Doctoral Dissertation
Doctoral Program in Urban and Regional Development (30th Cycle)

The socio-spatial relations of innovative artistic production in Piedmont and Liguria

Gian Gavino Pazzola

* * * * * *

Supervisors
Prof. Carlo Salone.,Supervisor
Prof. Giovanna Segre, Co-Supervisor

Doctoral Examination Committee:

Prof. Phil Jones, Referee, University of Birmingham
Prof. Elsa Vivant, Referee, University of Paris-Est
Prof. Enrico Eraldo Bertacchini, Member, Università di Torino
Prof. José Luis Molina, Member, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Prof. Davide Ponzini, Member, Politecnico di Milano

Politecnico di Torino
February 23, 2019

I hereby declare that, the contents and organisation of this dissertation constitute my own original work and does not compromise in any way the rights of third parties, including those relating to the security of personal data.

…….....

Gian Gavino Pazzola

Turin, February, 2019

Summary

Over the years, creativity has been shown as a central concept for urban regeneration strategies and economic development plans. Arts and culture have become important drivers for economic growth and social inclusion, and several local policymakers have been attracted by culture-led urban development to stimulate places attractiveness. After almost thirty years of applications, the "creative city" and "creative class" concepts have been deeply studied, revealing interesting results as well as unwelcome surprises. In the meantime, "supporters" of this development scheme looked at opportunities represented by real-estate operations in urban renewals of abandoned and/or underused areas, with growing attention to self-entrepreneurial dynamics in cities' labour market, more and more oriented to be characterized by creative people in action. In order to take advantage of these opportunities two factors should be ensured: the presence of investments of big companies available to settle their headquarters in the cities and, second, the existence of people attracted by the vibrant and positive environment in which they could live and work. On the other hand, strong critiques have been issued toward neoliberal dynamics embodied by the conceptual framework of the culture-led urban development schemes. If on the one hand a rhetoric has been developed to promote coolness and liveability of places and richness and freedom for workers, on the other hand scholars put their attention on gentrification processes, spatial inequalities, gender disparities and so on. Influenced by past industrial development schemes, economic and urban policies have been often developed referring to "creative clusters" and "cultural districts" as the main spatial unit of analysis, but several artistic practices work not only at the local scale involving actors within networks at different spatial levels. In this sense, our point of view about the innovative production process could be shifted, no more bounded in place but developed within a "space" that is generated through relations.

The aim of this research is the analysis of the spatiality of social relations in contemporary innovative arts and cultural organizations and the pathways in which, through individual networks, they can exchange knowledge, information, and services with actors located in some other place. In this way, we could stress the mainstream conception of culture-led urban development with three objectives. First, we will observe independent cultural production as an emerging cultural system, i.e. those ecologies of creative workers and producers living in cities operating outside of (but more and more in collaboration with) institutional or market-oriented levels, taking into consideration their spaces and conditions. Second, we will investigate how rhizomatic and viral spaces such as networks, rather than fixed clusters, could influence the exchange of knowledge and resources in contemporary innovative cultural production. Considered the

transient and fluid nature of artistic practices, we support the axiom that networks are a more appropriate spatial context within which creative projects can be practiced.

Finally, adopting a micro-spatial theoretical approach, we will develop focus groups, surveys, and interviews with the aim of studying art innovators via social network analysis and individual network analysis methodologies. With the first attempt, we will reconstruct dynamics working inside a specific group of cultural organizations (winner of Bando ORA! – the first grant-in-aid in Italy oriented to support innovative artistic productions). Secondly, we rebuilt individual narratives for each actor, underlying nature and contents of the relations that have taken place inside the team-work. In this way, we are able to evaluate how geographical and cognitive proximity works inside innovative art production. In addition, several cultural organizations based in Birmingham (UK) have been interviewed to match findings with the Piedmont and Liguria context as a control measure of the research results.

Acknowledgment

And I would like to acknowledge the essential contribution to this work by: Paola Borrione and Alessio Re from Silvia Santagata Research Centre for the Economics of Culture (CSS-EBLA), Turin - Italy; Francesca Gambetta from Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation, Turin - Italy; Catterina Seia from Fitzcarraldo Foundation, Turin - Italy; Prof. Giovanni Semi and Prof. Carlo Genova, Turin - Italy; Prof. Lidia De Candia, Alghero and Rome - Italy; Prof. Giovanni Attili, Rome - Italy; Bertram Niessen, researcher at Che Fare, Milan – Italy; Stefano Ragazzo and Giuseppe Grant, architects at Orizzontale Studio, Rome – Italy; Ugo Pitozzi, artistic director at Monferrarti – Italy; Girolamo Lucania, choreographer at OFF Topic Theatre, Turin – Italy; Matteo Casari, artistic director at Disorder Drama, Genova – Italy; Lucia Carolina De Rienzo, project manager at COORPI, Turin – Italy; Daniela Persico, curator at FilmIdee, Milan – Italy; Alessandro Stellino, movie director at FilmIdee, Milan – Italy; Andrea Graziano, designer, Turin – Italy; Vanessa Vozzo, artist and researcher at MultiDams e CIRMA, Turin – Italy; Michela Sacchetto, curator at Art.Ur, Cuneo, – Italy; Daniele Ninnarello, dancers and choreographer, Turin – Italy; Martina Angelotti, artistic director at CAREOF, Milan – Italy; Tiziana Casapietra, director at Museo della Ceramica, Savona – Italy; Luisa Perlo, curator at A.titolo, Turin – Italy; Luana Gravina, project manager at Docabout, Turin – Italy; Fabio Ferrero, project manager at Trentesimo, Turin – Italy; Gabriele Beddoes, choreographer, Naples – Italy; Lorenzo Facchinelli and Mara Ferrieri, performers, Trento – Italy; Valerio Del Baglivo, independent curator, Rome and Turin – Italy, and also Cheryl Jones, art director at Gran Union, Birmingham – UK; Ruth Claxton, artist and curator at East Side Project, Birmingham – UK; Antonio Roberts, curator at Vivid Project, Birmingham – UK; Karina Cabanikova and Stanislaw Malecki, director and curator at Centrala Art Space, Birmingham – UK; Anca Benera and Arnold Estefan, artists, Birmingham – UK; Anna Parker, architect at Intervention Architecture; Trevor Pitt, artist and art director at A3 Project Space.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Institution of the Politecnico and Università of Turin for providing me the opportunity to grow with this PhD Program, and to attend enlightening courses, such as delivered by Professor Paolo Giaccaria, Professor Luigi Buzzacchi, Professor Carlo Salone, Professor Ugo Rossi and Professor Ugo Mela.

My sincere thanks also go to Professor Phil Jones, who provided me the great opportunity to join their faculty as Visiting Researcher, at the School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences at the University of Birmingham, UK. Her precious support has been crucial to the development of this work.

I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Prof. Sara Bonini Baraldi, Politecnico of Turin, Prof. Zoran Djukanovic, Faculty of Architecture, University

of Belgrade – Serbia; Prof. Alessandro Plaisant, Department of Architecture and Urbanism, Università of Sassari – Italy; Prof. Enrico Bertacchini, Department of Economics, Università of Turin – Italy; and Dr. Erblin Berisha, Dr. Anna Paola Quaglia and Camilla Guadalupi, Politecnico of Turin, – Italy; Dr. Irene Marti, Université de Neuchâtel – CH; Dr. Marianna Nigra, Politecnico of Turin; and Dr. Phil Emmerson, University of Birmingham – UK; and Dr. Agim Kërçuku, Politecnico of Milan for providing me useful insights and food for thoughts.

I wish to thank also Bruno Cattari, Francesco e Gonare Marongiu, Gianni Ferrero Merlino, Pasquale Pellegrino, Luca Pistis, Giuseppe "Godfather" Ruju, Paolo Spiga, Andrea Stangoni for their generous advices, constant support, and precious friendship.

Last but not least, I have to sincerely thank my supervisor Prof. Carlo Salone and my co-supervisor Prof. Giovanna Segre, who are always ready to share their knowledge and point of view about artistic scenes with great intellectual generosity, and who has been able to help me rebuild self-confidence with the right balance between trust and freedom.

I would like to dedicate
this thesis to my mother
and sister. To my father,
sure that he is laughing.
To my lights, breaths,
and frequent shadows.

Index

List of Tables

List of Figures

Introduction

In the last thirty years an increasing attention has been paid by academics and public arenas to arts and culture, and their relationships with urban and regional development. Nowadays it is common to read and hear that both art and culture are determinant keys for the future of cities and people that lives them. It is also common knowledge that arts and culture are crucial aspects of economic growth and social cohesion. It seems “normal” because culture and creativity have become part of our daily language and of the objects that surround us, especially within the newer generations, and maybe also our social perception is that “people are more creative than before, in the past”. Arts are not only exhibited on museums' walls or stored inside collectors’ houses, but they are also printed on t-shirts and caps, quoted on rap lyrics and cited by many subcultural movements. Cultural spaces are flourishing in every neighbourhoods, and contemporary architectures are becoming distinctive features of cities themselves. Laptops, dress, decors, food, packaging, publishing, advertising and ordinary objects include aesthetic values and meanings, surrounding and involving our lives in a complete and immersive creative dimension. The use of culture in different types of economic system has far extended beyond the initial boundaries of creative industries such as arts, live performance or design, pushing scholars in carrying out observations about the culturalization of the economy and the economization of culture (Thrift, 2000). In addition, since the early 1990s, arts and culture have become the core of rethinking a new model of economic and urban development that answers to the industrial and manufactural decline and globalization process that has been characterizing many cities worldwide since the 1970s and 1980s. So, this overlap between creativity and economy marked a significant transition from an era where arts and culture were publicly supported to enforce the social and cultural aspect of society, to a period in which the role of creative industries in economic development and urban renewal has been putted at the core of urban policies (Kong, 2000). Two important streams of research have emerged, focusing, on the one hand, on the concepts of creative city (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Landry, 2005) and, on the other hand, on the creative class (Florida, 2002). The notion of "the creative city" has been coined by Landry in response to the dramatic economic and social changes happening in UK during the end of the 1980s. He claims that in such changing situations creativity at every level is required to address and adapt appropriately. He suggests that conditions need to be created for people to think and act with imagination in harnessing opportunities or addressing seemingly intractable urban problems. The concept of “creative class” has been created by Florida to indicate people engaged in work whose

function is to "create meaningful new forms" (Florida, 2003). He includes two categories of workers:

- the super creative core: Florida includes those people that produce new forms or designs that are transferable and broadly useful (for example engineers, scientists, poets, artists, architects and so on),

- creative professionals: this category includes workers involved in a wide range of knowledge-based occupations in the high-tech sector, financial services and business management. They are employees engaged a in creative problem-solving, drawing on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems.

As observed by Edensor et al. (2010), concepts like creative class, creative industries and cultural clusters – but also cultural entrepreneurship (Scott, 2006) – have come to dominate how we think about creative people's contribution to urban renewal and civic boosterism. An interesting debate has therefore been developed, also in a critical manner.

Moreover, empirical evidence and theoretical aspects have been advanced to demonstrate how arts and culture can be tools to increase tourism and affluence of temporary inhabitants (Scott, 1997), how they can be factors to achieve competitiveness and knowledge production (Cooke and Lazzaretti, 2008), and how they could affect economic recovery, impacting simultaneously labour market participation, repopulation and talent attractiveness (Florida, 2002). According to this perspective, the creative-cities script has found, constituted and enrolled a widened civic audience for projects of the new age urban revitalization processes, legitimizing favoured strategies and privileged actors, determining what must be done, with whom, how and where (Peck, 2005).

Nevertheless, in the twenty-five years of academic research on the creative city concept – and of its application in policies oriented to transform old urban contexts in modern creative cities – several critiques have been developed evidencing the superficiality of these assumptions (Peck, 2005; Gibson and Kong, 2005; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; Pratt, 2008; Waitt and Gibson, 2009; Flew and Cunnigham, 2010; Kratke, 2010). For example, some critiques claim that "creative-city enthusiasm" has created a rhetoric that is little more than a cloak for urban policy's usual emphasis on economic growth (Shaw, 2014). In fact, inequalities and unresolved issues are increasingly emerging from the application of the creative (class) city models (Oakley and O'Bien, 2015), while other kinds of achievements in social and economic terms have been providing hope for other sustainable urban development models. The consequences of this rhetoric of culture-led urban renaissance have been discussed also by the "father" of the creative class theory - Richard Florida - who has recently argued about the new crisis that has been affecting contemporary cities. According to the author, the "new urban crisis" is due to social and economic inequalities and high house prices and would apparently be solved if only they could both be reduced a little (Florida, 2017). However, ending the real crisis might not be that simple. Over the years, scholars have been focusing especially on problems like the gentrification

processes (Zukin, 1987; Cameron and Coaffee, 2005; Markusen and Gadwa, 2005; Ley, 2003) or spatial and gender inequalities (MacLeod, 2002; McDowell and Dyson, 2011; Leslie and Cantugal, 2012). Meanwhile, American and English case studies have shown that «where these developments are most advanced, the inner city is now the site of marked transition, a laboratory for neo-liberal experiments that sometimes erase from the inner city such vestiges of the earlier Keynesian welfare regime […], while contributing to greater social inequality» (Lees, Ley, 2008: 2381).

In addition, the complex and persuasive rhetoric about urban renaissance, emphasizes the role of artists and members of the creative class as urban entrepreneurs living in a "entrepreneurial city", who are described as young, cool, free and international (Harvey, 2009; Holland, 2008; Pratt, 2008). The contexts in which they are said to be operating seem hip, vibrant places in which opportunities can continuously flourish. However, these approaches often focus only on the successful mainstream cultural production, ignoring the extent of the ecology of creative workers and producers, as well as the complexity of their living and working conditions. The presence of artists – and their impact on urban economy in terms of production – remains underestimated because many artists and art organizations have no direct contact with the institutions and/or the costumers but, nevertheless, act directly on spaces and situations that are considered "peripheral". The said field has been defined in several ways such as underground culture (Vivant, 2009); independent creative subculture (Shaw, 2013); ephemeral experiences (Puype, 2004); spaces of hope (Novy and Colomb 2013), community-based arts institutions (Grodach, 2010). This stream of research is specifically oriented to analyze how in cities there is another layer of artistic and cultural production that influence and sustain local artistic milieus, interact with space and actors, influence urban planning and policy, and so on.

Even if underexplored, these "peripheral" experiences highlight interesting aspects related to the ability to innovate contents in cultural production, enforcing networking between artists, art spaces, and cultural institutions. For example, independent artistic producers are active influencers of urban economic transformations because they operate in a specific urban context, often fostering the development of other activities that eventually contribute to the revitalization of whole neighbourhoods. They also represent an opportunity in term of reuse of space, because they frequently settle their activities in underused areas, which are cheaper, the spaces are bigger, there are less rules and fees (Shaw, 2013). Moreover, especially non-profit cultural organizations, are considered able to activate processes of construction and reconstruction of the so-called 'social' value, acting as relational goods and, therefore, source of social innovation (Nuccio and Pedrini, 2014). Being in a specific place, indeed, triggers a series of relationships with local communities and allows artists to tackle seemingly irrelevant or marginal social issues for the art market and global players.

Firstly, an objective of this work will be to critically shade some light on the non-profit independent cultural realities, which are free from any institutional or market-related constraint and are therefore more open toward the experimentation of the artistic aesthetic production. From our point of view, these organizations have a different approach to both creativity and the production process. The absence of economic or institutional constraints allows them to test, experiment and adopt new and unusual solutions that lead to - if compared to other levels of cultural production. Our aim is not only to highlight the existence of this level of (cultural) production in urban contexts, but also to show that their socio-spatial relations (of work and living) are well structured, configuring more and more a complementary scene in relation to the institutional level of the cultural economy. Indeed, we suppose the presence of autonomous dynamics belonging to a level of production that organizes people, behaviours, and relations – also with other actors that belong to the mainstream cultural scene.

In order to explore this ecology, we will observe the actors that have been acknowledged by the Turin-based philanthropic institution – Compagnia di San Paolo as the most innovative cultural experiences in Piedmont and Liguria during the two-year period 2016-2017. Selected by a grant-in-aid called "Bando ORA! – Contemporary Languages, Innovative Productions", these case studies represent the best practices in Italy in terms of ability to produce multidisciplinary arts projects, introducing innovations, new media, and technologies in the knowledge creation through exhibitions, live performances, workshops, festival and so on.

In literature, economic geography, urban planning, and cultural economics (Scott, 2004; Asheim and Gertler, 2005; Pratt and Jeffcutt, 2009) have paid significant attention to the ability of creative workers and cultural organizations to generate knowledge and innovations. In general, many scholars such as Scott (2006), Florida (2002), Pratt (2008) have studied culture-led urban strategies starting from a Marshallian perspective on the development of industries, emphasizing the role of spatial location and focusing on firms as the unit of analysis. In addition, they have putted evidence on inter-organizational relations (networks) and how firms can cooperate in order to share information, produce knowledge, and generate innovations and opportunities. In this direction, several conceptualizations have been developed, even if variably and ambiguously defined, such as cultural districts (Santagata, 2002), creative clusters (Pratt, 2004; Mommaas, 2009), cultural quarters (Montgomery, 2003; Lavanga, 2004) that investigate the agglomeration process in certain areas of cities between similar actors involved in cultural and creative activities.

These spatial structures have in common that – in theory - they lead to diverse advantages for the actors and the regions in which they function, «including increased competitiveness, higher productivity, new firm formation, growth, profitability, job growth and innovation» (Bagwell, 2008). According to this perspective, an important stream of research focused on the significant role of geographical proximity in knowledge production, research, development,

diffusion and transmission (Gertler, 2003; Boschma, 2005; Torre and Rallet, 2005) – especially in sectors that allow material exchanges such as biotechnology, media, engineering. In this perspective, geographical proximity between the people and the organizations that produce knowledge is showed as a crucial variable of their ability to stay innovative (Soon and Storper, 2008). Actually, production, sharing and transmission of knowledge benefit from face-to-face contacts and spatial closeness among people, enabling sharing of tacit knowledge and learning opportunities. On the other hand, the increasing opportunities in communications and travels caused by the latest technological revolution, allow the creative class members to work together even if they are not located in the same place. In addition, the usefulness of geographical proximity has often been observed in sectors in which knowledge exchange is indeed crucial but is oriented to generate practical solution rather than aesthetical ones. In our case, we conceive knowledge production as strictly related to innovative artistic research and, as a matter of fact, we will consider it exactly as the part of cultural production in which innovation happens.

Moreover, we will analyze topics like tacit knowledge, geographical proximity and knowledge spillovers, which are not only important for the policy makers who follow the creative clusters/districts theories but that also affect the development of worldwide economic strategies. In fact, in cultural economics and economic geography, there is a lack of studies concerning the aforementioned subjects and insufficient research about how spaces that are more rhizomatic and viral (such as social and individual networks) could influence the exchange of knowledge and resources in innovative artistic production. As contended by Edensor, creative practice has a transitory and fluid nature, and therefore networks are a more appropriate spatial context within which creative projects can be developed (Edensor et al., 2010).

The second objective of our research is to build a critical discussion about the cluster theory. From a theoretical point of view, we found big interests in the research carried out by Manuel Castells (2001) who explained concepts like “space of place” and “space of flows”, and in other works based on the network theory developed around the end of the first decade of research from scholars like Grabher (2004), Maskell (2001), Malmberg and Bathelt (2004) and more. These approaches emphasize the role of external linkages and global pipelines, underling how these elements «are beneficial for increasing the cluster level of knowledge when two conditions apply: (1) the cluster is characterized by a high-quality local buzz, which facilitates the internal circulation of knowledge, so that there is internal capacity for taking advantage of the knowledge brought into the system by global pipelines, and (2) the cluster is small and weakly endowed in terms of knowledge, so there are no internal substitutes for the learning opportunities coming from outside» (Morrison et al., 2013: 80). Adopting this perspective, we can suppose that if geographical proximity is a necessary category for innovation, similarities in attitudes, actions and use of space could also influence an

innovative artistic production. Above all, we will concentrate our attention on the concept of cognitive proximity elaborated by several authors (Nooteboom, 2000; Boschma, 2005; Molina Morales et al. 2014); understanding this kind of closeness as the similarities of how innovative cultural producers perceive, interpret, understand and evaluate the world around them. In this way, we will evaluate both internal and external linkages that cultural actors entertain with people in order to develop artistic projects. This appears as a new modality to consider not only the structure and position of relationships that influence innovation within a cluster, but also the contents and nature of external relations that contribute to reinforce knowledge production between networks of aesthetic producers. For this reason, the observation of socio-spatial relations seems crucial to understand the specificity of aesthetic practices, while it is also necessary to grasp the constitutive role played by networks in deflecting and transforming the structuring effects of creative clusters (Van Heur, 2009).
In doing so, we will adopt the relational, micro-space framework developed by Ettlinger (2003) to explain how social interaction (inside and outside the workplaces) affects decision making, behaviour, and performance in cultural collaborative work. At the same time, from a methodological point of view, we will analyse each actor individually with a personal network analysis, emphasizing how common ground in work practices can influence aspects of co-creation, collaboration and instrumental knowledge. In this way, we will offer evidences about how the notion of "cluster" is unable to ascertain the complexity of many more extensively distributed and dynamic creative processes (Edensor et al., 2010).

Themes

In order to explore the issues mentioned above, six chapters will be developed in the research. In the first chapter, we will focus on the ways in which culture-led urban development has been developed and conceptualized over the years, to highlight values and concepts that surround this field of research and to evidence the emergence of independent cultural producers as (1) potential innovators in the scene of visual and performing arts, and (2) a kind of non-alternative, but autonomous scene, complementary to the mainstream offer. In the second chapter, we will illustrate some perspectives to better understand the creative practices and their spatiality, moving away from the limited concepts of creative clusters, cultural districts, cultural quarters and so on. In doing so, we will focus on the role of cognitive proximity in interactions oriented to generate innovation in cultural production, and on the ways in which art projects could be developed through individual networks.
In the third chapter, we will introduce methodological issues in order to illustrate the social network analysis as our investigation methodology. In this sense, we will illustrate some fundamentals of the method's functioning and the ways of

collecting data – evidencing opportunities and criticalities In Chapter 4 we will introduce the context of research: the Bando ORA! – Contemporary Languages, Innovative Production, carried out by a philanthropic entity, Compagnia di San Paolo – the main bank foundation in Italy, active in Piedmont and Liguria with the aim of supporting local economic and social development. The last fifteen years marked an important transformation of urban contexts located in this region – especially for the main cities like Turin and Genova – and Compagnia di San Paolo represents one of the main stakeholders in this process. Once having introduced the context, we will underline the evidences on the composition and spatial distribution of the cultural organizations selected for the grant-in-aid, focusing demographics, individual pathways of carrier, activities and collective behaviours. The second part of the analysis will contain applications of social network analysis within and outside the cluster of winning projects. This part will be crucial to critically evaluate the use of space in artistic production: from the (theoretic) role of clusters to the real functioning of innovative cultural production across separate places. Finally, to escape from instrumental thinking about arts and cultural production, in Chapter 6 we will verify our suppositions and findings in another context: Birmingham City, West Midlands, UK. Our intention is not to compare the two realities but to highlight similarities and differences in accomplishments and limitations. This will act as a "measure of control" to fix opportunities and evidence critiques, in order to inform future actions toward a sustainable culture-led urban development.

Chapter 1

The innovative cultural production. Toward multiple spatiality

1.1 (Innovative) cultural production and new geographies of labour

This study seeks to explore the spatiality of social relations in contemporary innovative artistic and cultural organizations and the pathways in which, through individual networks, they can exchange knowledge, information, services and other kinds of resources at different scales. In this sense, looking at contemporary cultural production, the research tries to reconstruct different typologies of artistic practices that could drive projects and a certain number of theoretical models of contemporary cultural works and organizations. If we are interested in studying the relations in new businesses formation and the impact of cultural practices in cities and organizational behaviors, we need to recognize how these constructions can be abstracted as a functioning of opportunity structures and motivated individuals with access to assets (Aldrich, Zimmer, 1986). In other words, we need first to understand how an idea – which is the main resource in cultural work – can become an artistic designed project, and then how it can involve cultural organizations and other actors in productive systems. This means that we need to reconstruct the dynamic that explains that «creativity is the process through which new ideas are produced, while innovation is the process through which they are implemented» (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). In order to try to understand the main dynamics that underpin independent artistic and cultural production systems, we adopt an approach that perceives places as not fixed entities, but as «relationally constituted, polyvalent processes embedded in broader set of social relations» (Massey, 1994: 263). In this sense, the spatial dimension concerns not only the physical attributes of a place, but also the relationships between actors,

actions, and conceptions that happens in a space. Nowadays, learning, knowledge creation and innovation are the main results of the exchange and transmission of information, the co-creation of new ideas, and sharing of the cognitive dimension. In this direction, the new trajectories of artistic innovative production – partly consisting in self-organized art groups and informal systems of exchange (Pasquinelli et al., 2015) – appear like an unexplored dimension that can contain interesting evidences about the contemporary forms of work in the cultural or creative economy. This research is not implicated by concept like "avant-garde" or "underground" – related to subcultural movements – but it is focused on the active role of independent organizations in the huge cultural environment. Indeed, if subcultural movements often do not speak and collaborate with other levels of cultural production, we have awareness that independent actors are really connected with different levels of cultural production at the different geographical scales.

Looking at artistic creativity from a relational standpoint, we could observe the importance of circumstances, contexts, and socio-cultural elements that stimulate creative processes and correlated effects, i.e. to develop productive chains or the role of actors in cultural production. If, on the one hand, literature has acknowledged that culture is produced in certain places and times (Pratt, 2008), on the other hand, by giving credit to a sort of "specificity of place", many authors have focused on the circulation of information, the co-creation of innovative ideas, cumulative experience and cognition to identify in these processes inputs to generate learning, knowledge creation, and innovation (Bathelt and Malmberg, 2004).

Today, as never before, culture - and its resulting economy - play a key role in urban development theories as a new economy based in post-industrial sceneries, and – more in general – in our society (Vorley et.al, 2008). According to Florida (2002), culture not only generates wealth and employment, but is also often an opportunity for visibility and place marketing, especially for urban agglomerations in search of a new economic way and a social identity. Many cities are involved in the application of cultural policies – often instrumentally – to attract people, tourists and companies, but most times they are not big and crucial centres of competitiveness and attractiveness like New York or London, in which public or private funding converge, leading to growth and increasing opportunities. In addition, most of the written critiques demonstrate the ambiguous role of culture and creativity in urban and social transformations and the incorrect use of these terms in the public discourse. In this sense, Mcguigan claims that «the very notion of creativity was once held to be a special attribute, something unusual and rare, confined to only a selected few – in origin, God-given. It is unfashionable now because overt elitism (but perhaps not covert elitism) has been outlawed in an illusory culture of democracy. Yet, at the same time, it is a conventional wisdom to say that we are all creative now. That meets the bill of routine populism and, indeed, a banal existentialism that has become

pervasive in everyday life and increasingly so at work» (Mcguigan, 2010: 324). Creativity is a concept often defined by theorists according the characteristic and intellectual traits of the person. Other scholars defined creativity according to the process, focusing on the emergence in action of a different relational product, growing out of the inimitability of the individual and also materials, events, people and circumstances of his life. According to Boden (1990), and her theorization of creativity between exploration and transformation, cultural or creative activity could be distinguished by «tracing visible recordable processes and individual creative action – often informal, casual and subcultural – relying on informal social networks and relationships» (Boden, 1990: 36). The definition of creativity used in our research is based not on the production of goods, but on new ideas in the field of the arts by an individual or a small group of individuals working together. Indeed, new art-based practices uses art making as a primary mode of enquiry art itself rather than continuing to borrow research methodologies from other disciplines to generate new products.

The interest in researches that centred on individual entrepreneurial behaviour is becoming crucial, above all because actors' networks are central mechanisms of a topographical understanding of globalization in which «relational processes and network forms of organisation challenge a linear distinction between place and space» (Amin, 2002: 390). On the one hand, several studies show the importance of the creative economy for the urban and local development (Cooke and Lazzeretti, 2008) while, on the other hand, creative workplaces and people are increasingly involved in the complex grid of the new landscape of labour (Castree et al., 2004). In other words, cultural industries have gained a key role in strategies to solve urban problems, as they are able to offer a new economic base in post-industrial sceneries (Vorley, 2008). At the same time, the individualisation of creative labour and, human labour in general (specifically for young people) has made working life much less secure and way more precarious (Mcguigan, 2010).

Some of these aspects have been analysed by economic geography, urban planning and cultural economics studies, but also other disciplines have focused on similar concepts such as creative economy, cultural economy and cultural industries – often using these terms in interchangeable ways or developing instrumental policies that have used culture to fulfill non-cultural ends (Pratt, 2008). In any case, many efforts have addressed this field of research to enlighten only one side of the coin, orienting the analysis toward the consumption of culture in cities and the institutional - or commercial - systems of cultural production (Throsby, 1994). There has been a lack in this field concerning the explanation of the different spatial dynamics of cultural production (Pratt, 2004), especially related to bottom-up processes and to individual or small size organizations (Ettlinger, 2003). If it is true that the first experiences in cultural economics studies focused the potentialities of culture as a driver for urban and local development, it is also true that the conception of firms as unique actor inside a

system of production was central. Nevertheless, the rise of the creative class, as described by Florida offers an interesting interpretation about mobility of workers and jobs, flows of information and opportunities across the contemporary world (Florida, 2002). By building autonomously markets and opportunities far away, they have shown a significantly increased need of movement. This evolution is also true for actors with a limited spatial horizon (small -and medium sized enterprises or employees) that live an increasing interregional mobility and, consequently, a growing separation between home and the work place (Torre and Rallet, 2005).

In this sense, dynamics of artistic and cultural production implies the exchange of knowledge and information at different spatial scales within people and entities (companies, institutions, firms, etc.) to generate new forms of expression and creation. Going in depth, our research can be associated with the wave of research about knowledge economy and innovation process and systems. Nevertheless, even though research has often underlined and measured innovation as an outcome or a dependent variable of knowledge creation process, there are no solid definitions of what innovation actually is. In literature, innovation generally means the "future" represented by new ways of production, with a focus on the use of new technologies into traditional production processes and/or novel products available on the market «that range from radical breakthroughs that create new product categories to simple, incremental improvements» (Feldman, 2000). In an increasingly interconnected world, skills and aptitudes to innovate artistic production are affected at the levels of agility and tension to activate unexpected connections. Changes are associated with technological progress and the ability to plan the future in relation to the market and opportunities. However, the creation of knowledge looks also at individual and organizational backgrounds, because «it is usually seen as process that requires dedicated investments either as pre-competitive research and education through universities, etc., or at the level of the individual firm through R&D activities. At least as important is, however, the investment in incremental 'low-tech' learning and innovation that takes place when firms, also in traditional industries, create strongly corroborated knowledge while handling and developing mundane day-to-day operations like resource management, logistic, production organization, personnel, marketing, sales, distribution, industrial relations» (Maskell, 2001). In the arts, an artistic innovation represents not only something exclusively new (product or process, content or form) for the art-market or the museums and galleries, but also for the art communities. While for technological innovation the referent is the rest of competitors, an artistic innovation finds two referents: other organizations both local and international, and the focal organization's own past (self-referent) (Castaner and Campos, 2002). In this way, we agree with Becker (1982) when he claim that (cultural) innovation is a complete departure from the existing conventions. At the same time, we need to enlarge our perspective because an artistic innovation is not only the generation of something new but also

– and above all – the successful implementation. Creative occupations are used both by urban and rural firms to develop entirely new products ('original innovations'). Moreover, urban firms use creative occupations to help modify and reintroduce products from elsewhere ('learnt innovations'). Alongside this, we can show that creative occupations are a key driver of learnt innovation processes. In fact, these professionals are employed by organizations to conceive and realize completely new products ('original innovations'), but also (and especially) «urban firms use creative occupations to help modify and reintroduce products from elsewhere ('learnt innovations') » (Lee et al., 2014).

These conceptions allow us to identify places like «locus of dense human interrelationships (out of which culture in part grows), and culture is a phenomenon that tends to intensely place-specific characteristics, thereby helping to differentiate places from one another» (Scott, 1997:325). Creative labours, indeed, are made up by relationship between the organization of power and space, and the access to the sector, division of labour and pay conditions depends from the organizational cultural possibilities of the socio-spatial contexts (Warren and Jones, 2013), understood as a macrophenomenon that represents a totality of social, cultural, and economic factors of influence (Meusburger, 2009). In this direction, Stam et al. (2008) distinguish two types of effects of creativity: on economic growth via firms (and so on creative industries), and on individuals belonging to the creative class. It is easy to find in literature many articles that suggest improvements and innovations in the relationship design of artistic production, such as examples of urban social movements and the role of cultural producers (Novy and Colomb, 2013).

In this tentative of definition of new organization arrangements, the main factors consist in the promotion and, at the same time, accumulation of peer knowledge, and in the effectiveness of decisions. The real aim is not just to produce economies of scale (efficiency) but to generate solutions with added cultural value, in terms of aesthetical and practical innovations. The organizational dimension therefore assumes a relevance not only as a tool for building identity: the organizational model is not neutral in respect to the group identity. It this way, the organizational model is the base of identity – often temporarily – in which personal and relational aspects seem to be interesting to explore dynamics of cultural work in groups of highly skilled individuals. According to Grabher (2004), temporary collaborations in projects define the coherence and integrity of the organization as the base of the analysis, while «projects are located off-site to maximize cultural and cognitive distance from the organizational 'home base' by means of geographical isolation to allow projects to unfold task-specific approaches». In order to find jobs or information related to projects development, formal and informal networks emerge as the key source of information about work for this group. In addition, especially in the sectors in which cultural production processes characterize the aesthetic content of the work per se and not commercial aspects, independent artistic producers work – via

personal contacts – with other peers in project networks (DeFilippi et. Al, 2007). In this situation, work teams do not have an organizational hierarchy: tasks are the primary aspect of the relation, and roles are fluid and informal (Grabher, 2004). These specific work conditions allow workers to be involved in numerous and different projects contemporarily (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). This conception of work includes a different vision of workplace because independent cultural producers can be based in different places for each project (Lange, 2009) or, conversely, in the same place for different projects. According to Gill (2002), they can work in three different kinds of workspaces: from home, work place and a rented studio or workshop, but via technological innovation they can communicate across different cities and nations as if they were in the same workspace.

Despite their temporality and the transient nature of projects and organizations, we are living a sort of organizational paradigm shift in evolutional terms. In other researches, questioning, for example, urban regeneration processes through the presence of artists in districts, Darchen (2016) highlights how a group of new «artists and entrepreneurs are active in re(scaling) processes: they use 'spaceless' interactions – professional networks at the national scale – to influence the evolution of the area». On the other hand, Albrechts and Mandelbaum (2007) demonstrate that «a space of interaction without material basis» can replace the physicality of interactions. In this sense, it seems that 'artists goes outside of the materiality of their studios', inhabiting a multiplicity of spaces at different scales simultaneously. Most of the time, economic geographers and economists looks at innovation using firms like unit-base of their analysis. In line with Grabher (2004), we adopt a different point of view, starting from the ideas of project and core-team. We will explore more in depth the aforementioned topics in the following subchapters starting from a review focused on the debate over cultural production in urban development schemes to investigate the presence of a new level of cultural production: the independents one.

1.2 The debate over cultural production: potentialities and limits

The academic debate on the role of culture and creative class in urban development of cities dates backs to the 1980s. In a first wave of valuable research, scholars investigated the potentialities of culture in the processes of urban regeneration (Landry and Bianchini, 1995) and as a lever of economic development and territorial marketing (Florida, 2002). Later - and especially since the new millennium – the attention of scholars has been focusing on culture as a potential instrument in social inclusion and spatial justice policies. (Gibson and Klocker, 2005; Leslie and Catungal, 2012).

In the first decade of this debate, as Flew and Cunningham (2010) argued, the cultural level of production has been exemplified by a roster of institutional and/or market- oriented sectors, defining various unclear meanings and interpretations of cultural economy. Gibson and Kong (2005) indicate four delineations in which the topic of "cultural economy" has been developed over the years: the sectoral approach, the labour market and organization of production, the creative index, and the convergence of formats. The authors indicate that these categories are not mutually exclusive and sustain that the productive task ahead is to acknowledge the polyvalence of the topic to address specific research agendas. Other researchers and policy makers built several lists, developing ideas and ways in which this post-industrial production could be evaluated and understood (Markusen and Schrock, 2006). They have generally included productive spheres of cultural and creative activities «highly capitalized and industrialized in their modes of production and distribution (e.g. film and television), and those that were more labour-intensive and artisanal (arts and craft, designer fashion, music, visual and performing arts), as well as combining highly commercial sectors strongly affected by the business cycle (e.g. advertising, architecture), with arts sectors strongly affected by the business cycle largely driven by public subsidy» (Flew et al., 2010:117). This approach has been strongly criticized for the ambiguity of the term "creative industries", and for the shift – or the interchangeable use – from cultural fields and attributes to an instrumental conception and use of the term "creative industries". But it has also received economic prestige and political power from concepts and social facts such as innovation, information, and the impact of ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) in our society. For many researchers, this vagueness sustains the unjustified statement of the cultural sector as a key economic growth sector inside the global economy (Garnham, 2005).

Starting from an underestimation of geographical issues of the field, Pratt tried to define the cultural industries production system (CIPS), considering changes in the employment structure and regional patterns of employment within the creative and cultural sectors (Pratt, 1997). Investigating three variables like the creation of cultural communities, the organization of the cultural economy – and related spatial agglomeration of actors – and the temporal logic of cultural production facilities, Scott has emphasized the role of creativity and innovation as a social phenomenon rooted in the production system of cities and its geographical milieus (Scott, 1999). About Pratt and Scott's studies, however, two questions need to be raised in relation to the emphasis that the authors have focused their attention on: firstly, the role of entertainment and technologies and, secondly, the use of the industrial development frame in understanding and explaining the real nature of the creative industries new productive system. In addition, a sectorial categorization (and definition) of the cultural economy complicates the analysis, because Pratt and Scott's approaches seem to be

inclusive and cumulative, and not oriented to explain differences between distinct types (and processes) of cultural production.

Analysing the level of organization of the creative industries, several authors claim that firms and organizations tend to be small, merged, or modularized components into broader production networks. Actors involved into cultural economy are characterized by informality, flexibility, individuality, and subcontracted works (Gibson et al., 2002). This sphere of the production system includes complex interactions between both the material activities of producers and audiences, and among the different professions within the artistic and cultural fields. At the beginning of our century, there has been an increasing awareness about the multitude of people, spaces and relations concerned in the cultural labour market and in the organization of cultural production's activities. As a matter of fact, cultural economy cannot be considered only a set of activities or organizational levels of production, but it must be treated as an aspect of the many human economic activities, which need to be measured for their impact on urban and regional scale (Florida, 2002). This aspect of literature shows that cultural production interconnects several aspects of human life and of the wellbeing of people in general, and not only of cultural workers and firms. Cultural economy concerns goods and services that are sold in cities, but it concerns also audience and people that could buy these goods and services. Thus, in cultural economy, the relationship between people, places and products is often so important that it establishes a significant element for the market accomplishments of firms and is also a central element for cities' marketing strategies. As many authors suggest, culture involves not only the sphere of «social life but can now be found in everything around us, from urban spaces, to communication products, and general commercial goods» (Comunian, 2012).

In the second decade of studies about creative economy, in many countries the potentiality of culture – and of the creative class too – has often been adopted as a key policy for urban economic development (Vorley et al., 2008). After examining the practical dynamics of the cultural or creative economy, scholars have scrutinized the efforts of the public bodies in cultural policies and have focused particularly on how government and municipalities use cultural activities to promote and revitalize their cities. Several studies seem to recognize cultural activities as important aspects of local economic development, understanding economic meanings not only by a market perspective but also by an historical point of view, and analysing its relationship with other sectors that generate technological innovation and new lines of production (Hall, 2000). At the same time, an increased attention has also involved socio-spatial conceptualizations of the economic development of small cities (van Heur, 2012), demonstrating the big appeal and also the hope that this theme represents for policy makers and local development strategies.

Grodach (2013) proposes five level of cultural urban policy analysis:

-The conventional model: related to different types of policies oriented to attract outside firms/industry and without distinct cultural economy policy;

-The creative city model: oriented to attract mobile talents that come from different nations;

-The cultural industries model: concerned with agglomeration processes, firm specializations and linkages;

-The cultural occupations model: characterized by the raise of arrangements prejudiced by characteristics and needs of artists and related occupations;

-The cultural planning model: focused on informal arts/culture and place-based community development

These kinds of cities seem characterized by a high rate of individual and cooperative creativity that are able to use this resource as a tool for urban competition. Although numerous efforts have been made to outline the methodologies of investigation, it seems that there is no clear agreement among the authors on the definition of the cultural economy concept. In addition, several disciplines have been involved in a general reflection on the nature and effects of what has been termed 'cultural economy', which involves economic and cultural geography, but also sociology, media and communication studies, urban planning and economics. Despite the premise, the current economic crisis has indeed weakened the strategic role of innovative culture and creativity. Heavy cuts in public spending have generated negative effects especially for small and regional cities, while great cities have been safeguarded by governments to maintain their global economic profile.

1.3 The cultural turn in economic geography

To better understand the relationship between economy (historically conceived as instrumental, materialistic and devoid of morality) and culture (on the other hand perceived as non-instrumental, intrinsic, aesthetic, normative and intangible) (Jackson, 2002) in contemporary production of goods and services, a new sub-discipline obtains growing visibility. Cultural economic geography is a sub-discipline that investigates the reasons behind the cultural turn in the economy, where new economic processes and the crossover between the cultural and economic development are explained through the cultural lens (Scott, 1997).

This discipline grew in the 1990s, embracing fluid and hybrid conceptions of the ‘economic’ that emphasize its fundamental inseparability from ‘the cultural’, especially focusing on: (James et al., 2007)

- The diverse ways in which the traditional economic concerns of capital, production, exchange, valuation, and consumption are acting and impacting the spatial variables of socio-cultural conventions and values of the society;

- The diverse ways in which economic categories and their different discourses are materially constructed and performed at different spatial scales.

The assumption that the economic is embedded in the cultural, and that is represented through symbols, signs, and discourses (Thrift, 2000) focusing research on socio-spatial aspects, it is calling for new methodologies to define this interest. However, this conception is deeply rooted in economic geography, and in social science in general, since seminal studies on embeddedness of economic activity in social structures (Granovetter, 1985). In this sense, the cultural turn in economic geography is «a direct response to the new economic realities that have accompanied the shift since the late 1970s to a post-industrial, knowledge-based, global capitalist economy, in which the socio-cultural foundations of economic success (and failure) have become increasingly apparent at multiple spatial scales» (James et al., 2007).

From an epistemological point of view, managerial theories that have supported businesses since the industrial revolution are based on a structurally deterministic narrative of economic change. After the decline of the industrial era, economic geographers are facing the proven effectiveness of competing approaches diametrically opposed - such as open innovation, user-centred design, and value creating - that require a radical transformation of management models. At the same time, economic geography has experienced a cultural turn particularly focused on innovation and creativity, on promoting skills - tacit knowledge - and involvement of workers (Thrift, 2003). The focus of attention shifted from “hard accounts” (and, at the same time, abstract concepts) like flexible specialization or regulation theory, onto the «so-called 'background' factors, the 'soft' socio-cultural, relational and contextual aspects of economic behaviour previously side-lined in conventional economic analyses but which unavoidably shape and condition workings of the space economy». (James et al., 2007).

The primary framework of this conception is related to redefined ontological aspects such as «the meaningful mapping of the world and one's positioning within it. It concerns practices of identity, meaning and signification - practices which are not inevitably closed around the assigning of an aesthetic sign value, but which also always, at the same time, have the potential for involving a moral-ethical attribution of significance» (Crang, 1997). The aim has been to reveal the overlapped trajectories between cultural and economic and how these categories entertain mutually constitutive relationships at different spatial scales and in different contexts. According to James, after the cultural turn cultural economy and political economy should most appropriately be complementary perspectives.

By investigating spatially socio-economic composition of the cultural aspects in cities, the geographical cultural turn has involved also methodological and theoretical changes. The important second stage of research has been oriented to explore numerous topics like the role of interactive learning and innovation processes in economic competitiveness of firms (Storper and Salais, 1997), or the regional cultural economy and the local factors of entrepreneurship (Scott, 1988).

Starting from the conceptualization of agglomeration economies inherited from industrial development schemes, scholars have investigated the modalities in which the sociocultural, institutional and relational features of regional industrial agglomerations enable conditions that are conducive to knowledge creation, information dissemination, and learning.

The last decade has been characterized by a strong focus on the theory of networks to observe and reflect on the role of actors and networks that weave, and the effects that these have in allowing and restricting economic activities. On the one hand, studies have been developed to analyze the different patterns of network links between economic agents and, on the other, many researches have focused socio-cultural contexts in which the actors are rooted, as well as investigating the interactions, translations, associations and heterogeneous mediations between human and non-human actors through which economic networks are (re) constructed.

In the last stream of research, the cultural economy is a way of categorizing all economic activities and measuring their impact on urban, regional and national economies. In this sense, the real problem is how the city size helps to create advantageous conditions both for firms and cultural workers. Building on the conceptualization of creative cluster, scholars emphasize face-to-face contacts for the productive efficiency and economic advantage of spatial clustering of producers. On the other hand, cultural products encapsulate immaterial values of "the local", including lifestyles and traditions of the urban landscapes in which they are produced. In this sense, «closeness between economic actors means much than simply spatial proximity, but must also be defined culturally, in terms of common language, models of communication, customs, conventions, social norms and trust» (James et al., 2007). In recent times, a new stream of research underlined that, also if local agglomeration is important, international connections can also be determinant. Grabher (2004) for instance «unpack the organisational logics of these networks in terms of hierarchy, which can be understood as rich organisational ecologies with a high degree of diversity of ownership, organisational forms, business models, and practices».

An epistemological approach, inscribed in postmodern and poststructuralist critiques, seems to be particularly interesting in explaining cultural production processes focusing on interpersonal interaction and not on interorganizational relations. In this way, works like Ettinger's adopt relational and micro-space approach to analyse both people and scales of networks. (Ettlinger, 2003). We make the attempt to adopt these theoretical shifts both from fixity to relational places and from macro to micro-space to clarify the evolution on the innovative artistic production. If we are aware about technological and social evolution of our society, we need also to think differently certain type of professionals often idealized from literature as the artists.

1.4 Vagueness and ambiguity of cultural production roles in urban spaces

Urban culture has become a commercial entertainment, aimed at attracting a mobile audience of cultural consumers, each of which subject to a certain message that contributes to the formation of public opinion. This dynamic has altered public culture in cities and, in addiction to market laws, it determines important implications for identity, discrimination and social control of places (Zukin, 1997). The combination of these factors contributes to the formation of a symbolic economy with two parallel production systems, crucial to the material life of a city:

1) the production of space, with its synergy of capital investments and cultural meanings,

2) the production of symbols, which build both a commercial interface and a social identity.

Every effort for space re-organization becomes an attempt to visualize the meanings produced, according to which it becomes necessary to negotiate the rules of local government, into a kind of culture of the semantic deception of places. In this way «sustainable environments will not be created if we only look at the environmental dimension; we also have to address how people mix and connect, their motivations and whether they take responsibility and 'own' where they live and change their lifestyles appropriately» (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). One of the first causes of the infectiveness of the cultural production role within culture-led urban development models is related to the poor results in generating good environments for people and to an overestimation of the value of communities and relations. The creation of new (or renewed) spaces, as well as the support to the localization processes of creative actors in the same place, often are not enough to generate a good spatial development, while the production of milieus, relations and soft infrastructure is crucial for a new model of sustainable development. At the same time, certain measures can generate satisfactory results in certain place, but the same strategies applied in other contexts can determine different outcomes. Moreover, it must be said that the potential role of culture has not always been an effective recipe and applicable to all contexts also from an occupational perspective because cultural production «is subject to socio-spatial contexts that shape access to the sector, division of labour and pay conditions». (Warren and Jones, 2013). In addition, among the main causes of this ineffectiveness, it is possible to consider both the weakness of locational aspects of the identified actors– like clusters (Van Heur 2009), both the vague conceptualizations of pillar concepts of the model itself: creative class, creativity, innovation (Flew, 2010). If it is questionable, if not implausible, that the creative class is uniformly distributed across space, there are also other aspects that result unclear. For instance, Florida's ideas of creative class are, simultaneously,

fascinating and ambiguous: young high-educated talents settled in tolerant and technological places generate innovation in production processes and knowledge exchange and add values to goods and services through creativity. In this conception, creativity is the major source of competitive advantage. According to the author, the agglomeration of creative class members in the same place – and therefore the concentration of capacity of producing goods and services but also, simultaneously, the aptitude to consume goods, new lifestyles and entertainment – should stimulate economic growth (Florida, 2002). These local factors lower the entry barriers to access community for human capital and become an attraction for companies and firms that compete to settle down in places where they can recruit highly skilled workers and take advantage of the city's "creative-fit" infrastructural facilities. In this way, production activities take place «in dense networks of small and medium sized establishments that are strongly dependent on one another for specialized inputs and services or […] in large and relatively integrated firms also participating in the same networks» (Scott, 1997:12). Such categorization considers a very wide-ranging creativity concept, including cultural and knowledge workers, but also other jobs - such as lawyers, engineers, and computer scientists – that are characterized as well by a strong intellectual component but are not exclusively relevant to the cultural sphere. Furthermore, the concept of cluster is a spatial prerequisite for the transmission of knowledge and learning, for spawning new firms or other forms of entrepreneurships and so on. In this sense, questioning spatial agglomerations seems interesting in order to clarify the ambiguity of concepts like localization, agglomeration, proximity and so on. We will do it in the next chapter. The output will be some insight about the existence of different models of geographical organization of cultural production activities.

A further problem about the discontinuous performance of the model of creativity is the evolution of urbanist thinking toward a neoliberal key, which has occurred over the past four decades. In this direction, Margit Mayer (Mayer, 2016) highlights four (partial) dimensions that affect current urban conformations. First, the deregulation in the real estate market has led to an increasingly influential role of property owners in planning. Second, the presence of large global players who, by investing resources within cities, play prominent roles in the transformations of urban environments. Third, for the author, widening the gap between economically thriving and deprived areas of the city has delivered entire neighbourhoods to processes of gentrification, through policies geared towards the commodification and consumption of public space. Lastly, Mayer identifies in the post-industrial cities of the north of the world the presence of precarious and downgraded armies of people.

Another interesting, but debatable, point of view about the effect of neoliberal imperatives on cultural production is the feminist critique studies, which have highlighted how community-engaged art interventions can extend the exclusion in gentrification dynamics that creative city policies and practices

entrench, explicitly producing space for white and heterosexual persons (McLean, 2014).

To sum up, as it can be noticed, the main critique of the creative class model is that it is a profoundly class-based concept, and a capital-privileging notion. But these are not all of the "troubles" for the creative class, we will explore this topic further in the following subchapter.

1.5 The rise of troubles for the creative class

Due to the political and spatial processes mentioned above, irregular and differentiated geographic areas of our cities are increasingly identified by demographic and income composition, with settlements revitalized by urban regeneration processes, but often governed by principles of inaccessibility, deprivation, expropriation and marginalization (Mayer, 2016). It is interesting to notice how, at the center of the existing literature, art has been considered a tool for offering responses to urban problems (Landry and Bianchini, 1995) while, actually, the relation between the two topics has been explained only superficially, demonstrating a lack of research on the subjects of art and culture as a production system, with particular reference to the support of local cultural environments. . There is not a deep enough reflection capable of providing significant insights into urban planning and economic development, which should be based on the understanding of the internal operating mechanisms of the cultural sector. The study of inherent dynamics that crosses the relationship between cultural production and cities has underlined an increasingly commodification of the realm of human culture (Scott, 1997). Economic activity appears transformed by the production and marketing of goods and services that are infused either with broadly aesthetic or semiotic attributes. There are vast expanses of urban culture that remain external to - and even in opposition to - this nexus of relationships, though rarely they are immune from some partial form of absorption into a general system of commodity production.

After the first decade of research characterized by an enthusiastic, but at the same time rhetoric, point of view, many researchers have asserted that the "true" creative class in cities is different from the well-heeled and bohemian people described by Florida. It is a category composed also by precarious workers that are concurrently involved in two or three jobs (Throsby and Zednik, 2010), not always art-related. This category of workers is responsible, autonomous and free but, at the same time, totally self-organized. From a geographical point of view, they are people spatially controlled (Wilson and Keil, 2016), that live most of their time in peripheral and poor districts, underlying «how the more recent origins of the creative city discourse were dependent on much older notions of the 'good city' but that these have been progressively reduced to their economic dimensions». (Connor and Shaw, 2014). The economic crisis has increased the

difficulties of the artistic community to live in urban contexts (Pratt, 2008), and the academic research has progressively questioned the urban growth rhetoric (Gibson and Kong, 2005). The effective contribution of artists to local economies is underestimated because the current methodologies ignore the artist's improvements to local production facilities (Markusen and Schrock, 2006) and overlook aspects related to the production of culture. At the same time, scholars observed how local cultural producers have been able to reinvent their role by offering a wide range of cultural services, addressing the cutting of public assets and differentiating funding sources to survive and compete (also) in the market (Cuccia and Rizzo, 2015).

These general conditions characterizing the cities provide a fertile ground for the proliferation of alternative environments and cultural producers. The city offers to artists and activists the chance to play a crucial role in shaping the neighbourhoods, transforming them into lively and attractive places through their presence, behaviour, practices and activities. Additionally, the complex nature of the relationship between firms, businesses and the attraction of the flows of people determine the working geographies in our cities. Often, cultural planning strategies have been characterized by the creation of 'empty cultural boxes' and buildings that have absorbed considerable resources and that in many cases have proved to be oversized to the needs of the local community, leaving room for the definition of real innovative policies. Culture can still be a development tool, but it is necessary for all involved actors, both public and private, to find new paradigms that cover key words such as participation, collaboration, intersectoral approach, internationalization. In this research, we adopt a perspective oriented to understand small-scale changes in the workplaces, occurs through and within networks of interaction.

1.6 Toward new independent cultural production: new forms of cultural capital

In the first decade of the twenty-first century two main conceptions of cultural capital were widespread in the cultural economic studies: tangible and intangible capital. (Throsby, 1999; Throsby, 2001). Tangible cultural capital concerns artworks and artefacts, while the intangible regards «artworks which exist in their pure form as public goods, stock of values that constitute the culture of a group, and cultural ecosystems and diversity» (Throsby, 1999).

Today the cultural capital, in economic terms, represents an asset to foster a new model of sustainable development based on the idea that culture is a trigger both for economic growth and the increasement of social quality, since it can generate «a society open to communal values, public good growth, cooperation, and trust» (Bertacchini and Santagata, 2012). This model is often permeated by

the existence of independent cultural organizations, defined as the primordial soup of cultural evolution (Shaw, 2013). While studies of the cultural economy of cities have often focused on more institutionalized actors and sectors- such as museums, cultural foundations and private art galleries- independent cultural producers emerge as new forms of entrepreneurship, creativity and local culture (Currid, 2009). Yet, in 1998, Walter Santagata identified a disconnection between the young artistic communities and the markets or cultural institutions, witnessing - however - the existence of fervent underground movements geared toward production rather than the sale of contents. According to Grodach (2010) these flexible and multifunctional spaces may at once serve as performance space, gallery, art school, incubator, resource center, and so on. They are tending to present a work ranging from traditional to experimental art, and often do not possess a resident company or a permanent collection. This aborning trend underlines a new cultural production system, which focuses on the local artistic community and its ability to support indirectly economic development (Grodach, 2008) by improving the interaction within (and between) communities that live and work in cities. Thus, we can assume that the existence of an economy of the independent scene (not yet structured/institutionalized) will eventually create different economic sectors, specific structures and its own organizational logics (Kuhn, 2008). A new paradigm based on attitudes of autonomy of action, economic sustainability and creation of civic spaces. Even if, very often, these organizations do not generate any significant cash flow and are characterised by low-cost management set-up (Shaw, 2013), they are critical to the definition and maintenance of a creative milieu, the production of innovation, the attraction of talents and the perception of quality life in neighborhoods (Grodach, 2011). A model that suggests bottom-up relations, the coexistence and cooperation of a plurality of social actors that interact in relatively short times, focusing on the question of the phenomenon of labor intermediation (Storper and Scott, 2009). On the other hand, several studies have discovered that some artists are working as employees, and that they are remunerated with occasional paychecks (Throsby and Zednik, 2010). Moreover, independent centers of cultural production denote sources of local uniqueness and are among the only real witnesses of local cultural production and community building processes, places, and circumstances in which the culture of the future has been generated, in addition to being an attractor of investment in neighborhoods (Zukin and Braslow, 2011; Wilson and Keil, 2008). These realities tend to be located in those urban areas where the rental market is low and generally non-residential, such as commercial, retail or industrial areas (Shaw, 2013), as well as areas in which social and/or economic unfairness is perceived (Markusen, 2008). These activities heavily collide with the logic of gentrification resulting from the processes of urban regeneration and the need to manage and control the public space (Zukin, 1997).

1.7 Independent cultural production: features

Nowadays, it seems too superficial to overwhelm the presence and spatial effects of independent cultural production in the city as marginal, fashionable, unreliable and / or ephemeral experiences (Puype, 2004). The field of independent cultural production plays an important role in urban spaces because, in addition to making a site distinctive and attractive, it represents a potential source of jobs and future growth that goes beyond the classic distinction between creative and cultural industries. Moreover, it could provide guidance in respect to other organizational models of work, suggesting solutions in other areas of production as well (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999).

A complexity that encapsulates a set of special values that can be approached with a sociological and socio-economic reading: independence is the (self) exclusion from the market system and public institutions, opposition to cultural currents dominant, organizational self- management, inclusion of most people in fruition and gratuities become possible declinations of a creative atmosphere.

This work will consider only artists and other creativity professionals, i.e those professionals who practice artistic work, even if this is not the main source of income but is the first commitment in terms of time and motivation (Throsby and Hollister, 2003). The decline in the number of jobs available in industrial cities was followed by a growing number of people who devoted themselves to creative professions, resulting in the need for specialization in the industry due to increased competitiveness. In the context of the main artistic occupations, in fact, several studies have verified that few artists work as permanent employees and are paid with an occasional salary (Throsby and Zednik, 2010). Most of them work as freelancers or self-employed workers, pointing to entrepreneurial development opportunities, and not taking advantage of employee work (sick leave, maternity leave, employer retirement benefits, leave, etc.). However, many artists receive some of these benefits from activities close to the mainstream (art-related) or other work; But which contribute to day-to-day sustainability.

Walter Santagata, addressing for the first time in Italy the logic of functioning and social conditioning of contemporary art (focusing on the case of Turin), notices a disconnection between the youth artistic community and the markets or the overthrow of public opinion, 'Existence of fervent underground movements in the urban fabric more oriented to production than to the dissemination of content. This institutional invisibility regime recognized at national level (and beyond) does not imply a waiver of participation in the cultural landscape and social relations and collaboration at the local scale which, as evidenced by the literature, are very important in the creative environments.

An active and dynamic presence of artists and creatives within the cities, often young and at the very beginning of their work career, represents an opportunity to a sector – and those organizations that drive market dynamics – embodying a huge and low-cost available workforce. At the same time, it is also an opportunity for

artists enabled to approach sectors where entry thresholds are very low compared to other productive activities and participation does not require many skills or experiences Initials that, however, can give a broad cultural and social benefits. A changing and unpredictable space of living, the independent creative cultures are the primordial soup of cultural evolution of cities (Shaw, 2014). The acknowledgment of a sort of "laterality" with respect to the global institutional system which, however, does not affect its urban importance, is also indicated by Salone and Rota (2014) when they define independent initiatives as "bottom-up interventions" sort by «the decision of small groups of individuals, with the aim of countering the institutionalized system of art and its local manifestations. [...] off, unconventional, critical and alternative initiatives».

To sum up, as it can be noticed, the independent art scene does not represent an avant-garde or underground level of creativity, but it is more and more a new and innovative layer of cultural production interconnected with institutional and market dimensions. We will explore this topic further in the following subchapter.

1.8 The question of today's functioning of innovative cultural professions

The shift from industrial economy to knowledge-based economy has increased the reasons to exploit (and explore) knowledge producing processes. Creative economy represents part of this sphere, and – if we look at it from the point of view of the creative works – it is actually indicating a quite profound transformation. This transformation can show how we conceive jobs in arts and humanities. The concept of “creativity” is related to the characteristic of an individual and it includes new ideas, information, and experiences. This aspect means that creativity happens not only via individual intuition, but also through social and environmental layers of relationships of the artists with other people that live and characterize the places. At the same time, artists and creative people benefit from the influence of the environment in which they live. Margaret Ann Boden (2004), professor of cognitive science, defines creativity as «the ability to come up with ideas or artefacts that are new, surprising and valuable», implicitly underlying one other characteristic of creativity: its scarcity. Indeed new, surprising and valuable ideas are inevitably related to a small quantity of people and places. Even Boden (1994) classified creativity in two categories, psychological and historical, dividing the individual sphere of everyday experience on problem solving from ideas or artifacts made for the first time in human history. Several geographers studied creativity and its relationship with space, but they did not suggest many definitions. Oldham and Cummings (1996) explained creativity «as products, ideas, or procedures that satisfy two conditions: (1) they are novel or original and (2) they are potentially relevant for, or useful to, an organization».

In order to explain this transformation within the creative economy, we need to discuss the "original mistake" in the actual understanding of culture. Scholars denoted culture as a way of life – a positive and huge way to understand somethings that are "ordinary". However, creativity is something that is related an extraordinary fact, including the talent of single individual and the dynamics of interaction between the artist and his/her environment (Meusburger, 2009). Mainstream literature describes cultural production as an individual asset, a bit of human capital full of risks and uncertainty, putting the new goods and services in a competitive environment (Florida et al., 2008). On the other hand, this typology of work is often described as non- competitive, collaborative and universal, and creative workers are not rooted in particular contexts – but their carriers develop in those places where creatives can interact with others knowledgeable agents (Meusburger, 2009). In addition, university formation programs thrive of courses and toolkits such as mentoring schemes, business models etc. to achieve the possibilities of individuals to access the market competition and be selected by a social enterprise system. The conception of cultural production is dangerously interrelated with an extreme competitive entrepreneurial scheme that is unable to conceive arts and culture outside a market perspective.

Indeed, scholars are looking at cultural work(er)s like an environment composed by industrial realities where people who make, do and live – understand that there is a considerable flow of money, talent, ideas across a wide range of industries. In reality, talent operating in cultural works operate both in commercial and not for profit boundaries - and often the last dimension is not considered. Moreover, it appears important questioning ourselves about the situation that follow: often the same artist, creative or cultural worker is involved in different projects and collaborate with different organizations and people, given outputs to diverse creative industries – for example organization operating in fashion and music sectors. In this sense, do we consider them work "beauty or valid from a cultural perspective" and other times "commercial or populists"? Is it an advantage or a limit? From the point of view sustains in this research, two actors can potentially learn from each other when they have simultaneously enough differences to share and take 'something' from their relationship, and enough similarities to understand one another and engage in a prolific dialogue. In the next chapter, we try to explain this characteristic of contemporary cultural production job's discussing the concept of "cognitive proximity".

As mentioned before, while the concept of "space of places" expresses the idea that the location matters for learning and innovating (being in the right place is what counts), the concept of "space of flows" focuses more on the idea that networks are important vehicles of knowledge transfer and diffusion (meaning that being part of a network is crucial) (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008). The first discussions about these notions are made by Manuel Castell when he debates the spatiality in the network society, explaining that space of place is the space of everyday life made by people, ideas, traditions - culture(s), while space of flow is

the space of economic transactions and global networks that permeate the network society.

We could suppose that visual and performing arts, as material and immaterial forms of goods, include different localized forms of knowledge that can be easily exchanged across distances through co-creation of projects, exchange of goods and collaboration in events. Starting by a specific need of innovation in aesthetic and semiotic, these kinds of arts tend to join and share experience far away from each other. In this way, people operating in these sectors are able to produce new experimental goods and services in order to exchange opinions about the world – and not only about the market dynamics.

To be near to important sources of knowledge could enable and simplify the process of acquiring new technical knowledge, above all when the relevant knowledge is located at the research frontier or involves a largely tacit dimension (Amin and Roberts, 2008). Instead, cognitive (or cultural) closeness into inter-regional and international networks, relationships, and knowledge flows are critically important sources of vitality, supplementing and complementing the local milieu that is said to be the defining characteristic of local economic clusters (Gertler and Levitte, 2005).

1.9 Independent cultural producers as innovators

In order to explore the spatiality of social relations in contemporary innovative cultural producers this research will analyse a number of independent cultural actors. They are generally individuals or small artistic organizations, which can be defined as temporary activators of new projects and spaces for creativity, ideas development, socialization and aggregation, that operate in the areas of our cities (Bertacchini, Pazzola, 2015). We assume that this kind of category includes new ways of production in which innovation can be found in social, relational and economic terms. It seems now too superficial to conceive the presence of independent cultural production in the city, and its social and spatial effects, as marginal, fashionable, unreliable or ephemeral experiences (Puype, 2004) because creativity requires plenty of time and specific environmental settings (Meusburger, 2009). Independent cultural production plays an important role in urban spaces because, in addition to making a place distinctive and attractive, it represents a potential source of jobs that goes beyond the classic distinction between creative and cultural industries (Santagata, 2008). However, it provides a new organizational and value model of work that could suggest solutions in other areas of production (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). On the one hand, artistic practices define «configurations of cohesive activities that established coordinated and collaborative relationships among members of a community. The study of artistic practices can reveal the power relationships and social structures that determine how artworks [and cultural values] circulate

through fields» (Zembylas, 2014). On the other hand, artistic practices are embedded in social and institutional interactions, and these implications are both observable and public, even when tacit.

In this work, we will consider only artists and other creativity professionals involved in the production of new meanings and experimentations through arts and culture. In other words, those professionals who practice artistic work, even if as their secondary source of income, but as the first commitment in terms of time and motivation (Throsby and Zednik, 2010). After the decline of the traditional work in industrial cities, the increasing number of people who have devoted themselves to creative professions has resulted in the need for specialization in the industry due to an increased competitiveness. In the context of artistic occupations, in fact, several studies have verified that only a few artists work as permanent employees and that they are paid with an occasional salary (Throsby and Hollister, 2003). Most of them work as freelancers or self-employed workers, highlighting entrepreneurial development opportunities (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010; Scott 2012). Nevertheless, despite the non- hierarchical, dynamic and informal processes that characterize this kind of environment, they often do not benefit of employee work rights (leave for sickness, maternity, employer retirement, leave, etc.) (Gill, 2002). However, many artists receive some of these benefits from activities close to the mainstream (art-related) or other kinds of work that can contribute to day-to-day sustainability.

These actors do activities that, being characterized by a transient nature, can be settled in places and these jobs raise issues regarding the architectural, economic and strategic context in which they are located, since they actively operate in the urban context (Grodach, 2010). It is necessary to explore factors that influence their involvement in the support of artistic communities, and efforts to build links to commercial cultural sectors (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999). Independent cultural actors represent «the emergence of new creative milieus alongside new practices concerning the temporary organization of projects and the production of new places in exchange for experience, knowledge and expertise» (Lange, 2009). They function as a conduit for building social networks that contribute to both community revitalization and artistic development (Shaw, 2014) and can emphasize different models of geographical organization of activities. By contrast, issues pertaining the location, organization and management of art and cultural spaces may limit their community and economic development potential. Their ability to question our cities relies on the act of producing a new offer of culture (and uses of places) – both on a structural and organizational level –opposed to the culture produced by the institutional public domain, or the one dictated by the market (Novy and Colomb, 2013). Moreover, this ability also allows these centers to relate more profoundly with the dimension of the temporary re-use of buildings of industrial heritage, as well as with the initiatives of urban regeneration.

1.10 Independent workers and the uses of spaces

Localization, agglomeration - or clusters -, and networks are some recurrent key elements in the main theories to define the spatial organization and geographical patterns of cultural production in certain contexts (Power and Scott 2004).

Analyzing the spatial models of cultural production, place and community are critical factors. It seems that places, rather than being an abstract space, are essential to economic life because they are relational entities. Thinking space relationally implicate not only to challenge the human geography, but also consider it an open-ended, mobile, networked, and actor-centred geographic becoming (Jones, 2009). The economy gets more and more forms around real concrete concentrations in places (Florida 2002). In the seminal study of Scott, as reported before, cultural activities are rooted in the production system and its geographical milieu (A. J. Scott, 1999). This approach partially shifted when Landry affirmed that «innovative milieus that encourage people to interact and participate, [but rather that this] depends on the capacity to build partnerships by bringing institutions like universities together with local firms to develop new products» (Landry and Bianchini, 1995). Localization is defined as a precondition for the implementation of anchorage or rooting conditions of cultural activities (Rota and Salone, 2013). Shaw (2013) writes about the localization of individual workers or independent organizations in terms of conditioned choice, highlighting that the lack of access to funds related to cultural policies, inappropriate planning practices, inadequate availability of affordable housing and space, and work determines the presence of these people in cities. Such a spatial condition determines, at the same time, «geographical proximity [between actors and firms] and separation [which]exert profound effects on the functioning of the creative field, but cultural variations between different social groups and different places also modify these effects in very tangible ways. A shared culture is often a significant asset in promoting knowledge exchange and innovative effort, just as cultural differences can result in costly misunderstandings, particularly where tacit knowledge is involved» (Scott, 2006). The idea of the duality of space in artistic and cultural life is emphasized by Crivello when referring to localized labor in places, but also in a daily practice linked by long networks, activated on an occasional basis without trust and built over time through co-location and proximity (Crivello, 2013). In any case, most of this research highlights the role of agglomeration as a nexus of performative intensity. Short physical distances between actors mean more possibilities to exchange information and knowledge. An increased number of actors in the same place can determine an effect called agglomeration process, which represents a perceived benefit in big cities, as well as in small and medium towns (Evans, 2009).

Discussing about the agglomeration processes in cultural activities, Van Heur (2009) distinguishes two different types of clusters between actors and firms:

vertical and horizontal. The first, «consists of nodes that are functionally dissimilar, but that carry out complementary activities—a situation often described as a production system of input/ output relations […]. The horizontal dimension of clusters consists of nodes undertaking similar activities and the relation between these nodes is therefore based on competition, since the success of one actor or firm will be at the expense of others» (Van Heur, 2009). If the first spatial model will lead to a process of differentiation and relations based on cooperation and non-competitive way; in the second case the interaction leads to a proficient and economically effective cluster, in which nodes are involved in a continuous monitoring of others, useful to copy successful competitors.

Flew (2010) advances a critique in which he claims that in literature there exists a fusion between the geographic and industrial definitions of a cluster. This unclear distinction does not permit to differentiate between clusters where a number of actors in the same sector are juxtaposed (horizontal cluster), and those where one value chain of buyers and suppliers emerges (vertical cluster). Furthermore, this conception of cultural activities based on the assumption that all the activities of each actor happened in the same place in which the actor is located or, better, it partially considers the relations and flows across different scales. In this sense, Ian Gordon and Philip McCann distinguish between simple agglomeration, that take place where co-localization in particular areas reduces overall costs (eg, transport and catering clustering businesses around an airport), and those in which networks are incorporated social and fundamental links to localization decisions (Gordon and McCann, 2001). In this way, we can assume for our research the conceptualizations of space of place and space of flow as the new spatial forms characteristic of social practices in the network society because it seems appropriate (Castells, 1994). According to this assumption, we can suppose that are existing different types of space in cultural production, which we can resume in two categories. First, convergent spaces, which is a flexible and controlled place where ideas are selected and implemented, and where innovation can be shown without possibility of changes in processes of creation – for example blockbuster exhibitions, mainstream events, market-oriented reproduction of goods. Second, divergent spaces, an open space of (and for) creativity, the place in which cultural production really happens day by day, the material architecture that allows the process of development and accumulation of ideas through flows of information. The two typologies reflect also the dynamics under which creativity needs space for thinking, whereas innovation requires space for the implementation and adoption of those new conceptions (Meusburger, 2009).

As proposed in several pieces of researche, this temporal disjuncture between creativity and innovation needs to be considered in research on clustering, since the form and content of most networks of aesthetic production are heavily structured by this investment of free labour (Van Heur, 2009). As Andy Pratt (2000) has argued, however, contacts with other producers are important to

combat isolation, and also as a vital source of information about new and changing practices and work opportunities.

Chapter 2

Moving beyond cluster conceptualization

2.1 (Re)Discussing Cluster Theory

Economic geographers consider the location choice of individuals, enterprises and firms as one fundamental element of the connection between space and the economic action of organizations, the creation of values and knowledge. These adoptions of the economic actors can be analyzed in two ways: paying attention to the single business made by the economic actor or focusing on the spatial concentrations of economic productive activities (so-called co-location). Location choices are centred on several factors, among which externalities (or external economies) represent a sort of moment of networking, a relational process among firms, and between firms, neighbourhoods, cities and regions' characteristics (Conti et al., 2014) depending on the scale of analysis. In this sense, externalities are not benefits produced inside a single firm, but advantages locally generated through interactions within different co-located subjects.

The seminal point of view about externalities was carried out by Alfred Marshall (1890), who indicated three characteristics of agglomeration processes that determine advantages for all the firms located in a certain area: the specialized (or diversified) labour market, the presence of specialized suppliers, and the diffusion of technological spill over. These elements represent a good condition for economic actors to locate in a definite region or city and – at the same time – embody the reason of new benefits. This conception is also at the origin of the interpretation of the cultural production dynamics in our days: the spatial arrangement of the cultural and creative economy have been often defined as creative clusters (O'Connor, 2010; Gwee, 2009) or cultural districts (Sacco et

al., 2013; Santagata, 2006). In the *Indepedent review of the creative Industries*, edited by NESTA in order to describe the actual ecology of creative economy in UK, we can find another definition of creative cluster «as a geographic concentration of creative businesses and workers, often linked to similar value chains, that collaborate and compete with each other. Clusters can often include other institutions linked to the value chain such as higher education institutions (HEIs), cultural institutions, trade associations and government bodies which support the cluster in a number of ways. Creative Clusters come in different sizes and configurations and can have a broad array of individual features which facilitate inter-organisational collaboration, including incubators, accelerators, shared hub space and studios» (Bazalgette, 2017). It appears very clearly that this approach is broad and includes workers, firms, small-size organizations, institutions, corporations etc. As Nuccio and Ponzini noted (2016), on the one hand, 'cluster' is a sort of fuzzy concepts but, on the other hand, despite its numerous conceptualizations, it demonstrates recurrent features taking emphasis in «the advantages of given 'natural' clusters, districts or quarters include the internalization of positive externalities of culture, capacity-building and social capital environment, common infrastructure and, of course, economies of agglomeration» (Nuccio and Ponzini, 2016:4). We could definitely question these assumptions and argue that not only the geographical dimension is important to generate innovations and advantages for cultural actors.

Moreover, the agglomeration dynamic is often applied very liberally in theory and practice. We can indicate two main categories of agglomeration economies:

-Urbanization economies: economies that emerge from the geographical proximity of industries;

-Locational economies: economies that arise from the spatial agglomeration of related economic activities

The second category is also defined as "cluster", which scholars indicate «as the territorial configuration most likely to enhance learning processes» (Maskell, 2001:922). For Porter (1998) the geographic extension of a cluster can differ from a single city to a country or even a group of neighbouring countries because he refers to a cluster as «a geographically proximate group of inter-connected companies and associated institutions in a particular field» (Porter, 1998:16). For the author, clusters are important for both competition and collaboration between the actors, and their boundaries are defined by the linkages and complementarities across countries and institutions

In the first wave of research on clustering dynamics – dated from the first half of the last century – their nature had yet to be defined because their benefits were considered self-evident and only a few models offered «the balance between centripetal and centrifugal forced determined the locational pattern of firms» (Maskell, 2001). Low (or decreasing) costs in transportation, good environmental

infrastructure, skilled labour, and educational systems represented already inclusive competitive advantages, whereas cost of congestion and prices of land and labour represented "dispersing forces". In the second trend of research - which coincides with the end of the 20th century- researchers focused on the role of transaction costs investigating «how the local activity will rise and the economic growth rate increase when the co-localization of firms benefits from the information easily available potential partners in the vicinity and […] by the ease of conducting business with such local firms» (Maskell, 2001:925).

Looking for empirical models oriented to explain the relationships between innovation and location, two strands of literature emerge:

- Research on the concept of geographically mediated spillover which considered innovation as an element influenced by the geographic dimension. These studies consider a common geographic unity in order to quantify the spatial impact of knowledge spillover in innovation. In arts and cultural economics studies, it can be described as the ability of the workers of the creative and cultural sectors to indirectly contribute to the rise of emerging and innovative phenomena, generating effects crossing the boundaries between productive sectors and benefiting a wide and varied set of entrepreneurial realities;
- Research on spatial economic outcomes such as growth and productivity, which considered innovation as a potential relational part between, for instance, agglomeration economies and growth.

Moreover, Gordon and McCann (2000) identified three types of spatial structures of agglomeration: pure agglomeration or co-location; industrial complex; and social network. The last category seems interesting for our research, because social networks consider the presence of trust-based relations, developed by work relationships – sometimes-untraded (Storper, 2000) – grounded on values, behaviour and routines that brings firms together. Innovation can generate improvements in existing products or even new product categories, needing individual and collective competencies, sharing of ideas and practices. In this sense, processes of translating knowledge and information into economical value, and processes of adoption of innovations are both social and economic processes that require a geographic dimension (Feldman, 2000). Additionally, creativity is strictly connected with individual intuition, while innovation with systematic production process. Therefore, innovation processes consider a set of goals, codified procedures and drive of the team dynamics, market studies and so on, meanwhile creativity processes need supportive environments and new interactions that encourage autonomy and self-esteem of individuals (Meusburger, 2009). Following these different points, we suppose that innovation in art

production is not directly related to location processes of clustering, as noticed above, and we need to go more in depth in the exploration of another spatial form: the social network. To do that, in the next subchapters, we will discuss before the functioning of a cluster, highlighting how knowledge can be exchanged within places and actors, and how proximity works at the various levels, rather than only at the geographical one.

2.2 Functioning of a cluster. Horizontal and vertical dimensions

In general, cluster concept identifies a sum of co-located firms' configuration and «their support infrastructure which are closely interrelated through traded and untraded interdependencies» (Bathelt, 2005: 250). Research developed in cluster theory, after the beginning of the 2000s, has emphasized different questions to overcome the simplistic affirmation that firms benefits by co-location in geographical clustering. If the first wave of research, proposed a model that shifted from the analysis of costs of congestion, cost advantages in transportation and benefits of sharing environment towards «transactions costs, including search and information costs, bargaining and decision costs, as well as policing and enforcement costs» (Maskell, 2001), in more recent times the research has been focusing on the importance of information in the same place and the facility of conducting new businesses with other firms in the same place, two factors that should influence the rising of local activity and the increasing of economic growth. 'Being there' offers to firm many possibilities in behavioural exchanges, but also constraints, imposed on co-localized firms by the knowledge of the consequences of good practices and misbehaving. Firms can exchange (or not) flows of knowledge, obtaining benefits from the emergence of a positive atmosphere of understanding and trust. This condition help firms and organizations in order to «reduce malfeasance, to induce volunteering of reliable information, to cause agreements to be honoured, to place negotiators on the same wavelength, to ease the sharing of tacit knowledge» (Maskell, 2001). For many authors that have studied for a long-time clusters' functioning, clusters exist when the co-presence of economic actors influences both the decrease of costs of identification, access and exchange of different resources between each other – both products, and services or knowledge (Malmberg and Power, 2005).

The presence of a cluster is based on the essential point that vertical as well as horizontal linkages between firms or actors constitute clusters themselves (van Heur, 2012), even if it is not enough to generate knowledge and growth (Bathelt, 2005). The cluster's life and the firm's location choice within the cluster generate different functioning and advantages for the firms in relation to the two dimensions that generate different competitive advantages for economic actors.

The horizontal dimension of a cluster includes nodes of similar activities, while vertical clusters concern dissimilar actions carried out by firms, but – at the same moment- they are involved in complementary activities. The first categorization of horizontal and vertical dimension of a cluster is offered by Michael Porter, who distinguished the two variables of functioning of a cluster. The first dimension indicates those co-location experiences in which firms are involved in producing the same goods. The horizontal dimension indicates relationships between organizations involved in parallel performance of similar tasks, also if they embodied diverse perspectives of insights and attitudes. Firms catch information in a tacit way to assemble and «develop a variety of solutions as an intricate part of their daily operations when holding dissimilar beliefs about their chances of success if using one of several possible approaches to similar problems» (Maskell, 2001:928). This condition determines a sort of constant monitoring and comparison among economic actors in which they tend to copy each other's ideas, best practices, and solutions. The nest created by the actors' agglomeration encourage relations based on competitiveness since the success of one firm can determine the failure of the other ones.

Through the ongoing process of variation, monitoring, comparison, selection and imitation of identified best practices and solutions that take place in the horizontal dimension of a cluster, firms dispose of a complex system of information developed daily in their environment, encouraging them in the process of learning and continuous improvement. In this direction, sharing knowledge and collective culture give the opportunity to imitate others, introducing, at the same time, some ideas in the attempt of innovating.

This process happen by means of successful projects and information available, also without contacts or interaction between the firms. This does not mean that firms in the horizontal dimension of the cluster never co-operate or that all relationships are useful for others.

Instead, according to Porter, the vertical dimension of a cluster is embodied by those agglomerations in which firms are present, but with dissimilar functions, and that carry out complementary activities in order to be more efficient and economically effective. In this production system, cooperation leads the relationships between differentiated firms, which are not involved in a competitive process to attain customers attention. In fact, «the development of a cluster will lead to a process of differentiation, in which suppliers emerge, that cater to one particular process within this production system» (Van Heur, 2012). In this environment, besides the firms, specialized suppliers and customers play a crucial role too, giving inputs that create improvements in products qualities and features. Another important element might be played by the capacity of division between labour and responsibilities, whose development evolves autonomously when organizations follow their interests. To focus a peculiar process of production in a specific task seems to be a terrific opportunity for firms to differentiate one another, if they possess the capabilities. This permits them to shift from the

horizontal to the vertical dimension of a cluster. Any 'floating' knowledge becomes a resource for reshaping practices that can be useful for firms. Conversely, they produce new experiences, including the deepening of the knowledge on which they are based. In this sense, firms must be available to cooperate in sharing their own plans and needs. Learning-by-doing processes assume centrality to improve capabilities step-by-step. At the same time, vertical dimension of a cluster grows, «while firms become specialized and an extended division of labour is therefore often closely associated with an acceleration of the growth of knowledge in the cluster» (Maskell, 2001).

When the vertical dimension of a cluster works, there are many positive results that reinforce the process. For instance, new economic activities may take place, growing the possibilities of knowledge generation and the extension of the internal market. Conversely, diminishing the chances of access into the cluster for new actors means fewer possibilities of progress. Therefore, it is only through the increasement of the presence of firms co-located in the same cluster that it is possible to create knowledge simultaneously by variation and by the division of labour (Bathelt and Taylor, 2002).

It must be said that even after the acknowledgment of the functioning of a cluster, this word still remains quite chaotic and sometimes it is still used in an instrumental way. Event tough there is no lack of critical and empirical evaluation - also in creative industries -, there is a need to investigate more deeply the role played by the actors in knowledge exchange and socio-spatial processes within the cluster in innovative artistic production.

2.3 How is knowledge exchanged within a cluster and how does it produce innovation

A broad number of studies in economic geography and social sciences have stressed the centrality of local networking (Scott, 1988), explaining the role of interactions into clusters in knowledge and creative production through the investigation of three dimensions: the importance of cluster-based vertical and horizontal linkages; the role of clusters in knowledge and learning; and the interpretation of cluster growth. Conversely, a few studies have provided substantial empirical evidence of the superiority of geographical relationships expressed in the same cluster over nonlocal interaction. (Markusen, 2006). Conversely, a few authors have provided substantial empirical evidence of the superiority of geographical relationships expressed in the same cluster over nonlocal interaction (Markusen, 2006) while an increasing number of studies have criticized the local learning processes approach (Malecki and Oinas, 2002; Bathelt, 2001; Gertler, 2003) proposing that, research has been inadequate to explain learning processes and to give support to the claims about "localized learning" (Oinas, 1999). From our point of view, it seems evident that the new

knowledge production (and learning activities) might be best understood as a result of a "combination" of close and distant interactions.

The spatial schemes that enables relationships to share information generate knowledge and create learning processes have been most frequently conceptualised through two concepts: local buzz and global pipelines.

The definition 'local buzz' refers to the frequently used networks of relations at the local scale in which information and communications are exchanged through organized interaction and contacts. This term has often been associated with tacit forms of local knowledge within a geographic cluster, considering the level of embeddedness of knowledge at the local scale and the difficulty to transfer it elsewhere (Maskell and Malmberg, 1999). In fact, local buzz derives from the face-to-face contact among individuals and organizations, and it is the most relevant force to meaningfully achieve the agglomeration of economic activities and people, «in an age where both physical transportation costs have declined and the ability to transmit information over long distances has increased so dramatically» (Storper and Venables, 2004:353). For the authors, local buzz is not only the sum of information and knowledge available in a specific place, but it is the superior mode of coordination and the resulting part from the externalities of organized face-to-face contacts - «super additive form of information circulation, generating increasing returns for people who are in the buzz, and for the agglomerations in which they work» (Storper and Venables, 2004:356).. Moreover, Reimer, refers to local buzz in a productive way, explaining the role of place and diversity as key sources of creativity (Reimer et al, 2008). In her study, she underlined, firstly, the relationship between the urban creative atmosphere and the products of design-intensive sectors, and secondly, the presence and composition of human capital in creative buzz. This environment gives different advantages to firms and people that are located into them (Asheim, 2007) and no one will have to incur in investment costs because «free access to local buzz is a natural consequence of just being there» (Gertler, 2003). Organizations are continuously updated by flows of information and news, especially in learning processes in which they have the same institutional set-up of the source of information. In this way, they do not make investments for search or access to specific information but are encouraged to make connectivity and participate in communication exchange. Three characteristics influence the quality of a cluster's buzz and they make a scenario particularly valued for processes of learning and knowledge creation (Bathelt, 2007). First, the existence of specialised firms appertaining to a specific value chain in the same place, which regularly facilitate face-to-face contacts between specialists from these firms, determines a particular atmosphere. This is a better condition for the comparison of experiences and sharing knowledge among actors that enables a stronger local embeddedness of firms – both from the elements derived from the encounters and from elements associated to non-verbal communication that generates «informational and integrational advantages in communication enabling efficient knowledge

exchange and circulation» (Bathelt and Turi, 2011). Second, by sharing the same technological traditions developed day-to-day, these actors activate and operate routines and solutions continuously through the comparison of pairs, which enables new information and technologies to be easily understood. Third, co-presence and daily encounters stimulate the rising of compatible technological outlooks and interpretative schemes that constitute shared history of relationships. In this way, organizations learn «how to interpret local buzz and make good use of it. As a result, communities of practice become more rooted over time» (Bathelt and Turi, 2011).

By contrast, 'global pipelines' represent a conceptualization of the globally stretched networks of knowledge transfer that occur simultaneously with local learning networks and are complementary to them (Bathlet et al, 2004; Coenen et al, 2004). It is not only the quality of a particular cluster within a given city that is important, but also, because pipelines are themselves embedded within global networks, the links between local production and international circuits of capital, distribution and knowledge.

Bathelt (2004) has address these inter-regional and international knowledge flows through the concept of global pipelines in order to focus the capacity of firms to find and access external knowledge sources located in other places. According to the author, in trans-scalar firms' interactions, actors tend to use this type of channels of communication in order to exchange information in different knowledge-producing centres located far from each other. Therefore, global pipelines create real economic advantages for local economic actors by providing access to a more variegated set of knowledge pools from which to draw, excluding dangerous knowledge lock-in processes. On the other hand, for Fitjar et al. (2015) innovative and radically innovative firms are stably involved in international personal and formal nodes of relations. By contrast, firms included in regional and national networks do not seem to be significantly positively associated with innovation. According to evolutionary economics, «pipelines increase the variety of locally available knowledge by linking firms to knowledge arising from multiple selection environments. Access to a more diverse knowledge base in turn stimulates local innovation: in other words, non-local learning brings its own economic advantages» (Powell and Grodal, 2005). Despite these opportunities, the implementation of global pipelines could have some downsides, such as requiring big investments in their establishment and management and entails considerable uncertainties because flows of information across different regions involve cultural and institutional diversity. On the other hand, «distant contexts can be a source of novel ideas and expert insights useful for innovation processes [because firms] not only exchange products or services, but also [they] benefit from outside knowledge inputs and growth impulses» (Maskell et al., 2007:619). To reduce the economic impact of pipelines' implementation and, simultaneously, to facilitate knowledge dissemination, Maskell and other authors have suggested the creation of temporary clusters

where to replicate face-to-face interaction (the typical feature of local buzz) within international professionals and source of knowledge. These situations could be conventions, meetings, conferences or fairs in which the temporary aggregation of diverse people substitute the effects of local buzz, increasing the possibility of making contacts with other economic actors.

The increasing interest in the spatiality of cultural production (and in innovative systems) outlines that geography and networks are the essential components for understanding innovative processes of knowledge creation at various levels of analysis: from individuals to organizations, from the regional to the international scale (Maggioni and Uberti, 2011). Therefore, relations and networks are the essential elements that can create a spark in the formation of new kinds of production, absorption and dissemination of knowledge.

Knowledge is the main resource traded in the innovation processes, and with this word, we designate different levels that are often overlapped. Knowledge is «a dynamic framework or structure from which information can be stored, processed and understood. Knowledge, therefore, has a relational characteristic, involving a 'knowing self' and an event or an entity. Knowledge also requires a memory. Knowing is an active process that is mediated, situated, provisional, pragmatic and contested. Knowledge is therefore associated with a process that involves cognitive structures which can assimilate information and put it into a wider context, allowing actions to be undertaken from it. Thus, knowledge in turn combines the process of learning. In this definition, we can find the explanation of tacit and coded knowledge, namely the two typologies of economic source of innovation (Peck, 2013). Economic mainstream literature considered innovation processes more easily when actors clustered physically in the same area and exchange specialized inputs, services and resources useful for the experimentation and implementation of innovative processes. In order to explain clustering features, scholars used the notion of 'knowledge spillovers' grounding the observation on the properties of the knowledge base used in innovative activities and the associated means of knowledge transmission and communication (Breschi and Malerba, 2001). In this way, they carried out strong findings in which the transmission of new knowledge tends to happen more efficiently with geographical closeness among actors. We will illustrate tacit and codified knowledge characteristic in order to put in light common points and differences that assimilate and differentiate these kinds of sources.

Codified typologies of knowledge include scientific knowledge, which is transmitted through know-how «in formal, systematic language and does not require direct experience of the knowledge that is being acquired and it can be transferred in such formats as a blueprint or operating manual» (Howells, 2002:872). With codified knowledge transfer, it is possible to share information and contents through symbolic forms of representation. It can represent «a new form of knowledge addressed to elaborate - in a deeply way - certain personal interests and narrow agendas» (Gertler, 2003:79). In this sense, codified

knowledge is not directly attributable/traceable with a context, although it needs a place to happen/concretize itself.

Tacit knowledge is identified as the principal component of the learning economy, the key to innovation and value chains and a prime determinant of the geography of innovative activity, since its central role in the process of learning-through-interacting tends to reinforce the local over the global. The singularity is that tacit knowledge is not very well defined in literature, because it is related more to experienced skills into workplaces than formalized norms. This particular form of knowledge could be summarized with a notion written by Polanyi – one of the main scholars in this topic: "we can know more than we can tell" (Grant, 2007). Scholars follow the Polanyi conceptualization (1958), describing tacit knowledge as dependent on particular spatial and time circumstances, and therefore cannot be acquired by traditional market research procedures or transmitted by advertising or long-distance learning (Desrochers, 2001). According to Gertler (2003) tacit knowledge, in its different forms, can only be acquired through experience.

In this way, the differences between codified and tacit knowledge are related to the degree of formalisation and the condition of presence in a place for knowledge formation. Actors that use codified forms of knowledge will be less constrained to agglomerate spatially, because they are working with a source that can be relatively easy to transfer at a distance. The main examples of formalisation of knowledge include books, academies and formal debates about topics. Tacit knowledge seems to represent the presence of humans in place and their everyday life. At the same time, codified and tacit knowledge represent two different but interrelated realms: theory and practice.

Whether it is an individual trait, whether it can be collective and/or networked, or whether it is stimulated by “the urban”, the dynamic between creative production and geography needs to focus on how many knowledges participating in artistic production have remain elusive. Nevertheless, the ephemeral and multiple nature of creativity influences the comparison in a fashion akin to tacit knowledge, because most useful information and technical know-how still remain in a tacit, rather than explicit, form.

Tacit knowledge, thus, is related to direct experience of phenomena and activities, and it is not codifiable via objects or products. More difficult to share in a symbolic form or to be communicated in a direct way, it tends to be more successfully transmitted through face-to-face interaction. Consequently, it represents «disembodied know-how that is acquired via the informal take-up of learned behaviour and procedures. Indeed, some tacit knowing is associated with learning without awareness—a process termed as ‘subception’ by Polanyi (1966). Tacit knowledge can also be associated with scientific intuition and the development of craft knowledge within scientific disciplines» (Howells, 2002:876).

Numerous studies acknowledged that physical distance per se is not an impediment to the assimilation and transmission of knowledge- even of tacit knowledge- because other types of proximity can work complementarily as a surrogate of geographical proximity (Brockman and Morgan, 2003). Above all the emergence of new communication technics, and the opportunities due to the few costs of travelling around the world have implemented the possibilities of people and informational circulation. In this sense, codified forms of knowledge can also be transmitted more easily than before from one region to another.

In any case, numerous sectors of the cultural production system use alternatively tacit and codified knowledge, emphasizing the complementary role of knowledge in the artistic and creative process. One the one hand, tacit knowledge could be exchange more easily across short distances, while – on the other hand – shared routines at the local level further facilitate the operative transmission of knowledge. Nevertheless, new knowledge production processes contain a dynamic of use and reuse of knowledge, mixing forms of tacit and codified ones, outlining the complementarity and simultaneity of these two forms of knowledge to generate new cultural values. In addition, knowledge base tends to vary in relation to the cultural sector of the industry, as well as the nature of the innovation process could differ regarding different sectors of production (Gertler et al., 2000).

Another kind of differentiation between different kinds of knowledge flows has been carried out by geography studies, which have theorized analytical, synthetic, and symbolic knowledge bases (Asheim et al., 2007):

-Analytical knowledge base characterizes those industries based on new scientific knowledge as their outcome. In this case, knowledge creation is highly structured and generally based on formality of deductive models and scientific laws.

-Synthetic knowledge base leads industrial setting in which innovations are the result of the application or novel combinations of existing knowledge, orienting the attention to solve the specific problems that may arise from the interactions with clients and suppliers.

-Symbolic knowledge base is related to its strongly aesthetic, affective, and semiotic nature and values. Symbolic knowledge may be embedded within tangible goods such as furniture or electronic devices (in the form of a distinctive design), but its impact on the consumer – and its economic value – arises from its intangible (aesthetic, or ‘sign value’) character.

The symbolic knowledge base is particularly interesting for understanding independent cultural production because it demonstrates different analogies with the realities that we will observe in this research. For instance, symbolic knowledge is often produced through short-term team projects, and it is important in creative project in which actors have previous knowledge of concrete or

possible team partners (or access to reputational knowledge about potential partners) (Gertler, 2009). In other words, the most successful projects are the ones in which the team is aware of the reciprocal relationships and networks. Moreover, for Asheim symbolic knowledge is linked to the context in a specific way, since the interpretation of symbols, images, designs, stories, and cultural artefacts '«is strongly tied to a deep understanding of the habits and norms and ''everyday culture'' of specific social groupings'» (Asheim et al. 2007: 664). Therefore, in independent cultural production, communities are acquiring an increasing importance in the successful delivery of the knowledge related to a project. But how do they function? And how do they manage to share knowledge?

2.4 'Proximity' and the evolution of this concept

An interesting question related to the socio-spatial forms of the artistic and cultural production concerns the modalities in which the concept of proximity takes place. According to Gill (2002), most policy makers, and also cultural producers, affirmed that the «ideal location for their work would be in the cultural quarter or technology hub of the city, and the reason for this was – overwhelmingly – their desire for proximity with others doing similar kinds of work» (Gill, 2002:77). If it is true that cities become creative when people live, work, share experiences, and exchange knowledge in the same place, it is also true that all these immaterial flows of creativity need to be physical when they become skills for innovating solutions, goods and services. In other worlds, «creativity is a necessary precondition for innovation, but innovation is what counts in maximising the potential of a city» (Landry and Bianchini, 1995:18). In this sense, physical places and spatial proximity with other peers, potential customers and firms seem to be immensely important to independent artistic producers because, when they are near, it is possible to exchange information, knowledge and practices, reducing the investments impact and cutting costs.

The concept of proximity has been deeply investigated by numerous scholars and research. Our illustration of the main categorizations aims to reconstruct the whole framework of them. This list allows us to underline the different interpretation done of this notion. In particular, we are interested in the explanation about proximity that put in evidence not only closensess as physical dimension. For instance, Torre and Rallet (2005) distinguishes geographical proximity from organized proximity. The first label indicates the physical distance that separates two entities in the geographical space; and it can be binary because it has been related with two meanings: close to, and far from. For the authors «proximity is not only an objective data. It proceeds from a judgement made by nature of the geographical distance that separates them. The judgement consists in processing the parameters that influence the distance, to convert them into the statement according to which one is close to or far from. These parameters include

objective data (km, time, price), but also the perception individuals have of them [and itself varies according the age, social background, gender, profession of people] » (Torre and Rallet, 2005:52).

The second type of proximity, the organized one, is considered a relational phenomenon as defines the intrinsic capability of an organization to generate interactions between members. For the authors, organized proximity - which consist of functional interactions or relations that share elements of identity such as common beliefs and cognitive maps – in based on the organization and not on the territory and therefore often exists without any geographical proximity (Torre, and Rallet, 2005).

A further enrichment on the subject of is provided by Boschma (2004) who, to determine the impact of geographical proximity on interactive learning and innovation, enumerates five different types of proximity.

Following Boschma's scheme,

-Cognitive proximity is the capacity of actors to absorb new knowledge. It is related to the cognitive base of workers who, in order to communicate, understand and process information successfully. Cognitive proximity is happening when people share the same knowledge base and expertise and, at the same time, learn from each other.

-Organizational proximity is the extent to which relations are shared in organizational arrangements, either within or between organizations. This involves the rate of autonomy and the degree of control that can be exerted in organizational arrangements.

-Social proximity represents levels of socially embedded relations between agents at the micro-level. Relations between actors are socially embedded when they involve trust based in friendship, kindship and experience.

-Institutional proximity is the institutional framework at the macro-level. It is composed by norms and values that are embodied in specific exchange relations.

-Geographical proximity refers to the spatial or physical distance between economic actors.

Despite affirming the importance of geographical proximity, Boschma contends that it should be always examined in relation to other dimensions of proximity in order to find alternative solutions to coordination problems and learning conditions.

Discussing deeply the concept of cognitive proximity and putting itself on the central part of our reflection, can be useful to underline logics that underpin the real functioning of the artistic production value chain. Particularly cognitive proximity seems to constitute a central question in the artistic creation process, representing the quality of actors to absorb new knowledge, and so they are

enabled to produce artistic innovation. Furthermore, analysing the networks between subjects to determine whether and how different levels of proximity influenced actors allow us to better understand the real character that constitutes such processes.

2.5 The importance of (cognitive) proximity as the precondition for innovative cultural production

Economic geography identifies geographical proximity as a physical distance between two (or more) agents. These actors could benefit from the closeness because the attempt to cover distances, cost and feasibility could limit knowledge transfer and exchanges between social and economic actors involved in the production and circulation of symbols, images, and cultural commodities. Adopting a theoretical point of view, Soon and Storper (2008) have claimed that the economic globalization processes and the lower costs generated by changes in spatial transport and communication, could reduce the importance of geographical proximity, but at the same time, they could amplify its role. The strengthening of geographical proximity could be regulated by the additional effects that the aforementioned changes can determine, for example, an increasing role of tacit knowledge «in being on the technological frontier» (Soon and Storper, 2008). In addition, business organizations that boost increasing organizational flexibility may encourage other similar actors to co-locate. Furthermore, knowledge workers use face-to-face contacts and noncodified knowledge at the local scale because they shall face greater technological uncertainty due to the short product lifecycles [in R&D works]. With the contribution of Soon and Storper, however, researchers started to introduce a vision of geographical proximity as a non-exclusive spatial dynamic to determine innovation. This conception is specified especially when they affirm that «long-distance and local interactions could intensify in the knowledge-based economy, with even multinational companies increasingly embedding themselves in localized innovation systems and acting as long-distance links between such nodes in global networks» (Soon and Storper, 2008).

Moreover, Boschma has introduced a ‘complementary vision’ stressing the importance of other forms of proximity (social, relational, institutional, cognitive…) in combination with geographical proximity in the process of achievement of interactive learning processes (Boschma, 2005). The author’s suggestions are addressed in particular toward understanding knowledge production of patent in Research and Development industries and how they can produce innovation. By illustrating five forms of proximity, Boschma claims that geographical proximity can be combined with other levels of proximity to facilitate interactive learning and innovation. However, «other forms of proximity may also act as substitutes for geographical proximity. In other words,

geographical proximity is not a necessary, and not even a sufficient condition for learning and innovation to take place. Utmost, geographical proximity may strengthen the other forms of proximity, meaning it may play a complementary role» (Boschma, 2005:63).

Several researches about knowledge production and creative economy highlight evidences to explain the centrality of geographical proximity into clusters between people and organizations. These studies show that when knowledge production processes create closeness among agents, they can increment their ability to stay innovative (Sonn and Storper, 2008). Indeed, geographical proximity allows people to interact more easily, and these relationships increase the capabilities of actors to get new ideas and learn from each other (Storper and Venables, 2004). In other words, it is obvious that geographical clustering (or spatial concentration of actors) facilitates the exchange of knowledge and information.

Focusing on socio-spatial relations as their central aspect, these researchers have developed the perspective of the post-industrial development scheme, assuming that this kind of proximity « makes externalities particularly large in a city, all the models predict that cities grow faster than rural areas in which externalities are less important because people interact less». (Glaeser et al., 1992:1134). This kind of research generally analyses the dynamics of knowledge production in patents creation, or in the processes of production of cultural goods and services (Watson, 2008). - which are, however, embodied in market logics- and it highlights the role of interaction at the local scale (Gibson and Kong, 2005). Instead, with this study, we will try to shade some light on those cultural realities that are in between the for-profit and non-profit spheres, testifying the frontier of experimentation in the aesthetic production of the arts. To explain the dynamics of contemporary cultural production, the hypothesis is not only that geographical proximity is a category necessary for innovation, but also that cognitive proximity can generate interesting effects in the spatiality of knowledge exchanges both at the local and non-local scale.

Nevertheless, we must ask ourselves, why is proximity important for knowledge generation? The crucial point is that, in its different forms (geographical, cognitive, social, institutional, and organizational), it offers answers to the problem of coordination, which is central in innovation processes. From our point of view, our times are characterized by the increasing interactions due to the new opportunities of individual mobility and information that it «tends to reduce the weight of local-coordination» (Torre and Rallet, 2005). In addition, the growth of organized proximity at various scales seems to reveal that local development is not exclusively founded by collaborations between social and economic actors. In few words, geographical proximity is not still crucial to produce innovation.

Filippi and Torre (2003) show that geographical proximity can be connected with organisational proximity though actions oriented to activate resources around

a collective project or utilising common institutional routines and values. Analysing organisational connections on local and global scales, other studies show how relational and organisational proximity can substitute geographical proximity. These researches especially demonstrated that knowledge transfer arises – at the same time – «across multiple geographical scales, with certain organisational connections facilitating the transfer of tacit knowledge across organisational boundaries» (Watson, 2008: 16).

Furthermore, Amin and Cohendet (2000) have wondered about the importance of relational proximity as a central element of the soft architecture of learning. In their conception, relational proximity emphasizes direct interactions that take place more easily through face-to-face contact, but it can also be achieved at some distance though different ways of communication and building trust. Above all, according to the authors, relational proximity is not involved «in local clustering or any of the other properties of place that economic geographers and geographical economists have come to stress in recent years» (Amin and Cohendet, 2000:99). In this assumption, the local is not the only dimension considered as a source of tacit knowledge exchange for competitive advantage, but organisational spaces become important because, though action and people, both codified and tacit knowledge are mobilised for competitive advantage. In addition, others have underlined this shift from geographical to relational proximity in order to clarify that «in place of local context, this perspective substitutes organizational context as the crucial social environment shaping tacit knowledge production, identification, appropriation, absorption and circulation […] on the use of information technologies per se, they are equally unequivocal» (Gertler, 2003)

At this point, we are enabled to suppose that innovative economic activities often result from the combination of locally and non-locally sourced knowledge. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the most vibrant and dynamic areas are characterized by locally specialized knowledge and are strongly linked to other sites of concentrated knowledge production (Bathelt et al., 2004). As described in the previous parts, these individuals and small-size organizations – operating in an independent way generally in the fields of visual arts and performing arts – are located in different places, producing artistic works and projects that are not necessarily market oriented. To do this, they build sectoral networks of work across cities in which they gradually develop the original idea toward a structured (cultural) offer (Gertler, 2003). Therefore, knowledge and experience circulate through networks that contain people capable of sharing cognitive capabilities and trust, but not necessarily in the same location (Giuliani and Bell, 2005). This production process involves several actors and knowledge and – regarding the relation between knowledge of individuals (or organizations) – it concerns organizational learning aspects. In this sense, it entails a process of transmission and assimilation of common knowledge, rules, or beliefs, which includes the process of accepting and validating individual knowledge as

beneficial. In other words, the process of knowledge production in this field of the arts involves a dynamic interplay between tacit and codified forms of knowledge (Nonaka, 2000). If geographical proximity could produce spatial lock-in of new knowledge, cognitive closeness reduces misunderstanding in communication channels, and it leads economic actors to achieve new knowledge acquisition. This concept gained an increasing attention in the studies that focused on knowledge and innovation processes because it involves many aspects related to the (inter-firms) learning process (Boschma, 2005) at various scales (Molina Morales et al., 2011). Cognitive proximity concerns common culture and values, norms and behaviour, perspectives and objectives determining the way in which economic actors approach the reality, and also their organizational behaviour (Inkpen and Tsang, 2005). This type of proximity is an explanatory factor of firm performances because it enhances the knowledge assimilation of the whole milieu, and not only of the same cluster. In addition, it stimulates the environmental acquisition and exploitation through the absorptive capacity of the firm (Molina Morales et al., 2011), and consequently it provides access to external source of knowledge in spite of geographical distance.

Cognitive proximity has been deeply investigated also by Nooteboom (2008), who, during the conceptualization of 'heuristic cycle of discovery', considered exploration and exploitation as outputs of the learning process. These variables are mutually constitutive, and economic actors need a common ground of reference to transfer and acquire knowledge in an efficient and effective mode. For instance, knowledge can be transferred and acquired more easily from one organization to another if they have similar structures, practices and work culture (Knoben and Oerlemans, 2006). In this sense, cognitive proximity also stimulated tacit knowledge transfer among organizations and individuals involved in comparably routines and actions – as well as geographical proximity. According to Nooteboom (2008), during the phase of learning for exploitation, for instance, «inventions from exploration converge on dominant technical and organizational designs. To move towards new exploration, such dominant practice needs to be subjected to novel challenges, in novel contexts of application, in a stage of 'generalization', needed to yield the motivation and the insight needed for change» (Noteboom, 2008:15). Such elements are very interesting to us because they seem appropriate to describe the growing of an artistic project. As a matter of fact, from an individual idea, artists start an exploration of several aesthetics, cultural or political issues that involves also confrontations with pairs and sector experts. Only when satisfied with their own job, they look for funding, technics, galleries or museums – probably based in different places – in order to showcase their work. In doing so, they need to involve a set of local and non-local actors, such as cultural institutions, other artists, experts, operators and so on. Only when this happens, and when their event/exhibition is successful they can translate their contents in another circumstance. The increase of relations is related to the growing of the project. In this way, artists can share expertise and knowledge and

– at the same time – they can catch the same resource from others. In these conditions, the cognitive proximity between people who have different levels of backgrounds and experiences (museum directors, stakeholders, cultural operators, audience etc.), presents both opportunities and complications. The positive aspect is embodied by the variety of cognition that a source of innovation may represent, while cognitive distance would entail both difference in intellectual knowledge and difference in common culture shared. At the same time, cognitive distance contains low social and relational proximity, making difficulties «on the mutual understanding, or a limit to absorptive capacity (Cohen and Levinthal, 2000), but also a wider difficulty of collaboration, including a mismatch of moral and motivational aspects of collaboration» (Amin and Roberts, 2008).The main opportunity can be represented by a facilitate communication that drive to easier conditions to work together. The result can be an empowerment in the coordination and cooperation.

Looking at the artistic production, cognitive proximity guides and designs common objectives and expectations, affecting concretely knowledge acquisition at various scales. If the actors are involved in the same network - here understood as personal network- even if they are not in the same cluster, «they have similar perceptions about how to act with each other, and to promote a mutual understanding and the exchange of ideas and resources» (Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998:469).

2.6 The importance of personal networks as identity spatial boundaries

If we consider cognitive proximity as a precondition to generate innovations in artistic fields, the following suggestion is that organizational processes, routines and common culture concern sets of concretely material and immaterial shared structures. In artistic production, organizational processes result from the sum of opportunities, selections and choices that concern a high degree of changes and transformations. They can evolve both inward and outward, following the relations with other people and other organizations that adopted the same social behaviour. In this sense, the construction of independent artistic producers' identities could be explored in relation to the composition of individual or personal networks independently from the actor's location. As we have previously mentioned, clusters can exist at the local level, but also at regional, interregional and cross-national level, considering interrelated organizations within a Nation as network entities (Porter, 2000). In the first decade of research on cultural economy, these networks were closely identified within regional complexes of economic activity, but […] «there are many and probably growing numbers of – empirical cases of production networks that extend over vastly wider geographical ranges, including the national, continental and global scales, and in which

entrepreneurial activities are accordingly equally dispersed» (Scott, 2006). In the same perspective, Castells proposed the idea of a new spatial form of social practices: the space of flows, namely the «material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows [which are] purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political, and symbolic structures of society»(Castells, 1994:1970). A powerful translation into economic terms shows the conditions to transmit and exchange both tacit and codified knowledge contemporarily at local and global scales. On the one hand, learning processes taking place among actors are embedded in a community by just being there (the aforementioned local buzz), on the other hand, knowledge can be exchanged through communication channels – (the so-called pipelines) to select people located outside the local environment (Bathelt, Malmberg, and Maskell 2004).

Also, Boschma explains the importance of networks as vehicles of knowledge creation and diffusion, but he emphasizes their nature in a non-territorial way. For the author, «social networks are not necessarily localized geographically because there is nothing inherently spatial about networks. This is not to deny that social networks can be location specific, sustained and reproduced by ongoing collective action of local actors. In that case, the resulting knowledge spill overs will be geographically localized as well, and geographical proximity becomes a necessary i.e. a prerequisite in being a member of the network. Nevertheless, even in this situation, one must keep in mind that networks are social construct that exclude outsiders, whether or not they are located players» (Boschma, 2008:11).

For these reasons we will try to develop evaluations and analysis of networks according several perspectives, in order to clarify if actors belong to the same network or if one actors can be simultaneously involved in different networks. At the same time, outsiders of the networks become interesting part of the networks themselves because they can interact with insiders altering network structure and dynamics. In this sense, boundaries of networks are always related to the actors taken in account.

2.7 Communities and cognitive features

Communities are gaining an increasing amount of attention both in the academic discourse and in policy-making because they are becoming vehicles for supporting learning at a distance (Amin and Cohendet, 2000). They seem autonomous, self-organizing groups of people working inside one or more organizations; and are formed by actors who share expertise, joint work experience, and focus on a common goal (Gertler, 2000). Simultaneously, it seems that knowledge-based interactions within communities could vary over a temporary project, demonstrating different kinds of contacts between members: if

in the crucial phases of a project, face-to-face contacts between the people involved are usually quite necessary, in other moments they can be sporadic (Wolfe and Gertler, 2004). Moreover, when members have a solid base of interests and experiences in common, contacts frequently continue outside the work environment. These communities are both formal and informal, and they flourish inside and between organizations, demonstrating similarities and common attitudes oriented to solve common problems. A strong community fosters interaction and encourages a willingness to share ideas, it can make knowledge production and sharing easier within and between actors, because learning processes are not necessarily spatially constrained but transmitted by interactions (Allen, 2000). This is what we call "relational proximity".

Theorizing the "community of practices" concept, according Amin and Cohendet relational proximity relies on « a host of things: cultural and experiential commonality; corporate organization and practices to enhance engagement, enrolment, and translation; advanced communication technologies supporting virtual interaction; and travel to support occasional face-to-face meetings when necessary» (Amin and Cohendet, 2000:97). In other words, for the authors, practice is the explicit focus around which the members of the community cultivate, share and preserve their core knowledge. Institutional economist North (2005) emphasized the independent role of cognitive frames and belief systems, affirming that people have attributes – like cognitive diversity in search and reasoning behaviour; and independence in expressing preferences and opinions - which help them in identifying good outcomes. Indeed, strong ties and relations «would not satisfy the need for diversity and independence. Second, membership may help in securing good decisions in those circumstances where markets might tend to fail». (Amin and Roberts, 2008:357).

A significant improvement in the explanation of groups' functioning in knowledge production processes (and its effect on collaboration and learning) is due to the epistemic communities' formulation, and the derived concept of cognitive distance. The epistemic communities are usually drawn as «groups or networks of people who perform exploratory learning. They engage in transdisciplinary and/or trans functional activities, at the interstices between the various disciplines. In contrast with CoPs, they are organized around a common topic or problem. […] Here, cognition is a wide notion, which includes both competence (knowledge, learning) and governance (moral norms, values, and feelings), and hence includes both rational evaluation and feelings and emotions. Second, it picks up the issue of variety within and between communities» (Nooteboom, 2000:70). For the first time, in the author discussion, the concept turns specifically around questions related to the notion of cognitive distance within actors, including social and relational distance. Cognitive distance between people is the result of differences in physical and cultural environments, and it can be an occasion of learning and transmitting knowledge because the diversity and variety of cognition expresses a source of innovation. At the same time, it

presupposes also differences in intellectual knowledge, feeling and morality that can determinate – when distance is broad – problems of mutual understanding, but also in absorptive capacity (developed according to past experiences), and in collaborations with collective learning and innovation processes.

Communities have also a crucial role in the circulation of specialized knowledge though the achievement of relational proximity – a social quality underpinning interaction between actors in which the parties involved shared a common interpretative scheme. This dimension may occasionally coincide with geographical proximity. For Gertler, this shared framework delineates the primary dimensions of relational proximity and he reinforce the crucial aspect of this dimension when saying that «in the absence of these forms of social affinity, geographical proximity alone is likely to be an insufficient basis for supporting effective communication and mutual understanding between economic actors» (Gertler, 1995:7). Other significant aspects represent important sources of social affinity contain a common educational background, shared work experience, and the recognition of common occupational identity. The last element is crucial for the author when indicating that – for individuals – the notion of occupation can be understood as a combination of educational background and work experience, while we can talk about corporate culture, in relation to the organizations that tend to develop shared rules, practices, routines, and cognitive frameworks. This characteristic can create a distinctive competitive advantage for the organization by enabling more effective social-learning dynamics. The industrial sector in which one individual works, instead, represent the last dimension in shaping affinity between economic actors.

Cognitive and relational aspects are also included in the conceptualization of organized proximity (Torre and Rallet, 2005). According to this definition, it is possible to define organizational abilities to improve the interactions between its members and make them easier than with units situated outside the organization. In this case, organized proximity is useful to activate geographical proximity through interactions generated in places like districts, milieus and other local systems of production and innovation. Identity, interactions, hierarchies, routines and systems of representation determine the sense of belonging and the logic of similarity in organized proximity, two variables that facilitate closeness between members. Although this model highlights the importance of a shared cognitive framework for individuals, and it seeks to develop its productive effects by increasing interaction between them, organized proximity is based on co-localization assumption of actors within a specific area, and in the same organization.

2.8 Independent cultural production through social networks

People, formal and informal organizations, firms mantain interactive relations, which can determinate different types of networks in which the actors are able to obtain information and create knowledge (through exchange and experience). These networks are generated by social activities and economic processes, which are both «a representational form of social relations but also a social context» (Glückler et al., 2017). Networks represent the sum of uncoordinated individual behaviors that can evolve based on individual experiences at the junction of space (Maggioni and Uberti, 2011). At the same time, networks are located in space, and geography seems to influence their evolution during the time and the capacity to involve new actors (Glückler et al., 2017). Individuals and small-size cultural organisations produce artistic projects that are the result of many intellectual and aesthetic efforts of several people. In other words, artistic projects are experiences, goods or services that an organization carries out not necessarily to generate income but to contribute in a new process of content generation in one specific field of cultural production. This productive process is relational, and it includes different elements such as individual backgrounds and experiences, means and practice. The capacity of creation of new ties is important because, nowadays, social and economic actors are contemporarily located in different places, operating “here” and “there”. New relationships are useful to connect physical separation and to enable communication and exchange across distant places (Glückler, 2007). The crucial point of the question is not «to determine whether long-distance coordination is going to replace interactions of geographical proximity or whether local relations will prevail, [but] it is rather to show the diversity of spatial scales to which actors establish their interactions» (Torre and Rallet, 2005:53).

A useful tool to understand the complexity of the relationships between cultural actors is the Social Network Analysis (SNA), a theory that has been proven fruitful both theoretically and methodologically by a number of studies in economic geography. For several of these researches, integrating the geographical dimension into networks is particularly interesting but it also poses a methodological challenge. Maggioni (2011), for example, proposes two ways to incorporate the two dimensions:

(a) putting networks into geography to show “relations as alternative landscapes”;

(b) pushing geography into networks to shape a second level of representation of networks in which nodes are geographical entities.

Analyzing the socio spatial relations of a particular group of people, in our case the independent cultural producers, presupposes a particular attention on the group's nature.

The observation of this specific set of linkages (or ties) among a defined set of persons, is the beginning of the analysis of the network in social scienceThese linkages express numerous properties and characteristics of the relations, for example similarities, social relations, interactions, and flows; and how each tie can influence the others.

Moreover, the social network analysis is characterized by two main approaches: the sociocentric (or complete) network approach focuses on the pattern of social relationships within a bounded and defined context, while the and egocentric (or personal) network approach underlines the pattern of social relationships that surround a particular actor or organization.

Ter Wal e Boschma (2008) have developed further these arguments theoretically, underlying different questions related to the studies of network that can involve geographical aspects:

1. The structure of interaction in a cluster: actors differ from others in the position and roles inside a local network; it can be well-connected to organizations beyond the cluster's boundaries, but not with others inside. Authors suggest further efforts to explain the unequal distribution of network centrality in all companies.
2. The evolution process of the networks over time: for many scholars, preferential attachment is the dynamic that describes the growth of a network. The probability to make relations with a new node is proportional to the number of links that the node already has. For other authors, networks could be volatile and limited in the time due to a lack of design. For this reason, preferential attachment is unlikely to shape the formation of a new knowledge network during the initial stages of the life cycle.
3. The effects of a certain network structure: at the micro level, several researches underline the effect of network position on actors' performances. At the macro level, social network analysis can demonstrate variation on the concept of cognitive lock-in in an empirical way rather than a qualitative way.

Because independent cultural producers are generally individual workers or small bottom-up organizations we must think as their networks as individual or, in any case, personal. Therefore, from a theoretical point of view, we shall borrow the relational and micro space approach that economic geographers propose for the study of trusts, rationalities, networks, and change in collaborative

workplaces. The approach is relational because it concerns « the spaces of interaction among people and nodes (workplaces) in networks of social interaction. The micro-space approach draws attention to people. The combination of relational and micro-space thinking signifies an epistemological approach in which the unit of analysis is fixed neither at the scale of networks nor people, but moves between the two» (Ettlinger, 2003).

«The traditional representation of community as a distinct set of local ties is often usefully replaced by looking at personal communities characterised by combination of local, regional and distant ties, no matter how far-flung» (Scott and Carrington, 2011:234). Hence, while geographers continue to study communities in terms of spatially bounded elements, such as groups, we must look at communities as a combination of links at different scales managed by autonomous individuals in their respective places. On the one hand, it is possible to define other kinds of spatiality in cultural production system that involves actors at non-local scale through knowledge exchange. On the other hand, it is easier to resumes size, composition and structures for each individual network that surrounds an individual/small-organization. The personal network analysis intends to move beyond the level of the individual and the analysis of individual behavior into the geographical/social context where most people spend the vast majority of their working time, living and interacting with the small groups that constitute the world around them (Barabási and Albert, 1999). Fewer process- oriented studies have been conducted and empirical confirmation of the existence of a theory of network development is only partial, therefore it is not simple to answer questions about how networks' content, governance and structures emerge over time (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003)

In the past, scholars (Cohendet et al., 2010; Quinn, 2005) have recognized art communities as geographically bounded entities, densely knitted and broadly-based ties organized around discrete social units such as artist studio, clusters or local districts. Nowadays, independent cultural workers and organizations are geographical disseminated, specialized and joined only lightly. They work in several projects at the same moment, and they have to travel a lot to concretize the projects that they have designed for months, facilitating the growth of transnational networks and entrepreneurial activities across continents. The increasing importance of technologies and the possibility to move across cities has determined a contemporary form of community called networked individualism (Chua, et. al, 2009), highlighting that working personal communities continue to be a central part of the artistic lives. Therefore, while formal organizations are losing their capacity of coordination due to strong hierarchy processes, informal ways of communicating and socialising are flourishing, determining new geographies of work (Ross, 2008) in which distance shapes the relationships. In this way, communication comes to be increasingly defined by social availability rather than spatial proximity (Arentze et al., 2012).

Research on personal community focuses on the micro-level, and it deals with communities and groups as personal networks. The personal network approach considers networks from the perspective of an individual (called ego) running on his meaningful ties with other actors – called alters. The difference between the personal network approach and the one that considers the whole network concerns the observation of ties: in the first case, the focus is on individual actors, in the second is on a complete set of ties, such as in workplace or organizations. (Hogan et al, 2007) If sharing knowledge and information between the whole networks allows distinct parts of the economic and social structure to overlap, we sustain that only the observation of a single cultural actor as the focal point permits an easier understanding of all relations along the creative process, creating opportunities for tracing diverse personal communities (to have a broad and enriching life experience).

The contents exchanged through the relations can be of several types, as - for example - the passing of information from one person to another; exchange of content, goods and services that two persons can exchange; normative content, or the expectations that a person have of one another because of some special characteristic. The strength of ties depends on the level, frequency, and reciprocity of the relationships, and can vary from weak to strong.

Now that on a theoretical level we have understood how proximity and networks work in the field of innovative cultural production, we are going to explore how to build a methodology that will allow us to investigate the social networks between the participants of Compagnia di San Paolo's Bando Ora.

Chapter 3

Methodological framework with Social Network Analysis

3.1 Rethinking independent cultural production starting from the network concept

As we have illustrated in the previous subchapters, processes of artistic production imply new knowledge creation and innovations in the field of arts as the result of contacts between artists, curators, etc and other material and/or immaterial sources. This relation is oriented to share inputs of knowledge with the attempt to learn something from each other independently of the geographical locations in which people are based. The result can be seen as a designed project oriented to transform knowledge inputs in new forms of products, experiences, contents and values. These interactions can include social and cultural aspects, in addition to economic interests, especially when the actors exchange tacit knowledge through face-to-face contacts. Other kinds of relational aspects can be the interaction between artists and a source of knowledge (embodied in people, routines, books, paintings, sculptures and performance) that represents the history of the arts. Therefore, we can call the resource exchanged as codified knowledge. In any example, this process of constant and collective research, translation and production – that semioticians describe as *semiois* (Bains, 2014) – includes forms of activity, social and cultural behaviors, or practices that involve signs and goods, and always take place in specific geographical contexts, including the production of meanings. In this sense, artistic production seems to be an interesting example of «the conceptual and empirical intersections of the geographical and network dimensions of social practice in accounting for the creation and reproduction of

knowledge» (Gluckler, 2017). From these assumptions, space and connectivity emerge as specific characteristics of the new knowledge production and it is interesting to understand their effect on artistic creation.

The network perspective has influenced urban and regional planning, as well as geographical studies, since the 1960s, when scholars started borrowing topology concepts from mathematic science. Starting from the assumption that space is characterized by properties that are well preserved under continuous deformations, geometry of network based on material exchanges and/or physical infrastructure represent a succession of connected facts that happens in the geographical space. According to Haggett and Chorley (1969), the efficiency of these 'spatial structures' is primarily a locational problem and it is important for geographer to study phenomena such as the location of boundaries, emphasizing spatial grouping procedures like variance, cluster, and discriminant analysis. In addition, even economists looked at the social network analysis, a powerful tool for physicists and computer scientists, in order to develop the complex systems approach (Maggioni and Uberti, 2011). In this period, scholars defined the physical dimension of networks, exploring qualities and carrying out variables such as "degree distribution", "clustering coefficient", and "average path length" in order to indicate some static indicators that allowed them to do a comparison between networks.

Through the years, networks have been studied in several empirical ways. On the one hand, geography has been considered a condition for a network formation and also a moderator for the effects of network on knowledge, while, on the other hand, networks are considered as a moderator and also a mediator of the effects that geography has on knowledge (Gluckler, 2017). In these evolutions, it is possible to glimpse the shift of focus from material to social structures and relationships because knowledge represent increasingly a social construct and its diffusion involves some relational networks among people. The main reasons are that, according to the raising of communicational technologies and transport possibilities, the physical dimension is not the only dimension able to determine social (and economics) interactions. On the other hand, observing in depth the connection between knowledge and space, geographers claim the difficulty to transfer knowledge or reproduce it in other places (Bathelt and Glückler, 2011). In this sense, the role of places, environment, and spatial contexts has become more relevant and ambiguous (Meusburger, 2009).

Scholars defined network «as a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved» (Mitchell, 1969). Ties between persons occur in a space, generating direct and indirect relations. From a theoretical point of view, structured socio-spatial relationships are a more powerful means of explanation than the personal attributes of relational system members (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005). Relations influence standards and behaviours that derive from the roles, power and position in structured social

relations systems but, at the same time, social structures determine the nature of relations. In this sense, from a theoretical we register a shift from groups to networks that allows us to study the relationship between community and space. From an empirical point of view, instead, we observe a possible evolution of structural methods integration, that has replaced individualistic methods and narratives.

Furthermore, artistic relationships, as well as all types of relation, are asymmetrical as they vary and diverge in content and force, while ties connect network members both instrumentally and directly. In this sense, relations are crucial because they define the network structure and borders, creating non-random networks through actor's selection. We will analyse these topics further in the following subchapters.

3.2 SNA: pictures and variations of socio-spatial structures

Formal network theories began growing in the first ten years of our century to investigate how and why crossed cultural economic networks enable (or not) economic activities (James et al., 2006). In their different formulations, network theories started spreading the assumption that relationality and connectivity among actors embedded in a social system played an important role for economic and social outcomes (Glückler, 2013). Therefore, if previously place and space had always been observed as static physical matters, network theories have developed an understanding of place and space as crucial elements for social processes and factors to enhance learning and knowledge creation (Glückler, 2017). Nowadays, recent schemes move from an atomistic approach to chain «relational and categorical approaches as well as relational and cultural perspectives in order to bring social science theory and network analyses into a neo-structural framework» (Brandes, 2016:153). This shift has been based on a radical transformation of society caused by the globalization process and the increased role of communication technologies, which have putted networks at the core of the cultural economic geographers' agenda. In these years, networks have been seen as structural elements for the functioning of market's relations, while researchers studied the ways in which different typologies of network works in relation to the economic actors involved in productive dynamics and their modalities to direct and accumulate flows of information and knowledge resources.

Another level of analysis has focused on the role of networks in particular sociocultural contexts in which actors are embedded, highlighting the institutional dynamics from which networks grow and operate.

Finally, the latest approach is the emergence of the Actor Networks Theory, a wave of studies concerning the exploration of networks, including their mixed

interactions between human and non-human elements (Latour, 2005). From this point of view, topics like identity, power, conflict, social capital and knowledge are expressions and consequences of the positions and behaviours of actors within a spatial system of social interdependencies and relations. (Bathelt and Glückler, 2005). According to this relational approach, researchers need to focus both on individual and collective opportunities for action, and on specific context and structure of social relations that facilitate these opportunities. In other words, according to this perspective, networks are – at the same time – a representational form of social relations and a social context that varies the structure influencing individual and collective action. In our research, we do not apply ANT as methodology because the analysis will be oriented to reconstruct only relations between individual. At the same time, we will look towards relations developed both in a same cluster and among different spatial scales.

In this way, network structures are considered as real social interactions within the triad of people - and other subgroups to the complete network – because their social and organizational setup affect economic outcomes in specific points. They can be analytically defined either by the researcher or built as organizational entities by the network's actors.: «organized networks are constructed by the network members themselves as a conscious organizational entity which they coordinate to pursue a shared outcome at the network level. […] organized networks are subject to at least some degree of explicit coordination» (Glückler, 2013:8).

With the aim to strengthen theorization, clarify differences and shading some light on the various approaches, Borgatti and Halgin (2011) carried out a brilliant observation aimed at distinguishing the Network theory from the Theory of networks. With the Network theory, indeed, scholars paid attention «to the mechanism and processes that interact with network structures to yield certain outcomes for individual and groups» (Borgatti and Halgin, 2011:1168). In this perspective, Network theory refers to the consequences of network variables, such as the number of ties or the level of centrality in locational term into net. On the other hand, the Theory of networks reconstructs the antecedent motivations that have determined the network structure, and the reasons behind this kind of configuration.

In Borgatti and Algin's framework (2011), they distinguish two types of models that define four network functions and – at the same time – embody two types of outcomes influencing choices and successes. The first model, called "flow", is the representation of the circulation of tangibles and intangibles elements between the actors located in a network. The second model, the so-called "bond model", considers variables such as power, division of labour, co-production etc. in order to highlight the configuration of common interests and the coordination of individual and collective action of actors within the network. According to the authors, networks embody four different functions that reflect the two models of choice:

1. Capitalization: with the aim to give inferences and expectations for the effects of network characteristics on economic outcomes, this primary function entails flow-based explanations of achievement such as innovation or profit.
2. Cooperation: this function contains bond-based descriptions of success, where resource achievement, innovation or any other performance is completed through grouping plans that exploit divisions and exclude third parties.
3. Contagion and Convergence: these functions consider both flow and bond-based models of choice, «such as the adoption of an innovation or equal choices based on direct linkages among actors or the similarity of people and organizations incurred through similar positions in a network (convergence)» (Borgatti and Halgin, 2011:1175).

If it is true that, in the context of innovation, the two main functions of interests for scholars and investors are capitalization and cooperation, it is also true that in the artistic production fields we can consider different workers' motivations in relation to the market, and also a myriad of several organizational setup that differentiate artistic and cultural producers, putting our attention also on contagion and convergence functions. Network theories of innovation are powerful because they theorize relations between the network features and knowledge results, including information transfer, knowledge creation and innovation.

However, in order to understand how persons use networks in their creative and cultural practice, we must dive further into the topic of social network analysis, understanding how networks are constructed and how do they work.

3.3 Fundamentals of Social Network Analysis: construction and functioning of a network

Social network analysis is a technique that allows to study, measure and visualize relations that exists between subjects, groups, organizations, or other entities involved in the process of exchange of information, knowledge, money, power, ideas. If social networks concern a set of substantial numbers of human and non-human relation that are locally based, they are also supplemented by new internet-based media in exchange for information, power and ideas. To describe how social networks work we must first understand that «a network consists of a set of actors or nodes along with a set of ties of a specified type that link them» (Borgatti and Halgin, 2011:1169). The ties communicate through common

elements to shape routes that indirectly link nodes that were not linked before. The particular structure produced by the pattern of ties allow us to identify the nodes and their positions within this structure, and therefore we can recognize the characteristics of the network structures, the position of nodes and their outcomes within a network. Therefore, in other words, we can say that a network consists in sets of objects and the description of relations among these objects.

This methodology allows us to study three kinds of networks based on different kinds of relations: personal networks (the so-called egocentric networks), complete social structures (also named complete networks or network "in a box"), and open-system network.

Firstly, personal (or egocentric) networks concern the pattern of social relationships that surround a particular individual and define the sample of respondents. The data collected from respondents (ego) about interactions with the network members (alters) is gathered simultaneously through several institutional contexts. It must be noted that sociologists, geographers and anthropologists tend to divide this category further, highlighting differences between egocentric networks - focused on a particular individual- and personal networks - the ensemble of social relationships surrounding an ego regardless of their social setting. Secondly, complete networks are related to patterns of social relationships within a socially or geographically bounded space. Networks define the group boundaries as well as closed system, and then researchers collect through them data from the group members about their ties to other group members. In open system networks, boundaries are not necessarily clear (Kadushin, 2011).

During the years, the social network analysis has focused on the human understanding of social structure of individual and collective action, in processes of socialization and social integration or exclusion. Personal, open and socio-centric networks represent the immediate social context of an individual, group or firm; indeed, they are used to understand the organization of formal and informal relationships in society. They show us patterns of sociability, social inclusion and exclusion, social cohesion or segregation and so on (Chua et al., 2008).

Social networks are also powerful tools to investigate the specific relational infrastructures that enable people to learn collectively (Lazega, 2016). For instance, the quality of relationships (Granovetter, 1985), and the location of an actor in the overall structure of a network affects the access to information and the co-creation of knowledge (Whittington et. al, 2009). If, as we have explained in the previous chapters, innovation is related to knowledge-exchange and the conditions of proximity between actors, the social network analysis can also explain the structural conditions that facilitate innovation.

The relational level – i.e. considering the attributes of relations – as well as the specific structural characteristics of locations have been theorized in order to explain advantages and disadvantages of «social outcomes such as economic performance or innovativeness» (Gluckler, 2017:125).

In Social Network Analysis, other fundamental relational elements behind the construction of the sociogram are diverse concepts such as actors, relationship, and groups (Wassermann and Faust, 1994). Actors are the social entities analysed and, in sociogram representation, nodes denote them. The actors can be individuals, firms, organizational units and so on. Relationships are represented by the links that brings together two or more actors, also called nodes, and the conduits between them represent each group's relationship in order to indicate, for instance, friendship, economic transactions, association, and so on. Lastly, a group is a predetermined set of actors who, for conceptual, theoretical or empirical reasons, have been considered as a set of individuals to measure.

Social network analysis could be considered as an alternative to the mainstream social research, that aims solely to analysing the behavior of individuals. Method and data collection sign the differences between different approaches, but it is impossible to argue the superiority of one compared to another. In addition, it is not easy to identify network boundaries and group definition because networks are unstable, and they transform themselves continuously.

3.4 Some principal definitions: sociogram, matrix and centrality levels

The simplest network can be summed as containing two mutually linked objects or actors. The relationships could be symmetrical (or mutual) or asymmetrical – when one person is linked with the other, but the second one is not available to reply within the same relation – and symmetrical or mutual. In the latter case, the mutual relation has a valence or a flow, because actors are connected, and – most importantly – they interact with each other exchanging flows and communications. In this case, we are talking about a *diade*, which includes a couple of actors and the potential links that unite them. The representational model focuses on the properties of relationships between pairs of actors. When there is more than one relationship, we are in front of the so-called multiplex relationship (Cai et al., 2018).

Another type of reciprocal relation is when one an actor is connected to another via a third person. This kind of relation can be transitive (or not) and is usually very frequent in official hierarchies. However, if the first and the third person have the same feelings and they operate in the same condition, the network is said to be transitive or balanced and mutual and, in this case, all three nodes are directly linked. In this sense, we have illustrated the different levels of the most fundamental axiom in social network research, in other words, «a node's position in a network determined in part the opportunities and constraints that it

encounters, and it plays an important role in a node's outcome» (Borgatti, 2009:897). In any way, this is the theoretical network approach behind the concept of social capital, which posits that the rate of return on actors' investment in their human capital (knowledge, skills, and capabilities) is determined by their network location.

As we have observed in the previous section, social network research study the pattern of relationships between social and economic actors, distinguishing two main approaches: sociocentric (or complete) network, when the pattern of social relationships is within a defined and bounded context, and egocentric (or personal) network, when the pattern of social relationships is the one surrounding a particular actor. These methodologies can be visualized as a graph: the sociogram.

The birth of the sociogram is attributed to Moreno (1934), who used graph theory to describe the map of relationships between 435 subjects in a community. The sociogram is a graph in which the simple network of three units is called a triad, which is a subset of three actors and the potential links that unite them.

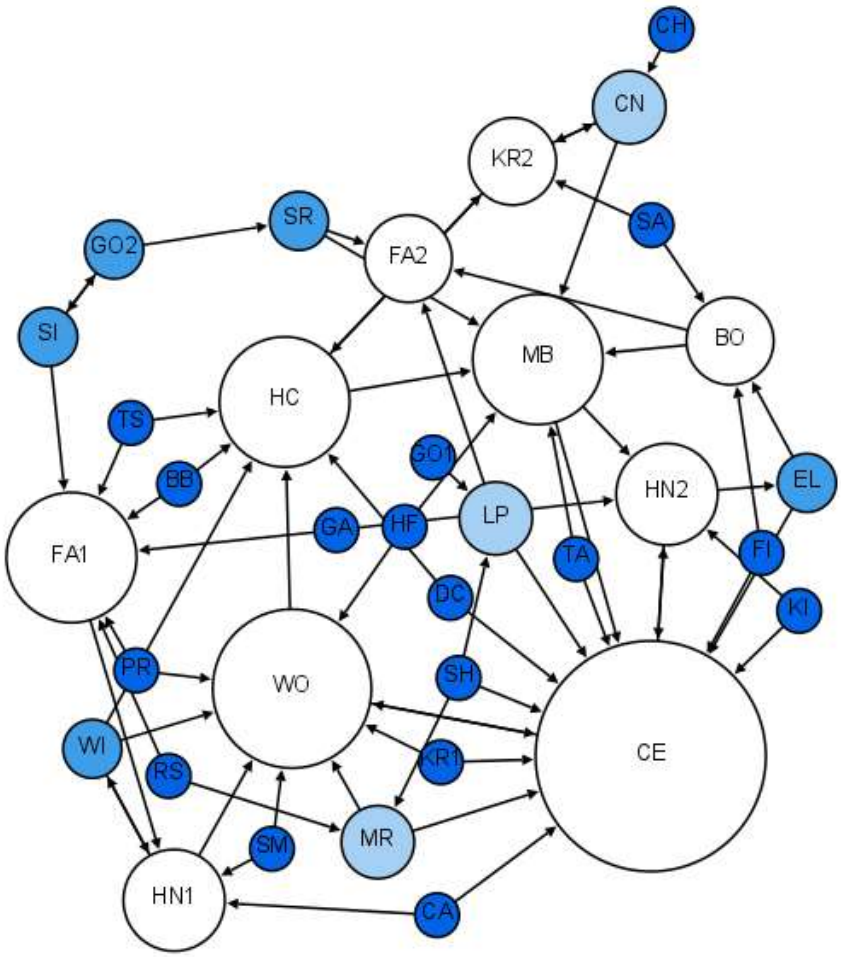


Figure 1: Moreno sociogram example

This graphical invention is a graph in which the nodes are represented by the social units called actors, and the strings connecting the nodes are the relational links. Graphs are tools used to represent binary relationships in a two-dimensional space. The representation of relationships as sociograms has allowed scholars to understand immediately what was happening into the network, and it has constituted the building block of more complex relations. With the addition of graph theory, social network analysis has become an important tool for understanding and manipulating larger and more complex networks.

In its wider definition, graphs are very useful ways of presenting information about social networks. In fact, the sum of the total number of nodes plus the set of links in a graph constitute the sociogram. In this dimension, the size of a network is the first observable feature also if this value does not have a particular analytical meaning. Width is expressed in terms of the number of nodes presented. Individual ties are defined by the set of nodes between pairs that join them. In the graphic representational space, the node location is purely random and does not alter the sociogram properties as well as the length of the line that links two nodes (Karlsson, Andersson, Norman, 2015). A node can be classified in several ways, for instance there can be an adjacent knot (when node A is adjacent and linked to node B, and vice versa), or it can be near another node (the neighbourhood of a node is the set of nodes adjacent to it). Relevant variables are also the degree of a node – that is equivalent to the number of nodes belonging to the neighbourhood- and the subgraph, that consists of a subset of nodes belonging to the set of nodes of the graph and its links.

However, when many actors and/or relations makes the interpretation of the graph difficult it is also possible to represent information about social networks in the form of matrices. A matrix is nothing more than a rectangular arrangement of a set of elements, which records information about the ties between each pair of actors (Hanneman and Riddle, 2000). In social network analysis, common forms of matrix are called square matrix, which is constituted by columns and rows, in which researchers can translate data related to the observed human and non-human actors. The dimension of the relational data represented in a matrix are given by the number of actors involved in the network, representing levels of proximity in the space mapped by the relations that the researchers have measured. For this reason, this kind of matrix is called the adjacent matrix, in which the rows indicate the source of direct ties (from which the link originates) and the columns the receiving actors, i.e. the targets (toward which the link comes). Social scientists use matrices to represent their social networks without mathematical conventions, in order to show data as a selection of labelled rows and columns. Adjacent matrices can include any integer value, starting from 0 (zero), which indicates the existence of a relationship that brings the node to another node. Values different than 0 (zero) indicate the existence of a relationship as well, but the different value specifies the strength (or intensity) of the relationship. When values are always equal to 1, the matrix is called

dichotomized matrix, to indicate the existence of relationships into the network, but without measuring relational type dealing.

Nevertheless, it is also true that if researchers are interested in looking at the idea of the amount of embedding in the whole networks, efforts should be addressed in understanding not only the existence (or degree of intensity) of relations, but also the nature of a pattern of constraint resulting from the way each actor connects to others. With the aim of understanding the variation in the behavior of individuals or artistic producers, we need to take a closer look at their local circumstances - adopting a microspatial approach (Ettingler, 2003) – as we will discuss next. Describing the variation across individuals and levels of their embeddedness in local social (and spatial - in a relational way) structures is the goal of the analysis of (individual) ego networks analysis.

If our analysis puts emphasis on economic and social actors, the research goal is to discover how these subjects behave within their network of belonging. In this sense, at the node level, the main index of relations observed is the centrality through which it is possible to identify and evaluate the cluster position of the actors in a systemic perspective (Borgatti, 2009). This index aims to evaluate how the individual actors are connected each other's within a relational spatial model. In this way, researchers can infer centrality levels concerning the power of subalternate organizations or actors, but also the roles, the dominance, influence or prestige of a singular actor (always represented by a knot). Over the years various declinations of this concept have been elaborated, expanding its meaning and - at the same time - making it more ambiguous in relation to the methods chosen for each research. The three classical measures of an actor's centrality level are the following:

a) Degree centrality: which assumes that the relationships amount that an economic and social actor has with the other nodes within the network (briefly, the degree of a node) can be understood as a factor of centrality. Numerous relationships correspond to high centrality, putting a knot in a situation of advantage.
b) Betweenness centrality: which concerns the centrality of a node that embodies the role of intermediary between nodes that otherwise would not be directly connected. The intermediation capacity referred to places that put the economic actor in an advantageous position because the flow of information between two actors always travels on the shortest path. Therefore, this node represents an obligatory passage for communication between two nodes.
c) Closeness centrality: this index uses the spatial proximity between points as a unit of measurement. In this way, the centrality of the node will be inversely proportional to the sum of the geodesic distances between the node and all the others. Thus, greater values of this

measure mean closeness between a node and the other components of the network.

3.5 Bonds and structural properties

In the previous discussion, we tried to highlight the main concepts concerning social network analysis with the aim to offer a basic framework of this methodology. Social network analysis is characterized by two distinctive elements, nodes and links, that constitute the (analysed) group structure. Once we have isolated this graphical construction, we can study the impact of the structure on the group's functioning and/or its influence on individuals within the group (Borgatti and Foster, 2003). Social Network Analysis studies the relationships that exist between organizational actors that can be individuals, organizational units, businesses, associations and so on. The characteristics of social units are considered as emerging from relational structures or processes, by putting the attributes of the actors in the background – differently of traditional social science research that follows an atomistic logic. The shift is from the traditional approach, which focuses on the attributes of individual actors, to a systemic logic of Network Analysis whose focus is on the interaction of actors. Moreover, the term social network refers to all actors and links between them. The task of the social networking scholars is to model such relationships and draw the structure of a group.

In the section discussed above, we have dealt with elements that are exclusively attributable to the nodes. In the sociogram, relations are evidenced by lines that connect one dot with another, but each relation could be different for values, contents, longevity and so on. In this sense, one of the most important features of relations is their nature. Social relationships can be classified in various ways because they refer to different types of interactions, contexts and circumstances that can be summarized in the following five areas: the exchange of resources, the transmission of information; the power relations; the levels of cooperation and the emotional attachment.

Once the nature of the relationship has been identified, a further step is to analyse the properties of the structure - that is, the position of the bonds present in the network. The most common measures for calculating reticular cohesion are distance, density and connectivity. These are crucial index because they allow the analysis of connectivity level and the interaction modalities within actors, understanding the motivations behind the individual and social dynamics investigated. If distance indicates the length of the path between a pair of actors (represented by values from 1 – when dots are adjacent – to N - when two nodes are connected through a path composed by several intermediations) the distance will be the same to the sum of links composing the same path. Density concerns

the ratio between the number of links existing in a network and the number of all possible links (expressed by values from 0 – min – to 1 max), while network connectivity is related to the number of nodes or links that should be removed to disconnect the network.

Analysing the specific structural characteristics from which socio-spatial network is composed, a further reading level of the social networks considers the investigation of the existence of cohesive subgroups: social network analysis indicates with the term "clique" the regions of high density within the network. The clique is a portion of the network composed of at least three nodes, in which there is a perfect reciprocity of bonds between the components. Moreover, members of the clique must have no node outside the defined sub-group in order for the clique to exist.

3.6 Using Social Network Analysis for the study of socio-spatial relations

Going beyond the sociological aspect of research, in the last decade an increasing attention on social network analysis – and more in general in network theory – has also been registered in the economic and geographical fields. Some interesting investigations have highlighted several points in order to clarify important dynamics into clusters settlements, but the topic it is far from being fully explored. Two important lines of research emerged, focusing, on the one hand, on the network as a model of firms and markets organization and, on the other, on networks as a cognitive environment. While the first approach focuses on new evaluations transaction cost (access costs), resource dependence (asymmetry, alliances), and reduction of uncertainty (control through interdependence); the second one is an emerging approach that considers the space for economic and social interactions as the space through which meanings, variety and knowledge flow. In general, scholars worked to understand topics like learning by interacting (access to information and knowledge otherwise not available), cognitive individual and collective maps, and more in general knowledge management. Also, as confirmed by Ter Wal and Boschma (2008), social network analysis is a powerful methodology to improve the literature on clusters, regional innovation systems and knowledge spillover. In addition, it is a promising tool for better exploring the structure and evolution of inter-organizational interaction and knowledge flows within and across regions.

Furthermore, social network techniques represent «a tool for systematically assessing and then intervening at critical points within an (individual and) informal network. [...] researchers have clearly demonstrated the extent to which informal networks pervade and effect life and work within organizations» (Cross, Borgatti and Parker, 2002:33). According to this definition, artistic innovative production seems to be a privileged field of research in which scholars can

observe interesting dynamics. Firstly, because artistic and cultural production environment based on individual and informal networks of relationships has grown up over the years and has been temporarily activated into project design. Secondly, because collaborative ability and dynamics are critical to the actual and future success of an organization, and very often it permeates work and tasks in this environment. In this sense, we acknowledged that communication and sharing information between people involved in informal networks highlighted the role of similarity between persons themselves in increasing the communication chance. On the other hand, we know also that the design of a temporary project can be influenced by the pattern of informal networks via geographical proximity and nature of the task (Torre, 2008). In this way, Plum and Hassink (2011), putted their attention on processes that underpin innovations in biotechnology, emphasizing the crucial role played by individual biographies in explaining the strong connection with local research-oriented organizations. Translating from biotechnologists to artists – but focusing the attention on the resource exchanges – social network analysis enables scholars to underline how economic actors benefit from existing social networks that they have established in the past. In this sense, social network analysis is a powerful tool to clarify organizational settlement and flows, reading these phenomena in a chronological way and not only "in the moment".

In the field of creative and artistic innovative production, there is a lack of academic attention regarding the practice of creating an informal social network as a source of data. As Neff (2005) argued, this kind of practice is constitutive of productive contexts within cultural industries, and the work central of artistic producers – to preserve and enforce social ties – happens outside of the formal boundaries of organizations and inside industrial social settings. In this sense, temporary projects and events embodied the critical unit of analysis for understanding this process, while social networks techniques can be useful for scholars in order to gather data, visualize data through sociograms and reveal explanatory discussions. Social networks are also identified by Potts (2008) and other authors in the attempt to define creative industries. They acknowledged three elements as central features of creative industries: agent cognition and learning, social networks, market-based enterprise, organizations and coordinating institution. Although several researches have been carried out in the relation between creative industries and formal and informal networks, there is a lack of studies that applies social network techniques from a methodological point of view. Even though economists and economic geographers advanced important reflections about micro-interactions of the creative class in specific local contexts (Comunian et al. 2014), the connection between cities and the systems of local cultural production and consumption (Comunian, 2010) - putting social networks at the core of their theoretical research design - only a few works actually used social network analysis techniques. In all cases, social networks are putted at the

core of the theoretical research design, but they are few considered with social network analysis techniques.

Social network analysis, indeed, can be a powerful tool for encouraging collaboration and knowledge sharing within an organization, but also to recognize how factors such as fragmentation and lack of communication can make actors separated from the rest of the (own) world, becoming unfit to cooperate (Cross, Borgatti and Parker, 2002). Other interesting issues could be investigated in relation to the organizational fragmentation, including phenomena such as hierarchical leadership; physical dispersion and virtual work; cognitive distance resulting in networks with dense subgroups only weakly connected to other sub-groups; and workflow processes that overload specific roles and slow the group.

Moreover, when social network analysis is also combined with some other methods like interviews or focus groups, it allows an interesting analysis of social and spatial interaction including people and resources exchange, offering an interpretation of the reality. As Ter Wal and Boschma (2009) affirmed, social network techniques can be classified in two ways, one more statistical and the second more qualitative: the roster recall methodology and ego (or individual) networks. They differ in the way of collecting data, in process (mathematical and statistical calculations vs. observations) and also in graphical representations. We will adopt both in different steps: firstly, roster recall methodology in order to understand actor's dynamics within the analysed cluster and, secondly, starting from the individual actor, we will reconstruct the personal socio-spatial relations in order to reconstruct the process starting from the artistic idea to the project. In these ways, SNA will enable us to clarify linking organizations across firm boundaries, new forms of labour market intermediation (Benner, 2002), and establishing positive economic externalities of regional production.

3.7 The Individual network analysis for reconstructing work collaborations

Traditional social network techniques investigate the extent to which actors find themselves in social and spatial structures characterized by dense, reciprocal, transitive, strong ties. The theoretical and methodological attempt is to evaluate the amount of embeddedness (Granovetter, 1985) in all networks, understanding the nature and extension of the patterns of ties. The adoption of the "statistical way" of social network techniques, enables us to investigate deeply entire populations, and its sub-groups; but we cannot acknowledge the opportunities and constraints faced by individuals – especially in the personal network of entrepreneurs (Berrou and Combarnous, 2012).

Our observation is oriented to understand the process that underpins artistic innovative production in order to discuss the cluster theory and, in particular, the emphasis on the geographical proximity concept and its functioning in the artistic

field. In this way, if we are looking for variations in socio-spatial behaviors of practitioners and small-size organizations, we need to focus on their local and personal circumstances. In this sense, ego (or personal) network analysis is a powerful tool to describe variations across individuals and their level of embeddedness in local and global social structures.

In fact, ego network analysis orients the observation beyond the level of the individual and the study of behaviors into spatial contexts, to highlight differences in personal characteristics and social environments. In short, individual network analysis highlights the effects of the (social and spatial) context on individual attitudes. Network variables are treated as attributes of respondents and they are used as outcomes (or to predict outcomes). The relevant ones are found in the size of personal networks, in the composition of personal networks, in the structure of personal networks, in the resources exchanged within the personal network (Trotter, 1999).

«A personal network is the system combining the relationships that an individual (ego) maintains with other persons (alter)» (Bidart and Charbonneau, 2011). In this kind of methodology, we called ego the individual analysed in the investigation, indicating the subject as a node, reconstructing the surrounding relationships in order to visualize the network. Personal network analysis focuses on the social position of the individual actor within the space of everyday life and not only when "innovation is made". In this sense, differently from the static representation of sociocentric network, this method contains a sort of processualism through which actors, firms and individuals can be investigated. Indeed, the idea is that social ties can bind nodes together in such a way that construct a new entity whose properties can be different from those of its constituent elements (Borgatti, 2009). As well as the previous description of network, several nodes built a network that can assume the nature of individuals, teams, organizations, and other subjects.

If we will use sociocentric networks when the phenomenon investigated occurs within a socially or geographically bounded space, and network members are not independent and tend to interact (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008), we will also use personal networks when the focus of interest affects people irrespective of a bounded space and the members of the population are independent of one another. However, we will use both methods when the members of the population can be influenced from outside interactions of the space of relevance. In this way, from the personal networks emerge the opportunities in high clustering of actors, particularly in relation to the roles embodied, contents and frequencies of the relation between the subjects investigated.

According to this method, scholars could evaluate the context «from the perspective of the central individual who is discussing his / her relationships in the interview», considering the organization of informal relationships in society, differently of sociocentric networks approach, which considers the links that unite all members of a bounded population (Bidart and Charbonneau, 2012:7).

3.8 Primary data collection: roster-recall and name generator technique

In the previous sections, we claimed that network theory plays an increasing role in economic geography and innovation studies. For this reason, social network analysis seems to be an interesting methodology to investigate cluster dynamics. Cluster networks research uses different typologies of data in designing a network study, employing primary and secondary data collections. In any case, a social network analysis must be built using relational data, describing the features of the socio-spatial relations between social and economic inscribed into a network (Maggioni and Uberti, 2011). Firstly, researchers need to clearly identify the research problem, detailing specific research questions and being conscious that only one tool probably does not fit every question raised. Secondly, and maybe the most important aspect in drawing the research, researchers need to identify the boundaries of the social and economic actors and the sampling techniques (Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Sonnino and Marsden, 2005). Boundaries in the cluster analysis of knowledge flows have been defined according to two principal measures.

The first procedure is related to the collection of primary data, the so called direct data. According to this modality, the researcher directly collects relational data through interviews and questionnaires submitted to a number of individuals or organizations, while the second methodology uses indirect data from other sources like guides, patent citations and archival dataset that researchers adapts with the aim to perform social network analysis exercises. This last approach is called secondary data. In the following sections, we will illustrate some examples with the aim to underline differences and common points in the two methodologies.

Data sources can be determined in different ways to describe better information in social networks exercises. The main ways in which it can be done are surveys, interviews, observations and archival data. The primary data collection strategy is adopted when not ready-to-use database is available to study a specific issue in a given population. Concerning interviews as a powerful way to collect data, Ter Wal and Boschma (2008) identified roster-recall methodology as a prevalent way of gathering data via direct contacts. Using that method, the researcher works with a predefined list of actors in order to accumulate data, while each actor (interviewed) is provided with the entire list of population investigated. For each of the actors indicated in the list (or roster), the interviewee should indicate other actors which he/she engages a relationship with. Additionally, researcher asks to the respondents to recall all other subjects which are engaged in the same type of relationship, adding the new ones to the roster list. In this way, researchers can enrich the investigation and reconstruct the whole

network of this specific environment, including subjects not indicated before and adding the external linkages (Maggioni, 2011). In this way they can capture «information on links beyond the survey area indicate[ing] the importance of region-external interaction in comparison with regional interaction» (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008).

Despite primary data collection embodied the most statistically robust procedure through which researchers can investigate (in order to compare) different kinds of relationships among the same set of actors, there are opportunities and limits that make this methodology useful for any insight. Scholars claim that roster-recall methodology is better when researchers need to obtain information about two different kinds of relationships contemporarily, generating two or more networks for the same population. At the same time, this methodology «offers the opportunity to ask for several characteristics for each of the links. In addition, the survey-based nature of the methodology provides opportunities to gather information on the links or the partners involved, and additional ones on the population that might otherwise be unknown» (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008). On the other hand, the roster recall methodology presents several limits. For instance, measurements about the structural network extent can be calculated only for a specific spatial cluster of social and economic actors, for which complete network data have been gathered before. Indeed, a research based on this method is reliable only when researcher gathered a very high response rate. Another shortcoming of the roster recall method is the time-intensive nature of the methodology (Maggioni, 2011). The best results are likely to be obtained through interviews, but considering the time-consuming nature of them, such a survey method could highly limit the size of the social and economic actors investigated (Maggioni, 2011). In this way, it appears useful to use the network analysis on the basis of primary data to observe small clusters of firms or small sectors within a bounded space (like a region). Another complication can emerge from the non-response that makes questionable whether the identified network is a valid representation of the complete structural network. But more than non-response limits, another reason that could validate (or not) a representation of the structural network is, for instance, the exact formulation of the question oriented to explore a specific type of relations. Moreover, interviewee might not remember a complete list of relations and links in the period under investigation. Furthermore, it is very difficult that respondents reply about their relationships in the past years because there is a high possibility that they do not remember all their past relations. From a methodological approach, it is difficult «to use primary network data for analysing how the network structure or the network position of actors have changed over time, from an evolutionary point of view» (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008).

Social network analysis, indeed, needs a complete and available network data with the aim to be efficient. If this condition cannot be satisfied, ego-network data represent a good methodological opportunity to gather data both in statistical and

not statistical way. With this approach, researchers take into account only the direct links of an actor and the links between his direct engagements. On the one hand, this reduces the potential of social network analysis in terms of centrality and measurements, attenuating the possibility to reveal entire network structures and related position of subjects within them – because ego is the focal point of the analysis. Conversely, for large-scale surveys ego-network data will be a good alternative, stimulating the application of ego-network data in economic geography (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008).

In this direction, name generators techniques represent the most effective tools for drawing up rosters of individuals and small-size organizations involved into networks. If it is true that ego network analysis starts from a pre-defined population of actors list, name generator method «is a tool that uses a question or a series of questions to produce lists containing the names of the persons forming an individual's network» (Bidart, 2011). If roster recall methodology is more focused on the structural feature of clusters, name generators techniques put the social and economic actors at the core of the investigation. Name generators can be classified in three typologies, influenced by the approch selected by the researcher:

-generators based on relations and contacts;
-generators based on the relevance of links;
-generators based on resource exchange.

Interviews can be used to collect information on ego networks and, after having revealed their network members, participants answered questions that could resemble name generators based on exchange. We could ask each actor to identify all of others with whom they have a connection, and to report what the ties are among them. Another solution is the two-stage snowball method, asking ego to identify alters, and secondly asking each of them about their ties to each other (Hanneman and Riddle, 2011). Practically, paper-and-pencil methods (Hogan et al., 2007), software development (Egonet, Vennmaker, Netcanvas and others), web-based network surveys, and specific visualization options in Visone (like clustered graphs) represent the main methods for collecting personal network data, measuring directly specific aspects of personal networks.

Researchers can choose between the most well-organized and detailed representation of the actor perceptions of geographical space and social environment in a specific moment – and who takes part into these systems according to the respondent point of view. In this way, we can combine several generator logics with different objectives, capturing different relational aspects. However, also in this case, researchers are not able to carry out an exhaustive network, abandoning the idea of forming a complete picture of an individual's network (Bidart, 2011).

There are also alternative ways to build network datasets differently from primary data collection. A great attention has been given, for instance, to the use of patents as relational data, searching on them the right location of inventors or knowledge flow through spatial boundaries (Oinas and Malecki, 2002). In this sense, literature suggests using patents as secondary relational data.

3.9 Secondary data collection: arts projects as a source of network data

Network research in economic geography also based on secondary data becomes a considerable research field as well as research based on primary data collection. Patent citations has been used as relational data by the economics of innovation research to analyze knowledge spillover, or to re-discuss the roles of geographical proximity, the influence of social structures and the mobility of inventors. The secondary data collection is an indirect procedure that exploits the availability of appropriate informational databases and their accessibility. Principal efforts addressed in designing research are related to the choice of an appropriate set of information, and the interpretation of existing database in a relational way. In this sense, «besides a detailed description of the patented product and many of its technological details, patent records provide information about the actor possessing the patents, the people that have been involved into its realization, as well as several citations to previous patents or scientific work, […] information on the year the patent was applied for and has been granted». (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008). Indeed, patent dataset includes a complete set of information about both inventors (individuals or groups that have developed the patented product) and the patent applicant (generally research institutes, departments and firms) detailing a complete landscape of opportunities for researchers. At the same time, they include information about the producers and the owners of intellectual properties, this information is necessary for identifying the patents belonging to the specific region investigated (Jaffe, 2011). Consequently, patents are atypical example of attributional database that enables researcher to practice a number of applications of the social network analysis. In a possible and desirable follow up for our research about socio-spatial relations in independent artistic production could be interesting to adopt an inventor-oriented approach, when instead of patent data researcher we could use artistic projects data from exhibition program in a museum or in institutional circuits – for example. From our point of view, as well as each patent could be interpreted from a relational perspective as a window on different networks of knowledge flows involved in the innovation process – also artistic projects can be viewed and interpreted in this way. However, the specific substance of the recommendation calls for a comment, because only the institutional level can be studied in a

chronological way. Indeed, only cultural institutions publish books or documents about the programs, while information about the independent sphere of artistic producers could be not available in terms of publishing.

In the main cases, patents have been used as attributional dimension for the evaluation of high degrees of innovation (and markets too) activities of an economic actor, firms, and territory, and they could be also interpreted as a modality to underline different networks of knowledge flows involved in the innovation process. In this way, several interpretations of patents database are grown in the recent years, involving different aspects. Maggioni and Uberti (2011) identify aspects concerning the mapping of scientific and technological precedents, the alliance among inventors with the aim to create innovation, and the market-led connections between inventors and applicants (also called assignees). Two sub-categories emerge from this last reading of patents data, developing different streams of research. Firstly, researchers focus on an approach based on "the agent-based mobility of inventors", analysing the micro-economic description of the knowledge spill over dynamics with regard to the mobility of inventors which register patents with different applicants (Breschi and Lissoni, 2004). The second stream of research focused on the "regional knowledge transfer", describing the numerous spatial distribution of inventors and applicants. This approach underlines the spatial patterns of knowledge flows and take into account the comparison between places of production and places of consumption of patents, studying both knowledge creation and utilization (Maggioni et al. 2008).

According to Ter Wal and Boschma (2008), secondary data collection enables researchers to study phenomenon by chronological perspective, and the possibility to detect networks back in time. Software has been developed with the objective to develop dynamic analysis of social networks (for instance, SIENA program developed by Snijders, 2007), enabling to study inter-firm networks.

Despite numerous advantages rooted in these methods, the indirect approach contains limitations originated using secondary data and official collection of information. Maggioni (2011) identified limits in the need to rename the actors analysed using social network terminology, defining the type of relation, or mode, of networks of belonging. Another shortcoming is due to the boundaries of an organization, because even if the inventors are mentioned on a patent document, they do not necessarily work for the patent assigning company. In this way, «there is increasing awareness that a dense local system of interactions may lead to cognitive lock-in and economic decline when it is not complemented by a wider network of non-regional linkages» (Maggioni, 2011), and patent citations represent a fix list of names and addresses without any evaluation about the collaborative dynamics in knowledge creation.

Ter Wal and Boschma identified several limitations in the secondary patent-based networks. According the authors, these shortcomings limit the opportunities of applications in regional and economic studies.

Firstly, this method only reveals the cooperative relations between inventors or assignees, without taking into account the technicians or other professionals involved in patenting. However, if we are looking to understand firm dynamics, with secondary data only formal inter-firm cooperation arrangements are drawn into the network. The informal collaborative dimension will not be captured by this approach.

Another limitation is that patenting performance varies across sectors, implying that secondary data collection is only appropriate for sectors in which most innovations are registered, while social network analysis needs a complete set of data of the whole network available. In addition, patenting behaviour is closely related to the firm size, with big firms that are available to recorde the innovation more than small ones. In this way, «the networks that result from patent data are biased towards larger firms», while small firms will be unrepresented – as well as universities and research centres.

Therefore, social network analysis can enforce a better understanding of interesting dynamics such as extra-regional linkages, and it constitutes an appropriate analytic tool for cultural economics and economic geographers. But, if on the one hand scholars cold accept the challenge, one the other they ask for a growing availability of empirical network data.

3.10 Critical dimensions of network-based research

We claim that network analysis embodied massive potentials to enrich theoretical and empirical observations in several streams of economic and geographical research with different objectives. The main benefits involve the literature on clusters, regional innovation systems and knowledge flows and spatial spill overs. We illustrated the functioning, given some basilar notion about terminology and main properties. In this sense, we built a methodological framework with the aim to study the socio-spatial relationship in artistic production. In doing so, we can look both at the social contexts in which actors are embedded and the knowledge contents of this relations. How is it possible to satisfy these challenges?

Social network analysis techniques have been applied with the effort to examine how the structure of interaction in regions and geographical clusters looks like. Researchers get convinced that networks are an appropriate conceptualization of interorganizational interaction and knowledge flows. In this way, economic action has been studied in three ways, looking at content of the network relationships, their governance, and the structural composition of networks (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003).

Despite the numerous advantages revealed in the next sections the social network analysis literature has also several limitations. Firstly, a critic point of research on networks is due to the lack of a core theory. Consequently, no theory

yields a set of propositions in order to identify the network constructs (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003). In this way, theory presents a sort of "faceless landscape of actors", avoiding the clarification of differences between actors (Glucker et al., 2017). Often adopting economic and information science literatures, network-based research risks to give not enough attention to the social dimension, going back to the instrumental point of view of the social for the economic. If researchers look for an interpretation of the differences of contemporary workplaces, they need give more attention to the multidimensionality of problems. Only in this way they can critique the existing system, problematizing the new features of the production apparatus that require reconfigurations to achieve social as well as economic development.

At the same time, the social network analysis – and network theory too – has been adopted by anthropologists, social scientists and mathematicians, remaining an influenced and hybridized tool. For this reason, economists working on entrepreneurial success often consider network studies as influenced by conceptual vagueness. Scholars claimed social network analysis as "loose federation of approaches" (Burt, 1980) because debate is ongoing about «how concepts are operationalized rather than the underlying theoretical arguments themselves» (Hoang and Antoncic, 2003). On the other hand, they do not articulate a distinct network theory of entrepreneurship, considering not particularly useful a possible theorization.

In addition, Aldrich and Zimmer (1986), recognized empirical limitation of the network analysis in their discussion about entrepreneurship through social networks. They underline problems concerning the relational approach at different levels, starting from the assumption that no traits associated with entrepreneurship has been identified by a rigorous empirical research. In this sense, research suffers a selection bias because studies and evaluation are only about successful people and do not evaluate their attributes against a comparison group. Furthermore, leaders in entrepreneurship and innovation are not identified outside the context of research, making difficult selection and work. At the same time, the relational approach overestimates the entrepreneurial role and personality, by giving special characteristics to the actor investigated.

3.11 On methodology and methods

Starting from the adoption of Social Network Theory, as noticed in the previous subchapters, in this research we tried to analyse data from different perspectives in combination with social network analysis techniques. The methods utilised in this work are a combination of 1) semi-structured interviews, 2) focus group, 3) structured interviews and 4) control study. The reasons why such methods are used in combination are different.

Social network techniques allow us to study, estimate and visualize relations that happens between of individuals, actors, relationship, and groups, clarifying the social and cultural behaviour of them in complex networks. Our aims were to understand how cultural actors use networks in their creative and artistic practice. In doing this, we adopt the following methods:

- Traditional social network technique: it investigates the extent to which actors find themselves in social and spatial structures characterized by dense, reciprocal, transitive, strong ties. This method includes quantitative data that enables us to investigate deeply entire groups, and its sub-groups;
- Ego-network analysis: it analyses a personal, open and socio-centric network representing the direct social context of an individual, organization or firm. It is used to know the organization of formal and informal relationships in a particular social context. They show us patterns of sociability, acknowledging the opportunities and constraints faced by individuals – especially in the personal network of entrepreneurs

In this sense, our task was to model such relationships and draw the structure of a 1) winner group and 2) all networks involved in the innovative artistic production activated by Bando ORA! grant. If social networks can study and represent a set of information about human, geographical and cognitive ties that are locally based, they can also tell us something about exchange for information, knowledge and ideas. According these approaches we use traditional social network analysis (more quantitative approach) to understand 1) how network structures configure itself within the winners of a grant-in-aid for innovative arts projects, 2) the characteristics of relations express by these structures, 3) the spatiality of this structure network. In a following step, we implement ego-network analysis (more qualitative approach) to know 1) how each actor/organization (the prize winner) build their own network project, 2) the characteristics of these relations visualized through drawing maps, 3) the resources exchanged between actors, 4) the spatial scales of these relations.

To develop traditional social network analysis, data has been collected through semi-structured interviews asking all winners of Bando ORA! if each of them already knows the other organizations included in the winner list. Assuming that these organizations are the best of innovative artistic innovation in Italy, we can stress two points that cluster theory claims: location and agglomeration. We can suppose that they acknowledge the other ones for two reasons: 1) they are located in the same place and, 2) doing part of the similar relational environment, they belong to the equal artistic production level that allows facilitation in communication and coordination for members. In a second moment, winners have been investigated about previous collaborations in work projects. We ask them if they had already collaborated with the other winners, starting from another crucial point in cluster theory: the co-presence in the same cluster enhance collaboration and innovation processes. The quality of relationships and the location of an

organization in the overall structure of a network affects the access to information and the co-creation of knowledge. If innovation is related to knowledge-exchange and the conditions of proximity between actors, this traditional social network analysis can explain the structural conditions that facilitate innovation. When respondents announce an acknowledgment and a previous collaboration with other organizations, we putted value "1" into two different matrices, while when they declare "no relations" we putted a value "0". Collected all the information, network structures have been elaborated through the software UciNet.

To advance in ego-network analysis, instead, data collection has been developed starting from a single proposer of the winner project looking outside the list of winners itself. Drawing individual maps, respondents had reconstructed models of the process that drives from the idea to the realization of it, including all members/organizations involved their team project. The aim of these ego-network maps was in identifying actors and their organizational settlements, relation and quality of it, role of actors within the project, resources exchanged, location of actors. To do this, semi-structured interview has been combined with ego-network analysis about the description of actor relations involved in their innovative artistic production, organizational description of partners and relations, location of each member of the ego-network developed and qualities of ties. Collected all the details and information, network structures have been sketched through the software UciNet.

As reported above, this work also relied on the semi-structured interview method. Such method relies on the strategic collection of data through the activity of asking information a series of open-ended questions. The reason to use such method is to seek to explore both the relation between the interviewed and their contexts, as well as to gauge their interpretations of meanings, point of views, experiences and relationships (Given 2008). Therefore, semi-structured interviews are used to both collect factual data and also leaving the freedom to the person interviewed to express meanings that could enrich the substance of the data collected. In the case of this work for example, semi-structured interviews were conducted to allows us an alternative analysis of social and spatial interaction of all project winners, including people and resources exchange no mentioned before. Questions was related to how many partners has been involved in the process and which function they had in creation, what kind of organizational settlement all actors mentioned had and in which sector operate, where they are based, what kind of resource they exchange between them. Through this method, we had discovered most of the organizations involved in this complex scenario, many no mentioned before. At the same time, we discovered that informal groups work with artistic and cultural institutions, proposer collaborate a lot with actors based in other places rather than in the own and – above all – the "creator" of the idea is not always the leader of the winner organization.

In the following stages, we used focus group to explore in-depth topics within the social domain and in particular in the case of qualitative approach, as noticed

by Nyumba, Wilson, Derrick and Mukherjee (2018). Such methods generally seek to achieve an understanding of a specific issue's dynamic, by exploring a specific group of limited people, rather than investigation larger statistical samples. Moreover, as Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) explained that focus groups are a qualitative data collection that help bridge the gap between scientific research and local knowledge. Focus groups are generally organized around the techniques of one-to-one interviews and/or group interviews. Often, the researcher acting as a mediator has the role to shift between different techniques in order to obtain the required knowledge. In the instance of this work, the focus group has been conducted by the author through a direct involvement in the mentoring process that the donor (Compagnia di San Paolo) dedicated to the winners. Topics investigated was the nature and objectives of projects, the relationship between teams and used spaces, their personal feeling about concept like "innovative" and "independent". Outputs were very low and scarce because people have no appreciate the attempt to make a collective discussion about themselves.

In order to complete the data collection and to maintain an encompassing point of view, the researcher has also conducted structured interviews. As Brinckmann (2014) explained, interviews are currently the most widespread method to collect data and produce knowledge. Structured interviews are based on a sequence of standardized questions that generally aim at exploring quantitative of factual aspects. In this work the structured interviews were utilised to obtain information such as roles in organization and project, demographic issues, education and training, payment and conditions of work, frequentation with artists or creative people and attendance to cultural local milieu activities.

Once the data were collected and the relations highlighted, a control study was explored, in order to verify if the dynamics identified in the Italian context can have correspondence in another one. As suggested by Yin (2018), the research proposed, and the methodological approach should be tested on a case study to allow the refinement and the validation of such approach. To this end, this work has explored the case of five independent arts organizations in Birmingham (UK). The aim of exploring this control study is to see either the highlighted dynamics in a context were valid also in another place, and if not, to understand which were the external and contextual factors that impinged of the diversity of such dynamics. In particular, Birmingham seems an interesting context to investigate because it is an important manufacturing and engineering centre, it is in the top-five most populous city of the country, it is one of the main multi-cultural city in UK, trends in music scene as death and heavy metal, its quarters host more than one university, Birmingham was one of the main town of the British automotive industry and it have more troubles related to deindustrialization process as unemployment, needs to make economic and social redevelopment and a lot of discarded and underused areas. In any sense, it seems the description also of the City of Turin, and the two contexts present some similar dynamic.

Chapter 4

Looking for innovative cultural producers in Piedmont and Liguria. The case of Bando ORA

4.1 Sample description

Nowadays, the increasing number of people working - or trying to work – in artistic and cultural sectors in our cities is a consolidated truth. The social and economic crisis in urban contexts determinates new working scenarios with both opportunities and difficulties due to contemporary lifestyles and the job market conditions. These dynamics force cultural actors to rethink their way of production investigating new productive solutions and working conditions. By experimenting with new aesthetic and organizational solutions, they become an active part of the innovative scenarios. They share ideas and resources in a setting that not only includes a passive audience of cultural initiatives but also an increase of active people at the core of creative and productive processes. In this sense, innovative cultural production influences both leisure and working life of people and firms. On the one hand, these dynamics generate a huge growth of the cultural offer - and of cultural spaces - available in cities, while, on the other hand, we are living in a period of democratization of cultural production in which the gap between professionals and non-professional workers is smaller than in the past.

The main cognitive question of this research concerns the understanding of the phenomenon of contemporary innovative cultural production in Italy, the investigation of the socio-demographic dimensions, the different methods of exchanging information and knowledge between cultural producers for the interpretation of the spatial dynamics. In this sense, the research seeks to deepen

some of the social and spatial aspects that contribute to the formation of the creative atmosphere in urban contexts.

Using various investigation techniques, the research has been built with semi-structured interviews carried out within four focus groups, and quantitative data collection oriented to create a dataset for the analysis of the network structures and the connections between cultural producers and cities. As the third step, the research also mapped the dynamics of individuals networks working in creative production through interviews (repeated two times), capturing their individual interactions with other organizations and actors involved in the creation process of art projects. In this way, we aim to shed light on the different resources exchanges and knowledge flows as a key element to the innovative culture-led urban development.

A selection of the sample preceded these stages of data collection, considering the direct involvement of the author in the analysis and evaluation process of the winners of Bando ORA made by CSS EBLA - Research Center for Economics of Culture working in partnership with Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation. Bando ORA is a prestigious private award supporting contemporary languages and innovative productions. This award represents the only case in Italy to support specifically “innovative” cultural production and new “artistic” languages. For this reason, we select all the grant winners because they represent the best example in Italy of artistic organization operating in a multidisciplinary, at least according the donor’s opinion. In this way, we can observe not only principles dynamics that characterize organizational and structural levels of these actors, but we could also underline how policymakers has been influenced by creative city e creative class rhetoric. First, our analysis will be oriented to highlight that not always artistic organizations have relations with others based in the same place. According the creative class theory, relations developed by actors in the same place is the only solution to generate innovation. Second, in order to stress cluster conception as the main spatial model for culture-led urban development, we will demonstrate how these actors work more with organizations based in other cities rather than in the own one. Compagnia di San Paolo is one of the main philanthropic entities in Europe - and the first actor in Italy - that promotes this award with the aim of supporting and promoting nonprofit cultural production at the national in visual and performative arts and other expressive languages of contemporary culture. This call for proposals projects developing artistic research, methodologies, and productions in a cross-disciplinary approach, encouraging the use of new technologies as components of artistic production.

After the sample selection phase's, we conducted the research through four focus groups as active moments for exchange and reflection with the members of the twenty winning projects. At the same time, we did a passive observation of the behaviors and statements of the same subjects. Through forty semi-structured interviews with the individual cultural workers involved in the realization of the twenty projects, the research tries to describe social and spatial matters related to

the pathways of carriers and the actual working conditions of cultural professionals. The interview contains twenty-five open-ended questions answered by forty members of the twenty organizations. The picture that emerges is largely devoid of surprises and proves that the artistic environment investigated is complex, consisting of a remarkable vivacity of operators. The professions most encountered are art curators, dancers, choreographers, writers, designer, artistic developers, press officers, project developers, artistic directors and visual artists. In addition, twenty collective interviews have helped us to highlight how projects have been developed through partnerships and collaborative work.

The observation also focused on the presence of these subjects on the periodicals of information, advertising and communication campaigns of artistic and cultural events realized from March 2016 until May 2017 to identify the evolution of the projects themselves and further collaborations activated after the award of the prize.

The heterogeneity of the questioned dimension justifies the choice of adopting different observation strategies for data collection, keeping in mind that selecting other case studies may have produced different results.

4.1.1. Context of research

The aim of this research is to analyse the socio-spatial relationships of the cultural producers who are the most innovative from the point of view of the content proposal, the best cultural actors on the threshold (frontier) of aesthetic and organizational experimentation. Firstly, we will analyse aspects and behaviours related to the composition of this sample in different fields (basic demographics, training and education, pattern of working space and time) and, secondly, the different kinds of proximity concerning their relationships, in order to understand the nature and the structure of the cultural production processes and the ties from a geographical perspective. In a first phase, we have investigated if geographical proximity is the only condition to exchange resources – and so, to produce innovation or not. Second, the question will analyze if knowledge transfer and diffusion take place when cultural producers are linked to others who are based in various places but are able to share common values, interests and trust.

The mainstream literature claims that to generate new values in product and processes (into the creative economy framework), economic actors need closeness among them to facilitate the sharing of tacit knowledge and learning from each other and to implement new solution for problem solving (Amin, 2000). In this sense, the clustering dynamics of activities emphasize potential capital accumulation, cultural innovation and social inclusion (Scott, 2000). Furthermore, it is true that the types of dynamics observed in those activities involved cultural actors in industrial dynamics, as well as it is possible to observe also in sectors like music, design, R&D, cinema and gastronomy. Is closeness also relevant in artistic and performative field of arts (or projects)? If space is relevant, can it be

defined as a physical dimension or as a flow of communication and relations? In any way, space becomes a crucial aspect in the cultural production process – and so in the aesthetic generation of content and artworks – for different features. Cultural producers need workspaces that are located in definite places, exhibitions and performances happens in public or private spaces in cities, cultural producers meet colleagues in certain types of space (galleries, museums, artist studios, artistic residencies, etc) or educate themselves in specific courses and schools (and also schools are located in specific cities and not in others) and so on. By questioning ourselves about the different typologies of space that are included in this process, it is possible to suggest different aspects. Manuel Castells, for example, claims that «space is a material \ product, in relationship to other material products – including people – who engage in [historically] determined social relationships that provide space with a form, a function, and a social meaning» (Castells, 1999). In this sense relationships and people become a central element for the construction of space.

Contemporary culture languages and innovative aesthetic expression of cultural production were the central aspects of the aforementioned Bando Ora, a call for projects that took place in Turin in October 2015. Compagnia San Paolo, the institution that promoted this open call, is a private foundation operating in three regions in the northwest of Italy: Piedmont, Aosta Valley and Liguria. This competition was oriented to support projects in the fields of visual arts, performative and digital culture, because the institution acknowledges the importance of promoting and valorising the most avant-garde cultural productions coming from the most creative levels of the territory.

4.1.2 Description of the institution that promoted the prize

Compagnia di San Paolo is an Italian philanthropic institution based in Turin, born in the middle of the sixteenth century and currently one of the largest private foundations in Europe, with a net asset value exceeding € 5.8 billion, according to the 2016 annual account. The institution is a non-profit, private legal entity who pursues exclusively social purposes and promotes economic development. It operates in Piedmont, Liguria and Aosta Valley through grant-making activities, and is considered one of the most important players for the local development of the territories in which it operates (Vanolo, 2015).

In accordance with the law reform of Banking Foundations in Italy (1992), the income generated by the foundation's assets finance the activities of the foundation itself, and has as its main purpose the civil, cultural and economic development of the communities in which it operates. (Fornara, Longhi, Segre, 2014).

Compagnia di San Paolo initiatives are differently allocated by intervention areas with great interest for both the preservation and enhancement of the cultural heritage and for the promotion and support of projects and organizations operating

in the fields of visual, performance and digital culture. The relevant areas of intervention identified are nine and they classify several operational fields: Research and higher education; Arts, Activities and Cultural Heritage; Artistic heritage; Cultural activities; Health; Social Policies; Philanthropy and territory; Cultural innovation, Intersectional programs.

Compagnia di San Paolo has also instrumental bodies and has developed some tools with the perspective of adapting its operations to ever-evolving contexts. Since 2002, thematic calls have been launched to apply for redevelopment projects according to different types of manufactures. Preferential criteria were the ability to revitalize cultural assets and context, involve residents and generate opportunities for economic development.

Since 2008, the theme of integration is an indispensable element of the project. Therefore, the need to focus commitments on excellent initiatives that multiply the Company's support effects has led to the creation of calls for proposals where explicit actions for the recovery and enhancement of assets are explicitly foreseen (Fornara, Longhi, Segre, 2014).

According to the Strategic Plan 2017-2020, Compagnia di San Paolo has been investing (and will invest) 36 million euros per year on the cultural sector. In order to manage these financial efforts, in 2015, the institution created a new operating subject, the Cultural Innovation Area, «an interlocutor for projects and subjects that operate in the cultural field presenting innovative elements». This conception of innovation means: «the freshness of expressive forms and artistic languages, a new thematic approach to the relationship between culture and society, a particular focus on the economic and productive dimension of culture».

4.1.3 Bando ORA: a grant for the contemporary culture and innovative expression

Bando ORA was born in October 2015 from a complex exploration process of contemporary cultural environment, its opportunities to play a key role for local development and its sustainability. After a national analysis on all call for projects promoted in Italy by similar institutions carried out by the Cultural Innovation Area, Compagnia di San Paolo perceived a sort of lack about the modalities of intervention to promote contemporary cultural sectors. Indeed, this research focuses on the goals and achievements of Italians calls and prizes geared toward supporting contemporary cultural production, underlining different aspects in which their policies of investment can be improved. In fact, funds provided by Compagnia di San Paolo were invested almost exclusively in the management and valorisation of existing cultural realities.

The dimension of cultural production taken less into account by the foundation's economic support was the size of cultural operators who work with languages related to aesthetic research and contemporary productions.

The decision to invest on innovative contemporary productions has two reasons:

-To support the local inclination that sees Turin as a city historically linked to contemporary languages,

-The choice of the institution to invest in emergent talents and creativity.

In addition, although a key requirement of the call was to reward projects that would produce (at least in the first part) in the geographic areas of Compagnia di San Paolo - Piedmont and Liguria – Bando ORA invested significantly on a project intended for the entire national territory.

The actions in support of this intervention policy identify several features:

1) The connection between the most institutional cultural levels and the most avant-garde level of independent cultural producers in the areas of Piedmont, Aosta Valley and Liguria, in order to develop links and coordinate actions among all subjects and to ensure a systemic cultural impact on the territory;

2) The promotion of Turin and Piedmont as a productive area of contemporary art and culture, to fortify the network of the various actors involved in avant-garde research and cultural context perspectives;

3) The realization of economic impacts through the creation and support of productive clusters and processes of innovation, processes of urban regeneration through the production and use of cultural projects;

4) Facilitate and stimulate the emergence of Ligurian cultural producers' actives in contemporary cultural research, allowing their first systematization in a broader context. This will finally identify contemporary culture as a possible asset of local economic development.

As an early experimentation of this type of support for cultural production, the call had an initial budget of € 550,000, and then increased to € 740,000. The organizations that applied were in total 250, from 36 different Italian provinces. Twenty projects were the winners, selected for the high degree of innovation, as well as the ability to create networks and show their economic sustainability. In March 2017, the Company funded another 13 projects that had previously participated in the call and that it was not able to support at first. With a further investment of around € 460,000, Bando ORA exceeds € 1 million of uncountable distributed, representing a unique case throughout the Italian country today.

Table 1: Proposers, producers and related funding. Source: Author's elaboration

Proposers	Producers	Places	Awards
Antiloco	De Serio	Turin	€ 39.000
Art Ur	Art Ur	Cuneo	€ 38.500
Giardini di Plastica	Giardini di Plastica	Genoa	€ 40.000
B612 Lab	Trentesimo	Moretta (CN)	€ 33.000
ATitolo	ATitolo	Turin	€ 40.000
Acc Artefatti	Coniglio Viola	Rome	€ 45.000
Anagoor	Anagoor	Castelfranco (TV)	€ 35.000
Codeduomo	Comp. Ninnarello	Turin	€ 38.000
Disorderdrama	Disorderdrama	Genoa	€ 21.000
Docabout	Docabout	Turin	€ 42.000
Marianna Trench	Marianna Trench	Turin	€ 40.000
ON Public	ON	Bologna	€ 42.000
Parsec	Parsec	Turin	€ 36.000
Coordin. COORPI	COORPI	Turin	€ 35.000
Fab Lab Torino	Fab Lab	Turin	€ 42.000
Filmidee	Filmidee	Milan	€ 30.000
Fondazione 107	Officine Sintetiche	Turin	€ 23.500
Il Gaviale COOP	Mali Weil	Dro (TN)	€ 40.000
ISES	Una diversa geografia	Alessandria	€ 40.000

4.1.4 Bando ORA winners: description and specific characteristics (proposer vs. projects team)

The artistic proposals for "ORA! Contemporary languages, innovative productions" grant were 250, including 144 from Piedmont, 33 from Liguria and 111 from the rest of Italy. The call was an important opportunity to learn about projects and initiatives of contemporary creativity coming from the Italian territory. The list of selected projects includes the name of the entity, the title of the project, and the amount of the grant awarded by the Compagnia di San Paolo.

The projects that won the prize are twenty: Stanze; Play-in; Io suono qui; Trentesimo; Abitare il minerale; Ulysses now; Socrate il sopravvisuto. Come le foglie; Still body experience with digital brain, Art test fest; ReDISCOvery – Gli anni perduti di Nino Ferrer, The institute of the things to come; Boxinthecity; Blatte; Campo largo 2016: dance film people place; Aarm [algorithm -art-robot-

material]; Video essay: a new way to see; Progetto apnea. Piattaforma officine Sintetiche, Animal Spirits; Una diversa geografia; Be sm/art 2

The first consideration about this typology of organizational structuring of cultural production is that we have almost three emergent elements that compose it:

-The project;
-The subject proposer – represented by the official winning organizations;
-The cultural producer – or the actor that conceive the idea.

The projects are the proposal of cultural production both in terms of aesthetic, organizational and content. They are not always configurable to a single organization and are often associated with the creativity of the individual or project team.

Proposers are those who have formally applied to the prize, dealing with administrative issues - as well as economic management. From the organizational point of view, they are structured realities that act as mediators of cultural services and mostly use the form of "cultural associations".

Producers are those who formally conceive the idea of cultural production and develop content in formal and relationship terms.

In some cases, these three definitions can be incorporated by the same person or organization. In other cases, it is interesting to note that when the proposer and producer coincide in the same person, the aesthetic realization of the project is entrusted to third parties - which will be analyzed in terms of information flow and knowledge.

4.2 Analysis 1. Subjects and entities of the Bando ORA: toward a cultural ecology of art-making

Starting from the analysis of the research sample, we can immediately identify different typologies of cultural actors and spatial elements that are involved in the process of content production.

4.2.1 Spatiality of proposers

The first category, the so-called “proposer”, identifies those cultural entities that endorsed the idea of the project and formally applied to the call made by the foundation, but they are not necessarily the owners of the ideas and the developers of the cultural production. In this sense, they operate as intermediators between the cultural producers and the cultural institution and they are located in specific places in which their activities run – but these places are not the same in which

projects take place. Literature indicates the existence of cultural entities and cultural organizations operating as a firm (Scott, 2000), but they can be also formal cultural association or other group recognized by the law.

Most of the proposers selected were located in the Northern part of Italy. In this case, they locate their activities in different geographical areas, with the majority of participants coming from Piedmont and Liguria (the regions where the foundation is based), especially from the main cities (Turin and Genoa), They represent three quarter of the winners. Turin is the main city represented with nine (9) cultural proposer located in the city. Therefore, the main presence of actors based in the main cities of the Norther West can be a natural consequence of facility in communication between them due to less geographical distance. This result can be enforced from another element: social relationships entertained in the same place can increase opportunities to work together with less costs. At the same time, social relationships can be developed only between people with same interests, taste and feelings. In this case, physical distance or closeness could not be the only variable operating in the field because people based in different places could also collaborate each other and works together communicating with phones, skype calls, emailing and so on.

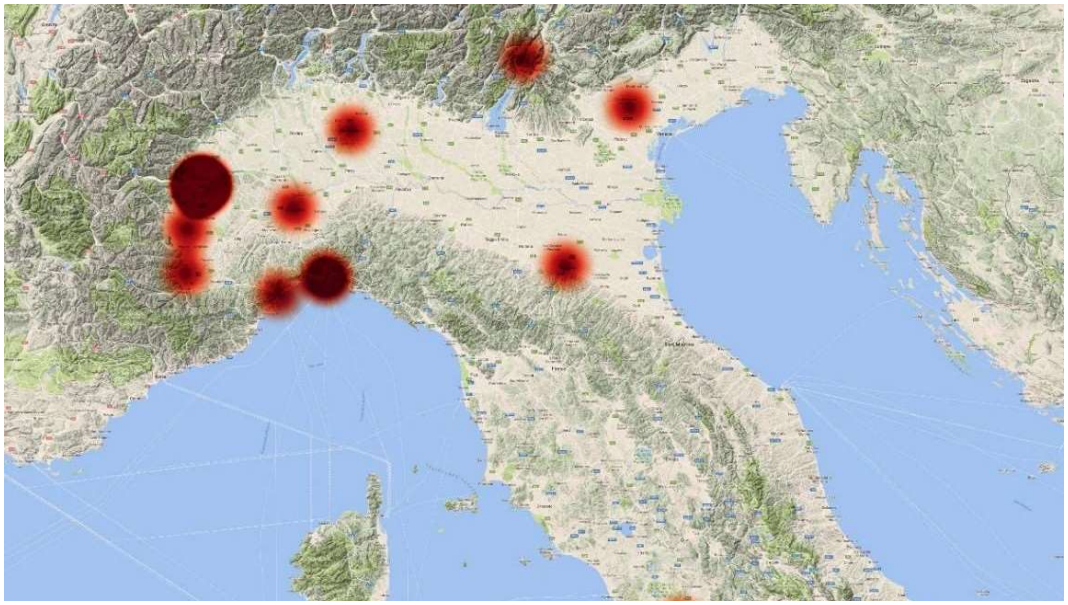


Figure 2: Proposers location map (density of actors per area). Source: Author's elaboration

Additionally, we underline that this grant has involved also other parts of Italian country rather than places in which Compagnia di San Paolo foundation based own headquarter or philanthropic activity. Several players come from the main cities of the North of Italy, as Milan, Venice area and Bologna. Only in one case, the proposer was based in Rome, in the centre part of the country. This result allows us to put in evidence the important role of geographical distance, also if could not be the most relevant one.

All the cultural actors that proposed are located in urban areas, confirming what different theories underlined: cities specialize their spatial assets in the field of immaterial cultural production. Thus, urban context emerges as a vibrant context for content production, as a place for experimentation of aesthetic solutions, while rural areas host material culture and tangible cultural capital as manufacturing in craft-making, design and fashion goods.

4.2.2 Cultural production as "place based" and "flow circulation"

Cultural innovative projects involve also other actors: besides the proposers (generally organizations), they include producers (individuals, formal/informal groups, organizations), and other individuals or institutions that offer different contributions– in material and immaterial way – in order to obtain common objectives. For instance, they could provide ideas and goods, as well as settlement or hospitality. By bringing together efforts, knowledge, competencies, spaces and work, they realize a new cultural proposal through a cooperative approach in production processes (Ettlinger, 2003). In this sense, the creation process shifted in a relational way, while social and institutional relations have become crucial to build and develop cultural goods and services, transforming ideas in concrete values. Proposers, producers and institutions constitute also unstable and temporarily limited team works (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010), but they are the entities that really propose the ideas.

From a geographical perspective, two elements can be distinguished:

-Space as event: spaces in which cultural activities take place temporarily through cultural workers efforts and work – like performances, exhibitions, concerts and so on;

-Space as daily workspace: places in which cultural actors involved in production process are settled – as studios, co-working spaces, artistic residencies and so on;

In order to understand the relational work dynamics in the field of visual and performing arts, this categorization is crucial because – as claimed by David Harvey in The Condition of postmodernity (1990) – it cannot understand time and space independently from social action. Indeed, if the first dimension emphasizes the importance of face-to-face contacts, the second one stresses the question of knowledge transfer across people and scales. In other words, if the first aspect shows the importance of geographical proximity, or "being in a certain space", the other one highlights the cognitive embedding between actors that work together but often live in various places and communicate through several technologies and programs. In this direction, social theorist suggest that space is the material support of time-sharing social practices, while Castells carried out a line of research about spaces of place and spaces of flow in order to explain how our society functions. In his geographical approach, Castells affirms «the space of

flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flow. […] Flows [are] purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political, and symbolic structures of society. Dominant social practices are those which are embedded in dominant social structures». (Castells, 2000)

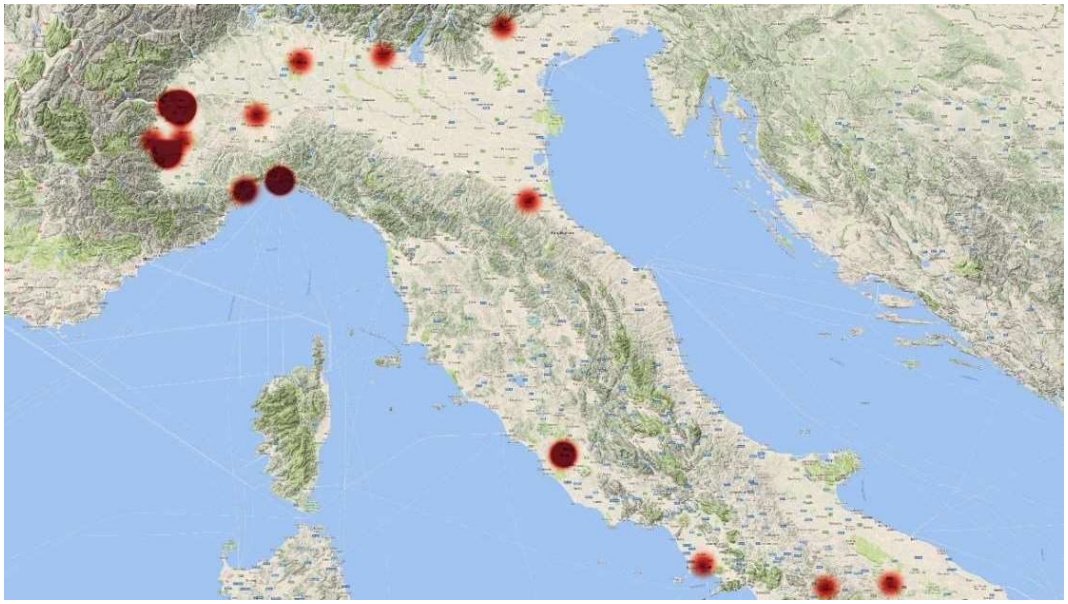


Figure 3: Location as space of place (density of activities). Source: Author's elaboration

In this way, as the second element of the subject analysis, it is possible to recognize that, while the ideas selected by the proposer are twenty, projects as events happened in several cities – 43 different places exactly – involving other institutional subjects rather than informal ones.

The relationship described above is a common element of how creative teams work and a great solution to empower own idea, communicating with an enlarged audience (and stakeholders). The maps show that cities like Turin (16 actors based their project in this place) and Genova (5) confirmed themselves as areas of main interest in which cultural projects takes place and cluster. The third city is Rome with three activities happening there, even though the Italian capital is not a place in which Compagnia di San Paolo based its headquarter or philanthropic activity. Also, the fact that most of the projects take place in the North west of Italy probably indicates an approach that enables them in logistical matters and a specific interest of the local cultural scene. The map put in evidence that other 12 places are engaged in the production process generate by this grant, allowing us to demonstrate that not only the physical dimension and short distances enable arts organizations to collect information about job opportunities. Additionally, it is

possible to underline that actors based in the Turin area need to improve their action in other places, and the same need affects projects that come from outside the area of Turin and Genova in order to take place properly in those cities and promote them. Although the winning projects can be identified with the individual venues where the projects take place - witnessing the existence of a network of collaboration and a mature project design. It is interesting to note that several projects expressed more venues for their projects, implicitly declaring the capacity of organizations to work and dialogue with more operators and territories.

Figure 4: The location of activities as space of place. Zoom on Turin area. Source: Author's elaboration

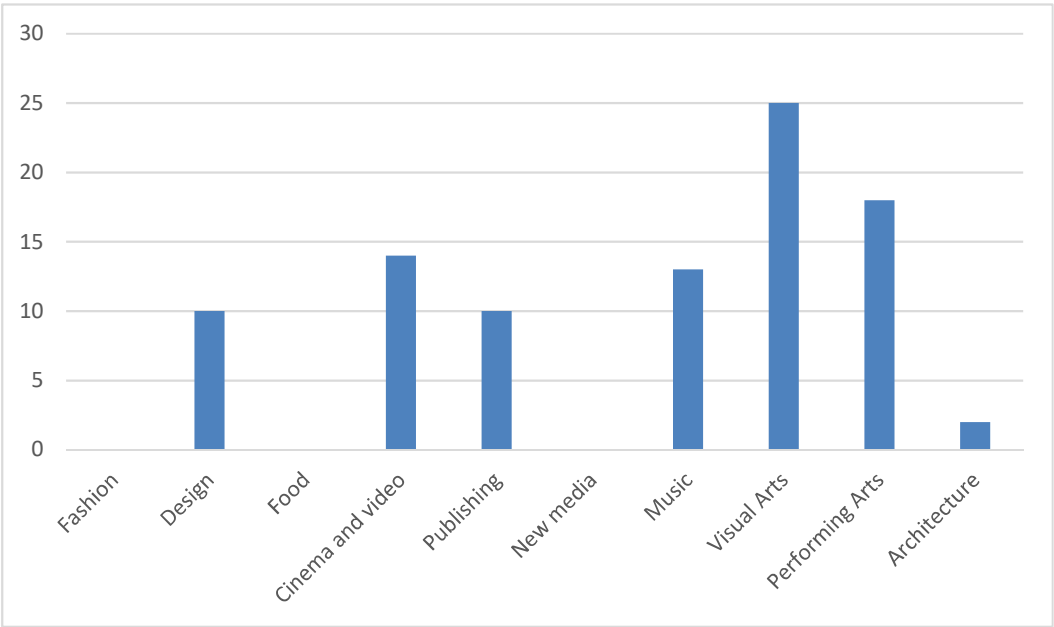


Figure 5: Number of cultural producers per sectors of activities. Source: Author's elaboration

Performing and Visual arts are the main sectors of cultural production in which organizations and subjects operate, involving at the same time different professionals: artists, curators, actors, singers, dancers and performers, musicians, writers, press officers, video-makers, photographers, researchers. These sectors seem to adopt the multidisciplinary perspective of bringing skills that allows us to develop project mixing different languages and sources of knowledge rather than sectors like Food or Design. Instead, the creative sectors of Fashion, New Media, and Food were not indicated by respondents, which represents an interesting question. Santagata (2009) includes these sectors in what he defines material culture, that is, all goods and services produced for the survival, protection, ease, entertainment, culture and well-being of people. In this sense, we can enforce the previous evidence about material culture as non-urban place-based, because organization operating in it needs to reduce materials costs, increasing sources of suppling and facilitation in transports. Despite this, Fashion, New Media and Food are often considered by scholars as the most developed sectors of the creative economy in terms of relationships with the market, but, at the same time, they seem far from the frontier of artistic experimentation. Even tough Fashion, New Media, and Food can be inclusive in terms of accessibility and market sustainability and very innovative in technological terms, they can be less innovative in terms of content (Dodgson et al., 2006). In this sense, artistic innovative production embodied by the studied projects expresses distance from the market and closeness to the audience, offering possibilities to experiment and realize happenings as cultural moments – enforcing interactions and face-to-face contacts. Space of flows analysis will be developed in the next chapter, with the challenging effort of applying the individual network analysis at geographical matters.

4.3 Analysis 2. Characteristics of the project team

In order to explore and understand the main spatial characteristics and economic dynamics of the urban cultural production, we need to analyze the composition of thes work teams. Indeed, we could suppose that creative economy is characterized by different typologies of work oriented to differentiate the independent dimensions of cultural production (that Santagata in 2008 define “immaterial”) from the ones that are related to (creative) industrial processes (such as publishing, video games, cinema, design and so on). In this sense, we will observe the productive aspects, while a different but complementary approach will enable us to analyze the cultural offer and the audience. Through 46 structured interviews to individual cultural workers involved in the implementation of the 20 projects that represent our case studies, it trying to describe social and spatial matters related to their carrier path. The main profession encountered are art

curators, dancers, choreographers, writers, designer, artistic developers, press officers, project developers, artistic directors and visual artists.

4.3.1 Basic demographics

It is common knowledge that «creativity arise from a large set of well-developed skills and a rich body of domain-relevant knowledge that must be acquired through laborious apprenticeship» (Simonton, 2000), but these conditions are not sufficient because creativity is not the direct consequence of intelligence or talent. Indeed, if «intelligence is needed for in-depth thinking and for the development of techniques to solve defined problems, creativity is needed in order to conceive new ideas and new alternatives with which to solve problems» (Meusburger, 2009).

The "creative population" counts more women (61 %) than men (39%), a data that reflects the results of several studies in creative work (place) developed in the last decade (Oakley, 2006). These studies claim that women are employee in creative works rather than man because they are less payed and more available and competitive. In order to pay attention on the gender issues, feminist critique points out that certain creative occupation reproduce masculinist workplace culture (Leslie and Cantugal, 2012).

According to Throsby and Hollister's perspective, «artists [and cultural producers] are older on average than other workers, for two main reasons. Firstly, workers in conventional jobs tend to retire in their 60s or even earlier, whereas artists often decide to continue their creative work beyond their retirement age. Secondly, the career path of an artist is much less defined than a career path for non-artistic occupations and becoming established often takes substantial time for training, practice and exposure. Hence, artists tend to be older than other workers when their career finally takes off». In addition, even though our interviews have not a statistical significance, it is possible to underline that most of the respondents are older than 35 years old, rather than under 35. In this sense, it is possible to make a double inference:

-Innovative aspects are not always related (or strictly connected) to the young population of creative workers, in contrast to observation that emphasizes "youngers as freshness of ideas";

-In independent cultural fields such as performing and visual arts, in the category "35-45 years" probably prevailed because this working environment is a field in which people gain awareness of their own job, building both experiences and contacts with the aim of establishing their professional profile.

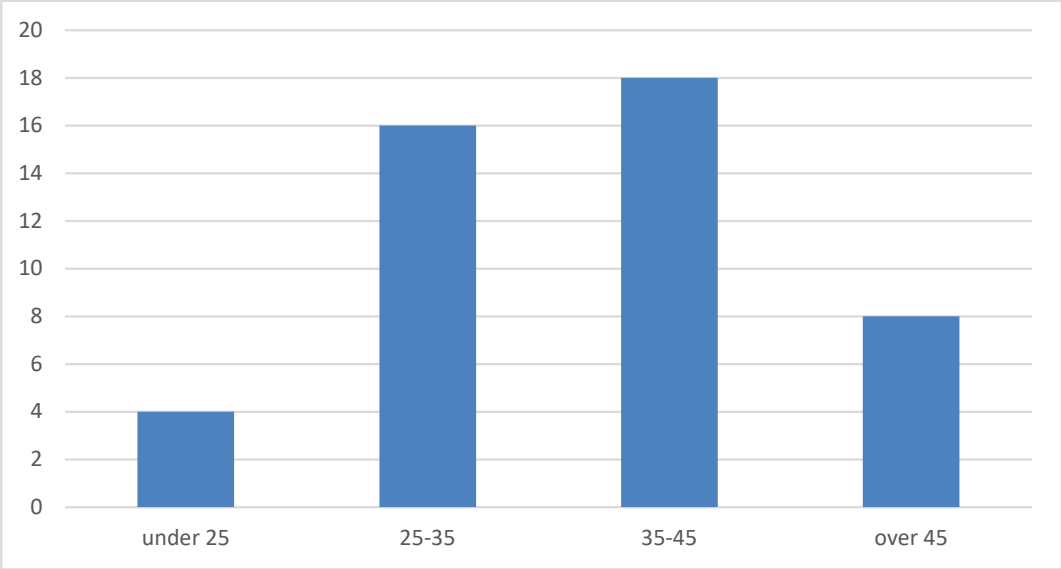


Figure 6: Number of cultural producers per ages average. Source: Author's elaboration

The "25-35 years" age range appears very significant as well, and includes people that have completed their education and, passing through an emerging phase, are trying to find jobs that could be useful for the development of their careers – stressing the question of the importance of so-called "portfolio careers" (Vinodrai, 2006). In this group, it is also interesting that workers take solid emphasis both in formal and informal training. Especially in this group we can observe their participation in artistic residencies programs at different scales: national, inside UE borders, outside UE counties.

The "over 45" age range is the category in which workers continue their creative practice in the independent field for political, ethical or economics motivations.

The majority of the interviewed workers were born in Piedmont, while the second record includes people from different regions of Italy, even if they are not competence of the philanthropic entity Compagnia di San Paolo. No one was born in Aosta Valley, but the same number is recorded for people hailing from Liguria and from other European countries – especially from the Eastern Europe.

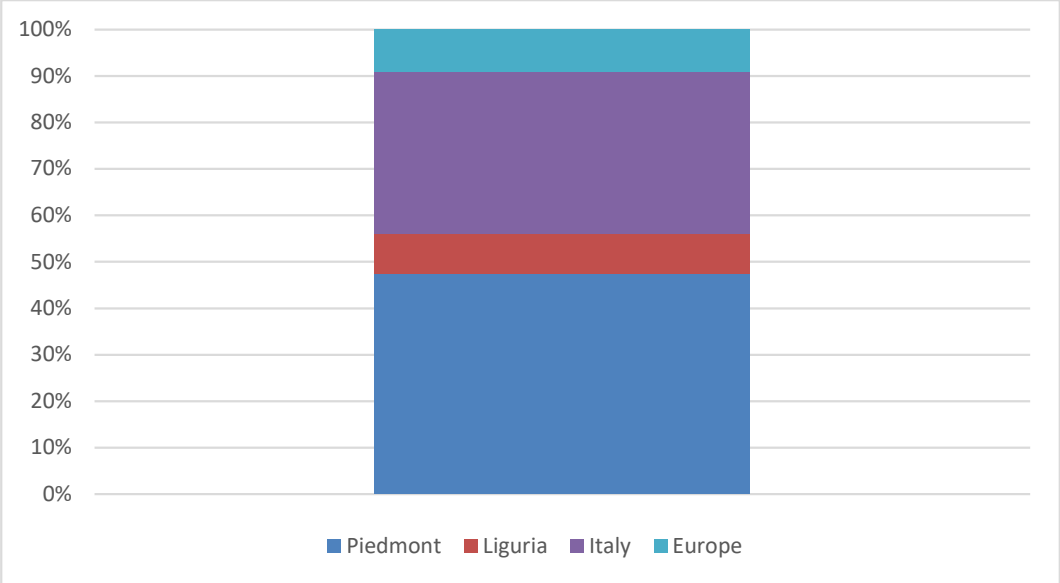


Figure 7: Percentage of cultural producers per geographical area of belonging. Source: Author's elaboration

These persons live mostly in Piedmont and Liguria, which is normal for these grant typologies. The number of people coming from other parts of Italy is not relevant, exept for their provenance (which has been analysed before). Therefore, it is possible to suppose that Turin – and Piedmont in general – is an attractive place for cultural workers. The group "Europe" is not represented probably because it is a sign of earlier migration processes.

4.3.2 Education and training

If cultural economy constitutes a reality and its realm gained a lot of attention in both academic discourse and political arenas, often creativity and cultural works are not perceived as a profession contrary to other traditional jobs. However, to understand socio-spatial dynamics of work as a productive system, we need to consider artistic and performing practices as traditional or conventional works. In this sense, we need to investigate the abilities and skills of these workers.

With the aim of being professional practitioners, cultural producers follow specific education and training in the universities and cultural institutions that have particular courses focused on the artistic scene. After this phase, they «may supplement their skills and knowledge with short courses and other types of training. On the other hand, some artists are self-taught, beginning their careers by plunging straight in or else by learning skills on the job, perhaps later deciding to undertake training to consolidate or extend their competencies or experience» (Throsby and Hollister, 2010).

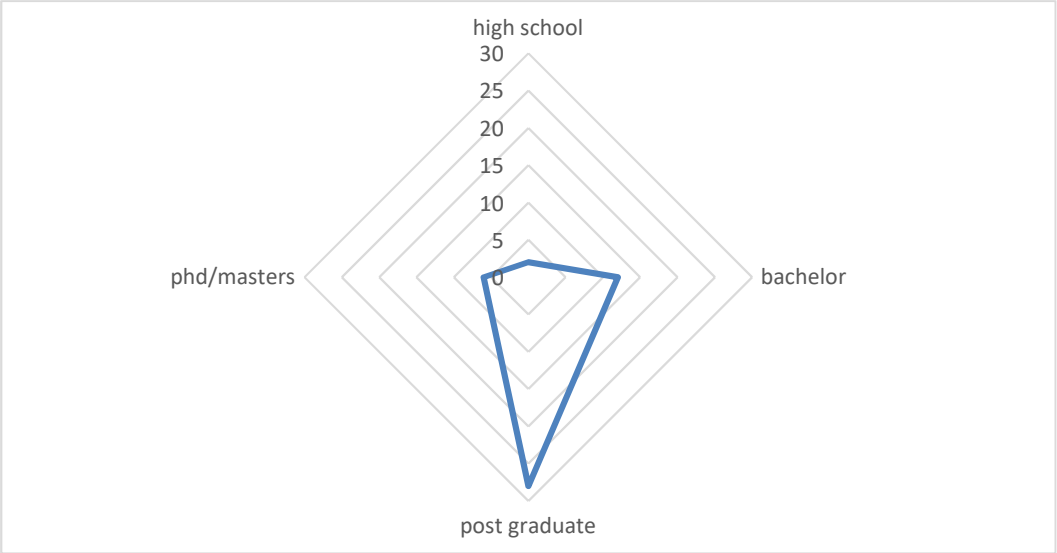


Figure 8: Number of cultural producers per education level. Source: Author's elaboration

The cultural workers analysed are indeed highly educated, with the majority of them that have completed a training path with a postgraduate title in formal institution as universities or school of arts. In addition, even if they are highly educated, only few of them hold a PhD or a master in the specific field of arts – an evidence that they are not follower of specialized courses. The different types of education and training that cultural workers have declared are formal training in an institution such as a university, conservatorium or art school; private tuition in cultural institution; workshops, summer schools; self-taught and learning on the job. Particularly interesting for education and training formation are exchange programs that cultural producers follow in other places and institution for brief periods, in order to prepare themselves with the skills necessary for professional practice and to enlarge their networks.

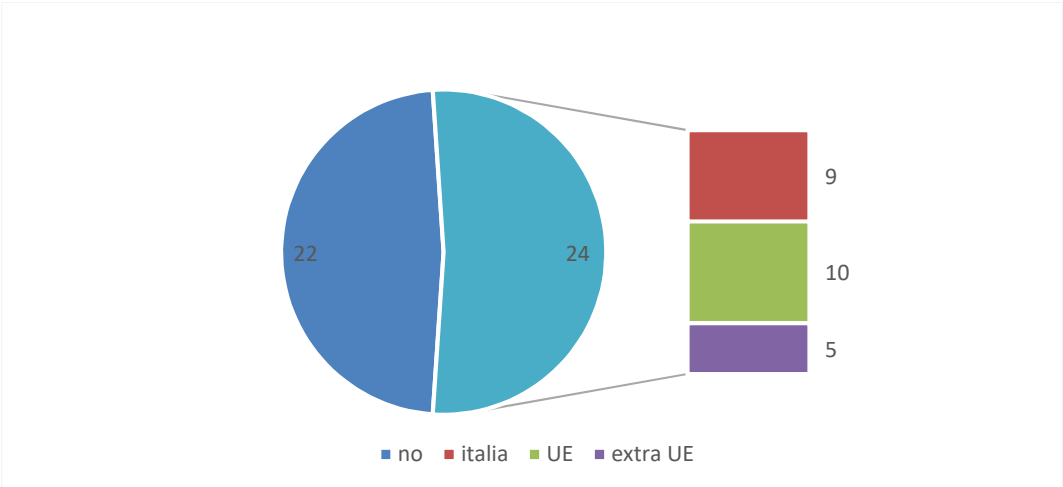


Figure 9: Participation in residencies programs and exchanges. Source: Author's elaboration

More than a half of the respondents replied that they had a similar experience almost one time in their life. Most of them experienced this opportunity outside the Italian country, both in European and extra-European regions. According to this set of data, it is possible to enforce the evidence that shows that these types of workers are mobile across space.

All respondents speak fluently English, half speak French and one quarter Spanish. In addition, the education background of their family is important, with the majority of cultural workers having parents that hold at least the high school title. When one parent is not titled, it generally is the mother.

Family is also an important aspect identified by cultural workers within elements that allows them to advance in their progress as professional workers – especially in the education and training phases. Respondents identified family as a crucial factor both for education and training payments, and for support and motivations during the development of their professional profile. However, perseverance and determination are the most important factors indicated in order to build their careers, showing that «artists primarily look to their own inner resources as the main motivation of their artistic work, rather than relying on external factors» (Throsby and Hollister, 2010 but also Bondi and Sitton, 2007).

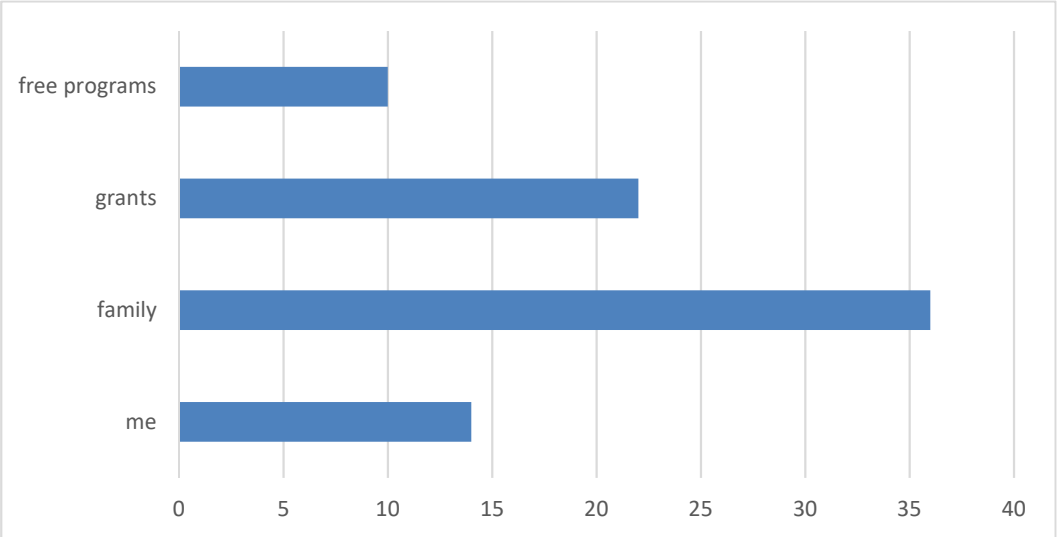


Figure 10: Number of cultural producers per funders of education. Source: Author's elaboration

In this sense, even if the grants offered by universities, school of arts, school of design and public or private institutions represent an important source of sustainability in the education dynamics, several respondents indicated themselves as funders of their own education path. Only a few cultural workers indicated free programs as a source of knowledge in the formation process, meaning that, in education, they do not follow non-institutional entities (circumstances in which tacit knowledge is higher than others in formal institutions).

4.3.3 Patterns of working time and space

The investigation about the socio spatial relationships of work of the independent cultural producers needs an organized analysis of the working behaviours. A series of Australian studies on professional artists have introduced three different forms of jobs in the field of arts – often interrelated:

1.Creative work: defined as the central principal artistic occupation;
2.Arts-related work: a definition that includes teaching in the art form, artistic project administration, projects development, journalism about arts;
3.Non-arts work: works not related to any artistic field and unpaid work such as volunteering or studying outside the arts.

Most respondents do not live entirely on incomes resultant from their work in the field of arts. Although two-thirds of cultural workers have been practicing their artistic activity continuously for the past five years, only one-fifth claims that their profession generates enough incomes to live and sustain their activities and needs. Half of the cultural workers interviewed are temporarily employee in other jobs through part-time contacts, generally in arts-related works, while one-third has another full-time job that sustains their life and needs. Respondents working in this field for less than three years are only a tenth, while two-thirds of the entire sample of cultural workers work regularly also in foreign countries (at least one project per year).

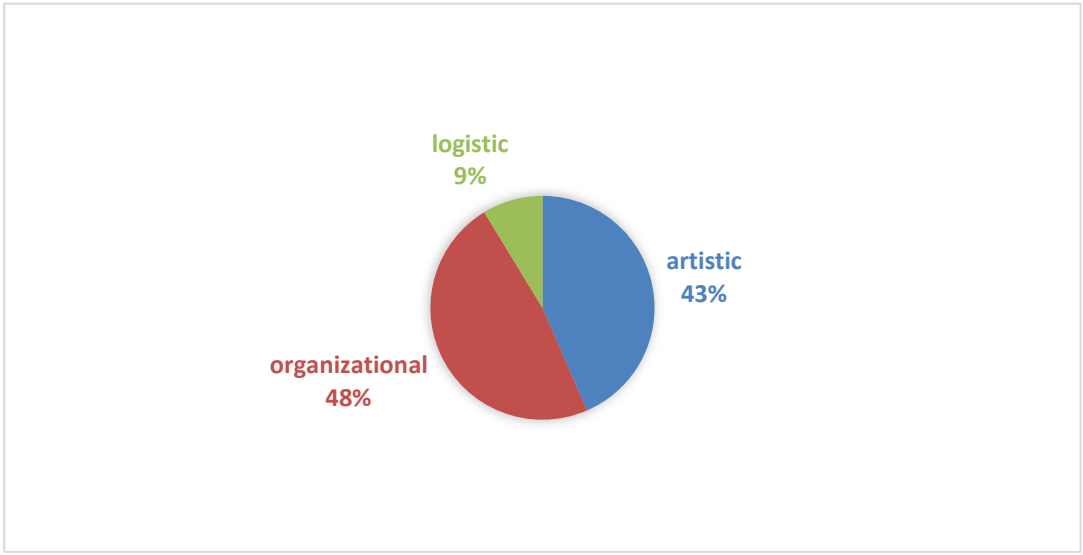


Figure 11: Cultural producer's role within team of projects (in percentage). Source: Author's elaboration

It is possible to suppose that artists can spend multi-talented skills in different jobs related to the field of the arts, working in several areas of the creative economy and demonstrating a sort of versatility of their knowledge and abilities. As described in the last chapter, it underlines the question of specialized education linked to the different possibilities and solutions of work that takes place in the creative economy market, highlighting a great differentiation in working opportunities that can actually affect creative sectors. On the other hand, it is possible to indicate that the same person can be simultaneously involved in different works and projects with several sectors, disclosing that a talented individual might not want to join the organizational logics of production – in industrial terms.

An interesting graph shows the role of cultural workers within the projects at the core of the analysis. The graph shows that the main category is not the artistic role, but the organizational one. We concern an artistic role when people are employed in creating and making artworks, while we include in organizational functions those workers involved in project management, organization, allocation of money, general affairs and communication. If artworks are the result of the link between ideas and artists, it is normal to suppose that an artistic role would be the main record after these interviews. Instead, many respondents are involved in organizational activities, underlying a possible evolution of this system in organizational terms. In this sense, we can suppose that artistic organizations are structuring themselves and the subdivision of work in several field of application is more influent than in the past. Looking at these kinds of aesthetic production defined as "innovative", so more focused on creative process, our initial assumption was that the idea's value was bigger than other aspects of cultural production, but the graph indicate an unexpected evidence. For example, community buildings activities or place-making experiences – in general focused on social inclusion and spatial aspects rather than creation ones – could represent a new field of application for creative ideas, revealing a new role of artistic organization also on unseen object of research. (Salone et al. 2017).

Another important aspect that is possible to underline is the relation of the teamwork's structures and the intermediation of work in the artistic fields, developing professionals as curators, project managers, artistic developers and so on.

Building from these evidences, the research will conduct an empirical analysis of the geography of cultural workers and their relationships. Starting from the analysis of their social and spatial work environment, we will reconstruct the spatial dynamics of resource exchanges into their work's networks.

Indeed, space is crucial for the artistic practices for several reasons that go from physical to immaterial aspects:

-Cities offer a good environment for artists to find opportunities, contacts, jobs and stimulus for their professional interests (Markusen, 2002);

-Cities are a lively environment to "consume" cultural offers and to meet other creative workers (Clark, 2004);

-Cities are an accurate settlement for workspaces because they have different service providers that enable cultural workers to develope projects and settle their studios in empty buildings.

Especially about this last point, Jacob and Grabner (2010) argues that an artistic workspace is «a space and a condition wherein creative play and progressive thinking yield propositions for reflecting on who we are – individually and collectively – and where we might go next».

It is very interesting, however, to know that one-third of the respondent does not currently have a work space, and only one-tenth is able to pay a rent to have one. Contrary to the expectations, only a few cultural workers declare to work from home – in contrast to what has been sustained by several researches that carried out the autonomously and independently time management dynamics (Gill and Pratt, 2008). Approximately half of the people interviewed claims to spend their working time in a private property of the association or group in which they work permanently. This space represents a kind of headquarter or legal address of the group, it is often shared with other realities that operate in the same sectors. It is also a space of thinking where cultural workers meet other colleagues with the aim to generate new ideas by sharing knowledge and competencies, trying

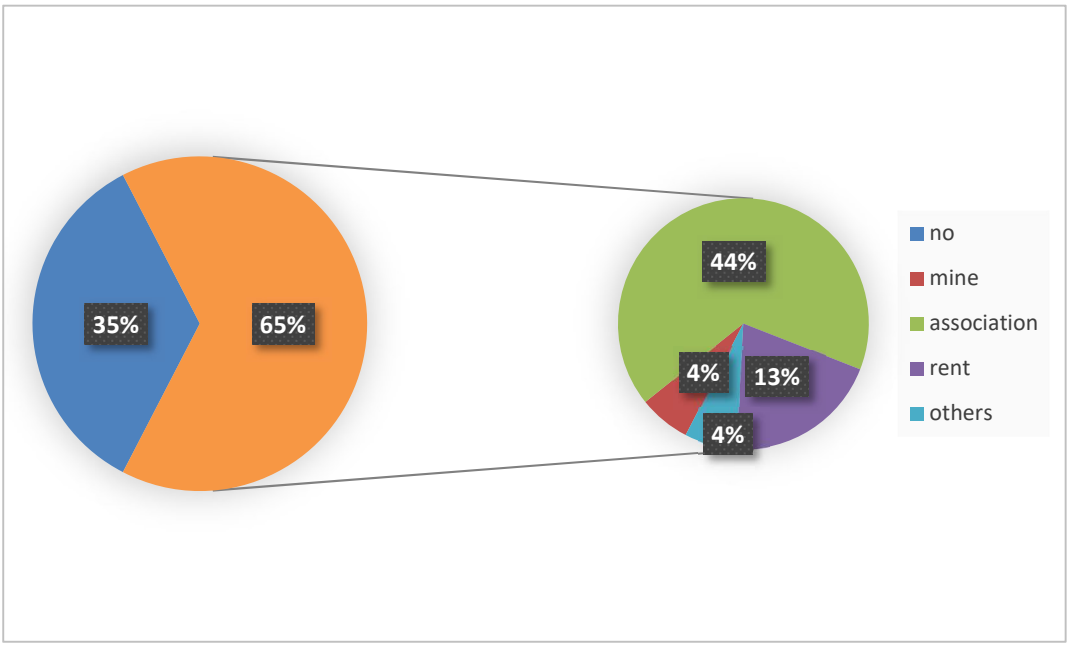


Figure 12: Percentage of cultural producers per type of space of work structure. Source: Author's elaboration

solutions and alternatives, but it is not the place in which cultural workers shown their ideas to the audience. In this sense, the workplace is a kind of convergent space in which they accumulate ideas, experiments, and failure in order to take a definitive step toward the finished product(ion).

It also true that less of one-third of respondents had collaborations at the local scale in the last month, while national and international collaborations are a significant part of the spatial relationships indicated. In this way, it is possible suggest a very interesting shift in cultural production aspects: while creativity is generally conceived as an individual asset – and it represented as an introspective and solitary practice- nowadays cultural production in the field of the visual and performing arts shifted toward a collaborative process that involves several people, experiences of work and places. Indeed, exactly this lack of space in the daily practice is transforming cultural products in the sum of different layers and meanings, a process that does not exclude interrelations between producers and consumers, enabling aspects of social inclusion (Sacco, 2012). Therefore, relationships are becoming increasingly important sources of situated value creation (Potts et al., 2008).

Meeting with other artists and cultural workers in general is an important aspect also outside the working time. Most of the cultural workers answered that they have daily interaction with other artists beyond their working hours, with the purpose of investigating different ideas about artistic practices, enlarge their networks, engage in conversation and cultivate common interests. three quarter of them claims to have relationships with other cultural producers at least one time a week. This topic confirms findings of several researches about the topic of creative milieu, local buzz and "atmosfera creativa" models.

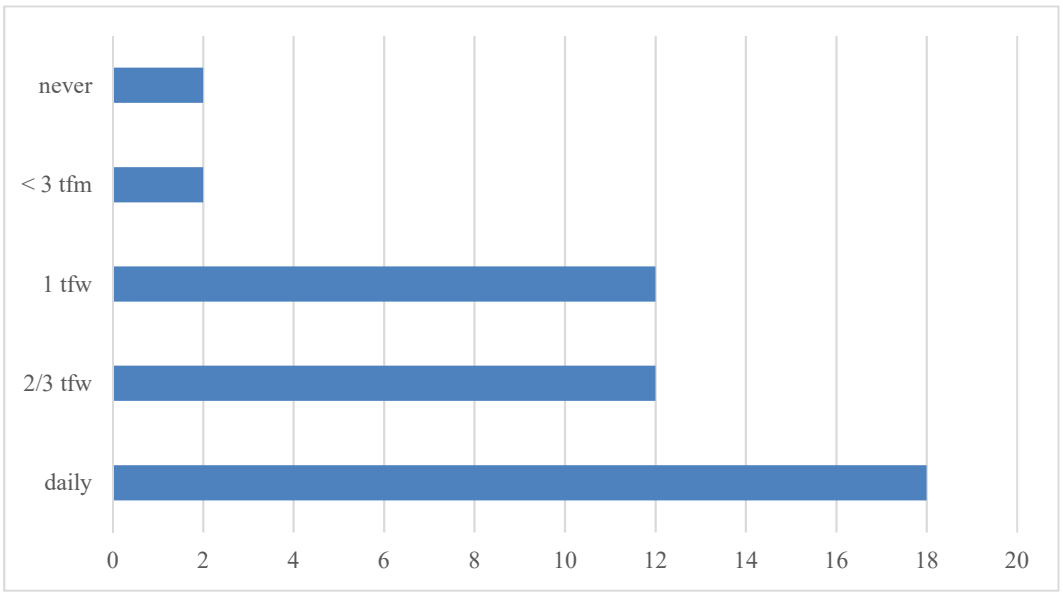


Figure 13: Number of cultural producers per attendance with other artists. Source: Author's elaboration

We found the same result also in the question related to the attending of cultural spaces during the free time. No one affirmed to go to art and cultural

spaces almost one time for month, while over three quarter explained to follow public programs, exhibitions, performances and so on almost one time for week. It is possible to suppose a sort of extension of the time of work in these types of professionals, allowing us to join these workers with the general dynamics of work that influences several professional profiles in neoliberal schemes of development (Ross, 2008).

A very interesting result – that will be developed further in the next chapter– is the relation toward the candidate places of Bando ORA. Although cultural producers "in the frontier" of the aesthetic and productive innovation work as independent and freelance workers, the majority of places indicated as hosting "innovative" production are actually formal institutions. No one indicated their own place as the place in which the results of their creative process have been presented to the audience, while only one third specified as informal places. Thus, it is possible to suggest that cultural producers are looking for a sort of legitimization and institutionalization of process, trying to make sustainable their project and ideas. In this sense, we embrace the thesis that between the different strategies that cultural producers can adopt to face the crisis and differentiate the sources of their funds they go for the multi-product choice, and the creation of cooperative relations within a network (Van der Borg and Russo, 2005).

Chapter 5

Analyzing socio-spatial relations of cultural producers

5.1 Analysis 3. Socio-spatial relationships within the winners' cluster

In deepening the socio-spatial dynamics that characterize the relations through which cultural producers conceived and realized the winning projects, we will look mainly in two directions:

- At diverse levels of interactions articulated at different scales (local, national, global) both within the cluster and outside of it.
- At the different typologies of resources exchanged at the individual level between the cultural producers included in the cluster.

In doing so, we will adopt different methods of Social Network methodology which will enable us to interpret the information collected. On the one hand, we will analyze the relations within the organizations included in the cluster of actors that won the grant, using standard Social Network Analysis based on quantitative approach. In this way, we could observe the existence (or not) of relationships among the actors that are recognized as innovators, identifying the structure of the network and the different positions occupied by the organizations. Secondly, we will try to observe the relations between organizations and places in which projects have been realized, with the aim of identifying which areas are more innovative than others. In this way, we could also evaluate the spatial spillovers of the Bando ORA that, starting from Piedmont and Liguria, has also had effects in other geographical areas. On the other hand, we will use the individual approach,

developing the idea that artistic projects grow up outside the initial cluster through links with external actors located in different places. These actors are most important because they are carriers of different useful resources in projects' designing and implementation. In this sense, we will adopt a mixed methodology to analyze the sample of the twenty winning organizations. Different samples have been built gradually thought different moments of gathering.

Four focus groups with semi-structured collective interviews have been conducted in order to highlight the main spatial practices adopted by artistic organizations. After that, organizations have been questioned with structured interviews with the aim to collect data about relationships and collaborations within the cluster of twenty winners. As a last step, with open questions, we asked organizations to reconstruct the project development outside the cluster with the aim to identify spatial scales and resources exchanged. Each step required the connection with an organization member who has been in charge of the project ideation and development.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Social Network Analysis is a methodology that studies the relationship that arises between actors. These entities can be individual, organizational units, businesses, associations, natural elements, non-human actors and so on. In our case, we focused organizational units of artistic realities to find emergent work practices and characteristics from network structure and relational processes. Relationships can be unilateral or reciprocal, and their analysis delivers a different and new approach in social sciences research: from an atomistic approach (addressed to explore actors' attributes) to systemic logics - (that focuses on the relationship between actors in order to model the relationships and draw the structure of a group). From the group structure, it is possible to study the impact of the structure on the group's functioning and the influence of this structure on individuals within the group. Adopting the Social Network Analysis methodology (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2008), we conducted structured interviews with questions oriented to put in light the relationships within the cluster of winners. Each respondent indicated which of the other 19 members recognized as "member of the same category of cultural workers" and if their organizations developed forms of collaborations related to cultural projects.

We collected information in a standard matrix made by columns and rows. The size of the rectangle is described by the number of rows of elements and columns of elements that it contains. In the first column are listed the organizations as well as in the first row. Rows represent the source of directed ties, and the columns the target. Cells contains values 0 (zero) and 1 (one): zero when an organization do not recognize the other, while we have value 1 when the interviewed indicate an organization as a cultural organization operating in the Italian environment of art and culture. The actor's answers are distributed on the rows.

Table 2: Adjacency matrix of recognitions within organizations. Source: Author's elaboration

	coniglio viola	anagoor	coorpi	radicate	ninarello	trentesimo	diversa geografia	fab lab	officine sintetiche	de serio	giardini plastica	ilmidee	mali weil	disorder drama	art.ur	parsec	on	docabout	a.titolo	marianna trench
coniglio viola		0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
anagoor	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
coorpi	1	0		0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
radicate	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
ninarello	1	1	1	0		1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
trentesimo	0	0	1	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
diversa geografia	0	1	1	0	1	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
fab lab	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
officine sintetiche	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
deserio	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
giardini plastica	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
filmidee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
mali weil	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	1
disorder drama	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0		0	0	1	0	0	0
art.ur	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	1	0
parsec	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		0	0	0	0
on	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0		0	1	1
docabout	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		1	0
a.titolo	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1		1
marianna trenc	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	

Matrices are often represented as arrays of elements surrounded by mathematical signs, but social scientists adopt matrices to represent social networks without mathematical agreements and only to show their data as an array of labeled rows and columns. The labels are not really part of the matrix but are useful for the clarity of the presentation.

This is the starting point for most of the network analysis, called adjacency matrix, and it represents actors who are close inside the social space investigated. The representational space is built by the relations that we have measured.

Matrices can be symmetrical and asymmetrical. In the first case, the matrix is representing specific ties called bonded-ties, that is when actor 1 declares a relationship with actor 2 and, at the same time, actor 2 declares a relationship with actor 1. Meanwhile, the asymmetrical matrix includes directed ties, that is ties that go from a source to a receiver. In this sense, we could collect data in which actor 1 declares a relation with actor 2 but answer of actor 2 does not necessarily equal the colleague. Binary choice data are usually represented with zeros and ones, indicating the presence or absence of each logically possible relationship between pairs of actors. The value of the main diagonal is meaningless, and it is ignored. In our case, we are working with an asymmetrical matrix.

The picture that follows represents the visual representation of all these relationships, made using a software called Ucinet 6, which includes also a program to draw representation called Net Draw. This software is useful in providing indications on:

- The extension on the network,
- The network structure,
- The location of the cultural producers analyzed within this relational system.

We indicate these variables only in a demonstrative way, a deeper analysis will follow in this paragraph.

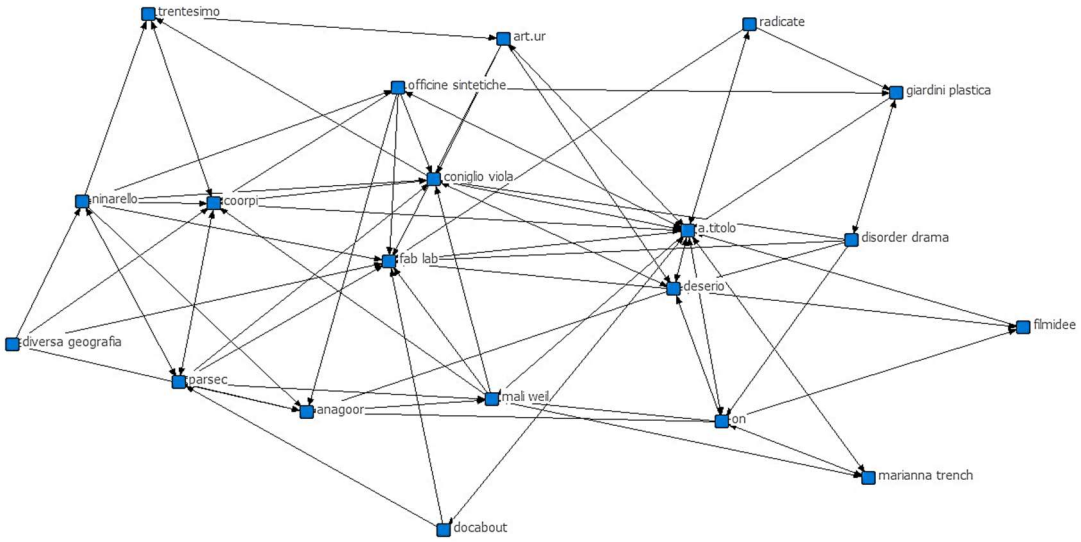


Figure 14: Network structure of winning cluster. Source: Author's elaboration

The graph reported above indicates the extension of the network, demonstrating that we can instantaneously distinguish two blocks of actors or sub-groups: one more central – made by more relations between actors among which we can suppose a sort of cohesion– and the other more peripheral – including fewer relations between actors.

The innovative artistic organization are variably distributed into the network, but the subjects that are mainly recognized from the others are positioned centrally. In our case, Fab Lab, A.titolo, Coniglio Viola, Coorpi and De Serio occupied the central position of the structure, enabling us to suppose their central role in relation to the cluster dynamics.

At this level of analysis, we have not intentionally considered the basic levels of investigation of a network such as degree, betweenness or closeness. The first aim of our elaboration has been to show how this methodology functions and therefore our intention is to proceed step by step in illustrating the levels of analysis and the potential of this tool. To analyze this further, we need to operate with particular functions of Ucinet 6, introducing diverse levels of complexity.

In the picture below, we will differentiate actors based in the Turin context from others based outside that area, identifying how they tend to agglomerate within the cluster. The blue circle represents cultural actors based in Turin, while the green triangles are cultural actors that come from elsewhere – both Piedmont, Liguria and other regions. In this way, we can isolate four spatial (sub) clusters that could signify that geographical proximity is working in our network. In fact, inside the blue sphere, we find only cultural actors based in Turin, while those inside the red sphere are based in Liguria, the yellow in Piedmont but outside Turin, and the green in the North east of Italy. As we claimed in previous chapters, physical closeness influences the relationships and exchanges between actors based in the same location.

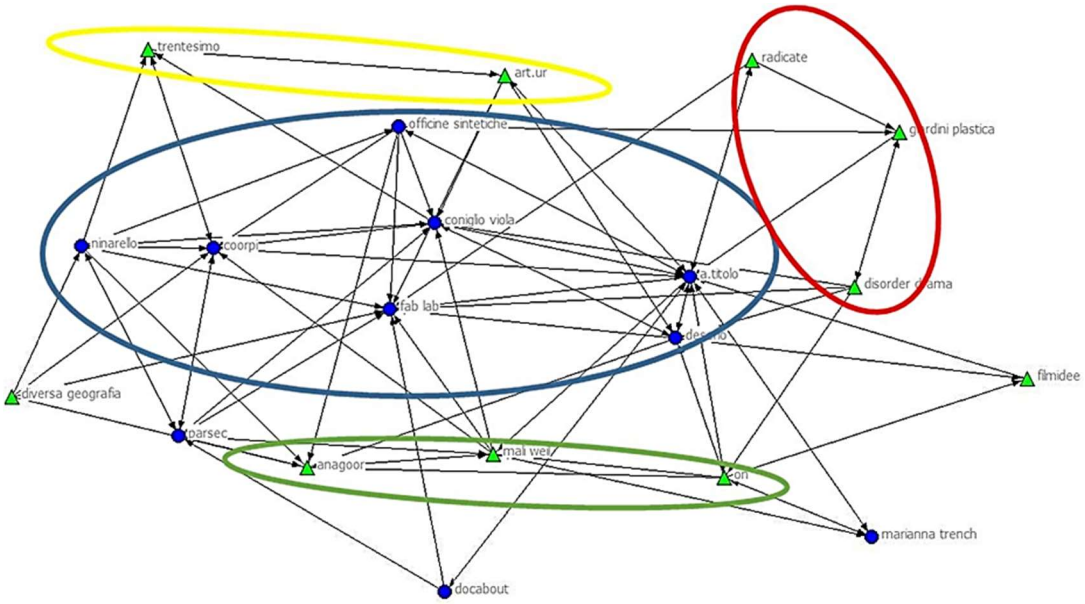


Figure 15: Structural network of unilateral recognitions between actors. Source: Author's elaboration

With this representation, we can highlight that relations of recognition are more between people that come from the same places because geographical space defined them as grouped together. On the other hand, we can indicate that the central group (Turin-based organizations) is more linked with others. Actually, no other (sub)clusters obviously demonstrate the same level of connections for two main reasons: 1) Turin-based organization are more than others within the network, 2) the grant territory competence included the Turin area as a central place in the creative environment. In this sense, we have basically evaluated the level of centrality of actors into the network. Centrality variable defines, indeed, the placement of an actor in his or her own environment in purely relational terms, i.e. with regard to all actors it gets in contact with. In other words, by doing the count of all the number of ties declared, we are able to visualize a hierarchical order based on the actor's position in the relational structure. Cultural organizations are locally central if they have many connections to other points in its surrounding environment (also called neighborhood), while they are globally central if their position of importance in the overall structure of the network is defined by ties with all actors. This measure represents the level of involvement of an actor in the network of relationships. In this sense, given the proximity of the nodes, Fab Lab Torino (11), A.Titolo (10) and Coniglio Viola (9) appear as the main actors in this network because they are central and count most relationships than other actors present in the cluster. By a geographical point of view, it can be supposed that physical proximity facilitates communication and recognition between actors at the local scale, taking into account that centrality of Turin sub-

cluster can be related also with spatial action of the funder - Compagnia di San Paolo.

5.1.1 Reciprocal ties in recognition evaluating degree of centrality

In the example described above, we analyzed all types of relations – including both reciprocal and unilateral ones. With the next exercises, we will evaluate only reciprocal ties in order to distinguish the real level of centrality within the winners' network cluster. In this way, we could evaluate if geographical proximity is working in the same mode than the examples before. If the main index of relations observed at the node level is *centrality*, we need to calculate which actor is really central in this cluster, demonstrating also how the structure, positions and hierarchies could be transformed.

As claimed, this measure tends to assess how individual actors behaves with each other within a relational spatial model, carrying out observations about elements concerning power, subalternate organizations or actors, roles and dominance, influence or prestige of a singular actor – represented by a knot.

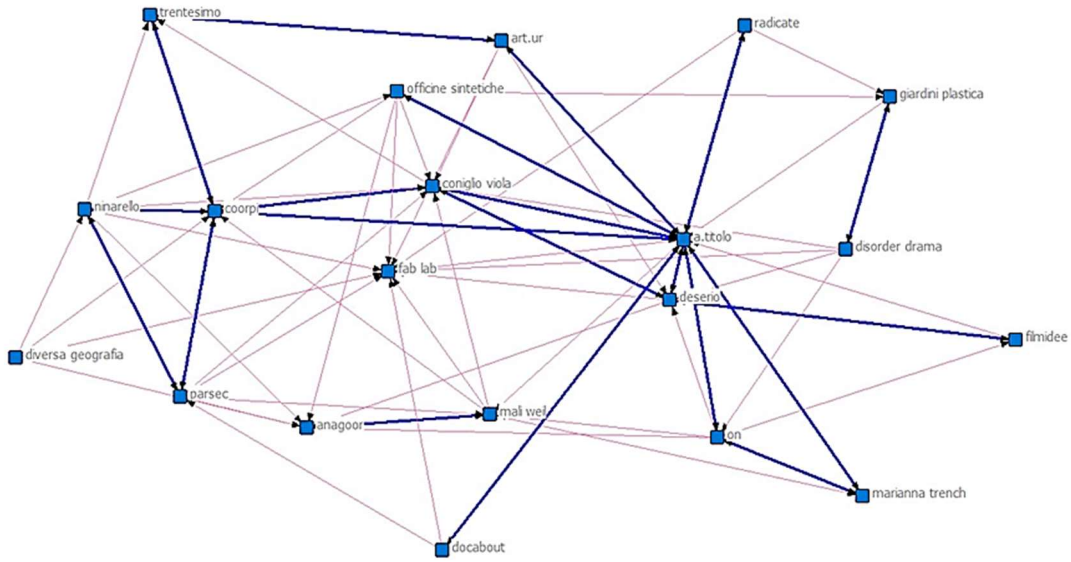


Figure 16: Network structure evidencing only reciprocal ties. Source: Author's elaboration

The figure above shows a drastically altered network, if compared with the one developed with unilateral ties. In this network structural description, reciprocal ties are indicated with blue lines, while non-reciprocal ties are red. As mentioned in the previous section, Turin-based organizations were central, and, in any sense, they remain central also in this elaboration. In contrast, however, we can observe that FabLab, an actor that before was one of the network's leaders,

now is completely isolated – revealing a sort of structural hole. In this way, we can observe a sort of weakening in the Turin- based group.

Other organizations are partially or totally disconnected from the network (Una diversa Geografia, while two couples -Anagoor and Mali Weil, and Giardini di Plastica and Disorder Drama - have reciprocal relations between them, but no relations with the cluster). For this reason, we can claim that starting from a cluster – and analyzing it according to reciprocal ties – A.titolo actually results the knot mainly connected with other entities, but not only at the local scale. We obtain a different hierarchy that enables us to consider that A.titolo's centrality is the result of both physical proximity with certain actors and also sectorial closeness with others.

To better explain this new configuration of network, we will introduce the notion of *degree centrality,* assuming that contacts that an economic and social actor entertain with the other nodes within the network can be understood as a factor of centrality. This means that numerous relationships correspond to high centrality, putting a knot in a situation of advantage. As mentioned before, networks can be analyzed considering two different layers:

- The nodes that compose it and then observing the links from the subjects that develop the relationships,
- The overall structure of the network, observing the ties in their structural conformation.

The degree of a node and its density are two measures that take into account relational ties. The degree is a node characteristic that represents the size of an actor. It includes the sum of relations entertained by an organization with each actor present in its environment.

We can basically calculate the degree of proximity if we add the values of reciprocal recognition. The tables below show the degree of centrality of cultural organization nodes within the cluster both for unilateral and reciprocal recognition.

Looking at the tables below, we can immediately note that values change enormously from one table to the other in almost all cases. The reason is that several organizations do not recognize the others inside the artistic innovators cluster. Many explanations could exist for this fact. For example, several cultural organizations have been recognized with the name of a singular artistic project or with the name of one component. At the same time, organizations are considered less important than contents and forms of the project or less recognizable than "cultural event". Furthermore, at this level certain cultural organizations have both short life times and many partnerships with other subjects in extra project as minor stakeholders.

Table 3: Degree of centrality in unilateral recognitions. Source: Author's elaboration

Cultural Producers	Degree	Cultural Producers	Degree
Coniglio Viola	9	Giardini di Plastica	3
Anagoor	7	Filmidee	2
COORPI	7	Mali Weil	4
Radicate	1	Disorder Drama	1
Ninarello	3	Art.Ur	2
Trentesimo	3	Parsec	3
Diversa Geografia	0	ON Public	3
Fab Lab Torino	11	Docabout	1
Officine Sintetiche	2	A.Titolo	10
De Serio	5	Marianna Trench	3

Table 4: Degree of centrality in reciprocal recognitions. Source: Author's elaboration

Cultural Producers	Degree	Cultural Producers	Degree
Coniglio Viola	3	Giardini di Plastica	1
Anagoor	1	Filmidee	1
COORPI	5	Mali Weil	1
Radicate	1	Disorder Drama	1
Ninarello	2	Art.Ur	2
Trentesimo	2	Parsec	2
Diversa Geografia	0	ON Public	2
Fab Lab Torino	0	Docabout	1
Officine Sintetiche	1	A.Titolo	9
De Serio	3	Marianna Trench	2

Additionally, we have developed the map below to show how the network structure changes if we take into account only the most stable reciprocal recognition – and crossing them with a second level of analysis: betweenness centrality. This measure concerns the centrality of an actor as an intermediary between peers that otherwise would not be directly connected.

This ability gives to the actor a competitive advantage position because information between two peers always run on the shortest path, enabling this node to be an obligatory passage for communications between two nodes. We observe that A.titolo, Coniglio Viola, De Serio and Coorpi could benefit from their position in the network, while Fab Lab – also if it represent an important subject for the actors' cluster – is disconnected because it does not recognize other subjects as peers. Geographical proximity still works because the central actors of this network are represented by three Turin-based organization, and also other sub-clusters indicated before are having important reciprocal relations inside them.

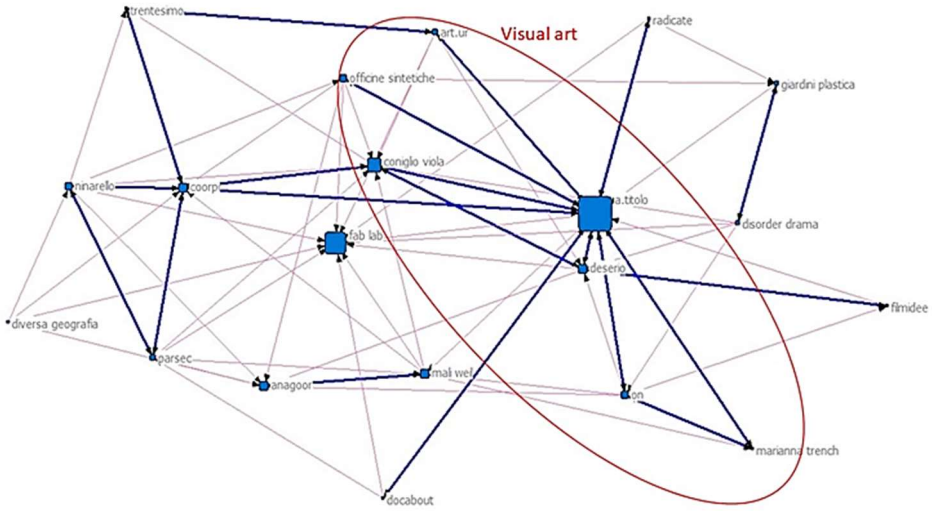


Figure 17: Network structure. First evidences of cognitive proximity. Source: Author's elaboration

These evidences could enable us to claim that even if weakened, geographical proximity keeps stimulating local connections and exchange of information as suggested by the intermediary role. Meanwhile we can highlight that other kinds of proximity are working in this cluster. The graph above can be useful to illustrate some dynamics. As mentioned before, the dimension of nodes in this case indicates the number of relationships for each cultural organization, so most well-known cultural producers correspond to a larger node than those with a lower public visibility. Blue lines point to mutual relationships, while red lines point to

univocal relationships. At this level of structure, we add the red circle on the right in order to identify a new clustering dynamic based not only on geographical proximity, but also on sectorial dynamics. In this sense, we can group 7 cultural organization inscribed in mutual relations with the central actor (A.titolo) and often having relations between themselves.

In a second moment, we have also noted a second clustering dynamic on the left part of the graph. This dynamic has been indicated with a green shape, including cultural organizations operating in the sector of performing arts.

In contrast to the graph made seeing all ties, with reciprocal ties analysis is possible to underline that stable links at local level lead to a reconfiguration of the network structure. On the other hand, good connections at the local scale can still be observed also between actors that are involved in different cultural sectors. For examples cultural organizations based in Genova, Saluzzo (CN) and the North east Italy, as shown in figure 17, continue to be mutually interconnected also if they work in different sectors.

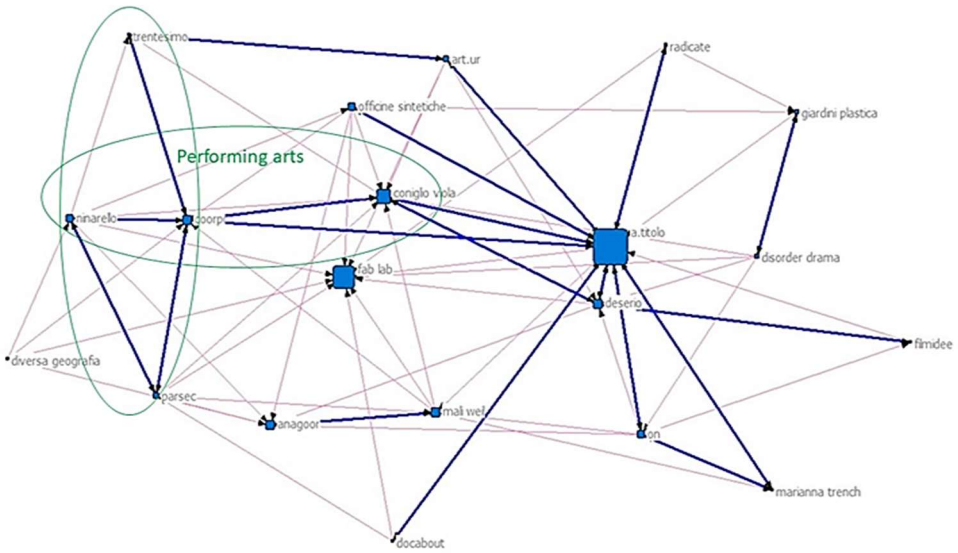


Figure 18: Network structure. Illustration of cognitive proximity in performing arts. Source: author's elaboration

The Last two graphs have been advanced in order to problematize the relationships within a cluster, in the attempt to introduce cognitive proximity as an important precondition for the innovative artistic productions as well as geographical proximity. In fact, it has been possible to observe how cultural workers grasps in accordance with the sector of activities and aesthetic belonging. Another interesting observation is that the main node in the first graph without reciprocal ties (Fab Lab Torino) is completely isolated, without connections with other nodes. In this sense, they disappear from the map.

Finally, cultural producers in the field of visual arts occupy a more central and cohesive position in the network, while in external position it is possible to find cultural workers in the field of performing arts and cinema.

5.1.2 Reciprocal ties in collaborations (degree)

In the previous representations we indicated some interesting points to problematize questions related to the spatial proximity of actors within the winners' cluster. For this reason, we have developed graphs to show the extension of the network, the network structure, and the location of the cultural producers within the relational context. We underlined how being central actors inside this environment could influence several benefits for cultural organizations that occupied these positions, and how the cohesion between actors can influence also sectorial dynamics and not only the sharing of the same place.

At the same time, being at the borders of the network does not necessarily mean being less important, because it is likely that these cultural actors have developed collaborative dynamics related to other actors not considered in this cluster. Indeed, reciprocal recognition does not mean that cultural organizations have never collaborated before or have never exchanged information that increased job opportunities. The map above shows the structure of a network of cultural producers – similarly to the previous ones - but taking into account only the links of mutual work collaborations.

The network structure changes considerably from the previous visual elaborations, and also the positions inside the structure do not have the same hierarchies in many cases. The blue circles indicate specifically Turin-based organization, while green triangles designate organization based outside this area. The blue lines indicate mutual relationships, as in the previous graph, while red lines point to univocal relationships. The dimension of the nodes, also in this case, indicates the number of declared collaboration relationships with each cultural actor: in other words, it indicates the degree of centrality for each node within the network. As it is easily understandable from the new map, only the most stable links lead to a transformation and a metamorphosis of the network structure and its extension.

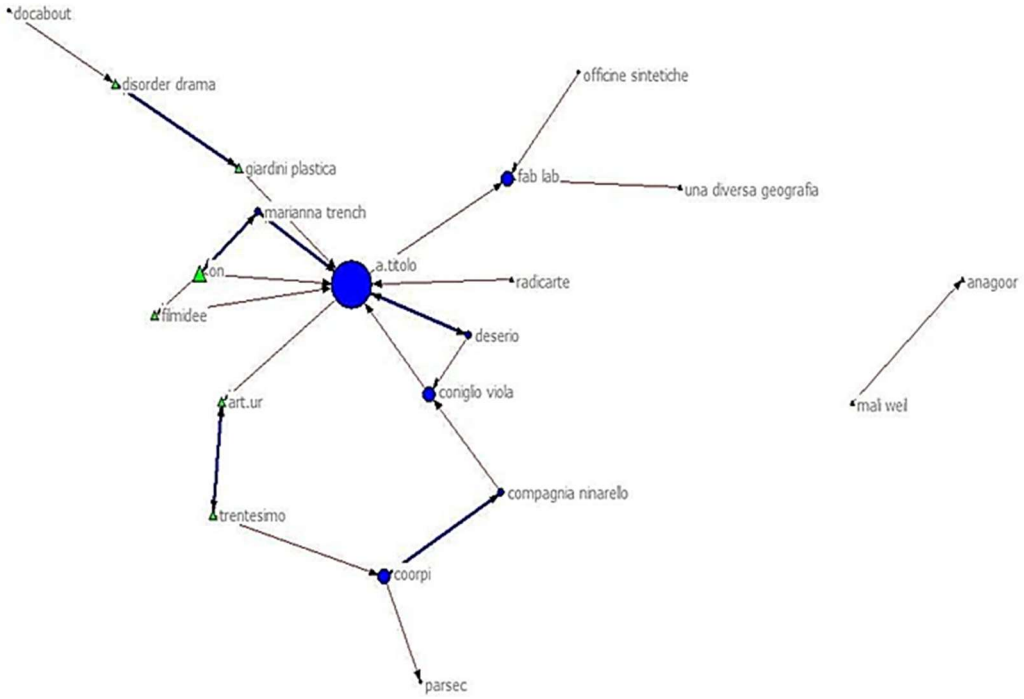


Figure 19: Structure of work collaborations network. Source: author's elaboration

The current configuration suggests that:

- The number of relations indicated as collaborations is lower than those indicated as simple reciprocal recognition;
- Although cultural producers are struggling to recognize each other, except at the local scale, the same dynamic seems to take place also on the layer of work collaborations. Evidently, as we can show in the graph, mutual relations are inferior than unilateral ones. In this way, it seems possible to suggest that in small-size cultural organization, principal actors identify coworkers at the individual and/or name project level rather than at the organizational level.

Active reciprocal relations are only six, while the sum of relations indicated are twenty-two. Considering only the active reciprocal indications of work collaborations, four answers are related to place-based contacts, while two are between actor located in different places. The main node of this visualization is represented, again, by A.titolo, both for centrality and for degree measure. This assessment confirms the role of this organization as an intermediator among the cultural actors analyzed, as observed also in the graph about reciprocal recognitions. Coorpi and Coniglio Viola confirm the same degree of centrality of

the reciprocal recognition analysis but, while Coorpi has declared relationships partially confirmed by other actors (Compagnia Ninnarello), Coniglio Viola embodied not corresponding relations –. Besides the aforementioned reasons for this lack of correspondence, this could also mean that some artistic organizations perceive past collaborations as bad reputation for the future of their job, preferring not to declare certain alliances.

A very ambiguous position in this network – and also in the whole analysis– is embodied by Fab Lab Torino. Despite the numerous answers that indicate this organization as partner in many projects, they do not specify any partnership within their network. If the dynamic of bad reputation illustrated above is a probable reason, in this case we could advance also another explanation. Indeed, we have recorded the same dynamic also in previous elaborations. It seems possible to suggest that internal communication in the organizational scheme of Fab Lab does not work correctly and/or they do not recognize this environment as their creative milieu. In these ways we can explain its isolated position within the network as the scarce interest to identify the organization itself within a certain productive system. At the same time, these organizations – in general - are structurally characterized by horizontal hierarchies, and also by a multi-tasking and cross-disciplinary approach that drives actors in working simultaneously in different sectors. Therefore, in certain case horizontal hierarchies do not allow to identify a project coordinator or person in charge, reducing communication of organizational brand along the process and its dissemination.

It is interesting to note that two organizations are totally disconnected from the whole network, embodying an (instable) autonomous relation between them. They belong to the same cultural sector, but are also based in the same geographical area. This result enables us to advance that both geographical and cognitive proximity are working, but we are not able to clarify if one variable is mainly than the other. Also, if the donor acknowledged these organizations as the main artistic innovators in Italy, why this autonomous link has no relations with the other organizations selected as winners by ORA! grant? To consider these organizations as the best of innovators in Italy presumes the idea that they belong at the same group, they know each other and collaborate together. We could also advance another hypothesis: the innovative artistic production environment includes not only one network of producers but several ones in relation to geographical areas, cultural sectors of belonging, common interests and so on. In this sense, geographical dimension is not the only dimension that works in producing innovation. In addition, if one actor does not declare to collaborate with the other, it could mean also that they recognize individuals and not organizations probably for the same reasons indicated above: bad reputation, scarcity in communication process).

However – at this level of analysis – we are not able to indicate if geographical proximity is most influent than cognitive closeness between the

actors. Indeed, the reciprocal relations are between place-based organizations and sectorial-based actors.

Thus, at the moment we are still not able to claim that geographical proximity enhances collaboration possibilities within a cluster of small-sized organizations in the artistic fields.

5.1.3 Mapping knowledge flow and innovative areas: matching artistic organizations with places.

In literature is commonly acknowledged that arts and artists play a crucial role in economic and social development, enforcing cities to be more innovative than others when cultural actors are located properly in these places.

Different streams of research arise in arguing several aspects, such as that cities should generate artistic and cultural milieus, which provide «essential skilled labor and specialized services in the regional cultural or creative economy while also serving as an amenity that attracts other highly skilled and educated people and the businesses that employs them» (Markusen and Schrock 2006; Scott 2000). The core of this stream is the awareness that the social and institutional context of cultural industries affects urban economic development, indicating a certain degree of connection between space and cultural development (Currid 2007).

Table 5: Description of locations per cultural actors involved. Source: Author's elaboration

Cities	Citations	Cities	Citations
Albisola	1	Lagnasco	1
Alessadria	1	Lampedusa	1
Amsterdam	1	London	1
Ancona	1	Matera	3
Andria	1	Milan	6
Ascoli	1	Moncalieri	1
Asti	1	Naples	2
Athens	3	New York	2
Berlin	6	Novi Ligure	1
Bevagna	1	Oslo	1
Biella	1	Palermo	1
Bologna	2	Paris	3
Brescia	1	Pescara	1

Bruxelles	1	Racconigi	1
Caernarfon	1	Rome	6
Castelfranco	1	Saluzzo	2
Chicago	1	Santa Cruz	1
Collegno	1	Savona	1
Crema	1	Somalia	1
Cuneo	1	Turin	16
Dro	2	Trento	1
Eindhoven	1	Vicenza	1
Genoa	5	Virginia	1
Istanbul	1	Zurich	1

In the previous sections our attention focused on the relations between the actors inscribed in the same cluster, in the attempt to underline limits and opportunities related to the connections that actors establish between each other.

In this section, our exercise will be addressed to explore how many places are involved in developing the winning projects of Bando ORA!. This call represents an interesting case in Italian history because is the first time that a grant has specifically addressed organizations based in all areas of Italy but available to implement their ideas in Piedmont and Liguria, but it is also true that these projects are built by large scale connections. Indeed, cultural organizations have proposed projects that need competencies, skills and support from other individuals, organizations and institutions based elsewhere – describing what in literature is indicated as core team (Grabher, 2004). For this reason, adopting the approach described in previous chapters as "patent as secondary data", data has been collected in a secondary way by the total participants to the projects in order to analyze the relationships between cultural organizations and places. The aim of this elaboration is to describe the main area on which knowledge and innovation resources are based within this process.

Considering that artistic innovative projects are not registered in official datasets available as well as for patents, we gathered information as secondary data both from the official documents disseminated by Compagnia di San Paolo (through the press office, website and advertising), from the cultural organizations or individuals involved (press release, advertising, websites, social networks), and from journals. In doing so, we have collected information about the locations of cultural organizations and individual actors taking part in the twenty core team projects – without considering the location of the twenty proposers. In this way, as shown in the table above, we obtained the values including how cities are involved and how many times a certain place is considered in this process, tracing

the origin of the knowledge flows and capabilities working in these examples of artistic innovative production. We have not considered the location of the twenty winners because we are interested in the effort to focus the dynamics activated outside the principal cluster. In this sense, the research question was addressed to map which are the cities most involved in the locational process of the actors that offer knowledge and services in Bando ORA!. As we will show next, the s

Social Network Analysis that we adopted until now is not useful to continue the analysis because we are taking into account different elements (organizations and cities), while previously only the same resources were analyzed (organizations and organizations, individuals and individuals, cities and cities).

Once having mapped the core teams and having developed a dataset, we are able to start making the first visualizations with simple bipartite graphs. Simple bipartite graph is a basic representation modality in which «we can partition all nodes into two sets, V1 and V2, such that all edges include a member of V1 and a member of V2» (Borgatti, Everett, 1997). In this way, graphs have been developed in order to visualize connections between organizations and places both at the local (Piedmont and Liguria) and global scales (rest of Italy, Europa, Extra European Countries). Firstly, we have putted the artistic innovative organization (signed with blue and orange squares) on the left of the graph, and cities (marked as red circles) in which source of knowledge and information are based on the right. Bigger is the red circle, more connections have been captured by this city.

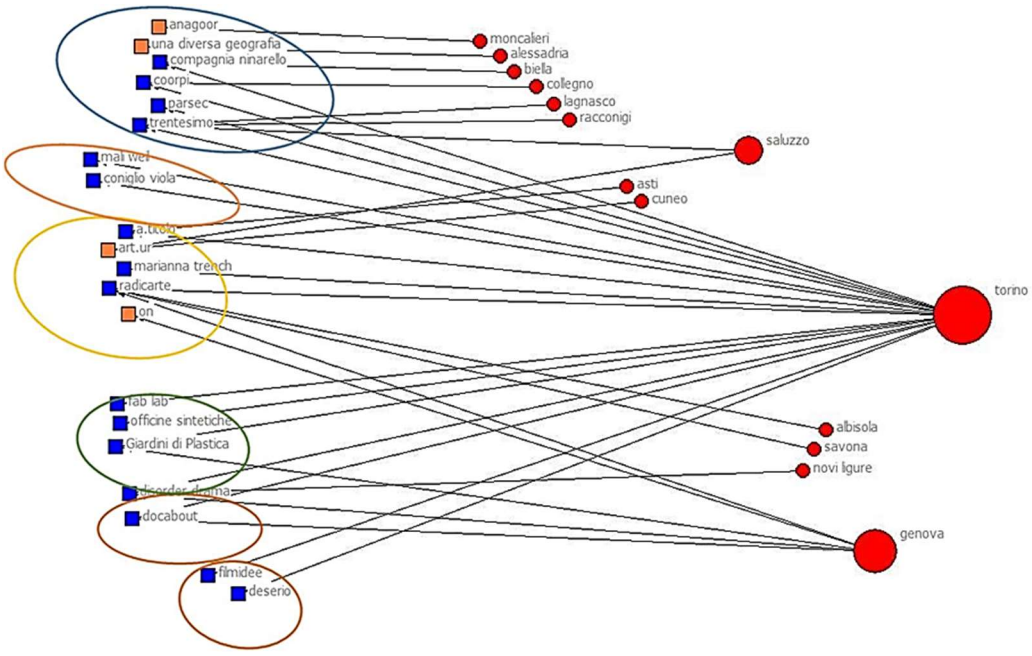


Figure 20: Bipartite graph showing relations between winning organizations and cities of team core projects. Source: Author's elaboration

According to this operation, we can show the relations between actors and places. The first observation is that only four winning organizations (signed as

orange squares) have no relations flows with artists or creative workers based in Turin. As expected, Turin and Genova are the main places represented in this graph – confirming the theories that acknowledged the attractive power of urban areas for creative workers. Turin has been mentioned sixteen times, while Genova five. The sum of locations indicated is fourteen, and if we cross this measure with the fact that ten organizations are based in Turin, and four are based outside the area of competence of Compagnia di San Paolo, we can suggest a certain degree of liveliness and vitality of the Piedmont and Liguria cultural ecologies. Saluzzo has been mentioned two times, probably because two winning organizations come from that area and they could have made partnerships with well-known organizations.

The graph below shows the connections at non-local scale in exchange of knowledge and information used to build winning projects. In this visual representation, blue squares represent the winners of Bando ORA!, while red dots represents Northern Italian cities, green dots indicate Central and Southern Italian places, and yellow circles embody European and Extra European cities.

Firstly, cities indicated outside the regional borders are thirty-four while those insides are fourteen (in the previous graph). This simple comparison allows us to infer a main presence of external sources rather than the resource exchange at the local scale. Reasons could be different, for example the need to implement new connections with the objective to enlarge the organization's action, the problem to avoid knowledge lock-in in their systems of production or the possibility to try new solutions.

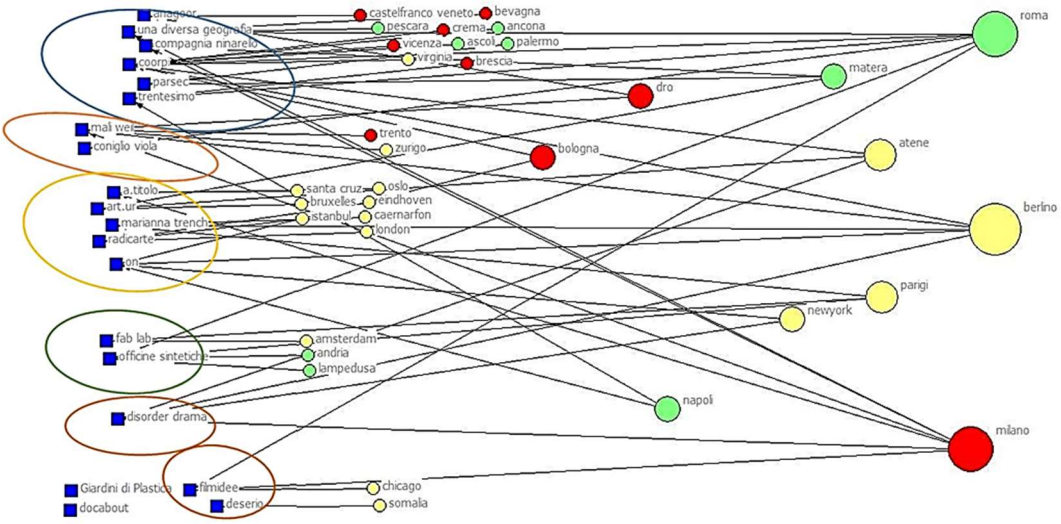


Figure 21: Bipartite graph showing non-local connections. Source: Author's elaboration

Rome, Milan and Berlin are the main cities indicated, representing a confirmation once again the long tradition of research in urban studies that founds in metropolitan areas the vibrant environment for artists and creative actors. While Milan is near Turin and Genova (in the past they constituted one of the most

important industrial areas in Europe) and Berlin is a renowned worldwide capital of creativity and arts, Rome is a singular result. Firstly, this city is far from Turin and, secondly, it represents a case study for cultural heritage but not for creative economy.

Athens, Paris and New York follow together with two Southern Italian cities: Matera and Naples. Also, in this case, while European and non-European cities have been deeply studied as specific places in which creativity and creative economy grow intensely, Italian cities represent a significant example – often underestimated – of the increasing attention on urban-led culture development. While Naples has recently hosted important film productions and experimented new policies in managing cultural institutions, Matera will be one of the European Cultural Capitals of 2019. These processes have influenced both the attractiveness of these cities for creative workers and the attention of actors based elsewhere. The motivations behind the attractiveness of these cities and the role of bottom-up organization into this institutional context could be an interesting topic for future investigations but it is not our focus at the moment.

Moreover, the graph shows that two cultural organization (reported on the bottom of the graph, at the left side) have no connections beyond those at the local scale. Projects developed by Giardini di Plastica and Docabout have been conceived and realized without inputs, job and support of individuals or organizations based outside the regional borders. Differently, the other actors have demonstrated an enormous entity of relationships with individuals or organizations based in the main cultural places of Italy and of the world.

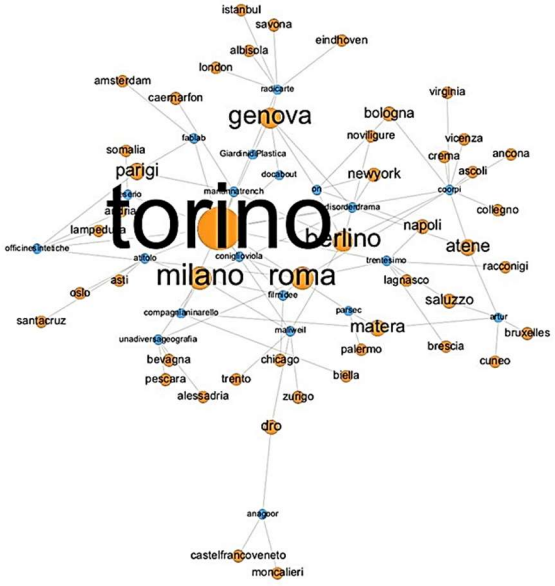


Figure 22: Cities mainly involved in production processes. Source: Author's elaboration

The graph above summarizes what we have claimed in the previous analysis, by putting in the same representation organizations, local scale and non-local scale. In doing so, we have adopted what in Social Network Analysis is called "Bimodal Visualization of 2-Mode Data" «often extremely effective for transmitting a holistic understanding of the whole dataset» (Borgatti, Everett, 1997).

Social Network Analysis techniques, indeed, enable us to transmute «a two-mode network into one-mode network where one set of nodes is selected and relations among nodes of the same set are detected through the relations according to the second set» (Maggioni, 2011). This approach is often used in geography to analyze the issue of knowledge flows, but it not working in this case because our intention is to analyze also the nature and the content of relations. In the next section we will adopt ego network analysis in the attempt to analyze this further.

5.2 Analysis 4. Socio-spatial relationships outside the winners' cluster

This section examines innovative artistic production, that artists call artistic research, as a form of knowledge production formed by relations. In order to understand socio-spatial relationships inside a cluster of winning projects made by artistic innovative organizations, we needed to focus on different levels. In the previous section, we used traditional methods of Social Network Analysis to investigate the role of the network structure, the position of member inside the cluster, the relations between them, as well as the location of knowledge sources involved in design and implementation of ideas. In this way, we have "discovered" not only that geographical proximity within the cluster is a useful working dynamic, but also that other kinds of relation are taking place outside the cluster stimulating different levels of proximity. In this section of the research, we will try to deepen this perspective, shifting from the traditional social network technique to the analysis of individual pathways of relations for each actor. Specifically, we will try to underline aspects related to the cognitive proximity between actors using the personal network analysis techniques. By a theoretical point of view, we suggest that cognitive proximity enables new possibilities of communication, absorbing and processing new knowledge based in the same place but also elsewhere. By requiring different bodies of knowledge but common values and understandings, cognitive proximity facilitates diversity in co-creation processes and avoids cognitive lock-in that in certain cases characterize local spatial systems. In this research, innovative artistic production is understood as production of knowledge, and in this sense cognitive proximity is also interesting for the risk (or not) of involuntary spillovers. Thus, this exercise explores a new

method for explaining the value of networked- based projects into the creative economy.

We know that actors make alliances inside and outside the cluster borders, living in relationships that generates a collaborative talent-based economy. Values emerge from the connections between people, spaces, businesses and ideas that the projects include. Inside a cluster they make alliances in horizontal and vertical directions to activate local chains, but our attention looks at the dimension of the knowledge flows oriented to generate diversity in cognitive constellations of cultural actors. In other words, the research aims to reconstruct how resources has been exchanged between actors, and how these resources can flow from and to outside their organizations.

Relationships differentiated for types of contacts involving both strategic level - when they refer to the development of products and services or the entry into new markets, or operational level - when they denote to scale agreements or outsourced activities for reasons related to cost structures. Thus, analyzing socio-spatial relations in artistic innovative cultural production it can be useful to reconstruct individual pathways of organizations in realizing projects to discover how they work specifically. Indeed, organizations bound and bring social capital (Hawkins and Maurer, 2009) i.e. their intuitions and capabilities, with ideas, information or services of other actors. In this way, we will focus the process of building projects as a generative moment for a real understanding of relations.

5.2.2 Reconstructing individual networks of relations

In doing so, a model graphs have been developed as a multilayered instrument of interpretation. We used the VennMaker platform, a free software available online that enables us to apply a participatory research methodology and to draw maps. With this tool, indeed, interviewees are able to draw, visualize and qualitatively evaluate their network themselves, while simultaneously reflecting on the network's structure and genesis with the researcher. The fields of application of this instrument could be diverse, including:

- participatory process-oriented interviews, where actors and researchers analyze the network map together in a dialogic way,
- self-interviews without the researcher being present,
- jointly generating strategic network maps of organizational branches or strategic actor mapping in a group process,
- graphical representation: a user-friendly drawing instrument to visualize network data collected with other methods.

The aim of our application of personal network techniques is to interactively collect and visualize personal networks for each organization and so we will be trying to develop a sort of catalogue of diverse practice of work inside the artistic innovation production of small-sized cultural organizations. An empty model graph has been subdivided in different layers, as it can be shown in the figure below.

Two specific dimensions of relations have been investigated during semi-structured interviews, with the aim to discover the actors' features inscribed in their socio-spatial and organizational levels:

- Nature of relations: numbers of ties and intensity, specific resources exchanged, strength of ties (values, category, trust)
- Content of relations: association; esteem, friendship, respect, approval, transfer resources, behavioral interactions, mobility on space, physical connections, formal relations.

Each representation has Ego (the principal actor interviewed by the researcher) at the core of the graph, and relations start from it toward other actors positioned along sectors and circles from the interviewed. The entire circle has been separated in diverse portions and sub-circles in order to distinguish several variables that we will just illustrate. Network map can be illustrated only when interviewees finished to describe their interactions and attributes of themselves.

Firstly, with the intention to identify the role of an actor into the network, we have subdivided the shape of the graph in three portions: co-creation, collaboration and service as indicated by labels reported in the graph.

Co-creation concerns the direct involvement of other actors in contents creation processes. It presumes that actors are working as pairs independently from their organizational status.

Service regards the active participation of an actor in carrying out a job or an activity, also if variously and assessable. It assumes that this actor must be paid for this work from the central actors involved in co-creation process.

Collaboration, indeed, represent an official contract in which an actor, for his own performance, does not obtain an economic advantage from the other part.

Secondly, three sub-circles identified immaterial culture (visual and performing arts), material culture (design, fashion, food) and contents industry (music, cinema, museums and cultural institutions) as cultural sectors of belonging in which individuals or organizations operate. We indicate immaterial culture as closer than Egos because winning projects have been developed in these sectors, so our hypothesis is that actors belonging to similar activities share a common frame of values.

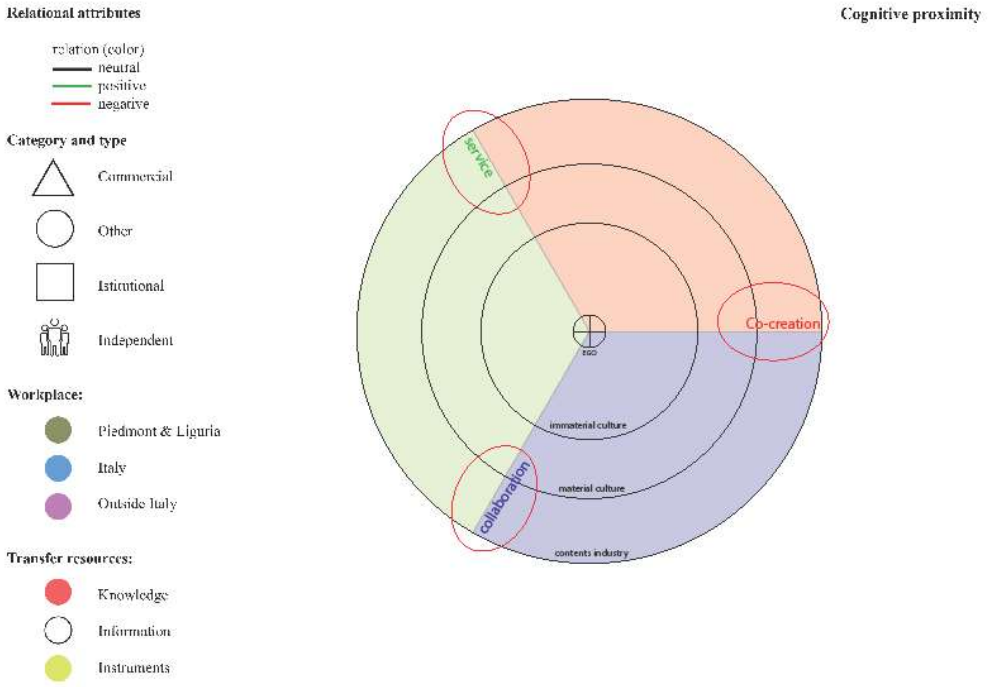


Figure 23: Empty representational model of individual network. Source: Author's elaboration

As a third step, we ask Egos (winning cultural organizations) to indicate not more than twenty Alters (individuals or organizations involved in the project) in their own network, their characteristics, and – when it was possible – social relationships than Alters entertain within each other. In this way, together with the interviewed we have putted the actors' name into the map.

As a final step, we have calculated the density of each network, establishing the number of components of the network in order to identify other three attributional dimensions:

- Type of organization: in order to understand which actor works with artistic innovative organizations, i.e. individuals as freelancers, independents organizations (distance to the market and institutional links), commercial (market-oriented organizations) or institutions (museums or cultural institutions);
- Workplace: we asked where actors located their activities and what kind of space they use in order to understand local and non-local dynamics;
- Resource: with the aim of highlight what kind of resource they exchange. At this level, cultural actors indicated three types of resource. "Knowledge" identifies the resource used by actors to initially build new projects or products together. "Information" represents an idea/product/production already well-developed, public showed, and available from other actors through payments,

but still advantageous for a new project. Finally, "instrument" signifies material and immaterial goods indispensable for outfitting projects but not relevant to design projects.

Table 6: Variables interacting in the analysis. Source: Author's elaboration

Actors	Role	Type	Sector	Workplace	Resource
Ego	Co-creation	Independent	Immaterial	Piedmont - Liguria	Knowledge
Alters	Service	Individual	Material	Italy	Information
Alters	Collaboration	Commercial	Contents Industry	Outside of Italy	Instruments
		Institutional			

The result is an understanding about how the individual characteristics of actors can influence size, composition and structure. At the relationship level, we could also recognize how alter characteristics affect the contents of the relationship with ego, the stability of the relationship, or the existence of the ties with other "alters". At the spatial level, we can appreciate how diverse resources can be mobilized at local and non-local scales.

Before beginning to illustrate in next sections the results emerged from the analysis, and to suggest generalizations about different typologies of work organization, we shall demonstrate two examples of individual network developed. The table above resumes all variables included in the analysis of personal networks of relations. The next sections will develop explanations about the main schemes merged by the application of ego-network techniques.

5.1.2 Examples of analysis process of individual network

As shown in the examples illustrated by the graphs, Ego has progressively indicated different types of actors and features of relations, entering a node (or altering it) on the maps. Actors have been marked with the sign of "people that run" when they are independent cultural organizations, with a "white circle" when they are "others", i.e. individual workers or freelancers, with a "white triangle" when they are commercial firms, and with a "white square" when they are cultural institutions.

Subjects who operate in visual or performing arts have been draw into "immaterial culture circle", if they operate in design, food or fashion in "material culture", and finally in "contents industry" if they operate as film or music industry, publishing, advertising or cultural institutions. The green lines represent positive relations between actors, while black links represent normal relations and black describe the bad ones. Symbols size depends from the longevity of the

relations, which are bigger when relations are older, smaller when they are recent. Around each actor, we putted different colors in order to evaluate:

- The resource exchanged: red for knowledge, white for information, and yellow for instruments;
- Location: green for organizations based in Piedmont and Liguria, blue for actors based in Italy and purple for subject located outside of Italy.

During the application, the VennMaker software has demonstrated several limitations. Firstly, it does not allow to put geographical maps as a graph background, avoiding the possibilities to visually spatialize the process. To be honest, VennMaker allows only one possibility of development with a geographical map, but it is fixed and not enlargeable. In this way, it does not catch the situation at the urban level or in areas not represented by the chart. On the other hand, VennMaker allows us to create variables in order to understand the spatial dispersion of the network.

Another limit is that only two colors per graph can illustrate actor attributes, one for each variable considered (in our case, resources exchanged and location). For this reason, researchers are not enabled to represent local and non-local dynamics in the same visualization, with the risk of losing the entire process.

Furthermore, the software is easy to read for beginners or non-specialists in social networks, being fast, attractive and enjoyable for researchers and informants, but it can be unstable with a large set of data. In this way, we preferred to reconstruct general models starting from the tendencies rather than recreate a final network including all relationships indicated that could be difficult to visualize with many nodes.

Nevertheless, if other softwares are definitely more powerful and polyvalent, VennMaker seems compatible to be combined with other methodologies, as has been done in this research, because it is highly adaptable to diverse interview situations. In this sense, future developments of software are desirable.

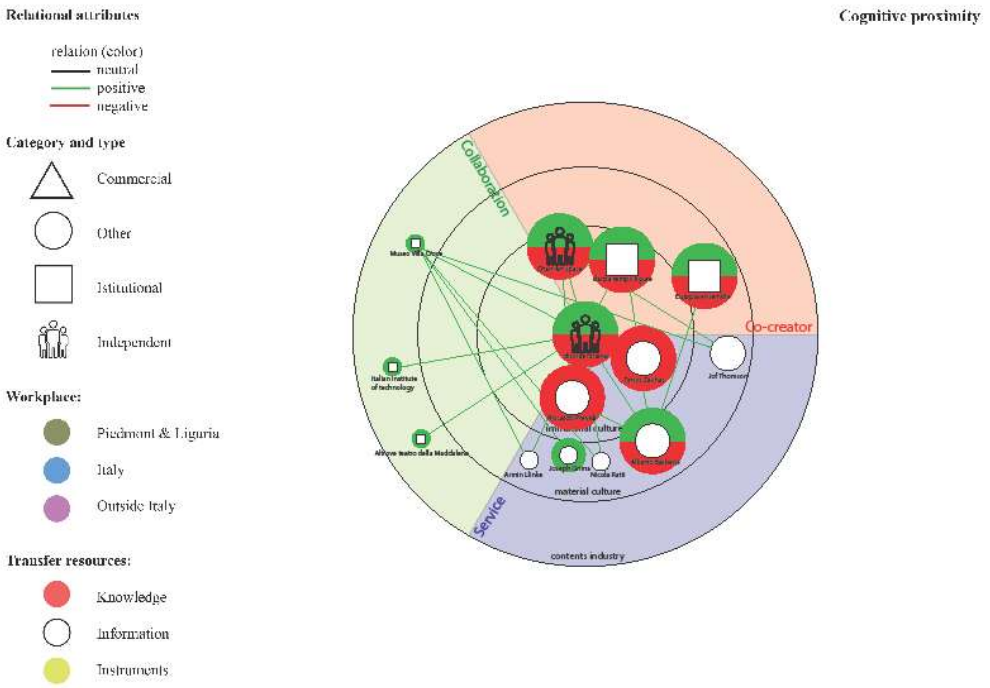


Figure 24: Examples of individual networks developed for each actor. Source: Author's elaborations

In the graph above, we can appreciate the reconstruction of the network structure and attributes by a respondent. The actor describe itself as a part of an independent organization, indicated on the graph with the sign of "people that run". Actors involved in its projects are thirteen (13) subdivided in:

- one (1) independent organizations,
- seven (7) individual workers or freelancers – indicated by circle signs,
- five (5) institutional organizations – indicated by square signs.

All relations have been indicated as "good relations", and the respondent is able to indicate not only relation between their organization and other partners (alters), but also between each member. Nine of the network members are based in Piedmont and Liguria, while 5 come from other geographical areas. Most relations have been entertained with organizations or individuals operating in the fields of design, food or fashion (6), while those with alters acting in immaterial culture (4) are bigger than those in the content industry (3).

Despite the respondent claims that their own organization is the "creator" of the project idea, at the "level of co-creation" three (3) other actors can be found: two (2) institutional and (1) independent organizations. Indeed, he sustains a common conceptual elaboration of the project in which all members exchange knowledge as main resource. At the same time, all members are based in the same geographical area: Piedmont and Liguria. Therefore, the graphs underline a particular fact: the respondent is close to the other independent organization as well as with the institutional ones. Dimensions of the signs indicate both an old

relation because the respondent putted in the map not a small sign but a big one. Particularly interesting seems to be the level of services (the purple portion): most of the network members indicated by the respondent have been included there. At the same time, we underline that all members indicated at the "service level" are individuals or freelancers and most of them are not based in Piedmont and Liguria. Even if the core of the graph exchanges knowledge with actors involved in immaterial cultural activities and relations are oldest, more actors have been included in "material culture zone". These relations express exchange of information and/or instruments indicating a sort of relation "not for free payment" as in the previous level (co-creation) – also if ties are younger. Lastly, at the "level of collaboration", members are related to the institutional levels operating in the contents industry. Relations are new because respondent draws a small sign each to indicate them.

In the end, through the application of this method, we can claim not only that the winner organization is the real actor involved in the creation process. We can claim the same also for production and implementation phases. At the same time, we underline that artistic innovation process concerns the involvement of many actors based both at the local and at the non-local scale. Lastly, we clarify that independent artistic organizations not only work together with others operating with the same status, but also that they elaborate project with the involvement of institutional actors as pairs – at least by the content's creation perspective. For this reason, but not only, this research is focused on the active role of this subjects in the huge cultural environment and it is not interested in concept like "avant-garde" or "underground" related to subcultural movements that often do not speak and collaborate with other levels of cultural producers.

5.2.2 Exchange of knowledge and resources at local scale

Findings from the analysis of the interviews show some interesting features. First, the description formulated by the interwees are well-done, exhaustive, and detailed, including both local and non-local actors and the resources involved. They can explain relations that proposers entertain with their partners, but also those between single partners with the other actors of the network. Matching this result with the lack of acknowledgement evidenced in the previous section about the analysis within the cluster, we can suggest that not only physical closeness enhance communication, but also cognitive proximity facilitate this process.

By an organizational point of view, this aspect could demonstrate that individuals and organizations build their work environment not only looking at the space around them, but also pushing the borders in different directions to enlarge their field of action and opportunities, finding similar attitudes, values and behaviors. Starting from a single idea, winning organizations (that we call

proposers) involves other subjects to realize their own cognitive constellation of cultural actors. Constellation means open-minded processes, while clusters could represent a delimited space without contents available. In many cases networks are dense because of the presence of subjects that vary from individuals to firms. In this sense, artistic innovative cultural production reproduces what Grabher (2004) described as team core project.

Networks present high levels of diversity in size, composition and structures. Density of actors is also assorted with cultural actors interviewed that indicated an average of 10,3 actors for each network. The minimum value recorded is 6 organizations, while the maximum is 19, both excluded from the calculation of the average. After having analyzed twenty projects, it is interesting that almost half of the respondents did not claimed their organization as the project proposer but themselves. In this way, we can enforce the assumption that identifies artistic innovative work as an expression of individuals and projects rather than organizations. In any case, we noted some recurrent socio-spatial practices and common grounds in job modalities that allow us to isolate general models starting from the observation of relations into the networks.

Looking at the local scale, in order to recognize and analyze the resource exchanged, we could claim that three tendencies emerge: local-to-local, intermediary, local-to-non-local.

Local-to-local model

Three elements compose the graph below. Firstly, actors belonging to the artistic local scene are the spark for the creation of new projects. The main actors involved in these dynamics are individuals or young independent organizations belonging to immaterial sectors that bring ideas together with a common objective, working as aggregators. In these cases, the network structure is dense at the co-creation level, while it has a thin shape in others. Relations express friendship and trust and a strong necessity to follow inspiration in trying new aesthetics solutions. In this way, they do not appear as tightly interrelated entities, at least in the initial part of the project creation. Communication becomes important in confrontation and selection of ideas because all actors represent different identities, also if there is a common ground concerning local belonging. In this way, face-to-face contacts are important also as a socialization phase and not only as way of enforcing the learning process. Secondly, we identify common projects as core elements of artistic innovative knowledge production. Relations are mainly exchanged at the co-creation level rather than the service level, in order to exchange knowledge and opinions with pairs to generate the constitutive project idea. We identify “knowledge” as a new form of artistic production, while information could be intended as a new form of artistic production, even if already organized in previous experiences such as exhibitions, performances or live

events. In this way, we could affirm that local actors express a role of co-creators, articulating several attitudes to the experimentation, failures, research and design of new ideas.

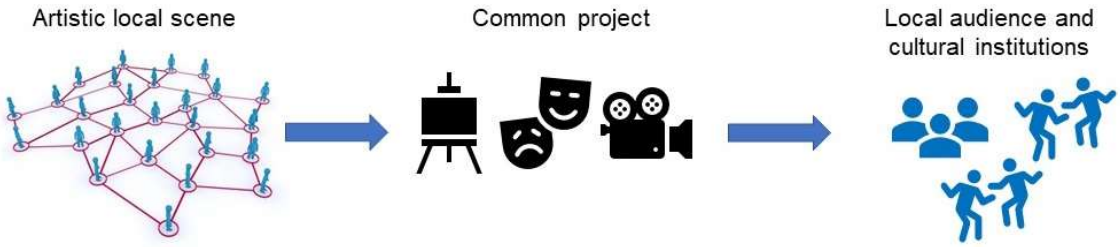


Figure 25: Local to local model of geographical organization of activities. Source: Author's elaboration

The last element, but not less important, is local audience as the target of this kind of innovative artistic production. If we look at the collaboration level, we can find several organizations engaging relations with local cultural institutions that we classified as instrumental exchange of space, financial sources, materials, and instruments. In many cases, for example, local public theatres or museums host – often for free – projects just to exhibit them and refresh their own programs and agendas. Rarely projects are based on local cultural values, while most times they concern global issues and items. Between local producers and local cultural institutions there are no relations existing before the projects, but they engage in collaborations with the aim of reciprocally benefitting one another. Conversely, when collaborations happen between independent local organizations and local producers, they have a strong relation characterized by trust and acquaintance. Only a few relations concern actors operating in commercial aspects or with market-related organizations. The main intention of actors seems to promote themselves and their idea in a local system of cultural consumption.

The indermediary model

The second model shows diverse dynamics than the previous description and differs in several parts, including the role of actors. We called "intermediary" those cases in which artistic innovators work as connectors, assuming a central position in the relation between (local and non-local) cultural actors and institutions and the local system of cultural consumption. This centrality characterizes the network structure according to a crucial position of innovative artistic producers along the whole process. In general, the network structure presents high degrees of density of actors and cohesion between them.

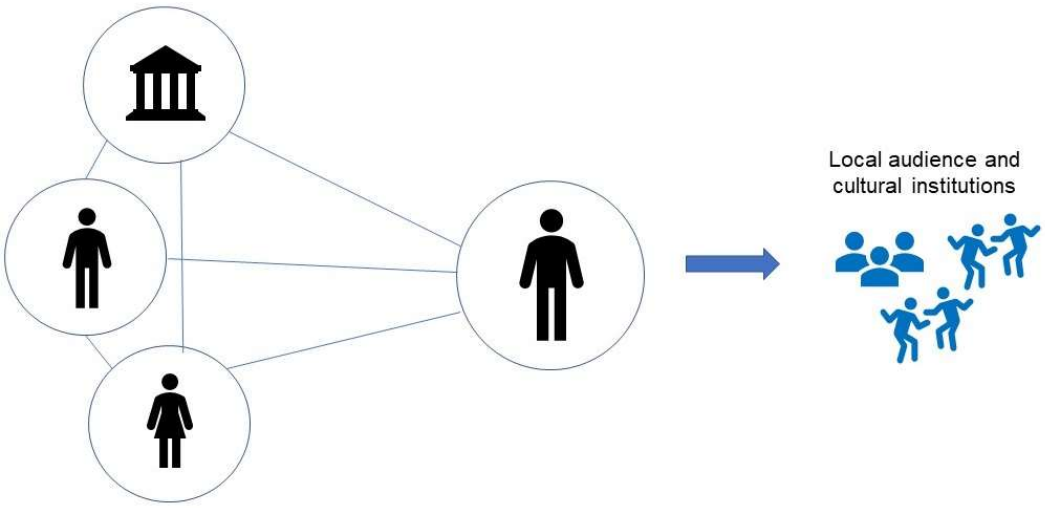
On the co-creation level, they present fewer relations than the previous example (local-to-local). They operate as individuals or small-size cultural organization that autonomously conceive their own ideas, designing projects from

their researches, attitudes, values and behavior in the artistic fields. These kinds of actors are really embedded in their cultural environment of reference, in which they work day-by-day with close relations both with institutions and pairs. These long-term relations express acquaintance, friendship and trust built through reputation, previous job performance and experiences, and accountability.

Organizational boundaries are well defined for these actors, embodying a clear identity because of their previous activities in a specific sector. On the one hand we could read in this modality a high degree of specialization and sectoralisation of work while, on the other hand, we could see a sort of self-referentiality in terms of topics, language, communication and codes used.

New knowledge production as aesthetic research is the objective of these experiences because cultural innovators produce new ways of showing a specific thing or matter. In doing so, artists and cultural actors locally collect both institutional requirements and collective needs in order to translate and satisfy these demands in a cultural experience. At the co-creation level, they receive inputs from local or non-local cultural institutions in order to develop a certain project. In other words, we could compare this phase with a sort of commitment, in which a cultural institution delegates the project development to an innovative artistic producer.

In the "intermediary" model, service degree is well-developed presenting most relation than co-creation or collaboration layers. At this level, artistic innovators establish work relations, both at the local and non-local scale, especially with individuals or market-oriented actors that have already developed artistic products and services in the past. In this way, artistic innovators use different sources of knowledge (yet codified) as information – the main resource



at this level – in order to articulate a new discourse.

Figure 26: Intermediary model of geographical organization of activities. Source: Author's elaboration

These relations are mostly professional and commercial, considering a traditional pathway of work collaboration, but – at the same time – they considered also high level of consolidated shared values, trust and acquaintance. In this way, artistic innovators not only purchase a content, but also a (previous) experience, including knowledge and learning opportunities. Indeed, in the (new) creative economy the main product is experience (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Online communication and common events become important to enforce socialization between individuals and to share ideas and knowledge, but daily co-presence between innovators is not always relevant because artistic innovators do not require routine, but they need diversity and stimulus. In other words, they need "other visions of their word" to produce projects, with the aim to stimulate audience with new experiences that enable collective processes of rethinking everyday life. In this sense, knowledge is not strickly connected with place and is neither difficult to transfer nor to reproduce it (Ferreira et al., 2013) but is very connected with actors for place and audience.

At the collaboration level, as well as local-to-local model, we found relations with institutional actors at the local scale, considering instrumental exchange of space, financial sources, materials, and in-kind instruments. In addition to hosting projects and refreshing their programs, institutions play also the role of containers for non-mainstream cultural values, absorbing the freshness and disruptive power of projects and entertaining relations with several (sub)cultural scenes.

In general, the "intermediary model" shows many relations between artistic innovators (in the analysis called Ego's) and a variety of actors (from individuals to institutions). Additionally, this model shows also a high degree of relations within the alters quoted, demonstrating a great level of interpenetration between actors in their cultural environment. Independents, individuals and commercial workers? entertain regular relations with the institutional level.

Local to non-local model

Similarly, to the first model, the third one identifies three parts describing almost the same dynamics. However, this example differs for the final output focusing non-local audience and cultural institutions as the target of artistic production.

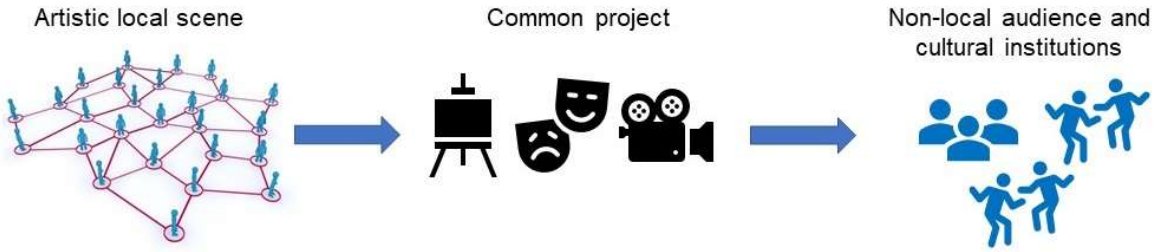


Figure 27: Local to non-local model of geographical organization of activities. Source: Author's elaboration

A thin network structure characterizes these experiences, recalling the dynamics described in the local-to-local model. Contrarily, at the collaboration level we find more cohesion between actors than in the other models. At the co-creation level, indeed, artistic innovators that operate according to this modality present no relations with other actors, but only within individuals and independent organizations that participated in the designing of the project. Differently to the intermediary model, these experiences show no commitment relations by local or non-local cultural institutions, indicating a sort of autonomy in relation to the mainstream system. On the other hand, this characteristic seems to underline untied relations with the local cultural debate, highlighting a sort of non-belonging of these actors to (or for) place and every-day life. Relations within co-producers could vary depending on the sector, (including immaterial and material culture) stressing the question of the capabilities of actors to generate interdisciplinary and multi-sectorial projects. In doing so, relations need to be very close on the level of attitudes, value and behaviors, while co-presence and face-to-face contacts seem less important.

At the level of service, artistic innovative producers that operate according to this modality show non-significant relations with individuals, organizations or institution – affirming no commercial plans and market-related exchanges.

Collaboration is the most interesting part of this model. It shows numerous partnerships with commercial, institutional and independent actors. Similarly, to the previous models, we found instrumental exchange of space, financial sources, materials, and in-kind instruments as the main resource exchanged. Furthermore, we also found other interesting dynamics such as, for example, the availability of partners to share knowledge resources in order to achieve improvements in the projects' design process. This kind of sharing physically happens with cultural actors located in different places (so at non-local scale) through workshops, artistic residency periods, and focus groups. These experiences take place when the project is not already closed or, in other words, when the creative process is ongoing. In this way, artistic innovators make relations with other artistic scenes, absorbing new inputs and – at the same time – enforcing other local system of

production in which they are hosted. In other words, this model enables aspect related to learning process and involuntary spillovers.

Finally, the local to non-local model evidences a hidden characteristic: the intention of artistic innovators to promote themselves and their production in other places. To do this, they need the acknowledgement of non-local audience needs and strong relations with cultural space with which they will collaborate.

5.2.3 Exchange of knowledge and resources at non-local scale

In the previous section we showed that socio-spatial relations of each Bando ORA! winner at the local scale could be summarized in three different models of work. Now, we illustrate how socio-spatial relations expressed at the non-local scales could produce different representations and practices. Probably for the nature of the grant, these relations are less than others, but not less important.

Non-local to local

This model follows the same structure than in the first description at the local scale. Conversely, in this case the artistic scene involved in the co-creation process is at the non-local scale. In other words, artistic innovators are located in other places than the artists participating in the project's design, sharing their ideas, knowledge and cultural backgrounds. It seems that artistic innovators take place actively both at the local and non-local artistic scene because co-creation requires coordination, reputation and trust. The network structure presents a high degree of density at the co-creation level, also with actors belonging at different sectors of activity. Into the network, relations connect both individuals and independent organizations many times, resulting as a discursive space in which experimentation, interdisciplinarity and multi-sectorial activities could take place. In this model is important to enforce communication and coordination processes between actors which must be continuously informed of the project development.

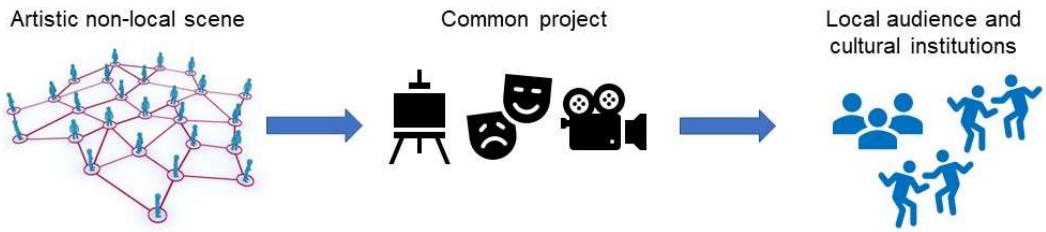


Figure 28: Non-local to local model of geographical organization of activities. Source: Author's elaboration

The level of service does not demonstrate a particular degree of activities. No commercial and market-oriented relation marks this kind of experiences. At the level of collaboration, cultural institutions offer alliance to artistic innovative producers in order to host cultural productions, facilitating settlement, training, communication and relations with the local cultural scene. On the other hand, artists need contacts with institutions to gain good reputation, opportunities and visibility. If non-local arts innovators are well-viewed from local institutions, they can also benefit from a good reputation between their peers. The spatial dispersion and structure of personal networks can be regarded as indicators of individual "activity spaces" that influence individual mobility patterns (Frei et al., 2009)

Chapter 6

Additional comments on the innovative cultural production (based on an English case)

In this section we will illustrate aspects related to the context of UK artistic organizations' ecologies, which have been addressed in depth during a visiting research period at the School of Geography Earth and Environmental Science of Birmingham. Our research approach in understanding Birmingham artistic scene has no value in finding comparison and comparative methodological terms but is a sort of "control measurement" about findings emerged in the Italian cases. Considering the differences in the cultural and institutional contexts in which the artistic organizations operate, the analysis has been conducted focusing on the organizational practices and uses of space in Birmingham artistic organization according to a qualitative point of view, following an active participation in events and interviews methods. In particular, we focused trans-local relation that actors entertain with other subject, enabling artistic innovators to increase relations with less familiar bodies of knowledge that could represent a crucial resource for their long-term survival and growth. As described in previous sections, diversity and dissimilarities represent sources for new ideas, which can be useful for processes' innovation. This experience has been done simultaneously with archival research about crucial policies developments and emerging practices in Birmingham.

6.1 An English tale: further evidence from the Birmingham context

It is common knowledge that creative and cultural sectors received an increasing attention in the UK in last third decade. This attention influenced both policies, public debate, and community awareness about the real impact of cultural works on society. Scholars analyzed policy discourses underlining a numerical specificity and a conceptual ambiguity oriented to rebrand the country as "Cool Britain" (Volkerling, 2009, Oakley, 2004). Governmental documents like the *Cox Review of Creativity in Business: building on the UK's strengths* (2005) report, commissioned by the Budget Statement – Ministry of Finance, defined 'creativity' as «the generation of new ideas – either new ways of looking at existing problems, or of seeing new opportunities, perhaps by exploiting emerging technologies or changes in markets». On the other hand, it defines 'innovation' as «the successful exploitation of new ideas. It is the process that carries them through to new products, new services, new ways of running the business or even new ways of doing business». In this way, the cultural and creative sectors in the UK have emerged as a key feature of national economic development policy since the end of the Nineties, with Tony Blair's and the New Labour Party's narratives based on what Peck (2009) described as «vestigial traces of earlier cultural industries efforts». Indeed, culture as a driver for economic and social renewals was already appearing in local experiences such as the Cultural Industrial Quarters in Sheffield (Moss, 2002) or Glasgow being the European City of Culture (Garcia, 2005). In 1997, the Department of Culture Media and sport (DCMS) launched the Creative Industries Task Force in order to develop strategies to create values around creative and cultural industries in the UK (Higgs and Cunningham, 2008). This step anticipated the first study about the sectors, called Creative Industries Mapping Document (1998, 2001). These reports were crucial in providing a general and operational definition for creative industries. Nevertheless, as Pratt (2006) claimed, the Creative Industries Task Force produced only a few policies while the significance of the Mapping Documents has probably been overestimated. For the author, the main result of the Labour policy has consisted in the promotion of creativity as a way to prepare people to work in the knowledge economy, introducing the idea that, with manufacturing in decline, the United Kingdom had to use knowledge to sustain its competitive advantage (Pratt, 2006). In addition, other critiques developed around the ambiguous and false distinctions between terminology, sectors and professionals resulting from the assumption that individual creativity and talent are at the core of several specific areas of activity (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). Another criticism was that the study failed to acknowledge the difference between businesses that actually generated intellectual property value through the creative talent of individuals (Flew and Cunningham, 2010). Another important critique regards creative and cultural industries policies and their understanding of their

local and regional dimensions, because often limited to the idea of geographical clusters (Chapain and Communian, 2007).

However, besides the criticism, the mapping exercise made by DCMS and the policies developed from the New Labour's narratives have defined for the first time the idea of a cultural and creative industries product chain systems in the UK (Evans, 2009). In this way, cultural and creative sectors continue to characterize governmental actions independently from the parties that drive the country, becoming one of the five strategic sectors in UK industrial politics and a stable presence in policy agendas. These sectors have been studied, and analysts and scholars continue to provide evidences that demonstrate the economic significance of the creative industries across the country, informing policies and strengthening them further (Matheos-Garcia and Bakhshi, 2016). In this sense, the geography of creativity in the UK demonstrates that creativity and culture are drivers for the economic and social growth not only of London and the Southern-Eastern areas, but also of other cities where creative clusters exist in the whole country.

Moreover, the creative and cultural sectors offer a direct economic contribution to the economy of United Kingdom, influencing employment, gross value added (GVA), gross domestic product (GDP), and exports of services. Furthermore, the creative and cultural sectors have a significant impact on the well-being and social cohesion of people. For instance, in 2016 the creative industries generated £91.8 billion of GVA, showing a year-on-year growth of 7.6% - a massive impact if we compare it to the growth of 3.5% of the entire UK economy over the same period (DCMS, 2016). In addition, in the last seven years the GVA of the creative industries has increased by a 44.8% and the sector makes up for the 5.3% of the UK economy, resulting one of the most important economies of the country. Creative industries generate nearly 1.96 million jobs, with an increasing of 5% in 2016, while other sectors recorded a rate of growth of 1.2% in the whole UK's workforce. The sector has increase by 25.4% since 2011 providing 6% of all UK's workforce, 34,5% of which are self-employed. Additionally, in thirty years the perception of the country has transformed from a traditional society with an economy characterized by industrial decline to an innovative, experimental and open-minded nation in which entrepreneurship and services are added values for competitiveness. In these transformations, the creative and cultural sectors play a crucial role.

UK's exit from the European Union offers the opportunity to identify new challenges – firstly – for the country and – secondly – for the workers of the creative and cultural sectors. If cases of creative metropolitan enclaves like London represent a specific and independent case in terms of economic development, research discloses that in 2016 Brexit Referendum regions that strongly voted to leave tended also to be those with greatest levels of dependency from European Union markets for their local economic development (Los et al., 2017). This evidence has significant implications for the arts, and more widely for the creative and cultural sectors, because often cultural organizations use funding from EU sources to develop their programs and activities. Furthermore, cultural workers are constantly involved in research, experimentation and development for

new projects and opportunities. In doing this, they need wider markets and the of the opportunity to move freely between the UK and the rest of the EU. In other words, UK's economy has become increasingly dependent on the so-called knowledge economy and the related service sector, both as the spark of job creation and as a source of export demand. It follows that the outlook for UK access to export markets in services will be crucial for future job creation and, in this way, creative industries have been identified as especially important (Begg and Mushövel, 2016).

From an economical point of view, United Kingdom can concretize opportunities in terms of cutting costly regulations, and also enhancing collaboration and cooperation with other countries around the world. On the other hand, the absence or indetermination of regulations could also be costly for consumers, firms, and businesses. Moreover, the balance of risks for UK' economy could be negative and have lasting effects, involving also global economy. From a political perspective, scholars identified two consequences: short-term effects on the UK's influence and reputation, and long-term consequences in British soft power in terms of cultural, scientific, and educational relations in its next international strategies of trade and development (MacDonald, 2016).

6.2 The impact of Brexit in UK creative economy

Twenty years later, the importance of the creative industries, and their impacts on society, are known by government and population, and are beginning to make way to a much more inclusive idea of a wider creative economy. After the 2016 Referendum, the attention is increasing on the economic and social impacts of leaving the EU could have on artistic and cultural organizations or work. In doing so, numerous governmental and independent research centers are carrying out their first explorations of the major issues Brexit poses for the creative industries.

For instance, Arts Council England (2016) conducted an online survey with 1013 respondents involved in arts and cultural sectors about modalities in which the exit from the European Union can deliver the best outcome for their organizations or works. The main issues discussed are funding, ease of movement, legal and regulatory frameworks, trade with the EU and other countries, and international relationships outside the EU. Firstly, the survey shows that UK cultural organizations access EU funds for a range of small to large scale projects and programs (from €5,000 to €2.4 million), including 9.3% of interviewees that have received funds from Creative Europe, the most popular EU funding program. Most of them operated as lead partners in European networks or platforms, while a huge number of smaller organizations are particularly dependent on EU funding. Specifically, in 2014 and 2015, grants from Creative Europe program amounted to €11.3 million, subdivided in €9.9 million on cooperation projects, €1.3 million on European platforms and €165,000 on literary translation. Organizational capacity

to circulate product and services could be influenced by barriers to ease of movement. Seven organizations out of ten replied that barriers could impact negatively on their future work within the EU, and the same average considered barriers as an obstacle for UK based productions because they can reduce their ability to bring artists and organizations into the country.

Table 7: Source of EU funds received from UK cultural organizations. Source: Art Council England, 2016

Source of EU Funds	%	Range of funding
Eu Creative Europe Program	9,3	From € 5000 to €1 million
European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)	5,4	From € 2000 to €2.4 million
European Social Fund (ESF)	3,0	From €2000 to 1 million
EU Agricultural Fund Rural Develop (EAFRD)	0,6	From €2000 to €146000
Interreg Europe programme	2,7	From €5000 to €440000

The *Brexit Report* published by the Creative Industries Federation (2016) has underlined economic implications in this new evolving scenario. This report also evidenced the enormous contribution that EU funding generates in UK's creative economy through programmes like European Capitals of Culture and Creative Europe. This last program, for instance, allows financial supports for 230 organizations in 2014 and 2015, helping cultural actors in being more creative, innovative and productive.

According to this report, British cultural organizations – and the whole cultural sector – should sustain the possibility to continue their participation in programs like European Capitals of Culture, Creative Europe, and European National Institutes for Culture. In this way, they could facilitate the movement of creative professionals and students, supporting their culture spreading into the world via exchanges and experiences, and for commitment to future EU/UK cooperation on intellectual property. Despite the objective difficulties, the post-Brexit period is a big opportunity to fully maximize cultural links to demonstrate what an open, tolerant, and creative UK is.

Creative Nation is a research published by the NESTA Foundation (2018) that maps the UK creative industries, analyzing their evolution and contribution to the local economic development, and their connections with other actors. Authors claim that from the analysis emerged that cultural and creative sectors are exporting intensively. In addition, these sectors produce intangible values that can be rapidly scaled-up and widely diffused in other countries, and creative talent and jobs are more resilient to automation.

The *Cox Independent Review of the Creative Industries* (DCMS, 2017) suggests different opportunities deriving from Brexit for small cultural

organizations. Firstly, the UK's copyright framework in creative industries needs assurance by the government in order to better exploit intellectual properties, often badly controlled by micro-enterprises. Secondly, the re-examination and re-orientation of modalities in which business investments are structured is crucial, with the aim to generate a system that aligns with the requirements of future growth such as Creative Industries. Thirdly, Brexit could represent a crucial moment for cultural organizations and governments to find new ways in working together to develop effective export and import investment programmes. In this way, the UK system can become competitive with North America and Europe, and also from developing economies like BRIC countries.

However, UK creative and cultural organizations benefit not only from EU resources but also from different sources of funding and investments for arts and culture made available to public, philanthropic and private sectors. Indeed, the success of this sector is based on the combination of private and public investments, including significant national, regional and local funds. Within various funding options, government-funded bodies, including Arts Councils and Creative England, are a vital part of UK's creative success, as is the National Lottery (CIC, 2015). With the goal to better prepare cultural organizations for financial plans, many governmental organizations published guidelines in which they explain the main routes to finance projects and activities. In many of these guidelines an increasing attention is focused on potential sources of organizational self-financing such as supporters, development fees, advances, commissions and royalties. Differently from what happens in Italy, this approach suggests a sort of vision related to the sustainable entrepreneurship and economic autonomy of the actors operating in culture and creativity. While in the Italian case cultural organizations are often supported completely by public funds, in UK these organizations need to develop their own resources before looking for external aid. As pressure increases on public funding, arts and cultural organizations need fresh approaches to attract new sources of income. In this sense, the main external options of funding are philanthropic support and corporate partnerships. The value of charitable giving was £660.5m to the UK's cultural sector in 2011 and 2012 (Arts & Business), but the arts sector received only about the 1% of whole contribution (CAF, 2015). In the next section, we will illustrate the main options used from cultural organizations interviewed to finance their activities: National Portfolio Funding.

6.3 Donors: Art Council England and National Portfolio funding

In the UK approach, the creative industries are those requiring «creativity and talent, with potential for wealth and job creation through exploitation of their intellectual property» (Higgs et al., 2008). Although this definition emphasizes the

role of individuals, it marks also the benefits for the whole society– underlining a notable characteristic of creative and cultural industries in producing both private and public goods (Throsby, 2008). If conventional markets coordinate supply and demand for these goods and services oriented to the private realm, it is also true that benefits related to «the civilising functions of the arts, the significance of cultural production for national or local identity, the value placed on cultural diversity» need government involvement «to correct for market failure, assuming the community is willing to pay and assuming the benefits of intervention outweigh the costs» (Throsby, 2008).

Arts Council England is a public development agency operating at the national level, which was created in 1946by Royal Charter to support and sustain arts and culture across the UK. Art Council operates with public investments of DCMS concerning the funding, development and promotion of the sponsored arts sector such as major regional theatres, opera houses, museums, and other cultural organizations worthy to support. Furthermore, Arts Council's Royal Charter (1967) has recommended increasing accessibility the arts for the audience throughout Britain and across social classes (Belfiore, 2002). In this sense, Arts Council England is an organization that recognized cultural and artistic sectors as strategic assets in inspiring people, economic growth, and also as tools for social cohesion and learning about communities and the world in general. In short: "culture makes life better", as 2018 Art Council Report claims. Arts Council England's structure consists of a national central office based in London and of nine regional offices situated across the country as well as the regional development agencies. They subdivide their job geographically in five Area Councils that play a crucial role both in local and national decision-making, while cities hosting Art Council Offices are Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Cambridge, Dewsbury, London, Manchester, and Nottingham. They operate according to the "arm's length principle" that defines «the relative autonomy of the Arts Council […] in deciding how to allocate the available resources to individual art forms and artists, and it should ensure— at least in theory—that decisions are not affected by political considerations» (Belfiore, 2002).

Investments in Arts and Culture are divided into 4 areas: Regular funding for organizations; Grants for the arts; Development funds; Creativity, Culture and Education (CCE). Each Area Council works in depth on its territory to facilitate the Arts Council's mission and tasks, following goals of development of creative talent, arts and local cultural ecology as productive systems. In doing so, received by cultural organizations for each year. One of the main instrument for grant-in-aid is called National Portfolio, a list of organization eligible to receive donations.

Arts Council work more specifically with the follow functions:

- make decisions on applications up to £800,000 a year to join the National Portfolio in their area and make recommendations to National Council on grants of over £800,000 a year to organizations applying to join the National portfolio;

- provide advice on the strategy and plans of the Arts Council;
- review the Arts Council's performance and advise on the challenges and risks relating to the achievement of the Arts Council's goals in the area.

National Portfolio Organizations (NPOs) is a list that includes not-for-profit organizations and small-to-medium enterprises (SMEs) that work in the fields of arts and culture, and they receive the status of NPOs from the Arts Council when their applications and proposals are identified as innovative artistic excellences and represent some of the best arts practices in the world. In addition, organizations requirements include ambition, capacity and attitude to nurture talent, and fairness to artists in receiving proper pay for their work. Organizations that apply for NPOs status shall promote an artistically led approach to diversity and, where appropriate, should support international exchange and export (ACE, 2015). Organizations included in the National Portfolio receive regular funding from the Arts Council through grant-in-aid for three years divided in annual trances. Between 2015-2018 organizations supported for the funding period were 663, and the overall amount for investment was just under £1 billion, including £69,5 each year from the Lottery. For the funding period 2018-2022 organizations will receive £409 million each year from Arts Council England. This is a £37 million per annum increase on the previous investment period, and the amount includes £341 million of grant-in-aid and £68 million of National Lottery funding. There is a growing also in organizations involved in NPOs, considering 831 organizations in the portfolio of which 183 new ones have been welcomed into. The last call for proposals represents the first-time that museums and libraries could apply for funding together with arts organisations (ACE, 2018).

The National Portfolio is well-organized into three groups with a separate category for Sector Support Organizations, including Bridge Organizations, Museum Development Providers, umbrella and networking organizations, strategic library and museum partnership bodies, and other organizations that support the arts, museums and libraries sectors (ACE, 2018). Grants has been introduced by Arts Council to decrease the administrative problems of organizations receiving lower levels of public investment, and they do not represent a hierarchy or progression route from one band to the next. In addition to National Portfolio, Arts Council operate also through other two channels of investment, Strategic Funds and Grants for the Arts, in order to achieve its mission and create the right conditions for the growth of the sector. All these channels contribute in the fulfillment of the five goals for arts and culture that Arts Council introduced in its strategy untitled *Great arts and culture for everyone*, a ten-years strategic framework useful to enhance:

- artistic excellences;
- social inclusion;
- organizational resilience and sustainability;

- inclusion of diversity and skills;
- engagement of children and young people.

National Portfolio Organizations must complete an annual survey that provides complete information about several dimensions such as audiences, staffing statistics, activities, and digital content. In addition, all organizations carry out regular self-evaluation in order to improve their performance. In Birmingham fieldwork, our attention focused on not-for-profit organizations operating in cultural sector including visual and performing arts companies presenting dance, music, food. Our research has been oriented to find common ground in organizational and relational aspects with Italian organizations analyzed.

6.4 About Birmingham city and its artistic scene

Birmingham has about 1 million of inhabitants and it is located in the West Midlands region, in the heart of England. It represents an interesting case in the history of the evolution of contemporary arts and culture, and above all in the redevelopment of the city. The consequences of the Second World War on the city were impressive, with neighborhoods and buildings damaged by the German bombing – also if less than other cities like Coventry (Jones, 2008). From the cultural point of view, until the Fifties only a few institutional spaces exhibited contemporary art, even though they were actually perpetuating the closed circle of artistic association and generating the resistance by local artists at different levels. Their struggle was both against the exhibiting institutions, and against the municipal art education that did not facilitate confrontation and influences from other realities, contributing to Birmingham's ongoing cultural isolation. (Grousdanidou, 2012).

After the 1950s, groups of local artists started to organize exhibitions with the aim of addressing the lack of space and exposure for local contemporary artists, while the city center, with its industrial and residential past, was interested by physical developments facilitating trade and business in the hope of attracting investment. In these dynamics of physical redevelopment, but also self-organization, self-promotion, economic sustainability and awareness on the reuse of space, we could read inspiring aspect that actually later characterized culture-led urban development in many of the UK core-city regions. As Jones (2008) noted comparing the differences between the current process of realizing urban developments in the UK and the post-war building boom, and the substantial shifts in the governance arrangements of areas - especially refiguring the role of the local state – significant continuities are found in Birmingham redevelopment, in particular the desire to assemble large sites for comprehensive redevelopment (Jones, 2008).

Birmingham expended its dimension, and increasing its role, during the Industrial revolution, and between the 1950s and 1960s still had a strong growing economic centre based on engineering and automotive manufacturing. The reconstruction and de-industrialization processes that has been affecting the city for the last thirty-five/forty years is due to the low productivity and strong overseas competition in the manufacturing industries (Chapain and Comunian, 2011). Efforts oriented to transform the local productive base began in the 1980s and 1990s with a strategy of economic culture-led regeneration that allowed Birmingham to become a young, ethnically diverse and growing city, but often characterized by social exclusions. Several of these dynamics of urban transformation – and the related policies development – has been analyzed (Brown et. al, 2007) with the objective of understanding how creative and knowledge workers had been transforming the city. Another important stream of research that focused on creative and cultural urban transformation of Birmingham city, highlights the concept of cultural brownfields, questioning the modalities in which the relationship between organic cultural projects and discarded sites have been progressively involved in mainstream cultural and urban planning strategies and policies over the last 10 years (Andres and Gresillon, 2013).

Local employment degree in creative industries weight 7% of whole local workforce, increasing of 13% in 2015 (compared to 5.6% registered in 2005), with the greater part of workers involved in sectors such architecture, arts and antiques, and software. In making comparisons with the national average, Birmingham shows higher concentrations of jobs in sectors such Advertising, Architecture, Radio and TV, but also in the jewellery sector that characterize local cultural production. The sector employs nearly 40000 people, generating a Gross Value Added in the sector amounts to just over £890m with 94% of creative firms in the city operating as micro-businesses, employing fewer than ten people (BCC, 2011; CIF, 2015).

From a spatial point of view, cultural and creative industries are located across the city, but tend to agglomerate in certain central neighbourhoods such as the Jewellery Quarter and Eastside/Digbeth (Chapain and Comunian, 2011). As suggested by the name, the historical environment of Jewellery Quarter is characterized as a designated conservation area in which jewellery production and trade take place – representing around 40 per cent of UK production – but also many cultural and creative businesses as well, especially in the architecture and media sectors. Eastside/Digbeth was one of the first industrial districts in Birmingham, with a urban landscape characterized by manufacturing factories and warehouses now converted and reused for multimedia activities, graphic design, visual arts, music production and performance. Eastside/Digbeth, with the Custard Factory at its heart, represents a conventional example of a creative cluster of similar cultural activities co-located to create a large, well-qualified labour pool in a fashionable urban environment.

From the point of view of policies, we can identify three different periods in the city redevelopment – as claimed in Smith and Warfield's framework (2008):

- Local development based on a culture-centric approach (1980–1998): this period shows a Council-led regeneration process based on a culture-centric approach that later activated private cultural development initiatives.
- Cultural and creative industries as motors of economic growth (1998–2008): these ages revealed a strong influence by the national government producing a shift with the implementation of a strong second econo-centric approach to the development of creative and cultural industries. This period was supported both by an important financial input from the European Commission up to 2008 and by public–public partnerships between local and regional actors.
- A balance between econo-centric and culture-centric approaches (2008–2011): this period shows a mixed approach with the reintroduction of a more culture-centric approach at the local level, while an econo-centric approach continued to take place at the regional level until 2011.

Stoking innovation in the magic city: Birmingham's Creative Industries Report developed by The Cultural Alliance of Greater Birmingham (2014) claimed that Birmingham's visual arts and crafts sector includes several occupations like painters, architects, photographers, sculptors, crafters, and jewelers. In our experience in Birmingham fieldwork, we focused our attention on these practices because they involve products that are mostly one-of-a-kind or in limited editions (similarly to the Italian cases). In addition, these organization was in large part considered as public good until about a decade ago, and therefore supported by public and private donations. Our observation does not include those activities that are part of the value chain necessary to produce and sell art, but only realities that generate cultural production. In the next sections we will illustrate both organizational and relational dynamics that characterize the Birmingham cases, putting light on how socio-spatial relations influence their innovative cultural production.

6.5 Observing organizational practices in non-profit visual arts spaces in Birmingham

The analysis of visual arts sectors is difficult to describe using conventional cultural industry-based modalities because many artists work independently and most of them have part-time contracts, depending on other sources of income to make a sustainable living. In addition, very often artists operate at the same time

at the institutional, market and non-profit level demonstrating a high degree of diversity in work situations and conditions. Other times, projects developed by artist are not well documented in books, press release or other sources of certification, overestimating the importance of intellectual property for diverse reasons (from economic to cultural). In addition, the actual undersize of organizational and managerial aspects of visual arts organizations does not allow quantitative reflections about data. In other words, the effective impacts of artists to local economies is underestimated because the current methodologies often cannot catch local production facilities (Markusen and Schrock 2006)

The part of our research focused on Birmingham's non-profit organizations has no value in finding comparison and comparative methodological terms but is a sort of "control measurement" about findings emerged by Italian cases. At the same time, we assume that these art spaces are more innovative than institutional or market-oriented ones, also if they should not be considered as separate from the mainstream cultural world (Vivant, 2008). Indeed, while market-oriented spaces try to intercept audience preferences and institutional cultural spaces that host already renowned artists or affirmed projects, non-profit organizations tend to experiment new aesthetical solutions and organizational schemes, including avant-garde artistic productions or mass subcultural activities, legal or illegal, isolated or collective (Vivant, 2008). Differently to the "underground framework" developed in the first wave of research (Vivant, 2008; Shaw, 2012), we will advance evidences about "independence" that show a shift in organizational and financial sustainability terms with organizations accessing public funds only for specific projects, far away from the logic of public support developed in the past (Salone et. al, 2017). Indeed, in the first decade of our century these experiences were recognized as not subsidized organizations, while now they benefit from public and private resources – more and more often through partnership with cultural institutions – generating few additional incomes through donations, crowdfunding and small lotteries and so on.

To analyze and offer a first insight about innovative artistic production in Birmingham, we developed our investigation as follows. In order to identify and select research sample, we conducted interviews with the local artists active into the scene (privileged witnesses) and people that well-knows Birmingham art scene. Specifically, Mr. Paul Long, Professor of Media and Cultural History at Birmingham City University, and Mr. Phil Jones, Professor in Cultural Geography at University of Birmingham, introduced us with experts that, in turn, indicated most significant art spaces via Birmingham Art Map. The Art Map is a tool to make it easy to discover, explore and enjoy the great art, ideas, culture and creativity made by Birmingham for Birmingham (BAM, 2017). Once we gathered sampling information, we have done semi-structured in-depth interviews for one hour and half each. Interviews were conducted with the responsibles of six cultural organizations based in Birmingham and located in Eastside/Dighbeth neighbourhood (Eastside Project, Centrala Gallery, Grand Union Gallery, Vivid Project, Room7Curating, Pod Project) in order to highlight common grounds and differences in their activities. At the same time, we participated as audience in

several events organized by these cultural institutions, collecting opinions and key interviews with people involved in artistic and cultural production. In addition, we participated also at two focus groups occurring at Centrala Art Space that involved also the actors mentioned above. In this way, we focused opinions about how artists and art organizations try to carry out activities and cultural production today in Birmingham and how they think to use spaces in contemporary times. Despite our findings not being representative from a quantitative point of view, interesting matters could be advanced in order to better understand this dimension of cultural production.

Questions about space and stable resources seems crucial for the interviewed because the city's nonprofit cultural institutions have substantial needs for both operating support as well as facility improvements. At the urban level, Digbeth is acknowledged as one of the most characteristic parts of the inner city and is less than a ten-minute walk from the Rail Station and Bull Ring – allowing easy movements for people that work there. Digbeth has been re-labelled Eastside as part of the regeneration plans, and is characterized by «small-scale industrial uses, some conversion to creative industries uses, and a fragmented property ownership. Its landscape is gritty in character, dominated by nineteenth century blue brick railway viaducts, listed industrial buildings, and a busy network of local streets. A canal system, and the River Rea are also key features of the area and its industrial heritage» (Porter and Barber, 2007). Digbeth's configuration concerns underused factories and warehouses with many meters squares available to use, allowing co-location and agglomeration dynamics of different cultural organization. This area appears as a conventional creative and cultural cluster (Andres and Chapain, 2013), with numerous art spaces mixed with bars, pubs and other spaces oriented to cultural consumptions especially around the Custard Factory and the Bond. These activities mobilize an aesthetic response to urban decay and renewal, as well as setting themselves apart from conventional consumption spaces (Lugosi et al., 2010). In this environment, cultural and creative spaces tend to flourish. As expected, the availability of low-cost professional spaces, with certain physical characteristics, have influenced the settlement of cultural operators and actors (Salone et. al, 2017) as well as the vibrancy of the neighborhood.

From an organizational point of view, in our analysis cases of cultural organizations are organized like collective, artist-led projects or more or less informal groups, involving also other individuals and organizations on the base of projects to develop. Indeed, these workers continuously conceive proposals concerning participation, efforts and skills of other individuals both in artistic community and with "common people". As collectives, these experiences telling about «strong personal relationships with the artists, co-curators and young professionals [and to be able] to support artists in their production of new work. Building on this philosophy, we aim to address the exhibition as a collaborative space; created by artists and curators (understood as organization) together» (respondent, 2017). They operate in a wide range of activities that vary from visual arts to performing arts, from architecture and design (understood in artistic and aesthetical terms) to live music. In one case, cultural organizations offer their

activities «to empower communities and improve the lives of ethnic minority in the UK by offering different forms of support, information and personal development. (They) also create positive environment for integration and community cohesion promoting art, culture and mutual understanding» (interviewee, 2017).

In this sense, different elements can be identified. Firstly, these sectors of cultural production allow possibilities to bring people together through face-to-face contacts within exhibitions, social events, and live performances. Consequently, these cultural organizations generate occasions for professional networking, community building, and audience engagement. Secondly, young organizations are not well-structured and have lower budgets but, at the same, are those realities that include a younger population. In addition, we could suggest that while older organizations seem oriented toward the specialization of activities, younger ones are related to multi-sectorial perspectives. For this reason, we could advance evidence about a strong relation between stable funding (resources) and linear developments of carriers. Third, from a demographical point of view, in most cases members of organizations are actually living in Birmingham, and many of them are in the 35-49 age range. This evidence confirms what claimed by The Office for National Statistics (ONS) Annual Population Survey (APS) for 2015/16 in relation to the age groups for the working age population (ACE, 2016). Women currently represent 51% of the UK population, and 47% of UK's workforce. It is estimated that women occupying an average of 39 per cent of positions across the creative sectors (Creative Skillset, 2016), but that research did not consider visual and performing arts. The Arts Council's 2016 equality and diversity report shows that overall 62 per cent of the National Portfolio Organisation workforce are women – divided as 60 per cent of permanent staff, 48 per cent of contractual staff and 62 per cent of voluntary staff. (ACE, 2017). Without statistical intentions to show evidences, from our interviews emerges that women are very well represented in each organization, sometimes in the most senior roles. On the other hand, and considering the a-hierarchical dynamic characterizing these organizations, interviews find that women are outnumbered by men in the most senior roles. This assumption match with findings carried out by Dodds (2012) about women leaders in creative industries.

As expected, artists, curators and cultural producers are highly educated and skilledin Arts, Visual Studies, Architecture and Design, and Cultural Studies. On the other hand, we noted a lack of skills in economics and management. Their educational paths are mainly developed in local universities and programmes such as the University of Birmingham and the Birmingham City University, especially because they have many links with foreign institutions and organizations. In this way, self-organization seems to be a great opportunity to enforce skills and abilities, enhancing the local art community and the cultural scene in quantitative terms. Indeed, the big presence of actors tends to reproduce the so-called local buzz, in other words a knowledge and communication ecology created by face-to-face contacts, co-presence and co-location (Kramer and Diez, 2011). At the same

time, artists and local cultural producers benefit from learning-by-doing processes and relations to enlarge their own work network. On the other hand, the participation to residencies programmes (both as guests as well as organizers) and the collaboration on projects with other foreign actors enforce global pipelines, i.e. external knowledge flowing from globally connected actors. Additionally, the organization of residencies and the collaboration with foreign people appear as tools to better understand own context from an external point of view. In fact, guests generally undertake «intense research into the area of Digbeth, exploring the surrounding area, and acting as a personal response to specificities of the place. Artist uses their body as a sensual and sentient tool to explore architecture and the built environment, exploring in particular those aspects of place that are usually neglected or overlooked» (interviewed, 2017).

In general, the main roles undertaken into the respondent group involve managerial and organizational aspects. Interviewees are oriented to produce and promote new artworks of artists, managing their own art spaces and organizing the whole activity programs. According to one respondent, spaces «encourage innovation, risk and experimentation in artistic practice and work with artists and producers across disciplines. (They) deliver a regular public programme of events and exhibitions on and off-site and support the regional creative community» (interviewed, 2017). Observing the spaces typologies that host arts and cultural organizations, we can make some considerations about choices and conditions on location strategies. To develop their activities, most of the respondents use building in which they pay for rent. These spaces are generally owned by private companies operating in real estate market that, in turn, use arts and culture to generate economic and social attention around the area – as confirmed in many empirical researches (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010). Therefore, interviewees are often affected by commercial setbacks, and the modernization of the structures and facilities is slow. Despite being collective, horizontal and a-hierarchical organizations, most times cultural organizations are not the owners of the buildings in which they operate but are in charge of the financial management of the spaces including the physical, operational and immaterial aspects as maintenance, renovations, internal refurbishment and furniture. This fact demonstrates the active role of these subjects in urban economy. In addition, it demonstrates also expectations in audience engagement, attempt in social inclusion, and needs of artists involvement in terms of economic sustainability, apart from searching for public/private funding. In this way, it emerges most the role in coordinating other actors, and only occasionally promoting them or their artworks. Therefore, besides exhibitions as public event, places are multifunctional spaces in which rent of space for exhibitions and studios is an alternative source to generate additional incomes. Food and bar service allows to earn further money, that, in turn, is reinvested in other activities such as online and offline communication, publishing, production of gadgets and limited series of artworks. The majority of organizations benefits from national, regional and local public subsides, with a big portion of them included in National Portfolio

Organizations. National Portfolio Funding represent one third of the whole budget for each organization.

6.6 Observing relational practices in non-profit arts spaces in Birmingham

Interactions and relations developed by cultural organizations and individuals are one of the most crucial aspects in understanding the importance of the local cultural milieu, and its potentialities (Currid and Williams, 2009). Dimension of relational networks, both at the local and non-local scales, not only indicates the degree of a place's vibrancy, local groups vitality, but also the collaboration level, the circulation of ideas and communication, relational and social aspects. On the other hand, as showed in previous sections, the network structure is useful to better understand roles and positions of different actors in cultural production processes (Potts et al., 2008).

Starting from interviews and the direct observation of places, we can underline the first characteristics of Birmingham's innovative artistic organizations. Artistic organizations are characterized by strong relationships developed with peer's actor, both with individuals and organizations, but also with cultural institutions at different spatial scales. At the local scale, many of the organizations interviewed have collaborated with each other at least once. Being in the same district, and sometimes in the same street, offers occasions to communicate better and to live common experiences and problems such as audience engagement and development, and promotion of their activities. At the same time, considering the sharing of problems and opportunities, they can coordinate activities together to find common solutions – understanding what is useful for everyone. An important solution developed by two organizations handlers working together is, for example, the Birmingham Art Map project – already mentioned above – «an important project of cultural mapping oriented to recognize and to promote the cultural assets that already exist within the city and make those available to everyone. This project arises because the city is home to a fantastic range of art galleries, artist-led projects, studio groups who program public exhibitions and events very frequently, but often bad communicated and not available» (interviewee, 2017). On the other hand, these alliances concerned organizational aspects related to public programs or activities in public space (for example, festivals or off-projects), while they rarely concerned content and project development related to knowledge production through artworks and artifacts. Furthermore, despite the fact that the arts and cultural spaces investigated basically locate their activities in the same neighborhood, we found good relations more between the older organizations than between the youngers. In this sense, we can suppose that reputation, time, similarities in programs and behaviors, and stable activities facilitate the process of acknowledging between actors in the local art scene. In this sense, the influence of cultural and cognitive

proximity emerges as oriented to enforce knowledge production, while physical proximity enhances achievements in problem-solving and organizational issues. In other words, while cognitive closeness increases possibilities in co-creation and collaboration aspects, geographical proximity reduces the risks in coordination and communication. This assumption is confirmed by a respondent when affirming that «today the geographical mobility of those who work in art is getting stronger and changing context is normal. In UK there are important and fascinating spaces that make our (cultural) scene always attractive, even from an external view. And the same goes for us» (interviewee, 2017).

At the local level, cultural organizations occasionally promote local artist (Borrup and McNulthy, 2006), often at the first stages of their carrier. In this sense, innovative arts spaces seem to bea driver for the growth of the local artistic community because «larger public and private institutions tend to exhibit either international or mid-career artists, while successful commercial galleries have limited space and capacity to pick up newer artists and very few English collectors have focused on the local scene» (interviewee, 2017). On the other hand, art spaces seem to be an opportunity to cut costs and efforts in cultural productions that, differently, could face economic and organizational troubles. When they organize exhibitions, workshops – or projects in general – with foreign artists, transports and travels costs have an impact on the (low) budgets of these organizations because they are still young or under-developed, becoming additional and prohibitive costs in contrast with the costs of exhibitions of local artists. In this sense, geographical proximity represents a temporary opportunity for organizations in search for an empowerment of their structure but, at the same time, it negatively influences the organizations' reputation because the audience tends to ask new ways to conceive the contemporary times and the world. At the same time, innovative artistic organizations tend to develop partnerships with institutional levels in order to acquire reputation in the local scene, obtaining funding, instruments, and facilities. In turn, institutions tend to link with innovative producers with the aim to refresh their offers. In this sense, institutional partnerships configure instrumental relations oriented more toward obtaining opportunities and resources rather than co-creation processes, evidencing a sort of parasitic relationship embodied by organizations approach.

At least, artistic innovative organizations develop relations at the local scale when they build contacts with or investigate on specific minorities as working-class members, ethnic minorities or gender groups. In this sense, cultural organizations working on these issues «providing information, assistance and guidance services on Welfare Rights, Civic Responsibilities, British education system and employment. At the same time, (they) provide training, courses, translations and interpreting services, building relations oriented to integration and community cohesion» (interviewee, 2017).

Therefore, collaborations, networks and relations exceed local borders, extending them also at the regional, national and international levels. This suggests not only the importance of these realities in urban dynamics, but also affirms vitality and reputation in other cultural scenes. At the same time,

cooperation in working with actors located in other contexts indicates the capacity of these urban actors to influence local cultural dynamics and debates. In this way, we identified two main categories of relations:

- When artistic innovative spaces work as lead in national and international partnerships;
- When artistic innovative spaces work with foreign artists, hosting them or exhibiting their cultural and artistic activities

In the first case, artistic innovative producers shall establish contacts with other actors located elsewhere to sharing skills, ideas, and practice. Together, they create a convivial environment for artistic exchanges in order to enlarge their network, increasing their job opportunities and capabilities. In this sense, it seems crucial that national and international partnerships enforce education and training processes, growing the ability to be more productive, creative and innovative. These partnerships concern the strong relations built over time, through common experiences and interests, inspired by shared attitudes, approaches, and values. In this sense, cultural producers do not choose their partners within a defined number of actors suggested by geographical closeness (or better imposed), but they actively choose who could be better in developing a good project-oriented relation. On the other hand, national and/or international collaborations include also mutual need of artist mobility, touring, and circulation of their ideas and projects. In addition, building cross-border relations increase the cultural organizations' funding channels. In this way, partnerships at the non-local scales enforces the opportunities to promote their work and to attract unedited financial sources and investments.

The second case concerned the involvement of foreign artists in local cultural production. Usually, innovative art spaces invited non-local artists to make exhibitions, workshops and talks in order to know a different point of view about things and issues. As reported above, foreign artists undertake powerful research around the neighborhood, analyzing places and spaces. The output is a different, even if personal, way to show the context. Artistic research explores architecture and built environment, but also behaviors and norms, researching the aspects of the place that are usually neglected or overlooked. In this sense, non-local artists enhance new knowledge creation, and the possibilities to well-known Digbeth. At the same time, non-local artists introduce different ways to make arts, experimenting practices that are commonly used in other areas, but – very often – unknown by who host. In this way, people involved in these processes mutually activate learning process or aspects related to the training realm.

Analyzing the practices of Birmingham's artistic scene, we confirmed the importance of spatial proximity in the cultural production process. Being there means that a cultural production happens. Secondly, being there means the increasing possibilities of face-to-face contacts in order to exchange information or solve common problems. On the other hand, geographical closeness could represent a limit because knowledge is exchanged always within the same actors,

thereby reducing the possibilities to introduce new elements of knowledge and practices. At the same time, we evidenced how time and common cognitive framework characterize artistic innovative production, pushing and/or breaking borders and bringing people together in order to facilitate knowledge creation and circulation.

Thus, the role of temporary clusters in artistic innovative production appears particularly relevant. In the next section, we will go in depth to better understand their functioning.

6.7 How to stimulate artistic work

Observing the innovative artistic production, we had the opportunity to investigate a variegated and dynamic environment of the cultural production concerning a vibrant layer of ideas, people and experimentations. At the same time, we intercepted a peculiar ecology in which the scarcity of resources and the fragility of the organizational level permeate many of these actors and experiences, as confirmed in some streams of research (Markusen, 2006; Currid, 2007; Pratt, 2009). We illustrated several dynamics that characterize this world, in particular behaviors and practices, however several aspects in understanding remain ongoing especially in relation to policies implications and how we can manage these organizations.

For instance, a better understanding of the cultural offers (and the related impacts) seems to be crucial. In our methodological and contents approach, we mainly focused individual narratives, structural and relational aspects, while aspects not highly such as aesthetical typologies of production, influences of new media on the use of space and so on would enable us to understand deeply in quantitative and qualitative terms this emergent system.

A better understanding in quantitative terms of participation and audience engagements, relational modalities with supporters and donors, and a deeper observation of other sources of funding could allow not only considerations about the real impact in social and economic terms but also comparisons with commercial and institutional systems of cultural production.

Considering strong differences both at the institutional and cultural levels, we identified how calls for proposals and grant-in-aid the main typologies of action are that donors and funders use to support innovative artistic production, but several questions about social, political and economic effects remain unexplored. We could isolate two types of funding in macro-categories:

Quick grants. They require (and reward) applications not oriented to enhance an organization but to develop a single specific idea. This typology of support focuses on singular individual or collective projects, also if team-project organizational capacities and abilities in networking are often valued. Ideas selected are not necessarily generated by the long-term cultural enterprise with daily activities, but they could also be a temporary event or entity. These calls

often include a focus about a certain topic or tend to achieve specific results, for example, calls for urban regeneration, cultural entrepreneurship growing, use of specific artistic methods or technologies. These grants experiences represent a patronage and they risk in addressing the cultural production results, compromising the natural evolution of art languages.

Medium-to-long-term support. This typology of support is oriented to generate an environment that has the following characteristics: nonprofit organizational support and funding, international networking, entrepreneurial and business assistance, availability of spaces for production, selling, and showcasing products and talent (CAGB, 2014). These experiences represent a type of support oriented to sustain daily operational actions of cultural organizations and achievements that constitute the pillars of the cultural ecology creation.

From the interviews emerged that one of the major problems for innovative cultural producers – both in the Italian and in Birmingham cases – is that rarely annual funding solves the structuring problems of organizations, who need long-term amounts of public/private subsidy. Winning money allows them to develop ideas, working in parallel with multiple projects (so with other actors) who need other financial sources. There is a gap between simple passion and professionalism, between isolated events and daily activities, and several innovative projects already exist independently from calls or grant-in-aid, but – in general – they have no economic possibilities to realize it. Conversely, organizations or team-projects that work with short-term tasks (an exhibition, concert, live performance and so on) can vanish very quickly. On the other hand, this dynamic means that organizational structuring, good collaborations, and supply chains formation (influenced both from cognitive and spatial proximity) would be underdeveloped until cultural policies will be oriented to cultural consumption. This assumption is confirmed by several respondents when they underline that «when we had opportunities and resources to interact and collaborate with other subjects, we often decided to work with the same people because we love doing it with people we have something to share with. Conversation mechanism that works not only for convenience but also collaborations, it can be structured over the time with people with whom we found a good relation» (interviewee, 2017). In this sense, innovative artistic projects have been conceived gradually step-by-step according to a more cognitive rather than spatial proximity, and annual grants (in general) can be useful to develop only a part of them mainly at the local scale – i.e. implementation, realization, public exhibition. From our observation emerged that research and development aspects – in artistic innovative production – are not supported by the grant and «call for proposal becomes an opportunity to carry out projects that have already been developed conceptually and by prototypes though relations with external subject – often using in-kind facilities and not services available on the market» (interviewee, 2017). On the other hand, freedom, flexibility, and dynamism in work are perceived as crucial qualities “to do what I prefer”, although artistic innovative organizations often include people with similar skills and practices of work that do not allow division of labor. At the same time, opportunities in

networking and relations with numerous subjects outside the local scale are important to generate innovations, as reported: «we do not have a range of skills, but we are linked with a lot of people outside our structure that can help us to well-develop projects. We are interested in the collective dimension of work because it is a better way to recreating that fruitful circulation of knowledge and information to improve our work» (interviewee, 2017). In this way, the diversification of available skills and competencies remain a critical aspect to enforce actors in order to well develop organizations, but we could elaborate also different schemes of organizational development. Anyway, direct consequences of these shortcomings are that often, at least in the Italian context, applications to call for proposal has been done very quickly and imprecisely, determining general costs underestimation, and also a difficult comprehension of the proposals. In most of the cases, actors confirm that organizational aspect is underestimated because many respondents recognize themselves as the unique engine and project creator. In this way, rethinking most of the funding options in a long-term way seems an important aspect to reinforce the self-perception and awareness of artistic innovative producers themselves as well as organizational structures and identity.

In the Italian case, we noted a sort of legislation emptiness, also on the strategic programs elaborated by public and private stakeholders, in terms of free availability of spaces in which artistic innovative organizations could develop projects or - more simply - work every day. Although their projects have been hosted by institutional spaces, and innovative cultural actors often pay to rent offices or exhibition spaces (abandoning parts of the total budget), the lack of spaces limit actors in the creation of services such as tickets, bar and restaurant, or workshops and training activities that for innovative producers could represent new sources of incomes – like in Birmingham experiences. Limited budgets do not allow them to rent spaces for the research and development phases, limiting action and opportunities to work. Implementing their projects in other organization's spaces, artistic innovative producers are not enabled to be economically sustainable (or to try to be).

6.8 The role of temporary clusters

By observing artistic innovative producers in visual and performing arts through Social Network Analysis, it has been recognized that local and non-local relations work differently in knowledge creation and information exchanges oriented to generate creative innovations. Our intention is not to affirm that cognitive proximity is better than geographical proximity, or vice-versa, also because findings suggest that they work simultaneously, describing two overlapped dynamics. Indeed, internal interactions and capacity to identify and access external knowledge sources located far away represent the main characteristics underlined in our analysis. At the same time, involvements in

collaborative relationships at different scales help cultural organizations to find the current sectorial frontier, evaluate their own position into the cultural environment in relation to the other subjects, and rethink future strategies. Consequently, collaborations and cooperation presuppose that relations have been cultivated not only during projects development, but also day-by-day with the aim to know their own sector and to navigate it. In other words, if space is an important dimension of knowledge and innovations, time appears as well as an interesting variable influencing innovative artistic production.

Time dynamics have been explored by several streams of researchers that have underlined the role of temporary clusters, understood as short-lived hotspots of intense knowledge exchange, network building and ideas generation (Maskell et al., 2005; Morrison et al., 2013).

Authors claimed that certain types of events like trade fairs, convention, congress, and conferences have common characteristics ascribed to permanent spatial clusters, albeit in a temporary and intensified form (Maskell et al. 2005). As well as the physical cluster, also temporary clusters can function along vertical and horizontal ways.

The vertical dimension of interpersonal exchanges could be characterized as the vibrant ground for processes of knowledge exchange and acquisition whom could lead organizations toward the rethinking of new ways of conceiving their product and services. At the same time, organizations could vary their previous choice for creating new combinations of current capabilities and information. Typical examples of vertical interactions within temporary clusters are «information exchanges between suppliers and customers about recent trends, experiences and requirements for future products and services […], intensification of social relations with customers, attempting to attract new ones, [...] meetings held with suppliers that are located in different regions and nations to discuss technological changes in product specifications, […] and efforts to identify new suppliers that exhibit interesting products or capabilities» (Maskell et al, 2005).

While the vertical dimension of a temporary cluster concern relations with suppliers and customers, the horizontal dimension includes peers and organizations of the same level. Organizations benefit from temporary clusters in opportunities to meet and interact with peers that would generally find not easy to encounter and communicate face-to-face, engaging discussions about problems and solutions. In these occasions, they can mutually observe and compare their practices and products, making notes about production, innovation, and new fields of application. At the same time, they may compare customers' and audience reactions to intercept preferences, needs, trends. In this way, temporary happenings represent big opportunities to collect data and information regarding new ways to understand and implement their own job. Screening and observation dynamics in temporary clusters reveal the opportunity to increase their knowledge about a certain field - evidencing an opportunity related to the achievement of growth in individual and organizational (re)training.

In this sense, temporary clusters appear fruitful also for innovative artistic producers that are always in search for opportunities, partnerships and relations

oriented to generate new artistic knowledge creation. Work relations take place through interactions «with one another as competitors, colleagues, or experts during the day or acquaintances at less formal dinner meetings in the evening» (Maskell et al., 2005) and, taking part at the same events, they can get to know each other better – establishing trust and friendships. Common grounds and similar attitudes lead to generate latent networks without any immediate economic value. «However, latent structures can be mobilised without much effort and thus serve to increase a firm's flexibility and responsiveness towards unexpected changes in markets and technology. Tentative initial contacts might gradually develop into strong and durable partnerships» (Maskell et al., 2005).

According to this perspective, we confirm that personal network as analysis methodology is a powerful tool in understanding how artistic innovative production take place – also within temporary clusters. Despite the quantitative approach offered important evidences about knowledge and cultural production, it has been demonstrated that «individuals use to bring up names right from the start by naming persons who belong to the same group or perform the same activity. Thus, generating names according to the context with which they are associated is a "natural" memory aid. It is a systematic tool and proceed in a consistent way, staying within the logic of the context and avoiding "holes"» Marin (2004).

Conclusions

Our research has been oriented to better understand the socio-spatial relations in innovative artistic cultural production in the context of Piedmont and Liguria. It has highlighted the emergence of independent cultural organizations not as ephemeral entities but as structured layers of cultural production in contemporary cities. Even if the actors' role in urban transformations is often studied for their capacity to enhance the local buzz and cultural milieu of local scenes, the current research is insufficient in investigating their ability to engage multi-scalar relations addressed to generate projects through networks of cooperation and collaboration.

Our analysis allows us to offer the first snapshot on these kinds of economic and territorial actors, even though several questions related to the understanding of the phenomena remain unexplored. For example, even if relationships and collaborations within the winning cluster have been explored, as well as structure, nature and contents of individual networks of projects, links within cultural organizations quoted during interviews are underestimated or ignored. At the same time, several aspects related to the projects, methodological and research questions have allowed us to draw structural and relational aspects – while organizations and space (maybe) could be approached in other ways.

The interpretive schemes of mainstream urban culture-led urban development take as theirs starting point the conceptualization of industrial district developed by Marshall, generating policy and actions that do not take into account the transient and fluid nature of the artistic practice. Over the years, according to this perspective, many myths and rhetoric have been advanced in order to implement regeneration processes of territories in crisis, affected by industrial dismissions and employment decline. The urban development and neoliberal policy paradigm celebrate youth, social inclusion, positivity, and success of the creative class but, in most of the cases, they generated gentrification strategies, measuring their success in terms of decreasing vacancy rates and increasing rents. In this sense, this kind of rhetoric appear not to easily accommodate the artists' lifestyle and their low income. (Shaw, 2013). As showed through the analysis of the Piedmont and Liguria cases, most of the respondents belong to the 35-45 years age range and indicated spaces not owned by them as the core location of the cultural project. At the same time, a few respondents work inside their own space or studio – while most of them are constrained to work at home or in public or collective spaces like libraries, co-working, and residencies made available to cultural institutions and organizations. The first reason is because they have no money to rent supplementary space. Incomes (and sustainability) is a crucial trouble: the majority of respondents does not live entirely with their work, only one-fifth is self-sufficient, half of the cultural workers interviewed are temporarily employee in other jobs, while one-third has another full-time job to make their life

sustainable. In addition, women represent the majority of workers involved in the project development, but often they are not in a position of responsibility or power. This evidence highlights the need to investigate more deeply issues often taken for granted: for example, the workplace's condition in the field of the arts, the narratives of career developments. If they are located in a place for not so more time, could they produce spatial transformation effectively? Furthermore, if culture-led urban development represents an occasion to increase opportunities of spatial justice and gender equalities, we need to better understand – according to the feminist critique of creative economy – why inequalities now exist and how and what provoked them.

In this way, if space available for free (or low-cost) could fortify the creative and cultural actors, generally characterized by low organizational budgets, more attention could be paid to the economic condition of cultural workers – including wage regulation in terms of equal payment for hours and performance.

In literature, fuzzy concepts like creative clusters and cultural districts and so on emphasize agglomeration processes and co-location between creative workers in order to stay "innovative". Although "being there" includes several qualities as facilitation in sharing tacit knowledge, in innovative artistic production we cannot assume that it is the only precondition to generate innovation. As an example, we analysed reciprocal acknowledgment and collaboration within the winning cluster of the bando ORA!. Even though most of the participants recognized each other, only a few cultural organizations had already collaborated in the past. Furthermore, we observed that innovative cultural producers are often only temporarily located in places. Indeed, despite Piedmont and Liguria were the main regions in which the art projects would take place, the cultural organizations were based also in other parts of the Italian country. On the other hand, independently from their location, cultural organizations also benefited from know-how and skills of other cultural actors that joined them from other parts of the world in order to implement the cultural productions. In addition, they are involved in the long-learning process and/or in residencies programmes that lead them to visit and discover continuously other cultural scenes to remain more "creative" - and "innovative" only in a second moment. In this sense, access to new sources of knowledge is crucial to avoid lock-in in information that gets into their projects and to enlarge contacts to access further information and actors, increasing knowledge. Through networks of relations developed at different scales, innovative cultural producers can communicate and share research, expertise, findings, and practices. The spatial dispersion and structure of personal networks could represent an indicator of individual activity spaces that influence individual mobility patterns.

At the same time, the concepts of innovation and creativity have been often overlapped in literature, and are characterized by confused meanings, actions, outputs. We have observed that while innovation concerns improvements in product and services, creativity is a concept that better identifies ideation and co-creation processes developed into work teams. In the so-called new competition, innovation relies upon creativity in the generation of novel products and services,

while it is creativity (or invention) that stimulates and supports the achievement of innovative outputs. In this sense, creativity is a precondition to generate innovation, and it is enforced by continuous exchanges with diversity and diverse organizations – but acting in the same field or with the same approach. In other words, innovative art producers need proximity in terms of attitudes, behaviors, ways to understand the world in a common cognitive framework. Creativity and innovation represent for organizations sources of competitive advantage rather than additional costs, while networks of cultural producers can match skills and expertise to produce short runs of new products and services of high quality – also in a short notice.

Moreover, we have suggested evidence about the fact that the concept of cluster is unable to ascertain complexity of many more extensively distributed and dynamic creative processes, while the social relations that constitute space are not organized into scales so much as constellation of temporary coherence (Massey, 2005)

Sectorial and organizational perspective

In the search for understanding main characteristics of art innovative production in the Piedmont and Liguria experiences recorded within Bando ORA! grant-in-aid, we have found that most actors belong to the realm of independent cultural production. With the concept of "independence", we identify not only organizational and sectorial features but also a specific attitude that characterizes subjects involved in these activities. This attitude has been characterized by actor's intention to act between the market and institutional level, even if they have relationships with firms and cultural institutions. On the one hand, they operate in a horizontal way involving individuals, organizations and cultural institutions in a cooperation oriented to co-create cultural production. On the other hand, innovative artistic production activates economic dynamics that often fall under market rules – for example when they buy products or services from peers, firms and so on – but their action is not directly oriented to intercept customers. In this sense, public or private funding becomes partially crucial for two reasons. First, funding makes innovative artistic production sustainable in addition to the actors' incomes; second, it is the common acknowledgment of experimentations (in other words research and development) in culture as a public good.

Performing and Visual arts are the main of sectors of cultural production in which organizations and subjects operate, adopting a multidisciplinary perspective in bringing skills that allow them to develop project mixing different languages and sources of knowledge. In literature, these categories have been included under the label of "immaterial culture". By contrast, Fashion, New Media, and Food are creative sectors not indicated by respondents, representing an interesting topic. Santagata (2009) includes these sectors in what he defines material culture, that is, all goods and services produced for the survival, protection, ease, entertainment, culture and well-being of people. Despite the fact that Fashion, New Media and Food are often considered by scholars as the more developed sectors of the

creative economy, they surely represent closeness with the market but, at the same time, are far from the frontier of experimentations. Indeed, even though Fashion, New Media, and Food can be inclusive in terms of accessibility and sustainability, the creative and innovative inputs are very low. In this sense, innovative artistic production embodied from analysed projects express distance from the market and closeness to the audience, offering possibilities to experiment and realize happenings as cultural moments – enforcing interactions and face-to-face contacts.

Strong specializations have been developed by organizations and individuals through targeted pathways in education and training, especially at universities and cultural institutions based in places in which they were born. In contrast to the expectations, there are not a lot of workers younger than the 35-45 age group, that represents the most numerous category. Although the participating cultural organizations have been partially founded in recent times, we cannot confirm the axiom that the "independent" creative class belongs to the youth, but it includes people that operate in this field especially as professionals. Instead, we can confirm that they are highly educated, mobile across place and countries, open-minded and open to international experiences. Family background is important because parents represent the main source of support both in motivational and economic terms.

A differentiation in division of labour emerges, indicating a sort of organizational structuring. Although a part of workers operates continuously in their own organization, inequalities has been evidenced in terms of gender opportunities and economic treatments. Conversely to what has been happening in our decade, in the past these organizations included basically underground artists and practitioners seeking to promote themselves and their works – often with political and anti-establishment motivations. As showed, nowadays they collaborate actively with cultural institutions and market – also if in a parasite manner – to legitimate their work, structuring proposals, products, services and collaboration with different partnerships. In this way, they enforce the local buzz (including the institutional level) and influence cultural scenes at different scales.

At the same time, sectors and typologies of activity reflect backgrounds, skills, and capacities acquired during the education pathways. In this direction, sectors and activities express a need for the creation of live events as a model of interaction and relationship with the audience. In contrast with the literature about community centres that focused on the role of prosumers in cultural production and practice, innovative artistic organizations based their projects on the authorial approach of creation or co-creation – also in a collaborative way. Indeed, community centres make effort towards community building to generate products and services through tacit knowledge exchanges and therefore assuming face-to-face contacts as a generative process. Art innovative organizations exchange knowledge with other peers located both in the same city and elsewhere in order to build projects together. On the other hand, they often involve the audience only during shows, exhibitions, programs, and activities. However, despite the fact that they promote their authorial idea and projects, training and expansion of cultural

demand through courses and workshops are crucial to trigger the surge of enthusiasm and curiosity in the audience. In this way communities can be generated. At the same time, art innovative organizations indicate that their proposals are not directly addressed to specific audience targets, also if often their projects are very specific for used issues, interests and languages. We have noticed that innovative art producers play important functions of learning and engagement, enforcing awareness of people involved in activities. In this manner, they play a double role: they generate a qualified audience and they receive from the audience comments for further innovations.

The economic sustainability has been pursued through processes of inclusion and active participation of the audiences via ticketing, provision of services and self-financing. National and international networks are very well developed, allowing – in certain cases – to intercept public and private funding also from foreign countries. This observation enforces the trend underlined above, that considers cultural production directly related to audiences and institutions, but not with the market. In this way, we can support statement related to the emergence of new economic and political systems of values in artistic cultural production.

From the organizational point of view, moreover, independent cultural organizations work as non-profit entrepreneurship, promoting talents and adopting challenging as well as weak business models. Formal entity and juridical structure are vital conditions to operate and (mainly) to receive funding and permits to do activities. Most times, this kind of organizational informality determine fluid conditions to work for innovative art organizations.in order to decrease costs, they decide to temporarily locate in spaces in which they operate with exhibitions or live performance, while they operate daily operate in places in which they conceptually conceive their own projects as coworking spaces, studios and private homes. First, location could represent an additional cost for their low budgets. Second, they are often involved in national and international exchanges. Third, cultural workers make simultaneously more than one job to survive, being extremely mobile within different contexts.

At the same time, different cultural institutions, organizations, firms and individuals have been involved to develop the same “product” as innovative artistic projects. For this reason, nowadays cultural workers exchange different resources with numerous partners at different scales, configuring team projects as units of analysis. In this manner, it seems useful to focus on networks rather than on cultural districts as the spatial model that needs to be investigated to understand how proximity works in innovative artistic production.

Geographical and cognitive proximity

One of the most peculiar characteristics of art innovative production is that it works both at local and non-local scale. Flows of knowledge are grounded in both process and practice. These shared experiences generate involvement, enjoyment, feeling of control and reinforce the sense of self. Cultural actors do not work in a

competitive way, but they prefer collaborative dynamics in cooperation and co-creation. In general, these kinds of organizations operate together with both independent cultural organizations and cultural institutions, but also with individuals and firms. Putting their idea at the core of the system, they search other ideal actors to involve in the process in order to better realize unique cultural artefact and limited editions - both in the creation and realization. These actors could be located elsewhere - and most times they actually are. For this reason, we cannot affirm that geographical proximity is better than other kinds of closeness, but we can claim that these variables work together with distinct roles. Relationships between cultural actors involved in individual networks have been developed with inter-regional and international links, and knowledge flows are critically important sources of vitality, supplementing and complementing the local milieu that is said to be the defining characteristic of the local economic cluster.

Through traditional Social Network Analysis, we have observed that, at the local scale, geographical proximity produces cohesion in the unilateral acknowledgment process within actors based and operating in the same context, but not always generate reciprocal acknowledgments or stimulate strong collaborations. Physical closeness among actors, indeed, not necessarily express sharing of interests, common aesthetic practice, values or acquaintance. In this sense, geographical proximity does not ensure friendships, trust, and opportunities – and it could also have limits in the stimulation of networking. For instance, organizations and teams involved in public art practice could consider themselves as "diverse": designer operating in interiors as well as performers could both be really interested in public art practice because they share the same view about public space. So, without fixed schemes, innovative art producers could be collaborating because they have common interests rather than a short distance to cover. Even at the local level, however, geographical proximity is a good condition – in theory – to realize projects together, because it cuts travel costs and enforces opportunities for face-to-face contacts and experience exchanges. Although it facilitates encounters and discussions, we cannot affirm that geographical proximity is always a precondition to generate innovation in knowledge production.

Indeed, despite a high presence of artists and producers means more opportunities to intercept solutions, products and instrumental collaborations (space for free, low cost in rent equipment, service suppliers or information about it, and so on), innovative art organizations tend to benefit from knowledge coming from actors based elsewhere in other local systems with the aim to avoid lock-in in knowledge production. In this way, they are able to introduce new point of views about their contexts (physically hosting foreign artists and producers in own context) and also original views about contemporary world, languages, and culture (linking their production with people based in other places). Innovative cultural producers exchange tacit knowledge at the local scale to concretely realize projects, but rarely to generate new ideas or products. On the one hand, we could affirm that this condition facilitates the learning process, even if we assume

that innovative art producers make themselves available to learn different tasks from its. And it does not happen frequently, because we underlined division of labour trends. When innovative art producers generate idea and projects at the local scale, they generally activate self-promotion dynamics to place themselves at the institutional level or into the city cultural landscape. In this sense, geographical proximity is not useful to stimulate networking. In certain cases, we observed that cultural actors need to work on public space, realizing projects in squares, gardens or free access spaces. In this sense, public space becomes the core element to interact with ordinary people, and geographical proximity facilitates the diffusion of the project.

Furthermore, in small contexts – or in local buzz with lower presence of artists and producers – geographical proximity is essential to improve opportunities for collaboration and confrontation, avoiding loneliness. In these cases, physical proximity goes beyond distance in practice and sectors.

According to the personal network analysis, we claim that cognitive proximity facilitates individual absorptive capacity and potential for learning, also if results can differ substantially from one case to another. We have also noticed that the cognitive distance within individual networks limits communication when actors do not share common values and similar point of view about things. While geographical proximity may easily lead to a cognitive lock-in - in the sense that routine within an organization can obscure the view on new strategies and opportunities - cognitive proximity enlarges contacts, networks, opportunities and knowledge, even if it duplicates difficulties. For instance, increasing opportunities due to the enlargements of contacts could represent a challenging evolution of organization, costs, management. Cultural producers exchange codified knowledge with other actors at different scales to avoid cognitive lock-in. In other words, they find openness and new knowledge that, as claimed above, are critically important sources of vitality, supplementing and complementing the local milieu.

Between actors operating in the same artistic sector with common values and interests, cognitive proximity determines strong relationship, trust, and stable work collaborations independently from the spatial scale. Cultural actors make new relationships at the local scale to follow their legitimization and institutionalization process, by establishing collaborations in instrumental way to obtain facilities, increasing incomes and breaking down costs. In this way, cognitive proximity facilitates the relationships between the independent and institutional levels, while it represents an opportunity to establish professional relations with individuals that offers information – enhancing the risk of voluntary spill overs.

Considered geographical and cognitive proximity, different models of geographical organization of activities have been analysed. The models are the following:

The model "Local to local"

The “Local to local” model includes individuals or young independent organizations operating in immaterial sectors (Visual and performing arts) to co-create innovative cultural projects. So local actors, expressing the role of co-creators, articulate cooperation with the aim to select ideas to designing projects and – at the same time - enforce socialization and learning processes. The nature of relationships concerns young contacts with independent subjects, individuals and local cultural institution, while they are not relations with market-related entities. Audience located in the same place appears the privileged target of this kind of artistic innovative production, also if issue treated have no connections with the local cultural environment.

The “Intermediary” model

The “Intermediary model” concerns artistic innovators working as connectors between local cultural institutions and individuals or independent organizations. They assume a central position in the relation characterizing the network structure through high degree of density of actors and cohesion between them. Art innovative producers operate as individuals or small-size cultural organization, designing projects starting from their embeddedness in cultural environment of reference, in which they work day-by-day with close relations both with institutions and pairs. These long-term relations express acquaintance, friendship and trust built through reputation, previous job performance, and accountability. New knowledge production as aesthetic research is the objective of these producers, that concurrently interact with many realities including also numerous market-oriented actors that offer services against payments.

The model “Local to non-local”

In “Local to non-local”, art innovators focus non-local audience and cultural institutions as the target to artistic production. Although co-creation and services relations are almost inexistent, this model marks strong at the collaboration level than other ones. Interactions with both institutional, commercial and independent cultural actors concern instrumental exchange of space, financial sources, materials, and in-kind instruments as the main resource exchanged with two objectives: supporting projects and enforcing knowledge creation through experience of exchange. Finally, on the one hand, these actors entertain weak relations with the local cultural debate, highlighting a sort of non-belonging to (or for) place and every-day life. On the other hand, relations activated are very close on the level of attitudes, value and behaviors, co-presence and face-to-face contacts seem less important.

The model “Non-local to local”

Finally, the “Non-local to local” model is similar to the first example, but it differs because the artistic scene involved in the co-creation process is based at the non-local scale. In this case, artistic innovators operate actively both at the local

and non-local artistic scenes with high degrees of coordination, reputation and trust. The network structure presents high degree of density at the co-creation level within individuals and independent organizations, resulting as a discursive space in which experimentation, interdisciplinarity and multi-sectorial activities could take place.

Another trend that we would have liked to observe further is that not only innovative art organizations produce goods and services (in limited editions), but cultural experiences of their production is one of the main value of new experimentations. In this way, experiences are fluid practices and processes that impact economic performance. While product and services are immersed in processes that sequence and standardize them, experiences can be spontaneous, proactive, flexible. In other words, experiences are unpredictable, engaging the audience and generating values and benefits not considered by the actual (neoliberal) theories of culture-led urban development. We hope that further research could take into account these forgotten aspects.

References

Albrechts, L., & Mandelbaum, S. (Eds.). (2007). *The network society: a new context for planning*. London: Routledge.

Aldrich, H., Zimmer, C. (1985). Entrepreneurship through Social Networks. In R. Smilor and D. Sexton, *The Art and Science of Entrepreneurship* (p. 3-23). New York: Ballinger.

Allen, J. (2000). Power/economic knowledge: Symbolic and spatial formations, in J. R. Bryson, P. W. Daniels, N. Henry, and J. Pollard (eds.). *Knowledge, Space, Economy* (p. 15–33). London: Routledge.

Amin, A. (2002). Spatialities of globalisation. *Environment and planning A*, pages 385-399.

Amin, A., & Cohendet, P. (2000). Organisational learning and governance through embedded practices. *Journal of management and governance*, pages 93-116.

Amin, A., & Roberts, J. (2008). Knowing in action: Beyond communities of practice. *Research policy*, pages 353-369.

Amin, A., & Roberts, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Community, economic creativity, and organization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Amin, A., Roberts, J. (2008). *Community, economic creativity, and organization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Amin, A., Roberts, J. (2008). Knowing in action: Beyond communities of practice. *Research policy*, pages 353-369.

Andres, L., & Grésillon, B. (2013). Cultural brownfields in European cities: a new mainstream object for cultural and urban policies. *International journal of cultural policy*, pages 40-62.

Arentze, T., van den Berg, P., & Timmermans, H. (2012). Modeling social networks in geographic space: approach and empirical application. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(5), pages 1101-1120.

Art Council England. (2017). *The arts and culture contents sector and exit from the European Union*. London: Art Council England.

Asheim, B. T. (2007). Differentiated knowledge bases and varieties of regional innovation systems. *Innovation*, pages 223-241.

Asheim, B. T., & Gertler, M. S. (2005). The geography of innovation: regional innovation systems. In *The Oxford handbook of innovation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Asheim, B., Coenen, L., & Vang, J. (2007). Face-to-face, buzz, and knowledge bases: sociospatial implications for learning, innovation, and innovation policy. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, pages 655-670.

Asheim, B., Coenen, L., Moodysson, J., & Vang, J. (2007). Constructing knowledge-based regional advantage: implications for regional innovation

policy. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation Management*, pages 140-155.

Bagwell, S. (2008). Creative clusters and city growth. *Creative Industries Journal*, pages 31-46.

Bains, P. (2014). *The primacy of semiosis: An ontology of relations*. University of Toronto Press.

Barabási, A. L., & Albert, R. (1999). Emergence of scaling in random networks. *Science*, pages 509-512.

Bathelt, H. (2001). *The rise of a new cultural products industry cluster in Germany: the case of the Leipzig media industry*. Institut für Wirtschaftsund Sozialgeographie. Universität Frankfurt Main (IWSG) Working Papers 06-2001.

Bathelt, H. (2005). Geographies of production: growth regimes in spatial perspective (II)-knowledge creation and growth in clusters. *Progress in human geography*, pages 204-216.

Bathelt, H. (2007). Buzz-and-Pipeline Dynamics: Towards a Knowledge-Based Multiplier Model of Clusters. *Geography Compass*, pages 1282-1298.

Bathelt, H., & Taylor, M. (2002). Clusters, power and place: inequality and local growth in time–space. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, pages 93-109.

Bathelt, H., & Turi, P. (2011). Local, global and virtual buzz: The importance of face-to-face contact in economic interaction and possibilities to go beyond. *Geoforum*, pages 520-529.

Bathelt, H., Glückler, J. (2005). Resources in economic geography: from substantive concepts towards a relational perspective. *Environment and Planning A*, pages 1545-1563.

Bathelt, H., Malmberg, A., & Maskell, P. (2004). Clusters and knowledge: local buzz, global pipelines and the process of knowledge creation. *Progress in human geography*, pages 31-56.

Bazalgette, P. (2017). *Independent review of the creative industries*. Nesta Report.

Begg, I., & Mushövel, F. (2016). *The economic impact of brexit: jobs, growth and the public finances*. London: LSE – Economic Institute.

Belfiore, E. (2002). Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: Does it really work? A critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK. *International journal of cultural policy*, pages 91-106.

Benner, C. (2003). Labour flexibility and regional development: the role of labour market intermediaries. *Regional Studies*, pages 621-633.

Berrou, J. P., & Combarnous, F. (2012). The personal networks of entrepreneurs in an informal African urban economy: does the 'strength of ties' matter?. *Review of Social Economy*, pages 1-30.

Bertacchini, E., & Pazzola, G. (2015). Torino creativa. Torino: Edizioni GAI.

Bertacchini, E., & Santagata, W. (2012). Atmosfera creativa. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Bidart, C. & Charbonneau, J. (2011). How to Generate Personal Networks: Issues and Tools for a Sociological Perspective. *Field Methods*, pages 266-286.

Boden, M. A. (2004). The creative mind: Myths and mechanisms. Psychology Press.

Bondi, G., & Sitton, S. (2007). *Non di sola arte: viaggio in Italia tra voci e numeri della giovane arte contemporanea*. Torino: Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli.

Borgatti, S. P., & Everett, M. G. (1997). Network analysis of 2-mode data. *Social networks*, pages 243-269.

Borgatti, S. P., & Foster, P. C. (2003). The network paradigm in organizational research: A review and typology. *Journal of management*, pages 991-1013.

Borgatti, S. P., & Halgin, D. S. (2011). On network theory. *Organization science*, pages 1168-1181.

Borrup, T., & McNulty, R. H. (2006). *The creative community builder's handbook: How to transform communities using local assets, art, and culture.* Saint Paul, MN: Fieldstone Alliance.

Boschma, R. (2005). Proximity and innovation: a critical assessment. *Regional studies*, pages 61-74.

Brandes, U. (2016). Network positions. *Methodological Innovations*, pages 1-19.

Breschi, S., & Lissoni, F. (2003). *Mobility and social networks: Localised knowledge spillovers revisited*. Milano: Università commerciale Luigi Bocconi.

Breschi, S., & Malerba, F. (2001). The geography of innovation and economic clustering: some introductory notes. *Industrial and corporate change*, pages 817-833.

Breschi, S., Lissoni, F., & Malerba, F. (2003). Knowledge-relatedness in firm technological diversification. *Research policy*, pages 69-87.

Brinkmann S. (2014) *Interview*. In: Teo T. (eds) Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology. Springer, New York, NY

Brockman, B. K., & Morgan, R. M. (2003). The role of existing knowledge in new product innovativeness and performance. *Decision Sciences*, pages 385-419.

Brown, J. S., & Duguid, P. (2001). Knowledge and organization: A social-practice perspective. *Organization science*, pages 198-213.

Brown, J. S., Duguid, P. (1991). Organizational learning and communities of practice. Toward a unified view of working, learning, and innovation. *Organization science*, pages 40-57.

Brown, J., Chapain, C., Murie, A., Barber, A., Gibney, J., & Lutz, J. (2007). From city of thousand ideas. Birmingham, West Midlands, UK. *Pathways to creative and knowledge-based regions*. ACRE.

Burt, R. S. (1980). Models of network structure. *Annual review of sociology*, pages 79-141.

Cai, M., Wang, W., Cui, Y., & Stanley, H. E. (2018). Multiplex network analysis of employee performance and employee social relationships. *Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and its Applications*, pages 1-12.

Cameron, S., Coaffee, J. (2005). Art, gentrification and regeneration–from artist as pioneer to public arts. *International Journal of Housing Policy*, pages 39-58.

Carrasco, J., Miller, E., & Wellman, B. (2008). How far and with whom do people socialize?: Empirical evidence about distance between social network members. *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board*, pages 114-122.

Castells, M. (1996). The space of flows (pp. 407-459). In *The rise of the network society*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Castells, M. (1999). Grassrooting the space of flows. *Urban Geography*, pages 294-302.

Castells, M. (2005). Space of flows, space of places: Materials for a theory of urbanism in the information age. In Sanyal B., *Comparative Planning Cultures* (p. 45-65). New York: Routledge.

Castree, N., Coe, N., Ward, K., & Samers, M. (2004). *Spaces of work*. London: Sage.

Chapain, C., & Comunian, R. (2010). Enabling and inhibiting the creative economy: The role of the local and regional dimensions in England. *Regional studies*, pages 717-734.

Chua, V., Madej, J., Wellman, B. (2011). Personal communities: the world according to me. In Scott J., & Carrington P.J., *The SAGE handbook of social network analysis*, (p. 101-115). London: SAGE Publications.

Clark, T. N. (2004). The City as Entertainment Machine. *Research in Urban Policy*, pages 221-234.

Coenen, L., Moodysson, J., & Asheim, B. T. (2004). Nodes, networks and proximities: on the knowledge dynamics of the Medicon Valley biotech cluster. *European Planning Studies*, pages 1003-1018.

Cohen, W. M., & Levinthal, D. A. (2000). Absorptive capacity: A new perspective on learning and innovation. In Israelit, S., Cross, R. L. *Strategic Learning in a Knowledge economy*. London: Routledge.

Comunian, R. (2012). Exploring the role of networks in the creative economy of North East England: economic and cultural dynamics. In *Encounters and Engagements between Economic and Cultural Geography*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Comunian, R. (2017). Creative Collaborations: The Role of Networks, Power and Policy. In Shiach, M., Virani, T. *Cultural Policy, Innovation and the Creative Economy* (pp. 231-244). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Comunian, R., & Gilmore, A. (2014). From knowledge sharing to co-creation: paths and spaces for engagement between higher education and the creative and cultural industries. *Beyond frames dynamics between the creative industries, knowledge institutions and the urban context*, pages 174-185.

Comunian, R., Chapain, C., & Clifton, N. (2010). Location, location, location: exploring the complex relationship between creative industries and place. Creative Industries Journal, pages 5-10.

Connor, J. O., Shaw, K. (2014). What next for the Creative City ? *City, Culture and Society*, pages 165–70.

Conti, S., Giaccaria, P., Rossi, U., & Salone, C. (2014). *Geografia economica e politica*. Torino: Pearson Italia Spa.

Cooke, P. N., Lazzeretti, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Creative cities, cultural clusters and local economic development*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Cox, G. (2005). *Cox Review of Creativity in Business: Building on the UK's Strengths*. London: HMSO.

Cornwall, A., & Jewkes, R. (1995). What is participatory research? *Social Science and Medicine*, 14, pages 1667–1676.

Crang, P. (1997) Introduction: cultural turns and the (re)constitution of economic geography. In Lee, R., and Wills J. (eds). *Geographies of Economies*. London: Arnold.

Creative Industries Federation (2016). The Brexit Report. London: CIF.

Crivello, S. (2013) Spazi e relazioni sociali di una comunità di pratiche. Riflessioni teoriche e evidenze sul caso di Torino. In Crivello, S., Salone, C. *Arte contemporanea e sviluppo urbano: esperienze torinesi*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Cross, R., Borgatti, S. P., & Parker, A. (2002). Making invisible work visible: Using social network analysis to support strategic collaboration. *California management review*, pages 25-46.

Cuccia, T., Rizzo, I. (2015). Less Might Be Better. Sustainable Funding Strategies for Cultural Producers. *City, Culture and Society*, pages 1–8.

Currid, E. (2009). Bohemia as subculture;"Bohemia" as industry: Art, culture, and economic development. *Journal of Planning Literature*, pages 368-382.

Currid, E., & Williams, S. (2009). The geography of buzz: art, culture and the social milieu in Los Angeles and New York. *Journal of Economic Geography,* pages 423-451.

Darchen, S. (2016). "Clusters" or "communities"? Analysing the spatial agglomeration of video game companies in Australia. *Urban Geography*, pages 202-222.

DeFillippi, R., Grabher, G., & Jones, C. (2007). Introduction to paradoxes of creativity: managerial and organizational challenges in the cultural economy. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, pages 511-521.

Desrochers, P. (2001). Geographical proximity and the transmission of tacit knowledge. *The Review of Austrian Economics,* pages 25-46.

Dodd, F. (2012). Women leaders in the creative industries: a baseline study. *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, pages 153-178.

Edensor, T., Leslie, D., Millington, S., Rantisi, N. (Eds.). (2009). *Spaces of vernacular creativity: Rethinking the cultural economy*. London: Routledge.

Ettlinger, N. (2003). Cultural economic geography and a relational and microspace approach to trusts, rationalities, networks, and change in collaborative workplaces. *Journal of economic geography*, pages 145-171.

Evans, G. (2009). From Cultural Quarters to Creative City Economy Clusters Creative Spaces in the New City Economy. In Legner M., *The sustainability and development* (p. 32-59). Stockholm: Institute of Urban History.

Feldman, M. P. (2000). Location and innovation: the new economic geography of innovation, spillovers, and agglomeration. *The Oxford handbook of economic geography*, pages 373-395.

Filippi, M., Torre, A. (2003). Local organisations and institutions. How can geographical proximity be activated by collective projects? *International Journal of Technology Management*, pages 386-400.

Fitjar, R. D., Huber, F., & Rodríguez-pose, A. (2015). Not too close, not too far. Towards an Empirical Test of the Goldilocks Principle of Non-Geographical Distance in Collaboration Networks for Innovation. *DRUID*, pages 15-17.

Flew, T. (2010). Toward a Cultural Economic Geography of Creative Industries and Urban Development: Introduction to the Special Issue on Creative Industries and Urban Development. *The information society*, pages 85–91.

Flew, T., Cunningham S. (2010). Creative Industries after the First Decade of Debate Creative Industries after the First Decade of Debate. *The information society*, pages 113-123.

Florida, R. (2002). Bohemia and economic geography. *Journal of economic geography*, pages 55-71.

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Florida, R. (2017). *The new urban crisis: How our cities are increasing inequality, deepening segregation, and failing the middle class and what we can do about it*. New York: Hachette.

Florida, R., Mellander, C., Stolarick, K. (2008). Inside the black box of regional development - human capital, the creative class and tolerance. *Journal of economic geography*, 8(5), 615-649.

Fornara, L., Longhi, A. Segre, G. (2014). Il patrimonio culturale e paesaggistico per lo sviluppo locale. In: *Patrimonio culturale. Sfide attuali e prospettive future / Cultural heritage. Present challenges and future perspectives*. Rome, 21-22 november 2014.

Galloway, S., & Dunlop, S. (2007). A critique of definitions of the cultural and creative industries in public policy. *International journal of cultural policy*, pages 17-31.

Garcia, B. (2005). Deconstructing the city of culture: The long-term cultural legacies of Glasgow 1990. *Urban studies*, pages 841-868.

Garnham, N. (2005). From Cultural to Creative Industries. An Analysis of the Implications of the "Creative Industries" Approach to Arts and Media Policy Making in the United Kingdom. *International journal of cultural policy*, pages 15-29.

Gertler, M. S. (2003). A cultural economic geography of production. *Handbook of Cultural Geography*. London: Sage, pages 131-146.

Gertler, M. S. (2003). Tacit knowledge and the economic geography of context, or the undefinable tacitness of being (there). *Journal of economic geography*, pages 75-99.

Gertler, M. S. (2008). Buzz without being there? Communities of practice in context. In Amin, A., Roberts, J. (Eds.). *Community, economic creativity, and organization*. Oxford: Oxford University Publisher.

Gertler, M. S., & Levitte, Y. M. (2005). Local nodes in global networks: the geography of knowledge flows in biotechnology innovation. *Industry and Innovation*, pages 487-507.

Gertler, M. S., & Vinodrai, T. (2009). Life sciences and regional innovation: one path or many?. *European Planning Studies*, pages 235-261.

Gertler, M. S., Wolfe, D. A., & Garkut, D. (2000). No place like home? The embeddedness of innovation in a regional economy. *Review of international political economy*, pages 688-718.

Gertler, M. S., Wolfe, D. A., Garkut, D. (2000). No place like home? The embeddedness of innovation in a regional economy. *Review of international political economy*, pages 688-718.

Gibson, C., Klocker, N. (2004). Academic publishing as 'creative'industry, and recent discourses of 'creative economies': some critical reflections. *Area*, pages 423-434.

Gibson, C., Kong, L. (2005). Cultural economy: a critical review. *Progress in human geography*, pages 541-561.

Gibson, C., Murphy, P., & Freestone, R. (2002). Employment and socio-spatial relations in Australia's cultural economy. *Australian Geographer*, pages 173-189.

Gill, R. (2002). Cool, creative and egalitarian? Exploring gender in project-based new media work in Euro. *Information, communication & society*, pages 70-89.

Gill, R., & Pratt, A. (2008). In the social factory? Immaterial labour, precariousness and cultural work. *Theory, culture & society*, pages 1-30.

Giuliani, E., & Bell, M. (2005). The micro-determinants of meso-level learning and innovation: evidence from a Chilean wine cluster. *Research policy*, pages 47-68.

Given, L., M. (2008). *Semi-Structured Interview*. The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods. London and Singapore: Sage.

Glaeser, E. L., Kallal, H. D., Scheinkman, J. A., Shleifer, A. (1992). Growth in cities. *Journal of political economy*, pages 1126-1152.

Glückler, J. (2007). Economic geography and the evolution of networks. *Journal of Economic Geography*, pages 619-634.

Glückler, J. (2013). Knowledge, networks and space: Connectivity and the problem of non-interactive learning. Regional Studies, 47(6), 880-894.

Gluckler, J., Lazega, E., Hammer, I. (Eds.). (2017). *Knowledge and Networks*. Cham: Springer.

Gordon, I. R., & McCann, P. (2000). Industrial clusters: complexes, agglomeration and/or social networks?. *Urban studies*, pages 513-532.

Gordon, I. R., & McCann, P. (2005). Innovation, agglomeration, and regional development. *Journal of Economic Geography*, pages 523-543.

Grabher, G. (2004). Learning in projects, remembering in networks? Communality, sociality, and connectivity in project ecologies. *European urban and regional studies*, pages 103-123.

Grabher, G. (2004). Temporary architectures of learning: Knowledge governance in project ecologies. *Organization studies*, pages 1491-1514.

Grabher, G., Powell, W. (2004). *Networks*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American journal of sociology*, pages 1360-1380.

Grant, K. A. (2007). Tacit knowledge revisited–we can still learn from Polanyi. *The Electronic Journal of Knowledge Management,* pages 173-180.

Grodach, C. (2011). Art spaces in community and economic development: Connections to neighborhoods, artists, and the cultural economy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, pages 74-85.

Grodach, C. (2013). Cultural Economy Planning in Creative Cities : Discourse and Practice. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pages 1747-1765.

Grousdanidou, A. (2011). *The production of space at Ikon Gallery, Birmingham: from art object to art institution, 1963 - 1978*. M.Phil. thesis, University of Birmingham.

Gwee, J. (2009). Innovation and the creative industries cluster: A case study of Singapore's creative industries. *Innovation*, pages 240-252.

Haggett, P., & Chorley, R. J. (1969). 1969: Network analysis in geography. London: Edward Arnold. Mitchell, J. C. (Ed.). (1969). *Social networks in urban situations: analyses of personal relationships in Central African towns*. Manchester University Press.

Hall, P. (2000). Creative Cities and Economic Development. *Urban Studies*, pages 639-649.

Hanneman, R. A., & Riddle, M. (2005). *Introduction to social network methods*. Riverside CA: University of California.

Hanneman, R. A., & Riddle, M. (2011). A brief introduction to analyzing social network data. *The Sage handbook of social network analysis*, 331-339.

Harvey, D. (2009). The art of rent: globalisation, monopoly and the commodification of culture. *Socialist register*, pages 93-110.

Hawkins, R. L., & Maurer, K. (2009). Bonding, bridging and linking: how social capital operated in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina. *British Journal of Social Work*, pages 1777-1793.

Hesmondhalgh, D., Baker, S. (2010). A Very Complicated Version of Freedom: Conditions and Experiences of Creative Labour in Three Cultural Industries. *Poetics*, pages 4–20.

Higgs, P., & Cunningham, S. (2008). Creative Industries Mapping: Where have we come from and where are we going?. *Creative industries journal*, pages 7-30.

Hoang, H., Antoncic,B. (2003). Network-based research in entrepreneurship: A critical review. *Journal of business venturing*, pages 165-187.

Howells, J. R. (2002). Tacit knowledge, innovation and economic geography. *Urban studies*, pages 871-884.

Inkpen, A. C., & Tsang, E. W. (2005). Social capital, networks, and knowledge transfer. *Academy of management review*, pages 146-165.

Jackson, P. (2002). Commercial cultures: transcending the cultural and the economic. *Progress in human geography*, pages 3-18.

Jacob, M. J., & Grabner, M. (Eds.). (2010). *The studio reader: on the space of artists*. University of Chicago Press.

Jaffe, A. B., & Lerner, J. (2011). *Innovation and its discontents: How our broken patent system is endangering innovation and progress, and what to do about it*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

James, A. (2006). Networks: Volumes I and II (Critical Studies in Economic Institutions series). *Economic Geography*, pages 233-235.

James, A., Martin, R., & Sunley, P. (2007). The rise of cultural economic geography. *Critical concepts in economic geography*, pages 3-18.

Jessop, B., Brenner, N., & Jones, M. (2008). Theorizing sociospatial relations. *Environment and planning D: society and space*, pages 389-401.

Jones, P. (2008). Different but the same? Post-war slum clearance and contemporary regeneration in Birmingham, UK. *City*, pages 356-371.

Kadushin, C. (2011). Social networks and Jews. *Contemporary Jewry*, pages 55-73.

Kane, M., Rosenfeld, S., Siegel, B. (2014). *Stoking innovation in the magic city: Birmingham's Creative Industries Report.* Birmingham: The Cultural Alliance of Greater Birmingham.

Karlsson, C., Andersson, M., & Norman, T. (Eds.). (2015). *Handbook of research methods and applications in economic geography*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Knoben, J., & Oerlemans, L. A. (2006). Proximity and inter-organizational collaboration: A literature review. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, pages 71-89.

Kong, L. (2000). Cultural policy in Singapore: negotiating economic and socio-cultural agendas. *Geoforum*, pages 409-424.

Kramer, J. P., & Diez, J. R. (2012). Catching the local buzz by embedding? Empirical insights on the regional embeddedness of multinational enterprises in Germany and the UK. *Regional Studies,* pages 1303-1317.

Krätke, S. (2010). 'Creative cities' and the rise of the dealer class: A critique of Richard Florida's approach to urban theory. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pages 835-853.

Kühn, J. M. (2015). The subcultural scene economy of the Berlin techno scene. In Guerra P., Moreira T. *Keep it Simple, Make it Fast! An approach to underground music scenes*. Porto: Universidade do Porto.

Landry, C. (2005). *Lineages of the creative city. Creativity and the City*. Netherlands Architecture Institute.

Landry, C., Bianchini, F. 1995. *The creative city (Vol. 12).* London Demos.

Lange, B. (2009). Accessing Markets in Creative Industries - Professionalization and Social-Spatial Strategies of Culturepreneurs in Berlin Accessing Markets in Creative Industries. *Creative Industries Journal*, pages 115-135.

Lavanga, M. (2004). Creative industries, cultural quarters and urban development: the case studies of Rotterdam and Milan. *Urban Management in Europe*, pages 121-57.

Lazega, E., & Snijders, T. (2016). *Multilevel network analysis for the social sciences*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Leadbeater, C., Oakley, K. (1999). *The Independents: Britain's new cultural entrepreneurs*. London: Demos.

Lee, N., & Rodríguez-Pose, A. (2014). Creativity, cities, and innovation. *Environment and Planning A*, pages 1139-1159.

Lees, L., Ley, D. (2008). Introduction to special issue on gentrification and public policy. *Urban Studies*, pages 2379-2384.

Leslie, D., Catungal, J.P. (2012). Social Justice and the Creative City: Class, Gender and Racial Inequalities. *Geography Compass*, pages 111–22.

Ley, D. (2003). Artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification. *Urban studies*, pages 2527-2544.

Los, B., McCann, P., Springford, J., & Thissen, M. (2017). The mismatch between local voting and the local economic consequences of Brexit. *Regional Studies*, pages 786-799.

Lugosi, P., Bell, D., & Lugosi, K. (2010). Hospitality, culture and regeneration: Urban decay, entrepreneurship and the 'ruin'bars of Budapest. *Urban Studies*, pages 3079-3101.

MacDonald, S. (2016). The impact of Brexit on the UK's reputation, influence and soft power. *Cultural Trends*, pages 280-286.

MacDonald, S. (2017). *The Impact of Brexit on International Cultural Relations in the European Union*. Stuttgart: GESIS.

MacLeod, G. (2002). From urban entrepreneurialism to a "revanchist city"? On the spatial injustices of Glasgow's renaissance. *Antipode*, pages 602-624.

Maggioni, M. A., & Uberti, T. E. (2011). Networks and geography in the economics of knowledge flows. *Quality & quantity*, pages 1031-1051.

Malmberg, A., & Power, D. (2005). (How) do (firms in) clusters create knowledge?. *Industry and innovation*, pages 409-431.

Marin A. (2004). Are respondents more likely to list alters with certain characteristics? Implications for name generator data. Social Networks 26:289-307.

Markusen, A. (2002). Sticky places in slippery space: a typology of industrial districts. In *The New Industrial Geography*. New York: Routledge.

Markusen, A., & Schrock, G. (2006). The artistic dividend: Urban artistic specialisation and economic development implications. *Urban studies*, pages 1661-1686.

Markusen, A., Gadwa, A. (2010). *Creative placemaking*. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Markusen, A., Wassall, G. H., DeNatale, D., & Cohen, R. (2008). Defining the creative economy: Industry and occupational approaches. *Economic development quarterly*, pages 24-45.

Marshall, A. (1890). *Principles of political economy*. New York: Maxmillan.

Maskell, P. (2001). Towards a knowledge-based theory of the geographical cluster. *Industrial and corporate change*, pages 921-943.

Maskell, P., & Malmberg, A. (1999). Localised learning and industrial competitiveness. *Cambridge journal of economics*, pages 167-185.

Maskell, P., Bathelt, H., & Malmberg, A. (2004). *Temporary Clusters and Knowledge Creation: The Effects of International Trade Fairs, Conventions and Other Professional Gatherings*. Philipps-. University of Marburg: SPACES.

Maskell, P., Malmberg, A. (1999). The Competitiveness of Firms and Regions: 'Ubiquitification'and the Importance of Localized Learning. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, pages 9-25.

Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press.

Mateos-Garcia, J., & Bakhshi, H. (2016). *The Geography of Creativity in the UK: Creative Clusters, Creative People and Creative Networks*. London: Nesta.

Mateos-Garcia, J., Klinger, J., and Stathoulopoulos, K. (2018). *Creative Nation*. London: Nesta.

Mayer, M. (2016). First World Urban Activism: Beyond austerity urbanism and creative city politics. *City*, pages 5-19.

McDowell, L., Dyson, J. (2011). The other side of the knowledge economy: 'reproductive'employment and affective labours in Oxford. *Environment and Planning A*, pages 2186-2201.

McGuigan, J. (2010). Creative labour, cultural work and individualisation. *International journal of cultural policy*, pages 323-335.

McLean, H. (2014). Digging into the Creative City : A Feminist Critique. *Antipode*, pages 669–90.

McLean, H. E. (2014). Cracks in the creative city: The contradictions of community arts practice. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pages 2156-2173.

Meusburger, P., Funke, J., & Wunder, E. (Eds.). (2009). *Milieus of creativity: An interdisciplinary approach to spatiality of creativity* (Vol. 2). Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media.

Molina, J. L., Petermann, S., & Herz, A. (2015). Defining and measuring transnational social structures. *Field Methods*, pages 223-243.

Molina-Morales, F. X., García-Villaverde, P. M., & Parra-Requena, G. (2014). Geographical and cognitive proximity effects on innovation performance in SMEs: a way through knowledge acquisition. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, pages 231-251.

Molina-Morales, F. X., Martínez-Fernández, M. T., & Torlo, V. J. (2011). The dark side of trust: The benefits, costs and optimal levels of trust for innovation performance. *Long Range Planning*, pages 118-133.

Mommaas, H. (2009). Spaces of culture and economy: Mapping the cultural-creative cluster landscape. In Mommaas, H. *Creative economies, creative cities*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Montgomery, J. (2003). Cultural quarters as mechanisms for urban regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising cultural quarters. *Planning, Practice & Research*, pages 293-306.

Moreno, J. L. (1937). Sociometry in relation to other social sciences. *Sociometry*, pages 206-219.

Morrison, A., Rabellotti, R., & Zirulia, L. (2013). When do global pipelines enhance the diffusion of knowledge in clusters?. *Economic Geography*, pages 77-96.

Moss, L. (2002). Sheffield's cultural industries quarter 20 years on: What can be learned from a pioneering example?. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, pages 211-219.

Neff, G. (2005). The changing place of cultural production: The location of social networks in a digital media industry. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, pages 134-152.

Nyumba, O., Wilson, K., Derrick, C., Mukherjee, N. (2018). The use of focus group methodology: Insight from two decades of application in conservation. *Methods in Ecology and Evolution*, 9 (1)

Nonaka, I. (2000). A dynamic theory of organizational knowledge creation. In *Knowledge, groupware and the internet*. Woburn: Elsevier.

Nonaka, I., Toyama, R., Konno, N. (2000). SECI, Ba and leadership: a unified model of dynamic knowledge creation. *Long range planning*, pages 5-34.

Nooteboom, B. (2000). Learning by interaction: absorptive capacity, cognitive distance and governance. *Journal of management and governance*, pages 69-92.

Nooteboom, B. (2008). Cognitive distance in and between COP's and firms: where do exploitation and exploration take place, and how are they connected? In Amin, A., Roberts, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Community, economic creativity, and organization*. Oxford: Oxford University Publisher.

North, D. (2005). *Understanding the Process of Economic Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Novy, J., Colomb, C. (2013). Struggling for the Right to the (Creative) City in Berlin and Hamburg : New Urban Social Movements, New ‘Spaces of Hope’? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pages 1816-1838.

Nuccio M., Pedrini S. (2014). Arts between tradition and marginality: a relational approach. In Schramme, A., Kooyman, R. & Hagoort G. *Beyond Frames Dynamics between the creative industries, knowledge institutions and the urban context*. Antwerp: Antwerp Management School.

Nuccio, M., & Ponzini, D. (2017). What does a cultural district actually do? Critically reappraising 15 years of cultural district policy in Italy. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, pages 405-424.

O'Connor, J., & Shaw, K. (2014). What next for the creative city?. *City, culture and society*, pages 165-170.

Oakley, K. (2004). Not so cool Britannia: The role of the creative industries in economic development. *International journal of cultural studies*, pages 67-77.

Oakley, K., O'Brien, D. (2015). *Cultural Value and Inequality: A Critical Literature Review*. Report. Arts and Humanities Research Council.

O'Connor, J., & Gu, X. (2010). Developing a creative cluster in a postindustrial city: CIDS and Manchester. *The Information Society*, pages 124-136.

Oinas, P. (1999). Activity-specificity in organizational learning: implications for analysing the role of proximity. *GeoJournal*, pages 363-372.

Oinas, P., & Malecki, E. J. (2002). The evolution of technologies in time and space: from national and regional to spatial innovation systems. *International regional science review*, pages 102-131.

Oldham, G. R., & Cummings, A. (1996). Employee creativity: Personal and contextual factors at work. *Academy of management journal*, pages 607-634.

Orillard, M. (1997). Cognitive networks and self-organisation in a complex socio-economic environment. In Amin A. and Hausner J. *Beyond Market and Hierarchy: Interactive Governance and Social Complexity*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Pasquinelli, C., & Sjöholm, J. (2015). Art and resilience: The spatial practices of making a resilient artistic career in London. *City, Culture and Society*, pages 75-81.

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. International journal of urban and regional research, pages 740-770.

Peck, J. (2013). Disembedding Polanyi: exploring Polanyian economic geographies. *Environment and Planning A*, pages 1536-1544.

Peck, J., Theodore, N., & Brenner, N. (2009). Neoliberal urbanism: Models, moments, mutations. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, pages 49-66.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The experience economy: work is theatre & every business a stage*. Harvard Business Press.

Plum, O., & Hassink, R. (2011). On the nature and geography of innovation and interactive learning: A case study of the biotechnology industry in the Aachen technology region, Germany. *European Planning Studies*, pages 1141-1163.

Polanyi, M. (1966). The logic of tacit inference. *Philosophy*, pages 1-18.

Polanyi, M. (1966). *The tacit dimension*. Gloucester: Peter Smith.

Porter, L., and Barber, A. (2007). Planning the Cultural Quarter in Birmingham's Eastside, *European Planning Studies*, pages 1327-1348.

Porter, M. E. (1998). *Clusters and the new economics of competition*. Boston: Harvard Business Review.

Potts, J., Cunningham, S., Hartley, J., & Ormerod, P. (2008). Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries. *Journal of cultural economics*, pages 167-185.

Powell, W. W., & Grodal, S. (2005). Networks of innovators. *The Oxford handbook of innovation*, pages 78.

Powell, W., Grodal, S. (2005). Networks of innovators. In Fagerberg J., Mowery, D.C. *The Oxford handbook of innovation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Power, D., & Scott, A. J. (2004). *Cultural industries and the production of culture*. New York: Routledge.

Power, D., Scott, A. J. (2004). A prelude to cultural industries and the production of culture. *Cultural industries and the production of culture*, pages 3-15.

Pratt, A. C. (1997). The Cultural Industries Production System: A Case Study of Employment Change in Britain, 1984 - 91. *Environment and Planning A*, pages 1953–74.

Pratt, A. C. (2004). Creative clusters: towards the governance of the creative industries production system?. *Media international Australia incorporating culture and policy*, pages 50-66.

Pratt, A. C. (2004). The Cultural Economy A Call for Spatialized 'Production of Culture' Perspectives. *International journal of cultural studies*, pages 117-128.

Pratt, A. C. (2004). The cultural economy: A call for spatialized 'production of culture'perspectives. *International journal of cultural studies*, pages 117-128.

Pratt, A. C. (2006). Advertising and creativity, a governance approach: a case study of creative agencies in London. *Environment and planning A*, 38(10), 1883-1899.

Pratt, A. C. (2008). Creative cities: the cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska annaler: series B, human geography*, pages 107-117.

Pratt, A. C., & Jeffcutt, P. (Eds.). (2009). *Creativity, innovation and the cultural economy*. London: Routledge.

Puype, D. (2004). Arts and Culture as Experimental Spaces in the City The Case of Ghent. *City*, pages 295-301.

Reimer, S., Pinch, S., & Sunley, P. (2008). Design spaces: agglomeration and creativity in British design agencies. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, pages 151-172.

Rivera, M. T., Soderstrom, S. B., Uzzi, B. (2010). Dynamics of dyads in social networks: Assortative, relational, and proximity mechanisms. *Annual Review of Sociology*, pages 91-115.

Ross, A. (2008). The new geography of work: Power to the precarious? *Theory, Culture & Society*, pages 31-49.

Sacco, P. L., Ferilli, G., & Blessi, G. T. (2012). Culture 3.0: A new perspective for the EU active citizenship and social and economic cohesion policy. *The cultural component of citizenship: An inventory of challenges*, pages 198-217.

Sacco, P. L., Ferilli, G., Blessi, G. T., & Nuccio, M. (2013). Culture as an engine of local development processes: System-wide cultural districts I: Theory. *Growth and Change*, pages 555-570.

Salone, C., Bonini Baraldi, S., & Pazzola, G. (2017). Cultural production in peripheral urban spaces: lessons from Barriera, Turin (Italy). *European Planning Studies*, pages 2117-2137.

Santagata, W. (1998). Simbolo e merce: i mercati dei giovani artisti e le istitutzioni dell'arte contemporanea. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Santagata, W. (2002). Cultural districts, property rights and sustainable economic growth. *International journal of urban and regional research*, pages 9-23.

Santagata, W. (2006). Cultural districts and their role in developed and developing countries. *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*, pages 1101-1119.

Scott, A. J. (1988). Flexible production systems and regional development: the rise of new industrial spaces in North America and Western Europe. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pages 171-186.

Scott, A. J. (1988). *Metropolis: From the division of labor to urban form*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Scott, A. J. (1997). The cultural economy of cities. *International journal of urban and regional research*, pages 323-339.

Scott, A. J. (1999). The cultural economy: geography and the creative field. *Media, Culture & Society*, pages 807-817.

Scott, A. J. (2006). Entrepreneurship, innovation and industrial development: geography and the creative field revisited. *Small business economics*, pages 1-24.

Scott, J., & Carrington, P. J. (2011). *The SAGE handbook of social network analysis*. London: SAGE publications.

Scott, M. (2012). Cultural Entrepreneurs, Cultural Entrepreneurship: Music Producers Mobilising and Converting Bourdieu's Alternative Capitals. *Poetics*, pages 237–255.

Shaw, K. (2013). Independent Creative Subcultures and Why They Matter. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, pages 37–41.

Shaw, K. (2014). Melbourne's Creative Spaces Program: Reclaiming the 'Creative City' (if not quite the rest of it). City, Culture and Society, pages 139-147.

Simonton, D. K. (2000). Creativity: Cognitive, personal, developmental, and social aspects. *American psychologist*, pages 151-162.

Smith, R., & Warfield, K. (2007). *The Creative City: A Matter of Values*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Snijders, T. A., Steglich, C. E., Schweinberger, M., & Huisman, M. (2007). *Manual for SIENA version 3.1*. University of Groningen: ICS/Department of Sociology.

Sonn, J. W., & Storper, M. (2008). The increasing importance of geographical proximity in knowledge production: an analysis of US patent citations, 1975–1997. *Environment and Planning A*, pages 1020-1039.

Sonnino, R., & Marsden, T. (2005). Beyond the divide: rethinking relationships between alternative and conventional food networks in Europe. *Journal of economic geography*, 6(2), 181-199.

Stam, E., De Jong, J. P., & Marlet, G. (2008). Creative industries in the Netherlands: Structure, development, innovativeness and effects on urban growth. *Geografiska Annaler: series B, human geography*, pages 119-132.

Storper, M. (2000). Globalization, localization and trade. *The Oxford handbook of economic geography*, 146-165.

Storper, M., & Salais, R. (1997). *Worlds of production: The action frameworks of the economy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Storper, M., & Scott, A. J. (2009). Rethinking human capital, creativity and urban growth. *Journal of economic geography*, pages 147-167.

Storper, M., Venables, A. J. (2004). Buzz: face-to-face contact and the urban economy. *Journal of economic geography*, pages 351-370.

Sturgeon, T. J. (2003). What really goes on in Silicon Valley? Spatial clustering and dispersal in modular production networks. *Journal of economic geography*, pages 199-225.

Ter Wal, A. L., Boschma, R. A. (2009). Applying social network analysis in economic geography: framing some key analytic issues. *The Annals of Regional Science*, pages 739-756.

Thrift, N. (2000). Pandora's box? Cultural geographies of economies. *The Oxford handbook of economic geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thrift, N. (2003). Performance and.…. *Environment and Planning A*, pages 2019-2024.

Throsby, D. (1994). The production and consumption of the arts: A view of cultural economics. *Journal of economic literature*, pages 1-29.

Throsby, D. (1999). Cultural capital. *Journal of cultural economics*, pages 3-12.

Throsby, D. (2001). *Economics and culture*. Cambridge university press.

Throsby, D. (2008). The concentric circles model of the cultural industries. Cultural trends, pages 147-164.

Throsby, D., Hollister, V. (2003). *Don't give up yourday job: An economic study of professional artists in Australia*. Sydney: Australia Council.

Throsby, D., Zednik, A. (2010). *Do you really expect to get paid? An economic study of professional artists in Australia*. Sydney: Australia Council.

Throsby, D., Zednik, A. (2011). Multiple job-holding and artistic careers: Some empirical evidence. *Cultural trends*, pages 9-24.

Torre, A. (2008). On the role played by temporary geographical proximity in knowledge transmission. *Regional Studies*, pages 869-889.

Torre, A., Rallet, A. (2005). Proximity and localization. *Regional studies*, pages 47-59.

Trotter, R. (1999). Friends, relatives and relevant others: Conducting ethnographic network studies. In R. Schensul, R. *Mapping social networks, spatial data and hidden populations*. London: Altamira.

Tsai, W., & Ghoshal, S. (1998). Social capital and value creation: The role of intrafirm networks. *Academy of management Journal*, pages 464-476.

Van der Borg, J., & Russo, A. P. (2005). *The impacts of culture on the economic development of cities*. Rotterdam: European Institute for ComparativeUrban Research.

Van Heur, B. (2009). The Clustering of Creative Networks: between myth and reality. *Urban Studies*, pages 1531-1552.

Van Heur, B. (2012). Small Cities and the Sociospatial Specificity of Economic Development. *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*, pages 17–30.

Van Heur, B. (2012). *Small cities and the sociospatial specificity of economic development*. London: Routledge.

Vanolo, A. (2015). The image of the creative city, eight years later: Turin, urban branding and the economic crisis taboo. *Cities*, pages 1-7.

Vinodrai, T., & Gertler, M. S. (2006). Creativity, Culture and Innovation in the Knowledge-based Economy. *Program on Globalization and Regional Innovation Systems Munk Centre for International Studies & Department of Geography*. University of Toronto. Prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Research and Innovation.

Vivant, E. (2009). How underground culture is changing Paris. *Urban Research & Practice*, pages 36-52.

Volkerling, M. (2001). From cool Britannia to hot nation:'creative industries' policies in Europe, Canada and New Zealand. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, pages 437-455.

Vorley, T., Mould, O., & Smith, H. L. (2008). Introduction to geographical economies of creativity, enterprise and the creative industries. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, pages 101-106.

Waitt, G., Gibson, C. (2009). Creative small cities: Rethinking the creative economy in place. *Urban studies*, pages 1223-1246.

Wandl, D. A., Nadin, V., Zonneveld, W., & Rooij, R. (2014). Beyond urban–rural classifications: Characterising and mapping territories-in-between across Europe. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, pages 50-63.

Warren, S., & Jones, P. (2016). *Creative Economies, Creative Communities: Rethinking Place, Policy and Practice*. London: Routledge.

Wasserman, S., & Faust, K. (1994). *Social network analysis: Methods and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Watson, A. (2008). Global music city: knowledge and geographical proximity in London's recorded music industry. *Area*, pages 12-23.

Whittington, K. B., Owen-Smith, J., & Powell, W. W. (2009). Networks, propinquity, and innovation in knowledge-intensive industries. *Administrative science quarterly*, pages 90-122.

Wilson, D., Keil, R., Wilson, D. (2016). The Real Creative Class. *Social & Cultural Geography*, pages 841-847.

Wolfe, D. A., & Gertler, M. S. (2004). Clusters from the inside and out: local dynamics and global linkages. *Urban studies*, pages 1071-1093.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods (applied social research methods*). London and Singapore: Sage.

Zembylas, T. (2014). *Artistic practices: Social interactions and cultural dynamics*. London: Routledge.

Zukin, S. (1987). Gentrification: culture and capital in the urban core. *Annual review of sociology*, pages 129-147.

Zukin, S., & Braslow, L. (2011). The life cycle of New York's creative districts: Reflections on the unanticipated consequences of unplanned cultural zones. *City, Culture and Society*, pages 131-140.

Appendix A

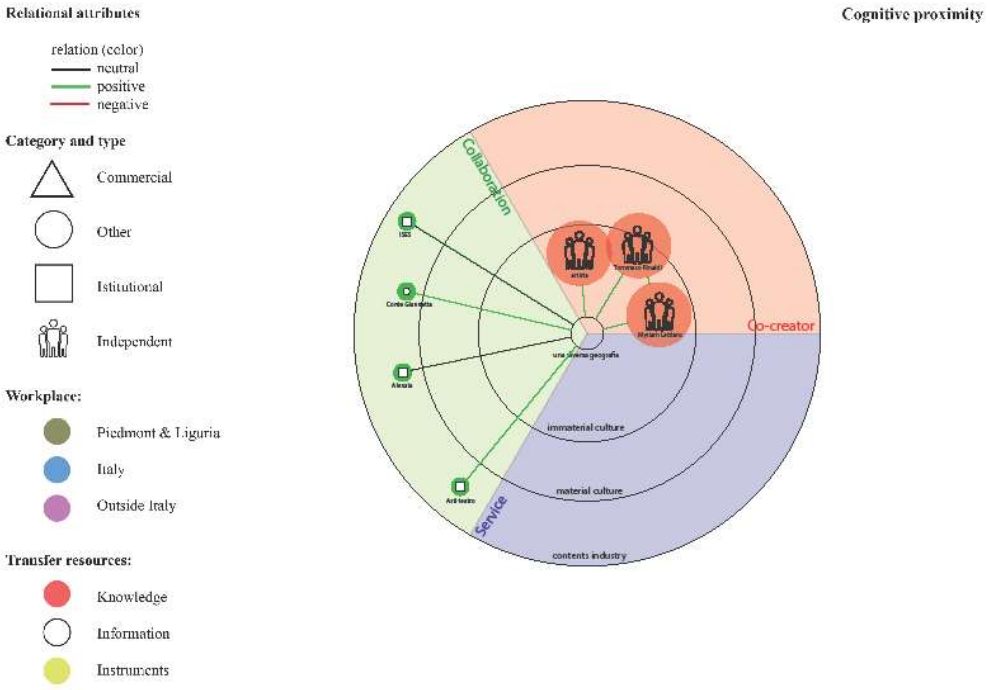


Figure 29: Personal network of actors involved at Una Nuova Geografia project. Source: Author's elaboration

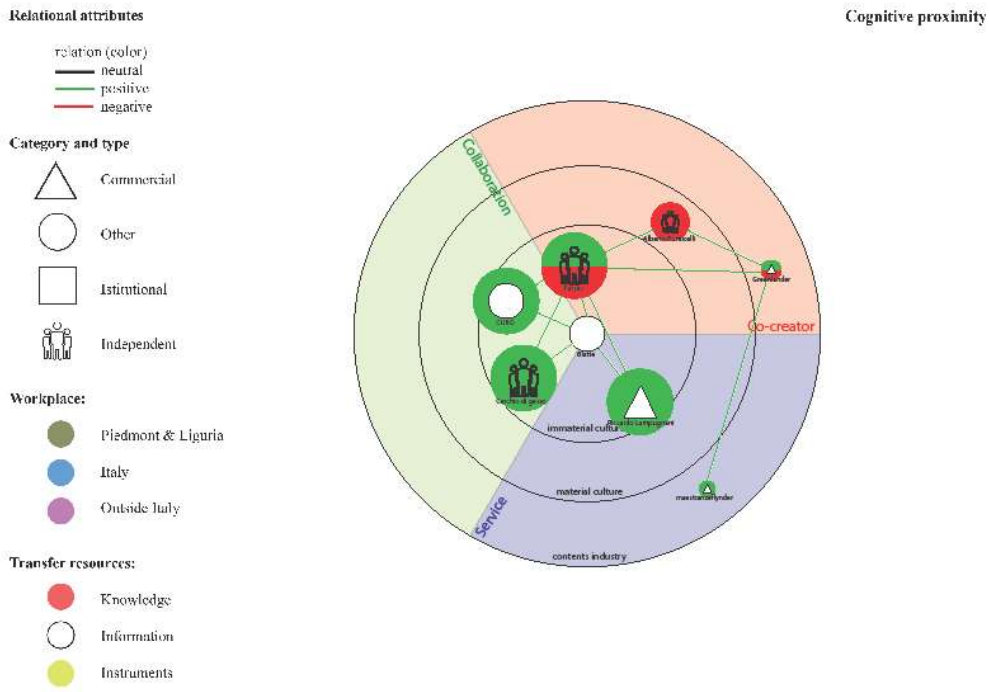


Figure 30: Personal network of actors involved at Blatte Parsec project. Source: Author's elaboration

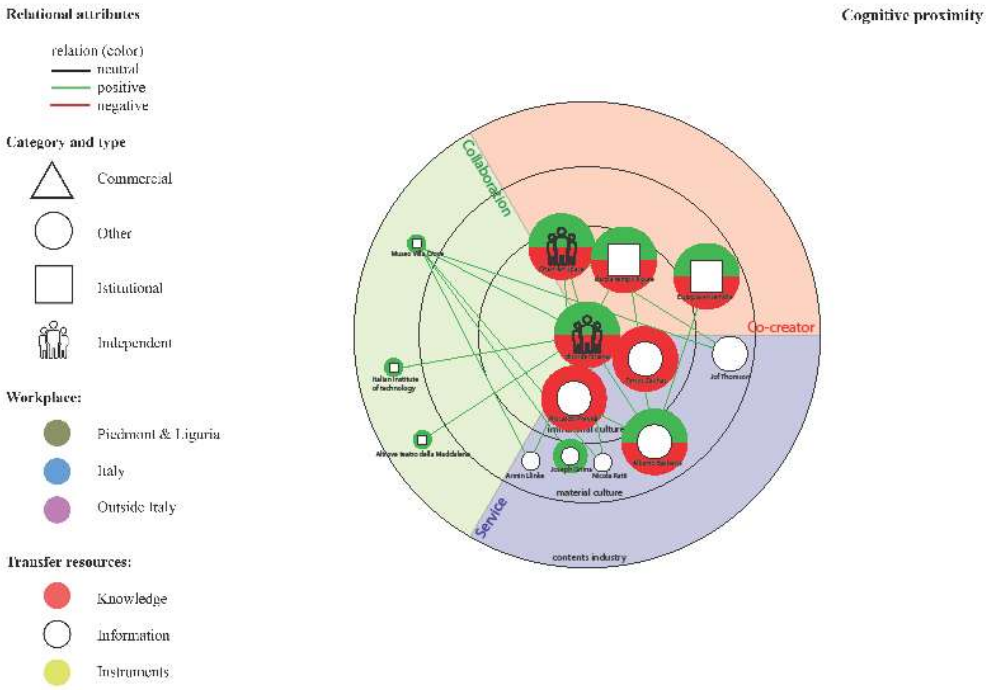


Figure 31: Personal network of actors involved at Disorder Drama -Art Test Fest project. Source: Author's elaboration

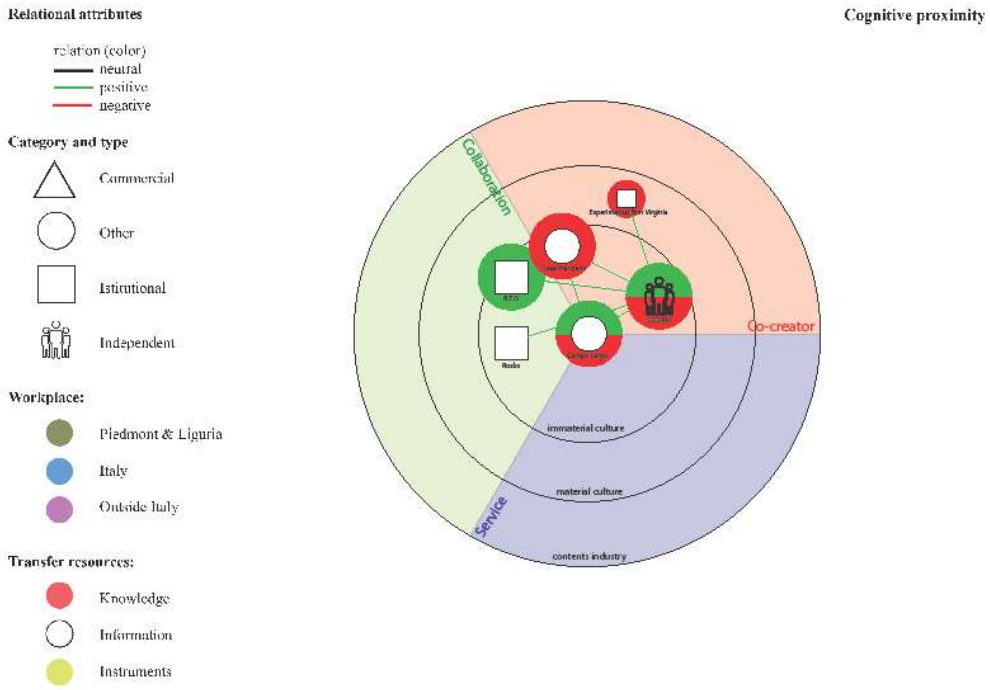


Figure 32: Personal network of actors involved at COORPI Campo Largo project. Source: Author's elaboration

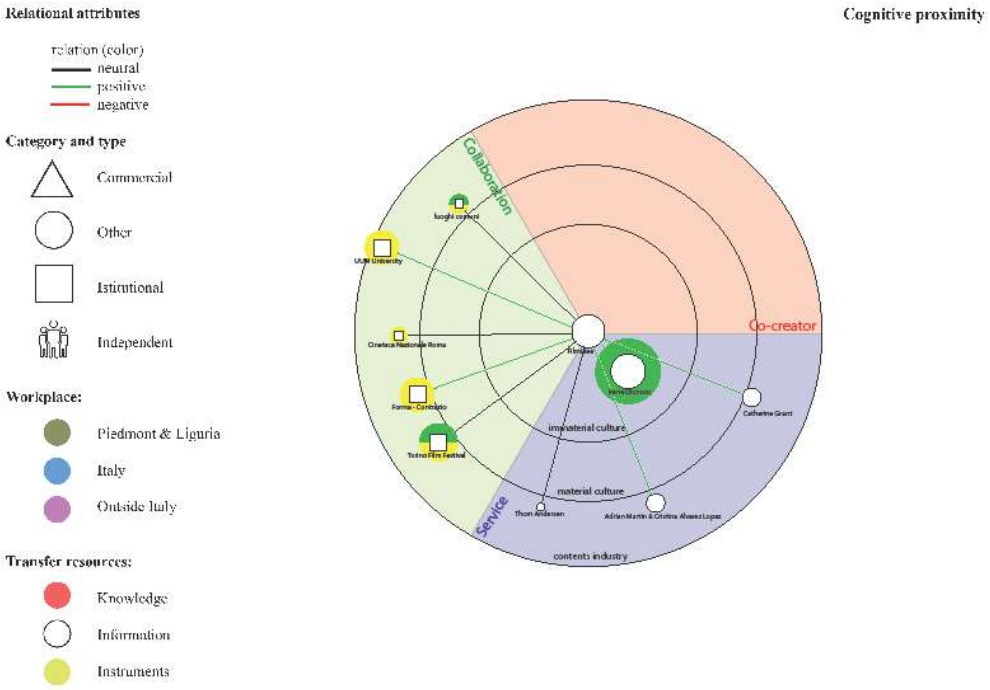


Figure 33: Personal network of actors involved at FilmIdee VideoEssay project. Source: Author's elaboration

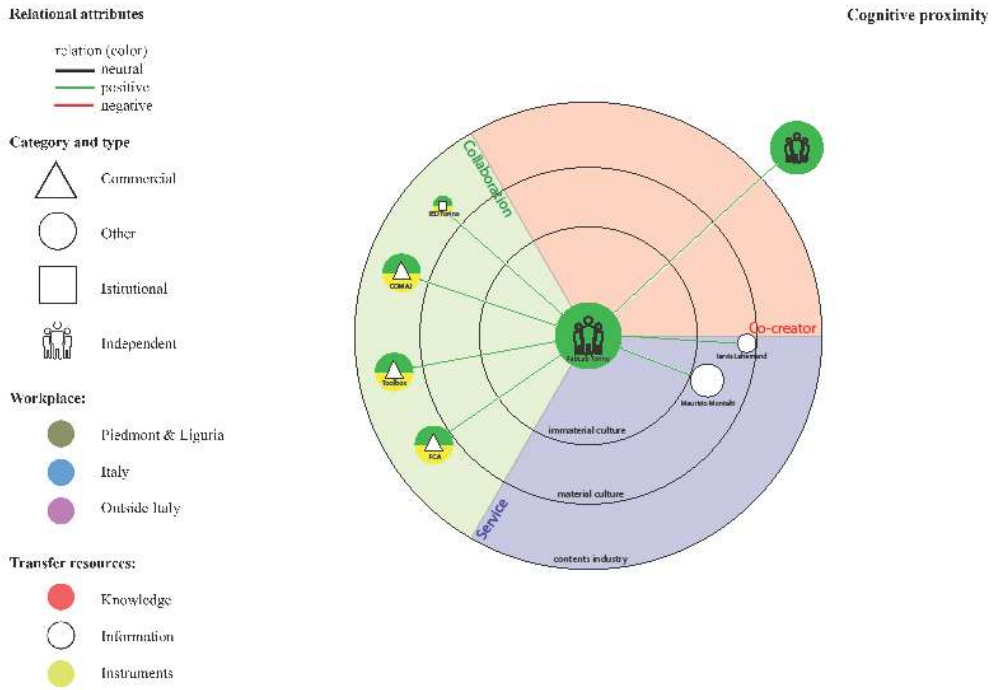


Figure 34: Personal network of actors involved at Fab Lab Torino AARM project. Source: Author's elaboration

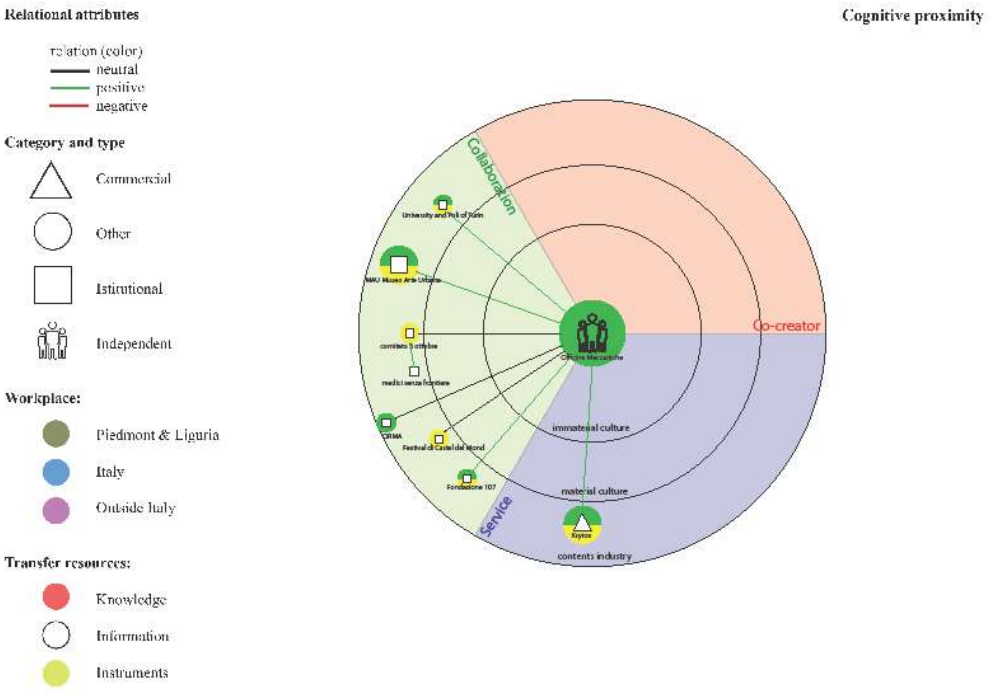


Figure 35: Personal network of actors involved at Officine Sintetiche Apnea project. Source: Author's elaboration

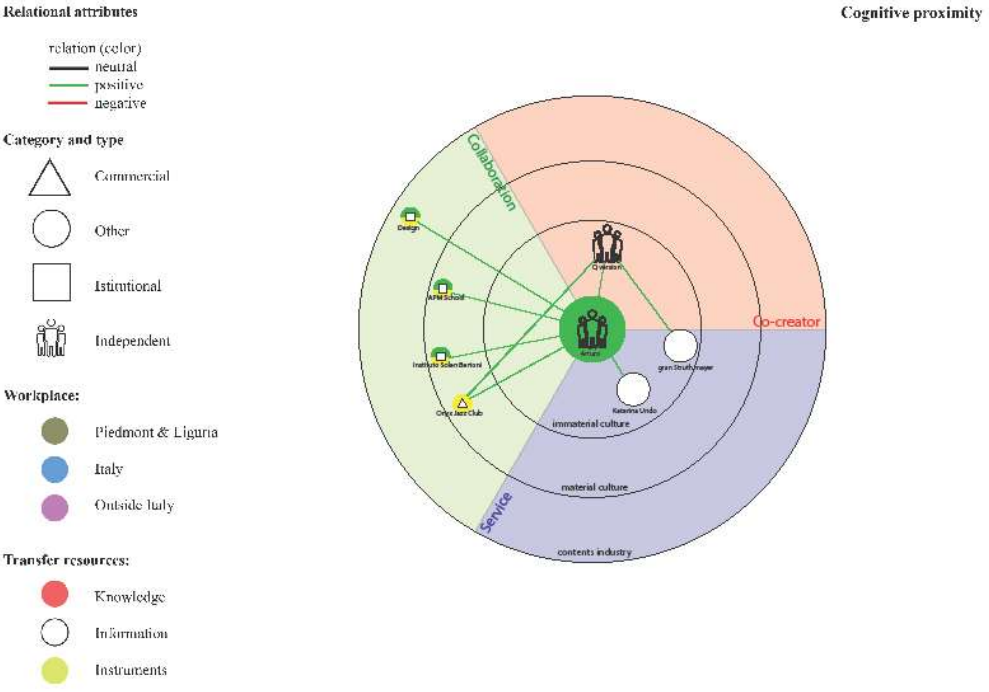


Figure 36: Personal network of actors involved at Art Ur Playin project. Source: Author's elaboration

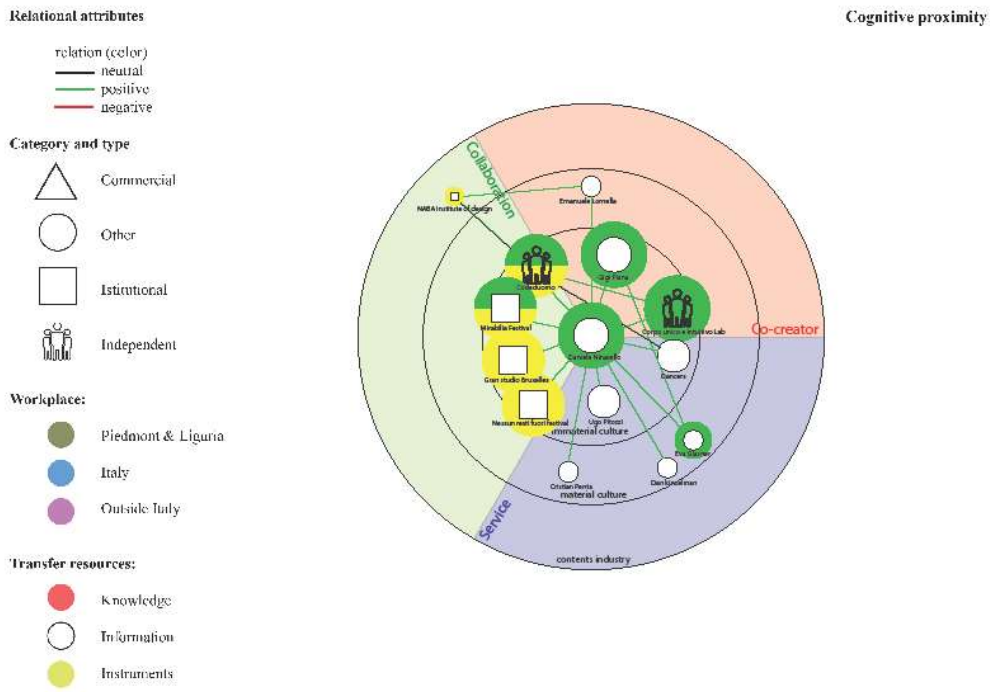


Figure 37: Personal network of actors involved at Ninnarello Still project. Source: Author's elaboration

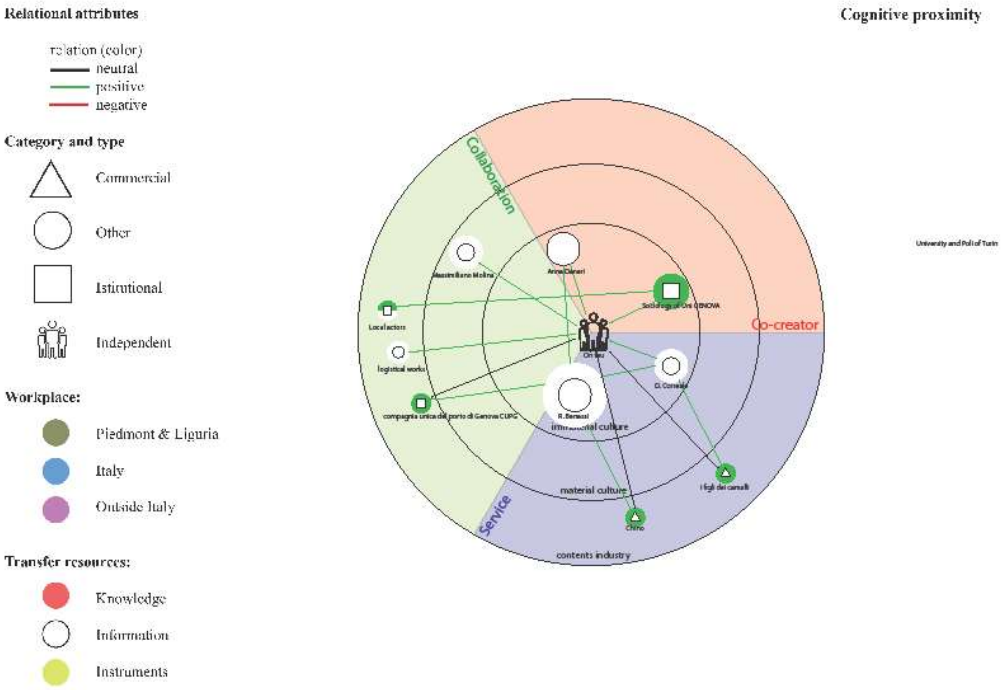


Figure 38: Personal network of actors involved at On Public TEU project. Source: Author's elaboration

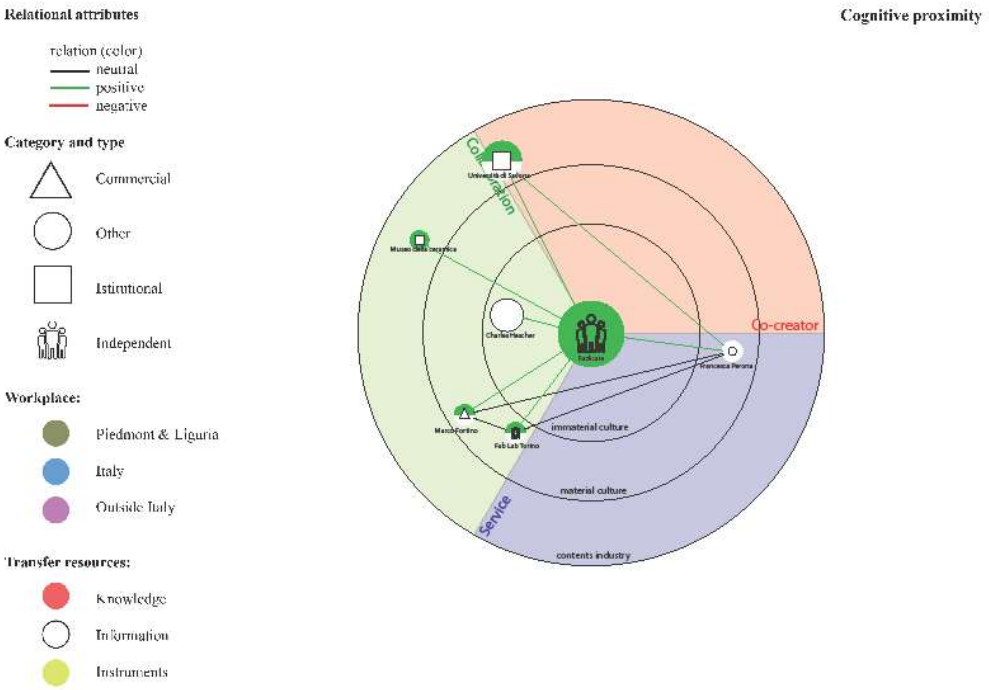


Figure 39: Personal network of actors involved at Radicate Be Smart 2 project. Source: Author's elaboration

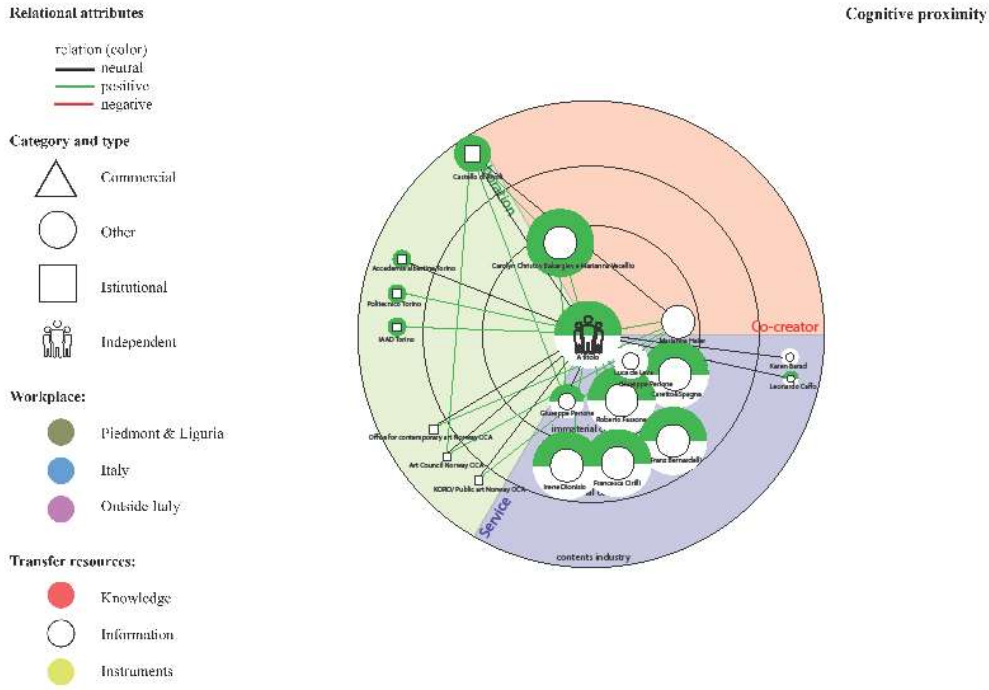


Figure 40: Personal network of actors involved at A.titolo Abitare il minerale project. Source: Author's elaboration

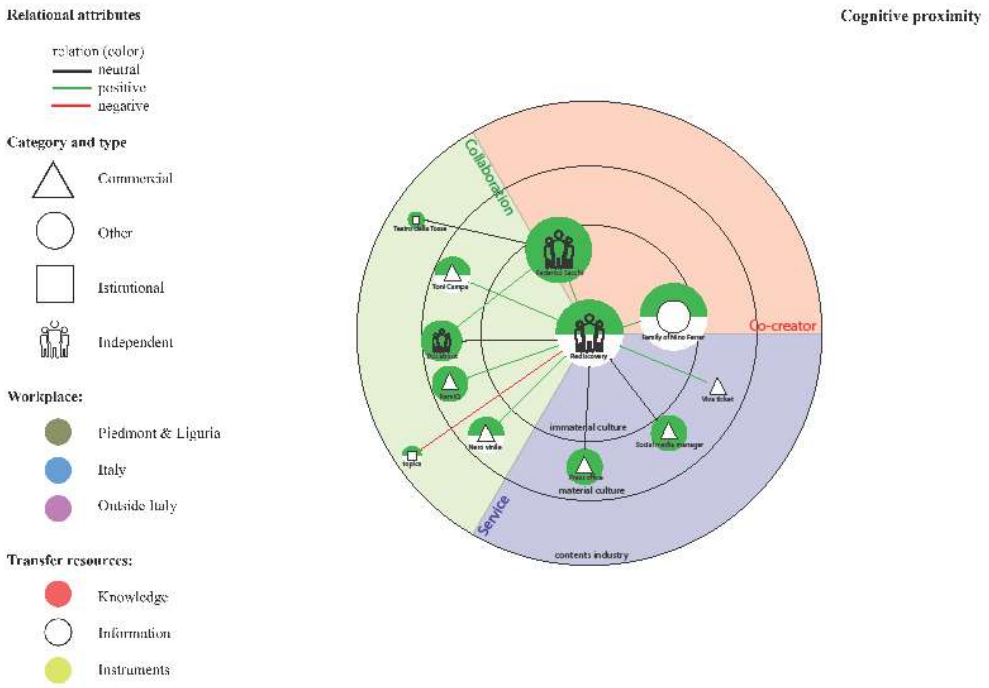


Figure 41: Personal network of actors involved at Docabout Rediscovery project. Source: Author's elaboration

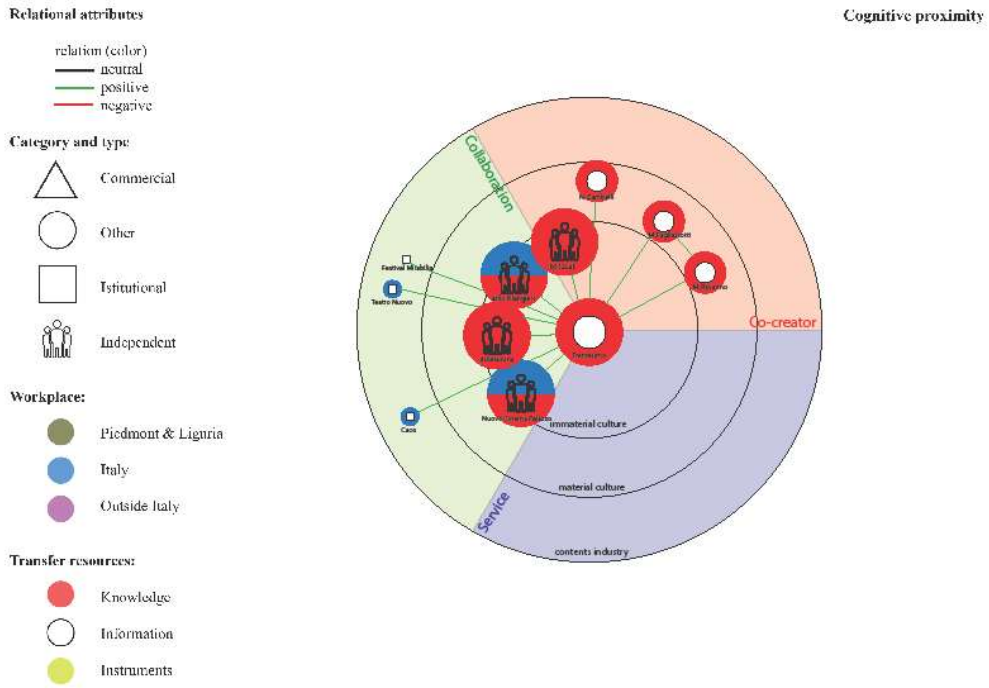


Figure 42: Personal network of actors involved at Trentesimo project. Source: Author's elaboration

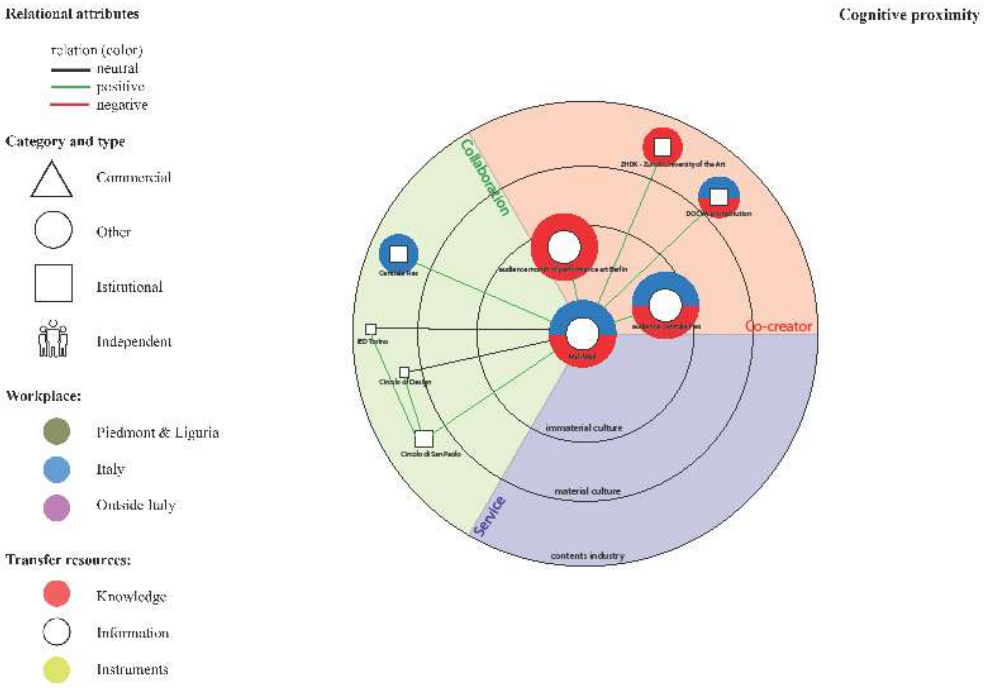


Figure 43: Personal network of actors involved at Mali Weil Animal Spirit project. Source: Author's elaboration

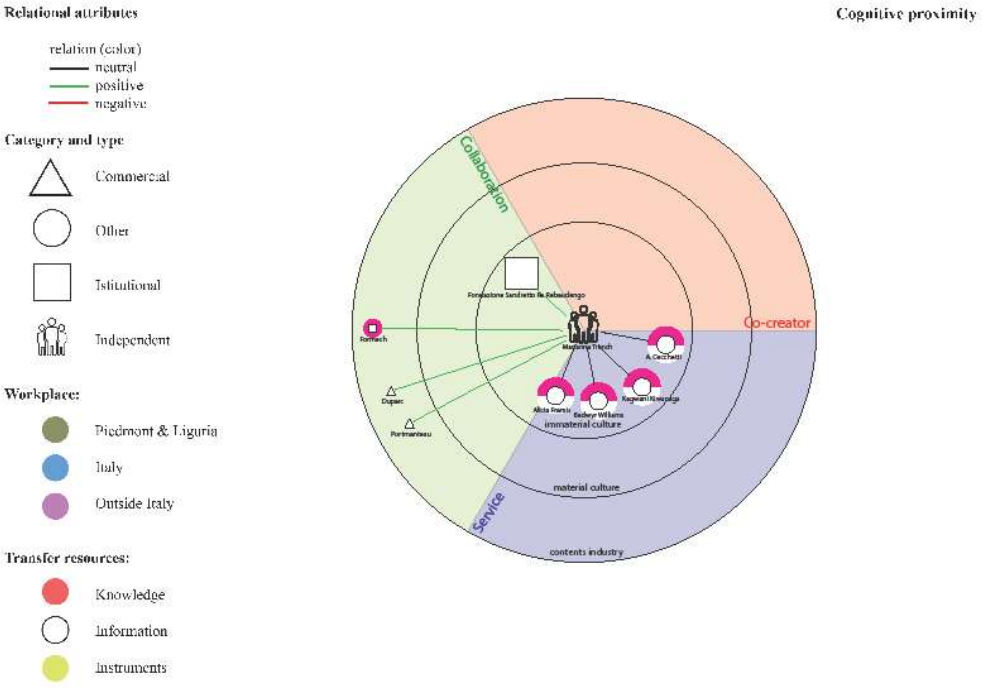


Figure 44: Personal network of actors involved at Marianna Trench The Institute of things to come project. Source: Author's elaboration

Appendix B

Semi-structured interview text

1. Do you work permanently in the organization that proposed the project?
2. What is your role in the project?
3. Are your parents graduated?
4. Have you studied in the same city you live in?
5. Have you ever participated in an artist's residence?
6. From whom were your training expenses incurred?
7. Do you live in your artistic work or do you do further work to live?
8. How long have you been practicing artistic activity on an ongoing basis?
9. Do you have a studio in which to work independently of the home environment?
10. How often do you frequent other artists, and have you collaborated with them in the last few months?
11. With which frequency do you frequent cultural spaces?
12. How your project has been developed?
13. How do you choose the place in which realize your project?
14. Bando ORA! call recognize your project as “innovative production”. Do you consider yourself as “independent” or “innovative”? Why?

Structured interview questions

1. Gender
2. Age
3. City of birth
4. City in which you are living
5. Qualification
6. Spoken languages
7. Parents graduation
8. Match education paths – range of ages
9. Residency programs – nations
10. Personal incomes
11. Spatial scale of work