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Understanding the Politics of Institutionalization in Alternative Cultural Centers

: from Bottom-up to Where?

Joint Master Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Alternative cultural centers are born as a result of bottom-up initiatives of citizens and they often start with great zeal. However, evidence suggests that people who pursue their activities through such centers, inevitably encounter government intervention at some stage or the other. As a result, the centers either end up getting dismissed or institutionalized by the authorities to varying degrees. Focusing on the latter, this thesis primarily seeks to investigate the influence of the institutionalization process on the development of centers. It is done so by exploring the evolution of three different centers, one each in the cities of Copenhagen, Madrid and Vienna, which have faced different phases of institutionalization in their lifetime. This study aims to unravel the significance of these centers and their functions within the cities in which they operate. Using a combination of semi-structured interviews, personal observations and extensive secondary data analysis, the thesis showcases that alternative cultural centers continue to exhibit their embeddedness in the cultural ecosystem of the city, despite significant changes in the initial autonomous principles.

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INTRODUCTION

Alternative cultural centers in cities represent something unfamiliar and exciting: a possibility to deviate from mainstream culture and dominant policy practices. The essence of its existence lies in the fact that it is not born as a project of city councils or the corporate sector; informal actors who are conscious citizens - neither policymakers nor corporations - are the mastermind behind searching for alternatives and creating such centers. Abandoned and unused sites usually serve as a means to materialize the vision of an alternative space, where ideas flourish, socio-political debates take place, and culture is jointly created.

Despite their ideal dissociation with formal bodies, alternative cultural centers and the ideas behind them are getting much attention from a policy point of view. Presently, as such spaces are considered trendy and tend to draw people, locals and tourists alike, they are viewed as a city branding tool or as a way to tackle socio-economic issues (Fraeser, 2016). This idea has led policymakers to devise two main ways of handling alternative spaces, if they decide not to simply undermine or evict the sites. First, in many cases, they legally endorse the already existing alternative cultural centers and/or put them under cultural or urban policy framework. Although such measures prevent the centers from getting evicted, it also creates a way for the authorities to bring in their interests. Second, there is evidence in which the authorities use the original concept behind alternative culture and spaces to create a new project from scratch, renovating underused or abandoned buildings for *alternative* cultural activities, which is commonly framed as cultural regeneration in urban policy discourses. They are not regarded as alternative cultural centers in this thesis since they are initiated as cultural institutions by the government from the very beginning.

The primary reason why we employ the term alternative cultural centers instead of social or socio-cultural centers is based on a general perception of what these centers represent in the present day: we hypothesize that *culture* becomes a predominant feature of the center, hence, the usage of the term alternative cultural centers. Many of such centers in European cities have a profile of being popular as a location for concerts and cultural events (Martinez, 2014). They also have a tendency to focus more on community-based cultural activities which are not guided by profitable and commercial motives (Shaw, 2013). In a broad sense, they could still fulfill the criteria of what constitutes a socio-cultural center and accordingly, we have borrowed critical concepts from the literature on socio-cultural centers with the goal of constructing a working definition of alternative cultural centers. Although all centers share underlying similarities, they all possess a unique nature as explained by Chatterton and Hodkinson (2006, p. 310): 'each space is unique in origin, character and focus reflecting the era and socio-political context in which they were founded, the peculiar mix of philosophical currents, personal histories, local cultures, and even the very physical contours of the building itself.'

Furthermore, reflecting on socio-cultural center scholarship has also reminded us to identify them not only as a space for culture but also as a space for socio-political activities and debates. Overall, the aim of the thesis is to study the centers that have thrived over time with their political and social significance and bottom-up roots. Sandler (2016, p. 90) provides an idea regarding the unit of analysis for this thesis: 'these centers are devoted to alternative art and cultural practices, mostly outside of the pressures of the art market and mainstream entertainment and commerce. However, they are not niches for segregated subcultures; rather, they are integrated into the wider social and cultural life of the city, attracting a diverse public.'

These centers provide space and opportunity for ordinary people to engage in cultural production and also ideally perform social and political functions. They usually start with clear democratic founding principles - being autonomous, non-hierarchical and inclusive. Their institutionalization from governmental authorities to any extent would mean it would create a paradoxical situation for the centers to either face eviction or lose autonomy (Shaw, 2005). Therefore, the idea behind this thesis is to understand how alternative cultural centers handle and survive this tricky situation involving institutionalization and retaining autonomy in order to remain true to its bottom-up roots.

Put simply, we aim to answer the following questions:

1. How have the alternative cultural centers evolved over time in terms of their founding principles, practices of management, activities and stakeholders?
2. To what extent have the centers been institutionalized and in what forms?
3. Who are the stakeholders and how are they associated with the centers?

Linking these questions, we have formulated the main research question of our thesis:

To what extent does institutionalization affect the development of alternative cultural centers?

The following hypotheses have been used to guide the research:

1. The politics of institutionalization is highly dependent on the inclination or openness of the state/city government.
2. The process of institutionalization is not entirely coercive but rather bilateral and it entails a series of negotiations with relevant stakeholders.
3. The process of institutionalization does not necessarily bring about a fundamental change in the autonomous and horizontal principles of the centers.
4. Over the course of the development of the centers, cultural activities start to gain dominance over political and social activities.

CHAPTER 1
FRAMING THE RESEARCH

1.1 Alternative Cultural Centers

1.1.1 What is *alternative*?

According to the Oxford dictionary, the definition of *alternative* deviates from being 'available as another possibility' to being 'related to activities that depart from or challenge traditional norms.' Based on this idea of otherness, it further implies its nonconforming nature to the prevailing social and/or political order. This deviation appears in urban discourses as well. For instance, the former definition is often adopted in urban governance discourse. Collaboration between different sectors is referred to as alternative methods such as public-private partnerships (collaborating with the private sector) or citizen participation in the decision-making process (collaborating with the civil society). On the other hand, citizen-led social movements or urban activism show a varying extent of disagreement on the existing system and practices by seeking to do something atypical thus rendering them an alternative.

Alternative cultural centers are places where unfamiliar things happen. It is where alternative culture is produced and where alternative *l'art de faire*, way of making, is pursued. If the former is about its content, the latter is about its form, that is, a process and/or a system.

Alternative culture

In cultural studies, the term 'alternative culture' is often used interchangeably with subculture or counterculture. According to Hebdige (1979, p.80), subcultures are 'symbolic forms of resistance' in general, which lies in a similar vein as alternative culture. They have also been described as the avant-garde in this regard but implying more radical characteristics toward the politics, particularly when these artists'

movements were coupled with socio-political movements in the 1970s and 1980s. Artists voiced their discontent with highly institutionalized culture or commercialized culture, therefore, searching for a third way of creating and enjoying culture. In short, the ethos of alternative culture lies in opposition to the dominant, mainstream culture and more precisely against the mass-produced, commercialized culture (Shaw, 2013).

The term *alternative culture* can be viewed from two perspectives: alternative culture as the opposite of *mainstream* or *commercial* culture, or alternative culture as *amateur* culture. The former represents different cultural forms, mostly subcultural, that are not counted as institutional culture, whereas the latter refers to any cultural act that is produced by non-professionals. In our thesis, the scope of alternative culture is a combination of both, meaning that it could imply something that is not mainstream and not produced professionally.

Alternative way of making

Alternative cultural centers pursue their own *l'art de faire*, their way of making when organizing and managing the space and the activities. They do not rely on the existing system or norms that is exclusively established and ruled by the state and/or the private sector. They instead search for a third way of tackling social and urban issues. The most distinct character is a bottom-up approach, where citizens actively voice their new ideas and ideals. Particularly when they form a group or an organization, it becomes an important quality together with a democratic and horizontal structure of communication, strong autonomy and self-management (Mudu, 2004).

Michel de Certeau, a French scholar, also shed light on the alternative practices through a concept of strategies and tactics in his book, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984). In de Certeau's (1984, p. 37) view, strategies are the 'rules of the game', through which actors come to define and manage space and tactics are 'the art of the weak,' i.e. 'innumerable practices by means of which users reappropriate the space' (p.xiv-xv). Those who do not have the power to reshape a space according to their own will must instead act within the predefined space that is regulated through strategies. Tactics are therefore characterized by their temporariness and absence of an exact locus as they have to seize the opportunities that open up in the regulated space (de Certeau, 1984). While their effects are usually ephemeral and thus do not bring about a permanent transformation in the space, they are nonetheless fundamental as they can have an effect on the way space is perceived and inhabited. In this regard, tactics can be understood as an alternative way of making, a means of resistance.

1.1.2 Conceptualizing alternative cultural centers

Cultural institutions could be defined and viewed from various perspectives, yet in common understanding, they include spaces such as museums, theaters, galleries, libraries, and cultural centers. Regarding the term *cultural centers*, there are different versions and terminology depending on the context. Nonetheless, what binds them together is the common goal of providing a space for cultural activities and their embeddedness in the local community and the city. They could be top-down municipal initiatives which are carefully planned under policy agendas; Silvanto et al. (2008) conducted a research on large scale municipal cultural centers in the neighborhoods of Helsinki. On a different note, they could also be bottom-up initiatives of local individuals and/or artists. The terminology for such bottom-up cultural spaces differ in various contexts and hence used differently by scholars: cultural brownfields (Andres and Grésillon, 2011), alternative cultural centers (Hudson, Sandberg & Schmauch, 2018; Sandler, 2016; Shaw 2005), indeterminate spaces (Groth and Corjin, 2005), alternative socio-cultural centers (Belando, 2016). In the same vein, they have been analyzed from various angles: gentrification (Shaw, 2005), relevance to policymaking (Andres and Grésillon, 2011; Hudson et al., 2018; Shaw, 2005) and social innovation (Belando, 2016).

Our area of focus is the bottom-up cultural centers. As very often these citizen-led initiatives appear in derelict or abandoned sites, they are accordingly perceived as squatters or occupiers; however, all of such actions are not always a result of squatting movements. Andres and Grésillon (2013, p. 42) state that '... bottom-up cultural projects settled on derelict sites [which] differ from any squatting activities.' A research on the *Haus Schwarzenberg* in Berlin by Sandler (2016, p. 101) also shows that 'they never squatted the building; from the start, they were there as legal tenants, renting most of the available spaces.' Nevertheless, Sandler analyzes many other alternative cultural centers in Berlin such as the *Tacheles*, the *Schokoladen*, and the *KuLe* - which initially started as squats - and puts them under the same category as the *Haus Schwarzenberg* which was not a squat in its initial phase. In like manner, Dee (2018, p. 193) also highlights that many of such initiatives start as squats, yet, 'other forms of occupation also exist depending on local contexts.' Such centers born out of bottom-up initiatives could, therefore, represent both types of spaces: squatted or reclaimed by other tactics. Correspondingly, Groth and Corjin (2005, p. 503) point out that these grassroots initiatives 'may be based on different motives: marginal lifestyles, informal economies, artistic experimentation, a deliberately open transformation of public space allowing for equal access and equal representation or a high degree of social and cultural inclusion.' The motives, although at times very explicit, might not be mutually exclusive all the time.

Alternative cultural centers are mostly based on abandoned vacant spaces in the city where the possibility for cultural activities exists without having to conform to market pressures. According to Shaw (2005, p. 153), 'cheap or free inner-city places are breeding grounds for the alternative scene.' In many cases, these free places are located on abandoned industrial sites, formed as the aftermath of deindustrialization in cities, and have been an area of interest for both formal regeneration projects and informal projects of citizens (Andres & Grésllion, 2013). In relation to the latter, these sites 'provide opportunities for new, transitional reappropriations that are assumed by civil or *informal* actors coming from outside the official, institutionalized domain of urban planning and urban politics' (Groth & Corjin, 2005, p. 506, original highlight) and serve as incubators for new cultural possibilities and ideas.

Abandoned sites are seen as opportunities not only to break free from mainstream cultural products disseminated by the market and state, but in many cases also to involve in political and social debates and 'claiming their right to centrality and recognition' (Shaw, 2005, p. 153) and signifying a resistance to the predominant institutional practices (Groth & Corjin, 2005). In conclusion, the reappropriation of such sites for cultural purposes by actors, not bounded by institutional formality, is the result of a utopian vision of the space (Hudson et al., 2018). The space in question - abandoned and mostly old buildings - thus serves both as a means and goal in the process of realizing that vision: it serves as a means because it provides an opportunity to visualize the idea for its use; it serves as a goal in a sense that if the vision were to be materialized, the ultimate aim would be to retain the site so as to keep the vision alive. In addition to serving their purpose as a means and goal, such spaces are not 'pre-programmed [and] evidently have an inviting, liberating effect on new users' (Christiaanse, 2012, p. 15), thus creating a positive atmosphere around the space.

Alternative cultural activities and events indubitably form a major part of centers. Despite having a strong cultural foothold, their social and political impact cannot be ignored; their birth as bottom-up initiative represents a political act in itself and the fact that their existence and activities impact the social fabric of the neighborhood and city underlines their social footprint. Although we have adopted the terminology *alternative cultural centers*, it cannot be ignored that such centers, in general, represent the tripartite alliance of *the cultural, political* and *social.* The cultural, social and political aspects within the center exist at the same time to a varying extent depending on the focus of space and the context in which it operates. The area of research on alternative cultural centers, therefore, often overlaps with that on socio-cultural centers. In order to understand the roots of alternative cultural centers, a reflection of literature on socio-cultural centers has been conducted in the following section.

1.2 The Socio-cultural Center

The birth of socio-cultural centers is closely linked to urban movements from the 1970s. Castell, in *The City and the Grassroots* (1983, p. xvi) defined urban movements as 'collective actions consciously aimed at the transformation of the social interests and values embedded in the forms and functions of a historically given city.' He proposes that all urban movements are born out of three basic goals, although the intensity could greatly vary: (1) an environment for 'improved collective consumption' focusing on the use value of the city and not the exchange value; (2) an active search for 'cultural identity and autonomous culture'; (3) demand for 'decentralized power and urban self-management' (p. 320). Following this logic, urban movements can vary in scale, their overall goal, and effect. This definition of urban movement is generically used as a lens to analyze 'any and all citizen action irrespective of its actual (or potential) effects' both in reality and in the academia, which encompasses the movements' actual as well as potential effects (Pickavance, 2003, p. 103). Building on this description, socio-cultural centers represent a spatial outcome of urban movements.

Socio-cultural centers have been widely studied as a space for resistance; the defining features associated with such centers are, 'anarchy and autonomy' (Chatterton & Hodkinson, 2006; Dee, 2018), 'squatters' movement' (Martinez, 2007), 'a challenge to neoliberalism' (Mudu, 2004), 'de-commodified urban spaces' (Montagna, 2006). As these centers aim to deviate from or confront the dominant system and practices, they represent a form of activism or 'place-based resistance' (Hudson et al., 2018, p. 170). Chatterton (2010, p. 1206) identifies socio-cultural centers as 'semi-permanent, self-governing, not-for-profit place-bounded political projects which promote grassroots activism, politics and culture … [and] act as a base for activists whilst also focus on reaching out to the local community and responding to local issues and needs.'

The etymology of the term *socio-cultural center* itself denotes the level of significance it puts on the *social* - the desire to engage with people, to form relationships, to facilitate encounters, but all having a political impact (Chatterton, 2010; Mudu, 2004). Although the foundation of such centers is undoubtedly linked to their political and social motives, culture also forms a central part of their working agenda in most cases. Finchett-Maddock (2010, p. 38) sheds light on the cultural and political sides of the centers: 'organized within the centers are cultural and political activities, such as amateur theater, poetry slams, art installations, alongside public meetings, training and skill-sharing such as dance classes, bike repair sessions and IT lessons.' Chatterton (2010, p. 1221) also highlights the fact that social centers have tried to be 'professional

and welcoming' by incorporating cultural aspects. Therefore, a socio-cultural center symbolizes a place where social, political and cultural activities converge.

The emergence of socio-cultural centers in European countries could be regarded as the fruits of urban social movements against the 'enclosure of everyday life' (Chatterton & Hodkinson, 2006, p. 305). For instance, in the 1970s when there was a shift from the Fordist regime, Italy went through an extreme economic restructuring. Social centers were established by aware citizens in vacant buildings for social, political, and cultural events, most of which were squatted to raise voice against ongoing reforms. In the span of 15 years, a total of 250 centers were in action in the country symbolizing the start of social centers movement and formation of a network among the centers that were frequented by 'activists, sympathizers and occasional visitors' (Mudu, 2004, p. 927). The centers in the Italian context became an exemplary *social* space that presented possibilities for 'political initiatives, cultural events, and community services' (Montagna, 2006, p. 296).

The Italian social center movements had a direct influence in the UK (Chatterton, 2010; Finchett-Maddock, 2010). Similar to those in Italy, they 'represent an open challenge to [this] neo-liberal process by taking the buildings emptied or abandoned by capital and regenerating them back into non-commercial places for politics, meetings and entertainment' (Chatterton & Hodkinson, 2006, p. 310). They also act as 'political meeting spaces or *hubs* where activists and other concerned citizens can have political exchanges, network, and organize to further the social struggle against capitalism' (Chatterton & Hodkinson, 2006, p. 310, original highlight), and spaces where activists could form a network among themselves (Lacey, 2005).

Socio-cultural centers have distinct characteristics regarding their organization model. For its organization model, self-production, self-management and self-financing are the terms that define its working mechanism (Mudu, 2004; Chatterton and Hodkinson, 2006; Finchett-Maddock, 2010). The production of activities that takes place in the center is envisioned and conducted by the people associated with and committed to the center, practicing *self-production*. *Self-management* refers to the autonomous nature of the center; the space is managed independently by people with horizontal principles without the involvement of government authorities. *Self-financing* denotes the ideal financial model of the center which is self-sustaining based on unpaid volunteer workers; it usually relies on selling drinks and foods during its events which help to sustain the space and activities. The scholars have identified that these *self* principles are a political act in itself as they demonstrate that *alternative* ways to do things are possible.

1.3 Culture in Policy Paradigms

Culture has evolved as a powerful urban policy tool over the years; cultural planning has claims of solving social issues and stimulating economic growth in cities (Uitermark, 2004). As cities are trying to find an edge that can equip them with a unique character, there is evidence of alternative cultural spaces being integrated into policies. This section investigates the relevance of alternative cultural centers in cultural and urban policymaking. The discussion starts with a general inquiry into overall cultural and urban policy paradigm shifts and then moves onto find literature that has explored the integration of alternative cultural spaces in policies.

1.3.1 Understanding the timeline: urban cultural policy

In the 1980s, the role of culture in policy discourse was mostly to assure the dissemination and recognition of culture for the general public (Mitchell, 2003). There were important phases in the 1980s: first, in the latter half of the 80s, the public funding for arts and culture in many European countries were kept intact and even increasing; second, there was a structural reform, the goal of which was to shift the 'decision making powers from the central government to regional and local level,' signifying a form of decentralization (Mitchell, 2003, p. 444). This resulted in not only a change of decision making structures and actors but also 'involved conflicts and new types of power concentration' (Mitchell, 2003, p. 445). The idea of utilizing arts and culture as a tool for economic growth also started to gain momentum in the 80s; the economic growth rationale became 'an integral part of cultural policy discourse … in the EU and its member states in the 1990s' (Mitchell, 2003, p. 446).

A similar view is expressed by Bianchini and Parkinson (1994); when facing economic restructuring to post-Fordism in the 1970s, many cities had to develop strategies to deal with economic and social problems (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1994). Under those circumstances, cultural policy entered the main arena of urban policy and since then, the economic value of culture has been more acknowledged and emphasized, which resulted in using culture as a planning tool (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1994). The most prominent phenomenon is culture-led urban regeneration strategy, which aims at boosting derelict industrial cities by constructing grand cultural institutions as in the example of Bilbao in Spain and its flagship structure, the Guggenheim museum. Following the transition of culture in urban policymaking, it could be said that there has been a shift of policy discourse from traditional cultural policy towards culture-led city planning, hence blurring the distinction between cultural and urban policy to some

extent. The function of cultural policy has been consolidated with 'the strategy for economic development, city marketing and physical regeneration' (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1994, p. 2).

The proliferation of culture in policymaking could also be seen at supra-national scale; there has been a strong push from the international bodies such as the OECD and EU to normalize and integrate cultural policy in urban agenda. A line from an OECD (2005, p. 3, original highlight) publication on culture reads: 'they [cultural policies] are a driving force for economic growth, are at the core of *glocal* competitiveness in the knowledge society and shape territories and local economies in a way which is both innovative and creative.' In addition, the introduction of the European Capital of Culture by the European Union since 1985 has strengthened the role of culture in today's city planning. UN Urban Agenda also puts culture at the forefront as a source of sustainable development of cities (UN New Urban Agenda, 2017).

More recently, there has been an addition to the urban cultural discourse – the creative city (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2004). With the success of Richard Florida's (2004) narrative of 'creative city and creative class,' there has been increasing popularity regarding the practice of incorporating *creativity* and *culture* in urban policies in order to attract more of what Florida calls the *creative class*. According to him, cities are to compete with each other in order to attract the creative class not only for its economic growth but also for cultural vitality. As a result, providing cultural infrastructure becomes more significant, which solidifies the idea of culture-led urban regeneration strategies. Many voices have been raised in the academia regarding skepticism on the economic and social goals that such culture and creativity-led policies promise to achieve (Colomb, 2011; Novy and Colomb, 2013; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2011). As Shaw (2013, p. 339) points out, the hard infrastructure, such as convention centers, luxury hotels, offices districts and galleries, should be established first in order to attract the global elite, which in the end 'look[s] rather like neoliberal development-as-usual.' She further shows that culture-oriented strategies do not actually benefit local artists as their financial situation has worsened over the past 20 years in Melbourne (Shaw, 2013, p. 339). It implies a contradiction that such policies could rather lead to the disintegration of local culture scenes and the standardization of global elite culture (Shaw, 2013).

Cities actively seek an added value which could differentiate them with other cities and as a consequence, a great number of cities strive to create a unique brand and 'appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and to consume in' (Harvey, 1989, p. 9). City Branding, on the one hand, involves projecting an image of the city as a global cultural icon (Evans, 2003) and on the other hand, it is expected to incorporate an authentic and local element that makes the city unique and non-artificial (Rius Ulldemolins, 2014). This also demonstrates the shift in branding from

heritage sites. In the words of Pratt (2011, p. 125), as the heritages are fixed and limited in the contemporary city, culture comes into play as the 'next best thing … to create a new spectacle; and hence the phenomenon of cultural-icon branding has come into being,' which also creates a big hype in the media. Zukin (1996, p. 2) also voices similar concerns and emphasizes the use of culture as a tool to stand out in the urban competition: '… city boosters increasingly compete for tourist dollars and financial investments by bolstering the city's image as a center of cultural innovation, including restaurants, avant-garde performances, and architectural design.' Therefore, the scope of city branding ranges from publicizing the existing heritage sites and creating spectacles to focusing on *non-artificial* authentic cultures.

1.3.2 Alternative cultural spaces in policymaking

From the discussion above, it can be understood that culture-led urban regeneration policies and practices are defining features of cities in the present times as an attempt to win a spot on a 'notional international cultural map' (Miles, 2005, p. 893). Acknowledging the dominance of large mainstream cultural products and spectacles, the question to be addressed then is: *are alternative cultural spaces relevant from the perspective of policymaking?* Alternative cultural spaces could have direct policy relevance from two angles: firstly, the significance of their spatial existence and secondly, their cultural content.

Evidence of policy relevance regarding alternative cultural spaces could be drawn from the research by various scholars. Andres and Grésllion (2013) analyze the integration of bottom-up organic initiatives developed in abandoned sites within the framework of urban cultural policy over a course of ten years. The terminology they use to represent bottom-up cultural initiatives is *cultural brownfield*. Based on the empirical data generated by the scholars in their study sites in the cities of Marseille, Berlin and Lausanne, they demonstrate how urban cultural policies are molded to fit and integrate each type of cultural brownfield. One explicit example of policy relevance they highlighted in their research was by the Ministry of Culture in France where the ministry was involved in assessing the 'importance of alternative cultural experiences [stressing] their role for cultural policy' (Andres & Grésllion, 2013, p. 42). Their empirical results confirm that the new cultural paradigm has resulted in the integration of cultural brownfields as a 'mainstream object for cultural and urban policies … and they have also been inserted into urban planning strategies of redevelopment and regeneration' (Andres & Grésllion, 2013, p. 58).

Another research by Kate Shaw (2005) analyses cities with a strong alternative cultural scene and corresponding policies to *protect* the place of alternative culture and the culture they produce. She rather presents a very positive outlook stating that 'an inclusive and more equitable practice that encourages the evolution of alternative cultures' is possible (Shaw, 2005, p. 167). A similar view is expressed by Groth and Corjin (2005, p. 523); they visualize and hope for a progressive system where 'cities allow for the clustering of creativity and to consider the agendas emerging from (such) informal complexes.' Besides the evidence of cities involving in already existing spaces of alternative culture, there is also evidence where new projects are carefully planned and developed by the authorities, incorporating the idea behind the alternative culture and spaces.

1.4 Institutionalization

Whenever there is a social movement, a certain extent of governmental intervention arises in an attempt to control and normalize the unexpected situation. This process is commonly referred to as institutionalization, meaning that 'a movement is channeled into a stable pattern based on formalized rules and laws,' through which sanctions are imposed and conventional methods replace disruption according to Hans Pruijt (2003, p. 134). Legalization, formalization or normalization are referred to as different forms of institutionalization although they are interchangeably used.

Institutionalization is regarded as a major threat to urban social movements. Castells (1983) criticized the process of institutionalization as a shift towards conformity, as a phase between protest and reform, for deadening original identity or ideal behind the movements. This criticism has been widely accepted in social movements theory as well as protest wave theory. For instance, Sidney Tarrow (1998, p. 202) writes that 'the power in movement … disperses rapidly and passes inexorably into more institutional forms,' relating institutionalization to the final phase of the movements.

Particularly with regard to squatting movements, the issue of legalization becomes a central part of the discussion. Squatting movements are often said to exhibit a paradoxical situation involving institutionalization and displacement (Shaw, 2005), that is, in order to survive, they cannot avoid legalization and therefore should eventually tolerate state intervention. Activists, as well as critiques, often prefer displacement to institutionalization based on the belief that such activities would appear elsewhere in the future (Shaw, 2005, p.154).

Contrary to the criticism of the institutionalization, many research have demonstrated that it does not necessarily lead to the end of movements, hence objecting to the idea of the state always being the enemy (Sandercock, 1998). Incorporating this progressive outlook regarding institutionalization, Pruijt (2003) proposes to distinguish three types of institutionalization, particularly in regard to squatting but they are also applicable to urban movements in general:

1. *Terminal institutionalization*, which implies that 'convention replaces disruption in the repertoire of action' and therefore, is 'associated with the end of the movement' (p. 136-138).
2. *Flexible institutionalization*, which leads 'conventional tactics [to] complement disruptive ones,' and 'entails opportunities for effective [movements]' (p.136-138).
3. *Co-optation*, which means that 'co-opting organization embraces certain ideas from the movement' and redefine problems as far as 'solving them does not endanger its own stability.' Activist groups are 'transformed into service providers' and cooperate with the state, which is 'more likely under a market-oriented urban regime' (p.136-138).

From analyzing the squatting movements of Amsterdam and New York City, Pruijt (2003) finds the relationship between different types of urban regimes and institutionalization. For example, in Amsterdam, where the urban regime is more regulative and the tradition of the welfare state regime is strong, legalization of squatting movements did not lead to the loss of identity and disruptive and conventional tactics coexisted. On the contrary, in New York City, where a market-oriented regime is predominant, the legalization process took a form of terminal institutionalization.

In like manner, Martinez (2014) also visualizes different *types* of institutionalization for squats or urban movements in general. His research on squatted social centers in Madrid demonstrates that the processes of legalization and negotiations are important phases of the institutionalization process. He is also of the view that 'legalizations of squats are just one of the possible institutional relationships' and they do not necessarily entail state assimilation hindering the squatters' autonomy and radicality (p. 647). Based on Pruijt's framework, he suggests three types of institutionalization. Martinez explains *Type I institutionalization* (p. 650) as 'integration of the movement into state institutions,' which corresponds to Pruijt's concept of terminal institutionalization. It is characterized by 'the total disappearance of the movement and the regular adoption of institutional means by its former members' (Martinez, 2013, p. 652). *Type II institutionalization* is 'the consolidation of new institutions by social movements' which has more social and cultural significance as it brings marginal issues into mainstream

politics, as in the example of feminist and pacifist movements (p. 652). Lastly, *Type III institutionalization* is referred to as 'the creation of anomalous institutions' (p. 653). According to Martinez, these institutions pose a 'countercultural opposition to dominant institutions' and exhibiting a 'high degree of autonomy to express themselves,' therefore, it is different from *Type II* in the sense that it does not seek for any forms of legalization or legitimation but seek to build a social institution where state is not involved in any way and where they can practice their own norms (p. 653). Hence, *Type II* and *III* have commonalities with flexible institutionalization when compared to Prujit's framework.

The idea of flexible institutionalization has been actively adopted by other researchers. For instance, Dee (2018) analyzes a squatted social center, the Cowley Club in Brighton, England. He seeks to answer if its institutionalization, which was buying the occupied building in this case, led to the alteration of its political autonomy. He concludes that the center 'has certainly institutionalized over time, but in a flexible fashion with activists making the choice to compromise on some factors so as to maintain a radical, autonomous identity' and therefore, that institutionalization can be regarded 'as a context-dependent phenomenon,' which 'does not necessarily mean the death of activism' (Dee, 2018, p.201). In a similar vein, Shaw (2005, p. 154) also defines institutionalization as a process of 'place and activities … becoming an extension of the body conferring the protection—the city council, heritage authority or other state agency,' not simply 'becoming an institution under the control and management of the state.' Following this logic, her definition does not imply an overwhelming power of institutionalization to constrain the originality, therefore raising a new possibility of the process. While studying alternative cultural sites in Berlin, Amsterdam and Melbourne, Shaw (2005) reaffirms that nuanced institutionalization is possible, maintaining a diversity of uses and meanings of the cultures. And for a successful collaboration, she emphasizes the role of the authorities to be aware of unwanted consequences and leaving free space for such activities.

The varying definitions on institutionalization results from the complexity of current society. The world has changed much since the 1970s when active and often radical social movements proliferated and when Castell expressed his concern on the threat of institutionalization. Nowadays there are more border-crossing approaches among manifold stakeholders and it becomes more difficult to make a clear-cut distinction. Pruijt (2004) also supports this idea with the case of Amsterdam's squatting movements, that is, circumstances have changed since the 1980s and as a result, so does opportunity structure, particularly under the creative city hegemony. He comes to the conclusion that 'flexibility and diversity may well be characteristics that have enabled the squatters' movement to survive under increasingly adverse conditions' (Pruijt, 2004, p. 704).

Pruijt (2003)	Martinez (2013)
Terminal Institutionalization	Type I. Integration of the movement into state institutions
Flexible Institutionalization	Type II. Consolidation of new institutions by social movements
	Type III. Creation of anomalous institutions
Co-optation	

Figure 1. Types of institutionalization (Source: Own elaboration)

CHAPTER 2
OPERATIONALIZING THE CONCEPT OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

'Institutionalization is not simply present or absent; it exists in different degrees.'
(Daenekindt and Roose, 2015, p. 521)

As dealt in the earlier section, institutionalization is a very generic term that encompasses numerous elements. Scholars have theorized *patterns* or *types* of institutionalization. Based on such types, we have attempted to locate the critical *phases* of institutionalization that impact the status of alternative cultural centers. Different phases of institutionalization appear in a different time period of the centers. Two major elements of the phases would be the legal status and financial status. Legal status shows if a center is under legal protection. It could be materialized through the lease contract, concession of the space, or incorporation into a governmental body. And financial status shows its economic dependency on the system: if the center is subsidized for its utilities, activities and maintenance and/or renovation.

Before going into details, it should be noted that what we have identified here does not include all forms of institutionalization but rather an operationalized version for the research. Hence, there could be more phases to be discovered and added.

Legal status

Once the occupied space obtains any kind of legal right, it can be regarded as the most common form of institutionalization as the site starts operating under the legal framework. The legal status is directly related to their existence and continuation. Especially when they start as an illegal occupation, they need to secure their space in order to avoid eviction. Therefore, the most fundamental legal right is the right to stay, which is the legalization of the space. It largely takes three forms:

i. Lease contract

Both parties can sign a lease contract that should be renewed after a certain period. The contract can simply be a contractual agreement for using the site for free of charge or for a certain rental fee. For example, in Amsterdam, the lease contract without any payment has been a very common practice for squatters' movements, which already peaked in the 1980s after the 1971 Supreme Court decision to provide them with legal protection (Pruijt, 2003). More recently in 2002, the Municipality of Amsterdam bought two-hundred squatted buildings and made rent-free contracts with the activists (Duivenvoorden, 2000). There are also emerging cases of self-managed social centers that operate with a rental contract with a monthly payment (Martinez, 2007).

ii. Concession

The space can be conceded to the activists based on mutual agreement. It gives much more freedom to the centers as they have less threat of eviction although the agreement could be breached by any of the two parties.

iii. Integration into a governmental body

In the previous cases, legalization results in the consolidation of the center with legal protection, whereas in the third case, the center is incorporated as a governmental body. It is assimilated according to the dominant patterns within the state, directly leading to terminal institutionalization (Martinez, 2014).

Financial Status

How do alternative cultural centers manage their finances in order to fund their activities?
Addressing this question reveals another possible step of institutionalization. As the centers are essentially self-managed and run on the time and efforts of its members, often the lack of funds is compensated by selling food and drinks in the center's bar at events. In other words, people in the center need to be resourceful in gathering funds for sustaining the center. Once the center is legalized in any form, subsidies and grants are provided by the authorities. This provision of public funding is, therefore, a step of institutionalization that usually occurs after legalization. In general, subsidies can take three forms:

i. Handling of utility expenses

Financial aid can be provided for utility expenses, such as heating, electricity, and water supply. If the authorities cover such utilities, this could be a form of a public grant.

ii. Support for activities

The subsidy and grant can be offered to centers for continuing their activities mainly with an intention to support amateur culture or social activities that cater for the neighborhood and/or the city.

iii. Maintenance and/or renovation of the building

As most of the alternative cultural centers are located in an old and abandoned site, there is often an issue of maintenance or renovation of the building. It becomes an important agenda for negotiation between the center and the government as it usually costs a large amount of money and is directly linked to the center's continuation.

During the various steps of institutionalization as discussed above, negotiations are inevitable. Negotiation is 'one type of *strategic interaction* between activists and authorities' according to Martinez (2014, p.655, original highlight). The will of activists to negotiate or not becomes critical when they face eviction. Even if they obtained their legal right to stay from the beginning, they could face the possibility of further institutionalization or eviction. Furthermore, negotiating for financial aid and collaborating with other institutions is a common affair that all cultural institutions go through; negotiation is an omnipresent affair in the centers.

To conclude, we tried to uncover the possible courses of action that takes place once the center faces the authorities. This helps to simplify the complex process of institutionalization, allowing us to analyze the alternative cultural centers in an objective manner. We have referred to the literature produced by scholars such as Pruijt and Martinez, from which we have extracted critical phases of institutionalization. While the factors associated with institutionalization as elaborated above will help to understand the *phases* of institutionalization, the concepts introduced by the scholars would assist in understanding the *types* of institutionalization. Based on this, we will attempt to analyse case studies in order to show various forms and levels of institutionalization.

Status	Phase	Actions
Legal	Legalization	1) Lease Contract 2) Concession 3) Integration into a governmental body
Financial	Provision of financial aid	1) Handling of utility expenses 2) Subsidy for activities 3) Maintenance and/or renovation of the building

Figure 2. General phases of institutionalization process (Source: Own elaboration)

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

In the words of Bhattacharjee (2012, p. 40), the case research approach 'has the ability to discover a wide variety of social, cultural, and political factors potentially related to the phenomenon of interest that may not be known in advance.' We believe that analyzing alternative cultural centers stand as a gateway through which we could identify a myriad of social, cultural and political interconnections within the city. The idea is to employ multiple case study analysis with the objective of tracing the evolution of three alternative cultural centers in different cities, and how they function in the present day in relation to the politics of institutionalization. We consider institutionalization as the main pillar to investigate the course of actions and the narratives constructed around the centers. The external narrative of the centers is researched through news article analysis. Regarding the internal narrative, we mainly rely upon data that are collected in two ways: (1) conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews/informal conversations with relevant stakeholders; (2) reviewing the recent activities/events. Furthermore, we visited the centers multiple times to participate in events and carry out personal observations. In summary, the crux of the research is the qualitative data that are collected over the course of our fieldwork.

3.1 Criteria for site selection

The study sites chosen for this thesis are located in the city of Copenhagen, Madrid, and Vienna. One of the primary reasons for choosing the cases in these cities is because we had the privilege to live in the respective cities for a considerable period of time for our master's program, hence allowing us to understand the urban context in which they operate. Being on-site allowed us to make relevant contacts and schedule interviews in an efficient way.

Our three cases were carefully selected according to the definition of alternative cultural centers as discussed in the literature review. Firstly, we focus on their present-day operation; they are the sites of alternative cultural production and function with a certain degree of autonomy, both in terms of organization and the content that they produce. The second criteria is in relation to their inception; tracing back to the history when the centers laid the first stone, they started as a bottom-up initiative with a clear set of social, cultural and political motives, regardless of whether they were an occupied site or not.

The centers that fulfill these predefined criteria are Huset-KBH (Huset hereinafter) in Copenhagen, CSA La Tabacalera (Tabacalera hereinafter) in Madrid, and Das WUK (WUK hereinafter) in Vienna. All of them started as bottom-up initiatives or as a result of the collective efforts of local individuals in the neighborhood. In the present times, they hold a status of prominent cultural houses in their respective cities and operate on the principle of autonomy, although at a varying degree. They are the sites of alternative culture *for all* and hold a wide range of cultural events and offerings to the public. Besides the stated criteria for the site selection, there is one more essential feature that they share - their spatial significance. All of these sites were set up in old and empty industrial buildings that could be regarded as industrial heritage.

3.2 Empirical study and data collection

For the empirical study, a simple three-step process has been followed. As a first step, we tried to construct a profile of the city in which the centers are based. It is of paramount importance to understand the history and socio-political context of the city, which could reveal the conditions that made the inception of alternative cultural centers possible.

The second step is the detailed narration of the study site based on its past, present and future situation. It is in this part where we tackled aspects such as primary ideas, actors, activities, financial model, organization and management, negotiation and process of institutionalization. In order to answer them, the following four methods are employed.

i. Semi-structured interviews

The type of interviewees consulted for the research is clustered into three groups: (1) experts, (2) direct stakeholders and (3) users/visitors. For the stakeholders and users, an interview guideline was constructed and utilized for semi-structured interviews, allowing interviewees to express their thoughts and opinions freely (see Appendix 2). The interviews were conducted between January 2019 and July 2019. The interviews helped us to understand the motivation to keep up the centers, the negotiation and coordination process between different groups, power relations, and the expectations in the future.

ii. Personal observations

We visited the centers multiple times, participated in events and engaged with numerous informal conversations with individuals whom we encountered in the centers. Conducting personal observations has helped us to create our own narrative on the centers.

iii. Analysis of news articles

We collected online news articles that covered alternative cultural centers as the main or secondary topic (see Appendix 5). Such articles provide a rich source of data for conducting qualitative analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013) and understanding the external narratives that are constructed around the centers. In addition, these articles guided us to answer why certain things were covered and what their implications were. A qualitative analysis of the collected articles helped us to grasp the overall view of the media regarding the centers. We touched upon factors such as topics/stories covered, and how the centers are being framed.

Regarding the approach to media analysis, firstly we selected a few major national newspapers in Austria, Denmark and Spain and searched for articles relevant to the centers. Besides the major newspapers, a few other magazines were also considered. The search terms that we used were mainly the name of the respective centers. We did not select a time frame as the frame of reference was narrow. For WUK and Huset, the earliest pieces of news articles that could be retrieved online dates back to 2004 and 1997 respectively. For Tabacalera, we could find news articles from the early 2010s.

iv. Review of activities and events

An important part of our research is inspecting the type of activities that take place in the centers. Such activities would mainly include the events that the centers host, the services they offer, or simply the general happenings inside the center. The idea behind scanning the activities is based on a generic supposition that the happenings in the centers elicit the reason why the centers exist. Put simply, they would help to understand what functions the centers perform for the people, the neighborhood, and the city. By inquiring into their activities, we have been able to carve an image of what the centers mostly do in the present times. In order to investigate the type of activities, we relied mostly on the centers' social media accounts (Facebook and Twitter for Tabacalera), their official websites, and pamphlets/brochures that they publish online. A time frame was selected for data collection and analysis as 6 months, from January 2019 to June 2019 with an exception to Tabacalera. In comparison to Huset and WUK, Tabacalera is smaller in terms of the volume of activities they carry out, therefore, the time-frame is set as 2 years from July 2017 to June 2019. We selected a common list of components for all three centers while collecting the data relevant to their activities and events (see Appendix 6). The components selected are the main actor/organizer, type of event/activity, date (month/year), the amount charged, and frequency of the event.

For the third and final step, we made an analysis regarding the institutionalization of the centers. To wrap up, the first step looks at the macro aspect i.e. the city; the second step undertakes a microanalysis of the cultural centers; and the final step juxtaposes the macro and micro parts by keeping institutionalization as a focal point.

3.3 Data interpretation: Guideline for analysis

The study of each site is organized in three steps as discussed previously. In this section, we have developed the steps in further detail. For a consistent analysis of all three study sites, we tried to construct an analytical guideline incorporating all the elements deemed necessary to answer the research question. As the cases are based in different urban contexts, what constitutes a pressing issue for one case study might not be a significant issue for the other case. Therefore, the guideline as visualized in Figure 3, is a navigation tool to make sure that all the fundamental aspects are covered, rather than a rigid framework.

1. Profile of the city
    - Socio-political context
    - Cultural policy in general / relevant cultural policies for the case study
    - Socio-cultural movements
2. Case study analysis
    - [General background] Location / Neighborhood
    - [PAST] Birth of the center: founding principles and objectives
    - [PRESENT]
        - Present status: Objectives / Physical state / Management practices / Financial Structure and budget plan / Relevant cultural policy
        - Review of activities and events
        - Stakeholders map
        - Analysis of news articles
    - [FUTURE] Our own contemplation on specific issues
3. Story of institutionalization
    - Critical moments of institutionalization

Figure 3. Guideline for analysis (Source: Own elaboration)

3.4 Limitations

During the course of our fieldwork, we encountered a few hurdles. Firstly, we could not conduct interviews with representatives from relevant authorities. Apart from a concise email correspondence with Rodrigo de la Fuente Puebla from the Sub-directorate General for the Promotion of Fine Arts under the Ministry of Culture and Sports in Spain, we could not reach officials in Vienna and Copenhagen. While making initial contacts through email for scheduling appointments, we were being referred back to the people who work in the centers instead. Despite multiple follow-up emails, we could not meet the officials during our limited fieldwork period. Secondly, the language barrier might have hindered the process of conducting fully meaningful interviews. Lastly, for user/visitor interviews, we adopted convenience sampling technique based on our initial observation that the centers are visited by a diverse range of individuals and due to the lack of time. Our sample, therefore, is not necessarily representative.

CHAPTER 4
CASE STUDY 1 // Huset-KBH

4.1 City Profile: Copenhagen

Socio-political context

Since the 1990s, Copenhagen's population and its urban region have been growing rapidly. New large-scale urban developments have greatly changed the urban landscape for the last few decades (Bayliss, 2007). As a capital city, it is also a growth engine of the country: it has transformed from an industrial economy to a service and knowledge economy, *successfully* as it claims (Bayliss, 2007). Particularly, 23% of the total working population is involved in the arts/entertainment industry (Danmarks Statistik, 2018).

Culture has been regarded as a means of economic growth in Denmark for a long time; culture-led urban development has been dominant in local cultural policies since the 1980s (Bayliss, 2007). Particularly the arrival of *creativity* upon the urban agenda has abruptly altered the policy framework. Culture and creativity have become central for the purpose of marketing the city, securing investments and stimulating cultural industries (Bayliss, 2007).

As a Scandinavian country, its welfare regime is famous for universal benefits at very generous levels. Esping-Anderson (1991, p. 27) defines this model as the social democratic welfare regime, 'in which the principles of universalism and de-commodification of social rights are extended also to the new middle classes.' Such principles are executed by offering an equal level of services and benefits, and full-

employment guarantee to all citizens. The *invasion* of neoliberalism, however, did not leave out Denmark; during the previous liberal governments, the Danish welfare system underwent reforms and has faced successive budget cuts in the interest of economic growth (Henley, 2019).

Social movements, squatting and social centers

Denmark has a long tradition of self-organized bottom-up initiatives, be it the farmers' cooperative, *Folkehøjskole* [Folk high school], or collective housing (Peter, personal communication, 17 January 2019). Another distinct tradition is *huset* [house] or *kulturhus* [cultural house], which are usually born out of citizens, ranging from youth, students, women, sexual minorities, punks, raising their voice for a need of space a (Jack, personal communication, 14 June 2019).[1] More recently, there is evidence of retaliation for large-scale urban developments. For instance, when an old industrial neighborhood of Islands Brygge was undergoing an urban renewal, the neighborhood reclaimed the area for public spaces and a cultural center. As a result, a green space (*Havneparken*) was arranged on the waterfront and Kulturhuset Islands Brygge was established in 2001, soon incorporated under the municipality.

Urban movements accompanied by squats have been prevalent since the 1960s particularly with the strong presence of the youth (Mikkelsen & Karpantschoff, 2001). Squatting movements were mainly divided into two streams: the *Slumstormer* [Slum Storms] in the 1960s-70s; the *BZ* in the 1980s and early-1990s (Susie, personal communication, 15 July 2019). Between 1963 and 2014, there were 55 squats, including 7 non-squatted social centers in the municipality of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg (Steiger, 2018). In the seemingly *impeccable* Danish welfare society, young people seeking for 'how to live their own lives' felt overlooked and squatting was a way to create alternatives for themselves with a claim of 'free us from our parents!' in the 1960s (Katsiaficas, 2006, p. 182). One of the most prominent groups was the *Ny Samfund* [New Society] established in 1968 and its experimental summer camp, *Thylejren*[2] in Jutland, where youths gathered to debate and exchange political ideas. It was they who materialized the *Projekt Hus* and *Huset i Magstræde* with a leading role of Peter Duelund. A number of self-governed social centers or squats were influenced later on, particularly the Freetown Christiania in 1971, where many activists from Huset arrived when it was closed after a year of operation.

[1] For instance, there is Folkets Hus [People's house], UngdomsHuset [Youth house], StudenterHuset [Students house], BøsseHuset [Gay house], KvarterHuset [Neighborhood house], BørnekulturHuset [Children's culture house], etc.

[2] It was highly influenced by the Isle of Wight festival and the Woodstock and has remained since with permanent residents and visitors nowadays (Retrieved from: http://www.kulturarv.dk/1001fortaellinger/da_DK/thylejren/stories/thylejren-1970 (20 July 2019)

The Freetown Christiania started as a squat at a former army base in 1971 and was legalized in 1976 despite constant threats of eviction. Since then it has been an autonomous community with nearly 1000 inhabitants, being a 'focal point for a cultural-political opposition in Denmark' (Katsiaficas, 2006, p. 181). Its impact on social movements in Denmark is indisputable as many political activists started from Christiania; it has functioned as a refuge for evicted squatters, where they can prepare the next plan of action (Katsiaficas, 2006).

Social movements grew continuously throughout the 1980s against the top-down regeneration schemes. New squatting groups appeared consequently, one of which was *Initiv-gruppen*. As their initial petition to the city council for a youth house was rejected, they started squatting. They were soon evicted but transformed into a group called the *BZ* [Occupation Brigade], who led the squatting scene of Copenhagen in the 1980s. *Ungdomshuset* was its first achievement in 1982, which became one of the most famous and largest squatted social centers. Nonetheless, as the authorities decided to sell the building, it was eventually evicted in March 2007 after a series of peaceful demonstrations as well as violent riots and street fights. They continued public march every week for more than a year and as a result, the city government ceded another space in the outer city, yet the demolition of the original building left a void in the grassroots movement (Steiger, 2011). Even nowadays every year on the day of eviction, there is a rally of people with the slogan, *Gone but not forgotten*, which implies its strong embeddedness in people's memory.

The BZ movement in general faded away around 1994 as state repression on squatting got increasingly harsh and some of the activists became so violent that they lost public support and momentum (Mikkelsen & Karpantschoff, 2001). Despite the unfavorable situation for squatting, the movement has yet remained alive through reclaiming public spaces and abandoned buildings. A recent example is the *Bolsjefabrikken* [Candy Factory] in Nordvest. Instead of squatting, the activists drafted a proposal and negotiated directly with the private owner, and they were granted permission to use the empty premises temporarily in 2006.

Social movements and citizens' initiatives have been ceaseless in Copenhagen for varying aspirations. Further, the new generation of youth did not stop vocalizing their needs or seeking new opportunities, while adapting to the globalized and neoliberal world. Still at the same time, squatting in particular has been subject to strong state oppression and thus almost all squats have either been evicted or institutionalized (Steiger, 2011). Once institutionalization takes action, they are mostly incorporated by

the city government - as in the example of many Kulturhuset all around the city - and integrated into the cultural policy.

Danish cultural policy[3]

Understanding the impact of cultural policy on the development of alternative cultural centers in Copenhagen necessitates a general grasp of the country's cultural policy. Present-day Danish cultural policy is guided by the concept of experience and creative economy to some extent (Bayliss, 2007), hence putting an emphasis on 'economic potential of arts and culture as artifacts in the global experience economy and the formation of new creative industries and social classes' (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2012, p. 4).

Cultural policy of Denmark, before reaching its present status, has undergone a gradual but a substantial change since the 1960s; according to Bayliss (2004, p. 6) the change could be traced by looking at the rationale behind their implementation: from 'an initial humanistic/idealistic ideals' to 'a more sociological rationale', and more recently to 'a more instrumental rationale'. These chronological phases in the Danish cultural policy paradigm have been termed as the democratization of culture (1960s), cultural democracy (1970s), social and economic instrumentalization (1980s), and finally economic and national revitalization (2000s). Democratization of culture was first conceptualized in the 1960s, characterized by an active role of the government to ensure equal dissemination of arts and culture to everyone in the form of subsidized tickets and awareness programs. This framework eventually faced criticism as it only considered the highbrow and elitist culture and assumed that everyone enjoys the same form of culture. Consequently, the concept of cultural democracy appeared to fill this void in the 1970s by striving to achieve collective participation in cultural creation, respecting local and regional cultural diversity and recognizing amateur arts and subcultures (Duelund, 2001). It was actively adopted as a policy framework by the then Minister of Culture, Bodil Koch, who had a very progressive vision on culture and fully supported the establishment of Huset. The political environment was very favorable for bottom-up cultural initiatives to flourish. Through decentralization, power and responsibilities were vested to the local municipalities, which resulted in the opening of local community centers and support for amateur arts (Skot-Hansen, 2002).

[3] This chapter is based on the information from the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe: Denmark* (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2012) unless cited otherwise.

Management of *culture* in Copenhagen

As Huset presently runs under the City of Copenhagen, this section seeks to identify the relevant municipal bodies that are responsible for its management. A total of 28 cultural houses[4] in Copenhagen are directly handled by the Culture and Leisure Committee. This administrative department is one of the six departments of the city council that manages the public libraries, sports facilities, culture houses, museums, theaters, and is also in charge of citizen services, tourist information and subsidies for theaters, music and festivals.

The cultural institutions and facilities that fall under the Committee are clustered into four district units: Kultur Ø [east], Kultur N [north], Kultur S [south] and Kultur V [west]. The entire city has been divided into four groups and each cluster is managed by a dedicated manager who has formed a "special community" of various cultural facilities (Sara, personal communication, 23 January 2019). The primary reason for this grouping is stated as the cultural development of each district by fostering a community of collaboration within and among the cultural institutions in the clusters (The City of Copenhagen Government, 2018).

4.2 History of Huset

Huset-KBH has always been simply referred to as *Huset* or *Huset i Magstræde*, highlighting its location on one of the oldest streets in downtown Copenhagen. Its centrality has always been significant in attracting diverse groups of people. Huset is regarded as the first cultural house in Denmark and has influenced the establishment of other cultural centers all over the country. Its history of 50 years can be divided largely into three periods, marked by its distinct administrative positions.

1968 - 1971: Projekt Hus

The *New Society* that was born out of 68 movement in Denmark needed "a place to meet and work politically [and] culturally with theater [and] music," not an office nor a small community space just to converse (Peter).[5] Its members, particularly Peter Duelund as a

[4] Københavns Kommune [Municipality of Copenhagen]: https://www.kk.dk/artikel/kulturhuse-i-koebenhavn

[5] There were other political groups who shared the space together with the New Society: for instance, Krim [Crimea], ABCinema, Unge Pædagoger [Young Pedagogues], Individ og Samfund samt Club 27 [Individual and Society and Club 27] (Københavns Stadsarkiv, n.d.).

chairman, spotted an empty spice warehouse of Sthyr & Kjær and created a proposal for redeveloping it as a multicultural space with the help of other socio-cultural organizations and professional architects (Peter). They delivered the proposal to the then Prime Minister which was followed by negotiations with both state and city authorities after two years. The then Minister of Culture played a significant role in buying the building from the company and conceding it to the activists. That was the birth of *Projekt Hus* in April 1970.

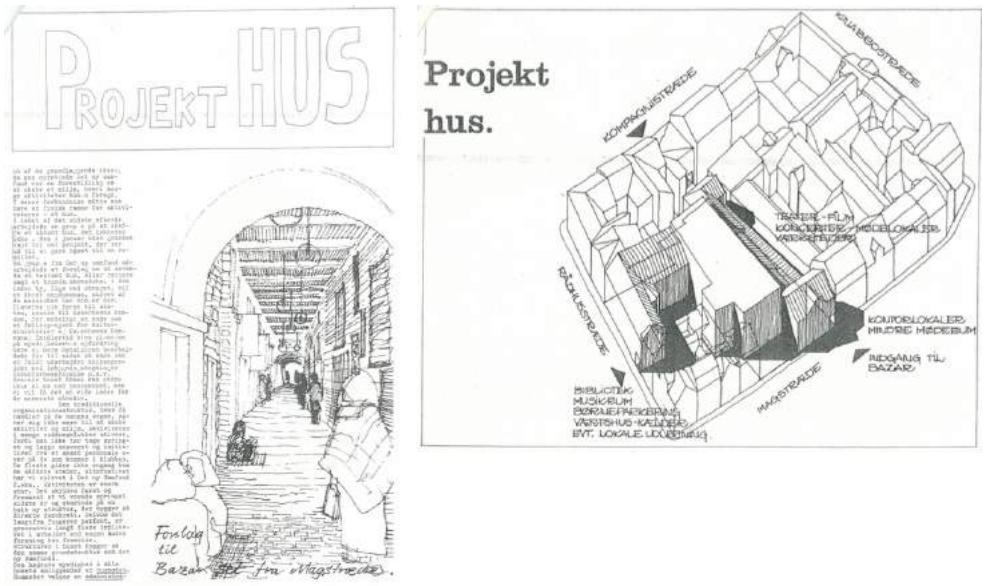

Figure 4. The original proposal of Projekt Hus (Source: Peter Duelund)

It followed many principles from the New Society, most significantly, direct democracy; the activists envisioned Huset being "a democratic square like in Athens, where people could meet, discuss together and develop as democratic cities" (Peter). Furthermore, the original idea was also "a combination of social, political and cultural purposes" in order to address social inequality and to change the everyday culture of the citizens (Peter). There were three distinct groups at that time: non-smoking serious youth with ideas and vision, artists and musicians, and the *Flower children*, i.e. hippies. Among various political groups (that shared the space with the center), there was the first ecological collective in Denmark, a collective for rehabilitating ex-convicts and a library/bookstore named Journal Center (Henrik, personal communication, June 25, 2019) as well as a bodega, where they sold drinks to raise funds.

Such history, especially its origin, is often confused with or romanticized as a hippie occupying movement[6], yet Peter affirms that it was not the case but a result of proposals and negotiations, a "very democratic … [and] well-disciplined process." He

[6] Even Huset's website writes that it was occupied in the beginning.

refers to the success of negotiation as an example “how democracy can be used if it goes the right way” and emphasized that it does not necessarily have to be protests or some kind of movements to be an unconventional initiative to gain momentum (Lydpol, 2016).

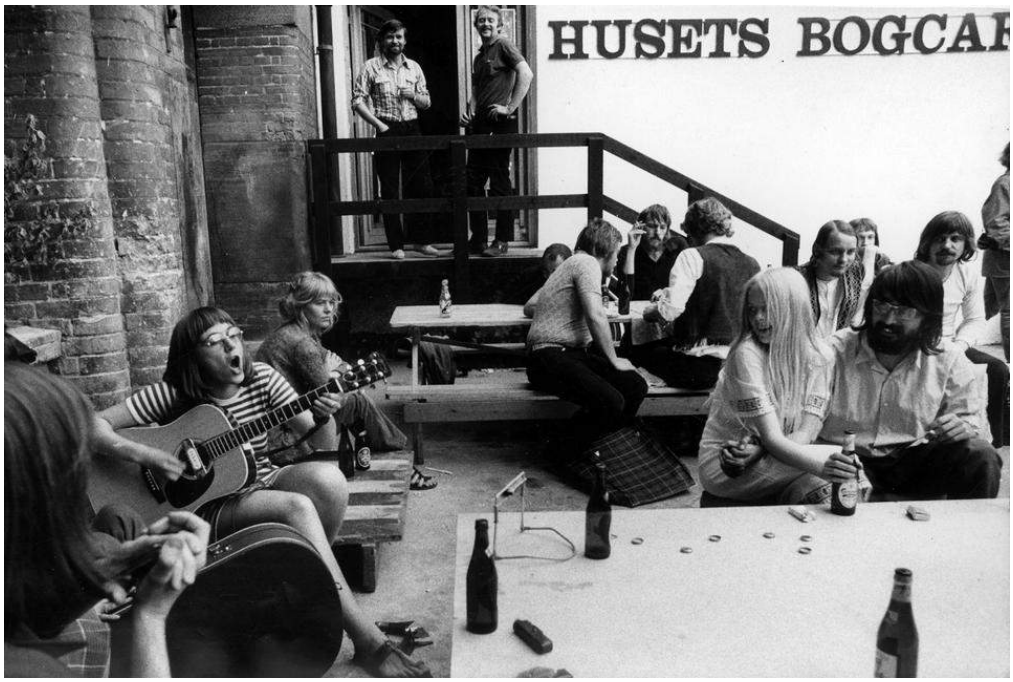

Figure 5. Husets Bogcafe in the 1970s (Source: Morten Langkilde and Knud Jacobsen, politiken.dk)

1972 - 2004: Ups and Downs under the Københavns Ungdoms Center (KUC)

As Huset was fully open to the public, its basement started to attract the homeless and drug addicts. The problem with drug use and trade[7] went out of control despite all the efforts, which eventually turned into a social problem that exposed the vulnerability of the city (Vesterberg, 2010). The members admitted that they could no longer continue the self-management and consequently handed the responsibility over to the municipality. Peter recalled that since everything was new to them, so all the first steps of error were committed (Vesterberg, 2010). The lack of local anchorage made Huset harder to be sustained as people were not as loyal to Huset compared to cultural centers in their neighborhood that appeared after Huset (Vesterberg, 2010).

Huset reopened in 1972 under the city administration: it was taken over by a self-governing institution, *Københavns Ungdoms Center* [Copenhagen Youth Center, KUC]. The institution was created by the municipality in 1968 and operated many other

[7] There gathered about 500-600 drug addicts initially spread across the city (Vesterberg, 2010).

cultural spaces in the city. Under KUC, Huset was run by administrative employees with the chief and department managers (Københavns Stadsarkiv, n.d.). Some of the initial members who were hired had an uneasy relationship with the KUC (Holleufer, 1997). For instance, René Claustad, a leader of Huset in the 1980s, said that he was 'fired' for numerous times owing to controversies with the KUC; he described its culture as *Thick men's culture*, which is only about eating, drinking and traveling, whereas he represented the other culture, namely, the activists who did not care about the KUC (Ditlev & Davidsen Nielsen, 2000). Despite such tension throughout the 1970s-80s under the KUC, Huset was still actively in operation with a cinema, a restaurant, a bar, concert venues for diverse music genres.

However, due to its large number of affiliates, the KUC's Huset management could not comply with the new generation's interests (Holleufer, 1997). Moreover, some of the collectives had to cease or move out to elsewhere in the early-1990s because of economic difficulties: for instance, Husets Teater that was founded in 1975 relocated to Vesterbro in 1995. The entire center underwent multiple closing and reopening also due to the renovation (Københavns Stadsarkiv). As a result, at the end of the decade, Huset was almost *dead* with few activities happening and a noticeable decrease of visitors: it stayed as an "empty shell" (Holleufer, 1997). Meanwhile, the KUC was embroiled in a huge scandal in 2000 when it was discovered that the executive members had appropriated public funds for themselves. KUC was consequently closed down in the following year and Huset was completely incorporated under the City of Copenhagen in 2001.

2004 - present: Revival as Huset-KBH

Huset faced a critical moment in 2004 when the municipality considered selling the center. There were council members arguing that Huset did not represent youth culture any longer as too little things were happening, therefore its budget could be utilized for other cultural centers; whereas, other members affirmed that the Council should try to fulfill the cultural needs of citizens and not pursue cultural policy from profitable perspective (Hyldgaard Hansen, 2004a). As a reaction, Huset organized activities to show its liveliness and to suggest its future. All kinds of artists including those with big names, showed their support for Huset (Hyldgaard Hansen, 2004b). Together with the mass support and the petition, Huset evaded the shut-down but it still did not have concrete plans for its operation. Particularly regarding the newly vacated space[8], the Culture and Leisure Committee could not deliver promptly a program guideline nor a

[8] The cultural administration of the City of Copenhagen moved out from Huset and about 840m^2 was vacated.

financial scheme, therefore 'paralyzing' the work of Huset and leaving the members frustrated (Hyldgaard Hansen, 2004c; 2004d).

With the new manager Susanne Docherty, Huset reorganized the spaces and programs, built new music rehearsal rooms and initiated a tendering process, all of which started to attract more people, including the new generation of youth (Lerche, 2005; Kjaer, 2006). It successfully celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2010 with a 40-hour party and is currently preparing celebrations for its 50th year in 2020.

4.3 Present-day Huset

The history of Huset from an autonomous, alternative cultural center to a "municipal cultural institution" (Niklas, personal communication, 24 July 2019) presents a complex narrative. Unlike its earlier days when it was *Huset i Magstræde* which was mainly using the building on the Magstræde street (Henrik), it presently occupies the entire complex of four buildings with the courtyard. Despite its administrative position under the municipality, our empirical data provide hints that it still has some degree of independence with regards to its management and programs (Christina, personal communication, 17 January 2019; Sara, personal communication, 23 January 2019; Niklas).

Figure 6. The courtyard of Huset (Source: Huset-KBH Facebook)

Objectives and functions

Huset's website[9] claims that the center is a platform for creating cultural experiences *with* and *for* the people of Copenhagen; the introductory description of the center as a place with "unique experiences for everyone … [with] friendly prices, even for the tightest wallets, and … many free events" elucidates the objective of the center, which is primarily ensuring cultural participation and non-commercial culture. Huset holds about 1500 events annually (music, performance, theater, cinema, etc.). Further, it operates on three main themes under the motto of DIT:KBH (discussed in a later section): 'frivillighed, samskabelse og kulturelt iværksætteri' [volunteerism, collaboration and cultural entrepreneurialism]. *Volunteerism* was a recent experiment from 2013 to be economic and to reinforce a sense of community, which has so far "created a buzz, good environment and international atmosphere" (Christina); *cultural entrepreneurialism* is about partnering with cultural entrepreneurs such as Bastard cafe and supporting business ideas that are in line with Huset's image; *collaboration/co-creation* is about having different parties together so that culture is not imposed upon but rather created together (Christina; Sara). According to Sara:

> "it is mostly associations or networks who will do things in this house. For example, the cinema is a little network and the way that they have created that special network is just to give them the rooms and say you can do it; you are better than us to make this cinema so you can have this room but we have to do something together as a house."

Huset's main function appears as a venue for cultural events (Niklas). The user interviews also support this perception: nine out of ten interviewees came to Huset for board games or theater/concerts/movie events. That being said, the cultural aspect is only one identity of Huset, as Sara mentioned, "behind the scene there is people who are arranging things," indicating hundreds of collective members and volunteers. It unveils another function of Huset that is fostering a sense of community among diverse groups of the center: Huset volunteers, cinema community, board game community, theater community to name a few. Particularly with the senior's club SIB, Huset invites not only the youth but also other age groups. Further, the collectives have a mutualistic relationship: for instance, the SIB organizes a film-making club with the help of Husets Biograf and visitors bring food freely from *evoo* to the Bastard Cafe. Talerum has organized events in partnership with *evoo*. This connectivity and togetherness is what keeps Huset consolidated and vibrant as a whole. It resonates with another primary

[9] Information on Huset: https://huset-kbh.dk/om-huset/husets-organisering/

reason for visiting Huset, that people appreciate its diversity, friendliness and cozy atmosphere which encourages social interactions with others.

Based on these observations, Huset thus operates as a cultural space where culture is *produced* and *enjoyed*. It also functions, albeit not to an equal extent, as a social space that facilitates a sense of togetherness among stakeholders and visitors alike.

Organization and management practices

Huset has an administrative body that primarily comprises municipal employees. This body is in charge of the overall management such as strategies and planning, space management, financial system and budget allocation, volunteer coordination, PR, coordination with other parties (collectives/artists/business partners), and ticket booking. The team rather works as a facilitator to ensure that the new ideas are heard and realized (Christina; Sara). Its organizational structure is quite flat, where everyone has a say (Christina), yet not completely flat; the center is a public institution after all and the employees need to comply with specific standards of civil servant as Sara pointed out: "... as I am an employee of the commune, I can't be political ... ." To overcome this limitation to some extent, there has been a recent attempt to create an informal platform where external stakeholders send their members to talk and discuss issues that needs addressing so that the administrative team can communicate accordingly to the higher level politicians (Sara).

The volunteers also play a pivotal role in Huset. One group of volunteers work for Huset as a whole and is responsible for catering services and managing events; Another group works exclusively for the Husets Biograf, which forms an extensive network (Samuel, personal communication, 8 July 2019). The cinema has about 50 active volunteers[10] doing a variety of tasks from selling tickets and drinks to designing movie posters (Jack, personal communication, June 14, 2019). These groups of volunteers collaborate and work together at many times.

Relationship with the municipality

As discussed earlier, Huset has to respect a hierarchical system as it needs to abide by the municipality's decisions. Municipal decisions have an immense impact on the way Huset is managed (Sara; Christina; Niklas). Over the past years, Huset's administration department has had different management "regimes" (Jack), which could be regarded as the consequence of top-down decisions. Christina, who has been working at Huset for

[10] There are more than 150 volunteers on the list.

over six years, opined that the Huset is subject to a continuous flow of new requirements from the municipality and constant changes in organization structure, which she thinks demotivate people working in the center. For instance, the municipality has asked Huset to redesign its website and logo consistent with other municipal culture houses. These requirements mostly for "organization and bureaucratic processes" have the power to alter the regular functioning of the center and are not always easy to keep up with (Niklas). Despite constant dialogues with the authorities and considerable efforts to convince and negotiate with them, it is still not an easy task to reach an agreement (Christina; Sara). The main reason for this top-down imposition of rules from the authorities could be attributed to their lack of knowledge regarding what Huset strives to do (Sara; Niklas). Without knowing the center intimately, the authorities incorporate Huset into the policy network and enact new legislation, all of which can create confusion:

> "the Huset's staff get hit by the policies and rules get imposed on us all of a sudden, and it is funny considering they [authorities] have not been here much." (Niklas)

Inviting tenders for a new project is another requirement for the sake of an equal chance to other cultural businesses, which has resulted in frequent changes of the restaurants and businesses in Huset over the past years. On a different note, the ruling party also has an influence on how much financial support Huset receives. Although there is a general consensus between major political parties in Denmark, the extreme right-wing might not be favorable towards Huset as seen from the debate on selling Huset in 2004 (Peter).

Amid the bureaucratic obligations, it is easy to forget the *advantages* of being a part of the municipality. Sara emphasized that they mostly "need to have an okay from the politicians" for general working of the center, but she (and Niklas) also confirmed that there is little or no interference regarding what activities take place inside the center. Niklas mentioned that the rental fee that Huset's partners pay is extremely low and he reflected that it would be impossible if Huset were not a municipal institution. In summary, it could be said that Huset's relationship with the municipality is not very black-and-white; there is friction, yet there is freedom.

Financial structure

At first glance, it is easy to assume that Huset is fully funded by the municipality, whereas our research showed otherwise. Out of the total budget, a half is funded by the municipality and the other half by the income of Huset (Christina). Its own income is

mostly generated from selling drinks and tickets for events, and the rental fees from the partners, although the rental as expressed by Jack is very low and has not increased much in the last decade. Through Huset's own efforts, it is able to earn almost twice as much as its financial subsidies (Sara). Still, Huset is under a very difficult situation; as the municipal funds decline every year, it needs to be more profitable but as a municipal body, there are clear legal limits to do so (Sara; Niklas). But at the same time due to its position, Huset does not owe any rental fee. The utility expenses and the salary of the staff are paid by the municipality. The responsibility of renovating and all the additional costs are borne by the authorities as well.

DIT:KBH

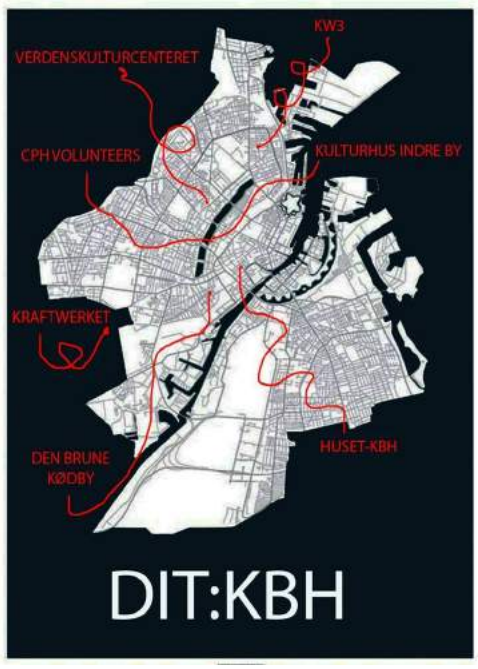

Figure 7. Organizations under DIT:KBH (Source: onkeldannysplads.dk)

DIT:KBH, founded in January 2016, is a formal and legal network of different cultural organizations in Copenhagen, of which Huset is a member.[11] The then-mayor of the Culture and Leisure Committee sought to find a more concrete organizational structure of many cultural houses in Copenhagen (Sara). With the initiative from Sara (working at World Culture Center then) and Jakob (the then manager of Huset), a proposal for DIT:KBH was conceptualized and implemented. The motto for the network - volunteering, co-creation and creative entrepreneurship - is also the principle guide for Huset. Furthermore, the bottom-up and participatory method of cultural creation was the idea behind the proposal, meaning the citizens themselves get involved in the creation of culture, which has been the vision behind Huset (Christina; Sara). Huset, therefore, is an important member and has more influence on DIT:KBH; however, it also comes with other issues. For instance, when Huset was an independent entity, the budget used to be allocated only for Huset, whereas it is now assigned for DIT:KBH as a whole and the centers underneath have to claim their share, which directly affects the financial situation of Huset.

[11] DIT:KBH comprises World Cultural Center, Kulturhuset Indre By, Kraftwerket, KW3, Onkel Dannys Plads, CPH Volunteers volunteer corps and the Pioneers project (source: https://ditkbh.kk.dk/artikel/om-ditkbh)

Review of activities and events

Huset-KBH comprises collectives and cultural collaborators that organize most of the events independently as well as in collaboration with external groups.

i. Bastard Café

Compared to other historical collectives, Bastard Café was established only in 2014 but it has become one of the most active and renowned collectives. It is located on the ground and lower ground floors of Huset and has more than 2400 board games that people can play for free or with some charge. It is run only by volunteers, who serve drinks at the bar or help people with the game rules. As volunteers are mostly international students, almost all communication takes place in English, which in turn brings more international visitors. The café is so well-known among local and international students that even if they do not know about Huset, they know the café according to our informal interviews. It regularly holds a variety of events: a board game meet-up and a new game presentation every week; testing a new game twice a week; a quiz game and playing a typical Danish game, Klask every month. All of the events are free to join, whereas there are paid one-time events, such as speed dating with gaming. When there is an occasion like a queer festival in the city, the café collaborates with it and holds a quiz or bingo game related to the LGBT culture.

Figure 8. Bastard Café (Source: visitcopenhagen.com)

ii. Husets Biograf

Another active collective is Husets Biograf, which has survived and maintained its identity since 1973. It is an independent cinema that screens rare, unknown and non-commercial films of different genres: from cult classics, science fiction, drama, fantasy to horror. Screenings generally happen on an irregular basis but very frequently from four to six times a week. The ticket price ranges from 40kr to 60kr, which has been little increased for at least 10 years. It also hosts documentary screenings, interactive screenings and other occasional events, such as movie quiz night or conversation with directors and artists. As it has a close relationship with other film institutes in Denmark, it sometimes becomes a venue for screening graduate films of film schools. It also runs a children's film club and a senior's film club that use the space during the daytime for shooting and editing.

Figure 9. Screening room of Husets Biograf (Source: Husets Biograf Facebook)

Figure 10. Rear part of Husets Biograf (Source: Authors)

iii. Musikcaféen

Musikcaféen is the largest and oldest space in Huset, located on the third floor. It has served as a concert venue for up-and-coming artists of various genres for more than 40 years. Concerts happen about two to three times a week and their ticket price varies from 70kr to 140kr.

Figure 11. Musikcaféen (Source: huset-kbh.dk)

iv. Teaterhuset

Teaterhuset was founded as a voluntary public education association in 2004 as a result of negotiations with the municipality. After the first Vildskud Teaterfestival[12], a need arose to consolidate the growing performing art scene in Copenhagen so that all activities did not fade away even after the festival. Teaterhuset operates seven rehearsal rooms and two stages, Vox and Xenon, where the members can create and practice performances. Especially Vox is dedicated for promoting 'experimental art that is not necessarily profitable,'[13] therefore open to the public application for the rent (its own website). Teaterhuset is run by a voluntary board and members with the yearly membership (500kr). There are about 16 performances a year and each one costs 65kr (85kr, if bought on-site). Most of the time after a series of performance, it holds an after-party for everyone free of charge.

[12] Denmark's biggest festival for independent theater that started in 2003 https://www.vildskud.com/om-os.html
[13] https://www.teater-huset.dk/spilpaavox

Figure 12. Rehearsal room of Teaterhuset (Source: teater-huset.dk)

v. evoo

evoo, is the new street kitchen of Huset, which opened in April 2018. It offers vegetarian alternatives to street food with local and organic ingredients and being conscious of climate change as well. It holds social dining on Wednesdays for the low cost of 50kr. Whenever another group organizes an event in Huset and offers a meal, it is mostly evoo who supplies food.

Figure 13. Restaurant *evoo* (Source: Authors)

Apart from the main collectives, there are three collectives who do not own space of Huset but organize events regularly in different venues of Huset. One is Samlingspunkt Indre By (SIB hereinafter), which means 'the meeting point of inner city.' According to their description, SIB helps to give the elderly a voice and ensure that they can contribute their knowledge and ideas to the development of the district. It organizes socio-cultural events for elderly people about three times a week since October 2015. A vast range of activities includes cooking and communal dining, gymnastics, music and games, lectures, creative workshops, gardening workshops, assistance with IT activities (eg. social media, digital post, online citizen services, online shopping), and movie/ documentary screenings. There are short excursions to discover different parts of the city and to share their ideas on the urban landscape.

Another one is Talerum, which translates as 'speech/speaking room.' It is a new experimental initiative, which according to the Huset's website 'provides space to creative and cultural initiatives with a vision to turn Huset into the catalyst for the city's cultural growth.' It invites a wide range of groups who organize events such as poetry slam, literature salon and cross-art workshop. Moreover, every week in May 2019, there was a series of conversations with professionals and politicians on diverse political issues including equality, cultural policy and freedom of speech. All events are free of charge unless dining is included for the event. Niklas explained that the idea is to create a space for upcoming cultural creators and social entrepreneurs with grassroot background to engage together and with the public. The last one is Standup Huset KBH that is organized by Red Barnet Ungdom [Save the Children Youth] and a comedian Tjelle Vejrup. It has been holding an open mic comedy show every week since August 2013 and the ticket costs 25kr, all of which is donated to Red Barnet Ungdom.

Figure 14. A Talerum event (Source: Authors)

Besides the regular activities that are run by the collectives, there are events organized by or in collaboration with external collectives, such as storytelling (monthly, 100kr), meditation workshop (three-day, free), vegetarian day (one-day, 90-124kr), book talk (free) and Copenhagen Pride-related events (0-50kr).

In a nutshell, Huset seems to be very active and it is open most of the time and for everybody. It appeared to be mainly a cultural venue during our preliminary research with its focus on board games, music and cinema. The judgement is still valid, however, it turned out that there are events that are not only about cultural enjoyment, especially with the start of Talerum. Moreover, the center is not just centered towards the youth but also open to the children and the elderly. Evidently, a large part of the events are charged, nevertheless, the price is rather low or has not been increased for many years. Huset is often engaged in city-scale events, such as Copenhagen Pride and Copenhagen Jazz Festival, which demonstrates one of its functions as a municipal body.

Stakeholders map

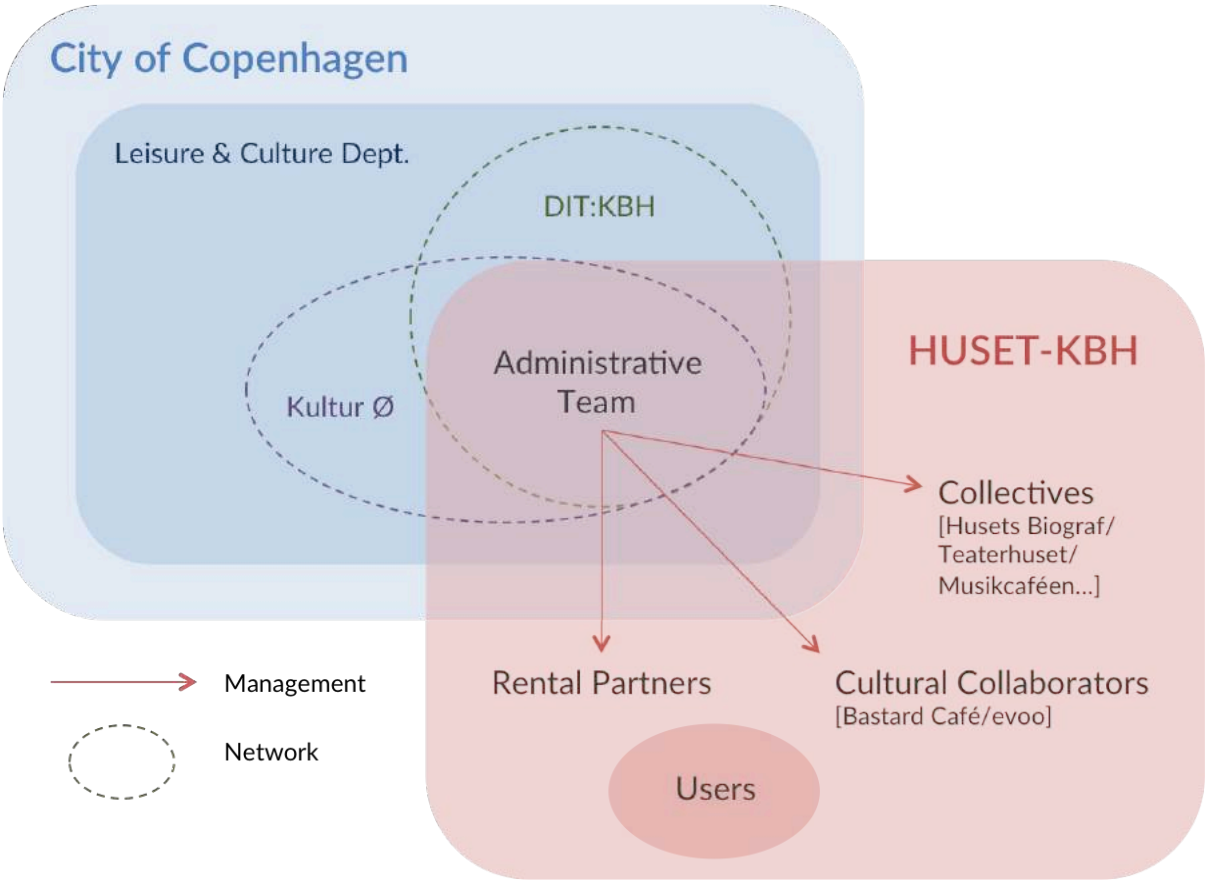

Figure 15. Stakeholders map of Huset (Source: Own elaboration)

The stakeholders of Huset can be broadly classified as external and internal stakeholders based on who actively uses its premises. The main external stakeholders are the public institutions that Huset belongs to. The City of Copenhagen is the most prominent stakeholder. Under the municipality, Huset is directly managed by the leisure and culture administration. The administration is further divided into four district units and under this grouping, Huset falls under the management of Kultur Ø. In this regard, there are three main public bodies that have direct influence on Huset's working, which are also the stakeholders that Huset negotiates with. At the same time, under the DIT:KBH, Huset is part of the network with six other cultural organizations.

Huset has a diverse internal stakeholder profile. First, the administrative staff, who manage the allocation of space and cooperate with other internal stakeholders. They are the mediators between the authorities and the collectives. The three main collectives are Husets Biograf, Musicaféen and TeaterHuset, whereas the main business collaborators are the Bastard café and evoo. The collectives receive funding from external partners; for example, Husets Biograf receives grants from the Danish Film Institute (Jack). Furthermore, as Huset also rents out the spaces to private cultural organizations as a workspace or an office. Finally, visitors/users and volunteers who visit the center.

Analysis of news articles

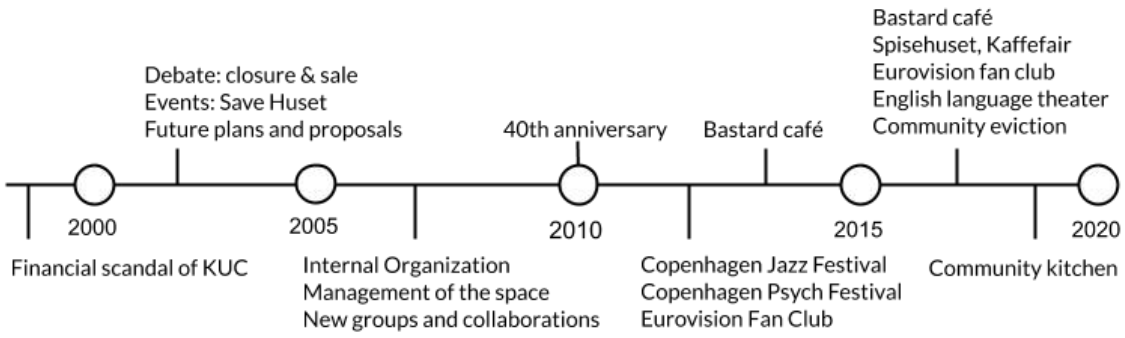

Figure 16. Summary of news topics, Huset (Source: Own elaboration)

Most of the stories written on Huset usually states how it came into being as 'Denmark's first cultural center' and the types of activities and events that take place within its premises. There has not been any substantial change regarding how the center is portrayed since the mid-2000s. It is presented as a space where young and upcoming artists find a platform. If it is not the case, then they are presented from a very neutral

perspective with the aim of disseminating the happenings/events inside the center. More recently, the center has been framed as a trendy venue for popular music concerts and other cultural events.

The topics covered and the messages conveyed in the media articles depend very much on the time period. The earliest articles that could be retrieved were from 1997 and 2000, covering the history of Huset and current status as well as the financial scandal of the KUC. In 2004 the major topic covered on Huset was political debates on whether the municipality should close it to sell the building. In addition, there were parallel stories being written about the significance of Huset and the events organized to oppose the displacement. Funding for the activities was also a secondary topic covered every now and then. As the center survived in 2004, a shift in the media topics is noticed: from its sale to its internal restructuring and collaboration with external groups. The topics covered since the reopening of the center in 2004 have been mainly about changes in the space and activities. More recently, the articles introduce Huset as a venue for large-scale events such as Copenhagen Jazz Festival, Eurovision Finale screening, Copenhagen Psych Festival. Collaborations with external businesses have also been covered with much emphasis on the very popular Bastard Cafe. Its unique concept and space started appearing in the news since 2014. Other stories on Husets Biograf and Evoo have been also published. The 40th anniversary of Huset and celebration was covered as a feature story with its history from the early stages.

4.4 Huset: the future after 50 years

The collected empirical data suggest that Huset nowadays is mainly a cultural space. That being said, it has still retained its social aspect as a place that fosters a sense of community. The dominant keyword from the interviews aside from culture was *community*. Further, despite being commonly labeled as a young place, volunteers said that it is a space frequented by all age groups: “it is like a space for everybody, also for people who don’t fit elsewhere in the society by normal standards” (Samuel). This highlights that Huset’s visitors and users encompass a diverse range of people. Although its social activities are not noticeable, with the new initiatives such as SIB and Talerum, we can surmise that it is slowing gaining momentum. On the other hand, the political identity of Huset, compared to its initial days, has completely disappeared:

> “… the political dimension it’s not so public … it’s tuned down.” (Peter)

Similar views are expressed by others: there is no political agenda anymore and the center is “a social thing, … more of a culture house” (Susie) and is not a space where

new ideas and conversations happen much (Niklas). For Sara, Huset is still very alternative as it is not mainstream and diversity is well represented here; for Niklas, it is alternative but “alternative mainstream culture,” therefore, to move back to its initial ideals, it needs to be freed from the municipality, although he knows it is unrealistic. Presently, people come to Huset because of the activities, its community and the brand that it has become (Sara), and we believe that it will continue similarly in the future. Further, as the budget from the municipality has been declining, it “forces the management in Huset to capitalize on the products to survive” (Niklas), which implies that the cultural aspect of Huset will remain strong.

Another crucial factor to consider while imagining the future of Huset is the site itself. As it is housed in an old building, there is an urgent need to further the renovation. The municipality could not give approval this year because of cuts in the budget but the lag in decision making had created confusion and uncertainty. The renovation is postponed, but once it is approved, the house should be vacated (Christina) for almost half a year and it is difficult to predict what will happen to Huset and its people when they need to relocate.

4.5 Institutionalization of Huset

Contrary to common knowledge, Huset was never squatted but born out of a democratic process, in which student activists delivered a proposal for the Projekt Hus to the authorities. They accordingly achieved the legal status after two years of negotiation. Both the Ministry and the city council agreed on buying the building and conceding the space to the activists without any charge, signifying the most basic step of institutionalization. Its autonomous self-organization, however, did not last more than a few years mainly due to the inflow of drug addicts. The activists admitted their lack of ability to handle such problems without the police force and thus voluntarily returned the space to the city government.

The center reopened as *Huset i Magstræde* in 1972 under the municipal association, KUC, marking the terminal institutionalization of Huset. Huset was mainly run by subsidies and its administrative staff was employed by the municipality. They sometimes had an uneasy relationship with the initial activists of Projekt Hus, who remained associated with the collectives and activities within the center. However, for one of the founding members of Huset, it was not necessarily the failure of the movement but a way to give back the space to the general public, not only for the members themselves (Peter). He finds this transition rather positive that the municipality solved the drug issue and revived the center, and was successful in becoming an inspirational model for other

culture houses around the country afterwards (Lydpol, 2016). Even under KUC's management, Huset went through ups and downs in the 1980s and more severely in the 1990s. One of the reasons was the poor management of KUC, its incapability to organize the space, budget and program, which became critical in the 1990s.

In 2001, Huset was incorporated directly into the Culture and Leisure Committee of the City of Copenhagen as the KUC was disorganized after its fiscal scandal. Huset still had its own administration team but major agenda was discussed at the Committee and Huset was only to abide by the decisions. Furthermore, as the municipal cultural network DIT:KBH was inaugurated, Huset became more subject to the political will and policy framework, adding another layer to its institutionalized identity. Although several internal stakeholders asserted that there is no intervention on any of their activities, there are guidelines that the general management has to follow. The liveliness of the center, therefore, is dependent on such regulations. The amount of funding it receives also has a direct influence on the activities it can perform.

Through terminal institutionalization could be noted already from 1972, Huset was able to secure its space. Its main function as an alternative cultural venue and a breeding place for new artists have remained as well. Further, it is a social space where people experience a sense of community. Its political and social function, however, has faded away as it became a municipal institution.

CHAPTER 5
CASE STUDY 2 // CSA La Tabacalera

5.1 City Profile: Madrid and Lavapiés

Madrid is organized through two administrative levels: the *Ayuntamiento* (City Council) and the *Comunidad Autonoma* (Autonomous Community). As Spain was under the Francoist regime for 40 years, it was only afterward that the democratic and autonomous government was consolidated, more specifically in 1978 with the establishment of a new Constitution (Blanco, Salazar & Bianchi, 2019). All kinds of citizens' demands that had been suppressed under the dictatorship burst out into social movements and therefore, new policy frameworks have been developed accordingly (del Romero, 2016). Meanwhile, Spain joined the European Union in 1986 and globalization has become prevalent in various sectors, not to mention its urban conditions and policies.

Major Spanish cities have been highly driven by neoliberal urban policies, especially together with speculative investment in the real estate sector. The growth from the late 1990s until 2008 was largely led by the construction boom and a consequent real estate bubble. The housing market was heavily distorted: newly constructed buildings were far more than the demand, yet they were not affordable for everybody and therefore left empty, which resulted in housing occupying movements.

The Neighborhood of Embajadores, or Lavapiés

Before delving into our case Tabacalera, its neighborhood should be understood, in which the center is deeply rooted. The neighborhood of Embajadores is in the southern part of Centro district. Embajadores is, in fact, more referred to as Lavapiés, a popular name that originated from the Jewish quarter in the late-16th century (Municipality of Madrid, 2018). It is one of the densest and diverse neighborhoods with more than a quarter (25.3%) of its population having foreign nationality, compared to the city average of 13.1% (Municipality of Madrid, 2018). It was traditionally one of the most marginalized, working-class districts with poor housing conditions and was also characterized by a large number of abandoned buildings.[14] The void started to be filled with immigrants from the 1990s, turning Lavapiés into one of the largest immigration neighborhoods: first dominated Ecuadorians and Moroccans, later Bangladeshis and Senegalese. It was given little attention from the market as well as the public sector, and hence this lack of obtrusion made Lavapiés 'a place of opportunity for social experimentation' in the 1980s and 1990s (Cabrerizo, Klett & García, 2015, p.164).

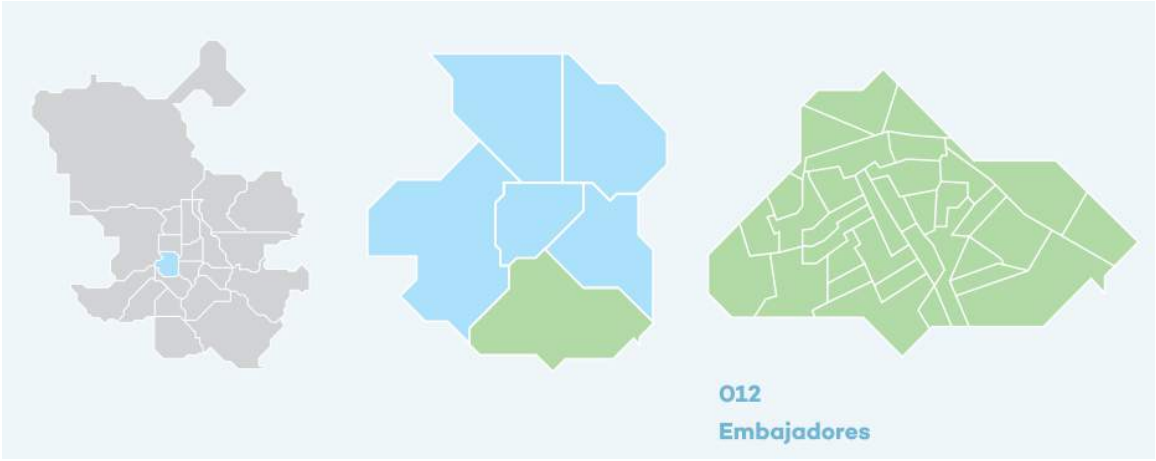

Figure 17. Embajadores in different scales, from left to right: city, district, neighborhood (Source: Municipality of Marid, 2018)

For instance, the very first squatted social center in Madrid[15] was established in Lavapiés in 1985. Even if it was shortly evicted, new squatters appeared and maintained its presence in the neighborhood (Díaz Orueta, 2007). As a result, some of Madrid's most important self-managed and squatted social centers have been located in Lavapiés(Feinberg, 2013a). One notable example is *El Laboratorio*, which had been evicted and reappeared in different locations three times between 1997 and 2004. In

[14] 23% of total properties were empty in 2001 (Cabrerizo, Klett & García, 2015).
[15] *Amparo 83* was evicted only after 11 days but people still celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2015 (https://www.elmundo.es/madrid/2015/05/09/554e4d19e2704e90158b4577.html).

the early-2000s, they actively fought against the ongoing gentrification and real estate speculation in Lavapiés. They provided meeting space for diverse collectives such as neighborhood associations, women's groups and immigrant organizations that sought to protect the neighborhood's own culture and urban tissue; they also utilized the Internet as a platform for protest, which served as a key tactic during the 15M movement (Feinberg, 2013a).

In the 1990s, tour guides started to introduce Lavapiés as a traditional and authentic neighborhood of Madrid and more recently, new images of multicultural, cosmopolitan and 'mecca of alternative' are added (Cabrerizo, Klett & García, 2015). All these features have attracted diverse groups of people as well as public and private developers; the former led to artist-led gentrification and the latter to urban regeneration plans. The interest in urban redevelopment had already started in the late-1980s and the investment continued until the financial crisis in 2008 as part of the plan to position Madrid among the great capitals of the world (Feinberg, 2013b). The neighborhood was particularly valued as a key location for extending the city's cultural axis that comprises the Reina Sofia Museum and La Casa Encendida in the eastern part of Embajadores. Since then, it has become one of the fastest gentrifying and touristifying parts of the city.

In particular, a turning point was in 1997, when Lavapiés was declared as the Priority Rehabilitation Area (ARP) that resulted from a co-operation agreement among the local, regional and central governments. The multidimensional plan aimed not only to rehabilitate the old central Madrid but also to renovate public spaces and create new facilities for citizens, although there were long-standing demands from neighborhoods that were not adequately addressed or fulfilled (Díaz Orueta, 2007). As a backlash the citizens formed the *Red de Colectivos de Lavapiés* [Network of Lavapiés Collectives], coordinated by the neighborhood association, *La Corrala*. One of their main objectives was to utilize a number of empty publicly owned buildings as self-managed social centers, which was more relevant to the real needs of residents. As a result, a proposal - *Social Facilities Project* - was developed and presented to the City Council in 1999, which included a plan to use the Tabacalera building (Díaz Orueta, 2007).

In short, Embajadores has been transformed a lot by both public authorities and private investors in the last couple of decades. Still, its social profile and class structure have not changed much and new plans[16] have been established to address various social issues. How Tabacalera was initiated in this peculiar urban context will be further analyzed later on.

[16] In 2018, Embajadores became one of the target areas of the *Neighborhood Comprehensive Plans*, which aim to improve the quality of life in the most vulnerable areas of the city.

Towards new cultural policy: democratic or profitable?[17]

According to *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe: Spain* (Council of Europe & ERICarts, 2015), modern culture in Spain could not develop much under Franco's dictatorship, where censorship and information monopoly was prevalent. Although it was from the 1960s when press and education policies have become less strict, with the Constitution of 1978, freedom of the press and artistic expression was secured. The Ministry of Culture and the local city councils were established and began to develop the cultural infrastructure and promote regional cultures. Another central objective was to preserve the cultural heritage (Historical Heritage Act in 1985), which evolved into rehabilitation schemes in the early 2000s. The Compendium also points out that wider access to culture and democratization of culture has become more integrated into the recent policy framework, yet not sufficiently developed in practice.

Since the 1990s, culture has been actively viewed as an economic engine and a tool for branding the cities in Spain. A number of international cultural events were hosted in the 1990s, including *Madrid European City of Culture 1992*. *Paseo del Arte* in Madrid was also developed from the late-1990s which connects several prominent cultural institutions. The subsequent Socialist government (2004-2011) focused on achieving not only cultural diversity but also economic development and social cohesion through culture. Meanwhile, the financial crisis inevitably affected cultural policy on all levels of government. The Ministry was reorganized and its budget was diverted into the public deficit, especially a large amount during the Populist government (2011-2016). The *General Strategic Plan 2012-2015 of the State Secretariat for Culture* was also developed with an emphasis on efficiency and transparency. Moreover, the subsidies for the third sector such as citizens' associations drastically reduced.

In 2009, the discourse on cultural and creative industries appeared in policy framework with the *Plan for the Promotion of the Cultural and Creative Industries*. It was again emphasized by the then Minister of Culture who defined culture as: 'culture has a transverse nature. It includes cultural and creative industries, cultural tourism, cultural action abroad, creativity and innovation, cultural employment, etc.' (Council of Europe & ERICarts, 2015, p. 7). From this perspective have been initiated major cultural projects of the last decade for the benefit of economic growth and international reputation.

Even if the central government is responsible for public policymaking, regional authorities exercise many of the cultural responsibilities in Spain, more in public cultural

[17] This whole chapter is based on the information from the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe: Spain* (Council of Europe & ERICarts, 2015).

provision. For instance, the City Council of Madrid has led to many large-scale cultural projects, such as Conde Duque and Matadero. Interestingly enough, the Autonomous Community of Madrid has a culture department integrated with tourism and employment unlike any other Autonomous Communities, which shows a particularly close relationship between the three public bodies in the case of Madrid. Lastly, the neighborhood associations play a key role in bringing culture closer to people; 2,516 neighborhood centers are in operation in the country and are used as venues for diverse cultural projects. It shows how citizens' initiatives are still relevant in Spain, which was also fundamental in the creation of Tabacalera.

Urban social movements in Madrid

During the political transition period in the 1970s after Franco's death, social movements were highly active in all around the country, mainly with regard to housing, local facilities, and transport issues (Díaz Orueta, 2007). Urban movements in Madrid were organized in a similar vein. In Madrid, destructive urban redevelopment plans were hotly contested by many neighborhood associations, including *La Corrala* of Lavapiés.

The second phase of urban movements in the 1980s resulted from austerity politics and the industrial crisis (del Romero, 2016). At the same time, they had to undergo a difficult period of redefining and restructuring themselves after the outburst in the 1970s (Díaz Orueta, 2007). It was in the late 1980s when *Okupas* [squatters] emerged in many cities due to increasingly unaffordable housing prices (Díaz Orueta, 2007). Transforming abandoned sites into self-managed social centers was a new way to fight against neoliberal urban policies, social segregation and inequality, which intensified in the late 1990s.[18]

Since the 1990s until the financial crisis, major Spanish cities enthusiastically adopted urban entrepreneurialism, transforming cities into an arena for growth and global competition. Cities like Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia experienced an ill-managed urban growth and social movements became deeply fragmented in local NIMBY conflicts. That said, many social movements started to develop alliances against globalization and neoliberal discipline and more specifically, against the mega-urban projects and the construction boom in Spain (del Romero, 2016).

[18] In metropolitan Madrid, more than 300,000 dwellings are empty and 275,000 underused (Díaz Orueta, 2007).

Throughout the crisis, the nature of conflicts changed; they began to question 'the whole process of decision and policy-making, including the urban planning criteria or citizen representation mechanisms' (Del Romero, 2016, p. 90). New actors with new forms of protest and conflict emerged; the 15M Movement was the epitome of this new urban movement. The 15M was organized through the online platform, *¡Democracia Real YA!*, and its protests and notable encampments took place from 15 May 2011 in 30 cities around Spain. One of the supportive groups was self-managed social centers. In Madrid, *Okupa* activists helped organize the *Acampada Sol* [Camping Sol] in the beginning and actively participated in it (Feinberg, 2013b). Their principles of horizontality and self-management remained central throughout the 15M.

5.2 History of Tabacalera

The *Antigua Fábrica de Tabacos de Embajadores* [Old Tobacco Factory of Embajadores] dates back to 1780[19], around when Madrid started to urbanize and a large number of factories were built in the southeast part of the city. Initially it was designed to be a factory for producing alcohol and cards, however, it was soon converted into a tobacco factory, consequently becoming one of the most prominent cigarettes producing sites in Spain. It was moreover one of the largest employers in Madrid, employing women in the majority who were called *cigarrera* (Feinberg, 2013b).

Figure 18. La Tabacalera a Debate (Source: latabacalera.net)

[19] The complex was built from 1780 to 1792.

Tabacalera a Debate

The factory closed in 1999 and the building was designated as a national patrimony in 2000, and put under the management of the then Ministry of Culture. A collection of activists, artists, neighborhood organizers formed a collective network - *Red de Lavapiés*- and developed guided tours, public talks/debates and actions to reclaim the space: *Tabacalera a Debate*. They even held a press conference to present their campaign. A squatted social center called *El Laboratorio* in the neighborhood played a pivotal role in developing the network and the movement, particularly in negotiating with the authorities (Jhes, personal communication, 2 May 2019).

During the regime of the People's Party (PP), a plan was made to inaugurate two museums inside the building, extending the cultural axis of the Prado Museum. This idea was more concretized by the City Council into the Special Plan for the Revitalization of the Urban Center (PERCU) in July 2004: opening a Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales (National Museum of Visual Arts) ("La Tabacalera a Debate", 2004). This plan was highly criticized by the activists for not taking into consideration the public needs and interests of the neighborhood but caring only about city image and branding. Thus in October 2004, Red de Lavapiés suggested a proposal of *Tabacalera a Debate* to the General Sub-directorate of State Museums.

Despite all the efforts of the citizens, the state authorities approved a plan to build the National Center for Visual Arts (CNAV) in 2008 and a design competition was thus launched. The winners were announced and the budget of 30 million Euros was allocated. Then, the crisis hit Spain and most of the large-scale renovation projects were halted, including that of Tabacalera. It reopened up an opportunity for the activists of Tabacalera.

When the building was partly opened for Photo España in 2008-9, an annual multi-site exhibition, Red de Lavapiés participated in the project and since then, they again thought about the self-managed social center. At that moment, the newly-elected General Director of Fine Arts (DGBA), Ángeles Albert who had a good understanding on social centers contacted them. After negotiations, they reached a one-year agreement in June 2010: the *convenio*, through which the *Centro Social Autogestionado La Tabacalera* was established and the Ministry ceded 9,000m² out of the entire 30,000m² to Tabacalera, financially supporting 18,000 Euros.[20] The only condition was regulated

[20] Gloria (Interviewee) added that Tabacalera shared a large part of the subsidy with La Casa Invisible, a squatted socio-cultural center in Malaga.

opening hours (generally from 11 AM to 12 AM every day except Monday) and placement of security guards. Tabacalera could finally open its doors in June 2010.

According to Gloria (personal communication, 26 February 2018), who joined Tabacalera from the very first day, described the first year as magical:

> "For one year and a half … everything worked organically and that was great. Everyone was doing things, to put it [Tabacalera] beautiful and being proud of their own place. Welcoming everyone, deciding on things together … Every time you are there, someone suddenly arrives and asks, 'What can I do?' and you ask back 'What do you think you can do?' … It was a privilege to have such a place, plenty of possibilities for everyone. No robbery. We leave our computers and nobody was not stealing anything. It was like magic."

When the contract was about to expire after one and a half years (in February 2011), Tabacalera produced a 150-page *Dossier de Renovación* [Dossier for Renewal] that proclaimed its genesis, objectives, accomplishments, evaluations and future plans, which was part of the conditions of the contract. With the exhaustive work, Tabacalera entered into another series of negotiations in order to get legitimized through a longer-term agreement. They actively asked for support to the citizens as well as those from other public/private cultural institutions who were in favor of Tabacalera. As a result, the Minister renewed the contract for another two years in late 2011, under the condition that the authorization could terminate if the plan for CNAV is reintroduced (Durán & Moore, 2015). The contract was to be renewed every two years until now and Tabacalera will go through it again in the early 2020.

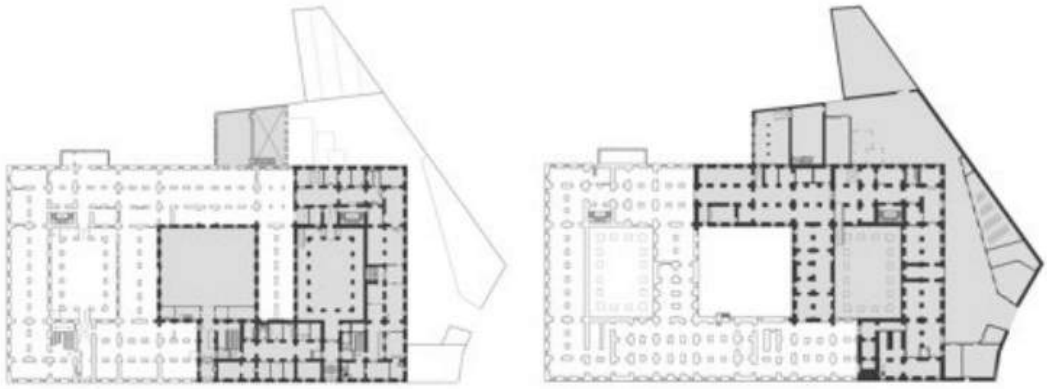

Figure 19. Floor plan of the building: the ground floor (left) and the lower ground floor (right), CSA La Tabacalera marked as grey (Source: CSA La Tabacalera, 2011)

During its first years, Tabacalera had a special relationship with the 15M Movement; It not only functioned as a meeting space for organizing the demonstration but also supported the encampment of Sol (M. Martínez and A. García Bernardos, 2018, p.101). It provided a wide range of logistical and material support together with other social centers.The Spanish daily *El País* described Tabacalera as one of the movement's neurological centers of the protests (Feinberg, 2013b). As it gained more reputation through a series of activities, Tabacalera was able to form an extensive network of social centers not only in Madrid, but also other Spanish and European countries such as, La Casa Invisible (Malaga), L'Ateneu Candela (Barcelona), El Patio Maravillas (Madrid), La Universidad Nómada, eipcp.net, S.A.L.E (Venice), Rivolta (Venice), Centre for Possible Studies (London) and it became an exemplar of self-managed social center.

Things, however, started to change after two years. Robberies, drug issues, and other accidents started taking place. The members came up with codes of behavior but they could not really enforce the rules; people with misconduct were expelled but soon returned and others could not do anything about it. Similar problems repeated. Communication was not smooth between collectives, particularly when they were culturally disparate. For example, Gloria recalled the moment when it was very difficult to communicate with Templo Afro as the Senegalese did not speak Spanish nor English. The situation went worse and one day, she and some of her colleagues were affronted by them as "high-cultural intellectuals," "racists" and "dictators":

> "It was rhetorically very complex to defend ourselves, it was not so quick. Really, really complicated. We didn't know how to react." (Gloria)

Since then, many initial members left Tabacalera or moved to another social center but new members have joined. Despite its ups and downs, Tabacalera still remains active.

5.3 Present-day Tabacalera

Tabacalera maintains the original structure of the building but has added its own style with graffiti and mural paintings inside the building and the outside of the wall on *Calle Miguel de Servet*, another adjacent street. It has a main hall, a gallery and a room for the general assembly on the ground floor; a patio and labyrinthine individual spaces for each collective on the lower ground floor, where all the walls are covered with graffiti.

(Clockwise from top-left)
Figure 20. Exterior of the building (Source: https://www.rutaspangea.com)
Figure 21. Mural paintings of Tabacalera (Source: http://myartguides.com)
Figure 22. Courtyard (Source: Authors)
Figure 23. Main hall (Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/rh2ox/32451109453/)

Relationship with the Ministry

CSA Tabacalera coexists with the ministerial institution, Tabacalera Promoción del Arte, which hosts exhibitions related to contemporary arts. Both share the premises but use different entrances and do not have any common space.

According to the contract, the Ministry has the right to inspect the space to see if Tabacalera conforms to the rules and original purposes. Especially when the Ministry saw a few thousand people gathering in the building, they became concerned about the safety of people and the architectural heritage of the building (Gloria). Security guards were correspondingly hired and composed daily reports of all the activities and happenings at the center, which became a huge archive of Tabacalera (Gloria). There used to be surveillance cameras as well, of which three to four are left nowadays (Cecilia, personal communication, 15 April 2019). Some people are uncomfortable with it, but Cecilia understands the need for it. The members are in good relationship with the guards according to Cecilia. Apart from the inspection, there has not been any other form of intervention from the Ministry, only the contract as a minimum requirement, confirmed both Gloria and Cecilia:

> “The Ministry let us do whatever we wanted.” (Gloria)

However, when it comes to the rehabilitation plan that could directly affect the existence and activities of Tabacalera, both parties come under a series of negotiations. According to Cecilia, there has been different political moments with different plans and it was followed by numerous discussions. For instance, the Ministry wanted to empty the entire building for the renovation but through negotiations, the Ministry decided to proceed only in parts so that Tabacalera would not stop all the activities (Cecilia). As the rehabilitation became more concrete, further negotiations have been conducted, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Management practices: collectives, commissions and the general assembly

Tabacalera is an autonomous and self-managed organization that is characterized by its democratic and horizontal structure. It comprises thirty-one collectives and is administered by five commissions: communication, co-living, shifts, programming, and economy. The commissions are made up of collective members as well; in principle, for every 8 people in a collective, there should be one person as a representative in a commission. Each commission holds its weekly meeting and shares the news/proposals through email newsletters or at the biweekly general assembly, which is the quintessence of Tabacalera in its entirety.

Figure 24. The general assembly on 15 April 2019 (Source: Authors)

Figure 25. Public discussion on 7 October 2017 (Source: Tabacalera Twitter)

The assembly has two parts: first, debates based on the agendas prepared by the commissions and second, free proposals from anyone, even non-members. For the first part to be valid, the number of participants should be more than half of the total number of collectives, that is, a minimum of 17 representatives should be present out of 31 collectives (Cecilia). If the number is not fulfilled, the first part is postponed to the next assembly and only the second part is put on the table. There is no chairman or moderator; it is a completely free and open discussion. If they do not reach a conclusion on the same day, they discuss further at the commissions' meeting or the next assembly. There is always one person every week who takes meeting notes and distributes newsletters.

Regarding the daily management of the center, all the interviewed members acknowledged the difficulty of self-managing the extensive space. As an autonomous center, where "everything is free ... so people's involvement is free as well," (Ken, personal communication, 23 April 2019), nothing can enforce people's participation. As the center evolves with time, not all collective members are sincere to the workings of Tabacalera and some of them use their space for leisure, smoking, and drinking (Jhes). Not much common efforts are made in this context. This limit becomes more evident when violence or drug-related issues come up as Tabacalera does not engage with any police force. The only way to deal with the problems has been a temporary shutdown, which has happened nearly every year (Ken).

Financial structure and fundraising

When the Ministry ceded the space to Tabacalera, it agreed to take care of the utilities (electricity, water and security). Apart from that, Tabacalera does not receive any kind of subsidy from the state nor from the municipality and still needs to cover the common expenses such as wifi, minor repairs and website server. When there was a cafeteria, it served as a good source of funds but since it closed, selling beer at parties have been the only way to finance themselves. When one collective organizes a party, some of the profit is for itself and the rest for Tabacalera as a whole. However, according to our interviewees, this way of fundraising has always been controversial among members; some tried to find other ways than dealing with alcohol but the assembly could not decide on a better solution. Apart from the common expenses, every collective is responsible for its fundraising; for instance, the street art collective El Keller sells artworks, t-shirts, postcards or books on graffiti, occasionally through an open market, to supply paints and tools for its open workshops or external events (Cecilia & Guillermo, personal communication, 26 February 2019).

Rehabilitation project

Regarding the large unused area of the building, the Ministry of Culture released its rehabilitation plan in July 2017 to develop a new establishment for avant-garde art exhibitions and for artist's studios and residences, through a leading role of the Reina Sofia Museum (EFE, 2017). Both Tabacalera Promotion del Arte and CSA Tabacalera will stay and a cafeteria will run in the main courtyard. In fact, this was not the initial plan according to Pablo (personal communication, 11 March 2019); it was to bring in the museum to create an exhibition space, replacing the space managed by Tabacalera. Tabacalera and the Reina Sofia started the conversation and in consequence, the museum decided not to run the project if it would replace the autonomous center. After a series of negotiations, Tabacalera's presence was secured and the plan to build a museum was replaced by another plan to develop artist's studios and residences because Tabacalera asserted that the neighborhood did not need any more exhibition space that would only serve tourists (Pablo).

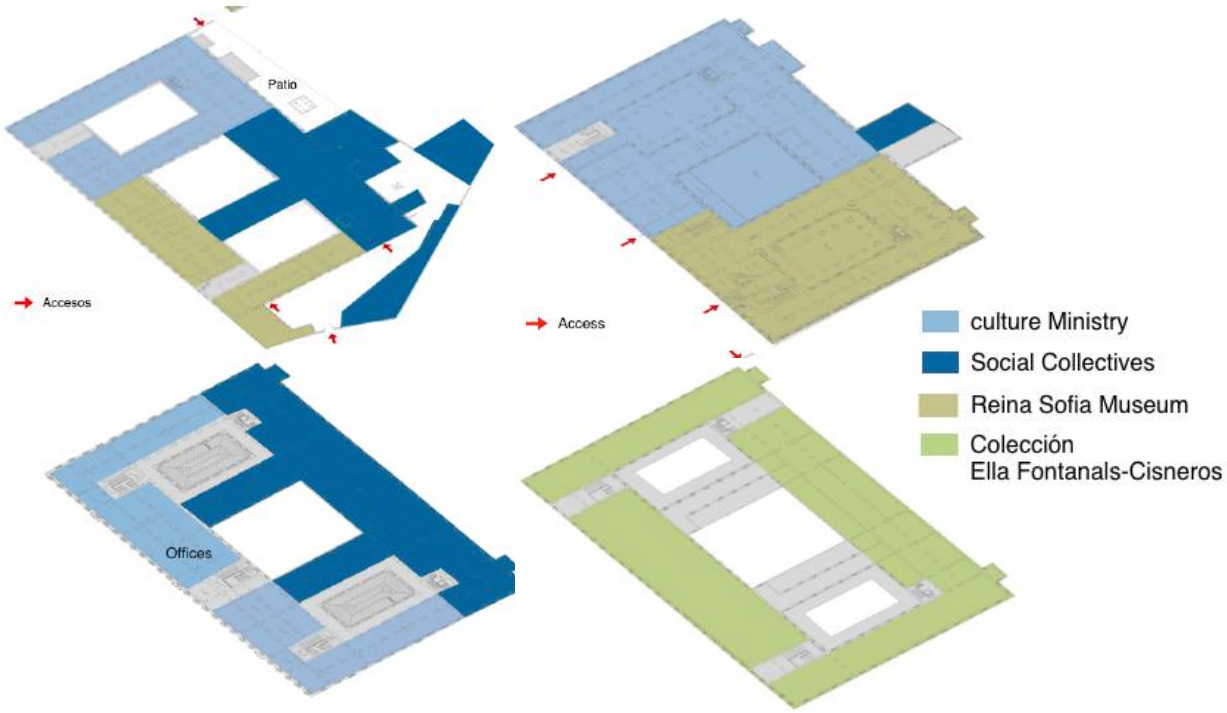

Figure 26. Floor plan for the new rehabilitation plan (Clockwise from top-left: lower ground floor, ground floor, first floor, second floor) (Source: https://elpais.com/)

Additionally, a project to create a space for Latin American art was released in February 2018 as the Cisneros-Fontanals Foundation (CIFO) donated part of its extensive collection to the Ministry of Culture. The collection is planned to be accommodated on the third floor. The General Director of Fine Arts and Cultural Heritage, announced that the draft for the rehabilitation was to be produced in 2018 so that the entire building

can be opened by the late 2021 or early 2022 (Bono, 2018). The budget was expected to be 15 million Euros, of which 4.7 million was later allocated (EFE, 2018). It was supposed to start in 2019, but it did not and is still uncertain: "it could be next year, or even next," said a member of Tabacalera (Cecilia).

The reaction of Tabacalera members to the rehabilitation project is overall positive as the empty space can be utilized for any purpose (Cecilia; Pablo). However, they have different attitudes towards the Reina Sofia and the CIFO: they were positive with the Reina Sofia, yet negative with the CIFO. Tabacalera communicates well with the Reina Sofia as both of them work with art and for artists (Pablo; Cecilia & Guillermo). However, they find that the Ministry has other interests than culture, the reason why the Ministry tried to host the CIFO. In fact, the affluent founder has a degrading reputation in Venezuela for appropriating artworks from the country and laundering money with art (Cecilia; Pablo; Bono, 2018[21]). Moreover, it was the mayor of Madrid, Manuela Carmena, who had a personal connection with the founder and put her into contact with the Ministry. Due to the reasons, Tabacalera had a long argument with the Ministry and Cecilia thinks that it will not happen in the end. According to Rodrigo (personal communication, 10 June 2019) from the Ministry, "the relationships to be established in the future between the various members of the project [are] being negotiated right now," and therefore no decision has been yet made in the Ministry.

Review of activities and events

Tabacalera and its activities are organized by a number of collectives. There are about 30 collectives, which encompass diverse social, political and cultural activities. All of the collectives are run independently and privately, that is, one has to contact a collective to participate in it, however, most of the collectives organize an open workshop every week for the public. At the entrance of Tabacalera, there is an information board, where all the collectives are listed and the weekly schedule of open workshops are posted. We consulted the weekly schedule of April 2019 for our analysis (see Figure X). Besides the open workshops, there are one-time events that happen on an irregular basis, which are mostly music/dance parties. It is often one or some of the collectives in a collaboration that organize an event, but also do external groups. We listed all of the events that are posted on Tabacalera's Facebook and Twitter account from July 2017 to June 2019. It should be noted that Tabacalera was only open for members from January 2019 to mid-May 2019. That is, one could only enter the center when participating in

[21] The Cisneros family is one of the most financially powerful families in Venezuela. They were once accused of laundering drug money in Florida (in the book, Narcotráfico S.A. La Nueva Guerra del Opio (1985), retrieved from https://www.aporrea.org/actualidad/a2154.html

open workshops or some public events; there was always a doorman checking the purpose of the visit and every collective has a shift for a doorman position, scheduled in advance and announced on the board.

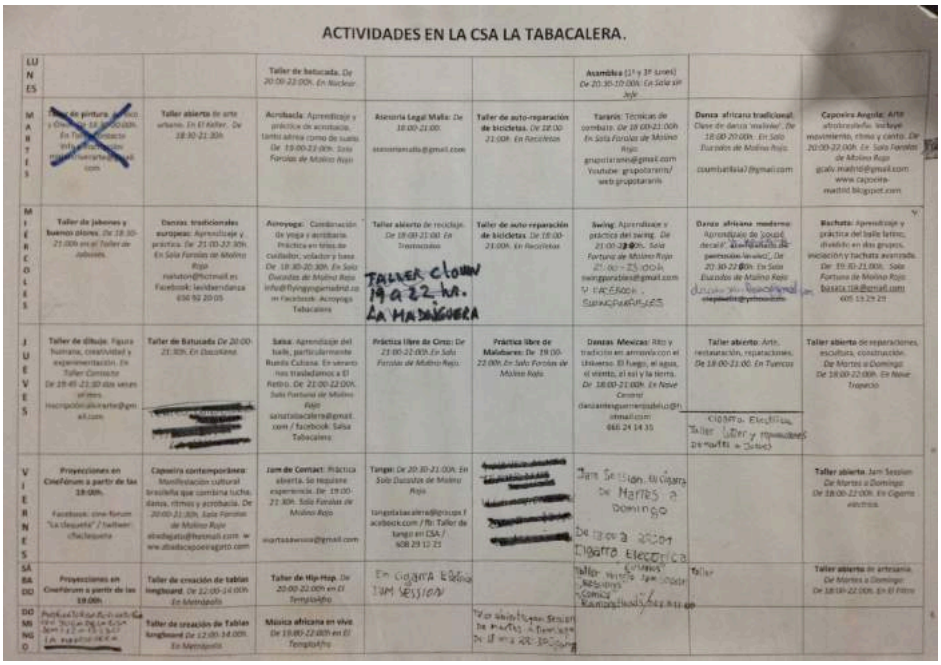

Figure 27. Weekly schedule of open workshops (Source: Authors)


Figure 28. El Keller (Source: Jose Antonio Diaz)

(Clockwise from top-eft)
Figure 29. Cinema (Source: Tabacalera Twitter)
Figure 30. Gallery (Source: Authors)
Figure 31. Molino Rojo (Source: Tabacalera Twitter)
Figure 32. Nave Trapecio (Source: Tabacalera Twitter)

Every collective holds a workshop, which vary from cultural to social activities; urban art, photography, music, bike repair, dance, acrobatics, movie screening, as well as legal, psychological and occupational advice. All of them are completely free of charge as *free culture* is one of their main principles. Tabacalera manifests itself as a space for generating and disseminating free culture, which resonates with their copyleft principle. In the case of personalized advice, a recipient has to return the service with other public services for the center or for the neighborhood. Even during the closed period of Tabacalera, we could see individuals coming for the services. Open workshops represent the very social aspect of Tabacalera in the sense that they engage with the neighborhood and the citizens, even if most of the workshops are culture-related (Cecilia).

Non-regular events are mainly communicated through Tabacalera's Facebook and Twitter accounts. One of the most frequent events is the poetry slam that overing many socio-political subjects. It happened once or twice a month in general during the last two years and usually organized through collaboration of internal and external groups. The second most recurring event is the music and dance party. Art exhibitions are often held in the gallery. Other events include wrestling shows (discontinued since early 2018), yoga workshops; flea markets and handmade markets are organized under the title of solidarity.

Figure 33. Wrestling event and craft market (Source: Tabacalera Twitter)

Stakeholders map

The premises of Tabacalera is a national heritage, managed under the Ministry. It was Maria Ángeles Albert de León, the then General Director of Fine Arts and Cultural Assets who signed the contract with Tabacalera in 2010. The written permission was an achievement of the citizens' movement, Red de Lavapiés, based on the neighborhood

association, El Corrala, and the squatters group, El Laboratorio. Soon after, Tabacalera Promotion of Art was set up in another section of the massive complex and managed by the General Sub-directorate of the Promotion of Fine Arts. The center and the exhibition space share the premises but nothing else: they have different entrances and activities and they do not collaborate with each other, nevertheless many visitors seem to be often unaware of the difference. According to Rodrigo, "the relations between Tabacalera CSA and the Ministry are cordial and fluid and are framed in an environment of cooperation and understanding. Frictions that appear are quickly and easily solved through negotiations between the two sides."

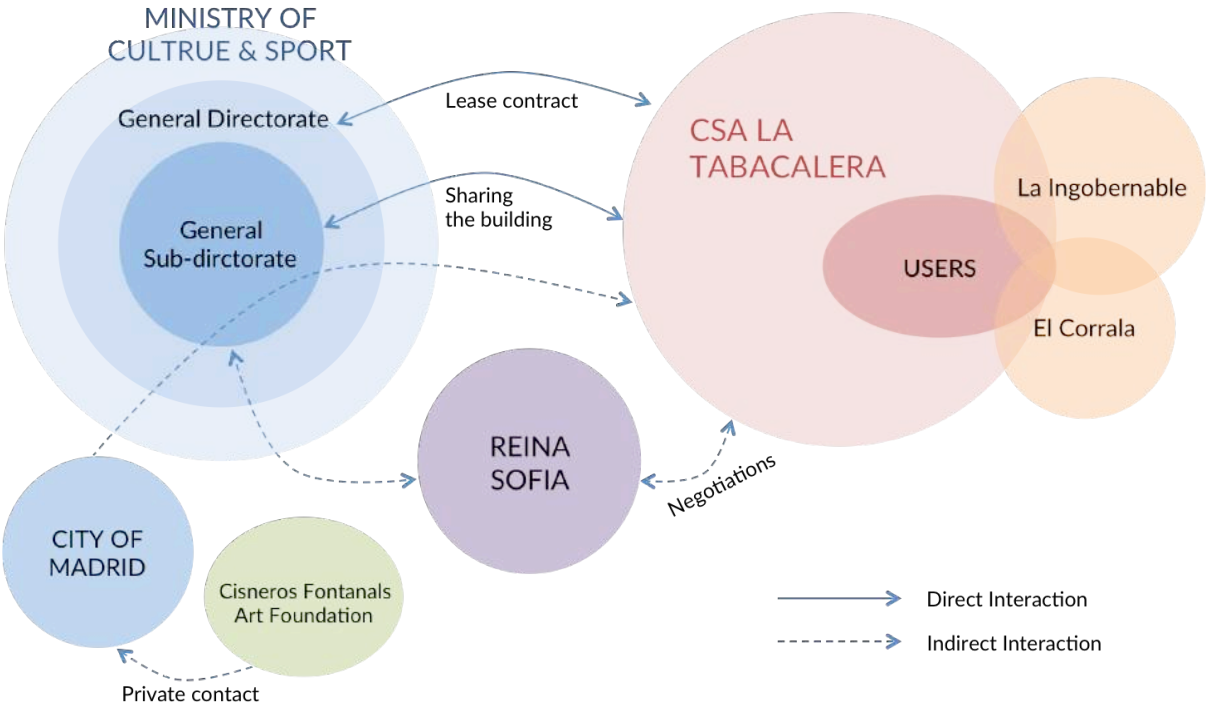

Figure 34. Stakeholders map of Tabacalera (Source: Own elaboration)

The City Council of Madrid does not seem to have relations with Tabacalera in this context. A couple of our interviewees affirmed that Tabacalera had nothing to do with the municipality (Gloria; Cecilia). Nonetheless, the city has always been keen on the site from the beginning; the plan for CNAV was proposed by the city in 2004. Especially with regard to the CIFO, it was the City Council who acted as an intermediary between the founder and the Ministry (Bono, 2018). The foundation had approached the previous city government as well, but both parties could not reach an agreement at that time. However, as mentioned earlier, the patron personally knew the mayor of Madrid and

therefore was able to reach the Ministry level. If the plan materializes, it is likely that the municipality becomes more involved in the affairs of Tabacalera.

Lastly, there is a new player, the Reina Sofia Museum who takes part in the rehabilitation project. The Reina Sofia is an autonomous organization, i.e., a self-governing body under the Ministry. It is leading the project and actively talking with Tabacalera about organizing the space. It is also in favor of Tabacalera as it opposed the ministerial scheme to replace Tabacalera for another exhibition space (Pablo). In short, with regard to the rehabilitation plan, the main stakeholders would be Tabacalera, the Ministry of Culture and the Reina Sofia Museum. Further, there is always a possible intervention from the City Council as the whole neighborhood development is directly in its interest.

Analysis of news articles

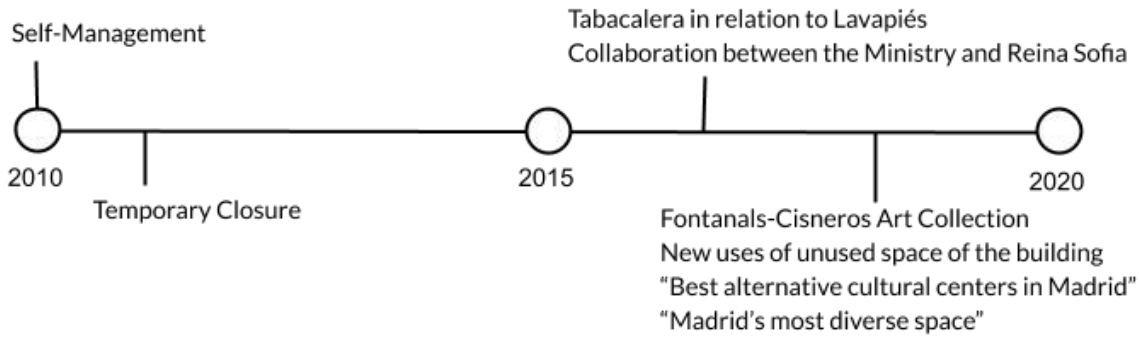

Figure 35. Summary of news topics, Tabacalera (Source: Own elaboration)

During its initial days, Tabacalera's *self-management* was the keyword used to describe together with the words *free*, *no subsidies or no salaries*. The center is also often framed in relation to the multicultural identity of Lavapiésas a cool, hip, alternative, inclusive and experimental space, especially in international travel and culture magazines. Time-Out Magazine named Embajadores as one of the world's coolest neighborhoods and the center itself was highlighted as one of the major highlights of the neighborhood. The Culture Trip introduced it as Madrid's most culturally diverse space which 'brings together Madrid's diverse communities, allowing them to share their cultural experiences and letting locals get together to express themselves and learn about their fellow madrileños.' Overall, Tabacalera is depicted in a very positive manner in the media as an alternative space where diversity is respected and culture is produced and enjoyed for free.

Although not big in number, the range of topics covered in the media on Tabacalera is quite broad. The stories range from its history and temporary closure to its ties with institutions such as Reina Sofia and Tabacalera Promoción del Arte. More recently, the stories have revolved around the rehabilitation plan. Particularly, the news on the art collections of the CIFO seems to gain momentum. The fact that it shares the site with the public institutions also brings another layer of complexity, which has been actively discussed in the media more recently.

5.4 Tabacalera in 2019: a setback or a turning point?

Ongoing struggles and losing its momentum

Tabacalera celebrated its 10th anniversary in June 2019, which is of considerable significance that it has survived for a decade despite the precarious conditions. That said, the present state of Tabacalera is rather complex. From the outside, it seems to be less active; Tabacalera was officially closed to the public for some months from January to May 2019.[22] It was only open to its members and the doorman was always present to check the admittance.[23] This temporary closure is not the first time but has happened every year whenever there is an issue that requires time and energy to solve, mainly drug traffic or abuse (Michael; Maria; Ken) and also fights and acts of violence (Jhes). A member explained that the temporary closure could also be regarded as "a tactic" in order to handle the issue internally not to involve the police for every problem that it encounters (Giancarlo, personal communication, 2 May 2019). Due to its frequent closure, Gloria, an initial member who is not anymore involved expressed her disappointment and frustration:

> "For me, it is a failure since the possibility of open space for everyone to do whatever they want is gone."

For her, Tabacalera as a working space for collective people is not enough and in this way it is not functioning to its full potential; for her, "culture is not about painting, but about organizing a context for things to happen; it's like cultivating things." Including Gloria, many informal interviewees referred to La Ingobernable, a new squatted social

[22] The closure was originally planned to be until at least February 2019 due to "internal reorganization tasks" according to an announcement on its website: "It has been 8 years of self-management and the time has come to give a spin to the way we do things". It announced reopening to the public for all common areas in May 21, 2019.
[23] Taking a shift for doorkeeper is one of the most important common duties for the collectives.

center which has been gaining a lot of attention these days, where some activists from Tabacalera also take an active part.

Figure 36. Closed gate of Tabacalera in February 2019 (Source: Authors)

All things considered, is Tabacalera still active and relevant? It has been a symbol of socio-cultural center in Spain; during the 15M, it was at the heart of political actions. However, for the last couple of years, there were fewer political activities when compared to the earlier times; our activities analysis demonstrated that there have been only a few politically motivated debates and conferences, implying a muted political function. Jhes, a member for eight years, admitted that nowadays there are not any more political or social implications of the center but cultural activities are what happens mostly. Additionally, due to the frequent closure of the center, there were informal interviewees who felt unwelcome or withdrawn from the space. In this regard, in the near future Tabacalera could be blamed for becoming an exclusive space that is not *really open for all* which would also test its integrity as an inclusive socio-cultural center.

Constant negotiations with different parties

The fact that the factory complex is not fully occupied provides room for the authorities to tap the full potential of the space, as already revealed by the rehabilitation plan. There is a probability that institutions that do not share similar values and profile of activity could share the space, implying that different visions might collide. This was the case when Tabacalera raised its voice when the Reina Sofia had envisioned an

exposition space. Although the plan did not technically hinder Tabacalera's activities nor existence, the members still appealed against the plan as they had a better idea that could serve the *real* needs of the city and the neighborhood . This particular case is confirmed by the members as a successful negotiation and mutual decision making. More recently Tabacalera has been fighting against the Ministry's decision to incorporate the CIFO on the third floor. At a distance, such defiance might even appear pointless as the center has its own space to conduct its activities and has no business for the remaining. Still, it is the very involvement that reaffirms its significance: the fact that Tabacalera does not keep silent but engages actively in new governmental decisions on the building implies that its realm transcends beyond the 9,000m² of its physical existence and that it is still very aware of urban and cultural policy in general. Further, we believe that Tabacalera's physical presence strengthens the bargaining power for negotiations which it partakes in as one of the main stakeholders. Then again, the discussion on the contract has been latent as the negotiations on the rehabilitation plan has been in the spotlight recently. This is however likely to manifest into a larger negotiation topic in the future as the two-year renewal system does not guarantee its permanent position in the building.

It seemed obvious that Tabacalera was on the decline during the initial phase of our research; it was no longer open to the public and many people were skeptical about its vitality and spiritedness. Nevertheless, after completing our fieldwork, we have come to a conclusion that Tabacalera still strives to preserve its site and continue its activities despite the practical difficulties of management that come naturally with the voluntary and participative organization. To summarize, we predict that there will be similar patterns of ups and downs for Tabacalera; it will try to remain active and relevant, while seeking to solve the problems internally and negotiating with the authorities as well as with the institutions that would share the space.

5.5 Institutionalization of Tabacalera

Tabacalera was never squatted but it went through a long process of negotiations for about ten years before its inception in 2010. The whole process and the final agreement with the authorities is referred to as the victory of citizens without any illegal means, yet at the same time, it used to be criticized as a *compromise* by other anarchical squatters (Pablo). Despite the criticism, Tabacalera enjoyed its autonomy to the full and managed to extend the contract every two years up to now. The renewed contracts were almost the same without any additional change, which could be considered as a flexible form of institutionalization.

Even if the Ministry ceded the space without any charge, Tabacalera is not financially-independent all the way. Apart from the very first one-time grant in 2010 when the agreement was made, Tabacalera has been subsidized only for the utilities. Furthermore, as the building dates back to the 18th century, the structural security of the building is always at stake. Whenever there is an urgent need for maintenance, for instance when the electric system was completely destroyed in 2018, the Ministry takes charge of it, even though the members do as much as possible (Cecilia). The Ministry also does regular check-ups of the building to assess its condition. The part of daily maintenance is left for the collectives which is mostly covered from the income generated through the parties and events (Cecilia).

Tabacalera has its full autonomy and there has been no sign of governmental intervention in its management so far, yet its existence is still in question, mainly facing the renewal of the contract and the rehabilitation plan. The new project has not yet materialized but Tabacalera's position seems to be intact for now. Despite the optimism of the stakeholders regarding its existence, Tabacalera still operates in an uncertain position with the short-term contract. In addition, the primary condition for the legalization was to return the space to the Ministry if the initial project was set again. The temporary concession of the space to the center was the essence of flexible institutionalization in Tabacalera. Despite the temporary tag, the legal status has allowed the center to carve a permanent footprint in the neighborhood as well as the city. As Gloria pointed out, the activeness of the center and support from people made it possible and gave power and legitimacy to the center; "if there's no people pushing the agenda, it might lose the opportunity." In terms of that, Tabacalera's recent setbacks might be detrimental to upcoming negotiations if it would lose the public support. Nevertheless, with a history of more than 10 years, its symbolic significance as a socio-cultural center in the urban fabric of Madrid is still intact, albeit not as intense as in the initial days. In that regard, the recent reopening of the center to the public is good news as it could be a turning point in its evolution.

CHAPTER 6
CASE STUDY 3 // Das WUK

6.1 Vienna: City Profile

Understanding the socio-political context

Vienna is not only the capital city but also one of the nine federal regions and a municipality of Austria. As a separate federal region, it has its own right to conduct legislative and executive decisions (City of Vienna, n.d.). The municipal departments, commonly referred to as MA are responsible for addressing the needs and requirements of the citizens.

Austria comes under the conservative corporatist regime according to Esping-Anderson classification, meaning that the state takes an active interest in maintaining order and 'granting social rights' through creating well-functioning social insurance funds (1991, p. 27). The state is actively involved, especially in handling the social funds and disseminating it to the public; yet it is not an *all-encompassing* regime as found in the Scandinavian nations.Other scholars have stated that Vienna has been running under social democratic principles since the beginning of the 20th century, catering to the socio-economic and cultural needs of all people, emphasizing the goal of equality (Suitner, 2012). It demonstrates that the government has always been influential and active in shaping society. It is further strengthened by the fact that the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) has always had a strong foothold in Viennese politics (Suitner, 2012).

There is an interesting relationship between the municipality of Vienna and bottom-up movements. Although bottom-up movements are not that common in the present times, if we go a little back into the history of Vienna, it has had its fair share of social movements. The movements usually get integrated by the government once they start to become substantial (Walter, personal communication, 29 May 2019). Even outside of Vienna, there are instances of autonomous movements, such as the very successful ecological movements in the towns of Zwentendorf in 1978 and Hainburg in 1984, which prevented the construction of nuclear power plants (Foltin, 2014). Further, there are instances of squatting activities that resulted in the birth of social and cultural centers which is discussed in the later section.

Culture, cultural policy, and Vienna[24]

With the presence of prominent cultural institutions ranging from grand museums to operas, Vienna has carved a name as a culturally rich city. Although the city is predominantly associated with high culture, the cultural policy of Austria has evolved over the years encompassing and prioritizing various needs. 1960 was the time when cultural policy was incorporated into social policy; in 1975 cultural service called ÖKS was founded which was crucial in establishing a link between 'artists and culture workers on the one hand and schools, adult education establishments, companies and cultural centres on the other' (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2016, p. 2), which could be attributed to the fact that there were ongoing protests against the "conservative cultural policies" (Walter); the year 1980 was marked by cultural boom as the total spending on culture, in general, was increased by seven times compared to the spending before 25 years. The 1980s, however, shifted towards 'cultural sponsorship and privatization'; continuation of similar trends could be observed in the late 90s and the beginning of the 2000s as the activities of public cultural institutions were being outsourced and the cultural budget was stashed, hence shifting the focus to 'prestige culture, the creative industries and the promotion of economically oriented projects' (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2016, p. 3). Cultural institutions in Vienna are still very much subsidized and the ones with 'commercial potential' have started to become an important focus with the vision to maintain and elevate the image of the city (Cazetta, 2010, p. 52). Despite this shift in policy paradigm, the cultural policy is constructed with the objective of addressing not only basic cultural needs but also the cultural management (promoting, planning, evaluation, etc.) and culture's socio-political role (participation, integration, inclusion, etc.).

[24] This chapter is based on the information from the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe: Austria* (Council of Europe/ERICarts, 2016) unless cited otherwise.

The city council is vested with the power to handle culture at the most primary level. Within the city council, it is the municipal cultural department that is associated with handling local cultural activities such as festivals, amateur arts/crafts and managing and dealing with local cultural institutions that include establishments such as libraries, local museums, adult education facilities, and cultural centers. In Vienna, the role of the cultural department is introduced as the medium to provide the most favorable cultural environment for the artists and the Viennese.[25]

Squatting and deviating from traditional high culture

Squatting and autonomous movements have appeared at many times since the early 1970s in Vienna. Such movements concretized, spread across the city and represented spaces of autonomy (Edthofer, 2011). The movements could be traced back to the second half of 1970 when 'subcultural and political communes proposed changing everyday life' and a group of activists - the Spontis - emerged who were 'involved in political activities in an attempt to overcome the boundary between private life and politics' (Foltin, 2014, p. 255). It was during that time when the squats such as Arena and Amerlinghaus which became prominent cultural centers later, came into existence. In the early 1980s, the occupations became synonymous with youth movements (Wächter, 2006) and were embedded heavily with the punk scene, thus symbolizing its association at a cultural level. This cultural association became much more explicit when music rehearsal rooms were installed in the squatted building known as GaGa in 1981 (Foltin, 2014).

With such squats gaining much attention, it would be safe to assume that the autonomous squatting with a cultural background was breeding safely in Vienna, but not all squats could survive. Foltin (2014) reported cases of police intervention and eviction of two squats in May 1981, however, they proved as a turning point in instigating negotiations for leasing the occupied sites. A special type of agreement, *Prekariumsverträgen* [precarious contract], was made and the squats were handed to the activists. This agreement was critical in shaping the autonomous spaces in Vienna as WUK to this day still operates with this precarious agreement (Heidi, personal communication, 20 May 2019). Fast forward to the most recent times, evictions are more common than tolerance from the authorities; there were recent unsuccessful attempts of squatting and reappropriating spaces in Spitalgasse (2008), Triesterstrasse (2009), and Eichenstrasse (2010) (Foltin, 2014).

[25] City of Vienna: https://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/abteilung/index.html

Although the social movements in Vienna since the 1970s are not limited to squatting and establishment of social and cultural centers, they undoubtedly form a major part of the movement as a whole. One of the foremost centers could be traced back to the squatting of *Amerlinghaus* in 1975. It had a direct influence on initiating alternative school movements, anti-nuclear demonstrations, intercultural learning, women's movement, helping homeless people, to name a few.[26] The squatting of Amerlinghaus was followed by squatting at a slaughterhouse, *Arena* in 1976 with the involvement of various parties such as left-wing groups, anarchists, and many other socio-cultural groups. Arena's occupation and formation as a cultural center have had a monumental impact as it set an example of what could be done. The present-day website of Arena states that the center acted as a *role model*[27] for future similar initiatives to get inspiration from.

At the beginning of the 80s, the squatting scene in Vienna became even more active with the notable centers such as WUK and GaGa. GaGa was founded in 1981 but had a very short lifespan as it had closed down by 1983. GaGa had a very notorious image and often met with harsh criticism of the residents - also it had a tumultuous relationship with WUK and the local authorities (Wächter, 2011). Similar squatting continued in the 90s as well, EKH (Ernst-Kirchweger-Haus) being the most notable one. EKH presents a very dramatic series of events; in 2004 it was under the threat of eviction because the squatted building was sold by the owner (Communist Party of Austria, KPÖ) to a right-wing extremist. EKH was saved after the building was later bought by an agency associated with the city of Vienna and finally the center entered into a rental contract which saved it from eviction (Edthofer, 2011). Socio-cultural centers in Vienna with their long history, therefore represent a strong association with youth culture and squatting, and a complex relationship with the city government.

Amerlinghaus, Arena, and WUK are the most significant examples of autonomous spaces in Vienna. In addition to having a strong social and political foothold, these centers introduced new culture and brought diversity in nightlife to the city of Vienna (Foltin, 2014). Courtesy of these cultural centers, "off-the-beaten-track" cultures came into existence in Vienna (Walter). Walter explained the cultural significance of the centers as:

> "autonomous and non-profit, but subsidized [centers] were very much responsible in the transformation of Vienna from a place of traditional high culture, side by side, but detached from anonymous popular culture to a vivid cultural melting pot as it is today."

[26] Information on Amerlinghaus: http://www.amerlinghaus.at/index.htm
[27] Information on Arena: http://arena.wien/Home/About

Figure 37. WUK Entrance in the early 1980s (Source: Robert Newald, https://www.derstandard.at)

6.2 History of WUK

WUK is one of the most prominent socio-cultural spaces in Vienna. It is located in very close proximity to the city center of Vienna, in Währinger Straße of the 9th district, Alsergrund. The center occupies an extensive area of about 12,000m² and exudes a very distinctive old industrial era vibe due to its red brick facade that stands as a stark contrast to monochromatic colored buildings that are usually common in the Viennese streets. The building complex carries a long history and has been used for various purposes in different time periods; it was first built as a factory, then it housed a technical school/trade museum and finally the present socio-cultural center. When the building was built in 1855 as a locomotive engine factory, it not only served as a factory but also had adjoining buildings as the owner's residence and office for the business. Later in 1884, after the closure of the factory, it was converted to accommodate the Technological Trade Museum [Technologisches Gewerbemuseum, TGM] and technological university. After its relocation to another district in 1978, the empty complex was almost on the verge of demolition as different political parties saw new possibilities: Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) envisioned a green space, whereas the Social democratic Party (SPÖ) proposed to build a residential complex (Geiblinger, 2000).

The vacant and threatened factory complex provided motivation to the Viennese people: first, to save the building from being destroyed and second, to find an alternative to high culture. A campaign called *Save the TGM* was initiated and people from all backgrounds - social workers, teachers, artists, architects, feminists, students, pensioners - geared up for reclaiming the site in 1978 with the vision of an educated civilian named Walter Hnat (WUK, n.d.). He was successful in mobilizing people to establish an open workshop and cultural center. The process went on at a full swing with numerous activities and initiatives such as contacting politicians, collecting signatures, organizing festivals, organizing press conferences, publishing leaflets, and organizing weekly meetings. The then culture councilor Helmut Zilk in 1979 supported the initiative by handing 2500 Shillings for public relations purposes. In 1981, the mayor of the time, Gratz finally handed the keys. As a result, WUK was legitimized through provisional permission to use the factory complex and the councilor handed one million Shillings as a subsidy for the initial activities. WUK is a result of “a peaceful riot”, as reflected by a 50-year-old Viennese lawyer (personal communication, 23 May 2019).

Birth of WUK

The 68 movement called for a new kind of culture that was inclusive and accessible. It also voiced active participation from people instead of passive cultural consumption, which was in line with the concept of democratization of culture at that time (Summerer, 2010). It influenced the Austrian cultural policies and created a cultural awareness among the politicians at that time, which is evidenced by the social democratic party (SPÖ) taking an active interest in realizing the concept of culture for all (Summerer, 2010). At the same time, countercultural spaces were being claimed as a form of deviation and protest against high-culture. WUK’s initiators included intellectuals and informed civilians, who were open to discuss with the authorities (Summerer, 2010) and the *WUKlers* (people associated with WUK) did not solely identify themselves with ‘radical communities such as punks and anarchists’ (Foltin, 2014, p. 259) but rather aimed at being a socio-cultural space where everyone would feel welcome. It could be assumed that because of such open nature, the culture councilor of that time was in support of WUK. The birth of WUK was possible because it was “a right idea of the right time” (Afshin, personal communication, 18 May 2019).

The 8-point-program

The initial intentions behind WUK's foundation were basically to seek a social model regarding cultural spaces which could 'promote an everyday culture as a life practice … and support community-oriented conduct.'[28] The primary idea and objective behind the center are elucidated through the *8-point-program document*[29] which declared the aims and purpose behind the center in 1979. It is highlighted that culture is not just a facility that enhances the quality of life, but is rather a *necessity* for life. The document claims that the real immediate cultural needs of the general people were not being met, and therefore, WUK would try to fill in the gap by offering a different type of cultural space that was not commonly present. WUK would try to blur the sector-specific cultural offerings and deviate from artistic enrichment to social interest by providing a platform where diverse activities could be conducted under one roof. The focus was on producing and experiencing cultural and social activities altogether, where one would not only go to enjoy what is being offered but also have a chance to actively create his own work. It is also stated that the center would also be a safe haven for various socio-political initiative groups to conduct their activities. Finally, there would be free access for artists to the studios. To sum up, WUK sought for *alternativer neubeginn* [alternative new beginning] that would challenge the status quo by proving that an alternative way is possible.

Figure 38. WUK in the early 1980s (Source: Robert Newald, www.derstandard.at)

[28] https://www.wuk.at/en/history/

[29] Das 8-Punkte-Programm (1979) [The 8-point-program (1979)]: https://www.wuk.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Media_Library/Bilder/Das_WUK_Allgemein/Geschichte/Das_8-Punkte-Programm.pdf

Self-government and autonomy

The idea was to run the center as an autonomous space with self-management, therefore, *autonomous groups* formed an integral part of the center. The groups would not only engage in the activities but in the management of the area as a whole. Despite the autonomous principles of management and organization, there appears to have been a management person from very early on whose function was to reach out to and negotiate with the public body for subsidy related matters (Geiblinger, 2000). WUK, therefore, had a unique way of managing the center with autonomous principles and a knack for *proper administration system*. In addition, WUKlers had clear idea that the space was not a residential squat and this principle had caused two major disturbances in the 1980s: firstly, when a group of evicted individuals from GaGa squatted in the premises of WUK (Wächter, 2011), and secondly in 1988 when a group of homeless people started claiming spaces of WUK (Geiblinger, 2000).

Although alternative culture was a defining trait of WUK, it was very much socially and politically relevant in terms of its functions. Afshin, who has been managing the Persian library in WUK since 1994 told the story:

> "... there were several Iranian groups, one of the groups captured, not captured, made station in this room and around 1982 they made some information for students, women, immigrant women and some workshop for children alike language school and teaching piano and several things ... and the function of the library was the main structure and near it we made speeches, concerts, demonstrations, several things..."

It was not only the Iranian group but also other immigrants from Turkey and Africa who were also involved in the center. The Kurdish cultural center has also been in operation since 1989 (Brusk, personal communication, 25 May 2019). There were a dozen other socio-political initiatives, music rehearsal rooms, senior center, alternative schools. Also right after the center was formally recognized, WUK Youth Project was initiated in partnership with Labor Market Administration, which was publicly funded for training young people in the field of masonry, painting, etc. and renovating the WUK buildings. It created a basis for WUK's role in education and counseling the unemployed youth (WUK, 2015) and this legacy has continued to this day in the form of WUK's education and counseling unit.

Figure 39. Compilation photo of WUK in the early 1980s (Source: Robert Newald, www.derstandard.at)

Figure 40. WUK Facade (Source: WUK.at)

6.3 Present-day WUK

In a span of almost 40 years, WUK has grown into a vast institution compared to its humble beginnings. The raw and chaotic socio-cultural utopian space of the 80s is now an enormous *Verein* [association] with three distinct working units, commonly referred to as the three pillars of WUK, namely WUK socio-cultural center, WUK cultural productions, and WUK education and counseling.

It can be said that the beginning of WUK and the original concept was wholly made of the socio-cultural central unit that exists as only one part of WUK today (Heidi; Rene, personal communication, 21 May 2019; Wolf, 2012). Summerer's (2010, p. 141) research confirms that within the first few years of formal establishment of WUK as a socio-cultural center, more features were added to the center's repertoire that invited occasional visitors, specifically with the start of dance and theater performances open to the public that somehow established WUK also as a cultural venue. Although the main focus of our thesis is represented by the socio-cultural center unit of WUK association, the research would be incomplete without taking the remaining two working units into consideration as the present-day WUK is an amalgam of all three units.

Figure 41. WUK Courtyard (Source: Authors)

Organization and management

The socio-cultural center unit still runs on the principle of autonomy and direct democracy and comprises 150 groups, initiatives and individuals (e.g. artists, musicians) under seven main collectives, taking up most of the spaces at WUK.[30] Cultural Production unit is mainly responsible for organizing the cultural programs for the general public; this is the unit that brings in most visitors to the center, be it for a concert or a theater performance. They mainly manage the events and exhibition spaces covering areas such as music, performing arts, theater, visual arts, photography and film, children's culture and party business. A total of 30 employees are responsible for this unit. The Education and Counseling unit is the biggest one in terms of the number of employees (over 100), the volume of turnover (because of funding from various public, private and social partners), and the number of activities it carries out. Although it is the biggest unit of WUK, it is not located on the actual premises besides the administrative offices; its projects are scattered throughout Vienna. The latter two units have their own management system and are led by the respective general managers.

[30] Detailed information on the socio-cultural unit is elaborated in the activity review section below.

All three units of WUK are bound by a six-member *Vorstand* [executive committee /board]. The board is responsible for everything that takes place in WUK as an association (Heidi). The board members are elected once every two years at the general assembly by the members of WUK, which totals around 650 at the moment. By paying a certain amount every year, anyone can become a member. The general assembly is held annually and various decisions are made such as approval of reports, budget estimates, selection of management board, club inspectors, and auditors (WUK, 2017).

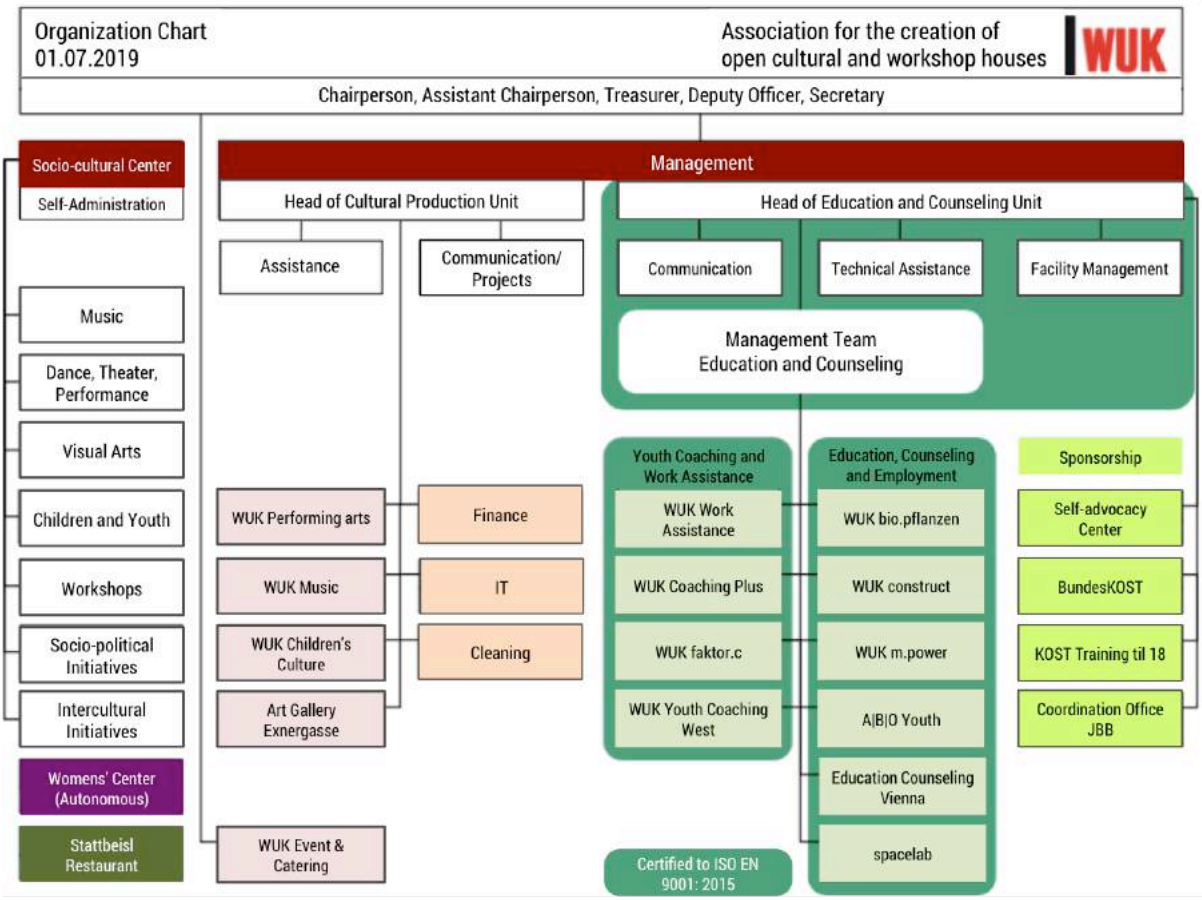

Figure 42. The Organizational chart of WUK
(Source: Own translation from the original chart retrieved from WUK.at)

To make sure that everyone has a say there are two types of meetings: the monthly plenary meetings and the forum. During the monthly meetings, representatives from all the seven collectives come together and discuss " … who will be able to use the studio or the workshop … when to use … who can take part in the work there, they decide … If you are an artist who says I would like to music or dancing and performance thing, you come, you present yourself, you say what you want to do and then in a democratic form of way, they decide you are able to be part of their group or not" (Heidi). The forum is a

platform where representatives from the seven collectives and board members can come together to coordinate, discuss and develop recommendations concerning the whole center. Considering the enormity regarding the number of people involved, there are times when there is a lack of clear communication between and within the units (Rene; Reba, personal communication, 28 May 2019).

Financial structure

The two biggest subsidy providers for WUK are the city of Vienna and the federal ministry of culture. WUK has been receiving around 1 million Euros annually from the city government for many years now and a little over 200,000 Euros from the Cultural Ministry. These subsidies are mainly utilized for cultural activities and for the utility expenses such as water, electricity and heating bills and necessary small scale renovations such as painting windows, fixing lights and so on. Regarding the amount of subsidy, Heidi reflected that during her time as an employee for over ten years, the subsidy has remained the same. Therefore, considering the inflation rate, the amount has declined in real terms.

The grants, however, are not distributed to the autonomous groups in the socio-cultural center. The collectives operate with the time and effort of the people associated with the respective groups. They secure funding through their own efforts; for example, the bicycle workshop receives donations, help, and subsidies from bike shops and other individuals (Claus, personal communication, 11 May 2019); similarly, the Kurdish cultural center receives funding from the culture department of Vienna (MA7) and other individuals (Brusk). The expenses for maintenance and improvement of the space are paid by the respective individuals and groups. Regarding the Education and Counseling unit, it fully runs on funding from a plethora of social/public organizations.

Besides the subsidies it receives, WUK has its own source of income which makes up 40 percent of the total income: sales of tickets, catering business, and membership fees. The employees are paid from the WUK association.

Objectives and functions

The statute of WUK as of 2017 states that the mission of the association is to contribute to the field of art and culture and promote socio-cultural activities. Furthermore, it is clearly stated that it is a non-profit association. It is quite apparent that the center offers numerous cultural activities; out of the ten interviews conducted with users, seven

interviewees stated that they come to attend events and concerts. One interesting revelation through the user interviews was that most of them stated that WUK provides a different kind of vibe, mainly from the uniqueness of the premises; further, they all agreed that space is “authentic”, and the people within the center are “very nice”.

Although the interviewed users do not visit the center frequently and are not familiar with the internal dynamics of the center, they all agree on the significance of WUK in the city. Their replies could be broadly categorized into three identities of WUK. First, WUK as a space for artistic and cultural freedom: users pointed out that it provides a platform for different kinds of culture and art to flourish. Second, WUK as a public space where people with similar and different interests can come together to gather and meet people. Moreover, it is also for people with unique characters to find “sense, space, and habit” (Clement, personal communication, 17 May 2019). Third, WUK as a non-commercial space which is not solely economically driven.

Our personal observations also validate these functions of the center. Moreover, we have also observed that space is very diverse in terms of ethnicity, age, and gender. We found the center to be very open and we could wander around the building complex without being interrupted. Due to its wide variety of activities, there were times when we felt like we were in a maze, but we soon realized that everything as a whole constituted WUK. After all, the space is meant for and claimed by all, representing the world on a smaller scale, a “mini-mundus” (Rene).

Pressing issues

There are two main issues that WUK is tackling at the moment. The first issue is about its contract. WUK was legitimized through a special type of concession from the city of Vienna, called *prekarium* which allows the association to use the space for free. Under this concession, the city can evict WUK within two weeks of notice. This, however, has never been a critical problem until recently. For the last few years, its major concern has been over the talks on changing the type of permission to a lease contract that would require a monthly rental of 100,000 Euros, which is not feasible for the associaion to pay. Neither party has come to a conclusion and the negotiation is still ongoing, but WUK is trying to find a long-term contractual agreement, not a rental contract.[31]

[31] Interview report with Ute Fragner (Head, WUK association) and Vincent Abbrederis (Manager, Cultural Production): https://www.wuk.at/magazin/ich-moechte-das-wuk-fuer-die-naechsten-hundert-jahre-sichern/

The second issue is the renovation of the electrical system. As the premises date back to the 19th century, WUK not only has constant small maintenance issues but also does not adhere to all the modern requirements set by the building inspection municipal department. When the city council checked the electric system, the total cost of the repairs was estimated to be around 850,000 Euros. Since then, the center has landed in turmoil as it cannot afford the cost but the city council wants WUK to pay for it. As the repair cannot be postponed for long, WUK is currently raising funds. The socio-cultural center unit has also been asked to make contributions (Heidi). There have been talks about collecting a small amount from every collective on a monthly basis in the future.

Review of activities and events

WUK offers a myriad of activities and services that caters to a broad range of people. A large block of WUK's activities comprises the happenings and events within the socio-cultural unit. This unit consists of seven collectives that are broadly classified as (1) Visual Arts, (2) Socio-Political Initiatives, (3) Intercultural Initiatives, (4) Children and Youth, (5) Music, (6) Dance, Theater and Performance, (7) Workshops. The seven collectives further branch out to 150 groups composed of people who dedicate their time and effort without any financial remuneration.

Figure 43. Program brochure, May 2019 (Source: WUK.at)

The Visual Arts collective has 16 resident artists and five guest artists. The resident artists have their own ateliers and their work varies from painting, graphics, photography, to films. Under the Socio-Political Initiative, there are 27 groups and 14 guest groups. The groups touch upon various themes such as cultural mediation, organizational protection, self-help, human rights, democracy movement, services for

senior citizens and poverty alleviation. Some of them are directly associated with ethnic communities such as Iran SOS, Kurdish Cultural Center, Turkmen Association for Human Rights. The Intercultural Initiative has seven groups under its umbrella. They are mostly associated with finding equality and fighting against racism. The groups represent different nationalities, support and represent the interests of the migrants, provide legal advice and support to asylum seekers in various languages, and represent diverse art and culture. The fourth collective, Children and Youth operates 2 alternative schools for children starting kindergarten to teenage students of 18 years, 1 afternoon care center for children from first to fourth grade, and 3 children groups - with the involvement of 150 children in total. The schools and groups run with the principle of providing an alternative learning environment. The Music collective comprises of 40 groups/individual artists who use 17 rehearsal rooms. In addition, professional production facilities are available in an open recording studio. There are professional equipment and sound engineers to assist the musicians with a cost effective way of production. For the Dance, Theater and Performance collective, there are 44 groups and spots for 17 guest artists who make use of the three training rooms. The Workshop collective has a total of 18 groups and individual artists, 23 workshops and 9 studios and offers spaces for traditional projects such as the bicycle workshop called *Fahrrad.Selbsthilfe.Werkstatt* to creative experimentations such as *Precious Plastic Vienna* that tries to recycle plastic in an innovative way.

Figure 44. WUK courtyard on a concert day (Source: WUK.at)

Besides the happenings in the socio-cultural center unit, there are events and activities by the two other units. For the events of January 2019 - May 2019, we mostly consulted the monthly program brochures. For the month of June 2019, the event list is more comprehensive as the official website contains more upcoming events.[32] When the

[32] Data collection was carried out in the early weeks of June 2019.

event is a concert or a party, the cultural production unit is the main organizer. The artists simply use WUK as a place where they play their music and levy a certain amount on the shows. The price range for the tickets varies according to the popularity of artists. In the 6-month time frame, the maximum charge for a concert was 41 Euros and a minimum of 3 - 5 Euros. For performing arts shows like theaters and plays, the prices are not as high as the concerts and parties. This is in line with what Heidi mentioned about the administration using much of the subsidies in performing arts, which is because they are more of a niche compared to popular events and hence require more support. The price range for the performing arts shows is typically from 12 - 16 Euros. WUK also holds regular art/photo exhibitions and art installations within its premises. The exhibitions are mostly free of charge. In addition, there are film screening in collaboration with *%attack.*[33] The films mostly address controversial issues of today's world and the screenings are followed by a discussion session. Another recurring event in WUK is the weekly bio-market and the monthly second-hand bike market. Furthermore, there are quite a few events catered towards children of diverse age groups every month. They usually cost around 5 - 10 Euros. In May 2019, a campaign called "WUK Retten. Jetzt!" [Save WUK. Now!] was launched and a few benefit concerts and programs have been held since then to collect funds for repairing the electrical system.

The Education and Counseling unit organizes monthly skill development sessions, group consultation sessions, and other workshops. They services primarily focuses on training, consultation and counseling people with job-related issues. This unit is divided into 11 broad working blocks: (1) A | B | O Jugend [A | B | O Youth], (2) WUK Arbeitsassistenz [WUK Work assistance], (3) WUK Bildung Beratung [WUK Educational Consulting], (4) WUK bio.pflanzen [WUK Organic.plants], (5) WUK CoachingPlus, (6) WUK construct, (7) WUK faktor.c, (8) WUK Jugendcoaching West [WUK Youth coaching West], (9) WUK m.power, (10) spacelab (11) StartWien - Das Jugendcollege [StartWien - The Youth College]. Most of the services cater to youths who have fallen off the traditional high school track and seek for help completing compulsory school degree. There are other programs that offer job opportunities to the unemployed, such as WUK Bio.pflanzen that employs people for producing organic plants and maintaining green spaces. To offer all these services, WUK works in collaboration with a number of external parties such as *Arbeitmarktservice Wien* (Vienna Labour Market Service, AMA) and *netzwerk berufliche assistenz* (Professional network assistance, NEBA), which is an initiative of the Ministry of Social Affairs [Sozialministerium].

[33] *%attack* is an independent movement based on the commitment of volunteer activists, questioning the malice of global economy in the present times.

As most of WUK's space is used by the socio-cultural unit, their activities form a dominant part of the profile. However, as its mode of organization is based on grassroots and autonomous principles, the events and activities of the 150 groups are usually small in scale and are not always listed along with the events organized by the other two units in the monthly brochure. Another reason why the activities of the socio-cultural unit part do not get much attention of the public is because a number of groups - music/visual arts/performing arts/workshops - rely on the space for their own work/rehearsal space in contrast to the public concerts or events organized by the cultural production unit. This difference is also mirrored on the pricing structure; most of the events from the latter unit are charged whereas most of the events from the groups of the socio-cultural unit are free of charge. Despite the difference in the core activity of both units, their events and activities tend to overlap as they can be seen on WUK's website. At first glance on the website, it is difficult to tell the difference between the tasks and functions of the two units. An exception would be the education and counseling unit which carries out its activities outside the vicinity of WUK and collaborates with a number of third parties.

Figure 45. WUK journal Info-Intern, June 2019 (Source: WUK.at)

(Clockwise from top-left)
Figure 46. Kurdish Cultural Center (Source: Authors)
Figure 47. Weekly Bio-market (Source: Authors)
Figure 48. Second-hand bicycle market (Source: WUK.at)
Figure 49. An artist's studio (Source: Authors)

Stakeholders map

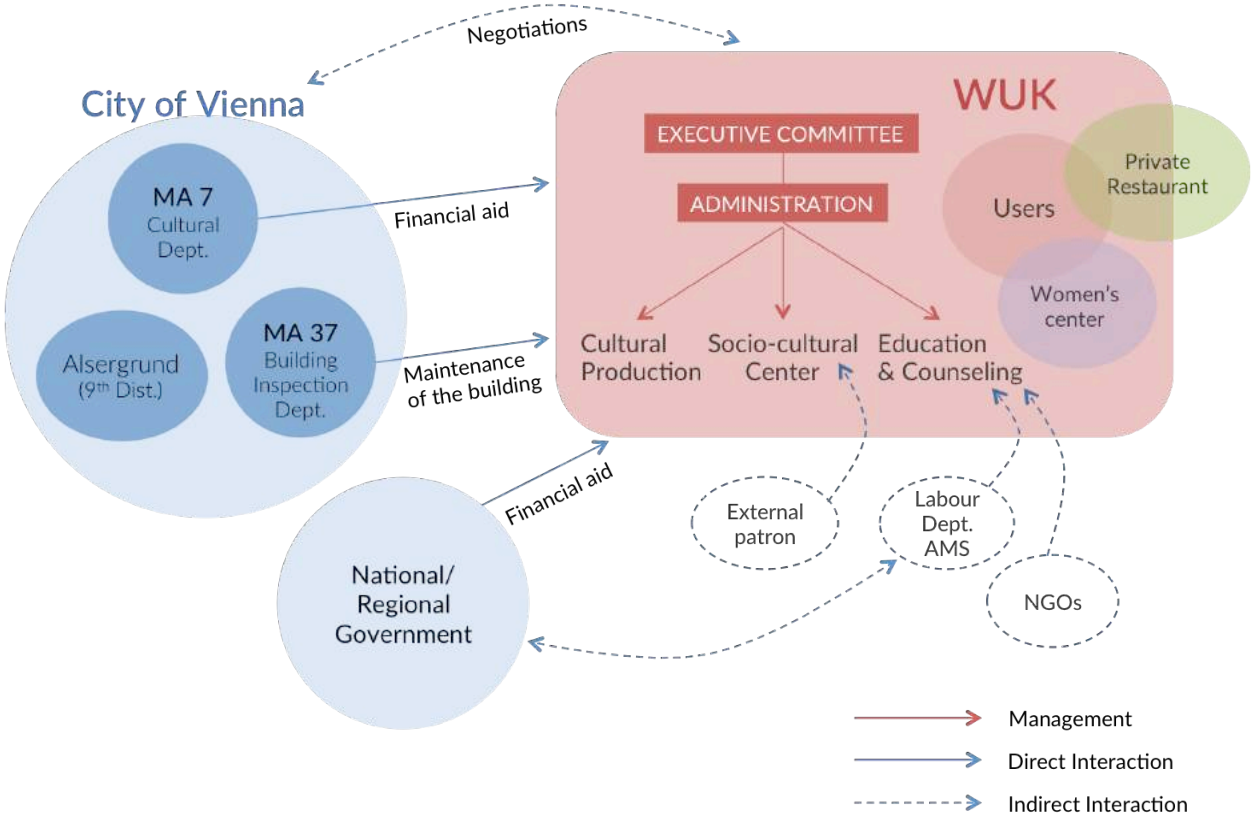

Figure 50. Stakeholders map of WUK (Source: Own elaboration)

The stakeholders can be broadly classified as public, private and users/visitors indicated by different colors. WUK as an association has direct stakeholders in the form of the executive committee, the administrative staff/employees for the cultural production unit and education/counseling unit, and the people who run the collectives in the socio-cultural unit of WUK. The most prominent public *actors* are the municipal departments MA7 (Cultural Affairs) and MA37 (Building Inspections); the cultural department is the largest donor of annual subsidies and the building inspection department is responsible for routine checkup of the building. WUK is also closely associated with these departments as they partake in frequent negotiations regarding the lease/contract and renovation of the building. Another relevant public actor is the Federal Ministry of Culture that also provides annual funding. WUK also has a close relationship with the Alsergrund district office as it holds many events in the premises of WUK (Heidi).

Various NGOs and Austria's Public Employment Service (AMS) have a direct association with the education/counseling unit. WUK's well-known restaurant called Stattbeisl is a private partner. Other partners that are spatially located within the premises but not part of the association are FrauenLesbenMädchen Zentrum Wien [Women Lesbian Girls Center Vienna]. Lastly, what makes WUK a cultural spot is the mass of users/visitors who frequent the space to take part in the events and activities.

Analysis of news articles

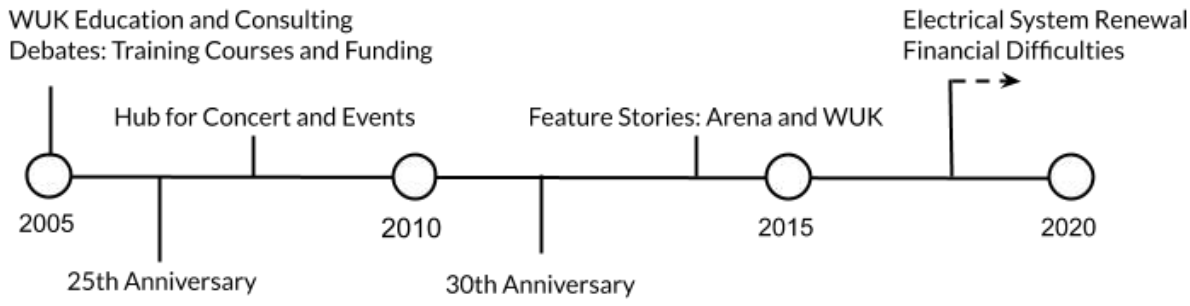

Figure 51. Summary of news topics, WUK (Source: Own elaboration)

WUK is generally framed very positively in the media. All the three working pillars of WUK seem to be given more or less equal media coverage, however, they are not usually differentiated as separate working units when they appear in the articles. In general, WUK is put into the light as a place where something is always taking place, be it the training for disadvantaged youth, the activities of the autonomous groups, or the music concerts. Feature stories that were written on WUK often refer to it as an *experiment* and a *system* that is free from hierarchies. WUK is an enormous association, and accordingly, its activity range is also very broad. This is represented quite well in the articles.

In the mid-2000s, WUK's education and consultancy unit appeared quite a few times in newspapers. Based on the articles released at that period, WUK appears very active in providing vocational training for disadvantaged youth and it came to a halt because the funding from a concerned body stopped. Another topic covered in the media was about its 25-year anniversary celebration in 2006, reflecting upon its history of squatting and primary ideals. The feature stories on its anniversary celebration appeared in quite a

few newspapers and they all primarily focused on its past and the possibility of the past leading the way for its future.

These stories reinforce the ideas on how WUK has survived for such a long time and demonstrate its evolution, which in turn help to make the public more aware of how WUK came into being and what role it plays nowadays. WUK has also appeared in stories alongside other cultural centers that started as *squats* such as Arena. In addition, cultural offers like concerts and parties are publicized in the media. However, from 2018, WUK's financial troubles for renewing the electrical system have been dominant in the media outlets. The media has also started to highlight *prekarium*.

What can be observed is that the media celebrates the big achievements of WUK - such as their anniversaries - not only by reporting the events that WUK held in celebration of the milestone but with careful details on the lifetime of WUK. Therefore, it would be safe to assume that the media is empathetic towards the center.

6.4 Future of WUK

On constant struggle

The center, which is almost nearing its 40th birthday has symbolic and historic significance and is well embedded into the Viennese cultural landscape. Despite being established as a very influential cultural institution, the struggle for its existence is not over yet as revealed from a recent series of events: a plan to change the *prekarium* agreement into a rental contract and financial difficulty created by repairing electric system. It is almost inevitable to dodge the discussions on the renovation of the building as it is an ancient structure. It is not even a recent issue; renovation was a major concern since the early days of WUK, dating back as far as 1985 (Geiblinger, 2000). Regarding the rental contract, it is not impossible, considering that other alternative cultural houses such as Amerlinghaus and EKH already operate under such a contract. Furthermore, as the political ideology of the ruling party very much determines how favorable it is towards WUK, the center would always have to adjust itself and prepare accordingly. Struggle and continuity, therefore, could be deduced as two sides of the same coin and we assume that it will always be the case for WUK.

On becoming a mere cultural event venue

Clement, a 35 years old Viennese who has seen the evolution of WUK since his early childhood lamented the reduction of WUK into an “event location”. Summerer’s (2010) research also highlighted that the number of party and concert-like events of WUK has increased, especially since 2003 and this could have constructed its image as an event venue among the younger generation. She further hinted that the reason for the increment of events might not be because of its want to be commercialized but to remain financially viable and keep it running and lively. Moreover, as revealed in the review of the activity analysis in the earlier section, although the facade might appear purely cultural, socio-political activities are also very usual in the center. We assume that the cultural events, although deemed commercial, would help maintain public support for WUK which in turn would sustain the social, political and *non-commercial* cultural facets of WUK. We further predict that the cultural events would not reduce in number as the center would try to keep up with the finances while subsidies do not increase.

6.5 Institutionalization of WUK

Since the initial days of WUK, it was clear that the idea was to experiment and demonstrate the possibility of alternative culture and different ways of doing things; the main objective of the WUKlers was not necessarily to signify a radical change of the state operation or to provoke the authorities. Geiblinger (2000, p. 89) correspondingly gives them the tagline of ‘verhandlung kulturkämpfer’ [negotiating culture fighters], who were open to negotiating from the beginning. With the acceptance by the mayor and culture councilor of that time, and the following legalization in 1981 through the *prekarium*, a flexible form of institutionalization was practiced which still continues till date. There was a constant flow of subsidies and grants - first from the culture department since, later followed by the subsidies for building renovation from concerned municipal departments. The subsidy from the culture department has been constant at around one million since 1997 (Geiblinger, 2000; Summerer, 2010). The utility expenses have always been covered by the subsidies. Presently, WUK is struggling to negotiate and convince the city of Vienna to fund the necessary renovations.

This flexible form of institutionalization with a high amount of subsidies resulted in transforming WUK from fully autonomous to less autonomous center with a higher degree of control. Heidi confirmed that there is no interference from the municipality

regarding its contents unless they are breaking laws or practicing some form of extreme political ideology: “it is all decided by the members. They [the authorities] don’t touch in anyway the *verein* [association].” However, she also clarified that once the public fund is involved, one is always under control:

> “I don’t think there is any other association in whole Vienna, who is controlled too much as we. Once a year, all kinds of controlling institutions come here to see that what we get as funding is spent in the right way and is getting to the artists who need the funding. So in order to fulfill the … [requirements] of the law, of the financial law and the controlling, you need a very tight controlling department and I don’t think you would be able to do it in a democratic, autonomous [way] because there is always the struggle ….”

The present negotiations on making a new lease contract and repairing the electrical system represent another complexity regarding the institutionalization process in WUK, which in turn might change the entire working mechanism of WUK. For example, one change is already in progress in the form of negotiation within the association. Up to now all the members of the socio-cultural collective pay individual membership fees and 50 Euros per *year* for basic utilities like the internet, water and electricity, but according to the present talks they might have to pay 50 Euros per *month* (Brusk). This might land the groups in a difficult position as they operate on a voluntary basis and have no proper source of income. Therefore, while there are no restrictions on the type of activities in the center, a substantial decline in the funding or a new rental contract would consequently cause problems for the socio-cultural unit to operate autonomously and would hinder the activities eventually.

In summary, after obtaining legal permission and starting to receive public funding, WUK is operating within the trinity of internal institutionalization, professionalization, and commercialization. The presence of three working pillars and management bodies who are the *employees* of the WUK association, which also implies internal institutionalization and a system of professional management. Regarding commercialization, it seems inevitable as the association grows and tries to remain financially sustainable. Hence, WUK exists as an institution; for some people it has become nothing more than a “managed corporation” (Clement), while for others it is a place that is still rooted in its original idea, where “time stands still” (Bernhard, personal communication, 18 May 2019). Such contradicting views represent the complex reality behind WUK.

CHAPTER 7
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Three case studies have evolved under varying times and circumstances, yet with similar ideas of self-management and cultural democracy. By following their development since the inception, we could see how the idea materialized in three cities and underwent different phases of institutionalization. In this section, we will continue to discuss the politics of institutionalization, while investigating our hypotheses and the primary research question in a comparative manner.

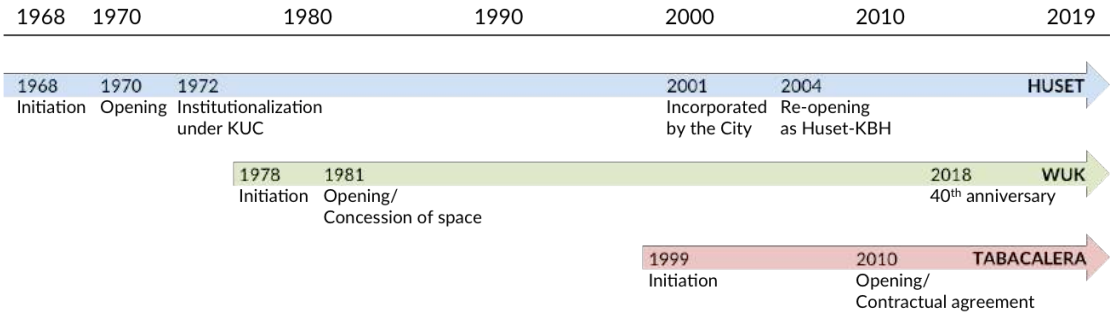

Figure 52. Timeline of the three case studies (Source: Own elaboration)

7.1 Assessing the impact of institutionalization

When the idea behind the self-managed cultural center was conceived, the coincidence of opportunities was critical for the idea to be materialized. Ample supply of empty spaces in cities is a critical precondition for negotiations to occur, otherwise the economic value of a property would be prioritized. During the time period when Huset and WUK were envisioned the interest in profit-making with real estate was less intense, which created a favorable condition for the ideas to further. In contrast, under the neoliberal conditions, the exchange value has priority over the use value. As every parcel of land counts as an asset, non-commercial niche cannot survive easily; consequently, a new squat can barely arise and when it does somehow, we hear stories of fast eviction. That said, Madrid's squatting and socio-cultural center scene is still alive despite having the most liberal economic system among three cities, which can be attributed to the availability of a considerable amount of vacant buildings throughout the construction boom from the 1990s. Particularly after the financial crisis when many urban projects were halted, it served as an opportunity for Tabacalera to be visualized.

The political regime during which the centers are conceived counts as well. In all three cities, when the debates for the centers started, the acting government was from the left/central left that had mostly favorable stance towards alternative ideas. There were political figures who actively supported and subsidized the inception of our three cases. Once the citizens were mobilized for a goal, then the political will followed to realize the plan. Even in the present times, the centers are very much dependent on political conditions. Our interviewees often expressed their concerns on the liberal parties coming into power as they had formerly initiated discussions on closing down Huset or for cutting subsidies granted to WUK. In this vein, adopting themselves to new political circumstances becomes another task for the centers. Our first hypothesis that the politics of institutionalization is highly dependent on the inclination or openness of the authorities becomes valid in this context.

In addition, political and hegemonic discourses affect the relationship between the activists and the authorities. For example, when Huset experienced an inflow of drug addicts in 1971, it sought help from the municipality without much hesitance as the discourse at that time was cultural democracy and the authorities were relatively open. In contrast, Tabacalera in 2019 does not dare to do so with similar issues as it could be regarded as incompetence of self-

management. Asking authorities for help in the neo-liberal city could possibly provide a ground for arguments to close the center by highlighting its *inability* to self-manage the space, especially when its status is still not entirely guaranteed.

The second hypothesis that the process of institutionalization is not entirely coercive but rather bilateral is valid only for the case of flexible institutionalization but not for that of terminal institutionalization, as in the example of Huset. For the former, as seen in the example of Tabacalera and WUK, the institutionalization has entailed a series of negotiations in every critical moment. Tabacalera acts as one of the main stakeholders for making decisions on the premises; WUK has always been involved in dialogues with the city council, be it for subsidies, type of contract or the renovation of the building. Although negotiations might not always entail favorable results for the centers, the possibility of negotiation implies that there is no coercive decision imposed upon the centers.

In contrast, terminal institutionalization does not leave much room for mutual communication. It also dilutes the negotiating power of a center. No matter how horizontal and autonomous the center is internally, Huset is greatly dependent on hierarchical decisions from the municipality. Before it became a municipal body, there was a possibility for engaging in negotiation process, but not any more with the change in its status.

Further, the attitude towards negotiation with the authorities matter in the initial days of the centers. As evidenced in all three centers, they were very open to negotiations with the authorities in contrary to other squatters who oppose any interaction or negotiation.

7.2 Contradictory position of alternative cultural centers

Autonomy or self-management is a recurring term in the analysis of alternative cultural centers because it represents the very defining trait of the centers when they were born. The autonomous nature in the most generic understanding is about being independent from the authorities, which entails horizontal organizational structure. Despite a common framework of autonomy, our empirical study proved that the extent and form of autonomy is rather dependent on the context in which they operate. In regard to our case studies, all three of them started as spaces of autonomy with bottom-up roots. With time, as they faced the authorities and underwent various steps of institutionalization, the meaning of autonomy also tended to modify. As discussed earlier, the

process of institutionalization did not follow a clear-cut pattern, however, the process itself have had an impact of varying degree in the general workings within the centers, both in terms of management and the activities they partake in.

An interesting commonality observed in all three centers is that the relevant stakeholders opined that there is little or no interference in what activities are conducted in the centers. While on the surface, it did appear very true, a thorough reflection confirmed that the decisions of and the interaction with the authorities did in fact indirectly affect *what* and *how* the activities take place. In the case of Huset, a closer look at its recent past revealed that the municipality had a say in what programs to be included when it opened in 2004. Also Huset's inclusion in the policy network DIT:KBH and subsequent bureaucratic requirements indirectly brought about the change in the activities they engage with. Even for WUK and Tabacalera, similar stories could be found. As WUK receives a significant monetary aid from the municipality, it has to verify and justify all the spending, which can be taken as an indirect form of control. For Tabacalera, as it is still not mature, the decisions taken by the authorities regarding the rehabilitation plan would directly affect how the center could organize its own space.

All three centers have eventually landed in a contradictory position where they seek to preserve their autonomy and stick to their primary ideals, while being institutionalized from the authorities. For Tabacalera and WUK, the contradiction is relatively more obvious as they technically do not operate under the authorities, while for Huset the discussion appears irrelevant. Even in a terminally institutionalized case like Huset, the employees seek to maintain autonomy in certain areas (Christina; Niklas). They try to go over the municipal influence/intervention and suggest things on their own, even though it is only about its programs and operation (website, branding, etc.) and not about its organizational structure itself (as their status as municipal employees would never change). This demonstrates that they seek for more independence and less intervention from the municipality. For WUK, while trying to be autonomous, it has experienced an extraordinary form of *internal* institutionalization and professional managerial system. For Tabacalera, it is still a bit early to decipher whether its autonomy has been affected as a result of getting legitimacy from the authorities. The course of development of Huset and WUK, nonetheless, falsify our third hypothesis as the empirical evidence suggested that the institutionalization process brought significant change in the primary autonomous principles of the centers.

Democratic and horizontal organizational structure are the defining traits of autonomous management. While this is ideal, as the centers mature and constantly attempt to survive the contradictory position, a certain degree of internal institutionalization would naturally follow as evidenced in WUK, and even in Tabacalera. Further, the meaning of autonomy would inevitably modify over time as per need. To summarize, all three centers exhibit a goal of establishing a stable institution where at least some degree of initial principles could last.

7.3 Social, political and cultural dimensions of the cases

Alternative cultural center already reveals its dominant cultural profile, however, our case sites originated rather as socio-cultural centers with visible political engagement. For the sake of the analysis, we have classified their activities as cultural, social and political based on our empirical data even if they are overlapping in many ways. Cultural activities are primarily related to producing and experiencing culture in various forms; social activities implies the activities through which people engage with social issues and provide social services; political activities are associated with the political activeness of the center in terms of engaging in political debates.

While reviewing the user interviews and activities of three centers, we observed the cultural facet is undoubtedly dominant as most of the events could be classified as *cultural*. Tabacalera seems to be in the path to lose its social engagement due to its recurring closure. Consequently, it is often tagged as an exclusive workshop space for its members. The youth activism and the political groups that were located within the vicinity of Huset during the inception phase has been long gone. Most of the user interviewees frequented WUK to take part in the events organized by the cultural production unit. All three centers are thus perceived mainly as a cultural venue by the public. In this regard, our fourth hypothesis that cultural activities start to gain dominance over political and social activities throughout the development of centers is empirically proven.

Due to their cultural profile, there are criticisms that they represent *mainstream alternative* culture (Niklas) or are no longer *alternative*. Such mindset undermines their value and significance. There are many more cultural opportunities nowadays, be it alternative or not, compared to the 1970s-80s. During that time, alternative cultural spaces were the only place where people could freely express

themselves, meet the like-minded and discuss socio-political agendas. The present times offer much more options. That being said, from our empirical study, we argue that the centers still hold meaning in the urban tissue.

Firstly, they still hold alternative activities that do not commonly happen elsewhere: for example, seniors' club, performing arts, non-popular culture that could not survive without subsidies. Such programs are often overshadowed by more popular ones that comply more with the interest of audience and thus receive more attention. Furthermore, subcultural activities is a foundational part of the cultural ecosystem in the city; aspiring or amateur artists could have their space and present their work, which extends the access of such culture to the public. The centers actively support non-commercial and non-professional arts that would not survive otherwise. This holds more meaning especially in our times when culture is merely regarded as a product of the cultural industry.

Secondly, we noted that another dimension of the centers naturally emerged: providing a sense of community and further, conditions for happenstance encounters. The sense of community is mostly valid for the members who are directly involved in the centers of collectives. Their dedication and engagement provides a bonding space for people with similar interests, as evidenced by the sense of community present within the collectives. Along with the sense of community for the members, the centers also functions as an open public space. They hold an inviting atmosphere where everybody can easily come and always feel welcome; as one would call WUK "his second and bigger living room" (Reba). A significant number of interviewees at all three sites attested that they feel accepted as they are (Reba) or that LGBT people can also freely socialize through diverse activities (Teresa). Visitors in Huset and WUK find the centers to be appealing because of the friendliness of the people around and the atmosphere it creates. It is in fact what has been missing in Tabacalera for the last few years as it no longer runs the cafeteria and has been often closed to the public. This function as a public space where people can get together without any constraint is fundamental to such spaces; without it, the foundation cannot stand strong and eventually the centers might lose public support.

Lastly, we address the issue regarding the loss of political identity of the centers. Huset that had clear political motives during its establishment certainly has no longer such profile; a user who has kept a close relationship with Huset from the 1970s finds this rather natural in the times when there is the internet and numerous media where political agendas are discussed (Susie). Similarly, for WUK, the political activities are rather found in small scale conducted mostly by

the socio-political initiative collective. For Tabacalera, the criticism is harsher as it is losing its political foothold when considering its strong roots in socio-political engagement particularly during the 15M. Nevertheless, the territory of Tabacalera itself and the effort to preserve it for the times in need in the future hold much meaning despite the currently fading political intensity:

“The struggles in the city is not always in the high level of intensity, but we need [a] territory to develop that kind of moment … We don’t have space like that in the city or majority of big cities in the world. And now we are trying to care, to preserve that empty space for the future. We need more intensity but when the intensity will come, we’ll need territory.” (Pablo)

Another member also affirmed that “the act of being there” and having the space for themselves is a political act or “an act of resistance” (Jhes). Although it should be admitted that the political possibility of Huset has gone for long, despite Peter’s claim on its political potential. A current member admitted that the only possibility for Huset to be social and political again is to be independent from the municipality which is “unrealistic” (Niklas).

CONCLUSION

Our thesis is an attempt to unravel one aspect of the vastness called the city. The subject of analysis - alternative cultural centers - was born with a vision of *informal actors* (Groth & Corjin, 2005). By using culture as a basis for debates, the informal actors brought life and meaning to the empty sites. The centers initially represented spaces detached from authoritative control and were envisioned as a site for social, political, and cultural activities. The alternative cultural centers with its bottom-up roots represented *a lived space* as conceptualized by the urban theorist Henri Lefebvre.

The Lefebvrian definition of lived space constitutes a space that puts users and their experience and everyday life at the forefront (Schmid, 2008); they represent space of 'inhabitants, users, artists...writers and philosophers' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). Along with the lived spaces, Lefebvre had imagined *perceived* and *conceived spaces*: perceived space simply means the physical built environment, whereas conceived space as a hierarchical space which is 'the space of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 348), controlled by figures in power. In this regard, the initial phase of alternative cultural centers epitomized the essence of a lived space, standing as a force against conceived spaces.

As the centers have developed over time, they faced institutionalization from the authorities. Two of our empirical cases, Tabacalera and WUK, revealed that a flexible form of institutionalization allowed the centers to maintain a certain degree of autonomy. Despite a flexible form of legal status, or even becoming a municipal body as in the case of Huset, the empirical study suggested that the struggle for these centers did not really stop. Negotiations regarding issues such as the contract type, collaboration with other cultural institutions, inclusion in policy networks and renovation with the authorities are quite common. Being institutionalized to any extent, therefore, would mean that the people associated with the center would always have to encounter the authorities. In addition to interaction with the authorities, another dimension of interaction was also observed in all of the centers' *ecosystem* - the interaction with the users and/or the general public. While the space is primarily for the people associated with the centers, they are also supposed to represent a space where anyone can feel welcome. Put simply, the process of institutionalization is an important phase in the life of the centers and hence the interactions with the authorities are crucial in determining the overall profile of the centers; however, the engagement with general users is equally important as without public support, it is very likely that

they lose their embeddedness in the city and the neighborhood, which could eventually lead to their demise in the case of crisis.

As the centers introduce more cultural activities in order to engage further with the general public and becoming financially stable, they often get criticized for losing their social and political identity. In this vein, we pose the question: if alternative cultural centers are politically and socially less active than they used to be, could they still be considered relevant to our society, especially in the present times when *culture* is everywhere and open to everybody? Traditional cultural institutions such as museums and theaters are opening their doors more and more to encourage the participation of social communities and citizen initiatives. Other municipal cultural projects, such as Conde Duque or Matadero in Madrid also share similar images and values with alternative cultural centers; they are developed in the historical/heritage sites and now function as a venue for various forms of art and culture. They hold a number of free events for the sake of citizens' participation as a way of cultural democracy and empowerment. Such concept of the space and their activities are unconventional in a way and similar values are shared with bottom-up centers.

That said, we believe that alternative cultural centers are still relevant and represent the original bottom-up spirit to a significant degree. As one former employee of WUK remarked, "not everyone would be able to understand the importance of these places" (Reba), the social and cultural significance of such centers often go unnoticed. The alternative cultural centers are still in the Lefebvrian pursuit of a *lived space* amidst the internal and external chaos, negotiations and dialogues, and an uneasy balance between autonomy and governmental intervention. They are still very active in supporting artists in need, amateur art and culture, and providing social services. Their past carries a legacy that inspires their future, which sets them apart from carefully planned top-down projects with similar profiles.

The empirical cases presented in our thesis are not appropriate to generalize the pattern of development and the profiles of alternative cultural centers in all European cities; particularly considering that even centers in the same city could have significant differences. It was our idea to trace the evolution of centers operating in completely different urban contexts, seeking to uncover significant insights. What we found is that while they could not sustain the enthusiasm of its earlier days, which we believe is quite natural as they mature with time, their functions in the city are still valid. The centers we have studied still represent meaningful interstices in their respective urban realms.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. List of Figures

Appendix 2. Fact Sheet

	HUSET-KBH	TABACALERA	WUK
Establishment	1970 (initial debate started in 1968)	2010 (1999)	1981 (1979)
Location	Rådhusstræde 13, 1466 København	Calle de Embajadores 53, 28012 Madrid	Währinger Straße 59, 1090 Wien
Neighborhood	Indre By	Embajadores	Alsergrund (9th district)
Former use	Spice factory warehouse (largely reconstructed in 1852)	Tobacco factory (constructed in 1792)	Locomotive factory → Technologische Gewerbemuseum (teaching/research institution) (constructed in 1855)
Architecture	Classic brick (protected building)	Classic brick (national heritage)	Classic brick (protected building)
Surface area	4,500m²	9,000m²	12,000m²
Distance from city center	0.3 km	1.4 km	1.7 km
Legal status	Full incorporation to the municipality	Lease contract	Concession of the space
Type of contract	No contract	Renewable contract every 2 years	Prekarium
Utility expense	Full subsidy	Primary subsidy	Primary subsidy
Support for Activities	Partial subsidy	None	Partial subsidy
Renovation /Maintenance	Full subsidy	Primary subsidy	Partial subsidy
Property owner	City of Copenhagen	Ministry of Culture and Sport	City of Vienna
Operator	Committee of Leisure and Culture, City of Copenhagen	CSA La Tabacalera de Lavapiés association	WUK Werkstätten and Kulturhaus association

Appendix 3. Interview Guidelines

We used the following interview guideline as a base and customized it accordingly to address the site-specific issues. Regarding the expert interviews, we did not develop a general guideline as we formulated specific questions according to the expert.

1. Stakeholder interview

1) What do you do in the center?
2) How long have you been working in the center?
3) Could you explain the history of the center?
4) What kind of activities do you offer here?
5) What is the ownership of the space? Who is the main organizer?
6) What is the legal status of the center? What type of contract do you have?
7) Can you explain the management and organizational structure?
8) Who do you think is most attracted to the house and why?
9) What impact do you think the center has in the neighborhood? And in the city?
10) What is the financial model of the center?
11) Do you have any internal problems or conflicts? How do you cope with them?
12) How would you describe your relationship with the government?
13) How do you communicate and negotiate with the government? How flexible do you think they are?
14) Are there any requirements imposed by the authorities? How much have these affected the center?
15) Have you experienced any kind of friction with the authorities?
16) Do you have any connections with other cultural centers/institutions inside or outside of the city?
17) Can you comment on the possible renovations of the center?
18) Is there anything else I should have asked or you want to add to our discussion?

2. User interview

1) Can you tell us about yourself? Age, background, occupation?
2) Do you live around here?
    a) If so, for how long?
    b) If not, from which area did you come?
3) How did you find out about this culture center?
4) How often do you come here/use it?
    a) Have you noticed any change?
5) Do you know how the center started?
    a) Does it hold any meaning to you and influences why you come here?

6) Why do you come here? (activities/events)
7) Whom do you go with?
8) What do you like about this place and what not? Why?
9) Is there anything that you consider worth adding/improving (activities, events etc.) in the culture house, if you had the opportunity?
10) What kind of people do you think come to this place?
11) Is this cultural center approachable? Have you ever tried to organize an event in cooperation with the center?
    a) If not, do you think they would be open to it?
    b) What about other centers in the city?
    c) Do you know somebody who has done it before?
12) Do you know any other culture centers in the city? Can you name them?
    a) From the culture centers that you have named, where do you go or not?
    b) Among all of them, which one do you like the most? Why?
13) Do you think that such culture houses are important? Why? Why not?
14) Is there anything else I should have asked or you want to add?

Appendix 4. List of Interviewees

0. Research Guidance Interviews

Besides our supervisor, the following figures provided us with invaluable guidance in shaping the research. We are very grateful for their time and advice.

Name	Position	Date/Location
Andreas Zehndorfer	WUK employee	5 May 2019, Vienna
Christian Pagh	Founder/Culture director at Urgent.Agency	15 January 2019, Copenhagen (Phone Interview)
Dorte Skot-Hansen	Associate Professor, Department of Information Studies (INF), University of Copenhagen	21 January 2019, Copenhagen
Jesus Carrillo	Professor, Department of History and Art Theory, Autonomous University of Madrid	7 March 2019, Madrid
Martin Zerlang	Associate Professor, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen	14 November 2018, Copenhagen
Miguel A. Martínez	Professor, Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University	29 May 2019, Vienna

Niels Koch-Rasmussen	Former Huset-KBH intern	26 June 2019, Copenhagen
Rosa María de la Fuente Fernández	Professor, Faculty of Political Science and Sociology, Complutense University of Madrid	24 April 2019, Madrid
Tina Steiger	Former 4CITIES student	16 February 2019, Copenhagen

1. Huset, Copenhagen

a) Experts and Stakeholders

Name	Position	Date/Location
Christina Ben-Yedidia Lykkegaard	Head of Public Relation at DIT:KBH & Huset-KBH	17 January 2019, Copenhagen (Phone Interview)
Henrik Reeh	Associate Professor, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen	25 June 2019, Huset
Jack Stevenson	Main Organizer, Husets Biograf	14 June 2019, Husets Biograf
Josephine Paddison	Main coordinator, SIB	15 July 2019, Huset
Niklas Wriedt	Project Manager, Huset-KBH	24 July 2019, Huset
Peter Duelund	Initial member (Project Hus)	17 January 2019, Nordisk Kultur Institut
Samuel	Volunteer, Huset-KBH	8 July 2019, Huset
Sara Bech Jakobsen	Chief, DIT:KBH	23 January 2019, Huset
Susie Paddison	Member, SIB / Chairman of Islands Brygges Lokalhistoriske Forening og Arkiv	15 July 2019, Huset

b) Users/Visitors

Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	Occupation	Date/Time/Location
Harry	24	Male	American	Master's student, University of Copenhagen	21 June 2019, 18:50h, Huset entrance
Ingvi	25	Male	Icelandic	Student / Volunteer of Huset	30 July 2019, 21:15h, Huset courtyard bar
Jonathan	26	Male	Danish	Student	16 February 2019, 19h, Bastard Cafe

Jonathan	21	Male	Born in Denmark	Preparing to enter university	30 July 2019, 21:30h, Huset courtyard
Jonas	26	Male	Danish	Studying carpentry	16 February 2019, 18:45h, Bastard Cafe
Marie & Emma	22/23	Females	Danish	Students of rhetoric	31 July 2019, 19:45h, Huset courtyard
Sun	41	Male	Danish	Machine technician/ Amateur photographer	21 June 2019, 19:10h, Huset courtyard
Teresa	24	Female	Danish	Cinema operator	13 June 2019, 18:50h, Huset entrance
N/A	20s	Male	Danish	Preschool teacher/ Musician	13 June 2019, 19:10h, Huset courtyard
N/A	25	Female	Danish	Student in social work	31 July 2019, 19:05h, Huset courtyard

2. Tabacalera, Madrid

a) Experts and Stakeholders

Name	Position	Date/Location
Cecilia (Primary interviewee) & Guillermo	Members, El Keller	26 February 2019, Tabacalera
Giancarlo	Member (Nave Trapecio), Tabacalera	2 May 2019, Tabacalera
Gloria G. Duran	Initial Member, Tabacalera	26 February 2019, Lavapiés
Jhes and Salome	Member (Nave Trapecio), Tabacalera	2 May 2019, Tabacalera
Ken	Member (Nave Trapecio), Tabacalera	23 April 2019, Tabacalera
Maria	Member (Nave Trapecio), Tabacalera	23 April 2019, Tabacalera
Michael	Member (Molino Rojo), Tabacalera	23 April 2019, Tabacalera
Pablo García Bachiller	Architect / Member, Tabacalera	11 March 2019, Lavapiés
Rodrigo de la Fuente Puebla	Consejero Técnico [Technical Advisor] General Sub-directorate Promotion of Fine Arts	10 June 2019, (Email interview)

b) Users/Visitors

Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	Occupation	Date/Time/Location
Carlos	21	Male	N/A	Sound technician student	20 March 2019, 19:15h, Main Hall
David & Paola	18	Male and Female	Spanish	High school students	30 March 2019, 19:05h, Main Hall
Ignasio	28	Male	Spanish	Construction worker	31 March 2019, 17:30h, Exhibition Hall
Jono	30	Male	South African	Graffiti artist and muralist	23 April 2019, 18:45h, El Keller
Sara	24	Female	N/A	Fine Arts student	30 March 2019, 18:15h, Exhibition Hall
N/A	24	Female	Spanish	Working for Action against hunger	30 March 2019, 18:30h, Exhibition Hall
N/A	40	Female	Spanish	Researcher at INE / freelance illustrator	30 March 2019, 18:50h, Exhibition Hall
N/A	20	Female	N/A	Graphic design student	30 March 2019, 19:20h, Exhibition Hall

3. WUK, Vienna

a) Experts and Stakeholders

Name	Position	Date/Location
Afshin Saade	Member (Intercultural Initiatives), WUK	18 May 2019, WUK
Brusk Raschid	Member (Kurdish Cultural Center), WUK	25 May 2019, WUK
Claus*	Member (Fahrrad.Sebsthilfe.Werkstatt), WUK	11 May 2019, WUK
Heidi Stadlmann	Assistant, WUK Cultural Production	20 May 2019, WUK
Reba*	Former employee, WUK	28 May 2019, Innere Stadt
Rene Herar	Member (Visual Arts), WUK	21 May 2019, WUK
Walter Matznetter	Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, University of Vienna	29 May 2019, Währing

b) Users/Visitors

Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	Occupation	Date/Time/Location
Antonio	N/A	Male	Persian-American	Film editor	17 May 2019, 19:10h, Persian library
Bernhard	43	Male	Austrian	Austrian railways employee	18 May 2019, 19:15h, WUK courtyard
Clement	35	Male	Austrian	Graphic designer	17 May 2019, 19:50h, WUK courtyard
David	40	Male	Austrian	Web Designer	23 May 2019, 18:45h, WUK bar
Eva	51	Female	Austrian	N/A	25 May 2019, 18:15h, WUK backyard
Mariia	26	Female	Ukrainian	Student	2 June 2019, 16:30h, WUK backyard
Tobias	19	Male	Austrian	High school student	31 May 2019, 13:50h, WUK backyard
N/A (In pair)	Late 30s	Male and Female	Austrian	N/A	18 May 2019, 19:40h, WUK courtyard
N/A	63	Male	Austrian	Retired/Former bookseller	23 May 2019, 18:30h, WUK bar
N/A	50	Male	Austrian	Lawyer	23 May 2019, 19:20h, WUK courtyard

* Name changed on interviewees' request

Appendix 5. Personal Observations

We visited the sites multiple times and took short field notes. For the observations listed below, we have produced detailed field notes. Tabacalera was not generally open to the public at the time we were conducting the fieldwork, so we could not conduct as many observations as we had intended to.

No.	Site	Date / Time
1	**Huset**	Friday, 11 Jan 2019, 18:14 - 18:35
2		Friday, 21 June 2019, 18:30 - 19:30
3		Wednesday, 26 June 2019, 12:00 - 13:40
4		Wednesday, 24 July 2019, 13:50 - 15:00
5		Tuesday, 30 July 2019, 21:10 - 22:30

6	**Tabacalera**	Saturday, 30th March 2019, 18:10 - 19:20
7		Sunday, 31st March 2019, 17:30 - 19:30
8		Monday, 15th April 2019, 20:30 - 22:00 (attended the general assembly)
9	**WUK**	Sunday, 5 May 2019, 18:00 - 21:00
10		Saturday, 11 May 2019, 17:45 - 18:40
11		Friday, 17 May 2019, 18:30 - 17:30
12		Thursday, 23 May 2019, 18:20 - 19:10
13		Friday, 31 May 2019, 13:30 - 14:20
14		Saturday, 1 June 2019, 17:20 - 18:30

Appendix 6. List of News Articles

1. Huset, Copenhagen (Accessed on: 14 June 2019)

1) Rigor mortis i Rådhusstræde | Rigor mortis in City Hall Street, 28 November 1997 [Information] https://www.information.dk/1997/11/rigor-mortis-raadhusstraede
2) “Tykkemandskultur ødelagde KUC” | "Thick men’s culture destroyed KUC", 3 May 2000 [Jyllands-Posten] https://jyllands-posten.dk/indland/kbh/ECE3286114/%C2%BBTykkemandskultur-%C3%B8delagde-KUC%C2%AB/
3) Lukning truer Huset i Magstræde | Closure threatens Huset in Magstræde, 11 May 2004 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/art5686279/Lukning-truer-Huset-i-Magstr%C3%A6de
4) Kunstens kærligheds-erklæring til Huset | The Love's Declaration of Love for Huset, 24 May 2004 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/art5686777/Kunstens-k%C3%A6rligheds-erkl%C3%A6ring-til-Huset
5) Huset i Magstræde overlever | Huset in Magstræde survives, 1 June 2004 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/art5686991/Huset-i-Magstr%C3%A6de-overlever
6) Huset kræver arbejdsro | Huset requires peace of mind to work, 14 June 2004 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/art4896981/Huset-kr%C3%A6ver-arbejdsro
7) Nye øvelokaler i Huset er ikke nok | New rehearsal rooms in Huset are not enough, 1 September 2005 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/art4872077/Nye-%C3%B8velokaler-i-Huset-er-ikke-nok
8) Lukning Forpagter fyret i Huset i Magstræde | Closure Leases the lighthouse in Huset in Magstræde, 20 December 2006 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/mad/madnyt/art4735823/Forpagter-fyret-i-Huset-i-Magstr%C3%A6de

9) Huset i Magstræde vil åbne ny café rundt om hjørnet | Huset in Magstræde will open a new café around the corner, 12 March 2008 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/art4736020/Huset-i-Magstr%C3%A6de-vil-%C3%A5bne-ny-caf%C3%A9-rundt-om-hj%C3%B8rnet
10) mere musik Huset får to nye scener | more music Huset gets two new scenes, 8 January 2009 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/musik/art4780553/Huset-f%C3%A5r-to-nye-scener
11) Huset i Magstræde fylder 40 med fynd og klem | Huset in Magstræde turns 40, 17 April 2010 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/art5414073/Huset-i-Magstr%C3%A6de-fylder-40-med-fynd-og-klem
12) Kom til fødselsdagsfest på seks scener for 41 kroner | Come to a birthday party of six scenes for 41 kroner, 11 April 2011 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/musik/art5004801/Kom-til-f%C3%B8dselsdagsfest-p%C3%A5-seks-scener-for-41-kroner
13) Københavns travleste jazz-spillested har 100 koncerter på 10 dage | Copenhagen's busiest jazz venue has 100 concerts in 10 days, 9 July 2013 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/kultur/musik/copenhagenjazzfestival/art5606840/K%C3%B8benhavns-travleste-jazz-spillested-har-100-koncerter-p%C3%A5-10-dage
14) Cine-files: Husets Biograf, Copenhagen, 8 October 2013 [The Guardian, blog] https://www.theguardian.com/film/filmblog/2013/oct/08/cine-files-husets-biograf-copenhagen
15) Eurovision-feber rammer Huset KBH | Eurovision fever hits the house KBH, 24 January 2014 [Berlingske Tidende] https://www.berlingske.dk/kultur/eurovision-feber-rammer-huset-kbh
16) Huset-KBH to host Euro Fan Café, 24 January 2014 [eurovision.tv] https://eurovision.tv/story/huset-kbh-to-host-euro-fan-cafe
17) Copenhagen gets its first board game cafe, 11 November 2014 [The Copenhagen Post] http://cphpost.dk/news/copenhagen-gets-its-first-board-game-cafe.html
18) Huset præsenterer ambitiøst program til årets jazzfestival | Huset presents ambitious program for this year's jazz festival, 30 June 2015 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/ibyen/byliv/art5581433/Huset-pr%C3%A6senterer-ambiti%C3%B8st-program-til-%C3%A5rets-jazzfestival
19) Hvad har du taget? Psykedelisk festival syrer ud i Huset | What have you taken? Psychedelic festival in Huset, 21 July 2015 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/ibyen/koncert/art5583299/Psykedelisk-festival-syrer-ud-i-Huset
20) Copenhagen's Best Music Venues: Where to Party with the Locals, 28 November 2016 [independent.co.uk] https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/europe/copenhagen-best-music-venues-concerts-gigs-whats-on-bars-a7439681.html
21) Kom ind i Eurovision-varmestuen | Get into the Eurovision, 29 May 2017 [Berlingske Tidende] https://www.berlingske.dk/kultur/kom-ind-i-eurovision-varmestuen
22) Ny restaurant hjælper unge ind på arbejdsmarkedet med god mad | New restaurant helps young people enter the labor market with good food, 29 May 2017 [Berlingske Tidende] https://www.berlingske.dk/gourmet/ny-restaurant-hjaelper-unge-ind-paa-arbejdsmarkedet-med-god-mad

23) Bastard Café har 2.400 brætspil under samme tag | Bastard Café has 2,400 board games under the same roof, 15 December 2017 [Information] https://www.information.dk/kultur/2017/12/bastard-cafe-2400-braetspil-samme-tag
24) English-language theatre community rocked by arbitrary eviction decision, 6 October 2018 [The Copenhagen Post] http://cphpost.dk/news/english-language-theatre-community-rocked-by-arbitrary-eviction-decision.html
25) Tendens: Sluk mobilen og rør ved verden | Trend: Turn off your mobile and touch the world, 15 December 2018 [Berlingske Tidende] https://www.berlingske.dk/det-gode-liv/tendens-sluk-mobilen-og-roer-ved-verden
26) Aftensmad for en 50'er: Huset i Magstræde inviterer til folkekøkken hver onsdag | Dinner for a 50's: Huset in Magstræde invites to the folk kitchen every Wednesday, 18 February 2019 [Politiken] https://politiken.dk/ibyen/art7041000/Huset-i-Magstr%C3%A6de-inviterer-til-folkek%C3%B8kken-hver-onsdag
27) Et liv er forbi: Han giftede sig med musikken | A life is over: He married the music, 23 March 2019 [Information] https://www.information.dk/moti/2019/03/liv-forbi-giftede-musikken

2. Tabacalera, Madrid (Accessed on: 18 May 2019)

1) La Tabacalera, corazón madrileño de la autogestión | La Tabacalera, Madrid's heart of self-management [El Confidencial], 5 September 2010 https://www.elconfidencial.com/sociedad/2010-09-05/la-tabacalera-corazon-madrileno-de-la-autogestion_420686/
2) La Tabacalera no se cierra | La Tabacalera does not close [El Mundo], 28 February 2011 https://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/02/28/madrid/1298926999.html
3) Arte en los muros | Art on the walls [El Pais], 13 June 2016 https://elpais.com/ccaa/2016/06/13/madrid/1465832447_432605.html
4) Lavapiés, la cultura del revés | Lavapiés, the culture of the reverse [El Pais], 21 February 2017 https://elviajero.elpais.com/elviajero/2017/02/21/actualidad/1487690510_280983.html
5) Tabacalera expondrá obras de vanguardia del Reina Sofía | Tabacalera will exhibit avant-garde works by Reina Sofía [El Pais], 27 July 2017 https://elpais.com/ccaa/2017/07/27/madrid/1501159149_329592.html
6) The Best Alternative Cultural Spaces to Visit in Madrid, 22 January 2018 https://theculturetrip.com/europe/spain/articles/the-best-alternative-cultural-spaces-to-visit-in-madrid/
7) La Tabacalera de Lavapiés: Welcome to Madrid's Most Culturally Diverse Space, 2 February 2018 https://theculturetrip.com/europe/spain/articles/la-tabacalera-de-lavapies-welcome-to-madrids-most-culturally-diverse-space/
8) Fontanals-Cisneros dona su arte latinoamericano para un gran centro en La Tabacalera de Madrid | Fontanals-Cisneros donates its Latin American art for a large center in La Tabacalera de Madrid [El Pais] 20 February 2018 https://elpais.com/cultura/2018/02/20/actualidad/1519114487_537429.html

9) Los secretos de la gigantesca Tabacalera deshabitada | The secrets of the gigantic uninhabited Tabacalera [El Pais] , 17 March 2018 https://elpais.com/cultura/2018/03/17/actualidad/1521315404_166906.html
10) Nuevos usos culturales del edificio de Tabacalera | New cultural uses of the Tabacalera building [El pais] 16 May 2018 https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/03/16/media/1521214052_136399.html
11) Cultura destinará 4,7 millones a la colección de Fontanals-Cisneros en Tabacalera | Culture will allocate 4.7 million to the collection of Fontanals-Cisneros in Tabacalera [El pais], 17 April 2018 https://elpais.com/cultura/2018/04/17/actualidad/1523989390_690169.html
12) Time Out Magazine_The 50 coolest neighbourhoods in the world, 19 September 2018 https://www.timeout.com/coolest-neighbourhoods-in-the-world
13) Dos siglos tras el humo: Mujeres que revolucionaron la industria | Two centuries after the smoke: Women who revolutionized the industry [El Pais], 15 March 2019 https://elpais.com/ccaa/2019/03/15/madrid/1552674575_166328.html

3. WUK, Vienna (Accessed on: 20 May 2019)

1) Keine Zukunft mit Lehre | No future with teaching [Der Standard], 17 August 2005 https://derstandard.at/2013467/Keine-Zukunft-mit-Lehre
2) WUK: Gekappte Zukunft für Eventorganisatoren | WUK: Capped Future for Event Organizers [Der Standard] 24 February 2006 https://derstandard.at/2127979/WUK-Gekappte-Zukunft-fuer-Eventorganisatoren
3) "Dieser Lehrgang war einzigartig" | "This course was unique" [Der Standard], 23 March 2006 https://derstandard.at/2125932/Dieser-Lehrgang-war-einzigartig
4) Das Experiment geht weiter | The experiment continues [Der Standard], 4 October 2006 https://derstandard.at/2612187/Das-Experiment-geht-weiter
5) Klasse statt Masse | Class instead of mass [Der Standard], 4 October 2006 https://derstandard.at/2612196/Klasse-statt-Masse
6) Die Utopie vom g'scheiten Leben | The utopia of the bad life [Der Standard], 4 October 2006 https://derstandard.at/2612109/Die-Utopie-vom-gscheiten-Leben
7) Lehre im WUK: Ende nach 23 Jahren | Teaching at the WUK: End after 23 years [Der Standard] 18 June 2007 https://derstandard.at/2708925/Lehre-im-WUK-Ende-nach-23-Jahren
8) Das Herz der Stadt rockt | The heart of the city rocks [Der Standard] 9 April 2008 https://derstandard.at/2612162/Das-Herz-der-Stadt-rockt
9) WUK: 30 Jahre "selber machen" | WUK: 30 years "doing it yourself" [Wiener Zeitung], 30 September 2011 https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/panorama/wien/400815-WUK-30-Jahre-selber-machen.html
10) Von der Lokomotivenfabrik zum Kulturhaus | From the locomotive factory to the culture house [Der Standard], 1 October 2011 https://derstandard.at/1317018995727/Wiener-WUK-Von-der-Lokomotivenfabrik-zum-Kulturhaus
11) 30 Jahre WUK: Basisdemokratie mit Barrieren | 30 years WUK: grassroots democracy with barriers [Die Presse], 3 October 2011

https://diepresse.com/home/immobilien/wissen/gebaeude/698094/30-Jahre-WUK_Basisdemokratie-mit-Barrieren

12) Manche blieben für immer, Hausbesetzungen in Wien gibt es seit den 1970ern. Die einen dauerten nur kurz, andere führten zu Arena, WUK & Co. | Some stayed forever, House occupations in Vienna have been around since the 1970s. Some survived for only a short time, others led to Arena, WUK & Co. [Wiener Zeitung] 19 July 2014 https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/panorama/wien/648307-Manche-blieben-fuer-immer.html
13) Aus für WUK? Verein fürchtet wegen Elektriksanierung um seine Zukunft. | Out for WUK?, Association fears for electrical rehabilitation for its future [Wiener Zeitung], 14 December 2018 https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/panorama/wien/1007958-Aus-fuer-WUK.html
14) Dem WUK geht es an die Substanz | WUK seeks for the substance [Die Presse], 5 January 2019 https://diepresse.com/home/panorama/wien/5555488/Dem-WUK-geht-es-an-die-Substanz
15) Sanierung stellt Kulturzentrum WUK vor finanzielle Probleme | Renovation poses financial problems for WUK Cultural Center [Der Standard], 15 March 2019 https://derstandard.at/2000099617593/Sanierung-stellt-Kulturzentrum-WUK-vor-finanzielle-Probleme

Appendix 7. List of Events and Activities

1) Huset-KBH

	NO	Actor	Type	Date (MM/YY)	Charge	Frequency
Events	1	Lystløgneraften	storytelling	06/19	100kr	once a month
	2	Åben meditationsgruppe	meditation	05-06/19	free	three times over May and June
	3	Talerum Huset KBH / Litteratursalonen Esther	Literature salon	06/19	free	one-time event
	4	ARTEM / Huset-KBH	Art festival	06/19	free	once a month (since March)
	5	Husets Biograf	Film festival	06/19	60kr	one-time event
	6	Musikcaféen / Stardust	Music concert	06/19	60kr	one-time event
	7	Musikcaféen	Music concert	06/19	100/120kr (on-site)	one-time event
	8	Musikcaféen	Music concert	06/19	80/100kr	one-time event
	9	Huset-KBH	Literature workshop	06/19	free	once a month
	10	Xenon	Performing art	06/19	65/85kr	two-time event
	11	Teaterhuset	Theater play	06/19	n/a	three times performance
	12	Musikcaféen	Music concert	06/19	70kr	one-time event
	13	Musikcaféen	Music concert	06/19	free	one-time event
	14	Husets Biograf	Austrailia Reconciliation Week	06/19	50kr	one-time event
	15	Talerum Huset KBH	Period Talks 2019 - feminism talk	05/19	free	one-time event
	16	ARTEM / Huset-KBH	Art festival	05/19	free	once a month
	17	ALive Festival	Music concerts	05/19	free	one-time event
	18	Musikcaféen	Music concert	05/19	100/120kr	one-time event
	19	Standup Huset KBH	Open mic comedy show	05/19	25kr (donation for Save the Youth)	every week
	...	...	...	...	...	...
	145	Teaterhuset	Photoshooting performance workshop	12/18	free	one-time event
	146	Musikcaféen	Music concert	12/18	50kr	one-time event
	147	Xenon	Performing art	12/18	65/85kr	one-time event

	NO	Actor	Type	Date (MM/YY)	Charge	Frequency
Collectives and Partners	1	Bastard Café	Board game meet-up	on Mondays	free	once a wekk
			Testing prototype games	every second Tuesday	free	twice a month
			Board game (long, heavy) meet-up	every second Sunday	free	twice a month
			Board game presentation	on Wednesdays	free	once a wekk
			Lounge quiz	third Thursday of the month	free	once a month
			Playing Klask	first Thursday of the month	free	once a month
	2	Musikcaféen	Music concert	irregularly (mostly on Thursday, Friday and Saturday)	70-140kr	2-3 times a week
	3	Husets Biograf	Movie & documentary screening	irregularly	40-80kr	4-6 times a week
	4	Theaterhuset (Xenon/Vox)	Performing art	irregularly	60-100kr	about 16 times a year
	5	evoo	Social dining	on Wednesdays	50kr	once a wekk
	6	SIB (Samlingspunkt Indre By)	Socio-cultural gathering for the elderly	on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays	0 - 75kr (lunch included) / membership 200kr	three times a week
	7	Standup Huset KBH	Open mic comedy show	on Tuesdays	25kr (donation for Save the Youth)	once a week
	8	Talerum Huset KBH	"speech room" project	irregularly	free	0-6 times a month

2) Tabacalera

	NO	Actor	Type	Date (MM/YY)	Charge	Frequency
Events	1	Essential Eventos	Skateboarding	06/19	free	one time event
	2	CSA Tabacalera	Circus	06/19	free	one time event
	3	CSA Tabacalera	9th Anniversary - diverse events	06/19	free	one time event
	4	Galería Independiente Tabacalera	Art exhibition	06/19	free	one time event
	5	CSA Tabacalera	Open day CSA Tabacalera	05/19	free	one time event
	6	Red Agroecologica de Lavapies	Agro-ecological Day of Lavapies	05/19	free	one time event
	7	Manotas Dub Barrio	Music party	05/19	free	one time event
	8	Trastocados	Recycling day open workshop	05/19	free	one time event
	9	La Claqueta	Book presentation	05/19	free	one time event
	10	CSA Tabacalera	Open yoga workshop	05/19	free	Recurring event
	11	Poetry Slam Lavapies	Poetry slam mostoles	05/19	free	Recurring event
	12	Escaparate de Poesía	Poetry slam	05/19	free	Recurring event
	13	Musica Nomada	Poetry slam	05/19	free	Recurring event
	14	Poetry Slam Lavapies	Poetry slam	05/19	free	Recurring event
	15	Poetry Slam Lavapies	Poetry slam	04/19	free	Recurring event
	16	CSA Tabacalera	Preparing May 2019 - 8 years of 15M	04/19	free	one time event
	17	Escaparate de Poesía	Documentary screening and debate	03/19	free	one time event
	18	Poetry Slam Lavapies	Poetry slam	03/19	free	Recurring event
	19	Galería Independiente Tabacalera	Exhibition and flamingo performance	03/19	free	one time event
	20	Escaparate de Poesía	Poetry slam	03/19	free	Recurring event
	...	...	...	...	...	...
	86	CSA Tabacalera	Flea market	10/17	free	one time event
	87	Triple W	Wrestling show	09/17	free	recurring event
	88	Galería Independiente Tabacalera	Art exhibition	09/17	free	one time event
	89	Metropolis	Longboard workshop	09/17	free	one time event
	90	El Keller	Hybrid festival	09/17	free	one time event

	NO	Actor	Type	Date (MM/YY)	Charge	Frequency
Collectives	1	Nuclear	Batucada workshop	on Mondays	free	Once a week
	2	El Keller	Open workshop for urban art	on Tuesdays	free	Once a week
	3	Recicletos	Bicycle self-repair workshop	on Tuesdays and Wednesdays	free	Twice a week
	4	Molino Rojo	Acrobatics	on Tuesdays	free	Once a week
			Taranis: combat techniques	on Tuesdays	free	Once a week
			Traditional African dance	on Tuesdays	free	Once a week
			Capoeira Angola	on Tuesdays	free	Once a week
			Traditional European dance	on Wednesdays	free	Once a week
			Acroyoga	on Wednesdays	free	Once a week
			Swing	on Wednesdays	free	Once a week
			Modern African dance	on Wednesdays	free	Once a week
			Batacha	on Wednesdays	free	Once a week
			Salsa	on Thursdays	free	Once a week
			Free practice of circus	on Thursdays	free	Once a week
			Free practice of juggling	on Thursdays	free	Once a week
			Contemporary capoeira	on Fridays	free	Once a week
			Contact jam	on Fridays	free	Once a week
			Tango	on Fridays	free	Once a week
	5	Taller de Jabones	Soap-making workshop	on Wednesdays	free	Once a week
	6	Trastocados	Open recycling workshop	on Wednesdays	free	Once a week
	7	Taller Contacto	Drawing workshop	on Thursdays	free	Once a week
	8	DocaKene	Batucada workshop	on Thursdays	free	Once a week
	9	Nave Central	Mexican dance	on Thursdays	free	Once a week
	10	Tuercos	Open workshop of art, restoration, repair	on Thursdays	free	Once a week
	11	Nave Trapecio	Open workshop of repair, sculpture, construction	from Tuesdays to Sundays	free	Once a week

	12	La Claqueta	Movie screening	on Fridays and Saturdays	free	Twice a week
	13	Cigarra Electrica	Jam session	from Tuesdays to Sundays	free	Six times a week
	14	Metropolis	Longboard table making workshop	on Saturdays and Sundays	free	Twice a week
	15	TemploAfro	Traditional African percussion workshop	on Tuesdays	free	Once a week
			Cine Afro	on Fridays	free	Once a week
			Hiphop workshop	on Saturdays	free	Once a week
			Live African music	on Sundays	free	Once a week
	16	El Filtro	Open workshop of crafts	from Tuesdays to Sundays	free	Six times a week
	17	Malla	Legal advice	on Tuesdays	free	Once a week
	18	Escaparate de Poesía	Poetry slam	irregularly	free	once/twice a month
	19	Galería Independiente	Art exhibition	irregularly	free	twice a month
	20	Vulture	Culture tandem workshop	n/a	free	n/a
	21	Taller de Radio	Radio workshop	n/a	free	n/a
	22	Cras	Social Archeology conference and debate	n/a	free	n/a
	23	Roots & Culture	Music party	irregularly	free	n/a
	24	Psicologia Solidaria	Employment project	on every second Friday	free	twice a month
			Psycological care	from Mondays to Tursdays	free (giving back public services)	four times a week
	25	La Cancha	Music workshop for the youth	n/a	free	n/a
	26	Kupukupu - Madriguer	Workshop for children	n/a	free	n/a
	27	Fotofree	Photography workshop	on Tuesdays	free	once a week
	28	CulturaSkate	Skateboarders	n/a	free	n/a
	29	Triple W	Wrestling events	n/a	free	n/a
	30	Tabahack	Computer repair workshop	n/a	free	n/a
	31	Sama	Azerbaijan cultural workshop	n/a	free	n/a

3) WUK

	NO	Actor	Type	Date (MM/YY)	Charge	Frequency
Events	1	Various Artists	Save WUK: Benefit Concert	06/19	33 Euros	Recurring events with different artists and events
	2	Art Students in Austria	Art, Exhibition	06/19 - 07/19		One time exhibition
	3	Ona B. (Visual Artist)	Art, Exhibition	06/19 - 09/19		One time
	4	The Marchfelder Genussbus	WUK Weekly Market of organic food produce	06/19		Weekly - Every Friday
	5	Queer Art Space Vienna	Art, Exhibition	05/19 - 06/19		
	6	Education and Consultancy Unit	Cover letter, Motivation letter workshop	06/19	Free of charge	Recurring program
	7	Inside Out Club	Questions/Answer Event, Adults who want to learn about performance art	06/19	Pay as you wish	Similar Recurring programs every Friday
	8	Spacelab in collaboration with WUK education and consultation	Information session about services offered at Spacelab, Meet and talk session	06/19		Every Tuesday (1PM to 6PM) and Wednesday (2PM to 7PM)
	9	Various Parties	Remembering Pride, Queering the night: Culture, Film, Performance	06/19	Free	One time event
	10	WUK X ATTAC	Film	06/19	Free/Donation	Recurring program
	11	Odon Von Horvath and team	Tales from the Vienna Woods: Performance and Theater	06/19	17 Euros, 13 Euros for students, 10 Euros for groups of 10 students or more	Multiple times in June 2019
	12	Dirk Von Lowtzow	Concert and reading	06/19	19 Euros plus extra fees	Two-time event
	13	Education and Consultancy Unit	Discover What's in You!: Skill development	06/19	Free	Similar Recurring programs every Friday
	14	Various Artists	European Tour Summer 2019: Concert	06/19	30 Euros plus extra tax	One time event
	15	A theater team	Midsummer night's dream: Theater with Dance	06/19	10 - 15 Euros	Multiple times in June 2019
	...	...	...	...	...	...
	142	Education and Consultancy Unit	Skill development	01/19	Free of charge	Monthly one time event
			Group Counselling	01/19	Free of charge	Multiple events
			Workshop	01/19	Free of charge	Monthly one time event

	NO	Actor	Type		Date (MM/YY)	Charge	Frequency
Collectives	1	Visual Arts (Studios and guest Studios: 16 resident artists and 5 guest artists)	Christine Baumann Walter Berger Maria Bergstoetter ...	Ateliers and Artists (Painting, Graphics, Photo, Film Works)	Plenum (Meeting): Last Wednesday of the month	N/A	N/A
	2	Socio-Political Initiatives (27 groups, 14 guest groups)	AKIN AKN Aktiv Senior_Innen ...	Cultural mediation, environmental protection organizations, senior groups, self-help, human rights initiatives	Plenum (Meeting): 3rd Thursday of the month	Mostly Free	Varies according to the groups
	3	Intercultural Initiatives (for equality and against racism)	Asyl In Not Afcu-African Cultural Union ...	Groups of different nationalities, supporting and representing the interests of migrants, providing legal adive and support to asylum seekers in various languages, representing diverse art and culture	Plenum (Meeting): Last Monday of the month	Mostly free	Varies according to the group
	4	Children and Youth (2 free schools, 1 afternoon care, 3 children groups - a total of 150 people)	Kindergruppe Kinderinsel Kindergrupper Gemeinsam Spielen ...	Alternative learning environment, equal and partnership like relationship between children, teachers, caretakers, and parents	Plenum (Meeting): Third Monday of the month	Parents pay the teachers	N/A
	5	Music	40 different music groups/bands	There are 17 rehearsal rooms. In addition, professional production facilities are available in an open recording studio. There are professional equipment and sound engineers to assist the musicians in the production process.	Plenum (Meeting): 1st Wednesday of the month	Musicians can produce their songs and projects in a cost-effective manner	N/A
	6	Dance, Theater, Performance	44 groups, 17 guest artists	There are 3 training rooms for the artists to rehearse.	N/A	The various groups use the available spaces in turns and therefore space capacity is used to the maximum.	N/A
	7	Workshops (18 groups and individual artists, 12 workshops, 9 studios)	Andreas Strauss Arauco Austria Filmmakers Cooperative Bildhauerei Leslie De Melo ...	Offers space for experimentation and production for traditional as well as innovative projects.	Plenum (Meeting): 1st Wednesday of the month	Mostly free of charge	Varies according to the group