Creating Spaces for the Creative Clusters and Networks

Introduction

Over the last years there has been much talk about creativity - as individual property, as capital, as "connecting device" in the context of new networks, as a model of governance based more on civil society with regards to the relationship between the state, the community and the market, and, most notably, as a starting point for cities and regions, in order to survive economically or to provide position characteristics that can be sold even more effectively in the competition of the metropolises and regions ("unique local preposition").

The paper discusses the significance of local culture and its spatial make-up in the context of the transition from the industry to the service and knowledge society. Contrary to the thesis of a "disappearing geography" the paper argues that the development of creative urban environments and the clustering in the "cultural or creative industries" are dependent on socio-spatial environments and physical-material conditions.

The paper will combine the term "socio-spatial environment" (Matthiesen 1998) with the "milieu innovateur" by GREMI and examine the dynamics of innovation respectively persistence. The research group GREMI (Groupe de Recherche Européen sur les Milieux Innovateurs) defines the creative environment as "the set or the complex network of mainly informal social relationships on a limited geographical area often determining a specific external image and a specific internal representation and scythe of belonging, which enhance the local innovative capability through synergetic and collective learning processes." (Camagni 1991: 3) The different degrees of self-organization of milieus will be shown and transferred to the governance aspects of city development. The paper develops a socio-spatial milieu concept of a "creative knowledge milieu" (Mathiessen 2004; Camagni et al. 2004). The term "placemaking" will be used to describe the strategic component of processes of spatially and locally specific identity formations in the course of city development processes. The paper will argue that in this process cultural coding emerges not alone at the drawing board of the planner, but is also the result of communication and cultural processes of differentiation in the everyday life of the inhabitants.

With regards to city development the "creative class" (Florida 2002) has become as famous as the Guggenheim Bilbao, and perhaps for similar reasons. With a perspective on city development that takes into account not only innovative buildings but also its cultural workers, the cities can be seen not only as places of cultural consumption, but also of cultural production. Cities are key places of interrelated modes of symbol production (finance, food, fashion), which also provide sources of entertainment and places of sociability. Peter Hall's studies on cities and creativity (Hall 1998) analyzed this relationship – between cultural consumption and cultural production – in urban history. The paper is based on an empirical study and Ph.D.-Project on this relationship which describes four places of cultural production in contemporary Vienna.

Using qualitative field research methods (30 biographical-narrative interviews with a method of spatial mapping in the sense of the "photo elicitation method") this study will examine four old industrial places in their spatial cluster of cultural workers. The analysis of the four case examples (a former screw factory, a former chocolate factory, a former milk center and old trade centers) will identify the three following ressorces:

The "space-resources", that is the spatial-local work environment, the "we-ressources", i.e. the networks and the social capital, as well as the "I-Resources", that is the knowledge and abilities of the participants. The paper will discuss the following three questions:

1. What are "creative places"? How do they develop? What is the role of the "place" in the identity formation of the cultural workers in their local milieus?

The old-industrial buildings located in the inner city offer opportunities for a new form of communication and a workplace organization as well as new forms of the workforce reproduction. With their physical organization the old industrial buildings in inner cities are one factor of "innovation" and an "economic actor", since the floor flat, the size and the infrastructure provide opportunities for a new organization of work and leisure. "Tacit and sticky knowledge" needs locations that permit a face-to- face exchange. Even though there is a change in utilization these places permit (Beauregard 2004) a (re)contextualization in overlapping narratives, which means that things, symbols or architectural design produced by the past can be translated into new narratives. This translation is accomplished by the actors themselves in a creative and cultural action.

2. Who is in the "creative class"? Who are the cultural workers? How do the new forms of "Vergemeinschaftung" and "Vergesellschaftung" work in the "creative milieus"?
A person, aged 25-30, multiskilled, flexible, independent, unmarried, not dependent on a specific place, who acts, whenever there are opportunities in the fields of the arts, music, or new media (Angerer 1998: 26). In this new "creativ class", as defined by Richard Florida, confidence and solidarity are based on well developed networks and represent a new form of "re-embedding" into social structures.

3. What are the possibilities of control for urban planning regarding the formation of "cultural clusters" and "creative milieus"?
The stakeholders of the big cities increasingly tie their development programmes to the promotion of knowledge-intensive innovation processes and the "creatives". Technology and science are linked under economic aspects and new urban areas are arranged for their sake. One proceeds on the one hand from direct neighbourhood, in addition, "genuis loci", to which the creative ones to be bound to be supposed and from those the bases for its creativity to be drawn be supposed. The "creative knowledge milieus as basis of a Creative Industries are considered the city planning government as hypothetical lodestone of economic groth.

Social Structural Change and the Restructuring of Urban Space

Urban spaces are permanently changing. They are subject to dynamics, which result from social changes in society. Cities and their social embedding are characterized by interdependency. Cities are on the one hand a visible place of social change in economics, culture and social organization forms, and on the other bring about, through it's the self-dynamics of social, political, cultural and economic recordability impulses in society. The question of the role cities play in the development of societies is an established question of urban sociology (Dangschat/Frey 2005).
In this paper, I will describe the change of work organization, in association with a central regulation of the social organization through the dimensions of work, living, consumption and leisure time. On the other side of interdependency between city and society is the development of urban creative milieus, and the question of the effect governance has on social organizations. A starting point for discussion is the sociological theories of social and urban change since the 1970's. With the criticism of modern society, in particular modern town planning (Mitscherlich, Jakob), begins a discourse, which announces the end of the age of rationalistic oriented discourse. Also the discourse around the planning and governance of societies and cities was again arranged in the course of this structural change. In this paper these theoretical considerations will shed light on the change of urban structures. Along with the description of the change from Fordistic organization to post Fordistic structures, it is implicitly implied that the post Fordistic organization of society dissolves the strict separation between the functions of work, living and leisure time. This social change brings about post Fordistic, postmodernism and post materialistic urban structures. In the economic sector, there is a shift to the service sector. With the development of a "new urbanism (neue Urbanität)" (Haeussermann/Siebel 1987) comes the development of new urban milieus, which are rather post materially oriented.

The Meaning of Locality in the Process of Globalization and Digitization

The central question of this work deals with space relationship in the context of globalization. There is the saying of "disappearing of distance". Economic and social participants, so the thesis so theory goes, are increasingly released, by a meaningful loss of space, from their spatial connections. However, the "return of the regional" is dedicated to explaining the meaning of spatial dimensions for social development. This work tackles the question, which "meaning the local level in increasingly ever more spaciously an organized and interlaced society" has (Mackensen 2002). Which role does the locality for the development of life-styles play, milieus or identity? The theory, which is pursued in this work, is that the changed role of space connections and space effectiveness (as well as development) creates integrated concepts of space. In my work, I will link theories of geography, in particular the "Cultural Geography" and social geography, with those of urban sociology, town and space planning, political science and regional science.

The Loss of Frontiers between Work and Life and the Consequences for the Spatiotemporal Restructuring of Urban Spaces

The change from a Fordistic to post Fordistic city is accompanied by new forms of work. Changes in the working sphere through information and communication technologies brought about a new knowledge and work subject, which redefined "work as life-style": work, consumption and living all merge into a 'Lifestyle'. These new "creative milieus" are characterized by a "culture of self utilization". With the reorganisation of work so comes the development of new life-styles, new spatial arrangements and requirements of urban spaces. The theory states that commodity work "structurally changed the way we employ the term "worker entrepreneurs". Characteristics of this new form are a systematically extended self-check of work, an obligation to the forced Economy of their abilities to work and an appropriate "Verbetrieblichung" of the everyday "lebensfuehrung"(Voss & Pongratz 1998: 2)
The range of creative industries employing a section of persons has increased, particularly in the future-oriented segments of new Media/Multimedia and Design. The employer-employee relationship of this group can be characterized as follows: imbedding into exploring new forms of enterprise organization; decentralization and flexibility; normal employer-employee relationships lose their commitment to the normal occupation model; "Arbeitskraftunternehmerin/s" (Voss/Pongratz 1998) becomes the new reference model; the borders between work and leisure time become more permeable and flexible; a tendency for the dissolution of the division of labour; the blurring of borders between work and private life (e.g. working from home) "as" entrepreneurs "can develop new flexible forms of work for the action chances and organization clearance, which can be used for an individualized professional activity and lifestyle; however, at the same time, the market conditions for the sale of the commodity worker, with all their risks and dangers, becomes more effective. (Voss & Pongratz 1998: 3) .Within the theory of "worker entrepreneur" the effects on space is also brought up for discussion. Here in particular is a detachment from space connection and work space. In my work, the arguments against the new binding force for space and work are strengthened In connection with the theory "Milieu innovator" from the regional science (GREMI), it is however stated that spatial proximity and clustering are necessary for innovative productions in small and middle-sized enterprises (SMEs). Space and locality are again open - so the theory goes - to a new search strategy in urban space, which usually occurs without any control by an urban policy. It develops a new form of spatial self-control that is produced by changing work space. Working from home (Teleworking) is only its most spectacular form: in-plant teleworking and a forced everyday mobility of persons employed require intensified spatial self-control "(Voss & Pongratz 1998: 13). In the empirical case study it becomes clear that new forms of work and organizations bring about a fusion between work, living and leisure time. Work penetrates a wide range of lifestyles and requires a lot of flexibily to deal with it. (Voss & Pongratz 1998: 14)

Culture and Economics of the City
The urban economy has always been a place of cultural production. The European city of the Middle Ages exported its culture products everywhere. These products, such as painting, silver decoration, porcelain, and also cultural ways of life, political ideas and literary works, were strongly shaped for specific local needs and for these cities represented a substantial role in their cultural and economic activities (Hall 1998). The industrial production of Fordistic cities at the end of the 19th century later led to the development of new industries of mass production, including steel production, locomotive construction and later the automobile industry. The culture production of the Fordistic city at the beginning of the 20th Century was also shaped by cultural mass consumption. The Frankfurt school coined the term "Cultural Industry" (Adorno 1991) and criticized the culture of the mass company.

Governance of Local Economies
It is theorised that structural change makes the local level more important.. Thus the range of the Governance models changes, which raises the question whether there is a possibility for the governance of social orders at a local level. In this paper, Governance models are understood to be extended control theories, which ask for provide the forms of regulation structures in social orders. These control theories of policy research contain a focus on individuals, with which questions of societal planning (Mayntz 2004:2). In this work the term Governance (Mayntz) is used, which describes all substantial forms of action co-ordination. This Governance theory was developed in context with the transaction cost theory of Williamson (1979), which differentiates between a more market oriented and a hierarchical co-ordination form of economic action. The addition of this pair of terms around federations (Streeck/Schmitter 1985) and networks (Powell 1990) helps to extend the understanding of Governance by "however come regulation structure and its effect on acting it the subjected participants" (Mayntz 2004: 4f). In this work governance is understood as a control system, which asks for the principles of regulation structure. Into the background steps the control controlling certain participants. In this work the extension of the term governance to forms of action co-ordination is of interest to more than just market and hierarchy. As a leading principle of the interaction and allocation of community, market and state as social orders are designated the terms "spontaneous solidarity", "uncoordinated competition" and "hierarchical control" by Streeck/Schmitter (1985). The term governance was also selected in order to develop a counter term to "hierarchical control". The crux of this work is that the loss of national regulation and control, which takes place by means of hierarchical models, increases the control taking place via the control controlling the milieu. "The entirety of all forms of collective regulation of social circumstances exist next to each other: of institutionalized civilian-social self-regulation over different forms of cooperating national and private participants until to sovereign acting of national participants (Mayntz 2003: 72; see also Benz 2003: 21). In the paper, examined local economies and its participants are arranged in the context of the governance theory and linked to one another via structures and actions. "Governance can refer to both acting as a regulating structure and to the process of regulation; both aspects are always implied independent of word choice in individual cases." (Mayntz 2004: 5) The paper examines the respective local coinages, which possess a specific place-dependentness during the time of change to a local production system in empirical Case Studies. "Why thesis configurations occur within a particular place and time is a complex theoretical problem which has yet tons solved" (Hollingsworth & Boyer 1997: 2) It is important to note that globalization brings with it a larger mobility of capital, and also spatial proximity for the production of "local Collective Competition Goods" (Le Galès; Voelzkow 2003: 2).

 "Specifically, we are interested in understanding the interaction of spatially-based forms of coordination with social system of production. Economic coordination varies by territory, for social institutions are rooted in local, regional, national, or even trans-national political communities with their shared beliefs, experiences, and traditions" (Hollingsworth & Boyer 1997: 25).

Communities are based on confidence, mutuality and obligation. Networks are characterized by a various mix of self-interest and social obligation among participants, who are formally

independent and alike. Networks can be formed by widely differing participants. In companies, in the state, in communities. (Hollingsworth & Boyer 1997)

"By a social system of production, we mean the way that the following institutions or structures of a country or a region are integrated into a social configuration: the industrial relations system; the system of training of workers and managers; the internal structure of corporate firms, the structured relationships among firms in the same industry on the one hand, and on the other firms' relationships with their suppliers and customers; the financial markets of a society; the conceptions of fairness and justice held by capital and labour; the structure of the state and its policies; and a society's idiosyncratic customs and traditions as well as norms, moral principles, rules, laws, and recipes for action." (Hollingsworth & Boyer 1997: 2)

Milieu and Space: A Governance Model?
In this paper a multidimensional milieu term is used, covering three dimensions: the level of the individual (value attitudes, life-style, actions, perceptions); the level of the district (locality); and the level of the network within the milieu.
Individual as "I-Resources": "I-Resources" of the individual are characterized by different kinds of capital - economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.
Accommodation as "Local Resources": "Local Resources" are broken down into three categories: the physical material writingness of functions; symbolic resources by communication with symbols and the plotting system as well as the "Habitus of the place" (Dangschat); and the form of controlling social order
Network as "We Resource": networked participants are the capital of "We Resource". Again the network possesses two dimensions. It goes beyond Accommodation, but is however - in a certain form - present at the concrete place of the milieu.
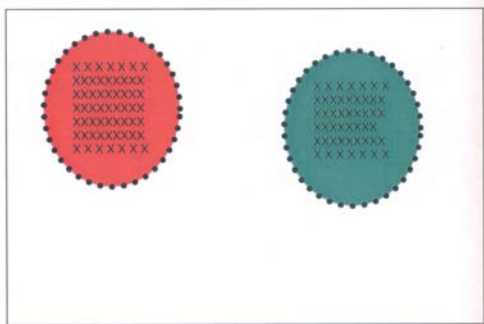
Milieu and Social Space
This paper develops four ideal-typical models of the relationship between social spaces and milieu structures, which are used in city and regional sociology. These four models look at the interdependency between territorial spatial conditions and social structures.

Social Spaces as a Container for Homogeneous Life-Styles and Value Attitudes
In this concept a territorial demarcation is made in order to describe in this way the spatial writingness of social action and a holding back of individuals. The territorial fixing of boundaries serves to describe this model as a social pooling practice within these spaces. A direction is then found in limited territory social processes, which brings out similar ways of life and mentalities in the social spatial milieu. In this way, milieu and territory become a unit. A starting point for this model of social pooling lies in the Chicagoan school and its theories for residential segregation. Robert E. Park, the established father of segregation theory, pointed out that there is a connection between the geographical location of housing in the city and the social distance of humans. Its thesis states that within the borders of a "natural" space, homogeneous social structure characteristics of groups of inhabitants are to be found.
"There are forces at work - within the limits of the urban community, within the limits of any

natural space of human habitation, in fact - which tend to bring about an orderly and typical grouping of its population and institutions" (Park 1925: 1).
"Natural" space is a social phenomenon, which, during the historical development process, creates a population with its own standards, traditions and behavioural patterns. The social ecological theory of segregation by Chicago University sociologists from the first decade of the 20th century, known as "natural areas", has its origin in the experiences of large city reporters (see Lindner 1990). Large city reporters, as police reporters prototypes, are assigned a certain course or an otherwise definable territory. The spatial differentiation of urban structures has been made using local

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map references from individual actions or institutions and/or via the allocation of collective ways of living in urban accommodation, and so urban space is opened up. (VG Lindner 1990: 47; 77).

„Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood, that is to say, a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own" (Park 1915: 579 zit. nach Lindner 1990: 100)

localities in their cultural dimensions are described as a geographical space, which accommodates a neighbourly milieu. The development of this milieu is predominantly defined by housing location, which leads to residential segregation becoming the indicator for social segregation, and a transmission of social inequality occurs in the urban space (see Dangschat 1993; Dangschat 1998). To this extent Chicagoan segregation research is interested in the arrangement and relationship of different urban spaces. The geographical location of urban spaces in relation to each other is taken into account. . Thus the borders between individual spaces is of interest, in which senses represent like them demarcations of different social pooling practices **The last part of this sentence is confusing, I cannot understand the meaning***. "Equally it pulls to persons of homogeneous status and homogeneous needs – whether knowingly, unconsciously or by the circumstances in a forced manner - into the same space. The different parts of the city receive specialized functions, so that the city resembles therefore more and more a mosaic of social worlds and the transitions from one to the other are very abruptly carried out. "(Wirth 1974: 55). The Chicagoan city sociologist transferred the "mosaic of social worlds" to urban territory. Social identity - social contents of the respective urban spaces – is meant as containers and is thus determined by the criteria of homogeneity and differentiation. The respective locality develops into a cultural and social dimension on/of its own by the historical development process, which becomes an identity of the place.

The Out-Differentiated Social Space

In this concept accommodation as a social space is out-differentiated in the way that different milieu's can exist in a concrete borough. Thus different social spaces exist "(in the populated space) next to each other and are connected, without however producing a local culture or community" (Albrow 1997: 307). This understanding considers that, in connection to the co-existence of milieu's, the overlay at concrete places or stands is also unconnected to one another.
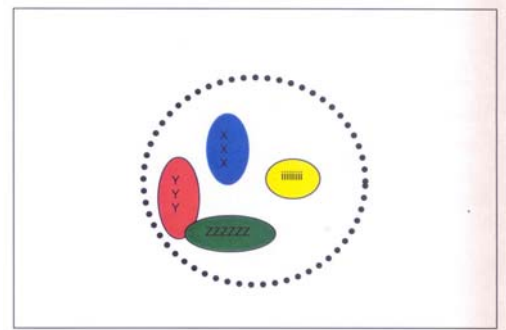
Spatially Disembodied Social Spaces:
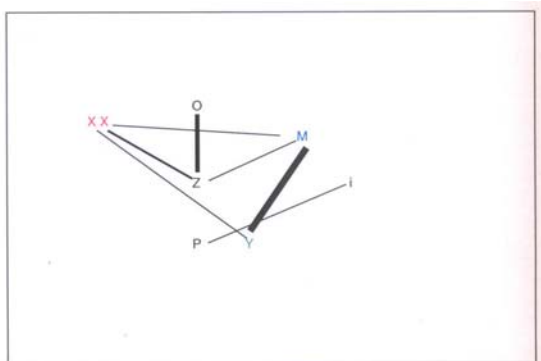
This concept shows that accommodation is lost as a territorial purchase of pooling. Through rising mobility, the coinage of the residential district for the social milieu is related to new information and communication media in the context of an individualizing of life-styles and a heterogenerisationas well as the differentiation of Milieu-forming value attitudes.,

Schulze suggests three relationship forms for the analysis of the relationship between milieu and space. The first analysis level looks at space as milieu - as a territorial reference framework - which corresponds to the radius of the action of individuals and takes place within its milieu formation. This analysis level is the basis of a traditional container space concept, as in the Chicagoan school, where the development of space as a container is conceived within its social relations. The meaning of space as a milieu sees Schulze theory shrinking and disagrees with the fact that space becomes scenery. The milieu is thereby reduced to a concrete place, which as meeting place and scene receives a greater importance of scenes. These scenic places are described in their spatial expansion as small and in their temporal continuity as fragile. The social spatial relationship between scenic places and the individual is characterized by an evaporability. Scenes are entered and exited, they can be converted and quickly changed, or can disappear completely (see Schulze 1994: 46). "A scene is a network of spectators, which develops from three aspects: partial identity of persons, places and contents. A scene has its master public, its firm Lokalitaeten localities and its typical experience to offer (...) each scene has a temporal and a spatial expansion. There are scenes that rapidly disintegrate, and in addition, those that exist for months or many years "(Schulze 2000: 463).

Schulze states that the uniform surface of accommodation dissolves and creates local localities, which are connected by completely determined scenes, and also develops milieu-neutral zones. The dissolution of the milieu-specific milieu is for it a consequence of social change by technical innovations: " 'the ability of humans to overcome Milieus spatial distances is boundless. In the meantime both conditions come together: more and more humans live together in consolidated spaces and have, at the same time, various means of overcoming spatial distances - cars, public transport, telephone, fax, PC and other media "(Schulze 1994: 2) Schulze diagnoses a removal of the meaning of space as milieu and/or housing locations for urban segregation. This is a very controversial point in the urban sociological arena and increasingly a reason for the increase in direct residential milieu for disadvantaged subpopulations is discussed (see Dangschat 1994: 243f.). The increase of scenes, characterised by Schulze, is a rather creative, modern idea of milieus.

Castells speaks of the "informational city", which possesses a network-like structure: "I would like to show that the informational city exists because of the nature of the new society, is based on knowledge, and is organized into networks and partly consists of not a form of rivers, but a process - a process, that is characterized by the structural dominance of the space of rivers " (Castells 2001: 454). In the course of the globalization debate (Castells, sat) examines the effects of globalization on the spatiotemporal coordinate system of urban structures. On the one hand, a deterritorialisation and/or a delocalisation is thus stated by economic and social relations, meaning a loss of the concrete space for process of pooling and socialization. On the other hand specific places are interconnected and so local relationship systems are strengthened in order to make their existence in global competition possible. "The second level of the space of rivers has certainly been based on its knots and centres (...) and on an electronic network, but this network connects specific places, (...) (Castells 2001: 486)

Social Spaces as Localbound Networks

In this concept places are linked to one another over a networks of spaces. The meaning of accommodation or quarter and/or residential milieu is an element in the linkage of different places in a social space. When taken with Sysntheseleistung (see Spacing with Loew), they work on a symbolic and communicative level and have a stronger meaning. Therefore, a fragmenting of territory and social worlds is also stated.
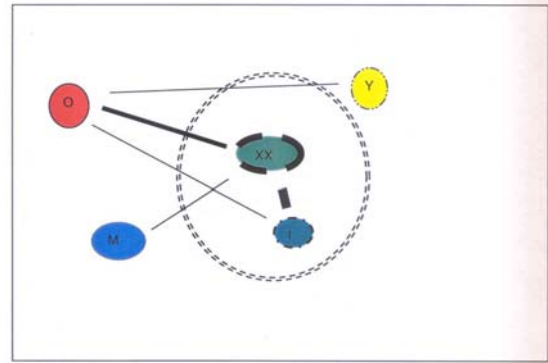
Case Studies
The case studies use a comparative perspective to describe how "local production systems" (Crouch a.o. 2004) in the area of culture and the creative industries are organized in the central fields of market, state, and community. The following characteristics provide a common framework for the investigation:
- it is local economies located in regions or cities that go through a difficult transition from industrial production to knowledge-based production forms.
- it is small and medium sized firms (SMEs) that emerge on former Fordist industrial production sites.
- a fundamental characteristic of business is that there is an intense horizontal coordination of networks and few hierarchical, top-down structures within firms.

Vienna Case Study: Transformation of old industrial buildings into "Loft working"
The paper examine four former industrial spaces with their spatial clusters of cultural workers. The analysis of the four examples (a former screw factory, a former chocolate factory, a former milk center, and former trade centers) shows how new organizational forms of work and leisure emerge in the creative milieu.
Spatial innovation clusters of small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) have formed at the four sites. These enterprises, mainly freelancers, are active in the area of the "Creative Industries": in architecture, graphics, planning, and marketing as well as in the art and culture sectors. In the biographically-oriented interviews, it becomes clear that the social capital of those interviewed profits from the great heterogeneity of the resident businesses. The social contacts in the large offices initiate a learning process, which also transforms into mutual economic contracts. There are specific advantages of socially embedded learning processes. Exchanges of know-how and the acceptance of the advice of others are favored by good informal, often also private contacts between those individuals constituting the local innovative milieu. There is also a high degree of mutual trust, which is related to the time factor of how long those involved have known each other in private activities. In the activities taking place in "loft working" there is dense face-to-face communication, confidential and non-routine information flows instantly from person to person, thus reducing uncertainty and accelerating learning and innovation.
In addition to the informal networks, it is the image of the run-down, industrial back courtyards and secondary buildings that have a magnetic affect. Laptop offices, top restaurants, and loft apartments and studios spread out among the steel shelves, light wooden floors, plastered over chimneys, and rough fire walls of the screw, piano, and textile factories, pump and machine houses, blast furnaces and in gas holders, renovated, in a reserved, styled architecture ('industrial chic,' see Pratt 2002: 41). Upon closer inspection, they are "cool" or "funky" designed work places, playgrounds, and meeting places. Cool and funky are rapidly redefined; the "cool" of today is out tomorrow—the caravans of the "creative" people's trendsetting innovative crew is constantly fleeing from the forerunners of the mainstream, the bourgeois chic, the marketing.

Only a few German cities show the visibility of such quarters, which doesn't rule out that in many cities there are individual "culture breweries," food factories, or cultural hypes such as "Zeche Zollverein," which have not yet condensed as district-scenes. The "creative" factories are found in those parts of the city with a great transitory past, the through-stations for new arrivals on their often long path toward integration, home for drop-outs who have never entered in the vertical category of social "attention." They are the stages for those who act out freaky urban lifestyles, old hippies from the squatting era, devotees of various spiritual orientations and wanderers in inner worlds, as well as old, established inhabitants. A colorful world of diverse parallel societies, in which the actors have learned to tolerate one another; they don't actually learn very much from one another, but they have learned to behave in a way that minimizes the mutual insecurities. They are pioneers in inner-city enhancement and its profiteers; inventors of a new way of urban being.

There are two common elements: they identify first with their neighborhood (Scheunenviertel or Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, Ottensen, Schanzen- or Karo-Viertel in Hamburg, Gallus and Ostend in Frankfurt) and, second, they arrange their daily life along flexible patterns for using space and time. The latter requires that the local infrastructure is similarly flexible: breakfast until 4 p.m., warm meals until 5 a.m., shopping, pizza delivery, and mobility round the clock. Beyond that, Sundays are no different than Wednesdays, the yearly holiday is not taken as one block—work is determined by the date of completion of a contract, according to rhythms of creativity's readiness (the muses don't offer their kisses on a steady schedule between 9 a.m. and 4:30 p.m.) or according to the (not very) coincidental meetings with other creative partners (see Läpple, et. al. 2005).

These city districts have long become a component of an (inter-)national urban tourism, recommended by countless "secret tips," they are the destination and meeting point of weekend partiers from the entire region; the mainstream dances on the remnants of the "hip" scene, who have long fled, thus making the "vibrant city" a self-fulfilling prophecy. These districts have long been entrusted to the gentrification process (see Dangschat 1994), even if today, the contrasts appear much more conciliatory than at the time of the housing battles, the advance of the "Volx-Kitchens" on the elite restaurants, which—going out to eat in the Bronx—proliferate now in the rundown settings of the out-of-service industrial structures.

Although no longer through open violence, these neighborhoods are nonetheless contested. They reflect a succession of appropriation of those sites that are marked by a high "value gap"—an income deficit between what the property actually brings in and its potential yield. This marks out the "urban borders" between those who profit from the growth and competition processes and those who fall victim (see Smith 1996); a border which is drawn just as much by means of the architecture of urban planning as with surveillance technology, which provides a service to safeguard and criminalize groups that are refused the right to occupy a certain space because of the way they look,.

The question is how and why such "creative sites" arise and become stabilized and/or how sites can be marketed as "creative places." What do such places look like? What comprises them? How are they created? Can they be produced, planned? Traditional images begin—as shown previously—with the sites' aestheticized appearance—factory buildings with "industrial chic," cathedrals of industrial labor, in which the sweat of the drudgery can still be felt (see Dangschat 1999).

The sites of opaque forms of non-commercial creativity look quite different. They, too, can be found in industrial districts, which, however, appear raw and not at all aesthetic—harbors and warehouse sheds, designed with "trash-aesthetics" (see Pratt 2002: 41). From the outside, their function is barely noticeable—there are no lit signs or company names; there is graffiti, but it doesn't have anything to do with the actual users—if there are any. The activities of squatting are, in any case, temporary, project-oriented, and are built upon the common experience (– see Lange/Steets 2002). Appropriation forms are informally organized, and not always legal in a strict sense—but fun-loving. Artistic or documentary products are created; one participates, stages oneself, or simply shares the moment.

"Third Italy"—the process of economic restructuring and the role of small enterprises (SMEs)

Ever since the successful "Third Italy" model, regional or branch-specific networks have been considered a good possibility for stabilizing and increasing the competitive edge of one's own location and with it, one's own economic base. These networks are quite strongly pushed forward by enterprises that are tied to a specific location and are suffering from the loss of buying power and the out-migration of young, qualified persons, or, social "filtering." There are models here that are established at a regional, communal, or district level and currently, with titles such as "regional and district management," are established through the responsibility of local authorities and the self-initiative of enterprises. In Germany, these approaches have been applied in the course of regional development in East Germany, mainly following the "teaching regions" approach (see Liebmann & Robischon 2003), and in the course of strategies for upgrading inner city shopping streets, following the Business Improvement-approach (BID) (vgl. CIMA 2002), "The assumption is that the actors that share a territory as an area of interest, and want to stabilize and modernize it in their own interests, should network, balance out their interests and develop together. A new collective capital will result from this, which, on the one hand will be effective in a direct economic sense, or, on the other, as "institutional thickness" will be cost-effective in a roundabout way.

In "Third Italy" (central Italy and the northeast), the role of small enterprises (SMEs) in the formerly Fordist Italy is repeatedly described. "Third Italy" describes two trends: first, the process of diversification of "local production systems": second, a reconstruction of the old Fordist economy in the northwest region of Italy (Burroni; Trigilia 2004: 46): "Local systems of SMEs are emerging; there is a reorganization with increasing opportunities for diversification, together with a reduction in volume of production, supported by the use of new models of organization. The transition is from the model of the large, vertically integrated firm to one of medium-sized firms linked to a network of external suppliers (of varying size). (Burroni; Trigilia 2004: 67)."

The transformation of the "Old Industry" in Aachen and the manifestations of innovative milieu

The German region of Aachen has managed to evolve from a region dominated by old industries to an outstanding agglomeration of new technology-driven firms. In this process of transformation, the role of regional collaboration was crucial for innovative firms. The emphatic collaboration of various actors has provided a fundamental support in this transformation, which is in keeping with contemporary theories on innovative regions (Malecki 1997).

The innovation-oriented approach of "teaching regions" emphasizes the mobility and targeted development of small and medium-sized enterprises. Teaching enterprises are seen as a prerequisite for a teaching region, whereby individual firms arrive at innovation processes through cooperation with other (regional) enterprises, which leads to a strengthening of their willingness to cooperate.

The transformation of the region of Aachen, which was dominated by coal, steel and textiles to high technology goods and services was carried out through the formation of new enterprises, predominantly in the fields of information technology, engineering consulting, and medical and biotechnology. In the period 1983–1997, altogether 2,004 new companies were established in the Aachen planning region (Raumordnungsregion), and in 2000–2002 this area ranked among the five most dynamic in Germany in terms of per-capita entrepreneurship. A comparative investigation for 1993–1995 shows that the region was particularly successful in generating new, high technology firms (Fromhold-Eisebith, Martina 2004: 756).

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