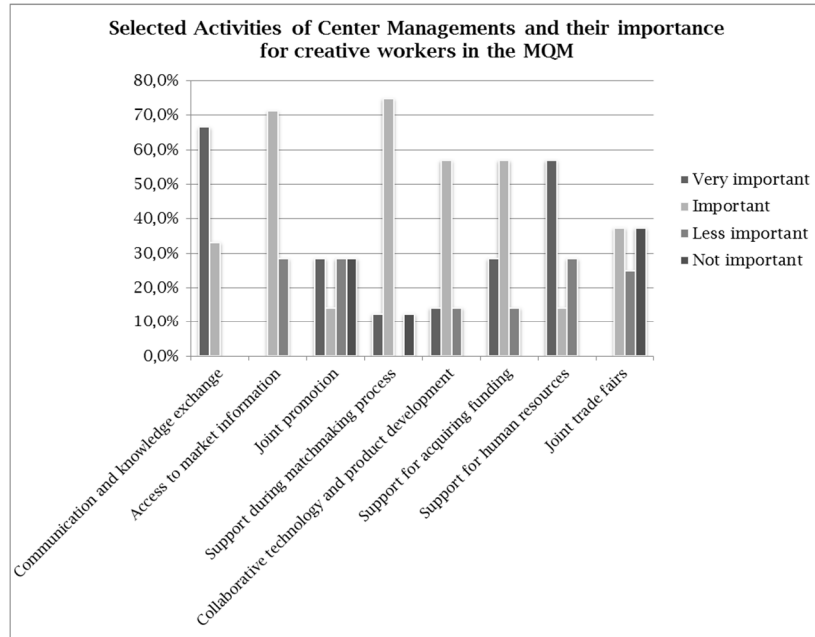
Source. Illustration by author according to business survey, 2013

Figure. Personal characteristics of workers in the MQM - II



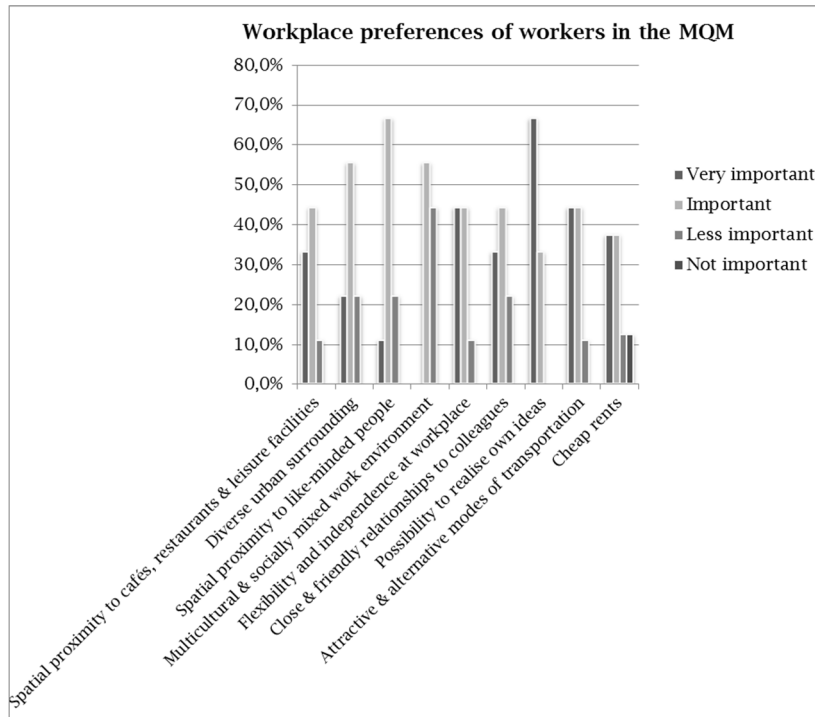
Source. Illustration by author according to business survey, 2013

Figure. Importance of networking service for workers in the MQM



Source. illustration by author according to business survey, 2013

Figure. Workplace preference of workers in the MQM



Source. illustration by author according to business survey, 2013