Matías I. Zarlenga

Place and creativity in Visual Arts. A sociological analysis of urban creativity processes in the city of Barcelona.
CGES Working Papers series includes publication of materials prepared within different activities of the Center for German and European Studies both in St. Petersburg and in Germany: The CGES supports educational programmes, research and scientific dialogues. In accordance with the CGES mission, the Working Papers are dedicated to the interdisciplinary studies of different aspects of German and European societies.

This paper has been written with an analytical theoretical interest in order to understand the impact of place in urban cultural creativity. The analytical work and empirical material collected is part of my PhD thesis “Place and Creativity. Towards a Sociology of Urban Cultural Creativity Processes” directed by Prof. Arturo Rodriguez Morató and Prof. Joaquim Rius Ullademolins, University of Barcelona. The publication of this paper as part of the CGES Working Paper is an expansion of the International Workshop "Organizing Creativity in the City: Actors and Practices in Russia and Europe". Which took place at Centre for German and European Studies, St. Petersburg State University in Oct 9, 2013.

Matías I. Zarlenga graduated in Sociology from the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). He is Ph.D. candidate in Sociology from the University of Barcelona (UB). He has an MA in Art History from the University of San Martín (UNSAM) as well as an MA in Visual Arts and Education from University of Barcelona. He has participated as a researcher in various accredited projects related to the sociology of culture in the Gino Germani Research Institute (IIGG) at University of Buenos Aires. He has taught different subjects as "Sociology of Culture I" at University of Buenos Aires; and "Contemporary Culture" and "History of Culture I" at the University of Tres de Febrero (UNTref). Currently he is member of the Center for Policy Studies on Culture and Society (CECUPS) at the University of Barcelona.

Contact: matiaszarlenga@ub.edu

ISSN 1860-5680

© Centre for German and European Studies, 2013
# Table of contents

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. 3  
Introduction .......................................................................................................................... 4 
1. Urban transformations, cultural cluster and social interaction dynamics in Barcelona and Poblenou ........................................................................................................... 5  
   Cultural Cluster of Barcelona .......................................................................................... 5  
   The case of Poblenou 22@-District ............................................................................... 7  
2. The impact of place in artistic creative process in Poblenou ..................................... 9  
   Primary Creative Ritual and creative scenarios (micro analysis) ......................... 10  
   Creative Organizational Frame and chaining of creative scenarios (meso analysis) ................................................................................................................................. 11  
   Urban attention space (macro analysis) ..................................................................... 13  
Conclusions ......................................................................................................................... 15  
References .......................................................................................................................... 17
Abstract

The relationship between creativity and territory has become a research study that draws the attention of various social science disciplines. Currently literature on the subject tend to pay attention only to hard or soft factors of the cities or the importance of cultural cluster to explain the impact of place in creativity processes in art, creative industries and knowledge firms. However this kind of studies giving little attention to social dimension of the phenomenon and the different scales of place. With the help of theoretical tool of the sociology, especially the concept of interaction ritual and frame, the main aim of this paper is to analyze the impact of place in cultural creative processes in visual arts from a sociological point of view. For this purpose, I analyze the impact of place (at micro, meso and macro scale) in artistic creativity processes of visual artists of Poblenou District in Barcelona city. This paper argues that place has a specific function in creative processes: model and guide the creativity.

Key words: place, creativity, rituals, frame, visual arts, Poblenou, Barcelona.
Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to explain the impact of place in urban cultural creativity processes of visual artists of Poblenou District in Barcelona. Poblenou is an old industrial neighborhood of Barcelona that in the late 80s became a place where numerous artists chose to work because of the existence of large spaces and low costs of rental of old industrial buildings (Valera 2009). However, the life and work of artists of Poblenou was affected dramatically in 2000 by the 22@ Project (Casellas, Dot-Jutgla, and Pallares-Barbera 2012; Martí-Costa and Pradel 2011). The 22@ Project was an urban renewal and economic development plan lead by the City Council. The main objective of the plan was to foster economic growth in the city linked to the attraction of high-tech and knowledge-related activities (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2005).

The analytical framework of this research is inscribed within a neo-Durkhemian theoretical perspective that puts at the center of its reflection the notion of interaction ritual as a key social mechanism to the understanding of solidarity and emotions that make possible the generation of social ties and the processes of cultural creativity. The Theory of Interactions Rituals (TIR) developed by the American sociologist Randall Collins (1998, 2004) is essential within this perspective. Another fundamental contribution to understand how cultural creativity processes are structured and correlated on different scales of analysis comes from the research work of Erving Goffman, specially the notion of frame (Goffman 1974). Finally, to analyze the incidence of place in the creative processes I used some theoretical tools from the sociology of science, in particular the concept of place elaborated by Thomas Gieryn (2000, 2002).

When I propose to explain the impact of place in artistic creativity, on the one hand, I understand creativity as a set of social mechanisms that generate some kind of innovation or singularity. On the other hand, I understand place as a dimension which configures, and is configured by, social interactions dynamics. In this sense, the actors and organizations in their interactions defined, the place where they act is defined and re-defined. Agents and organizations define the place when they participate in the processes that make its configuration and processing, they are defined when they guide their behavior according to a pre-set design by others, and they are able to re-define it from its use and appropriation. From an analytical point of view, I define place according scales and aspects. Scales allow me to measure place according to social interactions from a symbolic and relational point of view. In this sense, I can distinguish three scales of place: micro, meso and macro. Micro scale is defined by the scope of the face to face social interactions, meso scale by the relationships between organizations, and macro scale by social processes that impact on urban life as a whole. Aspects of place refers to the qualities of social interactions: in its objective aspect, as available, both human and material resources (the physical dimension of the place), in its dynamic aspect, as type, mode and history of social interactions (the social dimension of the place), in its
forms or modes of representation; in both meanings and hierarchies (the symbolic dimension of the place).

The main tool of data collection to this research was the semi-structured and depth interviews with the social actors belonging to the artistic sector (31 semi-structured interviews to artists and managers of artistic workshops), neighbors (13 semi-structured interviews active neighbors and neighborhood associations) and the government (8 deep interviews to local government related to the creation and development of Plan 22 @) of Poblenou district of Barcelona. I also use network analysis to understand the relationships among the different artistic workshops.

I will divide this paper into two parts. In the first part of the analysis, I will show the general framework of this research related with the recent urban transformations through culture, focusing on the case of Barcelona and Poblenou District. In the second one, I will explain the analytical frame and a preliminary analysis of my research, showing the effect of place in artistic creative process in a micro, meso and macro level scale.

1. Urban transformations, cultural cluster and social interaction dynamics in Barcelona and Poblenou

Cultural Cluster of Barcelona

Since the seventies, there were changes in the forms of production, distribution and consumption that were understood by many experts as a new phase of capitalism in which creativity is central to economic development. At government level, there was a decentralization process supported by state programs for the development of local policies that understood the urban level as a place to revitalize the economy and culture.

Related to these changes over the last few decades many European cities have seen heavy investment in cultural facilities and policies designed to encourage the development of companies and institutions characterized by the generation of cultural goods and services. These strategies fall within two clear directional groups: (1) Those aimed at developing economic sectors linked to the production of cultural goods by encouraging activities related to the so-called cultural or creative industries (film, radio, television), design (web, textile, graphic, industrial), fashion, advertising, photography and architecture. (2) Those aimed at generating cultural services to attract tourism and business by recovering the heritage that already exists in towns and cities (urban regeneration), creating cultural institutions and facilities (such as museums and cultural centers), organizing events, etc. (Evans 2001; García 2004).

The convergence between economics and culture, and the impact of local policies on urban development, produce the emergence of a new type of district
in the contemporary city: the cultural clusters. Cultural Clusters are characterized by concentrated cultural institutions, firms and agents. In another research I try to design a social typology that would allow me to classify this type of district from a sociological perspective to understand the impact of place (in a social dimension) in creative activities in the city of Barcelona. From this perspective I draw three kinds of cultural cluster: (1) The cultural cluster as a bureaucratic organization; (2) The cultural cluster as a market-oriented association; and (3) The cultural cluster as a community dynamic (Zarlenga, Rius Uldemollins, and Morató 2013).

The bureaucratic dimension enables me to look at the type of social interactions strongly structured by rules and hierarchies connected to stable, regular organizations. This type of dimension defines the interaction dynamics of those cultural clusters characterized by a spatial concentration of national cultural institutions and facilities due to their relatively large size and organizational and economic complexity. The creation of this type of cluster is generally based on top-down strategies in which there is little participation by the local community. This is the case of Ciutat del Teatre in Montjuïc, Barcelona. This type of cluster is characterized by production of cultural services related with the activity of theatre (Zarlenga et al. 2013:8–10).

In cultural cluster as a market-oriented association, the social interactions take place within a framework of associative-utilitarian logic typical of economic transactions. In associative interactions the ties are defined mainly according to interactions based on projects aimed at the production and sale of cultural goods and services. The creation of associative cultural clusters is generally based on bottom-up strategies in which the private companies of a particular area tend explicitly to form associations together based on projects or to improve transaction costs. Within this cluster it is possible to distinguish two types: production-oriented as 22@ District in Poblenou and market oriented as Gallery District in Consell de Cent in Barcelona. The first kind of cultural industry cluster is characterized by the production of cultural goods by encouraging activities related to the so-called cultural or creative industries (film, radio, and television), design (web, textile, graphic, and industrial), fashion, advertising, photography and architecture. The second one is characterized by the of offer some cultural service good for consumption (Zarlenga et al. 2013:9–12).

Finally, the cultural cluster as a community. Within this framework the most important social ties are affective and personal ones. This type of cluster is conceived, on the basis of collaboration and mutual help networks of a bottom-up type as Artistic Community in the south part of the neighborhood of Raval (Zarlenga et al. 2013:12–13).¹

¹ These cases do not represent a pure cases. In fact exist different social dynamics in each case analyzed. But it exist a dominant social dynamic in each cluster that allow me to differentiate them according to these typology.
The case of Poblenou 22@-District

I have classified the 22@ District as an associative cultural cluster, but in Poblenou there pre-existed another social force that affected the market oriented association of creative and cultural firms. In this part of the analysis I will describe the historical conformation of this social force to better understand the impact of the place in the artistic creativity in the second part of this article.

Poblenou is a traditional industrial neighborhood that belongs to the district of Sant Martí in the city of Barcelona. From the time of the Olympic Games of 1992 it has been the subject of multiple interventions. The most important in terms of ambition and scale is 22@ Plan which aims at transforming the traditional industrial land to creative and knowledge based firms.

At the end of XVIII Century, the territory now occupied by the Sant Martí district worked as a subsidiary area of the city of Barcelona. In that place there were a number of services and activities for reasons of public health could not be located in the old city: cemeteries, hospitals, military training camps (Arranz 2001). However, the urban and social character of Poblenou was only defined in the mid-nineteenth century with the establishment of industries mainly related to textiles (although there were also chemical and food sectors) (VV.AA. 2002).

The proliferation of textile industries during the second half of the nineteenth century gives the Poblenou its urban and social character (and the name "Catalan Manchester" for its similarity to the British city of Manchester). The industrial character of the neighborhood attracts many workers from different parts of Catalonia and Spain. So the urban landscape of the district was
composed by factories and workers’ housing. The working class presence will be reflected immediately in the neighborhood in various labor associations (Huertas Claveria 2001). The annexation of the Poblenou to Barcelona will generate a principle of urban transformation from its inscription within the Cerdà Plan.

During Spanish civil war, the district will be characterized by its social and political activism. This situation changed dramatically in 1939 with the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Franco dictatorship. Workers’ associations are eliminated and many political groups survive in hiding, but the neighborhood association will continue from the existence of cultural and recreational activities.

Between the sixties and seventies the industrial activity declines. Towards the end of the Franco period, neighborhood associations will experience a growth in demand of better living conditions for the district and against the Rivera Plan (driven by large companies and banks) who sought to develop the coast of Poblenou with tower blocks next to the beach. The various political and social groups involved in these claims formed the Association Poblenou Neighbours (Arranz 2001).

After the return to democracy, the district will experience a series of urban changes that start with Barcelona’s bid for the Olympic Games of 1992 and extending into the mid-nineties. These changes are generated by a series of reforms and changes to the General Metropolitan Plan. These plans are intended to replace the old industrial areas for residential and to a lesser extent, tertiary activities. As manufacturing continued to decline, many factories were occupied by communities of artists because of their large size and low cost of rent (Valera 2009). Slowly these artists are forming collaborative networks that crystallize in events like the Open Studio [Taller Oberts], which aim not only to show their production but also generate contacts with neighborhood associations.

After the Olympics, part of Poblenou’s sea front was further redeveloped to host the Universal Forum of Cultures in 2004. This renewal program included two interlinked urban plans on the waterfront: the Universal Forum of Cultures and Diagonal Mar. The Universal Forum idea built upon Barcelona’s success in revitalizing decaying neighbourhoods by hosting mega-events in the past, starting with the World Fairs of 1888 and 1929 (Casellas and Pallarés-Barbera 2009), and later, the 1992 Olympic Games. The project to host the Universal Forum was the continuation of the redevelopment on the sea front, with the construction of new facilities and hotels in an area of 50 hectares.

At the same time as the Universal Forum project, in 2000, the City Council began the ‘22@Barcelona project’, the most dramatic urban renewal of Barcelona in Poblenou. This time, the objective was to foster economic growth in the city linked to the attraction of high-tech and knowledge related activities. The plan approved involved a drastic urban and social transformation of the neighborhood. The plan had a total potential roof space of 4 million square
meters, of which 80 per cent was for productive activities and 20 per cent for other uses, including housing and facilities. Policymakers placed special emphasis on the possible new jobs generated by the project, which were estimated at 130,000 skilled jobs in 2000. There was also a clear stress on the real estate potential of the project, which was estimated at €12,020 million.

Currently, the neighborhood is characterized by the coexistence of conflict between the active neighbors represented in more than seventy neighborhood associations, 324 firms related to Plan 22 and a significant amount of artists (more than 100) working in a total of 18 artistic workshops. The artistic sector of Poblenou is divided between artistic workshops and exhibition centers. The most important sector was artistic workshop in the visual arts. In this sector we can find: 10 Artistic Workshop, 2 Factories of Creation (The factories of creation is a program designed in 2006 by the council to support artistic workshops), 1 Foundation, 5 Individual Workshops. The total of artist resident that work in these space are around 103. There are also 5 artistic workshops in non-visual arts: 4 in scenic arts and 2 in circus arts. Finally there are 8 exhibition centers in visual arts.

2. The impact of place in artistic creative process in Poblenou

Current analyses tend to explain the impact of place in processes of urban cultural creativity from a reductionist and instrumental point of view, giving little attention to social dimension and developing not rigorous explanations. On one hand, some geographical and urbanistic studies tend to explain cultural creativity from the availability of certain urban infrastructure. In this sense, creativity is explained considering only hard factors of cities (such as communications, airports, amenities, etc.) (Clark et al. 2002) being detached from the social processes that originated them. On the other hand, works from the economics and economic geography point of view tend to pay attention almost exclusively to the positive aspects that generate the concentration of actors and creative firms in so-called cultural clusters due to the availability of material and human resources, potential meetings face to face between creators, and the lowering of transaction costs generated by the proximity (Scott 2010). From this perspective, social interactions generated by agglomeration are reduced to their purely economic aspect, regardless of other variables that exist in social interactions such as emotions, values, the knowledge of the situation, the pre-existing social interactions, power relations, etc. Finally, some research made by policy makers and cultural managers, are almost instrumental, focusing on the action of certain public or cultural policies as the unique explanation of urban cultural creativity (Mommaas 2004), or they are insufficiently rigorous, using concepts difficult to discern analytically or empirically such as the notion of “talent” (Florida 2002) or “atmosphere” or creative “environment” (Currid and Williams 2010; Currid 2007).
In this sense, a sociological analysis that wants to explain the incidence of place in urban cultural creativity processes from an analytical and empirical point of view is extremely relevant. However, the sociological perspective hardly affects such debates. The main reason for this absence is due to the traditional sociological models on artistic creativity are built within disciplinary sectorial parameters, implicitly modern character, which dispense or tend to underestimate the spatial dimension of cultural activity in their analysis (Becker 1984; Bourdieu 2002).

In this part of the article I want to introduce a preliminary analysis of the impact of place on micro, meso and macro scale from a sociological point of view. To do this work I want to present some key concepts that I apply to my analysis in each level and also to advance some results.

**Primary Creative Ritual and creative scenarios (micro analysis)**

The first concept that I employ to analyze artistic creativity at micro scale is *Primary Creativity Ritual (PCR)*. This concept is related to the notion of *social interaction ritual* created by Randall Collins to analyze philosophical creativity (1998). Collins defines this kind of ritual from the physical co-presence of two or more persons in the same place that focus their attention on a single object and communicate it and, when they do it, they acquire an awareness of their common focus (what defines a situation). Sharing a same focus implies having a similar mood and a common emotional experience which are reflected in symbols (icons, words, gestures, ideas) and a shared morality, which not only function as emblems representing the Group of creators; but, in addition, as a central element for cultural creativity (Collins 1998, 2004).

Unlike Collins, we understand that the PCRs not only stimulate processes of creativity but that also have the ability to generate cultural value. Cultural value is defined by the degree of attention or social interest that an object, a performance or a speech can generate. From this perspective we can understand the processes of cultural urban creativity as a succession or chaining of creative situations generated from certain meetings face to face with a common focus put on some or several aspects of artistic creation. PCRs represent the first link in a larger chain of creativity. PCRs can be defined as face to face interaction with a focus on any aspect of artistic creation. PCRs can be circumstantial or permanent, sporadic or prolonged, more or less scheduled and oriented, understood as trials or actual practices.

How do creative interactions structure within larger groups? PCRs are usually celebrated by groups of creators. These groups, rather than create something from *ex nihilo*, consciously operate to call attention to certain symbols (discourses, practices, objects) that become emblems, and focus of attention for the group itself. The sociologist Michael Farrell uses the term *collaborative circle* to define primary groups that, sharing a similar profession or interest, develop ties that facilitate creative activities in areas such as science, politics and art (Farrell 1982, 2001). The notion of a collaborative circle is significant
to analyze the functioning of groups of more or less consolidated creators. However, this category has some problems when trying to understand sporadic creative collaborations as happen many times among the artists of Poblenou. This is why I prefer to use the notion of primary creative frame. Goffman used the notion of frame to understand certain aspects of a strip of activity from a symbolic point of view (what social actors perceive of a situation), organizational (the assumptions or rules governing them) and limit or status (the place and type of relationship of that particular activity with its surroundings) (Goffman 1974). I used the notion of primary creative frame to define perceptions, rules and limits of interaction rituals focused on cultural creation.

PCRs happen in a certain place of irreducible character, which I call the creative scenario. In the same way that Goffman defines different types of places that change everyday behaviors (Goffman 1959), I can distinguish between different types of creative scenarios affecting unevenly creative situations. In this way, there exist places that are related almost exclusively to creative education, such as the classrooms of schools of art and design (place where you learn to create), to creative exchange between equals (place where creation is discussed), even with the creative production itself, such as artist workshops or studies of designers (the place where art occurs and is created), etc. The association between stage and type of creative situation is generated by routinizing (repetition of a same performance in the same place). When by routinizing the same creative situation is repeated in the same place, this acquires a certain sacredness associated with that aspect of the creation.

**Creative Organizational Frame and chaining of creative scenarios (meso analysis)**

How to articulate micro-situational scale with a higher scale or meso-level analysis? Between the scale micro and meso I situate an intermediate scale that corresponds to the organizational level. This level corresponds to what Collins referred to as organizational base which, for his study of philosophical creativity, is confined to organizations where creativity processes are: universities, publishers, churches, patrons (Collins 1998). This concept allows us to understand how institutions function as instances that structure the space of attention. But the problem with the concept of organizational bases is its lack of flexibility. For these reasons, I prefer to use the notion of frame to analyze a new scale linked with the regulations, perceptions and boundaries of organizations where creative processes happen. In this way, the concept of Creative Organizational Frame (COF) defines the established mode of organization of PCRs. This scale of analysis does not centres on the PCRs that focus exclusively on any aspect of artistic creation, but refers to situations that define the life or mode of organization of the field where PCRs happen frequently. For example the artistic workshops of Poblenou.

At this level, creativity is affected by implicit or explicit rules of the group or
organization, such as the perceptions of their members. This level includes interaction rituals focused on the creation but not in their specificity but as a subtype of other rituals that define the different situations of the life of the group or organization (such as meals, meetings, events, etc.). Modulation and frequency of the diverse situations defined within the COF generated feelings of belonging and some kind of creative identity. In some cases creators can associate their creativity work with the group or organization (total assimilation). This assimilation happens when an artist feels that her creative work is closely associated with the organization where she works. Creators can also associate their creativity to a certain group of creators belonging to the group or organization (partial assimilation). This situation happens when a creator, for various reasons (generational affinity, order of arrival, etc.), links her creative work not with the group or the organization as a whole but with some member of it. Finally, the lowest level of identification appears when creators perceive that the organization or group affects in a negative way their individual creativity. The set of interactions defined by COF can be conflict, when a creator or group of creators complain about the rules of operation of the group or organization; collaboration, when the creators collaborate and participate in events related to the group or the organization regardless of their creative activity; and dependence, when there is some contractual relationship with the group or the organization (such as employment contracts, grants, subsidies, etc.).

COFs function as a factor that defines the orientation of creativity through a process of framing. By framing, I understand the set of actions carried out by one or several social agents (as the Manager or management team from a center of artistic creation) that aim to pre select certain types of social ties to develop within an organization and establish its shape and sustainability. In this sense, the framing refers to certain social mechanisms developed in time through which are encoded certain types of social action that predefine the creative orientation in its content and form. In this sense, it is possible to affirm that in Poblenou there exist almost two kinds of COFs that define two different types of creative orientations: a professional and a communitarian one. Professional orientation is defined through a framework whose rules tend to define interactions on specific issues of artistic creation. This is the case of the centers of artistic creation which have a selection mechanism of its resident artists, who organizes or participates in events focused on issues related to the professional art world, and give material or symbolic support to promote artists, etc. Community orientation is defined through frames in which the rules tend to enhance interactions focused on social or local community issues. This is the case of groups of artists that privilege rules that reinforce interest or focus in the group identity. These spaces tend to enhance solidarity that function as support for artistic activity.

At this level the scale of the place is defined from the potential and specific limits enabling the COFs. The scope of the place is defined by the potential linkages between various creative scenarios which enable a particular artistic organization. The spatial boundary of an artistic organization cannot be
reduced to its architecture. Conversely, place, at organizational scale, can be understood as the *chaining of creative scenarios* present and future (internal and external to its architecture). This chaining does not necessarily mean physical proximity, but potential. The organization establishes possible transits between different scenarios (creative or not) according to the type of links established with other organizations that impact in its interior, orientation creativity in certain way. In this sense, the scope of the organization is expanded from potential situations and a horizon of solidarity extended. This has a large impact on specific scenarios of the creative interactions which happen.

**Urban attention space (macro analysis)**

How to articulate organizational level with a higher scale or urban level? The problem here is the anchor of the frame. Goffman affirms that any frame of activity (in both mental schemes and organizational premises) are anchors in a physical, biological or social world (Goffman 1974). In our case of study the anchor of COFs appears linked with both the art world and the reality of the neighborhood (or cluster) where these activities happen. In this sense it is possible to talk of a double anchoring of creative activity.

At this level of analysis it is interesting to use the notion of *attention space* elaborated by Collins. Collins understands the space of attention as a network of actors and organizations around a center or common focus of interest (Collins 1998). Collins defines the intellectual attention from a single center (life intellectual or philosophical), disputed (among various groups of intellectuals), expanded by the lineage (relation teacher-disciple) and limited to the number of people that occupy the central space of attention (according to the distribution of cultural capital and emotional energy) (Collins 1998). Attention space appears linked with different rituals of social interaction and ability to generate a common focus which is embodied in certain practices, objects or speeches that become emblems and focuses of attention, generating a certain sense of belonging (solidarity) and belief on a certain reality.

If we analyze the attention space linked with the world of art we should look for different rituals, feelings of belonging, possible interactions (be they collaboration, conflict or dependency) between artist and artistic organizations that have a similar art interest but with different functions and perspectives. However, the main aim of this article is to explain how place impacts on artistic creativity. Therefore, the reality of place, to macro-scale or urban level, has a different complexity than the world of art. Poblenou, as any neighborhood, is a place with a complex reality. As we pointed out in the first part of this article, neighborhood organizations coexist in Poblenou, there are companies, shops, public institutions, in addition to activities linked to the world of art. These social actors and organizations have their own rituals, interests, emotions, feelings of belonging, sacred objects, regulations and specific interactions.
In Poblenou it is possible to identify three different types of urban attention space that define urban interest scenarios. Urban attention spaces are linked with different rituals of social interaction and they have the ability to generate a common focus of interest which is embodied in certain practices, objects or speeches that become emblems and focuses of attention, generating a certain sense of belonging (solidarity) and belief in a certain reality. One urban attention space in Poblenou is related with the local community problems. The social dynamics that structured this attention space are community-based oriented and the neighborhood of Poblenou emerges from it as a sacred object. The material support of this networking are based on more than 70 neighborhood associations. Other urban space of attention is related with associative and utilitarian dynamics. From this, the idea of the progress of Industry (symbolic re-signification of the myth of the “Catalan Manchester”) benefits as focus of attention and emerges as a sacred object. These urban attention spaces are structured by networking of firms coordinating by the 22@Network. Finally the third urban space of attention is defined by the own artistic dynamic coordinated by an informal networking of diverse types of creative organization call Poblenou Creativo [Creative Poblenou]. But the problem in the artistic creativity space of Poblenou is the struggle by the other two spaces of attention: the 22@ District and the neighborhood Associations.

The area of attention linked to the artistic world is defined from the 1980s with the installation of numerous groups of artists in the various empties industrial buildings of Poblenou. At the beginning, there was a predominance of creators who played their creative work in COFs community oriented with a low level of bureaucratization. PCRas had a focus on professional artistic issues but also on community, emerging as sacred object: the artistic community life. After public intervention and the transformations generated by the Plan 22 @ in the first decade of 2000 there was an expulsion of many creators and the closure of numerous artistic workshops (Marti-Costa and Pradel 2011). The artistic survivor’s spaces had to re-adapt to the new environment from processes of professionalization and bureaucratization generating professional-oriented COFs that tended to pre-define interactions with focus on professional art. After the crisis of 2008 new spaces of creation appeared that tend to the regenerate community organizational frame but on a small scale.

The world of art is not able to generate a centrality of its activity in Poblenou. Without this centrality, artists cannot transform the pre-existing social interactions and incorporate them into their dynamics. In consequence, artistic social interactions are strongly related to the other social centralities: local community and Knowledge and Creative based firms. These two centralities reciprocally fed each other by opposition, generating a bi-polar centrality that articulates neighborhood life and avoids the emergence of a new center.
Conclusions

As we can see, the place intervenes variably in the processes of cultural creativity according to its dimensions and scales. For each scale (micro, meso and macro) frameworks and processes can be distinguished analytically. At macro-scale or urban level neighborhood transformation processes are distinguished that define precarious urban attention spaces or scenarios. At meso scale, or organizational level, framing processes are distinguished that define organizational frameworks that enabled transits between different creative scenarios. At micro scale the ritualization of creative processes defines the primary creative frames that happen in specific creative scenarios. In the three different scales place works as material, social and symbolic scenario that gives form and orientation to artistic creative processes. From a symbolic point of view, it condenses the time of creation, from a social point of view it orients the focus of creation, from a physical point of view it functions as local support for the creation. In other words, the place makes possible the creativity to give a certain social form, but constrains in the same act of defining and orientating it.

Place as physical space functions as material of support to artistic creation. Place can be understood as a structured process of material and social networks existing in different locations through which the creator moves. Changes of place are determined by location nodes or contact points that allow creators different modes of displacements. In this dimension, the place functions as material and social support of creation as: workspace; existence of professional and material collaboration networks; a market or audience for creativity (actual or potential); close network of creative activities; workspace and logistical base for international projects.

Secondly, place functions as a dimension that structures social interaction or relationships. Place affects the creator in interaction networks that define its aesthetic orientations, uses of time and activities to perform. So, place works as a network of social interaction oriented focus of attention of creators. The Creator is embedded in a network of relationships that guide and incorporate her into new problems: aesthetic, organizational or urban problems. As guiding into creative problems: incitement to creative work; generating creative collaborations; promoting creative discussions; potentiating changes in creative perspectives; generating influences (direct or indirect); creating a space for the exchange of knowledge (conceptual or technical). But social interaction networks of place orient the creator into organizational problems (such as management artistic workshop problems) and guide them into local issues not directly related to artistic problems.

Finally, place as a symbolic space functions as a representation of artistic creativity. Place works as a symbol of creativity by routinization. The creators symbolize their creations in objects, artefacts or practices, which occur in a place, so the place becomes part of that creation. Therefore, place also emerges as a symbol of creation. This is the platô where belief occurs. The
symbol of the process. Place represents the creativity and professionalism, creates and transforms identities and creates cultural value.
References


Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. “A Space for Place in Sociology.” Annual Review of


ZDES Working Papers

Arbeitspapiere des Zentrums für Deutschland- und Europastudien

Рабочие тетради Центра изучения Германии и Европы

Universität Bielefeld – Fakultät für Soziologie
Postfach 100131 – 33501 Bielefeld – Deutschland

Staatliche Universität St. Petersburg – 7/9 Universitetskaja Nab.
199034 St. Petersburg – Russland

http://zdes.spbu.ru/

info@zdes.spbu.ru