syn- acting together
Synergy means behavior of whole systems unpredicted by their parts taken separately.

Buckminster Fuller, Synergetics, 1975.

The technical object progresses by virtue of the interior redistribution of function to compatible unities, replacing randomness and concurrence by a primary distribution function. Specialisation is not accomplished from function to new function, but from synergy to synergy.


At a much higher level, the mammal living inside its territory staked out by smells and sounds, sensitive to the alternation of day to night, at temperature variations and visual images, exists wholly in the synergy of rhythms and forms, the signals received by its senses, their interpretation and its responses.

When reading myself, I wonder if the memory of a child is not but a synchrony, to what extent have I confused and muddled dates and events.


Real time is a derealisation of time, as if time were real only in remaining unreal, chronically diachronic, asynchronised, late for itself.


Philo Judaeus said long ago that “The extension of heavenly motion is time”. Synchronicity in space can equally well be conceived as perception in time, but remarkably enough it is not so easy to understand synchronicity in time as spatial, for we cannot imagine any space in which future events are objectively present [...].

This publication has been prepared on the occasion of “syn-” forum, held in Athens, Greece between 26 and 28 January 2017. The forum is part of the European Creative Hubs Network project, co-funded by the EU’s Creative Europe programme, run by the British Council in partnership with a consortium of organisations, including Bios.

The European Commission support for the production of this publication does not constitute endorsement of the contents which reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

The statements, reflections and opinions contained in this publication are solely those of the individual authors of texts and visual contributions, and do not necessarily reflect those of the editors or the publisher.
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ABOUT EUROPEAN CREATIVE HUBS NETWORK
Irini Vouzelakou and Roxana Apostol
Doing culture has always involved risk and innovation. When artists and artisans work together there is risk and innovation. This is how creative energy is fueled, personal risks of all sorts: being more interested in doing art than paying rent, following ideas without anyone underwriting them, not having a linear relationship to anything cultural or not. Doing this safely with a potential for growth is becoming increasingly impossible, with the danger of traditional artistic risk-taking accelerating the artist’s journey to the precariat.

Doing art and culture in a nurturing environment, one that can harvest the fruits produced by risk, is beautiful... Harvesting too early or in a controlled and bureaucratic way dries up the soil, leaving very little to grow in the years to come. This is why hubs, spaces, paradigms, you name it, are important, providing the creative land that artists need to innovate, risk and work. In countries where neoliberalism hasn’t yet industrialised artistic risk-taking through its usual suspects
(gentrification, lack of funding, acceleration to fame, increase of the exchange value of a small percentage of artists), it has accelerated the production of profit to such an extent that almost everyone is now being forced to be taking risk the way artists always did, blurring the boundaries between everyday life and art even further.

Harvesting too early or in a controlled and bureaucratic way dries up the soil, leaving very little to grow in the years to come.

This volume embraces the questions which people that run hubs face daily, at a time where pivotal shifts have already crystallized and others are lurking due to the increasing radicalization of society. It provides a roadmap of questions and possible departures by introducing the state of the art conversation amongst authors and collectives interested in maintaining high risk and innovation, in doing culture. The foes - to just name some - precarity, neoliberalization of the art funding agendas, and individualisation, are theorized. So are their imagined solutions, such as basic artistic income, coworking spaces as “third places”, and the possibilities of subverting the urban-led institutionalization of art production back into coffee shops and everyday life.
Θα μου πείς;
Researching New Entrepreneurial Spaces – The underlying mechanisms that make avantgarde working environments a source for innovation.

A group of upcoming and established scholars from diverse academic backgrounds locked themselves into a room for two days to explore the newest concept of entrepreneurial spaces happening all around us. Living labs, innovation labs, impact hubs, co-working spaces, incubators and accelerators have become the new place to be in the entrepreneurial world. It is cherished by insiders as a place where constructed serendipity unfolds and new innovations and bold ventures see the face of the earth for the first time. How much can we bank on these new forms of collaboration and work set ups? How do these spaces create an environment for innovative thinking and how do they differ across countries? Is there really a recipe to generate innovation?

The motivation for those who decide to visit or join one of these new spaces largely differs. In all honesty, for some, it may just be a cheap office space or a platform to pursue new kinds of cross-sectoral partnerships, for others it is all about a dynamic and creative working environment away from the dreary corporate routine and last but not least it is about belonging somewhere, being part of a community. What we tried to do is create a first working definition that allows us to more clearly articulate what we mean by entrepreneurial spaces and provide a malleable scaffold for interaction with likeminded.

By entrepreneurial spaces we mean: “A shared infrastructure
that merges global and local resources to create an inspiring and activating subculture that facilitates innovation”.

First of all, that these spaces constitute of an infrastructure with different functions, and their goals are context-dependent. What they do is to work as enablers, a facilitators of something. They don’t necessarily generate innovations, but they may help foster innovations within their organisation.

Living labs, innovation labs, impact hubs, co-working spaces, incubators and accelerators have become the new place to be in the entrepreneurial world.

This started with three questions. When are we talking about a hub? What are the main constituent features and which are the key concepts?

Perhaps some anticipated academics are already providing with some answers, and are taking advantage of the hype and beginning with the papers, books, and all that comes with the academic paraphernalia.

However, the fact of the matter is, providing with proper answers will
probably take some time, as we are just beginning to study these spaces. All that we can do at the moment is continue with the discussion, share what we know about the specific “hubs” that we are studying, establish commonalities and differences, and try to identify what are the expectations that we (and others) have over these spaces, to see why the hype, and whether the “expectations” become actually true, and if not, then why.

**Andrea Jiménez**

Andrea is a PhD student at the School of Management at Royal Holloway University of London. She holds a master in Sustainable Development, with a focus on Information and Communication Technologies for Development (ICT4D). Andrea has been conducting research on technology and innovation hubs since 2012, where she focused on the dynamics and practices that enabled and constrained local innovations to prosper. Her current research focuses on the collaborative practices happening within hubs. Prior to this, Andrea worked as an evidence and synthesis associate at Project Oracle, London’s first children and youth evidence hub. She also worked as an online community specialist at the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, helping manage a Community of Practice (CoP) of over 11,000 members worldwide, interested in the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) for smallholder agriculture.

**Tim Weiss**

Tim Weiss is a research and doctoral candidate in the department for Strategic Organisation and Finance at Zeppelin University, Germany. He was a visiting PhD student at the Management and Organisations Department at the Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, USA. His research lies at the intersection of organisation and globalisation studies, and his interests can be broadly grouped into two categories — the impact of today’s global phenomena on the lives and organisations of Africans and Africa’s unique responses to grand global challenges. He engaged in 2014 in a grounded theory study of Kenya’s technology sector. Tim Weiss has several years of work experience in Kenya and Ethiopia, among other countries, with international nongovernment organisations in both humanitarian and development aid. He earned his Master of Arts degree in Corporate Management and Economics from Zeppelin University, Germany, and his Bachelor’s degree in Business Administration from the University of Vienna, Austria.
Third places “host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work” (Oldenburg 1989).

In 1983, Howard Schultz (Starbucks president and CEO)... had a vision to bring the Italian coffeehouse tradition back to the United States. A place for conversation and a sense of community. A third place between work and home (Starbucks Corp. 2013).

The term of third place was coined by American sociologist R. Oldenburg (1989) to describe places out of the home and the office where people use to convene and socialise in a free, informal manner. Oldenburg regards those places as irreplaceable in the production of the urban social fabric. Cafés and Starbucks, McDonald’s restaurants, hotel and airport lounges, the hairdresser or barber shop, are typical third places. The use of third places by members of the creative class pre-dates computers and the Internet. In some way, CS are a reminiscence of cafés littéraires which flourished in the early 20th century, such as Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich, birth place of Dadaism, or Le Café de Flore and Les Deux Magots at Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Paris).

CS strictly speaking must not be confounded with telecenters, flexible office facilities, and various kinds of incubators and “startup accelerators”. Telecenters are located both in rural or urban areas (Moriset 2011). They are conceptualised as “drop-in” offices, and the degree
of professional interaction is usually low. Coworking practices may be sought after, but remain accidental. Flexible office providers (such as Regus) offer office rental solutions, but do not seek to establish any collaborative practice or atmosphere. Incubators are mainly dedicated to startup projects. Their tenants have usually passed through a selection process, which is not compatible with the concept of third place. However, the current hype about coworking pushes founders and managers to implement CS inside incubators and various kinds of entrepreneurial hubs. This process belongs to the global trend of hybridisation of workplaces and work practices. In the beginning era of the coworking movement (2005-2010), most CS were founded and managed by “pure play” communities. Since, the concept has received wide recognition, and policy makers, city planners, as well as large tech corporations, are supporting the implementation of coworking venues. This complexity is synthesised in Figure 1: CS are entirely dedicated to coworking, while telecenters, business centers, and incubators, are only partly dedicated to this practice.

Figure 1. Third places and the hybridisation of workplace.

The analysis framework of “Third Places” suggested by Oldenburg remains valid, for the main (Table 1). Beyond the room layout, coworking is first an atmosphere, a spirit, and even a lifestyle. Deskmag has submitted coworking discourse adjectives to an elementary lexical analysis presented in Figure 2: the larger is the typography, the more frequent is the word. In Annex 1 we present a selection of 83 CS (located in 37 cit-
ies of 13 countries) whose names bear some cultural, metaphoric, and humoristic content, and reveal the main features and core values that creators and curators recognize and seek to promote in coworking.

Table 1. Third place and coworking space values: a comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Place by R. Oldenburg</th>
<th>Coworking space values, by Citizen Space (<a href="http://citizenspace.us/about/our-philosophy/">http://citizenspace.us/about/our-philosophy/</a>)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Neutral ground&quot;. Users convene on a free, flexible basis.</td>
<td>Citizen Space ... is built on the following values:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Leveler&quot;: social barriers and economic status are ignored.</td>
<td>Openness: We believe in transparency and openness. (...) When ideas are free, everyone benefits. Therefore, we encourage open spaces and discussions. Sorry, no NDAs allowed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Conversation is Main Activity&quot;. Humor and wit are welcome.</td>
<td>Collaboration: (...) You will meet all sorts of people with all sorts of knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Accessibility and Accommodation&quot;.</td>
<td>Accessibility: (...) We must make the effort to be accessible to all. This means that we endeavor to create both a financially and a physically accessible space.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Regulars&quot;. Give the place its general tone, and help newcomers to feel comfortable with the place and other users.</td>
<td>Community: We thrive on connections and mutual support here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Low Profile&quot;. Third places show no ostentation, are not pretentious.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A Home Away From Home&quot; Third place users feel a bit like at home.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Accelerators of serendipity”, and the primacy of face-to-face contact in a digital economy
Quand nous sommes entourés de gens intéressants, des choses intéressantes arrivent souvent! (Cowork in Grenoble 2013).1

Serendipity production is the core principle of CS. The idea of “accelerating serendipity with coworking” was popularized by coworking pioneer C. Messina, cofounder of Citizen Space in 2006 with B. Neuberg and T. Hunt (Messina 2007). Serendipity is the opportunity “to make pleasant and unexpected discoveries entirely by chance” (Oxford Dictionary). Actually, people are well aware that frequenting certain places increases the probability of fruitful encounters. The identification

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1. "When we are surrounded by interesting people, interesting events often occur".
of particular serendipity-producing places and events can be tracked in the academic literature for a long time (Gottmann 1971, Bourdieu 1992, Sassen 2001). These authors wrote about the very same concept, that is serendipity production in particular urban environments and events:

Information flows criss-cross at a variety of meeting points, outside formal offices: around luncheon or dinner tables, at cocktail parties, in clubs, in the lobbies of conferences, on selected golf courses, and on TEE trains (Gottmann 1971, p. 329).

La proximité dans l’espace physique permet à la proximité dans l’espace social de produire tous ses effets (...) en permettant de profiter continûment des rencontres à la fois fortuites et prévisibles qu’assure la fréquentation des lieux bien fréquentés. (Bourdieu 1992, p. 164).

Being in a city becomes synonymous with being in an extremely intense and dense information loop (...) one of its value-added features the fact of unforeseen and unplanned mixes of information (Sassen 2001).

By emphasising the link between social space and geographic space, Bourdieu sets up the sociological basis of serendipity production. Bourdieu’s idea can be linked to the theory of “proximity” (Boschma 2005, Torre and Rallet 2005), which focuses on the combination between different kinds of proximity: physical, organisational, and cognitive. Physical proximity cannot produce its desired effects if it is not complemented by a certain degree of social and/or professional proximity.

Imagine sitting around the table next to a computer scientist, photographer, and lawyer, or sparking an impromptu conversation with a journalist, fashion publicist, and interior designer. At WECREATE, this is our reality (...) despite our diversity, we all share a common thread of curiosity, creativity, and passion (WECREATE 2013)

If people who frequent CS are full strangers to each other, no actual
coworking will occur. On the other side, if those people do exactly the same job and have the same skills, there will be no matter for serendipity.\(^2\) This argument sometimes leads CS founders to seek after specialisation. Some spaces are dedicated to media (l'Atelier des Médias, Lyon). Many target artists and designers (Studiomates, New York, and Imaginarium, Lille). Others specialise in high tech (RocketSpace, New York).

**Coworking spaces in cities: a global phenomenon**

**The worldwide “boom” of coworking**
Notoriously born in 2005 in San Francisco (although some isolated attempts are reported in the 1990s), the coworking phenomena has skyrocketed to 2,498 spaces by mid-2013, according to Deskmag, with nearly a 100% annual increase between 2007 and 2012 (Figure 2). Public and media interest for CS displays a similar trajectory (Figure 3). The paper by D. Fost (2008) in *The New York Times* is worth mentioning.

\(^2\) A notorious example of fruitful complementarity between people’s skills is given by Steve Jobs and Stephen Wozniak, co-founders of Apple. The former has proved a genius of marketing, while the latter was a true computer scientist and tech innovator.
The geography of coworking: globalised, although centralised

More in-depth research would be required to apprehend the precise extent of the phenomenon. The main sources of data are the surveys implemented by *Deskmag* (an online magazine dedicated to coworking) and the Coworking Directory on the Coworking Wiki (http://wiki.coworking.com), a collaborative project founded by coworking pioneers C. Messina and T. Hunt. Since 2012, the Coworking Wiki is coordinated by J. Sayles (www.opencoworking.org). Additional data can be found on country-focused platforms such as Neo-Nomades.com, which provides an accurate geographic view of the coworking movement in France. Although not very accurate and not much reliable, these main sources provide a broad, useful vision of the coworking movement’s geography. Two contrasted observations can be made:
— the nearly global spread of coworking over the world;
— the emergence of a few cities as “coworking hotspots” boasting a great number of facilities.

A global spread
The coworking directory encompasses 66 countries and 528 cities. Deskwanted.com (2013) reports the presence of 2,498 spaces in 80 countries. Coworking has spread over all continents, and all kinds of economies. Advanced economies take the lion’s share, with about 1,100 spaces in Europe and 860 in North America, but some emerging countries such as Brazil are doing well. The phenomenon does not ignore less advanced economies. It has reached Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Uganda, and Rwanda (Table 2).

Table 2.
Number of coworking spaces by countries
(adapted from The 2013 Coworking Census, by Deswanted.com).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North America</th>
<th>Other European Countries</th>
<th>Latin America and the Caribbean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Switzerland 11</td>
<td>Brazil 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Norway 3</td>
<td>Mexico 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Serbia 2</td>
<td>Argentina 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Russia and former CIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Russia 39</td>
<td>Columbia 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ukraine 4</td>
<td>Chile 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyrgyzstan 1</td>
<td>Panama 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moldova 1</td>
<td>Peru 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>West Asia</td>
<td>Costa Rica 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Israel 12</td>
<td>Dominican Republic 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Turkey 6</td>
<td>Paraguay 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Lebanon 4</td>
<td>Puerto Rico 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>United Arab Emirates 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Jordan 1</td>
<td>Uruguay 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>Pakistan 1</td>
<td>Venezuela 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>South and East Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Japan 129</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>China 22</td>
<td>South Africa 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>India 18</td>
<td>Egypt 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Singapore 15</td>
<td>Nigeria 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Thailand 7</td>
<td>Senegal 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>Hong Kong 5</td>
<td>Cameroon 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>Malaysia 4</td>
<td>Morocco 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Philippines 4</td>
<td>Uganda 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>South Korea 4</td>
<td>Ghana 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>Taiwan 4</td>
<td>Ivory Coast 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>Indonesia 2</td>
<td>Mauritius 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>Vietnam 2</td>
<td>Rwanda 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oceania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Australia 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td></td>
<td>New Zealand 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dispersion pattern is also revealed by the number of regions and localities that host CS within each country. Regarding the USA, the analysis of The Coworking Directory suggests the presence of coworking in 227 localities and all 50 States. All but one European Union’s 28 members show at least one venue. Major European countries show a dispersed pattern (Table 3) like the UK (30 different localities), France (27), Germany (24), and Spain (20).

**But a concentration in leading “creative” cities**

Hundreds of cities host CS, but a few boast a dense network of facilities (Table 4). Concentrations of CS are found in localities often regarded by the literature as textbook examples of creative cities, such as San Francisco, London, Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, and Barcelona. This concentration scheme seems logical in France and the UK, very centralised countries where Paris and London have for long achieved an over-

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4. Cyprus.

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**Table 3.**

Number of cities with coworking space presence, by countries (source of data: Coworking Directory).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of localities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
whelming domination in “quaternary functions”. Berlin does not have a significant economic edge over the other German cities – the German urban system is evenly distributed. Its national dominance in the field of coworking tells a different story (Munich has five CS, and most other cities have one or two, at best). To explain this difference, we must acknowledge the specific position of Berlin in cultural and so-called creative industries (Jakob 2010, Lange et al. 2008), a long-term historic feature that was reinforced in the wake of the German reunification (Wiedervereinigung) in 1990.

By contrast, blue collar cities perform poorly. Detroit (MI), Cleveland (OH), Dusseldorf, and Essen (Germany, in the Ruhr Area), are conspicuously absent from the Coworking Directory.

The abundance of coworking in a given city has obviously something to do with the kind of urban liveliness and vibrancy that makes a place fashionable and attractive for artists, “bohemians”, and entrepreneurs in cultural content industries. The presence of a high-tech ecosystem is rather secondary, as shows the prominence of San Francisco, birthplace of the coworking movement, over Silicon Valley strictly speaking.

Table 4.
Major cities hosting coworking spaces (source of data: Coworking Directory).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Nb. of spaces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other in The Bay Area)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston / Cambridge</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Nb. of spaces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sao Paulo</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington D.C. area</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barcelona</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Townsend, S. (2011) London regeneration body plans creative business hub, Planning Resource, August 5,
http://www.planningresource.co.uk/article/1083682/london-regeneration-bodyplans-creative-business-hub (accessed 03 December 2013)

Bruno Moriset

Dr. Bruno Moriset is associate Professor and chair, department of Geography and Planning at the University of Lyon - Jean Moulin (France). His research focuses on the link between information technologies and regional development, in rural and urban areas, with a particular interest on telework, call centers, rural telecenters and coworking spaces. He is co-author of The Digital Economy - Business Organisation, Production Processes and Regional Developments (Routledge, 2008), with Edward J. Malecki, Ohio State University.
The practices of postproduction generate works that question the use of work. What becomes of work when professional activities are doubled by artists?

Wang Du declares: “I want to be the media, too. I want to be the journalist after the journalist”. He produces sculptures based on media images which he reframes or whose original scale and centering he reproduces faithfully. His installation *Strategie en chambre* (Armchair Strategy), 1999, is a gigantic, voluminous image that forces the viewer to traverse enormous piles of newspapers published during the conflict in Kosovo, a formless mass at the top of which emerge sculpted effigies of Bill Clinton, Boris Yeltsin, and other figures from press photos of the period, as well as a set of planes made of newspaper. The force of Wang Du’s work stems from his capacity to give weight to the furtive images of the media: he quantifies what would conceal itself from materiality, restores the volume and weight of events, and colors general information by hand. Wang Du sells information by the pound. His storehouse of sculpted images invents an arsenal of communication, which duplicates the work of press agencies by reminding us that facts are also objects around which we must circulate. His work method might be defined as “corporate shadowing”, i.e., ! mimicking or doubling professional structures, tailing and following them.

When Daniel Pflumm works with the logos of large companies like AT&T, he performs the same tasks as a communications agency. He alienates and disfigures these acronyms by “liberating their forms” in animated films for which he produces sound tracks. And his work is
similar to that of a graphic design firm when he exhibits the still identifiable forms of a brand of mineral water or a food product in the form of abstract light boxes that evoke the history of pictorial modernism, “Everything in advertising”, Pflumm explains, “from planning to production via all the conceivable middle-men, is a compromise and an absolutely incomprehensible complex of working steps” (Pflumm D. 1999). According to him, the “actual evil” is the client who makes advertising a subservient and alienated activity, allowing for no innovation. By “doubling” the work of advertising agencies with his pirate videos and abstract signs, Pflumm produces objects that appear cut out of their context, in a floating space that has to do at once with art, design, and marketing. His production is inscribed within the world of work, whose system he doubles without caring about its results or depending on its methods. He is the artist as phantom employee.

In 1999, Swetlana Heger and Plamen Dejanov decided to devote their exhibitions for one year to a contractual relationship with BMW: they rented out their work force as well as their potential for visibility (the exhibitions to which they were invited), creating a “pirate” medium for the car company. Pamphlets, posters, booklets, new vehicles and accessories: Heger and Dejanov used all the objects and materials produced by the German manufacturer in the context of exhibitions. Pages of group exhibition catalogues that were reserved for them were occupied by advertisements for BMW. Can an artist deliberately pledge his work to a brand name? Maurizio Cattelan was content to work as a middleman when he rented his exhibition space to a cosmetics manufacturer during the Aperto at the Venice Biennale, The resulting piece was called *Lavorare e un brutto mestiere* (Working is a Dirty Job), 1993. For their first exhibition in Vienna, Heger and Dejanov made a symmetrical gesture by closing the gallery for the duration of their show, allowing the staff to go on vacation. The subject of their work is work itself: how one person’s leisure time produces another’s employment, how work can be financed by means other than those of traditional capitalism. With the BMW project, they showed how work itself can be remixed, superimposing suspect images – as they are obviously freed from all market
imperatives - on a brand’s official image. In both cases, the world of work, whose forms Heger and Dejanov reorganise, is made the object of a postproduction.

And yet, the relations Heger and Dejanov established with BMW took the form of a contract, an alliance. Pflumm’s untamed practice is situated on the margins of professional circuits, outside of any client-supplier relationship. His work on brands defines a world in which employment is not distributed according to a law of exchange and governed by contracts linking different economic entities, but in which it is left to the free will of each party, in a permanent potlatch that does not allow a gift in return. Work redefined in this way blurs the boundaries that separate it from leisure, for to perform a task without being asked is an act only leisure affords. Sometimes these limits are crossed by companies themselves, as Liam Gillick noted with Sony: “We are faced with a separation of the professional and the domestic that was created by electronic companies ... Tape recording, for example, only existed in the professional field during the ‘40s, and people did not really know what they could use it for in everyday life, Sony blurred the professional and the domestic”. (Gillick J. 1997/1998) “In 1979, Rank Xerox imagined transposing the world of the office to the: graphic interface of the microcomputer, which resulted in icons for “trash”, “files”, and “desktops”. Steve Jobs, founder of Apple, took up this system of presentation for Macintosh five years later. Word processing would from now on be indexed to the formal protocol of the service industry, and the image-system of the home computer would be informed and colonised from the start by the world of work. Today, the spread of the home office is causing the artistic economy to undergo a reverse shift: the professional world is flowing into the domestic world, because the division between work and leisure constitutes an obstacle to the sort of employee companies require, one who is flexible and reachable at any moment.

1994: Rirkrit Tiravanija organized a lounge area in Dijon, France, for artists in the exhibition “Surfaces de reparation” (Penalty Zone) that
included armchairs, a foosball table, artwork by Andy Warhol, and a refrigerator, allowing the artists to unwind during preparations for the show. The work, which disappeared when the show opened to the public, was the reverse image of the artistic work schedule.

With Pierre Huyghe, the opposition between entertainment and art is resolved in activity. Instead of defining himself in relation to work (“what do you do for a living?”), the individual in his exhibitions is constituted by his or her use of time (“what are you doing with your life?”). *Ellipse* (Ellipsis), 1999, features the German actor Bruno Ganz doing a pick-up shot between two scenes in Wim Wenders’s *My American Friend*, shot twenty years earlier. Ganz walks a path that was merely suggested in the Wenders film: he fills in an ellipsis. But when is Bruno Ganz working and when is he off? While he was employed as an actor in *My American Friend*, is he still working twenty-one years later when he films a transitional shot between two scenes in Wenders’s film? Isn’t the ellipsis, in the end, simply an image of leisure, the negative space of work? While free time signifies “time to waste” or time for organized consumption, isn’t it also simply a passage between two sequences?

“Posters”, 1994, a series of color photographs by Huyghe, present an individual filling in a hole in the sidewalk and watering the plants in a public square. But is there such a thing as a truly public space today? These fragile, isolated acts engage the notion of responsibility: if there is a hole in the sidewalk, why does a city employee fill it in, and not you or me? We claim to share a common space, but it is in fact managed by private enterprise: we are excluded from that scenario by erroneous subtitling, which appears beneath images of the political community. Pflumm’s images are the products of an analogous micro-utopia, in which supply and demand are disturbed by individual initiatives, a world where free time generates work, and vice versa, a world where work meets computer hacking. We know that some hackers make their way into hard drives and decode the systems of companies or institutions for the sake of subversion but sometimes also in the hopes of being hired to improve the security system: first they show evidence of their
capacity to be a nuisance, then they offer their services to the organism they have just attacked. The treatment to which Pflumm subjects the public image of multinationals proceeds from the same spirit: work is no longer remunerated by a client, contrary to advertising, but distributed in a parallel circuit that offers financial resources and a completely different visibility. Where Heger and Dejanov position themselves as false providers of a service for the real economy, Pflumm visually blackmails the economy that he parasites. Logos are taken hostage, then placed in semi-freedom, as freeware that users are asked to improve on themselves. Heger and Dejanov sold a bugged application programme to the company whose image they propagated; Pflumm circulates images along with the “pilot”, the source code that allows them to be duplicated.

When Pflumm makes a video using images taken from CNN (CNN, *Questions and Answers*, 1999), he switches jobs and becomes a programmer – a mode of production with which he is familiar through his activity as a DJ and musician.

The service industry aesthetic involves a reprocessing of cultural production, the construction of a path through existing flows; producing a service, an itinerary, within cultural protocols. Pflumm devotes himself to supporting chaos productively. While he uses this expression to describe his video projects in techno clubs, it may also be applied to the whole of his work, which seizes on the formal scraps and bits of code issued from everyday life in its mass media form, to construct a formal universe in which the modernist grid joins excerpts from CNN on a coherent level, that of the general pirating of signs.

Pflumm goes beyond the idea of pirating: he constructs montages of great formal richness. Subtly constructivist, his works are wrought by a search for tension between the iconographic source and the abstract form. The complexity of his references (historical abstractions, Pop art, the iconography of flyers, music videos, corporate culture) goes hand in hand with a great technical mastery: his films are closer to indus-
try-standard videos than the average video art. Pflumm’s work currently represents one of the most probing examples of the encounter between the art world and techno music.

Techno Nation has long distorted well-known logos on T-shirts: there are countless variations on Coca-Cola or Sony, filled with subversive messages or invitations to smoke Sinsemilla. We live in a world in which forms are indefinitely available to all manipulations, for better or worse, in which Sony and Daniel Pflumm cross paths in a space saturated with icons and images. As practiced by Pflumm, the mix is an attitude, an ethical stance more than a recipe. The postproduction of work allows the artist to escape the posture of interpretation. Instead of engaging in critical commentary, we have to experiment, as Gilles Deleuze asked of psychoanalysis: to stop interpreting symptoms and try more suitable arrangements.

REFERENCES

Nicolas Bourriaud

Nicolas Bourriaud (born 1965) is a curator and art critic, who has curated a great number of exhibitions and biennales all over the world. He co-founded, and from 1999 to 2006 was co-director of the Palais de Tokyo, Paris, together with Jérôme Sans. He was also founder and director of the contemporary art magazine Documents sur l’art (1992-2000), and correspondent in Paris for Flash Art from 1987 to 1995.

Bourriaud was the Gulbenkian curator of contemporary art from 2007-2010 at Tate Britain, London, and in 2009 he curated the fourth Tate Triennial there, entitled “Altermodern”. He was the director of the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, an art school in Paris, France, from 2011 to 2015. In 2015, he was appointed director of the future Contemporary Art Center of Montpellier, France, due to open in 2019, and director of La Panacée art center.

Bourriaud is best known among English speakers for his publications Relational Aesthetics (1998/English version 2002), Postproduction (2001), and The Exform (2015/English version 2016). Relational Aesthetics in particular has come to be seen as a defining text for a wide variety of art produced by a generation who came to prominence in Europe in the early 1990s.
I recently recalled the precise moment when it first occurred to me that I would like to become an artist. I grew up in Moscow, and my father was a self-taught musician working at the circus. Circus artists work extremely hard physically: the amount of daily practice and physical exercise necessary to perform acrobatic acts or walk a tightrope is really enormous. They practice and exercise all day and perform by night – it’s nearly a twenty-four-hour-a-day job.

There was a birthday party for one of the kids in the building we lived in, which belonged to the union of circus artists. The children at the party, all about five or six years old, were children of clowns, animal trainers, and so forth. We were watching a cartoon on TV and at some point a conversation started about what we wanted to become when we grew up. Following the usual suggestions like a cosmonaut or a fireman, one of the kids said that he wanted to be a fine artist, because they do not work. I was very shy as a kid, so I did not say much, but thought to myself that this boy was really clever and that I too did not want to work and should therefore try to become an artist.

Ironically, this momentary realisation ultimately pointed me on a trajectory that led to a perpetual state of work for many years: while my classmates in school tended to just hang out or play sports after class, I went to drawing lessons every evening. When my family moved to America, I enrolled in three schools simultaneously: the School of Visual Arts by day, Art Students League classes by night, and group life drawing lessons on weekends. Somehow the idea of not working went out the window, and all throughout my artistic education the emphasis...
was on work: the idea being that I had to fill all my available time with learning and practice, and that the sheer effort of this was bound to make me an artist. Perhaps this occupation of time was also practice for my future career: being a professional artist in a society where labor and time are still the ultimate producers of value. So the logic was that if all my time was filled with the labor of learning the skills of an artist, perhaps something of value would be produced, leading to a lifetime occupation by artistic labor. Thinking was of relatively little importance within this scenario.

I have to add that the system of non-university art education at the time (the 1980s) aided such an approach, because it made it possible to avoid academic studies almost entirely – literature, history, philosophy, and so forth – in favor of studio practice geared toward contriving some sort of artistic style that would be marketable.

Sometime in graduate school I started to get the sense that all this was not getting me very far artistically, that some other approach or mo-
dality of practice was possible. I don’t mean getting far only in terms of a career – although I remember this being a fairly serious concern for most people in my programme – but on a basic level of just not being convinced that the paintings and objects I was making were particularly compelling as art objects despite all the labor I put into making them. Thus there was a real urgency to find some other way to go about this, but what this other way could be was confusing and very mystifying: it was not so much about becoming a slacker artist, but rather a realisation that an entirely different type of engagement was necessary in order for an artistic practice to make sense beyond appearances – beyond merely looking like art.

Since the early twentieth century, much of the advanced analysis of art production refers to the position of the artist and the intellectual as cultural workers. I think that it probably seemed highly desirable to see yourself as a member of the most dynamic class, a class that was expected to dominate the making of history: the working class. While rereading The Communist Manifesto some time ago, it was interesting
to note how sure Marx was that the middle class (from which a vast majority of “cultural producers” actually come) is merely a small and historically insignificant group that is destined to vanish during the final confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat: a battle from which the proletariat was expected to emerge victorious, bringing about the end of History. What progressive agent of culture would want to belong to the middle class, this vanishing species?

To this day, many in the field of art insist on using the term “cultural producer”, a term that supposedly blurs differences between different participants in the art industry – artists, curators, critics, historians, administrators, and patrons of art – on the assumption that we are all working together to produce meaning and thus culture.

Much of this language and thinking is predicated on the privileged position of work: that in order for art to come into being, work needs to be done – hard work, important work, expert work, work of art, art work. While there is a lot of disagreement about what type of work is actually required, who should or can do it, or if and how they should be trained for it, it is rarely questioned whether work is actually necessary or essential to the production of art. Duchamp mused whether there could be a work “not of art”, but can there also be an art without work? The readymade is something that immediately comes to mind, yet I feel that using existing objects produced by the labor of others does not solve this particular problem, because it is not about simply delegating, outsourcing, or appropriating. In other words, if the labor of art production is outsourced to others, while the artist and the market benefit by the surplus value it produces, it is merely a perpetuation of the exploitation that creates conditions of alienation in our society. What I mean by art without work is perhaps closer to a situation where you play a musical instrument for the sheer enjoyment of making music, where the activity is a pleasurable one not defined by labor or work per se.

Naturally, making art objects requires labor and work, but art does not exclusively belong to the realm of objects. For example, some years
ago I was looking at Matisse paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. As I was leaving the museum, I became aware of a residual sensation that looking at these paintings produced: for some time I was actually seeing things on the street according to the visual logic of the paintings. This made me think that this is exactly where the “art” of Matisse resides – in this ephemeral yet incredibly powerful effect that occurs when you are not looking at the paintings themselves. However, because these works are such expensive, sought-after objects, the museum frames the experience of encountering them as the veneration of fetish objects, where the emphasis is placed on the object itself rather than what it can trigger within the subject. This is very unfortunate. It seems to me that art resides within and in between subjects, and subjects don’t always require work to produce themselves. For example, falling in love, or having a religious or aesthetic experience does not require work, so why should art require work to come into being?

Conceptual art becomes an important modality of practice in this respect: while conceptual artists managed to shift much of the work involved in art production to the viewer via self-reflexive framing, and explicitly stated that objects of art need not be made at all, I feel that the

ethos of their approach is something quite different than the condition I am trying to describe. Not surprisingly, much of conceptual art suffered the same fate as Matisse, ending up as prized objects in private and public collections.

Another aspect of all this is a certain shift that art underwent with the industrialisation of society. In traditional societies, that which we now call art was something more practical or utilitarian in nature: it had a clear decorative, religious, or other use value, and it did not require a special social space/framework, like an exhibition or a museum, within which to become understandable as art. In this sense art was much more integrated in everyday life and did not involve the kind of suspension of reality that many artists of our time find so frustrating: a context in which you have freedom to utter virtually anything, but on the condition that it’s not real because it’s art.

The question of work has also become a very polemical issue these days, and particularly so in the field of art and culture. What is work for an artist within our post-Fordist blur between life and work, freedom and alienation? It’s useful to refer to distinctions that Hannah Arendt draws between labor, work, and action. For Arendt, labor corresponds to a basic need for human life to sustain itself, such as farming, preparation of food, etc. Work goes beyond the satisfaction of immediate needs and corresponds to the human ability to build and maintain a world fit for human use, while action is “the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter, [and] corresponds to the human condition of plurality”.

I suppose Arendt’s understanding of this was inspired by the ancient Greeks, who frowned on the idea of work: labor was for slaves; free citizens were expected to engage in politics, poetry, philosophy, but not work. The only type of occupation not looked down upon was apparently that of a shepherd, presumably because when one herds animals, one is not fully occupied and thus free to think.

While I am not completely sure that action, in Arendt’s beautiful defi-
nition, is always applicable in describing conditions that enable the production of art, I suspect that certain types of art practices can turn labor and work into action, and in doing so, free art from a dependence on labor and work.

Historically there have been different approaches to realising this, yet all seem to converge on a concern with conditions of production. If art is produced as an outcome of certain conditions (rather than simply an act of genius, which is not interesting or possible to discuss), then creating such conditions would actually produce art. If the ultimate conditions of production are the world and life (rather than a studio or art museum), it would then follow that a certain way of living, of being in the world, would in itself result in the production of art: no work is necessary.

Such interdependence between art and life, and the state of the subject therein, was a central concern for many artists of the early 20th cen-
tury avant-gardes. It seems that the thinking at the time was that the production of a new way of life would not only result in the production of a groundbreaking, revolutionary art, but also the other way around: that the production of a new type of art would result in a new way of life and, in turn, a new subject. One of the instances of this is LEF magazine, co-published by Rodchenko, Mayakovsky, and others, the explicit goal of which was to produce such a new subject through exposing its readers to new content and form, to new art.

Last winter I spent a lot of time looking at Warhol’s films from around the mid-'60s. I found the complex structure he put in place for the production of these films really interesting: while Warhol’s silkscreen paintings from this period garner most attention from art historians (in part because they are expensive objects in museums and private collections), it is as if he had them made in order to fund his films, which were expensive to create but produced no income. It’s tempting to understand this simply as a situation where someone works explicitly for money to fund the production of his “real work” – his art. However this simple dichotomy does not play out here: Warhol is very blunt about his apparent indifference to the production of his paintings and objects in

Filmstill from Andy Warhol’s *The Couch*, 1964.
interviews from that period, where he is clear that not only are the paintings and objects physically made by studio assistants, but even their subject matter is determined by others, and his involvement in the films is not very different – the screenplays are written by someone else, he does not direct the actors, or shoot the films, or edit them. The set for the most part is just his studio: the Factory.

One of my personal favorites is a film called *The Couch* (1964), in which, according to Gerard Malanga (who found the featured red couch on the street and brought it to the Factory), documents the fact that every time other activities at the Factory were finished or exhausted, someone would just start filming the couch and whatever was taking place on it at the moment: conversations, eating, sex, and so forth. The films do not seem to be made to be watched in their entirety, which is something that would be hard for most filmmakers to accept: you want the audience to see the totality of your work, no matter how experimental, and it’s frustrating when people stop paying attention or leave midway through the piece. Yet the majority of Warhol’s films seem to have a built-in indifference to this.

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In one of the interviews I saw, from 1966 or so, Warhol says point blank that he has not worked in three years and is not working at the time of the interview. It’s easy to assume that this is only another evasive maneuver or provocation, which he was so good at during interviews, yet it seems to me that he was actually being very direct: having created certain conditions for production, he was present, yet did not need to work in order for significant art to come into being. Perhaps he was simply being physically present within the structure he set in motion.

It also seems to me that the most important mechanism of the Factory, its central activity, was not so much the production of art objects or films, but the production of very particular social relations: a new way of life that in turn resulted in films and other things. Warhol, the proponent of Business Art, may seem to be artistically far from the idealist or utopian avant-garde, but the structures he was using were not so dissimilar: a certain kind of de-personalization of an artwork using a collective approach rooted in a creative community – strangely reminiscent of De Stijl, Bauhaus, and so forth – all of which placed just as strong an emphasis on the reorganisation of life and social relations as on the production of art. I find that, far from being dated or obsolete, this type of model is of particular significance today, facilitated and amplified by the emergence of powerful and free tools for communication, production, and dissemination found mostly on the internet, which together create a possibility for a degree of autonomy from capital.

A different yet sympathetic approach to not working can be found in the artistic practice of Rirkrit Tiravanija. Although his work has been fully absorbed and valorised by art institutions and the market, he is rather adamant that much of his activity is not art at all. In fact, once you start questioning him, it turns out that almost nothing he does, with the exception of the occasional painting, sculpture, or drawing, is, in his opinion, art. And this is not mere posing or a provocation: it seems to me that this comes from a deep reverence for a certain capacity of the everyday and a desire to explore this capacity to its fullest, most radical extent.
A couple of years ago we did something in New York which involved turning e-flux’s storefront into a kind of a free meal/discussion space where three days of conversations on contemporary art took place during lunch and dinner sessions. Rirkrit did most of the cooking, with some help from his assistants and friends. I never noticed how much Rirkrit actually works when he cooks for a large number of people.

Each of the three days started early, around seven or eight in the morning, with food shopping. Food preparation started around eleven, to be ready in time for lunch sessions, followed by a couple of hours of cleaning. Then shopping again for dinner (no refrigerator during the hot New York summer), cooking, and cleaning again until past midnight. Not having a real, equipped kitchen makes food preparation, cooking, and cleaning very labor intensive. On the other hand, spending most of his time in the improvised backyard kitchen allowed Rirkrit to not engage in the conversation and to not speak or answer questions about his art, which is something I think he does not like to do. When asked if what he was doing is art, Rirkrit said no, he was just cooking.
I think what happens here is that rather than speak or work in the capacity as an artist, Rirkrit prefers to make himself very busy doing something else in the space of art. Furthermore, not unlike the Factory, yet dispersed amidst many different art venues and dates, Rirkrit’s activity manages to temporarily construct a rather peculiar set of social relations between those in attendance. While he displaces the art object and the figure of the artist from its traditional place at center stage (to the kitchen), perhaps reflecting Duchamp, his presence usually forms a quiet yet influential and shape-giving center for those present. Rirkrit does manage to produce art while not working in the capacity of an artist, yet to do so he really makes himself very busy: he works very hard doing something else.

I feel that the ethos behind much of this has to do with the communist dream of non-alienated work. When Marx writes about the end of division of labor and narrow professionalization, he describes a society where identity and social roles are extremely fluid: one day you can be a street cleaner, the next day an engineer, a cook, an artist, or a mayor. In this scenario, alienation disappears and art becomes indistinguishable from everyday life: it dissolves in life. Historically there is a clear trajectory of this desire for the dissolution of art, which is visible in artistic practices from early modernism to the present day. This desire may be actually older than communism and, in a certain way, it outlasts the collapse of communist ideology, which makes me think that this may be something deeper than ideology. It could be that this desire has to do with a need to reclaim a reality that art may have had prior to the industrialisation of society.

Anton Vidokle

Anton Vidokle was born in Moscow and arrived to the U.S. with his parents in 1981, settling on Broome Street on the Lower East Side. His work has been exhibited in numerous important shows around the world. As founding director of e-flux, a publishing platform and archive, artist project, curatorial platform, and enterprise, he has produced projects such as Next Documenta Should Be Curated By An Artist, Do it, Utopia Station poster project, and organized An Image Bank for Everyday Revolutionary Life and Martha Rosler Library.

Vidokle initiated research into education as site for artistic practice as co-curator for Manifesta 6, which was canceled. In response to the cancellation, Vidokle set up an independent project in Berlin called Unitednationsplaza - a twelve-month project involving more than a hundred artists, writers, philosophers, and diverse audiences. Located behind a supermarket in East Berlin, UNP’s program featured numerous seminars, lectures, screenings, book presentations and various projects.
Angela McRobbie

“EVERYONE IS CREATIVE”: ARTISTS AS NEW ECONOMY PIONEERS?

“What do you do?” “I’m a writer”.
“Oh really – which restaurant?”
(1980s New York joke)

One of the central features of the modern urban economy is the explosive growth in the numbers of people making a living through culture and the arts. The old supports of employment – manufacturing and public services (teaching, health, civil service) – are in numerical decline or losing their former status, and along with them have disappeared the reality and expectation of lifetime employment with a single organisation. And as these sectors have been hollowed out, new sources and patterns of employment have arisen – whose common point of reference is often the spreading category of “culture”.

Amidst radically redeveloped urban space, on the back of recurrent metropolitan consumer booms, and in the interstices between corporate office blocks and luxury apartments, a generation of young, mobile, and international people are making their living in existentially different ways from their parents. They work (and play) around the clock in a myriad of galleries, fashion outlets, clubs, studios, bookshops, themed restaurants, theatres, media, publishers, internet start-ups and cafes. They are obliged, and aspire, to be multi-skilled. And they resist easy categorisation – while in one dimension they may be described as artists, designers, musicians, actors, writers or photographers, in another they are gallery or shop assistants, temps, proofreaders, and – yes – waiters. By circumstance, they are simultaneously operating in “creative” and “business” modes – both motivated by the desire to
make a mark creatively, yet ever alert to the career possibilities of network, publicity and sponsorship.

The “post-industrial” economy is increasingly a “cultural” economy – with the very understanding of culture itself being appropriated by the

a generation of young, mobile, and international people are making their living in existentially different ways from their parents. They work (and play) around the clock in a myriad of galleries, fashion outlets, clubs, studios, bookshops, themed restaurants, theatres, media, publishers, internet start-ups and cafes.

enlarged provision of (and longing for) meaningful “experience”. In his major contribution to the City & Country debate on planning, Charles Landry approaches this epochal shift from the perspective of urban development and the “creative city”; here, I am concerned to register its impact on the lives and working conditions of young metropolitan men and women.

How is this transformation to be understood? Is it an enlargement or diminishment of freedom, both for society as a whole and for individuals? Are these individuals best seen as the free-floating, shiny urban sophisticates depicted in TV adverts (and, increasingly, dramas) and in lifestyle magazines? Or are they being ricocheted between placement and short-term contract, forced to become multi-taskers, with no time that they are not working?
A new model of culture
In the UK, New Labour thinks it has the answers. One way to clarify the issue is to examine the arguments presented by this self-consciously “modern” government, which since 1997 has attempted to champion the new ways of working as embodying the rise of a progressive and even liberating cultural economy of autonomous individuals – the perfect social correlative of post-socialist “third way” politics.

The government’s green paper of April 2001 (entitled *Culture and Creativity: The Next Ten Years*) is a concise outline of its approach to the cultural economy. It sees the arts and culture, and the new patterns of freelance work and self-employment associated with being an artist, becoming a model for how economic growth is to be pursued. Deeply influenced by the writer Charles Leadbeater – a quintessential New Labour intellectual who moved from the *Financial Times* to Demos and authorship of a book with the title *Living on Thin Air* – the paper opens with his stirring words, “Everyone is creative”: It goes on to argue for the further expansion of education and training in the arts and cultural fields, for children and young people from all social backgrounds. There is special emphasis on the poor and socially excluded, those who in the past felt that the arts were “not for them”.

What is distinctively new in this ostensibly democratic opening up of relationships between the worlds of art, culture, and work? In the past, the arts and culture were in a sense overlooked by government and of relatively little interest to big business. They were consequently under-funded but still possessed degrees of autonomy. In the postwar years these realms came to be increasingly associated with social and political critique. But nowadays culture is of the utmost concern to commercial organisations, and art seemingly no longer “questions the social”.

Meanwhile, in the universities, the study of arts, culture and humanities flourishes, but the findings of research are of little interest to government. It is as though the two sides are speaking a different language.
Few academics will bite the bullet and comfortably inhabit the unambiguous commercialisation of culture as government practice. This leaves policy debate to be monopolised by “young gun” arts administrators desperate for funding from any source, and by “gurus” like Leadbeater.

While there might well be a good deal of energy and enthusiasm from the new entrepreneurial cultural managers, the social effects of these changes and the emerging inequities are swept aside. Instead the creative sector is seen as vibrant and exciting. From Shoreditch and Hoxton to Notting Hill, artists are now, it seems, able to reinvent themselves for the increasingly global market. They can be successful, sell their work; they no longer have any reason to be angry social critics. This is the New Labour classless dream, a high-energy band of young people driving the cultural economy ahead, but in a totally privatised and non-subsidy-oriented direction. The dream merges with the new meritocracy of the Blair government, which with the power of the visual media is further burying the social democratic vocabularies of workplace protection, job security, and sickness pay.

About those outside the loop, and far away from London and the other metropolitan centres, no questions are asked. Over the hill in age terms? Too unconfident to manage the presentation of self? Then, as Anthony Giddens argues, there are only privatised and therapeutic solutions.

**Tensions within “individualisation”**

One way to understand the government’s strategy for education and promotion of arts and culture – evident in several other recent documents of the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport – is as a process of “cultural individualisation” which brings together three elements: the individual, creativity (now extended to mean “having ideas”) and freedom. The aim is to cultivate self-sufficient individuals whose efforts will not be hindered by the administrations of the state.

The government sees the cultural industries themselves, from film and
TV to design and publishing, as thoroughly part of the global economy. And its “ideal local labour market” is one that frees individuals from dependency on state subsidies, creates a thriving entrepreneurial culture and a new work ethic of self-responsibility.

“Self-employment” is the mantra. Set up your own business, be free to do your own thing! Live and work like an artist! You can make it if you really want! And this “selling” of creative work (or a creative attitude to work) is particularly appealing to youth because the implied emphasis on uncovering talent feeds off young people’s proximity to the fields where the space for creativity seems greatest: popular music, film, art, writing, acting, fashion, graphic design.

This sector, the argument runs, provides Britain with the possibility of re-invigorating a distinctive national economy of pop music, fashion and the arts by drawing on both indigenous and migrant traditions of popular culture which have gained currency since the early 1960s. In a talent-led economy, the individual alone is to blame if the next script, film, book or show is not up to scratch. Or as Anthony Giddens puts it (*Modernity and Self Identity*, 1991), individuals must now “be” their own structures.

There are three obvious tensions in the way that this conception of cultural individualisation impacts at the level of individual life-experience. First, it relies on impossible degrees of enthusiasm and willingness to self-exploit, and requires an unhealthy degree of belief in the self. What Bauman calls the “must try harder and harder” ethos results in a punitive regime.

Second, the logic of a Treasury-driven government policy is to withdraw the social supports of creative life in a way that reinforces its intrinsic insecurity. There is a new template of a “normal” urban existence: one where architects double up as online editors, novelists work as proof-readers, arts administrators are employed as freelancers on short-term government projects. By this means, new patterns of creative work are
established. Far from being “independent” they are frequently sub-contracted, almost wholly dependent on the bigger companies for whom they provide creative services. By encouraging this kind of regime, government establishes ideal conditions for companies requiring a cultural workforce without having to actually employ them.

Third, cultural individualisation is inseparable from a business ethos which, as it pervades the cultural world, imposes its own brand of “fast capitalism”. While creativity has traditionally been nurtured in interiorised, slow and quiet mental and physical spaces, in the new cultural economy it is encouraged to be increasingly populist, noisy, easy, thin: in the words of Scott Lash, “flattened out”. Where there is little or no time for thinking, the art-work itself can hardly be thoughtful.

All this has profound implications not just for the quality of artistic work, but for the career possibilities of a generation of young people, and ultimately for the economic viability of the government’s model even in its own terms. If, as Zygmunt Bauman suggests, capitalism now “travels light”, then much of what is produced will be “art lite” (see In the Culture Society, 1999).

Artists increasingly create works that are merely extensions of what is all around them in popular culture, in the tabloids and talk shows. In cultural worlds, there is an endless flow of what Ulrich Beck describes as “biographical solutions to systemic contradictions” (The Risk Society, 1997). Artists, too, join in the rush to confess. The constant temptation is to drain artistic work of complexity, confining it instead to a clichéd and commercially conformist vocabulary of personal experience, pop song lyrics and (often female) pain.

**Taking “individualisation” seriously**

Cultural individualisation throws up real and pressing problems that require us to “think beyond” the present settlement rather than to take comfort in backward-looking and false solutions. It is too easy (and itself something of a fashion) to disdain the new intimacy between cul-
ture and commerce. The tendency is often for (predominantly) old left critics to bemoan a litany of losses and fail to look at what is actually happening. The result is an analytical collapse of two distinct trends – individualisation and neo-liberal values.

defusing the timebomb of a fully freelance economy, by broadening the social capital underpinning creative work, and by galvanising the capacities among young people for self-organisation.

The key point here is that changes in the workplace – the end of fixed location, duration of employment and visible hierarchies of power and responsibility – do not necessarily have a unitary political meaning. On the contrary, it can be argued that individualisation, as manifest in the working practices of the cultural sector, must be separated from neo-liberalisation. It is only by investigating individualisation-as lived that we can recognise the possible spaces it opens up for challenging the government-led neo-liberal model of arts and culture.

The fast-moving and precarious careers in the modern cultural economy exhibit the dynamic transition to what Giddens has called “reflexive modernisation”. There are dimensions of release and empowerment as well as insecurity and pressure. But the contradictions of being expected to self-monitor and self-evaluate as a matter of course, possibly on a daily basis, yet with no immediate access to a social/sociological vocabulary for understanding failures and shortcomings, are palpable. In addition, in a connected and networked global economy, the govern-
ment’s idea of plugging into individual creativity as though it alone will suffice is short-sighted, if also strategic. What the new creatives need are clubs that provide old-fashioned social services.

The question, then, is not how to reverse cultural individualisation but rather to think both with and beyond it. This will require defusing the timebomb of a fully freelance economy, by broadening the social capital underpinning creative work, and by galvanising the capacities among young people for self-organisation.

**A utopian dynamic?**

It is not difficult to articulate a “domination model” of this ferociously competitive economy – a society of lonely, mobile, over-worked individuals for whom socialising and leisure are only more opportunities to do a deal. But although the “talent-led” economy has indeed facilitated the emergence of new inequities, there is an alternative imagining.

It works by recognising the utopian dynamic which lies buried within these novel ways of working – that is, the potential for turning the desire to make a living in an enjoyable and rewarding way, into a desire for creating a better society. This cannot be the project of a mass collective, nor of groupings of atomised individuals; but it will depend on the energies of “social individuals” which the inequities and failings of the cultural economy are themselves creating.

Such action is difficult to specify at present. But there are energies from below already visible in the form of “sub politics” (Beck) or “life politics” (Giddens), which may be better designated as a pressure group politics that relies on a sophisticated knowing – reflexive use – of media to push towards greater accountability and equity in working and life conditions.

One challenge for such groups is over language: to invent a new vocabulary for engaging with cultural individualisation that sees possibilities beyond neo-liberalism winning every battle. Another is to nurture
alliances of “new labour” (what an irony!) on a fluid, international basis – connecting the fashion designer “self-exploiter” sweating at home over her sewing machine and the Gap seamstress in south-east Asia. A third is to build information and resource networks that are free of political and corporate manipulation.

Ulrich Beck argues that reflexive modernisation gives rise to a critique of both self and society. But the subjects of late modernity (or late capitalism) must have access to information and analysis in order to be reflexive. Here is one area where the accumulated campaigns of the post-1960s generations seriously inform the intellectual landscape. From academia (Richard Sennett) through radical analysis (Naomi Klein, George Monbiot, Michael Massing) and the creative work of subversive counter-currents, access to alternative modes of thinking and feeling is within the capacity of even the most time-poor hyper-individualists. There is no shortage of older social scientists and feminists willing to partake in a dialogue with young people who want to improve the world of new cultural work.

The more or less complete neo-liberalisation of the cultural economy under New Labour, with its power relationships and trends of develop-
ment, seems likely to sustain the new cultural model for some time to come. And yet the myriad freelancers, part-timers, short-termers, and contract workers who sustain the model – who have nothing to lose but their talents – know that their way of life and work is, over the long term, utterly unsustainable. It is up to them to recombine the individual, creativity, and freedom with a fourth value – equity – in order to recover for the arts and culture the independence which alone can make it a vital, valuable and critical element of a democratic society.

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**Angela McRobbie**

Angela McRobbie is a Professor of Communications at Goldsmiths College, University of London. She has written extensively on young women and popular culture and about making a living in the new cultural economy. McRobbie is the author of *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change* (2009), *The Uses of Cultural Studies: A Textbook* (2005), *In the Culture Society: Art, Fashion and Popular Music* (1999), *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry?* (1998) as well as of numerous articles and essays.
Looking at women
Staff speak Greek
My approach to the idea of a basic income grant is a consequence of my analysis of the radical change of societies due to globalisation, world economic crises, increasing unemployment and climate change; radical changes that affect indeed the possible role of artists and scientists.

We live in a time of extensive social transition, a time of the no longer and the not yet. There is no longer hope for a “more, better, faster”. There will be no longer a return to full employment in our countries, as in most high-price countries, but what is to take its place is not yet a subject of public debate. We live in an inbetween situation: on the one hand, the economic and social “one size fits all” solutions of our political parties no longer work in a globalised, labour-divided world that generates more and more productivity through fewer and fewer jobs (experts such as Jeremy Rifkin call it “jobless recovery”). The political party concepts are no longer and not yet capable of reacting to the global challenges of economic and climate change and the social upheavals that come with it all. On the other hand, there is a significant increase of jobs – most of them badly paid – in the creative sector, in the non-profit sector, in NGOs; so that we may speak at the same time of an economic and social basis of a society, that is looking for more than an administration of its shortages.

We live in an interim: we are no longer sufficiently provided for by the father, the state, but not yet able to break a new – our own – ground, because the preconditions for social constructions that could create hybrids between welfare, individual responsibility and self-organisation
are still missing.

The lack of a guaranteed place in society frightens. I claim that artists, academics, cultural and social creative minds are more experienced in dealing with the incertitude of the open contexts of “liquid modernity”, as Zygmunt Bauman characterises our present. It is the nature of artistic and academic practice to deal with errors, doubts, rejections, to combine and recombine, to sample and mix, and to deal with imagination. And this is needed for all cultural and democratic development of our societies. We find ourselves stuck in hardened, solidified structures which are empty, the facade covered with new neo-liberal garments.

What we need is to use the productivity of error, the ability to begin again and again, to navigate between shortage and abundance, to think in transitions, laboratories, models, movements, excess, energy, desires, potentials, visions, yearning, breathing... This is what liquid cities need, and this is what a society may learn from artistic and scientific practice. We need new forms of social coexistence, new resonance spaces. Based on the residents' richness of possibilities and various ways of life. What we need is their talents and creative power, their awareness of being able to participate in the extensive development of their city — at work and in life. And what we need are flexible, creative counterparts in politics and administration. As creativity is a flexible, liquid resource, “not a reserve, not a commodity, but a current!” An energy that runs dry if it is abused by reducing it to its immediate
economic usability. To recognise the potential of the creative industry is an immensely important step that European politics is taking only very hesitantly. But in order to keep creativity in the city, a creativity that cannot be perceived as a model for a business plan, we need more. In the words of your Manifesto: It is not culture that needs “business exercises”, it is the market that needs a cultural revolution! As Philosopher Hannah Arendt said: “The privilege of the human being is to call something new into the world”.1

This is why, culture-based society, doesn’t just refer back to the rather small group of those for whom culture is their means of living, but those who perceive culture as a matrix for creativity as a general human capacity. Culture is as an expression of the individual’s desire to change and connect with others in order to try out, link and dismiss solutions, ways, views. Albert Einstein puts the interrelationship between individual creativity and social development precisely: “Without creative personalities who think and judge for themselves, a higher developed society is as unthinkable as the development of an individual personality without the breeding ground of the community”. Creativity is not an exclusive property of the “happy few”. There is no either “you belong” or “you’ll never-belong”. An environment in which creativity is perceived as a capability that lies within every individual is, in fact, crucial.

Because every human being relies on resonances, wants to be useful, to create, to be valued. A cultural society is about multi-dimensional and experimental ways of thinking that also interlink the various fields of artistic, social, technical and economic creativity and whose chances are being decided as early as kindergarten and at school. In this sense, creativity is the processor in the development towards something that is socially bigger as well as economically more powerful. Economy is not the driving force, but it ultimately profits when humans think, live and work creatively. What we need is a milieu that supports the idea of laboratories and strengthens the notion of empowerment for self-empowerment.

We need the required change to perceive arts and sciences not just as a subsidy burden, but as a long-term investment in a society capable of development. They must become experts for transitions and in-between certainties — a protagonist of change. We need to face the question of what types of recognition and participation a society can offer to its members, taking into account the fact that for an increasing number of people — from all classes, age groups and nationalities — there is no opportunity for a traditional sense of belonging. ("Not in Our Name" Manifesto in Hamburg²). We need creative solutions for education, for universities, for institutions, for social issues, for employment, for the recapture of public space.

Art and science are vital for a liquid city, especially where they generate socially relevant strategic concepts. Their actions, which might once have been attributed to bohemians, have by now become a model that can be generalised for future ways of working and living. Characterised by the abolition of work and leisure, sometimes a lot, sometimes not a lot of paid work, alone or in a team, often from home. However, these activities are completely connected with what we call “the precarious”. New studies suggest that about half of those employed in the creative industries do not earn enough money to survive.

In this respect, Berlin, the city I come from, is the capital of these pre-

carious circumstances. It is visible to the naked eye that there isn’t and won’t be enough paid work in this city to counter the jobless rate of 14 percent. For some years now, this shortage has forced jobless artists and academics into new forms of working and living that arise from a lack of money and a simultaneous surplus of ideas.

If I am right in my analysis that our societies cannot renounce the artistic and academic practice, the question is: How to make this happen? It is the inability to tackle unemployment and escalating social and cultural exclusion with conventional means that has led in the last decade to the idea of the BIG (Basic Income Grant). Social, economic and cultural policy can no longer be conceived separately, and the basic income is increasingly viewed as the only viable way of reconciling three of their respective central objectives: poverty relief, full employment and participation in the cultural production and richness.

The guaranteed basic income grant is the most simple and powerful idea for the 21st century. It constitutes the foundation of a self-transforming society, and it provides the idea for a society based on culture. I am not standing up for the BIG primarily for artists and academics but for everybody. Also, from a strategic point of view, I would not advise to fight for the BIG as an exclusive right for artists and academics, or – as the manifesto says – for cultural producers. Even if it is only for a short perspective. Liberty and equality, efficiency and community, common ownership of the Earth and equal sharing in the benefits of technical progress, the flexibility of the labor market and the dignity of the poor. A fight against inhumane working conditions, against the desertification of the countryside and against interregional inequalities; the viability of cooperatives and the promotion of adult education, autonomy from bosses, husbands and bureaucrats, have all been invoked in its favour.

There are different approaches, terms and definitions concerning what a guaranteed income could be. I assume, like most concepts do, four principles of the Basic Income Grant (BIG):
— is an individual right
— it hedges one’s existence
— is not means-tested
— is not under constraint to work.

It should be high enough to guarantee the participation in the cultural and social life, and it is independent from maintenance as obligations of spouses, parents and adult children.

The BIG gives an individual the freedom to choose between different spheres of her/his life the one that makes the surplus value for the society. The BIG is a synonym for dignity. The BIG is the right to say “No!” (The right to choose and to say “No” is then real in the “labor market”.) The BIG is empowerment for self-empowerment. The activists of this idea expect that once the constraint of work is abolished, when “Income” and “Labour” are separated, multiple, co-existing forms of paid labor, caring, further education, social and cultural relevant occupations will be possible. And I will add, also the right of idleness which is important to the health of a society.

The German Basic Income Network, consists of:
— The paid amount secures existence and enables economic, social, cultural, and political participation and is not means-tested.
— The basic income is paid without making demands in return, such as forced labour or coerced return services.
— There are additional needs, special supports, and special needs for certain groups of persons in addition to the basic income. This concerns, for example, single parents, pregnant women, the handicapped, or people with chronic illnesses.
— The basic income is an aspect of the maintenance, extension, and the democratisation of public infrastructures.
— The basic income stands in the context of the perspective of gender equality that realises a radical redistribution of socially necessary labour (paid and unpaid) between men and women.
— The concept of basic income is embedded into societal development towards sustainability and a concept of society that focuses on
ecological sustainability.\textsuperscript{3}

The French economist and philosopher, André Gorz, gives his argument for the basic income: The connection between “more” and “better” has been broken; our needs for many products and services are already more than adequately met, and many of our as-yet-unsatisfied needs will be met not by producing more, but by producing differently, producing other things, or even producing less. This is especially true as regards our needs for air, water, space, silence, beauty, time and human contact.

The Basic Income Earth Network was founded in 1986 as the Basic Income European Network, expanding in 2004 to an international network. The basic income is an income unconditionally granted to all on an individual basis, without any means-test or work requirement.

*It is paid to individuals rather than households; a basic income is paid on a strictly individual basis. Not only in the sense that each individual member of the community is a recipient, but also in the sense that how much she/he receives is independent of what type of household she/he belongs to. Precisely because of its strictly individualistic nature, the basic income tends to remove isolation traps and foster communal life. The operation of a basic income scheme, therefore, dispenses with any control over living arrangements, and it preserves the full advantages of reducing the cost of one’s living by sharing one’s accommodation with others.

*It is paid irrespective of any income from other sources. It is paid at the same level to the rich and the poor alike, irrespective of their income level. Neither a person’s informal income, nor the help she/he could claim from relatives, nor the value of her/his belongings. Taxable “means” may need to be taxed at a higher average rate in order to fund the basic income.

*It is paid without requiring the performance of any work or the will-

ingness to accept a job, if offered. The right to a guaranteed minimum income is, by definition, not restricted to those who have worked enough in the past, or paid in enough social security contributions to be entitled to some insurance benefits. The basic income is paid as a matter of right — and not under false pretenses — to homemakers, students, break-takers and permanent tramps. The participation income is a model proposed by Anthony Atkinson, Professor of Economics at Oxford, that differs from the BIG at this point.

A participation income would be a non–means–tested allowance, paid to every person who actively participates in economic activity, whether paid or unpaid. Persons who care for young or elderly persons, undertake approved voluntary work or a training, or are disabled due to sickness or handicap, would also be eligible for it. After a while, one may well realise that paying controllers to try to catch the few really work-shy would cost more and create more resentment all over than just giving this modest floor income to all, no questions asked.

**Frequently asked questions:**
No — the BIG is not a remedy for all sorts of sicknesses and injustice in our societies. Yes — the BIG is affordable. Dozens of studies in different countries and from different social backgrounds and perspectives show it. But as the BIG would be such a change of paradigm in our societies, I think we need much more interdisciplinary research on this subject.

**What about migrants?**
There are more or less inclusive conceptions how to deal with non-native-citizens. Some, especially among those who prefer the label “citizen’s income”, entitle people restricted to nationals, or citizens in a legal sense. The right to the basic income is then of a piece with the whole package of rights and duties associated with full citizenship. Others, especially among those who view the basic income as a general policy against exclusion, conceive of membership in a broader sense that tends to include all legal permanent residents. The operational criterion
may be, for non-citizens, a minimum length of past residence, or it may simply be provided by the conditions which currently define residence for tax purposes.

**Children?**
Some restrict the basic income, by definition, to adult members of the population. Others conceive of the basic income as an entitlement from the first to the last breath and therefore view it as a full substitute for the child benefit system. The level of the benefit then needs to be independent of the child’s family situation, in particular of his or her rank. But the majority of those who propose an integration of child benefits into the basic income scheme differentiate the latter’s level according to age, with the maximum level not being granted until maturity, or later. Anthony Atkinson claims that Europe should introduce the basic income for kids. It would be the only appropriate way to fight back the tremendous poverty of the kids.

**Does not make the rich richer?**
From the fact that the rich and the poor receive the same basic income, it does not follow that the introduction of the basic income would make both the rich and the poor richer than before. The basic income needs to be funded.

**Makes work pay?**
The other aspect of the unemployment trap generated by means-tested guaranteed minimum schemes is the lack of a significant positive income differential between no work and low-paid work. Since you can keep the full amount of your basic income, whether working or not, whether rich or poor, you are bound to be better off when working than out of work.

**Learning from Africa**
The Basic Income Grant (BIG) pilot project in a village in Namibia is continuing to make national and international headlines. The proposal for a Basic Income Grant in Namibia was made in 2002 by the Namib-
ian Tax Consortium (NAMTAX), a government appointed commission. In January 2007, in the village of Ortijero, there started the two-year experiment, based on the following conditions: A monthly cash grant of not less than N$100 (~13USD/8) is paid to every Namibian citizen as a citizen’s right. Every person receives such a grant until pension age from where onwards she/he is eligible to the existing universal State Old Age Pension of N$370. The Basic Income Grant experience in Ortijero is to date the biggest civil society project, united in fighting poverty and work towards economic empowerment in Namibia.

BBC World News summarised the enterprise in 2008 as follows: “Namibians line up for free cash”. “Economic activity has picked up in the settlement since the beginning of the year and a grocery store, a hairdresser, a barber and an ice-cream vendor have opened for business”.4 “The opponents of the BIG always have the reasoning that people will become dependent,’ says Pastor Wilfred Diergaardt. ‘In fact, what we are seeing here is really lifting people up out of dependency into becoming human again.” (...). If the pilot project succeeds within the next two years, the BIG could become a national provision for all people under the pension age of 60. It could help balance one of the most unequal societies in the world”.5

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Adrienne Goehler

Adrienne Goehler is a former Senator for Science, Research and Culture in Berlin and one of Europe’s foremost cultural debaters. She studied German and Romance literature and languages in Freiburg and Psychology in Hamburg. During 1986-1989, Adrienne served as a deputy in the Hamburg Parliament as part of the women’s fraction of the GAL (Grüne Alternative Liste). And after that, for 12 years, she headed The Academy of Fine Arts (Hochschule für bildende Künste) in Hamburg. In the years 2002-2006, she was the curator for the Hauptstadt Kulturfonds (Cultural Capital Fonds) of Berlin. She is the author of the book “Verflüssigungen: Wege und Umwege vom Sozialstaat zur Kulturgesellschaft”, published by Campus Verlag and of “1000 € für jeden, Freiheit Gleichheit Grundeinkommen.”

Since 2006 she has been working as a freelance curator and a publicist in Berlin. With her traveling exhibition “Examples to follow Expeditions in Aesthetics and Sustainability” she shows how important artistic concepts are to make the world a better place.

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5. Ibid.
BAR EUROP
Creative hubs have been bourgeoning across Europe and other parts of the world and have fast become new dynamic centres where creative practitioners, artists, entrepreneurs and micro businesses connect and work together, to test and launch new enterprising ideas and ventures. They work differently compared to the traditional organisation models that prevailed in the 20th century, disrupting existing concepts and structures. There is also a huge diversity within the creative hubs territory itself making definitions, boundaries, classifications and eventually the structuring of the debate a very tricky task indeed. Creative hubs have either been underestimated, or conversely overestimated, and very often misunderstood. It is only recently becoming more universally acknowledged that as key catalysers of creativity and innovation in the context of the wider creative economy and arts ecosystem, creative hubs have a very important and distinct role to play towards societal, cultural and economic development.

Creative hubs are one of the key areas of our creative economy work at a global scale. Over the last few years, the British Council has worked with hundreds of hubs worldwide and has engaged in mapping and research work to contribute to a better understanding of these complex and diverse avant-garde communities.

We are proud to have initiated and now to co-ordinate, on behalf of a consortium of six European creative hubs and a partner organisation, the European Creative Hubs Network, a 2 year project co-funded by the European Commission’s Creative Europe programme.

The aim of the project is to help creative hubs in Europe connect and learn from each other; provide a platform to share their experiences, practices, operating models and challenges, and create opportunities for enhanced interaction, collaboration with and exposure to other hubs and players in Europe and beyond; develop their skills and build their professional capacity through bespoke training programmes; explore
further the innovation mechanisms of creative hubs communities, and support knowledge exchange and synergies with other sectors and the wider creative ecosystem they are rooted in; ultimately create an empowered and confident network of creative hubs managers who will act as champions and will advocate for the potential and impact of hubs as a source of innovation, economic growth, civic participation and social cohesion.

Almost one year since the start of the project, our activities and achievements so far include:

• The first edition of the European Creative Hubs Forum which took place in Belgrade last September, investigated the shifting paradigm of work as seen through the prism of creative hubs. It brought together more than 180 participants from 32 countries in Europe and elsewhere, out of whom 140 creative hubs representatives.

• The first round of our Peer-to-peer mobility scheme which offered the opportunity to 14 creative hub leaders to spend time in another creative hub in Europe and learn from each other.

• A new publication with the title ‘How Work Works. An inventory of effect’ curated by Nova Iskra/Kulturni Kod around the themes explored at the Belgrade Forum, featuring contributions and articles by Paul Currion and Jon Barnes among others.

• Our online community which includes 75+ registered creative hubs from across Europe, 1000+ people following us on Facebook and 650+ people on Twitter.

Building on what we learnt this year, in 2017 we plan to run a number of F2F and digital skills development opportunities, roll out the creative hubs leaders Peer-to-peer mobility scheme in more places in Europe and further build and develop our network and community of creative hubs through a third Forum in Sheffield, and a European Creative Hubs Campus in Brussels. At the same time, we have set up a leadership group of creative influencers to elaborate policy recommendations and work on the sustainability of the network beyond the project’s lifetime.

We invite you to take part in the discussions and join our fast growing network at www.creativehubs.eu and on social media @CreativeHubsEU or via #creativehubs.
ABOUT THE PROJECT PARTNERS

British Council

The British Council works to create international opportunities for and trust between the people of the UK and other countries worldwide. Our arts portfolio in EU lives and breathes the aspiration to inspire, innovate and transform – to offer young people, artists, participants and audiences in the UK and across the EU life-changing and life-enhancing experiences, helping to provide opportunities and constructive approaches to some of the big challenges across countries in the region such as youth unemployment, skills gaps, access to the labour market and talent retention.

The arts and creative industries are central to how we achieve this and our global and regional network places us in a unique position to achieve significant impact and change by finding new ways of connecting and seeing each other through the arts.

British Council is the only UK agency working in the creative industries sector with market intelligence and on-the-ground resources in over one hundred nations, a global network and direct access to international policy makers. Our work in creative industries exists to forge connections between the rapidly growing creative industries sectors in the UK and overseas. It enables international partners to connect with UK expertise, to develop skills and capacity and, in the process, provides opportunities for the UK creative and cultural sectors to learn from and collaborate with overseas CE experts and practitioners.

www.britishcouncil.org/europe
www.creativeeconomy.britishcouncil.org
Twitter: @UK_CE, @BritishArts
BIOS

Bios Exploring Urban Culture was founded in 2001 in Athens and has since been working in the contemporary cultural production sector and new entrepreneurship, focusing on new creatives, art and technology today, youth expression, as well as shaping of the urban environment. Bios is based in two buildings located in central Athens, Bios (84 Peiraios st.) and Bios.Romantso (3-5 Anaxagora st., Omonoia). The organisation works on the development of networks and foundations of creativity, upholding its vision of creating capacity and improving life in the city, for its people in current times. Bios is solely responsible for producing a vast scope and number of cultural activities, such as performing arts festivals, concerts, theatrical performances, and exhibitions, educational programmes, within and outside its physical location. Since 2007 it has ventured toward enterprises related to facilitation of professional training, employability, new entrepreneurship and start-ups in creative industries (cultural industry).

In 2013, Bios established the first creative hub in Greece, housing over 60 up-and-coming creative businesses. Through this initiative, the Organisation reactivated the historical Romantso building on 3-5 Anaxagora st, in one of the toughest areas of the Historical Centre, organising a series of targeted actions aiming to alter the neighbourhood image and to assist its reintegration on the Historical Centre map.

www.bios.gr
www.romantso.gr
Twitter: @biosathens
Kulturni Kod / Nova Iskra

NGO Kulturni Kod (Culture Code) initiated the Nova Iskra incubator and co-working space in late 2012. Kulturni Kod is running the incubator as a unique meeting point for emerging creative professionals and forward-thinking businesses, and promotes and supports entrepreneurship and career development among creative professionals. Nova Iskra helps develop or reposition new and existing businesses, creates jobs for emerging creative professionals and initiates new products and services that are strengthening the local and regional economies, with a focus on the creative and design-thinking approach.
To achieve its mission and vision, Nova Iskra organises and manages its activities through four key areas: co-working services; education, professional development and training; project incubation and consulting; and creative services for clients via its Nova Iskra Studio offshoot. Nova Iskra also collaborates with a number of private and public institutions locally, regionally and internationally, running an education/innovation platform with local and international collaborative projects, as well as a year-round public programme of events, workshops and trainings for creative professionals and entrepreneurs.

www.novaiskra.com
Twitter: @Novalskra

ADDICT

Established in 2008, ADDICT brings together over 100 members and is recognised by the Portuguese Ministry of Economy as manager of the creative industries cluster in Northern Portugal. Its mission is to promote a favorable environment for the creation, production and distribution in the fields of culture and creativity, defending the interests of organisations and professionals of the sector and acting as a training and events, information and interaction platform.

www.addict.pt
Twitter:@addict_pt
Creative Edinburgh

Established in 2011 and with a membership of over 1,800 creative, cultural and tech practitioners, Creative Edinburgh is one of the largest hubs in Scotland and the largest in Edinburgh. Creative Edinburgh is a community that increases the capacity of creative individuals and businesses to experiment, innovate and succeed. They enable intergenerational and intercultural dialogue and community building with peer support and advice aimed at igniting working relationships across sectors. Creative Edinburgh curates and produces a programme of over 50 trainings workshops and events annually. Creative Edinburgh is also part of Creative Networks, a collective which includes the major hubs of Scotland, and works closely with Creative Dundee.

www.creative-edinburgh.com
Twitter: @CreativeEdin

Factoria Cultural

Established in 2014, Factoria Cultural is an incubator and training provider for the creative and cultural industries. It provides training and support to creative individuals in order to contribute to the development of emerging initiatives in the creative and cultural industries, catering for an ecosystem of entrepreneurs and professionals. Their training programmes are made up of both face-to-face and e-learning platforms and cover everything from business plans, digital media, web design and online marketing to financing, innovation and creativity, legalisation and internationalisation. Within a year, Factoria Cultural had already developed 76 projects; built an incubator of 48 entrepreneurs, and an online community of over 12,000 creative professionals.

www.factoriaculturalmadrid.es
Twitter: @factoriamadrid
betahaus

betahaus is a co-working space for individuals who want to choose and share their ideas of work. Every week betahaus also hosts over 50 events to connect peers and support the personal and entrepreneurial development of creative practitioners. From learning how to pitch your ideas, presentation skills and tax insights to meet-ups, hacks and data visualisation techniques, betahaus offers a holistic programme of training for creative practitioners.

betahaus also runs global acceleration training programmes, their latest being a one-month long programme between Korea and Germany.

www.betahaus.com/berlin
Twitter: @betahaus

European Business and Innovation Centres Network (EBN)

EBN is an international hub made up of smart and specialised organisations that connect and coach innovators, entrepreneurs & SMEs, to start, grow and transform economies. The EBN ecosystem consists of a variety of organisation types, including: government organisations, business support organisations, clusters and innovation hubs, universities and business schools, corporates and investors. It is a network of over 160 business innovation centres and 100 associate members that support the development and growth of innovative entrepreneurs, start-ups and SMEs. Holding a strong reputation within European government, national/regional public authorities and non-EU agencies, EBN has become a gateway of information between governments and businesses.

www.ebn.be
Twitter: @EUBIC
Nothing seems to be more alike more than syncretism and synthesis. Yet nothing is more different; for synthesis retains in itself all the analytical work.


Synthesis is precisely the thesis posed as a thesis, but this “positioning” is not, as one might think, a re-edition, a simple reiteration or an addition to the thesis.


The homogenisation of circuits makes for a universe of synthesis and prosthesis, a universe that is positive, consensual and synchronous –all these make for a world that is unacceptable.

Synesthetic experience offers a new occasion to question the concept of sensation and objective thought as such.

By imposing unvisualisable relationships that are the result of instant speed, electronic technology dethrones visual sense and restores us to the dominion of synaesthesia.

I am told by psychologists that most children have it, but that later they lose that aptitude when they are told by stupid parents: “an A is not black, a B is not brown –don’t be absurd”.
Vladimir Nabokov, Interview, 1962.