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Networks about Culture-led Regeneration

The case of the Baumwollspinnerei, Leipzig

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Silvia Vecchini

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INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL METHODS

The work is going to be presented is the final step of around a year of researches. Everything started in November 2011, when I presented a project of Master Thesis to put in for a scholarship at the Venice International University; thankfully, I won it by proposing the Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei (Leipzig, Germany) as the focus of my research. Spinnerei is a private initiative of regeneration of a former industrial and huge area by the means of Arts and related activities. At the time of my application the site and the project were already famous in Italy, from field's channels of information, and because its manager, Mr. Bertram Schultze, was at that period making a proposal for a regeneration project of the area of Forte Marghera, close to Venice.

From the information I had at that time, mostly from word of mouth, the Leipziger project seemed an important and successful one, which was about the conversion of a brownfield into a place for art since 2001. Moreover, Mr. Schultze seemed like the manager that could go around Europe to export such kind of well-functioning prototype, recognized from various institution around the world. All engagements related with topics like the creative city, the regeneration of derelict areas and buildings, all of help to look at this experience. However, once there, I understood that such categories and boundaries were not of help to start capturing the "essence" of the considered advanced project. So I stayed open, and I have tried to "be and go around, and let people to get in touch with me, to tell me their story", as my supervisor suggested me to do, before and in order to construct the theoretical part of my research.

My research period abroad started on February 2013 and ended the middle of June 2013. The first part of my project consisted in doing an internship for three months at the central administration of Spinnerei. They gave me the main task to draw up a bibliography of the Baumwollspinnerei, to then make an inventory of the material belonging to the former cotton mill; it consists mainly of documents, journals and photographs of the community of workers of the factory, which were around 4.000 during the GDR times. This material is stored in the backroom of the Archiv Massiv, which nowadays is the sole exhibition space directly belonging to the Spinnerei and the visitors' information point. Here there is the intention of Mr. Schultze to build up a stable exhibition space about the history of the first life of Spinnerei. This project made me going through libraries and archives, expanding my knowledge on different sides of the area, and discovering interesting hidden ones. It also helped me to be introduced to the people working in the administration and the other activities of Spinnerei.

Fundamental was the willingness of Mr. Schultze: he literally let me following him through his everyday activities, from professional until more informal meetings with the community working there. He was a chance that helped me a lot to be accepted from the first time, having a speech and later asking for an interview or to follow another one of these people in their everyday working life.

Moreover, I had a “behavioral scheme” I have followed. During all the stay and according to each situation, as well as for the internship, I have practiced participated or non-participated observation, and shadowing techniques. I decided to mix the usage of these techniques because of the trial to avoid drawbacks that are possible to arise when adopting them, also considering the relative short time I had. For example, the participant observation means that I assume a role in the organization. Such role would require exceptional effort and time to obtain a state of «detached involvement» (Czarniawska 2007) to really observe, hopefully without prejudices. On the other hand, I would study an «action net» (Czarniawska 2007) related to culture-led regeneration. As Czarniawska explained, the issue of time and space have a different relationship from the analysis of practice to that of theory, where they can be separated; moreover, there is no essence capable by devoting more time, if actions that constitutes the managing structure will remain. On the other hand, the form and the content of actions may change drastically because of any kind of innovation, even if there are the same actors. The techniques here adopted are some suggested to fit the need to survey a modern society organization, which requires various means of research to capture the multiple times, settings and experiences under analysis. Therefore, shadowing enables to follow selected people in their everyday life, to move with them, whereas every aspects of the day can be significant and I had to maintain a certain behavior to facilitate such shadowing; diary studies were then used to enter dates. All together these tools would concur to draw the «intersubjectivity» (Czarniawska 2007) of the actors analyzed, so to underline the “wording of the discourse”, the attitude and interests coming out from their words, instead of the objective truth behind the words (Czarniawska 2007). I used these techniques to look at other aspects of the Spinnerei; one of the main is represented by Halle 14, which I supposed it was the core of the Spinnerei by being the only non-profit center in a commercial area (Second Chance 2011). I had to change my mind. After looking at the whole area while searching for the “formula” of its success, I will show that Halle 14 is just a part of it, even if of outstanding importance for a certain kind of audience. I had the great chance to work with the staff of Halle 14, and to experience the organization of one of the main event for the site, the spring gallery tour. Moreover, after spending lot of time with the “Spinnerei man”, Bertram Schultze, I had the opportunity to check other sides of

the area and of the creative milieu of Leipzig, to hear diverse and sometimes contrasting opinions and needs.

Another fundamental tool of inquiry is made of the more than 70 interviews I have carried out. I am referring to the total amount of interviews conducted for the whole research, which takes into consideration not only the area of Spinnerei. Around 40 interviews are of people from the Spinnerei and the city of Leipzig, four of people from the Auf AEG (Nuremberg), six of the Tabakfabrik (Linz), one testimony from an experience based in the area of Benevento (Italy), one for the project in Brno (Czech Republic), one in Forte Marghera (Italy). Most of them have been done by meeting the interviewees in the area they are related to, even if the seven percent of them were conducted through Skype meetings and exchanging of emails and documents.

My intention was to understand what Spinnerei means for the people, the way they speak about it, while capturing the main stages of the regeneration procedure. Supported by the theories that I am going to describe below, there is the initial impression that this success (which I am not going to judge under quality terms), is related to the way people represent themselves and look at experiences, the way they organize the plot and the words they use to describe it. Spinnerei is among other things, what people think it is. Regarding the interviews, I chose a set of interviewees belonging to every part of the project, also considering the suggestions that I received from them. Every time I analyzed the type of interviewee I was going to meet. What was stable in the interviews was to let people speak with no shy about their idea of Spinnerei, so the always-present question was “What does Spinnerei means to you?”, to let them tell their own stories connected to it. Everyone in the relatively small Leipzig has a story related to the area. These are the main tools used for my qualitative research. I have also kept the already mentioned “diary” about what I noticed during the everyday life of Spinnerei, that is still of help to organize and analyze all the data in a narrative way, with the intent to outline the story and formula of the supposed successful model of Spinnerei, through the report of the different stories involved.

The increasing notoriety of Spinnerei implied to be taken as a point of reference from other places and institutions, which I deepen in the second part of the research. There is the intention to speak about the «travelling» of some kind of knowledge. The metaphor of «the travel of ideas» comes from Czarniawska. It is incisive in its simultaneously denoting transferring and transformation, embracing more levels of a process, from a theoretical to a material one. It includes changes occurring when facing other identities, but also the stability of an environment that belongs to more than what can be

called a “network of learning entities”. Such metaphor is linked to the Actor Network theory (ANT) proposed from Callon and Latour. A dynamic structure as the networks one is a means to look at the processes of interest here, where there are interchangeable connections among different actors that will reach an outcome only if it is coming from an active and collective action. This links also with the concept of introducing innovation into an organization, which is going to be described later on.

Thinking under network terms

The notion of “network” goes over the classic Marshallian “industrial cluster” and the traditional industrial classification of “creative industries”, over the geographical localization and concentration. It would describe concrete practices and processes, to look at the “how” actors behave and perform practically, and what kind of concepts are followed.

The word “network” is very common nowadays in many fields of research. This can be of help, because the concept can be kept into mind and understood easier. On the other side, it can be complicated to define the “internal rules” of a research, as well as Latour’s Actor Network Theory states that the network can be of use «whenever action is to be redistributed» (Latour 2011, 797). Every time there is a connection, an interaction, it seems that a network can exist.

After having reviewed different theories that use the word “network”, I decided to take into consideration some basic concepts from the ones evaluating the network more as a methodology to investigate a topic, then as a theory about the content.

To begin drawing the history and structure of the Baumwollspinnerei, there is the trial to figure out the basic structure of which a network can be visualized, referring to the starting definition of a network proposed from the Social Network Analysis (SNA, Borgatti and Halgin 2011, Jones, Hesterly and Borgatti 1997, Granovetter 1985),¹ among others declinations. The network is basically defined as constituted of a set of actors (also called nodes), and a set of ties that connect them. Not all nodes has to be connected, even if they are part of the network (in this case they are called “components”, which are the majority at the origin of a network). Therefore, everything is somehow interconnected, thanks to the idea of “transitivity” from Granovetter’s strength of weak ties theory and of “bridging ties” from Burt’s structural holes theory (Borgatti and Halgin 2011), which are the kinds of link that potentially drive to novel ideas and innovation. When nodes interact, such interaction can

be called “flow”, which takes with consequences like products or ideas. The pattern of ties define a particular structure, where nodes occupy positions within it. This structure is a dynamic and open one, and the content and kind of ties considered depends on the research planned. Therefore, SNA provides a mean for interpreting relationships between a number of social entities, such as people, groups and organizations. The emphasis on relationships is important to this research, as the focus is on the structure of these different linkages that gradually defined the structure of the network. Through the reconstruction of the crucial steps of the Spinnerei’s network beginning, there is the aim to provide insights into the network’s main actors and events, which are considered fundamental for the start and maintenance of the project. By reporting the opinions of the people interviewed and other perceptions, the main substance of the network comes out; what are the mechanisms and flows, the main big or small events that concurred to make it emerge by changing, increasing, strengthen their action and embeddedness, or simply by stabilizing them, over time. For the account of Spinnerei, I choose a set of nodes, which are the actors (individuals, groups or institutions part of the experience) and I describe when they get in touch (when with their actions they influenced and/or took part into the network).

Describing patterns of translation

One of the reason why the network of Spinnerei needs to be drawn is because of the will to understand how such successful projects start, what are their main features, by going over the rhetoric and the mythology that can be added when reporting the story later on. An experience like Spinnerei’s one is considered special also because it is told in a way that makes it recognizing as real, understandable. When Mr. Bertram Schultze told about the starting times, there is of course the part of “guessing the potential”, but it is present also the element of responding to certain needs of the situation and of the actors, to slowly rely with the real and practical context.

Furthermore and apart from have been started developing his second project in Nuremberg, when Mr. Schultze was later called to speak about Spinnerei at symposiums and meetings, as he was considered an eminent informant about the topic, there was the new need to link his experience with issues that also other actors can understand. After the ability of a speaker as he is, such “translations” can be understood only when a process reached a certain level of organization and coherence. A coherence that lets an organization working within its peculiar mixture. This diversity is highlighted from a wide

audience of professionals as point of strength, which considered Spinnerei an autonomous cultural site that has found a way to be self-sufficient thanks to the coexistence of the artistic and the “mere” commercial side (that gives a stability difficult to have when dealing with arts). When Spinnerei started being considered a model, this is because it has gained a particular level of development that let it present itself and communicate to the outside world a certain kind of image. I would investigate what this identity is composed of, that was then recognized and adopted.

These remarks are strongly influenced of Latour’s Actor Network Theory. By following his irony, I could say that the concept of the network and the flow of ideas characterizing it, the power of such frame lies in being a “non-framework”, as well as «actors themselves make everything, including their own frames, theories, contexts [...] so the direction to follow would be more descriptions». I am referring to a methodology, to understand how to let actors better express themselves. Instead of taking nodes of the network and analyze them in a structuralist way, I have considered what comes out from the relevant actors. Actors can be anything that caused a particular event, those kinds that make a difference in this story. These people or relationships will explain by themselves what they are, what they consist of, without a researcher that reduces them to simple «place holders» to then give them another (and probably less realistic) explanation, while trying to make them re-become actors (Latour 2004).

In the actual world, new ways of looking at this over utilized “promise” come out, and it is possible to imagine everyone in the center of a network, with crucial actors performing in a vast universe of information. So the “net-work” is firstly a mode of inquiry, which informs about its complete reversibility, so «what was invisible becomes visible, what had seemed self-contained is now widely redistributed» (Latour 2011, 3). The quality of reversibility let thinking about an actor as nothing but a network, and its contrary; this because a network is about something that is travelling, commuting and connecting, no matter if this movement will drive to a more constructed experience, project or something “concrete”. This peculiarity of the network can be considered a fragility, as the majority of its critics used to say. Nevertheless, this methodology is helpful when there is the intention to capture the whole instead of its parts. Instead of looking that among all ties there are empty spaces, it can be envisaged that these ties and flows cover a potential universal area, making possible to localize a situation that seems to be not tangible, like a network of knowledge. So if in a network «it’s the work that is becoming foregrounded», in this research are connections and relations suggested by the actors of primary importance. The network as a tool will make these ties visible, capable, understandable and well interconnected. As time goes by, they have the chance to become

fashionable, and reproducible in others contexts and contents, so as I have already said, others networks.

This can be a way to get over previous categories and concepts, every of them taking the feeling (and sometimes evidences) that there is the lack of something when passing from theoretical statements to practical cases. This methodology can give a clear image of some of the complex interrelations and topics that can arise when dealing with different projects and experiences in the field of culture-led regeneration and creativity. I do not pretend to avoid all the theoretical works about the topic, or to create new concepts and meanings; I would give a contribute to clarify and make appearing such concepts thorough different tools, to suggest an instrument of inquiry out of buzzwords.

In order to sketch out the complex sets of dynamic relations, Actor Network Theory uses a number of metaphors, first that closely defined of “actor” and “network”. Another very important metaphor is the notion of “translation”, which helps to follow the development of ideas and concepts.

Following Callon’s four stages of translation related to the ANT (Callon 1986, 2007), a network like the one of Spinnerei becomes a model when have been passed through these steps. The first is what is called «problematization», so to reconfigure a problem and a situation in order to adapt it to the context. As far as we know that the regeneration of industrial areas is not an innovation coming from Spinnerei, it was anyway able to learn from the movement started in the 70s in the United States and to translate, to adapt the idea in its own context. Then the second stage, «interessement», requires the stabilization of the process by defining the identity and enrolling into the network the previous independent groups of actors. This takes to the third stage of «enrolment», characterized by stable relationships among actors that ensure their concordance of aim in a common direction. Finally, the fourth stage, «mobilization», is when one actor starts to speak for others. When this stage is achieved, it indicates that the network is co-ordinate and consequently allows the translation of ideas and concepts across time and space. Therefore, the work of key actors was first important to coordinate the formation of the network, since the form of governance appears of primary importance, where the administration coordinates and takes care to every aspects related to Spinnerei; then, by speaking for the network, it becomes important to disseminate ideas out of Spinnerei.

After Spinnerei, I looked also at the other project run by Mr. Schultze, the Auf AEG in Nuremberg. This project is younger and not as well known as Spinnerei, but it concurred to reinforce the idea of a movement of ideas, projects and of people; the idea that Mr. Schultze is a cultural entrepreneur able

to make a translation from one place to another (Baum 2012). Narrative is here again a tool to convey all the information acquired from the context, while focusing on the pattern of interactions that were chosen to be the goal of this research.

Narrative permitted to structure the different points of view faced in a plot. This plot is constructed by the network itself, which connects past and present until the future, and gives significance to the whole project and reinforces its values (Bartel and Garud 2009, Czarniawska 2004). As I have already mentioned, it is linked with the process of translating, which activate a common imagination that considers the future while drawing on both memory and current time. Translators build up a bridge that connects different experiences so to offer a unit one, which is even stronger than its parts, surrounded by an aura. Through translation, individuals transform their perspectives on specific innovation problems as they gain insight into how others make sense of them. Such insights can bring new meaning to the situation and, in turn, inform new approaches or solutions (Czarniawska and Gagliardi 2003). An incisive and well driven narrative can be at last a powerful means to generate interest and capture the attention of people (Czarniawska 1997). The more attention you gain, the more efficient you are and consequently more easily you would be considered an outstanding model to follow among others. Ideas become and are also concrete: so the spatial identity of Spinnerei is of essential importance for the project, as well as it is a concept that will be traduced.

Therefore, in the first part of the research, I have searched for the features that took Spinnerei to be known and considered a working model for the organization and management of a regenerated-trough-culture area, its practices and the effect on the whole city of Leipzig. Then it is to look at what is the «fashion» of such project, what kind of inspirations can give to different realities, and how these realities embodied, how they interiorize these progresses and practices in the first steps of their still young identity, where the polysemous notions of travelling and translating of ideas are of primary importance. A network can be all the connections and people somehow related with Spinnerei, which are localized in time and space. Then with the travels of Bertram Schultze, another kind of network is taking shape, which is more global and has different rules of functioning under different times.

Translating and travelling of Ideas

When there are unfolding events, narrative can also be used, but of course it will be more provisional than the one of Spinnerei, and it can capture only fragments of activities in a given moment, instead

of a clear structured plot (Garud 2009). This is the reason why when speaking about the younger “followers” of Spinnerei, I choose to take a moment or a set of, an event, which highlights a process of thinking, and it is suggested from the interviewee to be of outstanding importance; the projects and institutions considered have an open plot, they describe events related to starting projects, or that has never started after the process of thinking here showed. Every piece told connected itself with the others because of taking Spinnerei as a point of reference, of inspiration.

In one of the later interviews to Mr. Schultze, I have asked to tell about his travels around Europe, because invited to a symposium, a meeting or to take part into commission; all these events involved other centers that were (and most of them still are) developing some projects on brownfields and dealing with the matter of finding a proper and successful mission. To these “admirers”, the image of Spinnerei came to their place and trigger something interesting, from a debate to conditioning a meeting, until copying some features and way of speaking about the experience. I have looked at some of these events, to draw the travel of such ideas through a new site, to extrapolate a set of dynamics and features that took these people to consider Spinnerei still successful. I show a set of features that together can create processes related to a national, international, even global discourse. Such process is what here is called «travelling of ideas». It seems there are some implicit editing rules in such processes. Even if such rules and other social and behavioral influences could prevent a successful imitation (Czarniawska 2007), there are anyway people and environments willing to be creative and open to such external inputs, which can enrich their knowledge and expectations too.

It is of outstanding importance the way the principal actors involved in this chance describe and perceive such process, how they represent themselves and the others, how they call it, how they compare it, as well as having an imitation of successful features that goes in a different organizational identity. In the first step of this process, various organizations and institutions are meeting because of a common ground, tasks and motivations. By following it, it is predictable that it will become more and more individual, as any actor is different from the others and has to adapt itself to its environment and own culture, more than imitating another structure. At the beginning similarities are emphasized, while differences that might lead to stop the flow are played down. Then the actors, by learning from Spinnerei, will reformulate the model, they will take what they think fits to their local environment, and by doing so they made a translation. Such translation can be tracked down by following all the process of reflection from the premises, from the moment when they started by trials to construct an identity; those identity that they then would present to the outside world. Therefore, they finally generate new meanings. To understand what this process is made of, what is about and how they

translate and learn from any kind of meeting and relation. These new meanings can be then seen as the shape of activities, projects and experiences the interviewee told. Here again, letting the interviewees telling their own story is the best way to then represent and analyze such dynamics.

To sum up, narratives enable coordination across actors and activities by enabling translation. When speaking about translation, the idea of drive, mediation and intention is implicit, so the translators made possible to create a new link that to a certain extent modifies two elements or agents (Latour 1994). Therefore, translation strictly connects with transformation of ideas, practices and of people, towards innovation processes (Czarniawska and Sevón 1996). The construction and change of identity is guided and conditioned by more than local practices; it belongs more to culturally sedimented patterns, that are widely known and enduring, stored in some sort of social stock of organizational knowledge (Czarniawska 1996). This can be more evident in Europe than in America, where there are more and longer traditions about cultural heritage and public handling these issues. Then the side of fashion, another component that drives this process. The fashion of a potential started the new life of the Spinnerei, which was called from other cities exactly in the moment of its hype, the moment when it was taken as point of reference.

Then fashion can also concurred to the decline of some practices, and so there is the issue of changing of managerial techniques with the time, «otherwise progress will not appear to be progressing» (Czarniawska 1996, 121). This issue requires more time and researches to be detected.

Here is traceable an attitude of the actual times of this network composed of various cultural organizations. This is finally linked with the concepts of organizational culture of each entity, and by broaden the horizons of these processes, to the concept of macroculture (Borgatti, Hesterly and Jones 1997). Macroculture² means widely sharing perceptions and understandings about common values, norms and beliefs. It creates typical patterns of behavior among nodes of the same network. It is strictly linked with the idea of coordination and share, and it is diffused and sustained firstly thanks to the socialization, but also through means of information and common events, and the consequent institutionalization of such practices. This suggests that it evolves out of long-term repeated interactions sustained by an institutional infrastructure. It refers to a field, that here can be the field of culture-led regeneration. Here are just few of the actors involved in the urban regeneration field; maybe among them the model adopted from Spinnerei will come out as being the closest to the macroculture leading at present in such field.

STAGES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NETWORK

The Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei is quite known to everyone, from Germany to the United States. This former industrial complex situated on the western part of Leipzig, has made possible for the city to get known for its visual artists, in addition to the long tradition of classical music, book printing and the younger cinema industry. Newspapers like The Guardian and The New York Times mentioned Spinnerei and Leipzig as well, as the first out of 20 travel tips around Germany. Articles that concurred to create the impression that Spinnerei is «the hottest place on heart» (The Guardian 2007), «the place to be», until rumors about Leipzig as the “new and better Berlin” (Der Spiegel 2012). This unique situation can be true or a legend, but what is given is this kind of unique milieu’s feeling shared by the majority of professionals and institutions all over the world.

In any case, I have never been in Berlin, but only after speaking with some Leipziger, seems that these two so closed cities are quite different, or at least they are at different steps of their growth. Leipzig is historically, geographically and urbanically speaking, different from Berlin, and the term “gentrification” seems more something that the citizens use to speak about their trial to learn from the history. Anyway, this issue is not strictly related to the Spinnerei’s.

As many other cities in Germany, Leipzig is still trying to cope with the new situation after the wall fall. «In Leipzig this situation give them opportunities instead of depression, whit empty buildings and so on».³ This process seems particular of Leipzig and the Leipzigers, as they told me about the strong tradition of cooperation between the municipality and the people. Of course it is also because the city has not too many money nowadays, but this has something to do with the early history of Leipzig: the dearth of an urban renewal policy during the GDR times is one of the reasons that led to the Monday demonstration, which started the tradition of citizens that felt having a strong position in front of the municipality.⁴ Then there is the deindustrialization, which left many empty buildings.

From the artists’ point of view, Leipzig is very different from Berlin, and they came here also because of this difference. Leipzig as other “early developing” cities is «a promise, no one expected as much from Leipzig».⁵ Maybe that is because of «the quality, this kind of freedom, all this emptiness, this vacuum, the publishing industry, the 40 years GDR is still there». Leipzig used to be «much bigger in 1920s, with the Leipziger Messe [fair] ».⁶ The fair for example, is a proof of a «long tradition of curiosity»⁷ and international relationships, maybe helped by its dimensions. All the buildings in the city center still have the remarks of this gold period of commercial success and richness of the city,

of a practice of welcoming foreign people to make business together. Referring to more recent times and to a more specific part of the city, the artistic side, there is such kind of peculiar “Leipziger atmosphere” that you can grab from Leipziger artists, and also by getting in touch with the surroundings.

One of the main institutions that drove this process is the Academy of Visual Arts. This is one of the third parties that established relationships among and within the network. These parties indirectly linked many others to the network, and they allow information, norms, and common understandings to move across group boundaries and influencing other environments (Borgatti, Hesterly and Jones 1997).

Hochschule für Grafik und Buchkunst

Die Hochschule für Grafik und Buchkunst (HGB), in English is called Academy of Visual Arts, but it is often remarked that this is not the proper translation: the name refers to a strong tradition of making art, embodied from the Academy since the beginning in 1764. It is one of the oldest academies of Germany. The GDR period with its censorship and closeness didn't stop its work, with a team of professors and students that were preparing themselves to join the world, once the communist era and the cold war one finished.

Many of the artists that are nowadays in Spinnerei came in Leipzig to study at the Academy, not only visual arts and more specifically paintings, but to join a very good academy. Like the painter and Neo Rauch's former student and then assistant, Sebastian Burger, said «If you came here, you came here to study and create a very specific kind of art, not a style but a certain way of thinking about arts, it's a very specific quality, not this art Esperanto galleries [they] are different from HGB».⁸

The Leipzig academy has been said to function as both a training camp and a kind of moral institute. There is an unfashionable commitment to the traditional techniques of life-drawing, draughtsmanship and painting. Although new media were integrated into the curriculum in the 1990s, experimentation is not expected in finished work by students in the painting school and any tendency towards extreme stylization or abstraction is discouraged (The Guardian 2007).

«Because we still have a lot of workshops here inside the school. [...] metal workshops, wood workshops, this all printing things from former times, and also we have the new media [...]. Maybe that's normal [...] but we have there all together, the whole history of techniques for making art [...]. I think this is a big advantage, also if you look to other schools, where there are some star professors and students, but nothing in between [...], and therefore I think we are also doing high quality things not just in specific Leipzig painting, also in other genres, like photography or mine media art». ⁹

On the other hand, for a young student, it is a good training also to study with «big names» as here in Leipzig. «So I guess if you studied with Neo Rauch and then you have a studio here [in Spinnerei], then it's a bit different if you came from I don't know where». ¹⁰ Obviously, this is not enough to become a recognized artist, even if many students of Neo Rauch and teachers of the old Leipziger school have gained the attention of an international audience, and sold some art works too.

At present, it is important to know the authority represented by the institute, to start speaking about the early history of the new Spinnerei.

THE LEIPZIGER BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI

Then finally getting to the famous Spinnerei. There is not such a glitter patina that you would expect after hearing about its reputation. I am entering in the best existing model of culture-led regeneration, the one mentioned until China. In the place for contemporary art, a successful project of renewal of an industrial site, that attract more than thousand visitors during its Rundgänge (the English translation is Gallery tours; Spinnerei's people is used to transpose such concepts in English, since they started getting international attention). A project that teaches all over the world how to develop a former industrial space, without too many money by private funding. A history of an unconventional way of thinking about the development of 10 hectares site, with 90,000 m² of usable space, of a structure that initiated a process of reflection on the Lindenau quarter (the area where Spinnerei is located) and of Leipzig at all. It can be seen as a catalyst for cultural and artistic events.

When you have a walk through the former cotton mill now known as a center for contemporary art and related activities managed by a profit seeking Development Company, there will be the likelihood that you start asking yourself "Am I in the right place?". First you have to look at the day, maybe it is Sunday or Monday, so you have to know that they are "close to the public": this means that most of shops and galleries, also the not for profit center, are closed. The Archiv Massiv is closed too, one of the first building that you can see after passing through the main entrance. Since few years, the Archiv Massiv has become the Spinnerei's venue; it is devoted to welcome visitors, selling gadgets, showing exhibitions of Spinnerei-related artists (who worked or lived here in a residency for a while, or that are doing a work somehow linked to the site), as well as a permanent exhibition about historical instruments, photographs and other interesting equipment of the former production and working community. As I have already said, the exhibition is looking over to be improved.

However, if you pay attention, you can see that there is something going on, there are people working inside buildings. Because Spinnerei is first of all a place to work, of working people, from the times when it was the biggest cotton mill in continental Europe, up to now, even if there are different kinds of workers. Now most of them are artists or people from the art field, as the new motto said "From cotton to culture", to give an idea of continuity of uses of the place, which is still a production area, before and after Rundgänge. This item is on the official website of the Leipzig Cotton Mill,¹¹ which is consultable in a German or an English version. The website is informative in this respect, it contains the story of the Mill. The development, however, is shown in a particularly good light. The function

of such articles is also promotional; it is marketing about the place towards potential visitors and investors. These people are probably the target audience of the text.

In this way, the Spinnerei can be seen also as one of the connecting bridges between the old painters and arts of the GDR and the young artists of the unified Germany. Everyone around Spinnerei showed me that there is a working community, like in the former factory, from nine to six every day, and then commercial activities close and artists come back home. There are artists, living and working, part of them internationally known, and it is not so exceptional meeting them on the stairs while they are going in their atelier, or having a coffee. It seems that they have another way of behaving, compared to some Damien Hirst, even if they were both exhibited in this area. They are painters; they are somehow belonging to the Leipziger School, a figurative way of painting related to the eastern Germany, to the GDR period, and to the HGB. Above all, this is a brand; as for all labels, someone pushed this phenomenon and made it possible. You can meet him here too, because he owns the biggest gallery of Spinnerei, the first that came here and was followed by most of the Leipziger galleries before based in the city center.

This is already the second step of the development of the place and its successful networks. We should look back in the past, about twenty years ago, to understand how they came to the actual situation.

First settlers of the Leipziger «waiting building»

No former definitions are enough of help to define this experience. You cannot speak about cultural district, or cluster. The concept of «waiting building» (Baum 2012) convey perfectly the image of brownfield ready to offer its pliable potential to any kind of future development. For this research, it would be better to start letting the people involved tell about their own story related to the area, so to grab the different point of view, why they decided to move there and they are still feeling close to it. There will be many explanations, each one is going to better define the building features of Spinnerei. Such characteristics can be somehow disconnected with the reality; but the aim is to trace how people see, fell and construe Spinnerei's image, how they translate the matter of facts. Because this is a unique project from the starting point, with no big master plan. The only coherent way found, in order to catch the meaning of a mixture of people and usages, it is to look at the network, and how the players of this network describes its start and pattern: from the people involved and their connections, the different kind of relationships, to finally see the new Baumwollspinnerei taking shape. At the

same time, it has the awareness of being a flexible structure, which is potentially open and ready for changes. This kind of processes can fit well with the dynamic framework that is possible to represent with the network's one.

It is not so easy to understand if you start speaking with people that was already there before the actual owners came; as always, there are different or even contrasting opinions about what happened. There was no point zero in the history of the Baumwollspinnerei. What is important is drawing the history of the various stages and levels of different formal and informal relations that seem perfectly interconnected, as much as making this area functioning so well. As an interviewee suggested, this is a "city within a city", as well as in another way it was during the GDR period. To give an example, «if there would be a bakery we can live here without going out of the perimeter of Spinnerei». ¹² Of course, there are more many aspects and interests involved.

Even if the area has never been disused, there were a moment in its history when its mission was not so clear. During the 1990' there was a small production involving only forty workers instead of the times of full productivity from 1884 to 1907. This huge space, the open-minded administrator Regina Bux, and the need for a cheap place for artists and other creative people, led to find a deal for more than reasonable rents, in order to not leave the area empty. A kind of «free zone» was growing up; this term is told to refer also to derelict spaces that re-create their right to exist through 'non-conformist' uses, like culture and artistic ones, which in turn give them a kind of function of contribution to the metropolitan life. It was in the middle of the ninety's, when her son, Peter Bux, like other artists, started coming there (Urban Unlimited 2004).

Manfred Mülhaupt came here in 1994 from Frankfurt too. His friend Peter Bux told him that there was an exceptional space «for people that didn't have much money». He was working as an artist in that period, and in the Frankfurter area there was a loss of spaces like this one or of Leipzig. He came here in the very beginning, the same year of Neo Rauch and other artist famous nowadays. There were still workers of the factory, and they started joining the «freedom of the space», and slowly creating a kind of mixed community of creative people. When I met him, he was working on the third room of his *Meisterzimmer*, a guesthouse in the building number 18. After the decision of not to work as a painter but as a web designer (gaining jobs also from Spinnerei and the people from there), he first used the studio to host all friends that used to spend some days at Spinnerei. With the increased number of tourists coming every year, it was easy to think about developing more than one room into cool loft, and it was completely a lucky idea.

«Everything started in the middle of 90', the ground for everything [...]. Neo [Rauch] came the same year of me, and other people and artists. We have a little commune in this way, not very close, but there were some friendships, also a little cinema, and a bar, and parties, and everything».¹³

Some of the interviewees told me also about a period where people was living there without paying a rent, even if the place has never been really squatted; it was more about the dimensions of the area, and the administration belonging to the Treuhand (the trust responsible for the GDR's formerly nationally-owned companies, that ended its mandate in the 1994), from which the last production bought the area. There was not a big control and maintenance, «they had no focus on what to do with the area».¹⁴ Therefore, there were contracts but very low, and the people living there did the rest, from water installations to electricity. There was a kind of «do what you want»¹⁵ place, and this big freedom let some people not paying the rent, «because they knew that nobody were taking care, and the new administration couldn't follow everything».¹⁶

Many artists were student of the HGB, and then joined the Spinnerei network. The artist Fabian Reimann came to Leipzig twenty years ago to study at the HGB, and after that he took a space with a friend of the academy, the space where he is still working today. «So we were a living and working community, we had four *Wohnatelier* [studios for working and leaving], which is more or less an exception at the Spinnerei and since then it became more and more exceptional».¹⁷ Mr. Reimann joined the same atmosphere of Manfred and Neo Rauch, but on the other hand he does not like speaking too much about a “community”, whether before or after the changing of ownership and the development. He prefers speaking about people working there. He is still having the same studio as twenty years ago, but for a long time he has not used the “structure” somehow planned by the actual owners. He is now promoted by the Tobias Naehring Gallery from Leipzig, even if not housed in the Spinnerei. It results that there was an artistic community, but the artists were not organized as a proper one.

The purchase

At that time Mr. Schultze has already worked in the city and more precisely in that area, with a smaller regeneration project that is called *Stelzenhaus*, a historical industrial building of the 1930s, which is now a building of offices, residential units and a restaurant on the Karl Heine Canal. Therefore, he

knew quite well this peripheral area of Leipzig, and he already has his own network of personal and professional acquaintances.

The partners of Bertram Schultze were Florian Busse from Munich (Heintz & Co.) and Tillmann Sauer-Morhard from Berlin, from MIB AG as Mr. Schultze. As usual when looking at a property, they did the so called due diligence, without searching for financial support. They were spending 4 million Euros for an industrial complex over a hundred years old, with 20 buildings, 90,000 m² of usable space and just 6,000 m² of which already used from a group of artists and other not so economically defined people; they were with no doubts buying a lot of risks, but these were also calculated in the buying price (Spinnerei Report 2009). They got advantaged by the real estate crisis, by the devaluation of the place; and what is the main thing, they focused on the pros offered by this area, those were at least in balance with the money they were going to spend. Just to give an example, the authenticity of the old factory city, that has a value coming by the time (Baum 2012), with workers' homes along the Thüringer Street on the back side, a factory kindergarten and an allotment site between the Spinnerei Street and the Karl-Heine canal (Spinnerei Report 2009). There is a value coming from the age of this building, which is not quantifiable from a real estate perspective, but it was taken into account from a new generation of entrepreneurs like Bertram Schultze.

In 2001, there were 60 tenancies in total. 30 of these were held by artists, and the others by craftspeople, engineers, the occupants of the original loft space, the Generator custom-built bicycle workshop and *Kunstraum B/2* (Spinnerei Report 2009). Additionally, the construction quality was outstanding. This kind of production needed a constant temperature, and this explain the solid masonry over a meter thick of the buildings, large -iron box windows and cork insulation and roofs overgrown with chives.

«Enough giving you like an intuitive feeling that this could work, because if you start calculating these places in advance, you can calculate forever, there are so many possibilities [...]. There is one moment when you have to take the decision, “ok we are going to do it, we are going to handle it” [...]. There was no vision for what it would be at the end, no kind of master plan of what it would be, it was really just a feeling that you though you could make something out of it, and that you accepted that it would be an ongoing process, so there was no so called exit strategy which the developer normally have [...]. At the same time you didn't have a too big pressure to put things into reality too fast, because things were fine as they were, so most of the building have somehow, the roof was still ok, and so on, and it was a matter of investment when you own the property».¹⁸

The three partners finally bought the Baumwollspinnerei on 26 July 2001. The structural and environmental circumstances just considered, let them to take a comparatively little investment to make new buildings ready to use for new tenants and the running costs were quite low. In this way, after keeping the already there tenants with advantaged deals, they have been able to rent out parts of the buildings on favorable terms while preserving their authentic features.

A structure was gradually put on the «free zone», made out of new rules too. Even if from the former group living there « there was no question if we can longer stay here, this was clear, that we can stay»,¹⁹ on the other hand such stand was not so «*esistenzuell*»;²⁰ here Mr. Mülhaupt would explain that he and his colleagues were a group until there was a room or a space to claim. So «there was a discussion but not so often, we were also separated».²¹ They were not interested in running the whole area. Therefore, some of the pioneers left Spinnerei. The people that used to do parties, who did not fit the new idea. On the other hand, many of them didn't leave, even if by that time cheap places were available all around Leipzig; having an elevator that lets easily moving big pieces of art, huge rooms with exceptional daylight windows, and other features that makes a studio equitable, these were some essential conditions of a working space that Spinnerei's studios offered. By going ahead, artists were more and more assisted with their everyday activities, like having a huge store that sells everything could be needed in terms of materials and tools for painting and sculptures. These pioneers were also advantaged by keeping the same contract conditions as they had before the new ownership. Mr. Reimann told that his contract is called «infinite [...] for the price of 12 years ago. It's like a privileged situation that I was so early. Well, it is not a privilege, I was just one of the early, why not».²²

Karsten Schmitz and the Stiftung Federkiel

Another important stage was in 2002, when a third partner joined the company. Karsten Schmitz identifies himself first as an «art lover».²³ Since long time before taking part in the Spinnerei project, he was already professionally involved in the art world, as a collector and running an art foundation based in Munich, the Federkiel Foundation; thanks to this engagements, he was already well connected with Berlin and Leipzig too. From his words, many connections are coming out, that let discovering people with a crucial role in this development.

Mr. Schmitz started being in touch with the Leipziger art scene in 1992, thanks to the artist Kaeseberg, and the owner of EIGEN+ART Gallery, Harry Gerard Lybke, better known as “Judy”, while he was

collecting art from Munich. Since that time he was quite often in Berlin with an art foundation (the first prize from this foundation was given to Martin Eder, belonging to the EIGEN+ART) and then in Leipzig, and he heard about the Baumwollspinnerei. Since 1994, he already knew some of the artists working there, Peter Bux for example, and then others moved, like Kaeseberg.

«I started talking to them and we became friends. Another gallery owner I early became friends with was Jochen Hempel who represents Tilo Schulz», another artist he admired. All these events made Mr. Schmitz more and more involving himself with the «arts promotion». These connections took to Mr. Schmitz more interest in the area of Spinnerei, and to be fascinated by it because «it was very unique to me, all the industrial complex, that charm, the patina, and it was also in a good state». However, during the Bux's administration there was no clue. When the new owners came, he started getting more interested in the property.

«Florian is a Munich guy I knew quite well; his partner is my best friend, so I knew who is acting and I was interested in the real estate. Because I knew Leipzig from certain artists at this point, I thought it was quite interesting to set my art network there, looking at the developing». He thought there could be a good mixture by taking part in the ownership. In 2002, he joined the area with the Federkiel Foundation, and then consequently he decided to take also a seat as a third private partner in the Spinnerei Company. Relationships with galleries and artists, who then moved to Spinnerei, the trust in the new owners that took a proper project for the area. All these features made Mr. Schmitz imagining a potential network, which could be an improvement of his already own one.

The Federkiel Foundation choose to support building number 14, one of the biggest and less well-kept of the area, and to turn it into a no profit center for contemporary arts that is financed also by public and European funds. The building took the name from its location “Halle 14” and it is going to be until 2024 a nonprofit center for contemporary art. Thanks to this agreement the society did not have to repair this huge part of Spinnerei, so it could focus on the various other halls, and also demolishing various extensions built during the GDR period, as well as the historic coal bunker and boiler buildings, along with Halle 8, which was built in 1925 (Spinnerei Report 2009).

The Foundation works as a catalyst, like the whole Spinnerei. The initial idea of Mr. Schmitz was to join the process of the real estate development with instruments for developing culture, to bring certain art, to make the place more dynamic under an artistic side. He started involving people that fit with this idea of development, first of all Frank Motz. During 2000 and 2001, Mr. Motz was taking

curatorial studies' lessons in New York. He was already running a no profit center in Weimar, the ACC Gallery. This place has a long-standing history, started during the 80' by squatting a building, and then becoming a space for creativity and experimenting; now the two upper floors of the building are rented for commercial activities, in order to finance the ground floor, where the artistic center is settled. Mr. Schmitz appreciated that «special brain» and asked him to look at the area and think about organizing exhibitions in one of its building. Frank Motz, based in Weimar but grew up in Leipzig, took the chance. At present, he is the curator of both no profit centers ACC Gallery and Halle 14, that share the two big exhibitions organized twice per year and some staff too. Also thanks to Mr. Motz, Halle 14 started bringing an international position, one of the aims of Mr. Schmitz.

One of the first project organized at Halle 14 in order to bring more communication and reflection about issues like industrial heritage and culture-led regeneration, was the internationally-attended symposium “How architecture can think socially”. It was organized to speak about the future of the building number 18 by reflecting with people from international successful institutions like the BALTIC (Center for Contemporary Art, Gateshead,UK), MASS MoCA (Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art, US) , Palais de Tokyo (Paris, FR), Spike Island (Bristol, UK), NY Kunsthalle, Zollverein (Essen, Germany), Migros Museum (Zurich, Switzerland) and from Rotterdam. Also people from the Leipziger cultural scene as well as citizens attended the event. The results of the symposium were the basis of a ten-year plan set up by the Foundation in 2002, the starting point of Halle 14.

In 2004 a trip to New York was organized by the Federkiel Foundation: Karsten Schmitz, Bertram Schultze and Frank Motz visited the Armory Show, the Whitney Biennial, the P.S.1 and especially the Dia:Beacon and the MASS MoCA in Massachusetts, where they saw further evidence of the undeniable charisma of art seen in a former industrial setting. By that time, also Judy Lybke and Anna-Louise Rolland (the then initiator and director of LIA, the first and most renowned artist's residency program of Spinnerei) were in New York City.

Most of the institutions considered during the symposium and that visited during the group trip to New York, represents a trend for new converted spaces (Zukin 1989) in United States and Europe during the 1990s. The Alternative Space Movement started in the 1970s was over years gradually institutionalized, after gaining the attention of the private and public sector. After understanding the social and economic potential of such industrial aura and the importance of valorizing industrial past while having an experimental yet contemporary atmosphere, museums started moving into factories.

- The MOMA PS1 was founded in 1971 as the Institute for Art and Urban Resources Inc., an organization devoted to organizing exhibitions in underutilized and abandoned spaces across New York City. In 1976, it opened its permanent location in Long Island City, Queens, where is still based. From alternative and independent space, in the year 2000 it became an affiliate of the Museum of Contemporary Art of New York City; the final arrangement results in an affiliation (that is back with a written “Memorandum of understandings”) in which the museum becomes the sole corporate member of P.S.1, and P.S.1 maintains its artistic and corporate independence. This innovative partnership expands outreach for both institutions, and offers a broad range of collaborative opportunities in collections, exhibitions, educational programs, and administration. which also temporary moved its collection into a former staple factory near PS1 during the renovation and rebuilding of the Museum in Manhattan. MOMA QNS provides state-of-the-art storage spaces for the Museum.
- The DIA Art Foundation opened a further new space on the Hudson River in Beacon, New York, in a nearly 300,000-square-foot historic printing factory.
- MASS MoCA in North Adams has settled down in an old cloth manufacture. From the words of the architects involved in the project of turning the huge area from a mill to a museum, while preserving the historical heritage, it was a long and complex project that was able to gradually involve citizens as well as public authorities. They were finally able to use the museum as a catalyst for the revitalization of a peripheral and of ill reputation area that represents 1/3 of the real estate of North Adams, consisting in 27 buildings, and now supported by private and public funds (Symposium Catalogue 2002).

More than one similarity with Spinnerei can be underlined with such projects: from the type of buildings, the area, the problem of unemployment (they proved with occupancy rates that the development of this project helped to improve the employment rate), the possible various uses of the building and the diversity taken by different galleries and projects. When (quite frequently) some people are reflecting about possible solutions to be taken to support Halle 14, to find an ethical equilibrium between commercial and cultural activities, Frank Motz is still remembering some clever devices from the “formula” of Mass MoCA. He underlined the many kind of events that make people coming back and going to the museum, while the various tenants advantaged by having such address on their business card. From the speech of the director of Mass MoCA Joe Thompson delivered at the Halle 14 symposium, it comes out that they sell the area as an economic catalyst, aside from the

artistic issues of making the building part of the city and of the cultural map of North Adams. The designation of different usages was the route for getting funding (Symposium Catalogue 2002).

These are just few examples from the U.S. that kept the façade of a former industrial factory and renovated with new functions the inside, which now houses post-fordist activities. They made an avant-garde movement gaining success: the phenomenon of occupancies of abandoned industrial buildings started in the 1960s as a form of criticism towards institutional, social and economic crisis, and it was later integrated into the mainstream culture. It is still possible to feel the alternative atmosphere, thanks to the architecture that brings with itself the multi-layered history, the value given by the time, when they are somehow preserved.

These experiences led organizing the Spinnerei's first *Werkschau* among other events, a collective exhibition of work by all the Spinnerei artists, in the summer of 2004. This took place on our 120th anniversary, and the *Spinnereifest* (festival) was then ready to mark this was a first step in creating better communication between the Spinnerei's various users.

Dealing with the refurbishment and planning of the area

In the meantime the administrators, after ensuring the property from loans and banks and starting working on better the current community, one of the further steps was looking for new tenants and supporters for renewals of the area and its buildings.

«Then you invest in it. It was like on plan that you can always calculate your investment according to the tenants which were moving in after this investment [...]. This was a step which the bank understand as well, so we never got the buying price financed, this was really for more money, but the first investment step which we took began in 2003/2004, and then a bank step in».²⁴

First was a regional bank, that was informed about what was going on there and the growing of fame of some artists from Spinnerei, even if they were still not that famous at that time; they financed the project because they were confident that the evaluation could work.

«The calculation was not only based in the artist, but on galleries coming in at that moment, or the art supply shop like Boesner (based in Spinnerei since 2004), which is a big and strong shop and if you get a 10 years contract with them then you are able to finance something else. It was just a

mechanism of the real estate market, not really relied on art but to the finance model which was taken». ²⁵

They planned a financial model, and from Mr. Schultze's words, it seems quite a common practice. «It's always like that; it's a good model if you have something you can offer to the bank. And what we had it was that the property was ours, it was paid [...]. Normally people go to the bank and they want money for buying the place, and then they want money for refurbishing the place [...] of course you have a stronger position if you go to the bank and the place is yours, and the book where the property is written into is free for the bank to go in there, so they have the security for the money they give for refurbishment [...]. The property is free from other banks or loans, it is ours, it belongs to us, and then let's talk about the money we need for the refurbishment». ²⁶

Some public funds were also obtained in order to contribute to the renovation of the halls: resources coming from the City of Leipzig, the State of Saxony and the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus, some public financial support joined the already successfully invested private funds.

From these years, many things started working, new tenants came, some of the artists started bringing international positions, first of all Neo Rauch, and the situation gradually changed, till the important deal with a group of gallery that decided together to come here and giving the place a strong push.

The owners were still following a slow way of developing the space, also taking into account what the increasing number of inhabitants of the area needed, the increased requests for a renting space from commercial industries like ZUR48 (not there anymore), as well as artists, and at the same time preserving the unique atmosphere of the area.

GALLERIES' NETWORK

«One thing was Frank [Motz] to bring international position here. In 2001 there was not so much international art here, the artist who are working here was not so international because the Leipzig boom, some of them started being international in 2003; and this was one aim, to bring international position here, and quite changing, some of the artist become on their own more international, two separate streets come together».²⁷

From Karsten Schmitz's point of view, these two separate streets that met and took to the international recognition are the increasing reputation of the New Leipzig School of painters, and the galleries' moving from the city center to Spinnerei. This are the main reasons why the Baumwollspinnerei became so famous in 2005.

Herry Gerard Lybke, EIGEN+ART Gallery

Herry Gerard Lybke, born in Leipzig, involved in the art world and the Leipziger scene since a long time, also during former period with less freedom and possibilities for an eastern Germany city. His PR experience heads a group of artists that includes not only Neo Rauch and Matthias Weischer (both having a studio here), but also concept artists such as Carsten and Olaf Nicolai and Nina Fischer & Maroan el Sani.

The first time I met him, it was during a night opening of few galleries at the end of February 2013, and Bertram Schultze introduced me. The first impression is the one of a very peculiar personality, amazing and amazed by his work and the people, the «human being» as he said to me on the roof of his loft in Spinnerei, during my interview. In fact, we met few months later at the café Mule inside the area of Spinnerei; he was with his friend Karsten Schmitz. I was a bit afraid in interrupting the deep conversation that was going on, but I had to take the chance and ask him an interview. He kindly listened to me and he opened his agenda. In that moment, I was not sure if he was joking on me or seriously speaking: his organizer seemed more like a Pollock's moleskine; after enumerating all the engagements of next week's (from the way to Berlin the morning after at 6 a.m., to the Hong Kong biennale, with a stop by at the opening of Venetian one), he proposed to meet that day when he has finished working, at around 11 p.m. Of course I accepted and waited in Spinnerei from 9 p.m. to 11.30 p.m., the time he called me and welcomed into his small loft. This way of behaving is to be

read as more than personal kindness, but a way of living, of relate with each other, which is proposed from all the Spinnerei's community, it is a feature of "Spinnerei's label". Mr. Lybke definitely brings such label to life.

I started asking him why he decided to move here, and he quickly said «What the other people said to you? ». I answered, «As far as I know, most of the other galleries followed you». «Exactly, everybody followed me».²⁸

The new site of his gallery, EIGEN+ART, would be the Spinnerei's steam engine hall. Jochen Hempel gallery Dogenhaus and the newly founded ASPN took up residence, as did Gallery Kleindienst and Maerzgalerie. *Kunstraum* B/2, which had been operating since 1998, became an artist-run gallery with Hall 20 as its new base. This led to other important long or short-term collaborations. Foreigners came too: Brooklyn's Pierogi gallery and London's Fred gallery came to the Spinnerei for one year thanks to its growing international reputation and their personal connections with the two resident galleries Dogenhaus and EIGEN+ART.

At that time Mr. Lybke was already known in the art world, mostly from art fairs; he was not searching for a place to start or develop his activity. After being in touch with Mr. Schmitz as well as Mr. Schultze, a new possibility raised for everyone. Mr. "Judy" could decide to make coming and select who he wants with, which is still true: there are periodical meetings between the administration and the group of gallery here, to speak about potential new galleries, about the next gallery tour, or to reflect after it. The rest of the time, lot of mails and informal communication are done, to maintain a strong connection among this people. The owners offered to Mr. Lybke to rent the space at 3,50 euro per square meter, which is the rent also seven years later, «that's the key and the secret, the same price for everyone»,²⁹ because it was and is still the same rent also for the other galleries. There was also a kind of concept, even if not explicit.

«This guy [Bertram Schultze] was looking at NY, Chelsea, and we [the first group of galleries that settled down in Spinnerei] would like to do like Chelsea. They would like to have the same standard, and I say, of course, I like to have this, so ok we'll do it, and we'll do it together».³⁰

In the beginning, the other galleries that came with EIGEN+ART used to know each other; they had their venues in the same area of the city center, not too far from the HGB. This led the "group" to the informal common decision of moving, and then starting working like a committee, that selects out other galleries, with the guiding principle of the «no quality less than others»³¹ in accordance to

the managing director. This way of acting drove to speak about high quality level of the galleries here, and of an international level of the activities and shows that are happening here.

«We create the market and we control the market»,³² in the Leipziger area.

For a gallery like EIGEN+ART, after having cheaper renting conditions than in the city center, Mr. Lybke felt like a plus having other galleries around him and giving to his collectors an “augmented experience”, after having bought an art work at his shop. This is still true today for many aspects: from the collective decisions that are made, to the collaboration among each other, the common events, all aspects make them wanting to remain in this place, despite conflicting interests coming from the art market field of work in particular. Until letting them take the liberty of speaking about a unique community based in the Spinnerei.

Kleindienst Gallery

Many of the “young painters from Leipzig”, but also other interesting graduates of the Leipziger Art Academy were discovered by the gallery owner Matthias Kleindienst. For the business director of the gallery, Christian Seyde, the decision to come to Spinnerei was an informal one, a challenge taken also to follow the biggest gallery (EIGEN+ART) and after the proposal of the «owner»,³³ after considerations about the more space and the cheapest rent. At that time the Kleindienst gallery already has five artists working there, but its managers had no particular expectations about the whole project, which is instead quite important now: they are together, but speaking about the art business «you can’t work together [...] There is always competition, and to keep international level, you have to do it on your own». Everybody has its own collectors, it is a «quite delicate market», and they have to distinguish themselves by the others.³⁴

«Everybody know that we have to work together at some point, but not too much [...]. It helps more in psychological way, you are not alone, you are in a good environment, people love to come here and to see it, to feel it, all the artist and the area, but to be honest I think we have a lot of visitors, but we have not more clients [...]. We need people to buy art, not just to watch art».³⁵

He seemed quite doubtful about the success of the whole project, the promotion that is made. In Spinnerei lot of people interested in art are coming, and they can enjoy more exhibition spaces at the

same time without paying a ticket to see a performance. They can later go to listen to a talk about art-related themes to Halle 14, meeting a friend at the café Mule (another business started thanks to the connections of the former owner with the artistic community), before going to see a film at the Luru Kino (the cinema). Most of these activities are not of big interests for a commercial gallery. On the other hand, this extra task is also an acceptable price to pay for a marketing image of the “gallery district”, which helped to improve the reputation of the whole city that is nowadays comparable to Berlin then to Dresden or Rostock.

It is not too easy for a gallery to evaluate the advantages of being part of Spinnerei, because of these opposite interests, also towards the managing director: during their meetings, if a decision about a new gallery has to be taken, of course Mr. Lybke or Mr. Schultze advices are stronger. As always, there are many aspects of a decision that has to be considered, but it is sure that if these galleries will decide to leave, at least the three most important, the place can lose a lot. So this also helped to preserve the area, the atmosphere, without quick changes but sometimes leaving empty spaces instead of renting them to whom is paying most.

Also the closeness with artists can be presented as an instrument to improve the collector’s experience: here he can easily have a look into their studio, in the authentic environment that explain better the purpose of their art, which makes easier to promote an artist’s work. Even though, when we spoke about the “big hype” of the Leipziger School, some told me that this can represent a disadvantage: for an artist now coming from the HGB, and for a gallery not belonging to this market branch, a kind of prejudice is arising just because of this label.

Through years, the meaning of the area was enriched, and finally became also a good home base to come back while having your business spread thorough fairs all over the world. There is also an emotional connection with the space coming out, mostly for a person that grow up in eastern Germany, in this «imperfectness», when then «you can see that you can be happy here» while still feeling a lot of potential in the development of the area.³⁶

Arne Linde, ASPN Gallery

There are quite similar remarks for every gallery based here, even if they have different stories, starting and businesses. Thus, there are different reasons why each person joins a network. Like for

Arne Linde, the owner of the ASPN Gallery. She started this business for the first time there in 2005, thanks to the structure build up from Spinnerei and the artistic network around it. Before that moment she was already connected with the Leipziger scene; she used to write articles about the Leipziger School, for artists friend of her; she also edited the press release for Jochen Ampel, who has already his gallery there. Mr. Ampel himself proposed to Ms. Linde to open a space too, close to his one, so he can be advantaged by having someone trusted that looks after his business while he was in Berlin.

« It was a very spontaneous decision in a way, it was made like four months before opening in May 2005, all together, not everybody but most of the gallery has already moved here in that time, so this is how I became a gallery owner». ³⁷ By hearing Arne Linde speaking, I thought about the fairytale that holds the interest of many people; she just confirmed it, speaking about the social environment that she decided to get involved in. «It was a very specific combination of those colleagues [...], the artist community friends that were here, and the event that everybody was moving here from the galleries, it was a very promising situation. So I knew there will be a very huge opening, a lot of people would come here. A perfect start for me as a gallery in this community, in this context, so I don't think I would have opened a gallery if there was not something like Spinnerei going on, so this is for me a very specific area». ³⁸ It is not only the architecture or the situation within the city, but also the social situation was important for her. She is still here enjoy the atmosphere, the many ways of cooperation of this community, like helping each other by borrowing some stuff, having dinner together, till common openings. When she says «community», as the other gallerists interviewed, she refers mainly to galleries and artists, even though after seven years it is quite natural to get in touch with everyone around. This community is the reason why she started working as a gallery owner and helped her improving her activity. «Here in Spinnerei, nobody would come here, not from the city center or from other cities, if there was not all galleries at one spot» and practically speaking «we know that we need each other here, nobody can fight against the other one, if we have three openings at the same day, a lot of more people come than just my little gallery opened». ³⁹ This cooperation is a need coming from being out of the city center which became also a pleasure that helps the everyday working life of the people involved, and that thereby strengthen the image of Spinnerei at all. This way of interacting is so deeply rooted that is also enriching the visitor's way of experiencing Spinnerei. «Also for people coming from other cities and looking at us, they understand immediately that we have an open communication, working together and, for example, doing parties together [...] this is something that they find very special and they like». ⁴⁰

By the time, the “community” remains a good reason to stay, even if her business can let her not caring too much about the place. During the last four years, many features of the art world where she works in changed: everything is becoming more and more international, from her artists to the crucial moment of the sale. It is no more so important having gallery physically settled, as most of her work and networks are made by travelling through fairs all over the world. Moreover, her artists are not closely belonging to Spinnerei or the HGB. If in the first three years of her gallery she was advantaged by this starting sequence, and thanks to that «I’m still living from it in a way, because I met lot of people»,⁴¹ now most of her sales are made up from fairs.

When I asked how much this common structure helped her, as she owns a gallery belonging to a kind of disconnected business from the territory and from the Leipziger Schule, she told me that this marketing image is useful just for the gallery tours and common openings, when also normal people that simply like art come. However, this is another issue then of the art network. The rest of her business should be very focused on her artists and on directing their offer. This does not mean to her that a place like Spinnerei cannot exist anymore, with a Leipziger School belonging to a place. A place like Spinnerei, and extensively a city like Leipzig, can still offer something that is also very important in a busy and travelling life of a gallerists or and artists: the quality of living of this «island of comfort».

«Of course it’s really wonderful being here, I mean, I am sitting here in the sun, and people come by that I know, and I say hallo, I meet people when I have lunch and everybody is very communicative and friendly and the atmosphere is very relaxed. I am also not nervous, or that nervous as some people in Berlin that always have the feeling that there is so much going on, and they have to stay, meet and meet and meet all the important people that are living here, it’s not that stressful here, it’s really worth living, or it’s wonderful to be here».⁴² Spinnerei results like an island of friendly art dealers, which makes possible a wider connection to other parts of the world. Here commercial and artistic actors have the possibility to meet, and the public can join it. Therefore, it is a meeting point for different nodes.

«I want to say, art needs to travel a lot, but I don’t want to say that it can’t happen here every one a while, for example when we think at the gallery tour in ten days, there is a huge exhibition “Berlin – Klondike” down in the *Werkshauhalle* (a huge building available for rent to host big exhibitions), and something like hundred artists coming from Berlin; not only their works, but I think half of the artists also will come, and spend a weekend here. This is a big meeting, a big community meeting from a

huge art world that is now connected between Berlin and Leipzig and other places, like Klondike. So this is also a spot where sometimes a lot happens, and then something else has to happen somewhere else». ⁴³

Therefore, the main “networks” that helped her, and what does she think she would miss if not in Spinnerei, they can be resumed in a top three list. The already existing or quickly developing network of people that she was already connected with, that really made her an easy start. Being exactly in Spinnerei was absolutely necessary for Arne Linde in the beginning, till suggesting that everyone would move now into this community, would experience the same, by easily meeting people and clients. From the position she gained now, she will probably miss Spinnerei’s community for «sentimental reasons [...] Because it’s so easy and nice just to do your everyday work here, and meet people, organize all the galleries tour together, and this is so easy really nice and helpful just for the everyday work. I still leave from a lot of context that I made also to people other cities or countries that I made here in Spinnerei». ⁴⁴

There is also a negative aspect of being a Leipzig Spinnerei gallery, because some people could think that the ASPN gallery is belonging to the Leipzig school of painting, just because she is addressed at Spinnerei, so there is this label somewhere. «I thought like two or three years ago I should get rid of this, I have to move at least out of Spinnerei. I never did that, because there was too many reasons to stay». Now, as her colleagues of Spinnerei, her business is strong enough and well connected with other dimensions and cities that she does not need to use this location for her business, but she is still enjoying it.

WHO IS SPINNEREI?

The structure of Spinnerei functions as a binding agent of this different levels and networks, to give a united image to the outside, stronger under marketing terms, even if on a commercial point of view this is not enough for gallery's business. Galleries are doing their proper work on fairs, with collectors, not with thousands of visitors coming every year.

«Who is Spinnerei? Maybe 20 people; Bertram [Schultze] is one, Judy, Jochen [Ampel], I [Arne Linde] am one, few people from Halle 14 [...]. We are in communication from the beginning and we know we have to be nice to each other, no else one is around. No one that is really doing just his own staff, not caring about the others. Maybe it's also this, we are lucky to have a lot of really nice people working for this community here».⁴⁵

There is one person you can now refer to in order to understand how works the place now, the one that put a new structure on Spinnerei when there was not a defined plan for it. This man is the managing director of Spinnerei, Bertram Schultze. If you say “the Spinnerei Man”, everyone will understand whom you are referring to, even if his role is supposed to belong to the real estate market than other businesses. He knows everything in details about the place, he takes care of it and firstly at its inhabitants, and he is responsible for giving a common imagine on the outside world, by developing a local experience into an international one.

«Business and artistic knowledge, they are not different to me, they are not different worlds. It's like they belong very much together [...] it's like being in contact with the people, maybe not all the time with everyone, but in general, and with the topics which are taking place in the place and after your developing I think this is the most important factor. It's not only about dealing with banks and possible new tenants, it's very much about looking of the people who are already there, and taking care of the quality management, let's say the development of content in your place, so not only the development of the place [...]. The identity and so on, and that's only possible through the tenants, through the people here».⁴⁶

Mr. Schultze uses to work every day on the idea of community, like with what he called «atmospheric meetings»,⁴⁷ which are usually on Friday and consist in «going around and the people see that you are interested in it, and I really am, and It's, well, creating yourself a nice day as well, so it all goes together».⁴⁸

He shows me that such personalities are really easy to be found when there is a successful run project, like Spinnerei or EIGEN+ART one. He represents a new generation of real estate businesspersons, out of restricted definitions and static procedures of developing a commercial project. These personalities can be called cultural entrepreneurs. Hybrid personalities that are able to develop project characterized by a mixture of interests, needs and plans on a high-quality level achieved in the long term and well publicized (Baum 2012).

«I think it's important that we have a certain portion of people that are not only [involved in] art, just to have this mixture, to be colorful and not to be developed monoculture in this topic and on the other hand is like giving economic stability. Because putting everything in art, trusting in art all the development, I think it will be a bit problematic and at the same time I think it's important that you have like a picture of the outside world, so you have different people with different interests. I think the worst thing you can get is something like in between, so people who don't know if they are now something like a gallery or they are running an office. If someone is here, no matter what he does, you should do this properly, so that's actually what we have and what I like very much. No matter if they print artworks or if they sell pianos, everyone take very serious what he does, is very professional, I think that's important. I don't mind having a call center around, paying a big rent and using big spaces up here, in the property, and being a very important economical factor for the whole functioning of the place here».⁴⁹

INTERNATIONAL NETWORKS

In 2003, when EIGEN+ART and other main galleries were already on the market, one of the most important collector around the world concurred to make the Leipziger School an art world phenomenon and Spinnerei didn't lose the chance to become that too.

During a 2003 trip to Leipzig, Miami-based Donald and Mera Rubell became aware of the works and became the New Leipzig School's first (and still biggest) collectors. In a moment when painting was considered as many times in the history old fashioned, but on the other hand the hype of the new media was going down, the unique style and "strategy" of Leipziger painters and their dealers were rewarded. These collectors and others that followed, was fascinated by the development of the factory, where was possible to discover five artists in one day in the same area, connected by a common ground, but at the same time very different in their results. It has «never happened to us in 40 years of collecting» said Mrs. Rubell.

Following the first visit in 2003, they began assembling the up to now collection of this movement, and the exhibition "Life after death". There was the intent to celebrate an artistic production that effectively balances craft and concept, started a critical debate within the global contemporary art discourse that drove to organize a travelling exhibition, also through places that have never even thought about exposing such traditional two-dimensional work of art (Life after death 2005) .

<p>Artists in the exhibition: Neo Rauch Tilo Baumgärtel Tim Eitel Martin Kobe Christoph Ruckhäberle David Schnell Matthias Weischer</p>	<p>December 1, 2004 - February 27, 2005 Rubell Family Collection, Miami, FL</p> <p>March 19, 2005 - March 31, 2006 MASS MoCA, North Adams, MA</p> <p>April 21 - June 19, 2006 SITE Santa Fe, Santa Fe, NM</p> <p>September 5 - October 29, 2006 American University Museum, Katzen Arts Center, WashingtonDC</p>
<p>Traveling History from the Catalogue of the exhibition «Life after death: new Leipzig paintings from the Rubell Family Collection», Mark Coetzee and Laura Steward Heon, Miami, Rubell Family Collection, 2005.</p>	<p>February 16 - June 3, 2007 Frye Art Museum, Seattle, WA</p> <p>June 23 - September 30, 2007 Salt Lake Art Center, Salt Lake City, UT</p> <p>November 16, 2007 - February 3, 2008 Kemper Museum of Contemporary Art, Kansas City, MO</p> <p>March 19 - May 18, 2008 Richard E. Peeler Art Center, DePauw University, Greencastle, IN</p>

If you search for the people involved in this story, you can find acquaintances of Mr. Lybke here too, like Christian Ehrentraut, who worked for him and founded the Liga Gallery in Berlin, an artist-run space belonging to the New Leipziger School.

These events concurred to sell a Neo Rauch's at the same cachet of New York in the 1950s and London in the 1990s. This is more incredible because rising from a city that lived under communism regime and the cold war, where this situation ended just in the 90s and you can still feel the depression and crisis deriving from that period and the change caused by the de-industrialization, all together getting in touch with the capitalistic and "free to express" west. These artists represent a particular mixture.

For Spinnerei, this led to an establishment as the factory hosting the Leipziger School's ateliers, and caused also an increasing of interests from other artists and galleries. There was the creation of the first residency project, the L.I.A., the Leipzig International Art Programme, which among other activities, organizes meetings and studio visits with the artists of Spinnerei. This is a not-for-profit art institution, established from Anna-Louise Rolland, who were already involved in the project of the cotton mill (before she worked for the Federkiel Foundation) and then managed to get the support of international and prestigious partnerships. The program was from the beginning projected to be developed in the Spinnerei and join its networks.

«LIA will function within an already existing artistic and cultural network, generated by the atmosphere of the Spinnerei in Leipzig. Currently around one hundred twenty artists live and work in the cotton mills, where the not-for profit organization Foundation Federkiel, organizes regular exhibitions of social relevance, and where eleven internationally renowned commercial galleries currently operate» (L.I.A. 2013).

This residency program makes improving the international atmosphere by hosting international artists every three months. As the other residencies based in Spinnerei, they plan the residency period to be coincident with Rundgänge, so a further chance to be known is given to their young artists.

«Every artist that has been here with residency, as having a studio here, visiting or having a show, I think all the artist that were temporarily here really enjoy it. It is that all the galleries are really seriously working with them, there is a very good culture of taking care of artists, looking at art, really handling the content and the question they have, so I think this is a high level of caring for art and

artist here. And every artist from Italy and France is coming back to their cities and saying to everybody that is a really nice place to make art, and show art, and live to for a while».⁵⁰

A community that is open to welcome new galleries and projects, under the guiding criteria of quality. «We wanted galleries that also bring something, not just to take from our power and community. For example when the Mexican gallerist Hilario Galguera [based here one year], it was completely clear that we would like to have them here. Or for example the Munich gallery [based] one or two years in the space of Queen Anne [Gallery] now, it was really cool to have them here, they brought a lot of people and artists from Munich, this was some art scene mixed up, really working well».⁵¹ People like Hilario Galguera, they were all taking part of the gallery meetings. They could experience to talk to each other, to just join in, because they understand from the first moment they do not have to fight for anything, that there was a common interest, and they get pretty quick used to «the way we are doing here»,⁵² they integrate themselves and it works out. They accepted the rules of the structure.

On 1 May 2005, the galleries officially opened their new spaces, with a spectacular open weekend that received well over 10,000 visitors and it was introduced by the speech of Angela Merkel.

SPINNEREI'S EFFECT

From around 2007 to 2010, it is possible to notice an improvement in projects and spaces related with arts and creative people in Leipzig, and more precisely in its west part: the preservation and renovation of old buildings in former industrial spaces, it started to be developed from private as well as public initiatives. With various acceptations, all the people interviewed connected this new way of looking at such issues with the development and success of Spinnerei, underlining that in the same period other projects started; these further projects seemed following in the footsteps of the predecessor, the new Baumwollspinnerei. The connections and nodes of the Spinnerei's network went beyond the boundaries of the cotton mill. They strengthen their connection with the whole city, and they shared outcomes too, until identifying the place of Leipzig as the place where Spinnerei is based, an important actor of the Leipziger community.

First of all, the attention from the outside gained by Spinnerei, it permitted to make more people getting in touch with this abandoned area. «Nowadays people are working here, foreign too that makes Leipzig living. I'm originally Leipziger, and my parents used to say to me "don't go to west Leipzig, it's dirty, shady, gloomy.." then people came from other cities, they saw there was so much space, and made something up here, and that's why those people was not from Leipzig, like Bertram [Schultze] from other cities».⁵³

Spinnerei is like an «ambassador» for Leipzig and creative people, to make more people being interested and coming in Leipzig, and in the western area, also practically speaking: during the first years of life of Spinnerei, Katja Großer was working for a nonprofit theatre on the Karl Heine Street called Schaubühne Lindenfels. When the theatre started its activity in 1993, the south-west area was not so lively, there were few other institutions; but when Spinnerei opened, more people started passing through to get to Spinnerei. She represented Spinnerei like «a small step in this mosaic that is Leipzig». People from the outside come to Leipzig searching for this "creative milieu", to go to Spinnerei, and then once here they visit «Plagwitz, and Tapetenwerk, and then they say "Oh, that's Leipzig!"».⁵⁴ The few institutions that were already there about seven years ago, they started being advantaged by all the people that were passing through in order to reach Spinnerei.

Moreover, it showed that investing in an empty former industrial area could be a new and initially cheap business, of big appeal to artists and audience. «I think the Spinnerei is a great place for Leipzig and for the west of Leipzig. Because we don't know there would be such a development like this, like

that industry which broke down in 1990s would be such a potential in these times for other new industries or new ways to earn money or new ways to live, to create in a postindustrial time».⁵⁵

The Westwerk

Among all many different experiments, one of them deserves to be reminded, because of its history and the avowed interdependence of this project with the Baumwollspinnerei one: the Westwerk GmbH. Together with other similar projects at that time, it represents a kind of «parallel development». They are both housed in a former industrial factory very close to the city center and quite in the same area of Spinnerei. Westwerk in particular, is located on the Karl Heine Street, on the way to Spinnerei.

Mr. Peter Sterzing, the manager of the site, is not reticent when telling how everything started in 2007 to link it with the development of Spinnerei. «I think one of the main reason that westwerk was initiated in 2007 is because of Spinnerei, because we are on the main road to the real city center to Spinnerei, and then we have the view that all the people from the city center they have to pass and they have to see that we are here».⁵⁶

As Spinnerei, Westwerk started with an association of private people and now is still run by privates. First was a man called Mr. Jürgen Glöckner, who had the idea to convert the old foundry factory in a place for artists (2006). After having negotiated the contract with the former owner, he started to develop it, whit no more than a view that «nobody would have»;⁵⁷ there really was no money for the project, but they were helped by many people, so they started to develop it. Up to 2007, when some organizational problems arose and Peter Sterzing, the former layer of Mr. Glöckner, was asked to be in charge of the Westwerk. Because of the common urban situation, there are also similar tasks faced by both Westwerk and Spinnerei.

From a first view, Mr. Glöckner looks like a kind of personality easily comparable to Mr. Schultze's one: they both invested and believed in the growth of the Leipziger artistic scene. At present, Mr. Glöckner holds the *Alte Handelsschule*, in a street close to Spinnerei: an old school building being reconverted in rooms for artists to live and work in, just to let them settle down permanently, thanks to the low rents' certitude. He renovated it in a very low level, with the main goal of letting artists having a safe place. Then there is Mr. Schultze, who had different and wider aims.

«It is really a kind of crucial, that he was him that was talking to city in order to get some support in order to get renovated this area. [...] It was he to get in contact Zur48, the computer shop: the most important renter at the beginning, the big shop that could pay a lot of rent, and so kind of support all the artists so they can pay a lower rent. It's a very important part of the business model that Bertram [Schultze] tries to develop here in Spinnerei, and of course someone like him was better able to talk to someone like Zur48 instead of an artist for example».⁵⁸ It seems then that they are coming from different backgrounds and working with different aims: Mr. Schultze is called from many people a «businessman», a «sales man» that moves «through projects», here, as in Nuremberg or Jena⁵⁹ for example, while Glöckner moves «through Leipzig», and he is considered an important person for Leipzig, a man full of experience.

After the left of Mr. Glöckner, the first step of the new administration was to define the missing structure to run the place. The term structure is used to refer to the tenants and activities present, as well as to the business management. In both cases, this is a kind of open and flexible structure, where the mixture of usages and terms of contracts is one of the guiding principles of the administration. In this context this mixture is motivate in order to keep the balance of the place and under the people, to have a plan about how to fill the place with the people. «Especially with craftsmen, now we have five people working with wood, we don't need a sixth more. And now we have metal, wood, stone, we have such things, and I see westwerk in the next years, at one side more handcrafts, and this side more art, [...] is missing this connection of the two places here [...] the important thing is to keep the balance under the people».⁶⁰

They want a mix of activities that can fit well together, in order to have a comprehensive environment composed by craft-related activities and arts. By doing so, there is the idea to be a sort of networking point, to be the reason for new connections among different creative people, which can be empower by this common ground.

«They can go together and work together in the studio we have beside, become a friend, who knows. That is what happens here, I know it, the people really come together, so many new connections under the people and this is potential for us too, and I think they know it, that Westwerk is the reason for this new connection. This is what we get back, not only money but we really have a good feedback from people here [...] happy to be here».⁶¹ There is here a structure too that makes more connections and collaborations possible, they decided to do that, and it seems working. Because they are keeping low rents, they are in worse living and working conditions compared to of Spinnerei. Also because

of that, they are more open and this situation enforces the side of “being a community”, where the contribution of every individuals is welcomed, they are working together because of the feeling that Westwerk is somehow belonging to everyone, even if the owner is a private one.

As Spinnerei is connected to the Academy of Visual Arts, here a relation with the Burg is done, the Academy of Arts and Design of Halle, which makes possible a continuous «flow of people» coming and join Westwerk.

Even if the interviewee told that he did not have such a deep view into the structure of Spinnerei, from his words is possible to catch a glimpse of some common ideas circulating about Spinnerei, like its reputation as a place for art. «Here we have a good structure, because we have craftsmen, shops, private persons, artists and not only artist, and this is for us very important, many people see Westwerk only for artists but it isn't like that». Quite the same would say Bertram Schultze about Spinnerei, to clarify what is going on in Spinnerei apart from what newspapers claim and the leading reason of interest from a wide audience.

A mixture is needed also economically speaking; when dealing with different kind of renters, and most of them are creative people, in order to let them staying; it is of help to stay flexible in rents and terms of contracts. This way of working linked also to the shortage of money of the private administration; instead of planning big works and renewals, they offer a place for creative people where they can stay for a cheap price. The low rent is possible because they are proceeding on a very low level with the renovation of the buildings, which are not in a good state as the Spinnerei's one: there are still many internal problems to work on, regarding the energy, the water installations, the heating. Nevertheless, they are offering rooms to people, that accept to start working or performing here instead of some practical inconveniences, while on the other hand they are able to sustain the payment of the rent. The administrator somehow turned these disadvantages into a potential: because is an “under construction” situation, people living here can join the process, they can feel free in running their space, which is an important feature for artists and creative people.

«I think one of our secrets is “don't stress people with too many costs and money”. It would be nice if we have more money, to get more rent and we can go fast forward or maybe we can do this and this. However, in the end, it is easier if you explain to somebody like “ok, look, you don't have to spend so much money: 250 euro and you have a place where you can work or where you can develop your idea or something like that. It's right that we don't have hot water maybe, maybe you have to

go 500 meters to get it, but is it more important to you to have hot water or to have place where you can do your work and realize your ideas? Sometimes you need such discussion, sometimes people know from the beginning. In the end, I think they are happier to have cheap place where they can leave things and ideas. That's why we go slowly». ⁶²

Even if such explanation of Mr. Sterzing can be initially compared to the way of proceeding of Spinnerei, it then became transforming itself with other assumptions and acknowledgments. This can be seen as an obsolete way of thinking about the regeneration of a place, but also the trial to adapt to their particular situation and problems with what it were considered a solutions adopted by Spinnerei. So, in his telling, Mr. Sterzing was turning their own “cons into pros”, to made them acceptable and functioning for the tenants, and finally to promote (to me) this translation as a point of strength. Such process needs more time and effort, so at the time of this interview it appeared a bit jumbled, and consequently not of a strong impact, at least not supported by strong deeds.

Other points of view of creative people outside of Spinnerei: Katja Großer

Katja Großer works for The Federal Government's Centre of Excellence for the Cultural and Creative Industries for the Saxony-Anhalt Region. This federal institute is composed by professionals available to help individuals and small groups of creative people to enhance their entrepreneurial and business skills in order to strengthen their visibility and influence in the sector of cultural and creative industries. In that way they offer support and tools to allow creative people's work becoming their main outcome, also by involving them in a platform for networking and dialogue among similar professionals. By using this kind of structures, they want to make easy for creative enterprises and individuals to meet, and easily obtaining access and “bargaining power” in front of governmental and financial institutions. It is work of «connecting and networking», quite a usual and used words among people like Ms. Großer, who most of the time build their free-lance kind of job relying on this “network way of thinking”. This is a contemporary way of living, connected to this postindustrial era. These working manners are also spurred by the kind of medium-sized cities they lived, the also called “shrinking cities“ like Leipzig, which is connoted by a tradition of some kind of art and artists coming and living there and starting projects. ⁶³

When I asked to Katja Großer if Spinnerei is one of these networks that let creative people meeting, she told that this is now a different part of the creative milieu of the city, even if «it is kind of a

networking point».⁶⁴ Linked to the same period when Spinnerei was gaining more attention, is possible to notice that the Creative Leipzig project started; even if Spinnerei was not actively involved in the Creative Cities project of 2010, is quite manifest that its contemporaneous success worked together to strengthen the image of the whole city.

If a comparison has to be done, between an experience like Spinnerei and the experiences that Ms. Großer is facing in her everyday working activity, it is in term of different aims: Spinnerei means speaking more about «pure art», a place where art happens, where there are many artists doing their art works and not taking care about the market. Then there are also galleries taking care of the commercial side, but this is not a purpose of primary importance for an artist; moreover, many artists based in Spinnerei do not have a promoter. On the other side of the Leipziger creative world, there are creative people «trying to stay authentic and pay the rent»;⁶⁵ This other part of the creative milieu of Leipzig is trying by itself to figure out how to live with arts, how to make a business out of that. It is like saying, «Spinnerei is a creative Leipzig for artists living there»:⁶⁶ the management board of Spinnerei is the structure that connects artists and the business of the art market. As the governmental center where Katja Großer works does for people that are not part of such kind of infrastructure, that are more independent and would like to be able to run their business independently.

Another difference went out in my interviews is that these single creative people are «not working together» or «cooperating» like the supposed situation of Spinnerei, but they are of course «affecting each other»⁶⁷ thanks to a kind of structure. This idea of a “community-way-of-living” coming from people involved in the artistic field but not working in Spinnerei, changes perspective when speaking with some artists that have their studio in Spinnerei. Some of them told about a place to work, where their studio is based; they came here because of the rent, of the space that fitted their needs, of the quiet. Thus, because there is a structure that is helping you if you need, from having Boesner to the administration, which look at everyday duties, so the artist can focus on his main activity. It is also important to tell the difference between the place of production and of display and consumption, even if they are in the same area. Just to give an example, the painter Sebastian Burger does not know many of the artists living there, even if the *Spinnerei Report* gives to the reader an overall mental picture of a staunch working community, by showing a sequence of pictures of the several artists one after the other. There is also the matter of competition, among Spinnerei’s people and among Spinnerei and the others, a quite normal situation that traces different ways on the Leipziger artistic network.

Critiques

With the establishment of Spinnerei, of course occurred some critiques.

In the Westpol, the exhibition spaces of Westwerk, there are artists «completely different from the Leipziger Schule». Many young artists want to distinguish themselves from the Leipziger style, «so they are looking of other different places out from Spinnerei»⁶⁸. There are areas in the east of Leipzig, like the *Eisenbahnstraße* in the north-east, that since the last year started to face an increase of creative people, because there is a good rental situation, there are still affordable rooms and studios, whilst is becoming harder to find one at Spinnerei. Some of these people look at Spinnerei as «an art circus, only for tourists and not for making art, being inspired [...] so the new Leipziger west».⁶⁹

Now Spinnerei seems less authentic, more often you can find artist saying «I'm not from Spinnerei», that they are not belonging to such promotional and commercial milieu. The following excerpts from my interviews are just to show the whole kind of mood towards Spinnerei. Of course is to be reminded that such arguments are quite normal of the topic. This is also a proof of the institutionalization of a place, which is a proof of its success. On the other hand, reinvention is essential, sticking to and replying to new realities and urgencies. Spinnerei is still working to improve the area.

There is another thing to take into account while reflecting about Leipzig and its inhabitants. The area belonging to Spinnerei, by becoming more internationally known for its great artists and so on, it attracted more artists and people from out of Leipzig and Germany too, while most of the Leipziger now live in other areas of the city. Spinnerei is a kind of «appendix», with a «foreign bubble» which is important for the image of Leipzig too. Moreover, as in other cities, always people from the outside come and see the potential of such empty and cheap places, while for the people living there they used to be just places where was convenient not to go. «But now if they want to meet they are going to NBL or other places».⁷⁰ The NBL (Noch Besser Leben) is a club located in the Lindenauer area, on the way to Spinnerei; it is a spot for artists and young people living in the western part of Leipzig, which has recently achieved the degree of a meeting point. Nowadays such places like bars, temporary or recently opened spaces, represent fresh and «living network» outside of the superintendence of Spinnerei, even if in the same part of the city. The people involved in the creative sector in Leipzig, they see Spinnerei also as a place that thanks to its «commercial hype» made possible that other projects took shape and more people and artists became interested in Leipzig. They are not that critical, because they know there are still lot of places around Spinnerei and Leipzig where people

can meet and work without reproducing the same dynamics as in Spinnerei. Moreover, they are answering to a need like the one Spinnerei did by renting studios for artists: this is about socialization, the nightlife, which is up to this point missing at Spinnerei. «Maybe from the inside Spinnerei seems bigger than it really is, to say that there is much more going on outside that the Spinnerei commercial issue is not that big or affected as much the artistic Leipziger scene and reputation». ⁷¹

The French artist Neven Allanic, the founder of Le Fugitiv, a residency program between Germany and France, described Spinnerei as «a typical representation of the art scene»; he underlines a conflict of interests that he found only here in all Leipzig, «and the biggest one is Halle 14. In this moment, it wants to come inside the Lindenauer Network. Of course Mr. Schmitz is a collector, but by owning you want also that it is economically working». ⁷² For Neven and his residency program is of primary importance to have a balance between the commercial and the pure artistic activity. This in order to stay professional but at the same time letting institutions like Halle 14 and artists to work without being too much conditioned only from one side of the art world. «I think it's quite expensive to have a rent out of Halle 14, in Spinnerei, [where] there is a commercial idea because of galleries, so it's really like an industry for art. I'm not against, it's also good for me to stay professional and have a gallery, but with Le Fugitiv it's like to say to artists “be careful, it's an illusion, because it's just a part of the art”, there is an economic but also the social aspect is important». ⁷³

However, the situation is changing, and the network composed of «people coming directly from the HGB, or when don't go to Spinnerei you go to Berlin», is getting closer to the whole area of Lindenau, and not only to Spinnerei. Therefore, «the west area is beginning to be different». There are like «two different politics that should live together». ⁷⁴

The Lindenauer Network

Quite the same point of view is coming out from the actual director of D21 Constanze Müller, which is the only organized art association in the Lindenauer area, a part of Leipzig quite close to Spinnerei. Since few years, it is possible to speak about a “Lindenauer network”. The name refers to the area of Lindenau with an increasing number of artist-run spaces and galleries: one of the first settlers was the art association D21, that together with six other institutions came a bit later, they then decide to build up an organizational structure that functions mostly in order to promote these artistic and cultural situations. About three years ago, they started connecting in opening times, with an event called

Lindenow: two times per year, they are all opening together like Spinnerei's Rundgänge, in the same period too. «Because the west of Leipzig, especially here in this area, just few years ago nobody really know, most came to Spinnerei, they went there, but here no». ⁷⁵ At that time, this heterogeneous group of creative missed a common image to attract people coming in an area, which was not known as an artistic site in Leipzig. This organizational board of Lindenau helped them gain popularity, but also cooperating during their everyday activities, like for example lending some technical stuff.

When more spaces started asking to join this network, they then founded an association to coordinate themselves, also to ask for some money and work in a more organized way. It's just an organization board, every space that takes part is a member, and they are slowly finding a common way of working together, to get advantaged by being in this group, which is spreading till Plagwitz area.

The most important reality, also because it is the only one that already has a defined statute, it is the Gallery D21. They started to define their identity also because of Spinnerei, by saying «ok, we are not Spinnerei, and we don't want to be there». ⁷⁶ This was during the time of the "big hype" at around 2007. They criticized the commercial way of relating with arts, and they wanted to show different art positions from the Leipziger perspective. They were, and still are, interested in other medium, not paintings; they were interested in experiment and bringing new positions from outside of Leipzig. Their profile was strongly influenced by the art showed in Spinnerei, as they decided to be not part of the area but at the same time housing close to.

They are also somehow connected with Spinnerei, and if is necessary they rent a space in Halle 14 to show a part of their current exhibition. Halle 14 is the only place that shares the same idea as them about art; D21 is also linked by personal friendship and trust with Michael Arzt, who is now the program curator of Halle 14, but until 2012, he was the director of D21. Because Spinnerei is undoubtedly still good for an artist, it gives more visibility than being in Lindenau. «We are now trying to connect each other, but we also need a separation. We still need a connection, also with the space there, you can use the infrastructure [of Spinnerei] there, and you have more people, tourists going there». You than also have to do «your own propaganda» after having a good cooperation, which is still under construction, and not everyone agrees with the way the process should be handled. ⁷⁷

There are two different part of the creative milieu of Leipzig: at one side, there is the Lindenauer area, with artists-run-spaces and more experimental projects; then on the other side, there is the established

Spinnerei, which is a commercial art-related engine. In Leipzig, there are not too many companies available to finance such projects, and there is not a big art market. Maybe this is the reason why galleries from Spinnerei are so attached with Leipziger painters, because this is the only way to have a successful business here. The majority of collectors coming from outside, they came here because they are searching for a certain kind of recognized art, which is the Leipziger Schule one. Then there are also galleries that are quite different, but if «it's commercial, you can't be too experimental», as they can be in D21.

This let to see that a purpose to set a «transfer of knowledge», it is now becoming declared, by organizing such projects and community. Thanks also to Spinnerei, they now know that having a sort of community helps in psychological way, in order to feel a part of a productive process, and by learning from or having a dialogue among each other with quite similar difficulties and status. Of great importance is also that, as an individual, other people and institutions can recognize you by being part of a network. Because, speaking about the Lindenauer quarter as well as single creative projects, even if there is the willingness of the municipality to represent the interests of creative industries, most of the creative people don't feel supported by public institutions; there is a kind of communication, but as obvious it is not enough. It's «Difficult for me to think about any project that municipality started in order to support creative people».⁷⁸ There were European projects like the “Creative Cities”, but for the quite usual reason of these projects, one year does not leave or even trigger a long-term process that benefits creative people.

The city of Leipzig

The city itself, in the revision and targets' shakeout climate, realized that creative industries already were a growing factor of the city, and at the same time that it could be an important economic factor to replace the industrial production of the last century. Even if there are several financial problems in the municipality of Leipzig, since last year it has been working on the image of the city, by developing European projects, and somehow including Spinnerei, thanks to its initial impact on the Plagwitz-Lindenau area, that gave them a proof of the economic potential of such projects.

«We started very early building up contact with Spinnerei because was questioned of funding, restoring of Halle 14».⁷⁹ Since that moment in 2007, the municipality started to get to know more and more Spinnerei, thanks to the common funding of Halle 14, and through participating in very close

related European projects. In addition, the Creative Cities project, among its broad set of project goals, focused for the western part of Leipzig on the question «how can district development help building up good work conditions for creative industries»⁸⁰. By this way, there was also the chance to get more in touch with Spinnerei. Spinnerei was already existing, a place with an important role in the usage of the area, as well as it already have an important role for western Leipzig in terms of building a special image, attracting people want to be near of Spinnerei, in terms of, let's say, building up a special atmosphere of mixture of people.

Stefan Geiss, the person in charge for the renewal process of the west of Leipzig, explained the interest of developing such kind of project in a way that led to improve the creative industries issues, not merely towards urban renewal success, on a real estate market's profit. For the municipality that means an attention to renew old and empty buildings while helping creative industries to grow. Accordingly to this statement, they would not increase too much rents, which can be seen a success from a superficial but widespread urban regeneration perspective, but this will make creative people moving from these places. Therefore, they organized a sort of cluster strategy, in which the promotion of creative industries is a part of it. «This district development in creative cities project, we did big workshop. For example, this was the third time we did this, and Spinnerei was always partner discussing general district development strategy. So I know Bertram Schultze and very well Ute Wolz [the former head of Halle 14] [...] so we talked a lot, but it's not a sort of official network. But Leipzig it's not so big, so few work in the west, so you know people and you sometimes met». Without any doubt, Spinnerei somehow initiated the area to this process of renewal, by making galleries from the city center coming and secondly by organizing its Rundgänge and attracting more people to the west because they wanted to visit Spinnerei, and «this has a small effect».⁸¹

However, Spinnerei is not the only input to the development of Leipzig west; there are other of big importance, other institutions. There is Schaubühne Lindenfels, which is a theatre, cinema and restaurant at the same place; «there is now Westwerk, Tapetenwerk and a lot of small things. There is *Westbesuch* [it already exist in 2007, it started in 2006], a big event on Karl Heine street, which was the idea to organize an area for one day, to show how the place could be. This was the original idea, and this is another thing that helps a lot to change the image of western Leipzig from place you won't go if you have choice, because it was very poor, [...] a lot of people forget that [there are still many poor people living there]. So I think Spinnerei was very important and still is, but let's say if Spinnerei would be totally change within five years, like everybody say it's a bit boring, it's established art, so the hype might go away, I think the west would be still alive».⁸²

Spinnerei was an extraordinary pull factor for all the area, from independent artistic spaces to the promotion of the whole city until gaining the city attention after the interest from newspaper, art dealers and artists from outside of Leipzig. Spinnerei in that period empirically shows that there were many “empty spaces”, that exist different ways of relating with these issues characterized by high need of space from a low budget artistic community, empty buildings, together with the real estate market issue. From this point of reference many small or medium-sized project started to be experimented. Not just looking at the whole Spinnerei, but also looking of the managing director Bertram Schulze, till artist oneself that planned to buy a building by investing with other colleagues, in order to avoid the business man of the future coming and develop high class expensive lofts. Because artists are learning from the past, when they were mostly in the south, then the rent went higher and higher and they were forced to leave one by one. Alternatively, from experiences like the *Wächterhäuser* project: it was initiated in 2004 when the city’s attractive inner-city districts from high vacancy levels and scarcity of investment by owners. A coalition of architects, planners and residents created a voluntary organization, which facilitates the creation of flexible rental agreements between owners and tenants. In this agreement, the tenant pays no rent, but in return agrees to protect the building from vandalism and carry out simple repairs to prevent structural damage. Some properties are being released from this initiative and owners have begun to refurbish them for residential purposes. At present, there are 16 such *Wächterhäuser* in Leipzig and the initiative is beginning to shape planning policy in declining neighborhoods. It also fosters social and economic inclusion in the neighborhood (URBANACT 2013). This project can cause also what happened to the Erich Zeigner Halle, where an entire building was cleared out because the owner decided to change its usage. At present there are some artists united in a group to buy the house where they live and avoid this small process of gentrification.

Even if is difficult to find a cheap place to rent a studio, Leipzig, as other cities in east Germany, is still full of empty spaces. This is another part of the complicated and sometimes apparently contradictory work of the municipality: the urban sector wants to preserve the unique skyline of the city, but there is also the unemployment level to contend with. «The problem is [...] that owners and municipalities always hope that there would be big investors using the whole area, renovating it, and giving jobs to thousands of employees. That’s something that municipalities hope for. And that’s why they are not open for let creative people go in this area, instead of a big company with a thousand of employee, and that’s why this areas are still empty, because municipalities or the owner expect

something different than someone who says “I want to create studios for creative people like with no money”»⁸³

THE FORMULA

As all the debate about cultural and creative industries shows, it is hard to even clearly identify the features concerning the development of a place like Spinnerei. Obviously, this is a unique formula, for all the reasons and actors already mentioned. By looking at the image, at what other people said there is to learn from, it is possible to see the development of few key personalities, that professionally guess and pursue certain times and circumstances to turn them favorably for the success of such project. Their individual networks and skills concurred to sustain the visibility and the image of the place. It is possible to use the same words of Tannert to summarize the Leipziger School's concept, like an «interaction of internal and external forces to which the young German painting during three years owes its Hitzepol» (Tannert 2007, 23). From the beginning, there is a strategic use of various kind of networks and key personalities that together with other stakeholders that later came, they build coalitions on win-win interests.

There was a cheap place and a «critical mass» already there, together with the status of the local scene, with the concentration of people. The area should be big because in that way «then it has the potential of creating something big».⁸⁴ In addition, the architectural handwriting is very important, preserved with a clever way of restoring.

There is a commercial project on the beginning, which had to cope with a depressed and depopulated city, where there are huge areas of big disused industrial buildings. They did like a soft gentrification, by investing and working with “subcultures”, as there are in every first step of such processes. This gave to the creative people more time and possibilities to grow up and find a place there, before the “explosion” and the “big hype” of Spinnerei. Before that time when international art dealers and collectors came there on their private jet, and turned Leipzig in a celebrated art destination.

Some gallerists and art dealers perceived the idea to focus on this kind of art market. This success was clearly spread all over the world thanks to the work and networks of galleries, first of all EIGEN+ART, and the Rubell Foundation, who capture the attention of important media too.

Then, there is a managing director who takes care not only at this side, but to make the whole Spinnerei working, also by using marketing strategies to develop a concept which can resist throughout times and the initial enthusiasm. This strategy starts from the website, where the history of Spinnerei is told as a history of potentials, guessing and believing in a certain project, to end up

with a “fairytale”. Some data are changed in favor of this adaptation, like saying that this was the biggest cotton mill of eastern Germany (the first was the one in Chemnitz) or that Spinnerei was called «the hottest thing on hearth» while the mentioned article spoke about Germany and Leipzig (Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei).

People from Spinnerei frequently refer to the high quality and the international level of this experience. This idea of excellence can be translated in many part of the project. The first meaning is in the kind of art coming out from Spinnerei and its galleries. The first step towards excellence is to be detected in the education and discipline given from the HGB, where all the artists now counted among the Leipziger School of Painting studied. Even if times changed very quickly in the latest decades for Leipzig, the HGB has always represented a strong school concept. This is very important for Spinnerei, which became successful also from this HGB’s output. Every famous artists and the majority of the galleries are connected with the Academy, already in the former GDR. Then also other younger and successful artists studied at the HGB, and later started working and exhibiting at Spinnerei.

This well working situation and success generated a proficient circle and attracted not only painters at Spinnerei. At one side, there is the Spinnerei becoming famous with the unique kind of painting of a small group of artists and this virtuous circle between Spinnerei and the HGB. On the other side, there is the HGB by itself, which is continuously attracting new students thanks to its great reputation and to a city where is still possible for an artist to live and rent a space for cheap.

Spinnerei built up its success also by believing in a certain kind of art and galleries. This certain kind of art has a lot to do with the Ostalgie, after the very hard cut happened to Leipzigers when the 90s came, when an “identity parade” with the rest of the world was possible: in a world where painting was considered completely out, and all the people talked about new media. In the HGB, a group of professors and students found a way to cope with the past, by preserving their traditions and at the same time being original.

«Then when everybody was tired about this media hype, people focused back also on the roots. There were some painters who have worked in this years, in their studio, and some people from the GDR were disappointed of the new golden West idea; they started to look back also to their roots. There was this kind of GDR element that became also fashionable; this was a kind of development in the society and also in the arts. For example the 2011 was an important point also that people were

shocked by this political things and tried also to go back to something more familiar, like painting that is something stable, the knowledge is three hundred years or longer».⁸⁵

This atmosphere, behaviors and beliefs had the chance to become a more inclusive way of living. There was and still is a living trend related to it; many objects and behaviors of former times became fashionable, with the «East-Western thing». After the wall fall the East was fascinated by the West, the capitalistic system; but also something came together, of which also the art sector was influenced and advantaged. «For me, personally, it was a step back; go back to the painting [...] this going back brought also a new view unto the world».⁸⁶ This view was then promoted to the outside world in the best way from the community of Spinnerei.

«I think that Bertram [Schultze] does good publicity, and there is also exactly this gap between being well known, on the other hand being not that glamorous, but makes the situation here so interesting». In this alternative space, they are showing an overall way of living, far from the glamorous dealing with creative industries' issues. «It's just very down to heart and very relaxed, so everybody understands immediately that it's not about making money and being glamorous but it's about art. I think this is a very important fact, and a lot of people that have a lot of money, every time they come here they feel very relaxed that they not have to pretend all the time how important they are, or just tell everybody how rich they are. Nobody is interested in how rich or whatever you are, people here just want to have a nice talk and a beer together, it doesn't have to be champagne [...] This makes everybody like equal here, so it's the artist and the client and everybody, they are all coming together, and just being humans again, so I can be communicative on a very common level, and the binding structure is art, and this is the fairytale about this place»⁸⁷

So high quality is asked at every level. Mr. Schultze spoke about some kind of not taking care too much about the field of work of a new tenant, but the first important feature is that he has to do his job in a professional way. Then it can be an art supply chain, a piano seller, to having a call center, it does not matter. This open mind is a good answer also to the need to rent big spaces, as the one of the call center; the sure income every month from a big company gives to the owners the then possibility to be more indulgent with the terms and conditions of rental of ateliers.

There is a kind of culture of taking care about things, which seems the common ground for every activity hosted in Spinnerei, at every level of the project.

The people and their landlord with his peculiar way of managing the place, by giving them at least the impression to be included, and not to feel of being a like «short term guests»⁸⁸ and sharing the same aims and outcomes, «not as other private investors», by making the place special for the majority of the people based there. The good feedbacks from the majority of gallerists and artists there, concurred in growing the reputation of being a place for artists, and there is a consciousness about that. The Spinnerei is a more comprehensive experience, compared to Westwerk for example, which remains somehow a local project compared to it. In a city like Leipzig, there is of course space for everyone, also to work together sometimes.

The topic of how the factory deals within the city can be passed by the size of the place, which together with its history and architecture already creates the potential to create «your own situation within the city». Spinnerei is in the city, but is “big” enough to be independent, to function like a small city. By this way what Mr. Schultze underlined as important is the feeling, the impression you got, «how is the light in there, how is the building standing».⁸⁹

Even if there is not a public aim, this community is felt like it is belonging to such values. Public can share as elsewhere resident the way of living of artists, art dealers and galleries. The audience can take part in a scenery that otherwise is not as accessible as a museum, as far as this is not a goal of a commercial gallery. Here they can start interact and join such field because it appears a public service as well.

Main Actors

- Former industrial area close to the city center, good state of the building, never been disused
- Galleries
- Commercial activities giving financial stability
- Rundgang (fostered visibility, enlarged network)
- Well-known artists, Leipziger Schule Boom
- International guests, artists, galleries
- Key personalities: with individual networks and skills to sustain the visibility
- Coordinating and unifying role of the managing director

Obligatory Passage Points (Callon 1986) of the development strategy

- Ownership of the space, no pressure. Slow / long-term action.
- Support for the renewal of the non-profit center Halle 14 (the biggest and in the worse conditions building)
- Already tenants + new (commercial, galleries, individuals, artists)
- Mixture of usages
- Community thinking
- Galleries authority
- Ongoing process that can involve every time different actors, networks and lead to novel ideas
- Strategic use of the network and its strong nodes (coalitions): it improves the visibility with specific events, the position and reputation, and it is correlated with innovative, proactive and entrepreneurial practices leading to translate and innovate
- Press coverage and place-marketing strategy

This designed a strategy, perceived as coherent from the outside, which is the result of different steps, the absence of pressure letting the space and people involved time-by-time showing their potential and generating their own networks and connections. Finally, these features and strategy lead to perceive the “myth”, which is possible because there is a clear idea about what is the place and its potential, and there is a man that makes all different interests becoming part of the common Spinnerei “strategy plan”.

HOW IDEAS TRAVEL

Consequently to the increasing authority of Spinnerei as a model of culture-led regeneration, professionals and researchers of urban regeneration and related fields started to be interested in the project, in order to understand how it succeed, to analyze the “formula” and to learn from this experience. Bertram Schultze started to be called around Europe to take speeches, to participate in culture-related committees. In the way he got to know many people, he spoke about Spinnerei, he saw other similar projects that are trying to convert a former industrial place into a center for any kind of cultural activities. To sum up, he was involved in another network, composed of realities that in the beginning presented themselves quite in a similar way, because there are common issues to face, and looked at Spinnerei as one of the eminent point of reference through Europe, together with other “strong nodes”.

Spinnerei is a smart model to slowly restore a place, with a kind of soft gentrification that can be of help while not affecting social values and cultural interests of the citizens. However, other realities should find their own way, as every place is unique. I am going to show some of these centers that started a process of reflection by calling Bertram Schultze as the sole agent of Spinnerei, together with other eminent informants, most of the time involved in the regeneration and development of a cultural project, which became in recent times a very interesting and discussed issue.

There are professionals and organizations interested in analyzing the history and dynamics of successful stories, with the will to share and transfer knowledge. From the base of a symposium or a research, then people get in touch and other connections started, characterized by personal or professional relationships and interests.

There is a kind of engagement of Mr. Schultze in a theoretical framework about cultural and creative issues, he took part in many conferences in Germany, «sometimes talking about a place, but rather more generalizing as well. In 2006, it was quite early, [...] there was like a first thinking in the government about how to promote creative industries. I was part of the *Enquete-Kommission* [“Culture in Germany” of 2007], which was actually putting the, let’s say, the landmarks in what would be, what should be the promotional structure for the government [...] I think over these different steps in this different kind of networks you were more got involved in this theoretical landscape on cultural developers. So we meet a lot of professors and teachers, people who actually

don't work that often really in the field, so don't develop factories but think about what can happen out of them».⁹⁰

Bertram Schultze was then involved in other related networks, which concurred to introduce him into other realities with more focused tasks. In many cases, these kind of encounters among open-minded and receptive people, led then to new productive connections and relationships. The networking through professional and sometimes mixed professional-personal ties, it increased the number of ties and intensified the fabric of the network.

While the role of Mr. Schultze, his mission and that of the places he was managing were taking a more defined shape, he did also «trips to Bangkok. More or less not related to a particular place in Bangkok but to the Thai people [...] they have tourism, rice export; these are the main industries. And they try to put more emphasis on creative industries; they have like a big center, that only does researches, the TCDC [...] they invited people connected to creative industries and places, so they invited me».⁹¹

This is also the period when the society of Bertram Schultze starting to work on the Auf AEG in Nuremberg. Even if its development is still not internationally known as Spinnerei, just by being managed by the same person, this was of help to reinforce the image of both projects. In addition, the image of Mr. Schultze changed; after developing in an extraordinary successful way the mill in Leipzig, he was then focusing on another project, different from the Leipziger one, but also for that reason, a good way to show that policies and planning like the one used for Spinnerei could work, and maybe travel. The site in Nuremberg helps to enforce the popularity of Bertram Schultze as a good manager and developer of culture-led regeneration projects, and to increase the interest of other professionals and sites around the world. He was not only the “Spinnerei man”, but also a professional, who is acknowledged from his practical experiences and evidences about the wider field of creative industries. His job seemed then more connected with a precise project of developing such derelict places into a successful cultural engines.

Linked to the power of the innovation generated from Spinnerei, I am going to expose some places where the idea travelled. In the flow of ideas from one place to another, the result is not predictable, but surely, it will be not a copy of the model. To make a concept, an idea, a practice going from one place to another, there should be a change. Firstly, there is a meeting, a comparison with the identity proposed as innovative. During this moment, similarities are emphasized; then but to be solutions,

they should be adapted to the peculiar features of the new receptor. So they rename, reinterpret, they add or drop part from trial to trial, until reinventing and creating another innovation.

If the need of imitating is the prerequisite that starts the translation, then an active process is needed, to bring change in another time and space. The process of translation links with imitation but also with the concept of fashion, which guides them. Here again, the translation and the means of narration, they are at the same time a way to reach innovation as well as a way to catch the attention and interests from others and to promote innovative processes. With different ways and routes, in every experience analyzed, a trial of problematization and a will of translation of the features considered innovative are present. Therefore, these processes can inform about both the reason why ideas travel and the matter of fashion. Fashion concurs to mark an experience as successful, as is to imitate, and increases the reputation of all the nodes involved, which in the end are processes driven by the same collective desire to reach the same result as the imitate prototype. For this reason, different realities go closer to what they think a path of success.

NUREMBERG

Spinnerei is not the only project followed by Bertram Schultze. The society he works for, MIB Fünfte Investitionsgesellschaft mbH, together in a joint venture with the Irish CMC, since 2007 has taken the former AEG/Electrolux's factory. It is located in the western part of Nuremberg, in the Muggenhof quarter, close and directly connected with the city center. The overall area is about 168000 m². Bertram Schultze is the project manager for the development of the former AEG site, the only contact person that is possible to find on the just updated website and on the entrance to show to investors and other dealers the ever-growing area. Although it has grown over decades, and hosted different industries that remodeled and changed it, there is still a quite homogeneous architectural style; it links all the different types of buildings (there are also multi-storey and large single-storey production halls).

The first point to clarify is that this is a different project from Spinnerei. Of course is natural to question if the same successful structure can be reproduced somewhere else, and this is something that also Bertram Schultze wondered. There were some similarities like a property on the market for a reasonable price and the appeal of the building. In addition, the two cities can be compared to Leipzig: Nuremberg is as big as Leipzig (round 500000 inhabitants), and «it has an interesting infrastructure in terms of art».⁹² However, if in Spinnerei and in Leipzig «is clearly talking about artists», here the art was no way the reason why to buy it, this was more a «pure estate product».⁹³

The owner of the area, the Electrolux Deutschland GmGH, put it on the market, offering also to become the first new tenant, for an area of around 20000 m²; «in business you call “the seller is back”, so it's a usual thing», to enable a step into the development. A master plan was drawn up from the MIB, concerning different types of building with different structures, in order to develop a site with an own identity, an urban character that already distinguished the area from the neighborhood with high diversity. The plan can be easily represented as directed in improving the atmosphere of «a good place to be». Apart from the good real estate conditions, the factory was fascinating to Mr. Schultze, because «you could imagine that you could create something special out of it».⁹⁴ Above all, it is possible to recognize quite the same way of imagining such projects; even the same words are used to describe the idea and potential felt, even if he is referring to two distinct entities on a pragmatic level of the development.

Similarities with the two projects managed by Bertram Schultze were in the starting condition, of

what the area lets project. In the site something already was happening, it was never been abandoned, but it was far from what they then planned for its future and which is already visible nowadays. The architecture is different, even if it has quite the same dimensions, and, what is more important, it has an architectural handwriting going over the buildings, «it has the potential of strong radiation»,⁹⁵ driven by its well-known history. Following these inputs, some more recent buildings were demolished to create space for planting, car parks and public space, required for an area striving to be open to the public and pursuing to have an augmented social life in respect with the monoculture of former industrial times. At the same time, bounding details and structures of the past were preserved and integrated into the design. This kind of working on the brownfield followed the same way of proceeding as for Spinnerei, and that are quite usual principles of the majority of this kind of renovation projects, even if working on areas of different times and styles. Architecturally speaking, there is a common way of dealing with buildings as happened in other renowned places: to keep only the facades and renovate the inside, adapting the adaptable and enduring structure to the actual needs of contemporary industries and activities. Since the 1970s, the industrial, the derelict, has assumed a fashionable connotation; therefore, it is of help maintaining a connection with the past. Through the singular aura of every industrial building, it is possible to enrich the multiple meanings of the experience offered, thanks to the “spirit of alternative spaces” (Baum 2012); Spaces that are now housing new activities that belong to exchanging way of living, producing and consuming than how considered in the former century with its big industrial production spaces.

Dealing with the existing features of the loft-like infrastructure let also to identify individual plots and possibilities for use within the factory (Auf AEG). With the post-fordist era, it is becoming more and more difficult to utilize such big halls that are present in the area too. Instead of big industrial production sites, alternative uses are available. The most common new range of uses are activities that can positively exploit huge lofts, that can take advantage from being somehow not in the center of the city, but they can start a sort of district. They are emerging sectors that use to depend on low rents, on sponsoring, on the faculties of a city and a critical mass to develop a certain socio-cultural environment, and on new industries related to the notion of creative industries and services.

This is also a project offering a proper space where an artist can work properly while paying a cheap rent, which is anyway “the beginning” if there is the trial to make the place populated also by an artistic community, by remaining open to the needs coming from the different potential users, which suggested another direction of the development. The development took a much more diversify way compared to Spinnerei, which is «more a pure art factory, especially when you look at the news which

are spread about» it,⁹⁶ when in Nuremberg there are different professionals, that populated the area more gradually. Here there was a certain amount of good seeking for renters too: after the first tenants, also Siemens took one of the biggest buildings, giving more calm to take care at other branches of development. Because one of the aims and needs in order to develop a good working structure is the diversity of activities and usages: small enterprises that join the process and increase opportunities and potential of the whole area. Therefore, there is a mixture of activities, from offices to production, from commercial to cultural activities, until the creative one. At the Auf AEG, «really have big companies, the university there, and then you have artists».⁹⁷

There is a building devoted to rent studios for artists, but this is not yet the «presentation space», even if it is growing in importance. Because a prerequisite miss in Nuremberg, a strong artistic scene. There are galleries, but they have different interests and networks, and up to now, they were not interested in such project. In the city, the main areas of competence are founded in the sector of skill intensive service industries, like information and communication technology, logistics and energy (SWOT Nuremberg 2011). To give an example, Siemens is one of the largest of these companies in the city, and the AEG provided space to this kind of companies that requires such big space.

The field of culture and particularly the one of visual arts, Nuremberg has an interesting and of high quality infrastructure; it comprehends exhibition venues, the oldest Academy of Visual Arts of Germany, and an important department of Design at the University of Applied Sciences, supported by other public and private research, educational and training facilities (like the private Faber Castell Academy). These situations seems having more flow capacity, instead of other economics and businesses that act as location factor for the skill intensive cultural and creative industries. By this way, Nuremberg assumes the role of a center for innovation and invention especially regarding the potential of creative business activities. Here art and culture are not a location factor; they are not able to give an adequate economic upturn by themselves. Despite that, they are essential on projects like the Auf AEG, because of their help in improving the attractiveness of the area, in involving a wider range of actors and visitors.

After some years spent on searching to “replicate” the same process of moving as in Leipzig, the art issue was resolved in another way and the project took another shape. «There will always be interaction [between Spinnerei and Auf AEG] you know both places and you are responsible for both places; you have a lot of artist here, art, you can invite them or to have a show here that’s it».⁹⁸ Thereby a one-per-year Rundgang is organized here too, and exchanges among artists from Spinnerei

and Leipzig has happened. By that way the place became more and more directly connected with the reputation of Spinnerei, and together with the artists, this is the main reason why media talk about Auf AEG. Therefore, the art is a tool, for the image of an artist as well as for the area, which can be reminded by people. In the Auf AEG, after the visual arts, it is better to speak about art and culture, which is one of the bonding tools. In the building number 73 is possible to find the visual arts' field, with ateliers for artists that concurred with the other established activities of the same field to confer to the AEG a positive image and cultural identity. They are not directly part of the economic strategy, even if they are a key aspect when establishing the site's brand. The arts and culture are a way of connecting more nodes to the network, to reinforce the embeddedness of the whole project and actors involved. Such vision is possible because Bertram Schultze and his society, as other real estate developers, have already understood that "culture sells", that it is a driver towards new and complex relationships between the cultural and the economic; that combining these values, it could be a good strategy to hinder the recession (Baum 2012).

As a result of around five years of testing and developing, the Auf AEG presents itself as community composed of six different sectors of excellence:

- Education & Research
- Design & crafts
- Services & Trading
- Gastronomy
- Arts & Culture
- Production

Therefore, the nonprofit project Zentrifuge e V. began in 2008 with Michael Schels, which aim is to offer high-quality cultural events, usually involving the art field, fine art and cross-disciplinary cultural project in collaboration with other partners from the art and cultural scene of the metropolitan region. They are more and more working for creating a basis for improved publicity for the cultural and creative economy in the region, as for example the "On-Index.de" weblog launched in 2010. These programs took the project winning the City of Nuremberg Culture Prize in 2010 «for setting outstanding accents in the cultural life of the city» (Auf AEG). The project is adapting more and more the environment and identity of the whole area, and it is described as the ambition to generate «hybrid and value added services. It reveals creative potential and is thus experimentally and targeted at the same time».⁹⁹ For this reason, even if the majority of the more than 50 events per year are connected

to visual arts and design, now they are developing also a research network initiated by the Energy Campus.

As used for Mr. Schultze, the rental and living conditions in the area can be negotiated also by taking into account the kind of renter. The project is supported by the MIB with advantaged rental conditions. In the mind of the cultural entrepreneur, such project give to the area another value instead of the money, the cultural one, which has the power to attract and act as a bounding agent of a heterogeneous system. This made cultural presences coming into the structure without further investments.

In addition, the city is involved in the area, with an office leased by the Municipal Department of Culture and Leisure, which is working on the citizenry ground and the cultural diversity that is remarked among the Nuremberger. One of the main foreign community is the Spanish one, and a center to allow a meeting point is planned in the “Quartier Vier” project, which consists in restoring a huge building that will house cultural and artistic private institutions. Around 4,000 m² of useable space will house the Academy for Theatre and Theatre Pedagogy, the headquarters of the Music School, a children’s art organization, the “Centro Español” and the City Cultural office for the district. Its development started as a *Second Chance* Pilot Project, with the construction of the theatre hall. The *Second Chance* is a European platform to support recovery’s projects of industrial spaces like this. It is a network among five European city partners (one of them is Leipzig with Halle 14, Krakow, Ljubljana and the Arsenal of Venice), that are collaborating under the slogan “From industrial use to creative impulse”. «I think this would be quite dominant there in 2 years [...] It would meet much more people interested in it», thinks Mr. Schultze. The MIB is not going to finance the restoration project. «We in Nuremberg especially are the only partnership together with the municipality, which is clearly private investor with public hand, so this is the only PPP model which we have». Mr. Schultze told that to explain that there is the clear intention not to be hold and fixed in «administration juggles, which we are not». That is why many differences and difficulties came out when the group met. «Because there are partners like the City of Venice having a cooperation with a company which belongs 100% to the city called the Arsenale Spa. When there are such public hand companies, there will be many other problems. It is the issue of dealing with an administration structure».¹⁰⁰ Apart from misunderstandings that can appear among such group of actors, that in the end «took quite a lot effort for quite a little outcome»,¹⁰¹ these project concurred also to establish other networks, and what is more evident in this particular case, it underlines the leadership of the entrepreneur Bertram Schultze. By comparing the way of managing projects in the city partners, he is recognized as essential point of reference when reflecting about the steps to take, even if he should be representing

only a part of the AEG project. These sociocultural actors spoke about the importance of networking events about creative industries, and projects like *Second Chance* that enrich these opportunities of insights in European cultural projects and networks.¹⁰²

If the northern area is more populated by artists' studios and cultural interests, the southern is more devoted to industrial activities and research. The identity of Auf AEG is getting more related to the research and science field, with the university and other companies. There is the «energy topic which is actually quite nice, because AEG was the main German and worldwide electrician company working on electricity».¹⁰³ Here is possible to trace a connection between the present and the past of the area, another important feature for its image. Founded 125 years ago, the AEG is still an important name. Now it hosts big scale researches companies and institutions, it «is like a nice renaissance of what was happened in the past».¹⁰⁴

So the added value of Spinnerei is the artistic, the one of Auf AEG is the research and also design is developing, activities more close to the so called «creative industries», from research and development to software and advertising agencies, «it's more the creative industries than the creative people».¹⁰⁵ At present, the real number of single professionals and smaller companies is coming out, and they are asking to be included in the information available from the website of the Auf AEG, which is under updating right now. Miss. Claudia Gehre, the secretary of Mr. Schultze, working for both Spinnerei and Nuremberg, told me that they are now working on this aspect, on the common image, which is a request from many small activities there based too, and by doing that she is discovering new tenants. This is a different situation, related to a different business and way of working from an artist that needs to be isolated, and that has the gallery with its already there structure working for him, before the structure of Spinnerei. Then there are all around in the area different activities, from exhibition hall to offices, and some linking structures that push on a wider utilization and socialization of the area; among them the Café Pforte at the main entrance. From Mr. Schultze's point of view, this is more than a meeting point; it is «running the Auf AEG communications nodes».

«I think the core of the creative development it's the Café Pforte, that's you have the possibilities that you can do unforced networking and the other Kulturwerkstadt and Zentrifuge are like putting pressure on networking».¹⁰⁶ The atmosphere creates by such place is considered the best in order to give life and potential to the place, by remaining a kind of “free zone” instead of other «just closed up» and «narrowed interested» tenants.

In Nuremberg, the artistic is an important and a living part of the area, but then other «art players didn't take the next step, so the galleries didn't come on our property, so they miss their chance I think, on the other hand other people pushed more»¹⁰⁷ and they followed the possibilities given. Nowadays Bertram Schultze can say with overconfidence that the same development it is not going to happen. In addition, one of the main reasons is tracked down to the kind of culture in Nuremberg. Here there is a different kind of audience; there is a different tradition in dealing with arts. With such kind of environment, Mr. Schultze spoke about the risk of doing an «educational thing», which is not in his aims, but a development of this kind is already there. «And it's fine I think, it's not useful trying to copy one development from the other, it's useful taking some experiences [...] no matter with who, but this experience would dealing with a lot of different interests, in own space actually».¹⁰⁸

At the Auf AEG is also available a slogan that gives the idea of the whole project, which is «Creating Communities». This phrase is flexible to different topics, that will arise from the different future renters, to then create another “city within a city”, a community based on another kind of mixture, even if not mainly related with the art world. Here another kind of creative people represents the majority of the inhabitants, which together with artists are time-by-time giving the area a new identity from the industrial one. There is a “Report” here too, with a list and photos of the people belonging to the place. Moreover, developing places with culture «in general that's good, true, even for the future of the AEG [...] well educated people would like to live in places where they have a big offer of cultural events or cultural possibilities because you can use it, you can be the audience [...] It's like putting up a city in a small scale».¹⁰⁹

As in Spinnerei, he links everything by the criteria of high quality, of taking care about the place and its «interests, so the people». With this key part of the social structure, «then you can do it, you can create something good [...] I think it's just the main, same thing in both development, is that you try to create a place which you think has a high quality, no matter with what topics you have developed it and that it stays authentic. And you see this quality in every level, you see it in the property, in the building, how the building is attached, how the tenants are chosen and how they are there and stuff like that».¹¹⁰ When these principles are followed, then having an own identity is better under a marketing as well as social level. Every actor involved get advantages from a new address, new networks and chances.

«Spinnerei is clearly is getting international respect in term of being an art factory, it's much better and know, and it always be better and known then Auf AEG. I'm sure, Nuremberg is respected in

different way, is like having a national building prize for integrated city development, so what we got last year for example that we got recognition as an audience, but in the end the New York time has never write about it, never, or the Guardian». Maybe he did not know at the time of our meeting, but at least the Spanish *El Pais* mentioned it, as a point of reference in the cultural scene of Nuremberg, a rehabilitation striking case of industrial areas through art. Where once household electrical appliances were manufactured, there nowadays there is one of the «major cultural references of the German city».¹¹¹

LINZ

«I don't know because they are quite at the beginning. It was around two years ago [when Bertram Schultze was there], so they are still testing. I think they bought it that nothing ugly happen to it; so to save it for something good or something nice to it, but now the question is “what is nice, what is good, so how to define what is going to happen there” [...] So it's a completely different way of going for it, or handling it. Because our topic here was following the possibilities we had, so ok, the art topic works well in Leipzig, so let's take the artists, let's bringing galleries and so on, so actually not taking the art because we like to promote, of course we like to promote art, but this was not the reason. We were not like big donators or foundations that would like to create a beautiful place for art. We are commercial development, profit seeking development company, and this was one of the only ways to handle this place actually, to get art as a tenant in here, big scale as well, and just the right people who are accepting the old factory, don't need too much refurbishment. On the other hand, looking for low rent, so the perfect balance which we want to have. And so, we were always following like the possibilities we had; which sometimes emerged very short term in front of us, and then we said ok, we are taking them [...]. They are now to think to the end in Linz, so the factory look at all these places around Europe, looking at what's happening, what are the special thesis about this places; and now they have a huge momentum of information, which they are trying to reproduce to their place. So now they have seen all this other places, how they work, what they are, and then your identity is “what we are going to do with our place”. So I think they have the problem of too much information, and through that, I think they easily don't know any more if they have their own ideas. Because even if something is happening somewhere else, exactly the same kind, if you don't know it's or not your own idea [...]. It is much more interesting to follow your own idea, in your own environment, where you are, than just trying to copy something, that is going to be a unique place [...] Most of this conferences, symposium, meetings, workshops or how you like to call them, they are initiated by the need of doing something with a special place. So that is really very often connected with the space and environment, even when it seems not so».¹¹²

This is how Bertram Schultze spoke about his meeting with the people involved in the project of the Tobacco Factory housed in Linz, Austria. He clearly set the situation in its context while pointing out what he considered the probable advantages and limits, also by comparing such experience with the path took from Spinnerei. Now I let the Linzner protagonists speak, to sift the matter of facts of the process of thinking and building up of the future development of the area.

The Tabakfabrik, Linz

The recent history of the former Tobacco Factory [TF] in Linz, the *Tabakfabrik Linz*, has involved many people; it seems a real bottom up initiative towards tens of thousands of square meters (around 80.000 on several floors) waiting for an appropriate use.

In a city concerned with urban issues with its architects and urban planners, it was renowned since the 80s that times were changing and, eventually, the industries based in what was becoming the city center, will move outside. A natural process of the new century. Other realities in Europe, industrialized countries, after the moving of industries, they suddenly have brownfield right in the middle of the city. These empty spaces were a huge chance; cities can again being dense and grow inside.

In 2007, rumors about the closure of the factory generate the interest of many people, while the city government was negotiating to take it for a quite cheap price, as Bertram Schulze said, «just to save it».¹¹³ There were already more than one reason to take it even if there was no idea about the future development. First of all this building is heritage listed. It was built in 1930s by the famous architect and designer Peter Behrens and his assistant Alexander Popp. It is recognized as one of the best European examples of modernist style applied to an industrial building, which smartly combines functionality and aesthetics. Secondly, it is in the center of the city, which in recent years is taking a new shape also with its buildings. From the central bridge starts an *Aorta* of museums and other buildings that host cultural activities important for the city and its tourism. This is also a recently improved approach, that includes many dimensions of the city, and it is physically recognizable by starting from the Ars Electronica Center and ending in the port area of Posthof. By following this route along the Danube, it takes to the area of the Tabakfabrik, which became the heart of this system that incorporates another bit of the city into the center. The discourse about creative industries came along this route, in a city known until 1980s quite only as an industrial city. Even now this is a very strong part, with *Voestalpine AG*, the international steel company that has played for the growth of Linz in the last 60 years. During the 1980s, also thanks to a sub cultural scene, the city started dealing with the development of its cultural scenario, building gigantic infrastructures, like the Ars Electronica Center, until «the final chapter of the development plan»¹¹⁴ of the “Capital of Culture” in 2009, which concurred to establish the cultural profile of Linz. At that time, the area was not yet of public ownership, so it cannot be included in the project. Nowadays the Tabakfabrik is meant to be more than cultural: there is the trial to use the two main images and engines of the city, the industrial and

cultural, and combine them, in a way that permits to speak about creative industries. «So we are trying to talk about [...] economic processes which focus on small local production change».¹¹⁵ Then citizenry were interested and started discovering the value of a place that during the production times was closed to the public, and understand that it could be a chance for the city. The municipality could not ignore these premises.

The future usage of the factory became a topic in the civil sector. Two subjects can be identified in leading the discussion: the city, which did not have the head of the discussion going on among the active civil sector represented by the *afo*, the forum of architecture of Upper Austria, above all the Umbauwerkstatt, a nonprofit group of urban planner and scientists. The independent lobby group KuQua made one of the first discussions. «It is an organization I founded, and we came from the sub cultural context and joined about fifty different cultural activists groups' organization together and with a statement about how the area should be used for cultural purposes», said Thomas Diesenreiter, at present the Head of Marketing of the TF. A kind of debate started in 2008, of people aiming to join a process of transformation, conversion and reinterpretation, on an urban scale, that in spite of its complexity it constitutes a unique opportunity for Linz. In whatever way, the public attention, care and dialogue were needed. In the beginning there were different players organizing their own initiatives, while there were some disconcerting from the politics, who cannot head the discussion with the civil sector. Therefore, there was a gap «between the time when the discussion about the usage started in public field, and the point when this discussion we set off some real effects on the area».¹¹⁶

One of the first and most significant organized projects that makes possible for the citizens to get in touch with the area was in 2010 from the now TF's based Umbauwerkstatt, which still has quite a critical view of how the situation is managed. «We knew you need out of the box thinking and the people into the municipal planning and administration they don't know what to do, because they are part of the system, they are immanent in the system».¹¹⁷ The group elaborated something like a «planning architecture, process architecture». Four different formats were designed; the first one was guiding around 2000 people through the history and present of the building, to make them being interested in the matter of its future. The second project was composed of four discussions under different perspectives about the usage of the area. In these meetings called “Salon”, they «try put together different stakeholder, from the city, influent persons, politics, expert from outside and inside; we had one chair empty and all that on a round table, and there was always like hundred and more people [...] like in an aquarium situation, and the people at the table then forgot the others around. It

was like working two hours, it was a success but politicians didn't come, they again refused».¹¹⁸ The third event was a symposium, where among architects and urban planner of Linz and Upper Austria, Martina Baum and Bertram Schultze were invited. The Spinnerei is the only case of this kind presented at the conference.

As Bertram Schultze said during the interview, they proceed more than a year, with the aim of importing knowledge, «because there is no recipe, it doesn't work, you have to do very site specific politics, process, solutions».¹¹⁹ After these steps, they made a public conference; more than 150 people came, and a final concept was written, but the city didn't join the initiative at that time. «It didn't work [...] we didn't failed totally, one success was for example that we build meaning, we change a lot in the heads there, they started to copy [...] they just repeated».¹²⁰

The Tabakfabrik Linz Development and Operating Company mbH

The non-official debate ended in May of 2011, and by the end of the year the *Tabakfabrik Linz Entwicklungs und Betriebsgesellschaft mbH* was established. The company is directly reporting to the city for the development and planning of the area. «I think this is the point where we meant to switch from a negative discussion to a positive one, because it was really the first time when really something happened, and this is just one and a half years ago, and the two years in between [of the non-official discussion]».¹²¹

Even if the city government did not take part in the project of the *Umbauwerkstatt*, it was somehow affected by it. The events following this phase seem working on a very close level of intentions. Thanks to this mixture of actors involved under different levels, a wide process of reflection started, and therefore the whole project results influenced by the formal and informal discussions, meetings and actions taken towards the future of the area. They did not coined a rushed concept, and they stayed open to learn and take the best practices that fit better for their case. «We think that we have to take very small steps [...] make some experiments, try different things, and see what can work and what cannot, what fits here and then goes one step toward. We have a goal, let's say we have the idea where we want to go to, and how this way will look like».¹²² So there is the plan of slowly dealing with the space and the people, which is quite the same as Spinnerei, even if here more doubts also about the “attitude” to adopt during such steps; moreover, no former real trials and tenants can be found. Secondly, this is the «how» coming from a part of the management board, whereas the

Municipality is even more cautious in speaking about the actual moment. When a project is belonging to the public, and is not spontaneously starting from a former situation that proved the need of such a place, the people that accepted to use it and that felt it as their own; there is the risk of building an “uncreative” creative district, where nobody is interested in it. They were then speaking about «organic growth», and about guidelines, that a place belonging to the municipality should take into account. It is much more difficult for a city than for a private actor to develop a place, because the public has more restrictions at any step of the development, and consequently more costs and time are required, «so maybe once is finished no one will be interested any more in cultural factory places». ¹²³

At present, the city of Linz is the owner of the buildings, and of the company managing the place. The management can decide to rent rooms and buildings, a small part to privates too, but all the investments are financed by the city, because they do not want any «re privatization». Even if the organization is under construction, some basic «principles» are already settled to make clear that this a place of public authority, and they are working to find the better way to build a relationship of trust between the actors, which can drive to increase the public good. Therefore, «participation in the development, transparent process of communication, openness of mind and sustainability» are mentioned (<http://www.tabakfabrik-linz.at/de/leitlinien.htm>). This goal can of course be seek in many differently combined versions, because many issues have to be considered. For the moment, the main income and audience are because of big events of music and theatre held there, but they are also organizing exhibitions, while keep on testing the potential and possibilities of the space and the renters. It is also out of doubt that they would not have residential units there, once crowded and noisy events are scheduled until late in the night.

Chris Müller was engaged to be the coordinator of temporary usage project inside the area. «He was at the very sense for involving people, who want to involve themselves, and he took people like me and Lorenz, saying, “if you want to do something, come and try to do something”». ¹²⁴ This person acted like a bounding agent, between the local government and others. The city was still trying to figure out what do with the factory and to follow their working rules (like how to deal with the security staff that should be updated at the standards of 2014), that from a civil perspective seem sometimes a lack of will, and this led to more pressure. The quite small group of people involved in running the factory is acting in order to develop a structure. This is done by bringing people together at a «very point to point basis», by testing the possibilities and potential available in the area and from the nearby.

Right now, it is better to speak about pillars than an ideal specified type of tenant they would like to have in the TF. «We have 5 pillars [creativity, social welfare, labor and education]. At the moment most of them [tenants] come from the creative background, there are ether small creative industries companies, or art groups, or cultural organization». ¹²⁵

A never-ending reflection

The process started from the civil society in concert with, first of many others, the Umbauwerkstatt, is now going on with the city government, but closely involving people from different backgrounds; like Mr. Diesenreiter, belonging to the mentioned “sub culture”. It seems there is the purpose to take into account all the experiences already done, and improving the structure, modeled with the priorities of a public institution too. From this process of thinking, it is possible to see pretty clearly that the amount of people and their meetings, these connections took them to an interesting representation of the area, by catching some good inspirations from successful working centers around Europe. Outstanding translators as Spinnerei, succeeded also by noticing that the TF naturally described the present and desired future in connection with its past. It then integrated the project in the whole image of the city. «You can see from the website, it is the result of a process of about six months, we were talking with people and running around of the area [...] trying to get all the ideas in one version». An “open” website, with concepts suitable for many kinds of idea and project, and at the time of my visit (June 2013) was still liable to improvements and supplements.

This slowly proceeding and reflecting means also that they are still looking at other structures and «living spaces, like Spinnerei [...] At the symposium there were many people that we already talk with and we present the ideas to get some feedbacks». ¹²⁶ Therefore, meetings as well as trips are meant to be a part of a wide-ranging “momentum of learning” how to use and manage a space, and of mistakes. There is also a part of positive imitation of practices and concepts, as imitating is «a basic human way of learning». ¹²⁷ Such experiences are of help also when they face something they disagree with, as in the comparison, the identity defined itself and it is possible to appraise other aspects. This happened for example during the visit of a quarter in the city of Munich, very similar to the TF on dimensions and location. «It’s a quite high profile area, which is just two building protected, all the other areas can be tear down. They invited many other organizations from Europe [...]. The interesting thing [...] the first day we had a tour, and they show us the plan for the area; I think 90%

is like “this will be sold to this one” [...] we were amazed, because we came from the background. We say, “Ok, this is public interest, and we think we are amazed to got the idea to sell it again”. The area, which is incredibly worth 2000 euro per square meters [...] so they are going to sell it to privates, for living room [...]. We said we don’t make any flats here, any living spaces. We want to be a public space, for everyone; they can’t believe us, because such an idea, such a scale [...] this is was I took from the many presentation we did, that I didn’t find any other development project of this size that takes a mission as public mission». ¹²⁸

These meetings are effectual also in view of building up relationships and a reputation out of Austria, and starting setting up an international network. «We are getting more and more references by people coming here taking a look what we do, but of course we are still have to work till 2040». There is a concept “Linz 4020 - Tobacco Factory 2040” which is related to a wider strategy for the further development of the factory as well as the city. They are now trying to connect people and institutions, to then cooperate, which will be of help when searching for European funds.

What is written in the website is a good up-to-date resume of the process already described, satisfying the need of taking the issue with calm, but at the same time the need to present a concept to the civil society and stakeholders. The process of imitating is also when telling about their vision and history. It is possible to see similarities with Spinnerei’s history, by evoking concepts of belonging, symbols, the potential of a place that was already lived by workers, belonging to a the peculiar social and local context of Linz. The approach to the development is taken as a matter of competence and «we are such a huge area, so much work to do, we can’t do it on our own. So ok, if someone wants to come here and get space, he has to agree to our basic ideas, to the same goals, and to have the willingness to help us developing the area. So one thing we want to foster is that the people are working together and bringing their own know-how and competencies to the development of the area. And this works really quite well [...] so we have already five different organizations which came together, or for example the Creative Region [of Linz & Upper Austria GmbH] try to work with many groups engaged here in Linz». ¹²⁹ They are trying to increase the connections among the tenants. Spinnerei results in this way a big point of reference, even if this is not the only one.

Gunter Amesberger, the director of the Urban development Department of the City of Linz and responsible for the development of the TF, told me that he know Mr. Schultze because he met him several times with his group responsible for the development of the TF and they visited Leipzig too. But the group went also to the Van Nelle Fabrik in Rotterdam, which is described in a different way

compared to Spinnerei, more similar to the TF on starting circumstances, because it «was from the 20s of the last century», and it is listed too like more than a half of the TF. This is a huge challenge for Linz, to deal with a huge floor space and the conservation authority «step by step» and «building by building».¹³⁰

Main networks and features

To sum up, three groups concurred to build the structure and image of the TF. The first is the political: all the people among the management board are belonging to the socialist party. The government influences the ownership, which is liable to change when the next election will take place. This creates a sense of instability instead of the trust and quiet needed to work on a huge and fragile project like this one. The second is the network brought by Chris Muller; he is a public figure coming from the theatre field. By listening to the words of the interviewees, similarities with Mr. Schultze's behavior come in mind, even if on a very basic level with his «going around all the time and meeting people».¹³¹ From Spinnerei's model, they understood the importance of having a good «manager with the right affinity to heterogeneous issues. A person of trust for the inhabitants and the investors [...] professional from the very beginning», also because such key personality is very «important to build up a network [...] to Austria and Europe at least».¹³² The interviewees told about a potential that needs time to run across the sequence of stages of a translation.

By looking at other experiences, they found out that the projects based in Leipzig and in Rotterdam are the two models closer to what they would like to develop in Linz. Both areas showed that a person inspired by an idea, who works to develop an area by meeting the needs of different people and bind them in a solid network, this is a good way to start dealing with such issues. At the TF this role is, maybe forcedly or too soon given, to Chris Muller. On the other hand, they are also conscious that there is not the same flexibility of usage and premises like in Spinnerei, because of technical and heritage problems. Finally, it is to be reminded that Linz as Leipzig, is not a big city, here everybody knows each other. This feature linked with the third main node of the TF, represented by the creative milieu, the independent scene and development agencies like the Creative Region, which is another third party that connects on national and international scale professionals and institutions.

At present, the main source of income is coming from concerts and similar activities. The collaboration with the Ars Electronica Center and other firms organizing events with a big number of

paying spectators let them to continue financing the cultural projects, whatever they are, and to have the time to discuss about the possible usages, like for example new workshops and urban gardening. Such big events also let people discovering the recently became public area.

Another main asset is the architecture, which influences the way the building will be used, that among heritage's restrictions constitutes a chance for creative people to develop and relate their contemporary ideas and works with this historical structure. There are also other connections around the TF, depending on the activities of each company, but for this moment, they are not so clear to be mentioned.

Many differences from Spinnerei can be found. The kind of project, the high level of the architecture of the Tabakfabrik. What is more important is that they still do not have the «right idea». They are testing. For example, they have some space for art, but they realized that they do not need a new museum in the city. In addition, the University, that in past years occupied a building there, it has already based in another part of the city. They are still discussing about the possibilities of the place, they need time to «let creativity go», to reaffirm their own identity and needs after functioning as a receptive organism of others practices. To explain such concept in another way, they need time to find their own translation, to combine and turn all these inputs into an innovative and recognizable experience. This is one negative aspect of reflecting too much and dealing slowly with the issue. The optimal measure for the specific area should be found.

THE ITALIAN ENGAGEMENTS

Cagliari

One of the first places that asked for his presence was a tobacco factory in Cagliari, the capital of the autonomous Italian region of Sardinia. He was invited to a one-day symposium organized during the first *Festarch*, the international festival of architecture organized by the design magazine *Abitare*. The event was organized only two times in Cagliari, and it was supported by municipal and regional authorities of Sardinia, the University of Cagliari and that of Sassari, and the IN/ARC (the National Institute of Architecture of Italy). The event that Mr. Schultze took part, it was called “Dismissioni Creative”, curate by Goodwill. Goodwill is an Italian society of strategic consulting that uses the model of the “Distretto Culturale Evoluto” (Advanced Cultural District) to the strategies of the territorial development. Under the scientific direction of Pierluigi Sacco, Goodwill works together with public administrations, universities, foundations, firms and philanthropies, which choose to use the instruments of the Knowledge Economics to think about the future of their land or disused area. During last decade, it has full success and public that followed and commissioned projects to deepen the issue, like the “Dismissioni creative” project. The term translated in “Creative Casting Off”, it refers to the aim of redeveloping industrial spaces to be devoted in the future of a new usage related to the creative industries’ field. Such places should have the role of propulsive centers for the transformation and reclamation of the territory. One of the main professionals of Goodwill is Pierluigi Sacco, an important economist known for theories about the economy of culture and creativity, as that of “Advanced Cultural Cluster”. Such theories had the advantage of being able to go over the academic perimeter and to gain the attention of the economic and institutional actors. He demonstrated interests and appreciation to the Leipziger project, he got in touch with Mr. Schultze and, among other things, he was like the introducer of Mr. Schultze to the Italian context. There the public sector is predominant in managing disused areas like the one of Cagliari

Dismissioni creative comes from an international research project about cases considered of excellence of requalification towards cultural centers. Up to now, 170 projects have been analyzed in 30 European cities. These spaces have found again a function related to new usages in the creative industries field. They are supposed to be pull centers of territory’s transformation and recovery processes. The researchers map these polifunciotnal centers, recording the juridical, economic, financial and managerial features, together with their former history and the relation

within the area around. They are then classified into four categories: artistic and cultural spaces, community spaces, public spaces and creative industries' incubators (Provincia di Trieste 2009). Therefore, they research on the intersection between regional policies and contemporary art, creative industries. In this field, the research by Goodwill was presented around Italy and also on an international audience.

By looking at the four categories in which are divided the project analyzed by the mentioned research bringing the same name, Spinnerei results as innovative of all of them. It appeared a kind of engine able to fix the trial to rely the local fabric with the improvement of the creative industries' issue, which is one of the aims of the "Creative Casting Off" project.

The conference was held in an historical site of Cagliari, the Manifattura Tabacchi, a tobacco factory of which the property was recently transferred from the Country to the Region of Sardinia. Already at that time, the regional government with its president Mr. Soru, it mentioned about the idea to reconvert the factory in a «space for creativity». They invited different cultural and economic actors with the purpose to «do a little brainstorming about what could come out»¹³³ of such kind of places. All this realities are trying to think and work with the concept of culture-led reconversion, in order to become polifunctional areas of contemporary production and creation of culture.

«This was the Tobacco factory, and we were different people invited, so there were people from the Cable Factory in Helsinki, architects [...] people who did projects like in the countryside on a very small scale, so it was very interesting to have a mixture».¹³⁴

Quite always is Bertram Schultze invited, instead of Karsten Schmitz. He is "the man" that goes around and speak about this kind of issues, from the managing staff to the restoration and requalification part. Mr. Schmitz is presenting himself more like a patron, like a helper or a facilitator of the artistic and creative side, even if with his foundation is managing quite many different tasks (for example, he was invited from the municipality of Munich, because he is resident there).

«We were invited to talk about our experiences, why we thought that our places work as cultural places, is it like a general and good way to turn former industrial properties into cultural places? [...] I think this is always which is standing above it, as not only is not the only possibility, but is it one possibility to do it? And the next question would be, does it pay back somehow? So is it worth putting money in it? So for example, does it pay back for the city or the owner of the place? ».¹³⁵

All the people invited were associated by being involved in projects around Europe about the development of former industrial places; which are considered well working in innovative reconversions, first of all the Cable Factory from Helsinki and the Arts Printing House of Vilnius, besides other minor but interesting examples from Italy (Ozu - Officine Zone Umane, Rieti. Zo - Centro Culture Contemporanee, Catania). There was also the cultural network Trans Europe Halles. This network brings together about 50 multidisciplinary cultural centers in more than 20 countries, it constitutes a platform that runs and coordinates several bilateral and multilateral cultural projects to support and provide cooperation among its members.

The first report realized from the Autonomous Region of Sardinia, thanks to the comparison with excellent international situations, presented the concept of «factories of creativity» (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna 2007), which from their point of view is considered the best to suite with the situation of the Manifattura Tabacchi. This definition is linked to other national (the usage of the other Italian tobacco factories) and European projects. Most of these cases are entirely public handled or with public-private partnerships, as well as bottom up initiatives (the Fabbrica del Vapore in Milan, Cantieri La Ginestra in province of Arezzo, The Stazione Leopolda of Florence, La Friche La Belle de Mai of Marseille, and the huge Cittadella del Cinema in the region of Lombardia). Among these kind of projects, it seems that the Italian context was not able to consider also a diverse initiative like the one of Spinnerei. The process is still too much on its starting level, but this is enough to show that other points of reference, other path and organizational methods are frequently and freely taken into account in such experiences, and what is taken as final point of reference depends also on what stage of development and reflections the site has achieved.

Another center that needs to be mentioned is the NDSM Warf in Amsterdam, remembered from Bertram Schultze when speaking about the quite same kind of people and institutions invited as «a real bottom up development». Because another important thing in this transferring of knowledge and connecting is what such “telling stories” leave into the mind of the people listening to, the few among them that remains in the imaginary as successful projects, and that are still considered point of reference even if time goes on and new trends come out.

The Veneto Region

About half a year later, Bertram Schultze was invited to a conference in Schio, having the same topic, so thinking about one building in Schio which was still there from the original factory's landscape, «like a single tooth left over all of the rest of it».¹³⁶ Other similar meetings about the issue followed.

«This initiated more or less the things coordinated by Pier Luigi Sacco, so he brought me in this network somehow, he was interested in the Spinnerei's model, he actually stayed here for three or four months trying to analyze the space, he was in aloft here. I think he had a good time [...]. After that, I think one year in this kind of network, let's say maybe the Spinnerei got more and more famous. It was actually very different places invited to, mostly connected with the topic of “we have a property, a factory, or we have a factory and we would like to do something special out of it, in terms of art place for example».¹³⁷

Mr. Schultze spoke about the network where the Italian economist brought him in. Mr. Sacco's theory of the “Advance Cultural Districts” is one of the main taken into consideration from important actors of the Region of Veneto, where the public sector is pervading here too. Thanks to such academics that were able to communicate in the context of regional policies, the arts, and mainly the contemporary art, they were seen as a strategic stimulus to generate innovation, quality of life and social integration. This is thought possible by creating synergies between the public and the private sector, by involving a wider range of people, from firms (which are very active and powerful in the area), foundations, until the citizenry, to being able to better analyze the present and imagine new and appropriate development perspectives for the future.

Just by searching on meetings mentioned by Bertram Schultze during his interview, it is possible to see this social network coming out, with Mr. Schultze invited in many conferences in Veneto. Also other regions are present, all of them characterized by having industrial heritage at present waiting for a new life, that were reflecting about these issues, and where Mr. Sacco is one of the people involved in such committees in charge of discussing and proposing a solution for their future usage. The network is inclusive of some of the main important realities of the region, from entrepreneurs to universities (like the Venetian universities IUAV, where Sacco had a chair, and Ca' Foscari).

Between 2007 and 2010, Bertram Schultze went at the Fabbrica Alta in Schio, from the *Festival of business cities*, composed by many events in different outstanding industrial realities united under the idea of a “North-east area system”, which represents a trial of developing some cities of the same area

by connecting them under the label of creative industries and enterprises. These events are consequent to another major survey issued by the Region, the “DICE Project”: from 2000 to 2006, the academic team guided by Sacco has researched and identified 22 potential cultural clusters spread all over the territory of Veneto. Such systematic work increased the awareness of the local community as a whole about the potential of culture to work in synergy with other realities for the local development. These efforts drove also to the proposal for the “North East Capital of Culture 2019”, where all this area is represented by a network; like an underground map, where all the cities are like nodes, connected with some topics depending on their excellences in cultural, industrial and artisanal fields.

Another event was for example the *Provincia Italiana* one in 2010, a collateral event of the 12. International Biennale of Architecture, which would like to be «a permanent laboratory to rethink, in network, the territory of Veneto with workshops, meetings, conventions, but above all plannings and actions in the provinces of Padua, Treviso, Venice and Vicenza» (Provincia Italiana 2010). Seven municipal administrations and a confederation of municipalities, they hosted for two months meetings of crucial national and international actors of the cultural, artistic, architectural and economic field, in order to reflect and learn together about the use and meaning of the territory and thinking about new usages and changes of it. By an articulate program of experimental actions and meetings, they tried to activate new processes of perceiving the territory, from the citizens to its “managers”, out of the famous meeting point of Venice. Mr. Schultze was there invited to a conference called “Place-making as a training of planning the vital spaces of a community” (Provincia Italiana 2010).

After that period, from the events Bertram Schultze took part and the topics, it is possible to underline a change in the image of him as managing director of Spinnerei and of Spinnerei too, which became internationally known. He is called to speak more about specific tasks, because Spinnerei is getting more and more recognized with a particular shape, which is still in this phase considered a successful one, a model to look at.

Forte Marghera

From a conference to another one, there was the chance to meet lots of interesting people, and with some « you get stick more and you try to organize more things [...]. So this is a personal thing you get along with some people more or less better and with some people not, and then you meet some of this people and then again». ¹³⁸ It is predictable that a common will of collaborating will come out

because of the mutual esteem, on a personal as well as professional side. This is what happened for example with Martina Baum, an architect and urban planner researching on a topic very close to the one of Spinnerei on a theoretical basis; In her famous book “City as loft”, 35 restoration project of brownfield in lofts are analyzed. Spinnerei is included too, and the two people interviewed are the artist Neo Rauch and the managing director Bertram Schultze, whom was also questioned about his younger project in Nuremberg, the Auf AEG. «We meet them now and then again and maybe something develops out of it, I don’t know [...]. Up to now, nothing has really developed out of it, except of good relationship. But if you look to the business like or the development like, up to now nothing has really developed. Maybe they had got some noise impulse or ideas from our side and we have seen some places where we would say, “ok this is nice, maybe can develop this one as well” but it hasn’t one further yet like planning ideas, like conceptual projects; for example, in Venice for the Forte Marghera, it was initiated by actually knowing Camilla Seibezzi». ¹³⁹

Among many meetings, Bertram Schultze was present at a conference focusing on the future of the Biennale, ¹⁴⁰ where many professionals from the broaden cultural field gave their little input to this matter, which is hinged on Venetian issues. The Veneto Region and Confindustria supported the event, which was curated by Camilla Seibezzi. ¹⁴¹

These Italian invitations make Bertram Schultze developing also personal relationships with some of the people that participated at these conferences, above all the already mentioned Camilla Seibezzi. This contact, together with his increasing interest in the Venetian area, induce him to call Ms. Seibezzi during one of his visits to Venice, and simply asking «I would like to do something in Venice, do you have any suggestions? ». ¹⁴² This is how in 2011 he started looking at Forte Marghera.

«I’ve never met Camilla for a long time [...] and I found her number in my mobile and I just called her, and she was fine to meet me [...] and then I say “I need a project in Venice” and she said, “I think I have one. Have a look at this Forte Marghera”». ¹⁴³ In the site, something was already happening and some good initiatives were already going on, and Bertram Schultze considered them when dealing with the area. «Meeting the right people in a very relaxed atmosphere, at the same time as well being introduced the problems which might turn up, because of the people who were in the Forte Marghera at that time and they were working there; different associations were working there, and looking after the place. So the idea of how to possibly integrate this people». ¹⁴⁴ One of the first and solid organization working in Forte Marghera is the Cooperativa Sociale Controvento, which runs a restaurant and a bar, that are the base for cultural activities for the citizens and students of the

area around the Forte. They were able to build a solid relationship with the citizenry, which has been used to go to the area since the opening to the public of the site in 2004. Before it was a fort belonging to the military sector. Bertram Schultze has been around several times, and he got in touch with these groups of young people, starting a relationship of mutual admiration between two seriously and successfully run projects, that took the Venetian group also to be hosted at Spinnerei. Furthermore, the MIT, the museum of traditional Venetian boats, and several small workshops are here based, while the “Parco del Contemporaneo”, which exhibits contemporary art works, and other activities of the Venice Academy of Art and the Biennale of Venice, have been hosted up to now.

Since the suggestion from Camilla Seibezzi, Mr. Schultze and his collaborators have been in a «kind of making conceptual work for this place, introducing it to the city council and the Mayor, taking my money givers to Venice on the gondola and everything [...] having a nice dinner with the important city counselors and so on». The 13th of November 2011, the Town Councilor and Chairperson of the Committee for Culture Ms. Seibezzi, presented in front of the city council the renewal project of Forte Marghera of MIB AG. «Having actually twice the possibility to introduce the whole concept quite in detail in front of the City Council, and then another one and a half hour was a question-answer about the topic. Of course I had a translator so it takes a little more time than normally, but in the end there was the idea that we were on a good way».¹⁴⁵

Bertram Schultze and his society proposed an offer of a huge investment for the area, even if it should depend on city's authorization. The project focused on improving the already existing activities and daily open the area to the public, The vision of Mr. Schultze was of a site that can be of national as well as of international attractive, thanks to the wide range of activities hosted, which would concur to financially sustain the area. The self-financing was considered a basic for the development, and it should be achieved mainly by developing restaurants and residential units, that would find home among the many other workshops, offices, galleries and local activities already there. Emphasis was given also to the naturalistic side (there are landscape restrictions that the city should regulate) and to the rehabilitation of a link with the Venetian lagoon by the sea. The next step should have been done from the City of Venice, of an official call for the place, to publicize formally that they want to recover the area. This in order to give to several organizations and companies the possibility to made proposal following the guidelines given from the municipality. Bertram Schultze is still waiting for this step. «It was looking like that the guidelines would be quite close to our concept that we offered, this was one of the ideas, it might go in that way, but as we haven't seen the guidelines we don't know if it's going to be close to our concept, I don't know if it has been going on. I think there is no real pressure

from the city to do something with the Forte Marghera [...] so let's see. But it's nice to be able to having though about it, on a quite realistic basis, so that's ok». ¹⁴⁶

At present, the area is managed by the Marco Polo System G.e.i.e., which stands for "Economic Group of Interests". This is completely public, even if under private law. It works for the municipality of Venice, thanks to a temporary mandate that has been reconfirmed every year since 2004. In addition to the maintenance and safety of the area, it has carried out researches in order to plan ways of reusing the complex, its promotion and development in the direction of a wider public use. So experimental experiences were done, and new solutions are searched, in order to meet the approval from the city while attracting new projects and investors. After speaking with the person in charge for managing the administrative and the development of Forte Marghera, Andrea Bonifacio, he drew to me a situation quite similar to the one described by Mr. Schultze, characterized by lack of clarity and marked interest from the city. They are still waiting for the step mentioned by Bertram Schultze too. ¹⁴⁷ Even so, with the direction of Marco Polo System, it seems that the area is taking another path from the one suggested from the MIB, more related with the belonging of Forte Marghera to a wide and of historical value net of defensive structures spread across the Veneto region. Connected to this project, a research center for the fortified heritage has already been based here.

There are other examples around Italy of the taking Spinnerei as a reference point. Among them, there is a never happened project in province of Bari. Even if it cannot be directly connected with the cultural bias of Sacco, it is to be recognized that his theories are widely widespread and popular in Italy, through educational institution, media of the cultural sector, and popular among the wider public.

PROVVIDENTI

On the World Wide Web, I found a document about a project called “W.A.Y.”, the acronym of “We Are Young”, a proposal of a festival about art and young cultures at Cassano delle Murgie, a small town in province of Bari, Apulia. It should have been a four-day of conferences, events and workshops, where Bertram Schultze was invited to a seminar about the topic of “Cultural Economics and Districts”. There should be also the professor Sacco and other cases’ exponents about this issue towards reflecting about the regional reality. This proposal was coming from the Department of Youth Policies of Apulia Region, that was in charge of a wider range of projects called “Bollenti Spiriti”: it started in 2005 with the aim to create activities that push on the «great potential of younger people» living there. Gianfranco Pastore, who for six years has worked together with the Region to improve the creative and art field, while at the same time to engage young people, presented W.A.Y. Now he is working as marketing manager of a media agency in Rome, still organizing cultural events for other organizations. W.A.I.’s proposal did not received funds from the European community, and for that reason, it stopped. Nevertheless, the professional and personal path that led Mr. Pastore until this project is for this research of interest, to understand how Spinnerei is considered from a foreign perspective of people working in close and interrelated fields.

Ten years ago, a series of working experiences of Mr. Pastore, among them a trip to Leipzig and the discovery of Spinnerei, led him to start learning about urban regeneration from any kind of what can be called «creativity» and about cultural districts too. Looking at Spinnerei, he was fascinated by «how a private investment could create an infinite good for the entire community, not only the Leipziger one, but a whole community of artists».¹⁴⁸

After few sentences, a comparison between the situation faced by the managing committee of Spinnerei and the blocked situation felt in Italy is told. Gianfranco Pastore spoke in terms of “district” following the terminology suggested by the researches belonging to Sacco, but also the concept of district from Tourism Economy that he has encountered during his academic life. «By looking at the situations we are facing in Italy, I can’t remember successful top down investments. [...] if for example we speak about tourism, the only existing and functioning touristic district is the Dolomites’ one, a touristic destination known all over the world. Because it grew spontaneously from local businessmen and the citizens had to adequate themselves to that [...] But there is the then alchemy of a population that understood the importance of such organization. In ten years of the Regional Administration of Apulia under Nichi Vendola [the President of Apulia since 2005], they strongly

believed in the power of creativity, they invest a big amount of money. In my town, Acquaviva, and in other small town close to mine, great ideas were financed among the Bollenti Spiriti project, in order to rehabilitate buildings to turn into recording studio, assembly hall and film making hall, a center for arts, a concert hall»,¹⁴⁹ all project that are expounded in detail on the Bollenti Spiriti website.

He saw similarities between the buildings and the area of Spinnerei and of his land, where there is an old abandoned distillery; it's quite the same setting, and then it is possible to imagine another successful story like the one demonstrated by Spinnerei. Moreover, «Bertram [Schultze] is a smart person, who chooses the right city. He could have done it in Dresden, everywhere in the eastern area of Germany or in the are there are such places, but he choose Leipzig, that paradoxically is the city most projected in the future of the Leipzig-Berlin-Dresden triangle». For Mr. Pastore Leipzig is better than the other cities mentioned also because there is an high youth rate combined with a notable quality of life.

Together with Spinnerei, another center drives the hopes and trials of Gianfranco Pastore: the Swedish Rock City, a project in the small city of Ultsfred that gained a good amount of European funding. Following the orchestra tradition of Sweden, this association created a project starting from a music festival, one of the most important in Europe. Time by time they build Rock City, an area devoted to music, where is possible to practice it, to learn a profession, on both the artistic and managerial side. The success was favored from the municipality and other institutions, like universities, that understood the potential for the local economy of such initiative. From this point of view, Gianfranco then learned that there were people like Sacco speaking about cultural districts and looking at other experiences, up to Spinnerei, where he went several times.

Spinnerei e Rock City are the muses of the Provvidenti Borgo della Musica project by a SPV society. Provvidenti is also the name of the area where the project took shape, a small Commune in the Molise Region that suffered from a major earthquake in 2002. After that tragic event, many people leaved the town, only around 80 people remained there, most of them around 70 years old; they live in the central street, while the historic center is unfeasible up to now. The plan was to create a small new city, a stable lab for arts, composed by small structures gather from the existing areas that like satellites host meeting point, a gallery, labs, with a focus on the music field. The idea was to have different activities, from a lute maker to organizing concerts. In order to reactivate the town also by trying to make native families coming back, to turn on the local economy again. Within three years

some results can be seen: the few already there commercial activities started work more, a bar was open by the association which took on locals, 27 honorary citizenships were given to artists invited there for a concert, who then also purchased houses. This project stopped after three years because of the bad side of working in a heterogeneous network of relationships: six people from the association were arrested for fraud, and this led to the loss of trust in the other people involved in the project, from the municipality and from most of the people living there.

«After three years of trial, it should have become like Spinnerei but devoted to music».¹⁵⁰ They had also their “gallery tour” with the event “4venti live”, with a haystack as a practice room, many supporters and national partners. Twelve emerging music bands were invited; they set up their concert in the small town, which was repopulated by young people, with the local join the atmosphere, till students from the university interested in writing a Master Thesis about the whole project.

For the different range of experiences faced by Mr. Pastore, instead of cultural district, he then agreed that the concept of “relationships” is more suitable here, for the thick and thin. «Thanks to your relationships you meet people that inspire you and people you would like to work with».¹⁵¹ As happened with the Provvidenti Borgo della Musica. «From the previous managerial researches, it was supposed to become a «cultural district [...] but then what happened? That the local fabric, which proved to have creative power, it couldn't understand that the collaboration and organization is important. If the social fabric is not ready to receive this input, you can put money into it, but there will be things that will fail for sure».¹⁵²

Spinnerei is also described as a meeting point, from the «”see you at Spinnerei”», because there was an opening or something interesting for free»,¹⁵³ until the coming out of a social function of the area. Anyone interested in arts, on the deeper level of «craft», there he can realize that behind the exhibitions and crowded events, there is also another world; a world that includes the typography for example, where many artists collaborate and create artistic books too. It is something that you can discover and touch here, you can realize that there are hidden trades behind the art. The fact that Spinnerei is open to the public and tours are bookable every week; that just by having a walk, or through the website, you can easily find the address and get in touch with Spinnerei's people. This is a kind community that since the beginning of the new ownership, it has accepted also this part of the structure, which entails circumstances like the already mentioned. «When there is a gallery tour and Spinnerei is still full of people, who have the chance to relate themselves with artists that create them, like it happened to me that is it not social innovation? ».¹⁵⁴

Spinnerei is more than a stage, as many times underlined is also a place of workers; artists that need also to stay alone to create. The whole cycle of the gestation is available there. Spinnerei is seen as a cultural and creative enterprise of excellence, which gave a new life to a place that otherwise, will remain bight or demolished, as most of times happens in cities like Leipzig. Lastly, Spinnerei, together with Rock City, were the only entities close to the experience that Mr. Pastore wanted to develop in his town with the distillery, similar from many points of view. The only ones that had the power to make him being fascinated and searching for a new translation. As he thought to them when he developed the project of Provvidenti, they are «inspirations».¹⁵⁵

Then there are other projects directed by public hand, which of course cannot declare as unique vocation the commercial one. After other considerations, there Spinnerei is represented as an economic engine for the city of Leipzig, as regards the image as well as economic advantages, there are many levels. If ten years ago such project interested Gianfranco and took him to modify is field of research and work, it means that an impact on the society is done from Spinnerei, not only on a local level, but also on a more long-rage. There is the power of an advanced idea to communicate a process and to testimony it.

Gianfranco Pastore is informed about the Nuremberg project: with any doubt, Auf AEG is even supposed a successful project, at least an interesting one, because of belonging to the same managerial staff. From the words of Mr. Pastore, among other tangible features, what is needed is a kind of «alchemy [...] the right project, with the right people, in the right place. It's a matter of luck».¹⁵⁶

At present, he is working and living in Rome, and he does not think about coming back to Puglia, also because «I've lost my network! ».¹⁵⁷

BRNO

In 2012, Zdeňka Kujová has been in Leipzig for one year, thanks to the program for cultural managers of the Robert Bosch Foundation. She chose Spinnerei among other five centers in Germany, and up to now, she still thinks it was the best choice. She went there in order to study a case, to understand how it works, to consider the matter of facts than the theory she has already studied.

«Of course I cannot learn the process, how to begin with the new creative centers, because Spinnerei was already going and working very well; but I could hear the people, what happened in the last five or six years and what was before, in the district too, not only in the Spinnerei, not only in the fabric. This was very amazing».¹⁵⁸ She considered not only the cotton mill, but also the whole district and city. After learning more about the history of the area, she recognized that the first important moment for the new life of Spinnerei was the symposium of 2002; she looked at it like the starting point of the idea. This is what is more evident to the people from the outside, because the convention involved many different professionals from the cultural field, artists too, so this is what concurred to intensify the social fabric of Spinnerei, which already had a kind of shape given by the administration.

She was searching to learn more about «how can you manage this huge cultural-art center, how can you make this network of galleries [...]. How can you make different venues in the center, and what means make identity of the place». She spoke about the galleries and the gallery tour: an event joined by many artists, very good working towards the public, thanks to the combination between galleries and small ateliers and artists, which seemed not the idea of the beginning. The idea came from galleries, so there is no real purpose of collaboration in the whole community of Spinnerei. Such collaboration was created by accident, with the success of public and interests from media and art dealers coming. This then let the management start a sort of format that has to be accepted from everyone in Spinnerei.

«It was a very interesting moment for me, when I start to understand [...] how it was working, what make Spinnerei like an art center». From Ms. Kujová point of view Spinnerei means a good combination between «galleries, artists, theatre and cinema» a necessary mixture. This mixture made her understand that a multifunctional center, not only in one direction, is a very important ingredient of such project. On the other hand, Spinnerei is represented more by fine arts, which is linked also to the Leipziger fine art scene, the history, background and traditions. Following this directions, new art centers in other countries depend on the tradition and history of the city, of its cultural scene and

potentialities. «You cannot make other Spinnerei in other places [...] This was my inspirations, a little bit of this working of the management of Spinnerei, and a little bit about this history, how came this idea, and maybe about this output so». ¹⁵⁹ Of course, she cannot be entirely aware about all the forces and factors that have been developed Spinnerei, but she recognized at least three things considered important to import in her native city. After one year in touch with Spinnerei's environment, it gave her tools to imagine a project in Brno, what is needed, how to start. Spinnerei shows a way of thinking and dealing with the individual situation that can be potentially translated everywhere under different as well as individual rules. So every city needs to correct, to find its own way and not copying. The comparison and inspiration is fundamental and improve from the first steps a process of thinking about a new project.

After being in Spinnerei, Ms. Kujová travelled to visit other creative centers, for a shorter time than in Leipzig, and she is still travelling. She visited Linz with its Tabakfabrik and the Ars Electronica, but she went also in Vienna, Kosice, Krakow, «and the last month I was in the Baltic Region, Lithuania. There they are focused on creative incubators more than making creative centers, which is another important aspect to learn and at the same time it makes other connection in a network of centers around Europe». ¹⁶⁰ Kujová studies and researches through Germany gave her the knowledge to speak with the city government in Brno. There the creative and cultural scene is still trying to emerge, they are on a very starting level and there are predictable conflicts driven by a state of doubt and uncertainty. So for example, it has occurred a kind of conflict between the government, the department in charge for the city development, and the South Moravian Innovation Center (JIC), a governmental incubator with the aim of supporting regional entrepreneurs. She was able to make these two parties starting a dialogue, in order not to stop the JIC's implementation of a cultural and creative project in Brno that has the region and the city of Brno as active parts. Luckily, the Cultural Department understood her vision. The JIC then charged Zdeňka Kujová to follow the management of it, which at that time mainly consisted in finding more financial supporters for the ideas they were testing and developing. There was not a «former committee», a technical group to work on the idea and search for people to join the process until now. In January of 2013, she started to work on it, with the people from the JIC, which is the first stakeholder, and together they take care about investors in the city, but also about sociology and researches, a range of different tasks. She started on a very intuitive way, because there were no former local structures and tests to refer to. From this side the foreigner experiences were very important; they were the main source of her expertise and inspirations. In this respect, Germany is of higher importance compared with the other sites visited,

because it has many similarities with the Moravian region speaking about history and culture, so it is easier to make comparison. Moreover, eastern Germany was making a process of democratization that could be seen very close to the state of the Czech system. The cultural department of the city of Saxony has shown through years a bent in favor of so supporting such initiatives, so not only privates are involved. «I was in Bremen, Nuremberg, Munich; I lived two years in Berlin. Of course, this is my inspirations still, till now, but Leipzig was a very good choice because I didn't know that Leipzig is so, the people are so open minded and it's so growing and the creative scene is so good there. I didn't know this before. I read about that, but every country and every city write about his or her creative scene is very good, so nobody will say that is only bad. It was amazing for me these different aspects, so this culture-economic politic system after the revolution, this example of Spinnerei, and what means how to make this creative center and what will happen after this, and then the services in Germany, like the support for the creative industries, the *kompetenz* center».¹⁶¹ All these aspects concurred to inspire Ms. Kujová.

At present, the research team guided by Ms. Kujová is going to finish the feasibility study of the building that is going to house the creative center of the JIC. There is still a portion of uncertainty, because the approval depends on politics. This is a difference with Spinnerei; in Brno there was not a «bottom up direction, but top down, which is very bad for the cultural scene of course, and after the first three years of this project [...] this is the first time when the project is leading of the presence from the cultural scene of Brno». Zdeňka Kujová is belonging to this scene: she studied theatre and cultural management in Brno, and so she is in such a network. This mixed community is just now starting supporting the idea of the creative center. Every working day consist in speaking and explaining also to these people what the concept is about, to discuss all the critics and influences they have; «because we make the creative center for this people, but the artists are not understanding the city government and the process [concerning] this creative center. And this is very hard work I think, this understanding between different sides, politics and artists, so I stay in between».¹⁶²

There are many different «stakeholders»: the politics, the people belonging to the JIC. Then people from the art scene and from universities (there are 8 universities in a city of around 380000 inhabitants). There are also agencies as Czech invests, which cares about investments in Czech Republic. There is an art institute based in Prague, which gave to the JIC the task of mapping the creative industries of the whole Region. Thanks to this research, the “map” suggested her new potential actors (always called «stakeholders») that can join the process. She is acting as a bounding agent, on a wider scale than Bertram Schultze with Spinnerei's people in the beginning. However,

Spinnerei remains even now a good and effective example, also to show to people from other fields the power and feasibility of such projects.

«In these last few months, I sent twice deputy of cultural department and of economic department, to Leipzig and to Spinnerei, only to see the Spinnerei and what can make this creative center with the district. This inspiration of these two people was very important I think. [...] ok this people decided to support in financing this feasibility study, but still they were not really convinced about the project, so they need arguments, why it's really important to make a creative center in our city. This was a very good step I think, so they went there and see the real time and place».¹⁶³ Other steps have to be made within the next year, among other there is the refurbishment of the old prison,¹⁶⁴ the place choose to host the project. This involves the brownfield and regeneration field. The old prison was chosen before Zdeňka engagement, around 2008, because everything started with the idea of a creative center and of mapping the brownfield of the city. This building was considered suitable for the project because very close to the city center, well connected with public transport and also the dimensions fitted the idea. The ownership is also important, and here the prison is of the city government's ownership. The importance of having a place before starting the process is underlined. A base makes possible a kind of visualization also of the rest of the project, mostly when dealing with people not acknowledged about such projects. A building is a concrete way to show and explain your ideas.

Spinnerei is then a good example of the combination of creative industries with other industries, or maybe not. «Because this is not really working there, this is working with the call center but before it was like computer shop there and it is no more there. But for me was really interesting too [...] nobody of these workers [of the call center] joins this cultural scene».¹⁶⁵ Therefore, something more is needed than putting different industries together in one place, it is not enough to bring new connections, to just bringing these different activities together in one place.

Zdeňka Kujová ended by repeating that Spinnerei is a «very good art center». This means that it is a place made of «people, and with this specialization of fine art, what means the esthetic is very present there, the aesthetic of the architecture of this old fabric, and of this of what you make inside, what you make with these galleries, with this fine art, and this combination is very unique».¹⁶⁶

This is what they are looking for Brno too. There are no certainties about what is the strong creative brunch in Brno; they cannot say that one is the predominant right now (as it was for the Spinnerei at

its very beginning). For an initiative with the aim to promote and support the creative people of the city, there is also the aim of taking care at all creative expressions. The public aim is the whole community, which now has the main need of space to develop its own way, to meet each other. In Brno there are no free spaces like Leipzig, rather there is a lack of them. There is a need of clever investors that decide to believe in such project for the creative sector. «I think on the beginning nobody trust him. Sometimes they would Spinnerei like art center with galleries, and probably in the beginning, he did not know what would be other steps before the first step. This is really the happiness of this project, because somebody trust in this idea, and can bring other people to the network. Then the network and the people are open to this idea, so you can make crazy things, you can change the entire city, you can enrich not only the image of the city but also even the identity of it [...]. I think more and more young people are coming to Leipzig not only because there is the university, but because the cultural scene is very good and well, and you can be proud of this, what is really important». ¹⁶⁷

When I asked her to give a “short definition of Spinnerei”, she told me the elements, that she is conscious are belonging to all this sort of centers. «It’s a phenomenon of all Europe, this is not the idea of arts center, this came not from Spinnerei, not originally from Bertram, because before there was this center in England, in London, in 70s, but this is an original idea for Leipzig and for Spinnerei, nobody other can make this». ¹⁶⁸ She is referring about the innovation generated by the Spinnerei, by this model.

From Zdeňka there is still an unanswered question, which is «What is going to happen in ten years with the Spinnerei? ». ¹⁶⁹ This is another issue. Spinnerei is working, but it is still too young. After the boom and all the attention, we should wait for the «normal life of this creative centers, this is maybe more important than these first years». These steps are fundamental to make Spinnerei an established and important place, «but for the city probably this life after the beginning is more important». This refers to the issue of maintaining an innovation through time, by being able to adapt and make other translations. This stage needs more time and researches to be detected.

CONCLUSIONS

The structure of the network and the narrative coming out from the crucial and surrounding actors of Spinnerei has driven to the here called formula of the Baumwollspinnerei. Even if in this definition, some components can be considered quite usual of the regeneration issue, Spinnerei worked better than other projects. The reason for its particular success stands in the kind of combination, adaptation, in the resolution of problems and connections, which all together created the chance for Spinnerei to become an innovation holder. It is the ability of a network to take and simultaneously to go over former innovations, to adapt them in its own context, which permitted to create a new version of an older one. All these explanations agree with Callon's four stages of translation (Callon 1986).

The translation settled from Spinnerei started when Bertram Schultze told about «guessing the potential», the problematization phase. The owners, represented by Mr. Schultze, saw potential actors with certain properties to turn into a set of relations, and to gather in a «system of alliances» (Callon and Latour 1981). Even if there was no declared “concept”, the manager defined an ideal path wondering the active interaction of the actors already there, while at the same time becoming himself essential for the process. In order to gain the interessement of these actors, Bertram Schultze used various methods to rely with different needs and expectations, to then reach the acceptance of the interests and conditions defined by the focal actors. Therefore, the stage of the acceptance links with the creation of a common identity of a project, gradually growing in nodes and connections. These events were more like negotiations and transactions than decisions imposed from the director; in every relation faced, both parties had interests to preserve and needs to satisfy. This is what Bertram Schultze defined «taking care», of the people joining the process. After a process composed also of vain attempts, when the assumptions of few people were assumed from the whole community, the enrolment was reached. An actor is enrolled when accepts the social structure proposed, and there is the will to take part in such organization. Thus, it is the reinforcement of the organizational culture, reached through socialization processes and embeddedness among the participants.

At last, there is a common story told from every actor, like a shared truth; this means that the process of translation has reached a degree of maturity. The network appeared strengthen, and therefore its identity can relate itself with the outside world in an incisive and efficient way. This is because the innovation was interiorized from the network, and ideas were then ready to continue travelling on other routes.

In this context, the few actors that from the beginning decided and acted in order to represent the whole structure, who were recognized from the others as their representatives, are the «spokesmen» (Callon, 1981). The narration highlights the significant role of Bertram Schultze as the spokesperson of Spinnerei. He presided and implemented the innovation process, he shaped the relationships among the representational framing; he was able to speak on a meta-level as well as the local of a single project. Therefore, this telling took place in the native context as well as in other settings, like international symposium. The other interviewees were narrators of Spinnerei too, but on a partial level that surround and support the main narrator; each of them provided details of the cultural infrastructure within which the innovation of Spinnerei emerged.

This confirms the power of narratives in explaining a network and its generated innovation, Narrative functions as a mechanism to coordinate a network and highlights the dynamic relationships and events of the history of Spinnerei; it is then a way to introduce such innovation in other networks by enabling translation processes. Therefore, translation is a process that guides and links ideas and people towards a change, as well as a result of such process. In that way, the result will inform about the fashion of an idea.

When the translator gained recognition, there were other places asking to learn and being inspired from him, until questioning if such organizational structure can be transportable somewhere else supported by former or new translators. Moreover, when Mr. Schultze started the development of the Auf AEG, he enforced the impression that ideas, concepts and projects can move, be displaced and transformed through time and space when an adequate narrative is able to translate issues from context to context, from time to time.

Therefore, the idea started travelling from place to place, with different vehicles and upshots. The places analyzed above have shown the ties that functioned as route for the displacement of an idea, and the relevant expectations of the actors who asked for such travel. Finally, it is possible to look at what really happened in another place, and how much of that impact was attributed to Spinnerei at that point of their growth. The idea visited other spots following different flows, so the ties that generated such process can be different. From the deviser that physically moved and embodied the innovation to a new actor, who came from another node and network, while the creator was not the active driver. Therefore, the narratives from the places where the idea acted will show results of various kind, as the idea acted in different ways: as planner, authentication or inspiration on different

degrees; it can also happen that the idea did not gain the adequate attention to then become a key driver of a new process.

The idea as planning (Nuremberg)

At the Auf AEG it is possible even to imagine the idea “physically” exported from Bertram Schultze, with the support of his society MIB. The idea travelled embodied in its first translator, who consequently became the creator in both sites. Mr. Schultze is the sole referee of the project to the other actors involved, he reproduced the same path of problematization. Among the questions about the possible usage of the area and about the potentiality it took with, there is the question if a formula like that of Spinnerei can be transposed somewhere else. Therefore, the recognition of similar features occurred, which can drive to the reproduction of an experience that has already proved to work extremely well. The same type of private ownership was of help in avoiding some restrictions of thought and development of an innovation. The city and the area presented resemblances of dimensions, lifestyle, as well as traditions to the Leipziger experience; from this side it was easier to follow the same way of dealing with these issues. The plot was open in order to be fulfilled by new potential users coming in the first stages, which would better define the identity of the area by enriching and taking part in the mission foresaw from the manager. The first tenant was the former owner Electrolux, which gave a direction to the first development. During the other stages potential crucial actors were tested, so to define the proper vocation of the place, because the idea of quality, of doing things properly whatever is the field, it was pursued here too. The result was that industries related to the research field were among the first actors that defined their enrolment in the project and shaped the area as belonging to the creative industries. The artistic milieu of the city was evaluated too; it ended with the decision to take it just as a supporting factor for the attractiveness of the area. The socialization here refers to a different kind of working community instead of Spinnerei, which requires more infrastructures like restaurants and for leisure as well as a different audience as the one of Leipzig.

At the Auf AEG it is possible to see that a process of translation is defined and achieved, and the same spokesperson of Spinnerei has the power and the control on it and can already speak for it, even if it is a more recent project compared to the first one. Here the idea acted in order to project the development at the Auf AEG, where the entire process of translation brought to interest and enroll

the right mixture of tenants and usages that are the basis of a working and independent project. Thanks to such planning, the idea came in Nuremberg and improved the potential situation.

The idea as inspiration for patterns of translation (Linz, Provvidenti, Brno)

The idea is told like acting as an inspiration when the process that has taken place in Spinnerei and driven to an innovation, it caused to other places and actors to formulate new interesting visions or the will of creating something. The interaction with the idea as its empirical proof from Spinnerei, triggered new processes in another time and space.

Since the first moments of reflection, the idea of Spinnerei has started to inspire about the development of the Tabakfabrik in Linz. Mr. Schultze went at a symposium in 2011, invited by the organizations representative of the civil sector, which later enrolled themselves in the TF's project. This was the first phase of a huger «momentum of information»,¹⁷⁰ which was then headed by the owner of the Tabakfabrik, the city of Linz. Spinnerei continued being a point of reference for the discussion, through other symposia and by hosting the persons in charge for its development in the city of Leipzig. Therefore, the idea of Spinnerei inspired across a big path of comparison among places around Europe. It is the only that came out explicitly as a model for both actors still involved in the project among the many encountered. Firstly, it was able to prove a chance to succeed in dealing with the regeneration of a former industrial area that has common starting features, and then to suggest a junction between a coming-self-sustained area and the whole city on a cultural degree. The imitation of the model gave rise also to similar questions during the problematization stage, and then to reproduce some methods to reach the enrollment of a community, with the final aim of finding out their own identity and mission. Such attitude is traceable through the discourse settled up from the main actors, and the “pillars” and “principles” that guide the procedure open to potential novelties. Spinnerei spurred as they saw a way to combine the need to generate a public service as well as a financially working area.

The importance of a representative of the TF was stressed from the interviewees while referring to the artistic director Chris Muller; the owners gave Mr. Muller the power to guide the development, and to be the main referee to the outside world. Anyway, Gunter Amesberger (director of the Urban development Department of the City of Linz), is as well a potential spokesperson since it has the position and power to control and guide the process.

From the deep knowledge of the TF' team about Spinnerei, it is possible to see the trial to lay out a process, which condensed all the grasped inspirations about the means of translation, in order to bring innovation into their own context.

The idea then travelled with Gianfranco Pastore, who after being several times in Leipzig, discovered and experienced Spinnerei, as quite same happened to the cultural manager Zdeňka Kujová.

The Spinnerei became the main «muse» for the project of Provvidenti Borgo della Musica (Provvidenti) developed by Mr. Pastore. It was the trial to reactivate a small town, as Spinnerei did in the shrinking Leipzig. The idea of Provvidenti was clearly of being «like Spinnerei but devoted to music». ¹⁷¹ The importance of having a topic, from which a wide range of activities and experiences are connected, was grasped. The concept was also translated as the integration of the need of a town to have all the basic activities and to be self-sufficient. After three years of development, the project was gaining power in attracting the interessement of locals and enrolling new actors in the settled as well as open plot. Furthermore, Mr. Pastore was inspired by the Spinnerei's idea because he saw the possibility to develop a coexistence of economic and social aims. The mixture coming from the presence of a complete cycle of creation, was considered leading to some kind of educational services.

Resemblances of context and traditions in dealing with the art between Germany and the Czech Republic took also to Ms. Kujová decision to choose Spinnerei as the topic of her empirical research. The acknowledgment of the how the Spinnerei network functions and concurs to the construction of the identity of an area, provided to Ms. Kujová tools to interpret the circumstances occurring in her city with a different perspective, so to translate the innovation grasped from Spinnerei. The inspiration gave her firstly the right subject matter and capacity to deal with the debate between the city and the JIC, so to propose herself as a necessary translator of their aims, to compose them. She succeeded in that goal, and then these two parties recognized to Zdeňka Kujová the power to guide the process. Time after time, the project started with the issue of brownfields gradually became a more inclusive one; as the expertise gained from Spinnerei teach the importance of a multifunctional environment, together with having a topic. Furthermore, this topic is to be found among the whole context of the city, which in Brno is early emerging.

The network way of working and the matter of trust are the leading principles in Ms. Kujová way of proceeding, those that unified the multilevel needs of the project in a big network: from the search of funds until the inclusion of a creative community. The inspiration was then reached from other

stakeholder of the Brno creative center also in the “concrete time and place”, which were means to make some potential investors understand the feasibility and the rationale for such development.

An important step is also the communication of such innovation. People like Mr. Schultze are very important for this aspect, as to give explanations about the failure of the Provvidenti experience: the spokespersons did not reach the control of the process by enrolling the social fabric and actors. Therefore, when upsets happened, they easily lost the control and the trust as representatives of the project.

Mr. Pastore declared the big impact and change caused by this idea to his professional life and then in the project, the impact also to see the alchemy of «the right project, with the right people, in the right place». ¹⁷² These inspirations directed him to search for an adaptation and a translation, because Spinnerei was the only effective example that made him imagining a travelling of such model in his native region. The impact of the idea stands also in the unforeseeability of such innovation in a city like Leipzig, and the consequent outcomes for the whole image and identity of it. Therefore, the inspiration acted on the city level, as Spinnerei’s identity is incorporated in the city’s one and back.

The idea as authentication (the Veneto Region)

As happened in Cagliari, the idea of Spinnerei went across the Veneto region with its representative, who was invited at several conferences linked with Professor Sacco and his already working functioning theories. In Veneto, the commissioned “DICE project” and other past projects have already taken awareness among the social and economic actors of the importance of clustering the region, in order to reach an unique mixture able to improve each single node of the regional network. At that time, local entrepreneurs were already used to integrate economic activities and cultural ones. They have already assumed that culture was a key element. The significance of culture to link different needs and activities of a territory goes over and above its promotional and communicational properties; dealing with culture is a powerful means to safeguard and control the creation of contents and significance. Such power is clearly a functional way to control and direct the development of a business and its markets.

Therefore, Spinnerei here became a prominent idea among other international, national and local realities, which were called in order to update the network about the state of the art in the management

and planning of places that would belong to a heterogeneous community. In perspective of a vital continuous progress, new ideas could show new devices to add to the modus operandi of the Veneto region, but the structure and the language of such organism has already been determined and undertaken as well its own identity.

The idea failed in its initial purpose (Cagliari, Forte Marghera)

Several insights in the area of Venice brought the cultural entrepreneur Bertram Schultze the wish to find the area of Forte Marghera that was perceived as full of potential and availability where to transpose his idea: Forte Marghera. He immediately started a process of problematization about the area, with the intention to improve and strengthen the already existing identity of the site. Since the beginning Camilla Seibezzi, the Town Councilor and Chairperson of the Committee for Culture of Venice, introduced and supported the idea to the city council. As an actor linked with the territory since long time, the Councilor could act like the guarantor and second translator of the quality, possibilities as well as goodness of the idea and its main translators.

These events generated a big debate among the city and the main personalities involved in the future of Forte Marghera, from the municipality's level until the civil sector. Local newspapers stressed the event and the project, which from Mrs. Seibezzi words seemed to be perfectly suiting the needs of the area. After that moment, no more news came out about the project, even if the actors in the community populating the area are still working to improve its potentialities.

The well-designed idea proposed seemed not recognized from the city, which maybe did not feel itself included in the problematization stage; Bertram Schultze and his idea did not gain the interessement of another important actor of Forte Marghera, the one that is supposed to guide it, the city of Venice. What is more, the narration of the path followed up to now showed that the idea failed not only in planning, but also in order to "simply" inspiring the development, in contrast with the efforts of Ms. Seibezzi and the still deep tenacity of Mr. Schultze .

Another kind of failure of the idea is traceable in Cagliari. Bertram Schultze was invited to go there in 2007 for a symposium, to inspire and help the researcher of the Manifattura Tabacchi to find its perfect vocation. Moreover, the main actors in charge of following the process were already present. Mr. Sacco's theories would introduce Spinnerei as an outstanding and abreast example to inspire the

development of a rising project.. The discussion was about «the possibility» as well as «the possibility to do» a cultural place, so the problematization was the stage of that time. Despite the influent introducer of Spinnerei, the research team have excluded Spinnerei since the first comparison: it problematized with other assumptions and questions, and so it looked at other kind of similarities that took to choose other points of reference for the forthcoming translation. To sum up, the guessed planning on Forte Marghera and the inspiration in in Cagliari could not continue its trip.

Concluding remarks

The importance of networking among the institutions analyzed, the openness of the resulting network, in a continuous and dynamic flow of sharing and confronting ideas and methodologies, comes out with the potential of generating new ones. Because network theory suggests that a too high level of tie strength is not beneficial for the generation of novelty (Borgatti and Halgin 2001, Granovetter 1985), therefore every node should remain receptive and not stuck in a position, even if during a certain period of time the relationships in place have proved be well functioning. The travelling of ideas continue also when a certain degree of maturity is reached, to follow times and changing needs. Maybe idea can take to other concrete projects in another place, as Mr. Schultze still wonders with Forte Marghera. There are some weak ties, that even if not taking part to the whole process, anyway concurred and enriched such network, as for example Mr. Sacco, who saw before others the potential of Spinnerei, and had the authority to bring the idea to Italy.

It is possible to see how much the innovation proposed by Spinnerei was pervasive in another environment: a successful idea has the power to become widespread firstly thanks to its intrinsic properties, but in order for it to have a deeper impact, it involved active participation of those who decided to bring it. Such involvement is strictly linked with a clear understanding of the context and of the spokespersons that presided over the process of translation, which was evident also from the difficulties of Spinnerei's imitators encountered in the translation processes. The actors belonging to a wider network of learning entities here narrated took the tale of Spinnerei as a model, sharing the same expectations. Some of them demonstrated a usage of the same language and they tried to reproduce and adapt the same practices, others failed. Following Callon and Latour's theories, this is not enough to conclude that the innovation coming from Spinnerei is not "as innovative", since the translation has not occurred in every situation. The framework suggested by the network is connected

with the one of the translation: this linkage showed the importance of the narratives and techniques that enable ideas to travel. The Spinnerei model offered a particular conceptualization of the reality that has the potential to gain hegemony; then, the search for an effective translation is not enough to state the power of the model. The idea needs also to be effectively acknowledged by the other agents and institutions involved in close and interrelated networks. A successful travel and the consequent translation of a particular idea in another time and space requires a formidable mobilization by the actors of the new place, and firstly of the ones that are responsible to manage and guide the process through its individual stages: they are fundamental steps for every network but achievable through various techniques and actions. As in the initial steps of such process of transferring innovation, similarities were emphasized in order to start the adoption of a model, then the new translators have to become active, to take decisions about the adaptation of such idea in their own network.

Apart the effect of the travelling, here is traceable the power of Spinnerei to cause an impact, of big or minor importance, even when the results could seem like a failure of the idea traduced in a new situation. A common ground of rules tacitly understood «for appropriate actions under unspecified contingencies» (Borgatti and Halgin 2011) is perceptible, that brought Spinnerei to travel. All these practices and discourses are ways of the macroculture to enhance cooperation through a wide range of firms. The ground rules that should facilitate the connection in this network, here come out as well represented and set up from Spinnerei, even when the idea did not reach the initial purposes. By looking at the whole network of agents and institutions that got in touch with Spinnerei, it is possible to consider the Leipzig center as an innovation carrier: since it represents the model that best embodied the cultural beliefs and values disseminated through the network analyzed, even though the advantages and outcomes are not the same of every project. This is another issue that should be deepened, and more time is needed to see the consolidation of a macroculture (Borgatti and Halgin 2001); up to now it is possible to argue that at present the ‘Spinnerei model’ represents the main tendency followed in such field. Therefore, the actual dominant macroculture in Europe and particularly in the defined area of institutions belonging to the culture-regeneration sector is very close to the culture proposed and well spread from Spinnerei.

Afterwards, a suggested direction for future researches would be to analyze the key values, norms and assumptions that guide the network on a wider perspective of places and on a longer period. This will allow to observe similarities and differences among the nodes, and there is the chance to confirm macroculture as a crucial factor to be evaluated in the analysis of innovation transfers and travelling of ideas.

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¹ The Social Network Analysis as proposed from Borgatti. In its premises there is a structure encompassing theories about the processes that originated a network (Theory of Network) and the study of the consequences of the interactions of a network or a set of networks (Network Theory). He then deepened the Network Theory, and explained his idea of network by using fundamental concepts from Granovetter (like the transitivity). See Borgatti and Halgin, On Network Theory, Organization Science, Articles in Advance, pp. 1–14, 2011.

² The Network Governance as explained from Borgatti is a dynamic process of organizing relationships among autonomous firms engaged in creating products or services. Such cooperation on shared tasks is mainly based on social coordination and control, implicit rules that bind them socially rather than legally. This form of organization is related to the kind of environment and exchange conditions they are into, which are characterized by uncertainty of demand, task complexity, the human factor and frequency of relationships. Such surrounding circumstances led to the need of a structural embeddedness; it represents a defined interaction among parties, the links among different groups that spread information through the network, allowing information, norms, and common understandings to move across it. If such organization works, with time and continuity, structural embeddedness will take to the development of a macroculture. The NG is defined as Involves a select – persistent - structured set of autonomous firms engaged in creating products/services based in implicit and open-ended contracts (socially binding, not legally) to adapt to environmental contingencies and to coordinate-safeguard exchanges.

³ Joachim Blank, Leipzig, 03.06.2013

⁴ Stefan Geiss, Leipzig, 29.05.2013

⁵ Fabian Reimann, Leipzig, 23.05.2013

⁶ Fabian Reimann, Leipzig, 23.05.2013

⁷ Stefan Geiss, Leipzig, 29.05.2013

⁸ Sebastian Burger, Leipzig, 22.03.2013

⁹ Joachim Blank, Leipzig, 03.06.2013

¹⁰ Karen Oostenbrink, Leipzig, 28.05.2013

¹¹ www.spinnerei.de

¹² Margret Hoppe, Camille Le Lous and Emanuel Mathias, Leipzig, 18.05.2013

¹³ Manfred Mülhaupt, Leipzig, 03.06.2013

¹⁴ Manfred Mülhaupt, Leipzig, 03.06.2013

¹⁵ Manfred Mülhaupt, Leipzig, 03.06.2013

¹⁶ Manfred Mülhaupt, Leipzig, 03.06.2013

¹⁷ Fabian Reimann, Leipzig, 23.05.2013

¹⁸ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013

¹⁹ Manfred Mülhaupt, Leipzig, 03.06.2013

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- ²⁰ Manfred Mülhaupt, Leipzig, 03.06.2013
- ²¹ Manfred Mülhaupt, Leipzig, 03.06.2013
- ²² Fabian Reimann, Leipzig, 23.05.2013
- ²³ Karsten Schmitz, Leipzig, 16.05.2013
- ²⁴ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ²⁵ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ²⁶ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ²⁷ Karsten Schmitz, Leipzig, 16.05.2013
- ²⁸ Herry Gerard Lybke, Leipzig, 17.05.2013
- ²⁹ Herry Gerard Lybke, Leipzig, 17.05.2013
- ³⁰ Herry Gerard Lybke, Leipzig, 17.05.2013
- ³¹ Herry Gerard Lybke, Leipzig, 17.05.2013
- ³² Herry Gerard Lybke, Leipzig, 17.05.2013
- ³³ Most of the interviewees, when they spoke about owners, they referred particularly to Bertram Schultze.
- ³⁴ Christian Seyde, Leipzig, 27.05.2013
- ³⁵ Christian Seyde, Leipzig, 27.05.2013
- ³⁶ Christian Seyde, Leipzig, 27.05.2013
- ³⁷ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ³⁸ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ³⁹ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁴⁰ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁴¹ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁴² Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁴³ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁴⁴ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁴⁵ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁴⁶ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013

⁴⁷ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013

⁴⁸ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013

⁴⁹ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013

⁵⁰ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013

⁵¹ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013

⁵² Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013

⁵³ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013

⁵⁴ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013

⁵⁵ Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁵⁶ Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁵⁷ Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁵⁸ Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁵⁹ During the research period at the Baumwollspinnerei, I had a conversation with Bertram Schultze where he told me about a project in another former industrial area of Jena. Jena is a city close to Leipzig, full of students and potentially open to cultural project.

⁶⁰ Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁶¹ Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁶² Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁶³ «It has changed partly because we started to be aware of it partly because there were a lot of technological advances that forced us to think about connectedness. We had Worldwide Web, which was all about the links connecting information. We had the Internet, which was all about connecting devices. We had wireless technologies coming our way. Eventually, we had Google, we had Facebook. Slowly, the term 'network connectedness' really became part of our life so much so that now the word 'networks' is used much more often than evolution or quantum mechanics. It's really run over it, and now that's the buzzword» Albert-László Barabási, Edge, 24.09.2012

⁶⁴ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013

⁶⁵ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013

⁶⁶ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013

⁶⁷ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013

⁶⁸ Peter Sterzing, Leipzig, 27.05.2013

⁶⁹ Neven Allanic, 14.05.2013

⁷⁰ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013

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- ⁷¹ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013
- ⁷² Neven Allanic, 14.05.2013
- ⁷³ Neven Allanic, 14.05.2013
- ⁷⁴ Neven Allanic, 14.05.2013
- ⁷⁵ Constanze Müller, Leipzig, 18.05.2013
- ⁷⁶ Constanze Müller, Leipzig, 18.05.2013
- ⁷⁷ Constanze Müller, Leipzig, 18.05.2013.
- ⁷⁸ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013
- ⁷⁹ Stefan Geiss, Leipzig, 29.05.2013
- ⁸⁰ Stefan Geiss, Leipzig, 29.05.2013
- ⁸¹ Stefan Geiss, Leipzig, 29.05.2013
- ⁸² Stefan Geiss, Leipzig, 29.05.2013
- ⁸³ Katja Großer, Leipzig, 29.04.2013
- ⁸⁴ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013.
- ⁸⁵ Joaquim Blank, Leipzig, 03.06.2013
- ⁸⁶ Joaquim Blank, Leipzig, 03.06.2013
- ⁸⁷ Arne Linde, Leipzig, 23.04.2013
- ⁸⁸ Sebastian Burger, Leipzig, 22.03.2013
- ⁸⁹ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ⁹⁰ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹¹ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹² Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹³ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹⁴ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹⁵ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹⁶ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹⁷ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013

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- ⁹⁸ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ⁹⁹ Michael Schels, Nuremberg,
- ¹⁰⁰ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰¹ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰² Michael Shells, 27.02.2013
- ¹⁰³ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰⁴ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰⁵ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰⁶ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰⁷ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰⁸ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹⁰⁹ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹¹⁰ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 21.05.2013
- ¹¹¹ http://elviajero.elpais.com/elviajero/2013/04/28/actualidad/1367139346_920815.html
- ¹¹² Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 04.04.2013
- ¹¹³ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 04.04.2013
- ¹¹⁴ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹¹⁵ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹¹⁶ Lorenz Potocnik, Linz, 06.06.2013
- ¹¹⁷ Lorenz Potocnik, Linz, 06.06.2013
- ¹¹⁸ Lorenz Potocnik, Linz, 06.06.2013
- ¹¹⁹ Lorenz Potocnik, Linz, 06.06.2013
- ¹²⁰ Lorenz Potocnik, Linz, 06.06.2013
- ¹²¹ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹²² Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹²³ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 04.04.2013
- ¹²⁴ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013

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- ¹²⁵ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹²⁶ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹²⁷ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹²⁸ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹²⁹ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹³⁰ Gunter Amesberger, Linz, 06.06.2013
- ¹³¹ Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹³² Thomas Diesenreiter, Linz, 05.06.2013
- ¹³³ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹³⁴ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹³⁵ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹³⁶ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹³⁷ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹³⁸ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹³⁹ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹⁴⁰ “Loading.Una nave pirata per immaginare la Biennale di Venezia del terzo millennio 1985-2007”
- ¹⁴¹ Town Councilor of Venice and Chairperson of the Committee for Culture
- ¹⁴² Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹⁴³ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹⁴⁴ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹⁴⁵ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹⁴⁶ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 03.04.2013
- ¹⁴⁷ Andrea Bonifacio, Marghera, 10.07.2013
- ¹⁴⁸ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁴⁹ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome.
- ¹⁵⁰ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁵¹ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome

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- ¹⁵² Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁵³ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁵⁴ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁵⁵ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁵⁶ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁵⁷ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁵⁸ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁵⁹ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶⁰ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶¹ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶² Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶³ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶⁴ <http://www.creativebrno.cz/creative-centre-project/>
- ¹⁶⁵ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶⁶ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶⁷ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶⁸ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁶⁹ Zdeňka Kujová, Brno, 10.08.2013
- ¹⁷⁰ Bertram Schultze, Leipzig, 04.05.2013.
- ¹⁷¹ Gianfranco Pastore, 28.06.2013, Rome
- ¹⁷² Gianfranco Pastore, Rome, 28.06.2013