

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE: IN-BETWEEN MEMORY AND TRANSFORMATION

Exploratory Research into Transformation Processes of Former Industrial Complexes of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei (Leipzig) and Mattatoio di Testaccio (Rome); New Meanings of Industrial Heritage

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For Evelina

Erst der Enthusiasmus, dann erst der Fleiß.

Stefan Zweig

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ABSTRACT

Physical manifestations of the Industrial Revolution left a permanent imprint on the complexion of cities. Abandonment that followed the deindustrialization contributed to an estrangement, turning derelict industrial spaces and run-down factories into a ballast to conjure with. At present, industrial heritage management applies flexibility and creativity, partially overcoming the essentially traditional paradigm of heritage preservation. This approach permits sustainable conservation – utilization and integration of disused industrial constructs in the contemporary urban landscape. Being a part of the European cultural stock, industrial heritage is an exciting and unique setting from many perspectives. It is defined and consumed by many markets, ranging from the industrial heritage tourism to the market of special events and festivals. Reused industrial buildings and factories come into view as products of post-industrial societies, fitting to the Western post-industrial (consumer) culture, offering a field of activities that are at an interface between the industrial history and contemporary socio-cultural milieu.

Alteration of values, growth of new roles and definitions of industrial heritage, generated by functional restructuring, is a subject which is often left behind the general discussion about sustainable conservation and adaptive reuse of industrial heritage. Yet, in the modified state, industrial heritage is very complex to understand and to define.

By conducting a desk and a case study research of former industrial complexes – *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* and *Mattatoio di Testaccio*, this doctoral thesis aims to identify industrial heritage as a contemporary (post-industrial) concept. Observation of ideas, values and definitions that emerge as a consequence of the transformation and re-conceptualization of industrial heritage are intended to raise awareness and appreciation of industrial heritage in the full richness of its contemporary interpretation.

Key Words: industrial heritage; built environment; management; transformation; construction of meaning; representation; environmental perception; adaptive reuse; sustainable conservation

PREFACE

How do we relate to the objects and places in our environment that are no longer needed?

One can answer this question by simply looking around. Old buildings, abandoned spaces, dismissed factories and industrial buildings – constructs that once were important are today like prisoners awaiting a trial and a verdict.

Reality dictates the rules. It regulates what we perceive and why. Driven by many objectives, societies evolve and their attributes change. Today, all kinds of information are provided, creating a basis to build a life that one would want. It is interesting to observe how the ideas and values change through time. Yet, could it be something that might turn into a solution when dealing with redundant built structures around us?

Present time is all about balancing sustainable conservation of built structures and responding to the needs and wants of the society. There is a demand for spaces that are flexible and different. Industrial heritage fits this schema, establishing itself in the landscape of contemporary art and culture. The evolution of former production spaces gradually affects our perception of industrial aesthetic and the existing preconceptions, establishing a new image that is linked with post-industrial lifestyles, contemporary culture and to the idea of a creative environment.

Post-industrial views of the self and of the surrounding environment are complex and layered. Looking at some of the examples of industrial factories that were adapted to new uses, I asked myself “What are the icebreakers that force us to see these places differently? (And how can we use this knowledge)?”

As a researcher, I am particularly motivated to capturing the taken-for-granted processes that have the potential of furthering the knowledge and drawing solutions to the problems that exist in an urban environment.

1 INTRODUCTION

The past is not defined by history – particular taught knowledge or the state; the past exists within individuals' interpretation of the qualities of age in the environment surrounding them and in the use of those qualities to improve their understanding and enjoyment of the present. (Hobson, 2003, p.52)

1.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION

Urban environment does not develop independently. It is a product of socio-cultural, economic and political processes. Accordingly, interactions of people and their built environment are complex and constantly mutating. Urban form, architecture and the changing rapport with the built environment reflects and communicates the ideas and values of a society. At the same time, a society alters in its social order throughout history, which includes changes not only in the patterns of interactions, but also the cultural forms and systems of values of a society. This process can also be followed in the organisation of a city. Filled with material and immaterial evidence of various historical periods, cities resemble gigantic warehouses that contain narratives which are inscribed in the built environment, stating the development, successes and failures of a society. Accordingly, one can understand a great deal about a society by examining its spatial environment, and vice versa, the direction that development of spatial environment undertakes becomes clearer once one examines the society that manages it.

Today, in times of global consumption, cities demand uniqueness and use all possible resources to achieve it. Heritage, thus, is often visualized as a commodity, "one that is simultaneously multi-sold in many segmented market places" (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, p. 22). Hence, in traditional industrial cities and regions, multifaceted characteristics of industrial heritage are utilized as an authentic and exotic asset, assisting their acknowledgment on a bigger scale. The selection of former industrial agglomeration of Ruhr in Germany as European Capital of Culture in 2010 is a good example illustrating this assumption. However, without recognition of the material and cultural values of industrial heritage, integrating it into the contemporary urban environment, this achievement would not have been possible.

The Industrial Revolution left substantial marks on the appearance of cities. In the course of time, certain stereotypes and a negative image of industrial urban landscape emerged, which was reinforced by many depictions of the rough aesthetic of the heavy industrial architecture in cities and of the pollution that came with it, seen, for instance, in the numerous works by the 18th century English industrial artist L. S. Lowry (see Figure 1).



Figure 1: Coming from the Mill by L.S. Lowry (1930)

Deindustrialization crisis and the profound structural change enriched the negative image by leaving numerous disused industrial spaces, run-down factories and industrial complexes behind. On account of the dysfunction and neglect, these “manifestations of the hectic bursts of new technology, erected at the centre or the periphery of a city” (Goodman, 2005, p.12) threatened to collapse, badly influencing the environment around them.

Integration of disused industrial buildings and factories is a vital part of the present-day heritage management and urban development strategies, especially in Western countries. In discourses revolving around (industrial) heritage management and conservation the focus has always been on experts and institutions professionally engaged with heritage, such as The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH), The United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and their ability to develop criteria that underpin industrial heritage conservation policies and practice. Thus, a corpus of principles for the conservation of industrial heritage (jointly developed by ICOMOS and TICCIH and adopted by the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly on 28 November 2011), implementation of international recommendations and instruments such as the *World Heritage Convention* adopted by UNESCO in 1972 (which links together the concepts of nature conservation and the preservation of cultural properties), assisted a better appreciation of industrial heritage over the past decades.

Joint ICOMOS-TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes – “The Dublin Principles”, adopted by the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly on 28 November 2011, assisted the appreciation of industrial heritage as part of the heritage of human societies around the World. Here one can also find a definition of industrial heritage:

The industrial heritage consists of sites, structures, complexes, areas and landscapes as well as the related machinery, objects or documents that provide evidence of past or ongoing industrial processes of production, the extraction of raw materials, their transformation into goods, and the related energy and transport infrastructures. (The Dublin Principles, 2011, p.2)

ICOMOS and TICCIH acknowledge the particular nature of industrial heritage and the issues and threats around it, stating that “industrial heritage is highly vulnerable and often at risk, often lost for lack of awareness, documentation, recognition or protection but also because of the changing economic trends, negative perceptions, environmental issues or its sheer size and complexity (The Dublin Principles, 2011, p.2). Therefore, they primarily point out the importance of a thorough knowledge of the industrial and socio-economic history of an area, which has to be acquired through research and documentation of industrial sites, structures and the related machinery, addressing the historical, technological and socio-economical dimensions, as well as the intangible aspects of human skills and knowledge involved in industrial processes. At the same time, physical revitalization and functional restructuring, adaptation of industrial heritage to the needs and requirements of post-industrial society, as well as the aspect of economic revitalization through new ways to utilize an industrial building stock is a matter that is repeatedly talked about in regard to industrial heritage.

At present, it is a culturally determined attitude that old buildings should be protected, and “while conservation is a framework of policies and controls, more fundamentally it is also a reflection of deeper cultural attitudes to the past” (Hobson, 2003, p. 3). In view of that, importance of the sustainable conservation of industrial heritage is also recognised. “By extending the life-cycle of existing structures and their embodied energy, conservation of the built industrial heritage, can contribute to achieving the goals of sustainable development at the local, national and international levels. It touches the social as well as physical and environmental aspects of development and should be acknowledged as such” (The Dublin Principles, 2011, p.2). At the same time, on account of adaptive re-use and functional restructuring, industrial heritage is mixed and matched as an inspiration for new developments. This dynamic often establishes industrial heritage as a new entity with multifaceted characteristics.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Industrial heritage is a part of the European cultural stock. Over the course of time, industrial heritage management, including adaptive re-use and sustainable conservation, occupied a niche in the field of urban planning, signifying a sustainable development approach and contributing to the environmental sustainability. Following the wave of post-industrial (global) trends and being managed in accordance to the contemporary needs and requirements, industrial heritage mutated to a flexible resource that continuously (re-)defines itself. Hence, refurbished factories appear above all emblematic to the creation of an ambiance which fits the pattern of Western post-industrial (consumer and experiential) culture.

ICOMOS and TICCIH address adaptive re-use as the most frequent and sustainable way of ensuring conservation of industrial heritage sites and structures. However, adaptation is not acceptable in the case of sites of especial historical significance. According to *The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage*, “new uses should respect the significant material and maintain original patterns of circulation and activity, and should be compatible as much as possible with the original or principal use. An area that interprets the former use is recommended” (National Assembly of TICCIH, 17 July 2003). Hence, industrial heritage is often approached in an attempt to incorporate its multifaceted memory, enabling the development, production, circulation and consumption of new goods and images at the same time.

Keeping in mind that transformation of industrial heritage is limited to a number of factors that protect its authenticity, industrial heritage as a resource is complex, containing diverse (and at times conflicting) meanings which are piled upon it. Thus, often there might be several narratives that would emphasize either the past or present stances of industrial heritage, making its understanding obscure. Consequently, in order to better understand the roles and definitions of industrial heritage adapted to new uses, one has to look at its transformation against the backdrop of post-industrial urban environment.

Today, industrial heritage is communicated from multiple perspectives. Taking into account the distinct industrial aesthetic, industrial heritage is often emblematic of a given area. In other words, the tangible heritage – factories and industrial buildings – also considered as material resources, contribute to the identity and distinctiveness of former industrial areas. These are also assets that are actively put to use in the field of industrial tourism, creating a certain heritage experience. Hence, efforts directed towards sustainable conservation are mainly concerned with the physical and economic regeneration of former industrial areas. In view of the often negative image of an industrial environment, associated with pollution, ugliness, noise and, later on, abandonment and decay (on account of deindustrialization), there is also a strong need to revitalize not only the quality of material environment, but to also transform the established negative perception. Accordingly, cultural planning is often adopted to meet the place making objectives of former industrial areas, creating imaginary places from the disused and dismissed industrial carcasses, which is also an economically and culturally wise solution to integrate industrial heritage into the contemporary urban environment. Thus, industrial heritage which is acknowledged for its historical significance, being of technological and aesthetic value for the quality of its architecture and design, gains a strong linkage to the entertainment (and edutainment) culture of post-industrial society. Particularly, the image of a factory is very present today in the cultural and art scene. “Ironically, former sweatshops are now being put to use in the manufacture of images for an aesthetic economy” (Lloyd, 2006, p.46). It is remarkable that a factory – a capitalist space that symbolized power, hierarchy and exploitation – turned into a resource for creativity and cultural expression. Accordingly, in conjunction with the common strategies of heritage management, the institutionalized rules and regulations of sustainable conservation and adaptive re-use, industrial heritage is produced as a new entity (and a concept) by post industrial societies and their lifestyles.

Although industrial heritage is characterized as a setting with implicit potential, little attention is paid to the alteration of values and change of status of former industrial factories and buildings that gradually takes place. For instance, utilization of former production spaces for staging cultural events that have no contextual linkage to the industrial past except for the tangible industrial setting creates complexity and double-sidedness regarding the whole issue of industrial heritage conservation. In this respect, there is a need to look at the ways that industrial heritage and the qualities of the industrial past are interpreted, presented and defined.

1.3 QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS

Views of the world, people and places are formed from a highly filtered set of impressions. Different people have different ways of understanding and experiencing places. The difference in a common understanding is partially caused by the contrast between individual's prior knowledge, including myths and narratives retrieved from personal memory, and the newly produced images. At the same time, judgments are preconditioned by the culture of which we are part; they derive from the taken-for-granted tacit knowledge and are influenced by the flows of information and images that are generated by the contemporary society, communicated for the most part through the lenses of social and mass media. Thus, preconditioned by the post-industrial culture, former industrial factories and buildings are narrated and interpreted anew, often abstracting the actual object from its grounded image.

In its modified state industrial heritage is a new formation which is very complex to understand and to define because of the different perspectives projected upon it, deriving from the industrial past and post-industrial present. So far, little attention has been paid to the new definitions and narratives generated throughout the functional and ideological conversion of former industrial places, as well as how these are generated and what is being represented, which led to the following

research questions:

- What is the correlation between the industrial past and the post-industrial image of former industrial places?
- Does the adaptive reuse and sustainable conservation of industrial heritage result in its perceptual alteration?
- How does a particular interpretation of industrial heritage change?

At times artificial and glamorized representations of the industrial past, owing to the new cultural and entertaining image of a former factory, is responsible for the new understanding of industrial aesthetic and the rooting of this image within the cultural habits and lifestyles of post-industrial cosmopolites. With the reinvention of the role and uses of industrial heritage its identity is negotiated, manipulated, and transformed, which leads to the re-conceptualization and re-definition of industrial heritage, resulting in its new connotations. Keeping in mind the industrial past, it is challenging to define the new *industrial heritage concept* and its development. Thus, this research will explore the dynamics between the new profiles that industrial heritage acquires, the grounded (historical) image, individual experiences and representations that are projected to the public.

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In the post-industrial context, industrial heritage is a *locus of imaginaries* – a complex, dynamic and hybrid entity, which can be looked at from different perspectives. Thus, *judgments* and images of industrial heritage are formed on account of multiple sources of communication. Furthermore, many revitalization schemes are dealing with the necessity of establishing an image for derelict industrial sites to improve and shape their rotten perception. This is often a matter of interpretation and play, stressing the *representation-aspect* of the different past and present layers that derive either from the knowledge of the past, or are influenced by the flows of information and images generated by the market impulses of the consumer society. Hence, reading both, internal and external narratives of the industrial heritage and its development is crucial in order to understand the emergence of new meanings and values of industrial heritage. Methodologically, the above mentioned issues are approached through an exploratory research involving two case studies of former industrial complexes located in Germany and Italy: *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* and *Mattatoio di Testaccio*.

CASE STUDY 1:

Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei – cotton spinning mill situated in the former industrial district of Plagwitz in Leipzig (Germany), developed into the largest cotton-spinning mill on the European mainland in the period from 1884 until 1907. After the decline of cotton yarn production in the early 1990 it was put to the most varied of uses. Today, the Leipzig's cotton spinning mill is particularly known for its cultural profile and the transformation "from cotton to culture." It is known worldwide on account of the existing art-scene, hosting the New Leipzig School of painting.

CASE STUDY 2:

Mattatoio di Testaccio – the ex-slaughterhouse situated in the Testaccio district of Rome (Italy), is designed by Gioacchino Ersoch and built in the period from 1888 until 1891. In 1975 it was officially decommissioned. Under monumental protection since 1988, it is considered one of Rome's most important and interesting examples of "industrial archaeology." Today, the ex-slaughterhouse is re-used by several big institutions: MACRO – *Museo D'Arte Contemporanea Roma* (the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art), University of Rome Tre and *La Città dell'Altra Economia* (Alternative Economy City). These institutions assist in the establishment of a new profile for the ex-slaughterhouse.

In spite of their new profiles, *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* and *Mattatoio di Testaccio* show appreciation of the distinctive industrial setting and its cultural value, which creates a complexity of narratives behind their development.

Hence, the case study research requires an observation not only of the regeneration strategies, but also of contemporary intersections with (contemporary) culture via, for instance, fine arts, music and film, combined with old and recent memories and viewpoints expressed by multiple contributors. Because of the different perspectives, the analysis is composed of three different layers, each of which is representing a particular viewpoint that rests upon the two main defining stances: the industrial past and the (post-industrial) present.

LAYER 1: WHAT IS THERE? WHO IS THERE? WHAT IS GOING ON?

- will help to acquire general knowledge about each of the case studies.

LAYER 2: EXPERTS' REFLECTIONS

- will provide with personalized images and ways of thinking about the case studies, shared by the interviewees – actors and experts involved in the development of each of the cases.

LAYER 3: IMAGE IN THE MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION

- will outline images and representations that are projected to the public.

Overall, the purpose of this framework is to indicate the qualitative evolution of *Mattatoio di Testaccio* and *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei*, and to analyze correlations of the industrial past and present stances, and their influences upon the case studies.

All in all, **this research aims to:**

- Observe the ideas and values projected on and through the industrial heritage against the backdrop of the post-industrial society;
- Identify the contemporary socio-environmental imagery (signification) of industrial heritage through its representations in the media of mass communication;
- Raise awareness and appreciation for industrial heritage in the full richness of its contemporary meaning.

1.5 ROADMAP

Firstly, in order to understand the progression and direction that former production spaces undertook, one should be acquainted with the context in which they evolve. Thus, to understand the genesis of a post-industrial society, which influenced the specific evolution of industrial heritage, theories of contemporary societies are discussed in **chapter 2**. Furthermore, taking into account the post-industrial perspective, current issues and tendencies in industrial heritage management are looked at in **chapter 3**. Here, the preservation versus transformation and adaptive re-use approaches of industrial heritage management are particularly emphasized. Outlining some of the renown examples of industrial heritage and their transformation, **chapter 4** discusses the aim to revitalize and utilize industrial heritage according to the current demands, which challenges the traditional rapport with a heritage structure, somewhat manipulating, re-producing and preparing industrial heritage to be consumed.

Case study research of former industrial complexes: *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* and *Mattatoio di Testaccio*, conducted in **chapter 5**, outlines the transformation of industrial heritage into a *locus of imaginaries* – a complex, dynamic and hybrid entity that can be looked at from different perspectives. Here, methodological outline of different representations (concepts and ideas expressed on the matter of industrial heritage under examination) allows tracing the emergence of new meanings and definitions behind the ‘old’ industrial carcasses. Finally, **chapter 6** expands the issue of construction of meaning(s) by giving answers to the research questions and decomposing industrial heritage as a new entity, suggesting the contemporary concept of industrial heritage. In conclusion, an outline of the **lessons learned** and some **further suggestions** are provided.

2 POST-INDUSTRIALISM: UNDERSTANDING THE GENESIS OF POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

For most of human history, reality was nature, and in poetry and imagination men sought to relate the self to the natural world. Then reality became technics, tools and things made by men yet given an independent existence outside himself, the refined world. Now reality is primarily the social world-neither nature nor things, only men experienced through the reciprocal consciousness of self and other. Society itself becomes a web of consciousness, a form of imagination to be realized as a social construction. Inevitably, a post-industrial society gives rise to new Utopianism, both engineering and psychedelic. Men can be remade or released, their behavior conditioned or their consciousness altered. The constraints of the past vanish with the end of nature and things. (Bell, 1999, p.488)

Chronological succession, sensibility between mankind and surrounding environment, interplay and fusion of the tangible and the intangible – these elements constitute the excerpt from Daniel Bell's *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: a Venture in Social Forecasting* (1999) and indicate changes that emerge on account of the historical shifts. Lifestyle(s) and everything related to the way a human being *designs* his/her life are the by-product of a particular historical period, influencing and expressing the wants and needs of individuals, and finally coming to define a society. *Consumer society, media society, network society, information society, electronic or 'high tech society'*, etc..., these are some of the main definitions of the late 20th century. These definitions indicate the dramatic transformation in the socio-cultural foundations of the Western societies since the Industrial Revolution in the 18th-19th century. Being aware of the socio-cultural formation of post-industrial Western societies, their tendencies and dynamics, is crucial to understand the evolution of the post-industrial urban landscape and the transformation of its single elements, e.g. post industrial production spaces and the current strategies of their management. Thereby, this chapter is aimed to understand the genesis of contemporary Western societies. By looking at the main theories that have resulted from the discussions in the academic world, an emphasis will be put on the elaboration of the definitions that are given to the contemporary society.

To understand the genesis of a post-industrial society and its influence on the urban spatial structure and its built objects, as well as to become aware of the impact that both the Industrial Revolution and deindustrialization have had on the development of the urban landscape and societies, one must be aware of the basic structural components and organization of a society first. Referring to Daniel Bell's (1999) theorization:

Analytically, society can be divided into three parts: the social structure, the polity and the culture. The social structure comprises the economy, technology, and the occupational system. The polity regulates the distribution of power and adjudicates the conflicting claims and demands of individuals and groups. The culture is the realm of expressive symbolism and meanings. (p. 12)

In its turn, Western industrial society was marked by three distinctive features: the growth of the large corporation which was considered as the prototype of all business enterprises; the imprint of the machine on the character of the work; and the labor conflict. This structure, however, changed due to deindustrialization, which ultimately led to the emergence of a new society with new forms of work and thinking.

The essential features of industrial society's transformation are well identified in one of the key studies on post-industrialism by Daniel Bell *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: a Venture in Social Forecasting* (1999), who pioneered in describing an emerging post-industrial society. Discussing the historical distinctions of industrial and post-industrial societies, he pointed out the dynamics of the general shift from a mechanical technology (i.e. machines), to an electrical technology (i.e. wired and wireless communication), to an intellectual technology (i.e. programming, linguistics, and algorithms). Bell (1999), defined this process as the change from the 19th century technology to the 20th century technology. This definition also included the qualitative shift from manufacturing to services, indicated by occupational changes (e.g. in the character of work) and by the rise of professional employment as one of the defining qualities of a post-industrial society.

In brief, the industrial society was the good-producing society where men, materials and markets were united to produce and distribute goods (Bell, 1999), in contrast, the post-industrial society, based on the provision of services rather than on the manufacture of goods, puts the knowledge and information at the forefront, making professionals equipped with specialist skills its main 'resources'.

Summing up, industrial society has undergone major qualitative shifts in its social, economic and cultural characteristics. Accordingly, an emphasis is put on the new patterns of production where culture and modern technologies make up a large share, generating new forms of work and immaterial labor. At the same time, to capture the *Zeitgeist*, a loanword from German that indicates the spirit of the age – *Zeit* (time) and *Geist* (spirit), one shall consider taking a closer look upon the socio-cultural features, ideas and beliefs of a society that are associated with the post-industrial historical period.

2.1 THEORIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

Today, the term *post-industrial society* is widely used. The theory of post-industrial society was elaborated during the 1960s and early 1970s (Kumar, 2005). However, apart from the common speculations that focus on the decline of manufacturing industries and the shift to service industries, there is often little further elaboration that would refer to the implications of “the post-industrial”. However, with the shift from industrial society, a mixture of theories and definitions on the new society emerged. The theory of *information/knowledge society*, the theory of *post-Fordism*, and the theory of *post-modernism* are amongst the well-known and the most influential ones. Although they use different terms to define the new society, they frequently overlap each other due to the repetition of certain features that are prominent in all of these theoretical accounts.

The theory of the *information or knowledge society* is frequently used to describe the post-industrial Western society. Referring to Kumar (2005), “just as industrial society replaced agrarian society, information society is replacing industrial society more or less in the same revolutionary way” (p.39). However, it was Daniel Bell (1999), who first gave the definition *information society*, emphasizing the importance of (theoretical) knowledge as the main source of value and the feature of the new society. Thus, if labor and capital have been the central variables of the industrial society, they are now replaced by information and knowledge as the central variables of the post-industrial society. Accordingly, the emphasis shifted from the goods-producing factories of the industrial time to the cultural and educational institutions as the information-producing factories of the post-industrial time. Information society and the new mode of production that is attached to it is, for most thinkers including Kumar (2005), a whole new way of life.

Marxists' vision of the post-industrial society is expressed under the banner of 'post-Fordism'. What differentiates the theory of the information/knowledge society and the accounts on the post-Fordist society is the focus. If the theory of the information/knowledge society puts an emphasis on the forces of production, the post-Fordist theory rather emphasizes the relations of production (Kumar, 2005). Post-Fordist theory acknowledges a strong culture of "entrepreneurialism", the promotion of "individualist modes of thought and behavior" and the emerged "privatization in domestic life and leisure pursuits"; "the end of universalism and standardization in education"; "fragmentation and pluralism in values and life-styles"; "post-modernist eclecticism and populist approaches to culture" (Kumar, 2005, p.76). Economic changes that occurred on account of the transition from Fordist to post-Fordist society are defined by the rise of the global market and of global corporations, and resulting in the decentralization of production.

Among the above mentioned theories and definitions of the contemporary society, it is particularly the concepts of "the post-modern" and "the post-industrial" that were heavily discussed and debated. Should the contemporary age be defined as post-modern or post-industrial? Has the society transferred from being post-industrial to being post-modern? (see Kumar's debate in *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society: New Theories of the Contemporary World*, 2005) According to the critical analysis made by Margaret A. Rose in *The Post-modern and the Post-Industrial: A Critical Analysis* (1996), the use of the terms *post-modern* and *post-industrial* has arisen not only from a variety of different and sometimes conflicting criticisms of modern cultures and societies, but from a variety of different ideals for both the present and the future. Rose (1995) stressed that:

not only has the term 'post-modern' been used with reference to a variety of different concepts of the modern epoch (the dating of which has been started from Renaissance to contemporary times, despite the fact that the word 'modern' is derived from one for 'now' or 'today'), but it has also been used on the basis of a variety of understandings of the meaning of modernism in the arts or architecture, modernization (the economic and technological developments of the last century of industrialist and capital-based expansion which have been seen to be characteristic of 'modern' societies) and modernity, which has been defined as the sum total of 'modernism', the 'modern' and 'modernisation.' (p. 1)

Modernism – Western cultural movement that occurred in the end of the 19th century, referring to Kumar (2005) is rather an aesthetic and cultural reaction to late modernity and modernisation. Similarly, Featherstone (2007) noted that “in the most restricted sense, modernism points to the styles we associate with the artistic movements which originated around the turn of century and which have dominated the various arts until recently” (p. 7).

Whereas postmodernism “is not merely an academic term, for it has gained impetus from artistic ‘movements’” (Featherstone, 2007, p. 1). In *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (2007), he introduced an extensive and striking range of artistic, intellectual and academic fields in which the term ‘postmodernism’ has been used, including music (Cage, Stockhausen, Briers, Holloway, Tredici, Laurie Anderson); art (Rauschenberg, Baselitz, Mach, Schnabel, Kiefer; some would also include Warhol and the 1960s pop art, and others Bacon); fiction (Vonnegut’s *Slaughterhouse Five*, and the novels of Barth, Barthelme, Pynchon, Burroughs, Ballard, Doctorow); film (*Body Heat*, *The Wedding*, *Blue Velvet*, *Wetherby*); drama (the theatre of Artaud); photography (Sherman, Levine, Prince); architecture (Jencks, Venturi, Bolin); literary theory and criticism (Spanos, Hassan, Sontag, Fiedler); philosophy (Lyotard, Derrida, Baudrillard, Vattimo, Rorty); anthropology (Clifford, Tyler, Marcus); sociology (Denzin); and geography (Soja).

Summarizing the definition of the term ‘postmodern’, Featherstone (2007) noted that there is no agreed meaning to it. Thus, he pinpointed its derivatives – postmodernity, postmodernité, postmodernization and postmodernism – the family of terms that are often used in confusing and interchangeable ways. In *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (2007), Featherstone outlined and discussed some of the meanings of the term ‘postmodern’. “Postmodernism is of interest to a wide range of artistic practices, social science and humanities disciplines because it directs one’s attention to changes taking place in contemporary culture” (Featherstone, 2007, p. 11). Conversely, the notion of a pre-modern city – its culture and spatial form – implied stability. Stability is embodied in the historical built structures – landmarks that provide a strong sense of place and identity, whereas modernity, as Walsh (1992) suggested, is linked with the idea of progress. “Progression through the exploitation of the environment, combined with a faith in humankind’s dominant position in the scheme of things, must be central to any appreciation of modernity” (Walsh, 1992, p. 8).

Accordingly, “the urban environment was created out of the imperative to modernize; this resulted in the creation of a new form of intensified experience, intensified because of modernity’s need to produce and reproduce itself with ever increasing regularity” (Walsh, 1992, p. 29).

Cities developed into new forms of concentrated space that triggers the inputs and outputs of capital, enhancing production and consumption. From a modernist perspective, a city is functional and economic entity “whose spatial form is dominated by the grid-iron layout and high-rise modernist architecture – both give way to the postmodern city which marks a return to culture, style and decoration, but within a confines of a ‘no-place space’ in which traditional senses of culture are de-contextualized, simulated, reduplicated and continually renewed and restyled” (Featherstone, 2007, p.97).

From the architectural perspective, a post-modern city is characterized by eclecticism and pluralism, which is defined by playful fusion of traditions and styles. Although, referring to Kumar (2005) post-modernism represents a “capitulation to kitsch and commercialism” (p. 129), it “seeks to break down modernist distinctions between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture, ‘elite’ and ‘mass’ art”, “(...) it accepts a diversity of ‘taste cultures’, whose needs it tries to meet by offering a plurality of styles” (Kumar, 2005, p. 128). Also, in *From post-industrial to post-modern society: New Theories of the Contemporary World* (2005), Kumar traced an interesting linkage between the postmodernist architecture and the theory of information society he pointed out the concept of Paolo Portoghesi, and said that “postmodernist architecture mirrors information society in being the ‘architecture of communication’” (Kumar, 2005, p. 135). He also announced post-modernism as the culture of post-industrial capitalist society, explaining that societies wish to reserve the term post-modern exclusively for the cultural sphere, thus, linking the postmodern culture to “some new form of society, ‘post-industrial’ society being the commonly preferred concept” (Kumar, 2005, p. 134).

To summarize, under modernity one understands a continuous creation of new things and an opposition to tradition, as it rejects the past as a source of inspiration and example. Modernity is, thus, a permanent revolution of ideas and institutions, representing an ideology and a cultural style. Referring to the assertion that modernity was ‘materialized’ with the British Industrial Revolution of the late 18th century and that it was formed to a good extent of industrial elements (Kumar, 2005), it can be assumed that the conjunction of steam and speed accessorized the vision of the modern world of the machine-built society of mass-production, where architecture reflected functionalism and followed the motto ‘form follows function’.

The close association of modernity with industrialism is one reason why there are thinkers today who proclaim the end of modernity. Industrialism, at least as conventionally understood, seems to have exhausted itself, to have reached its limits. (Kumar, 2005, p.107)

Taking into account the assertions that stem from the popular theories on the contemporary society, the term 'post-industrial' is acquired and used throughout this research. Particularly, this term has been chosen to stress and create a direct link with the subject of the research – the built industrial heritage. Overall, in this discourse, it is also noteworthy to mention the claim made by Rose (1999) regarding the prefix 'post'. According to her, it designates development of industrialism rather than a break from it, and states the development of trends that unfold from the industrial society. Thus, most theories on post-industrial society can be understood as an extension of the industrial society. The development of science and technology, for instance, has been of a major importance throughout the entire process of industrialization, respectively, the increasing predominance of the knowledge in the post-industrial society is merely the end result of this process.

Although it has been repeatedly acknowledged that the post-industrial age is an age of knowledge, information and communication, an indivisible part of post-industrial culture is the sphere of leisure and consumption. It is particularly in this sphere, that the dramatic impact of the structural changes of the society can be witnessed.

2.2 THE CONSUMPTION CULTURE AND THE CULTURAL CONSUMPTION

Metamorphoses that took place in the socio-cultural structure of industrial societies tackle changes not only in regard to the various aspects of everyday life, but also in regard to the professionals' approach towards spatial management and development. Embodiments of certain post-industrial tendencies – the culture and lifestyles – can be observed in the built environment, pointing out to the shift in the focus and dynamics of the daily lives of people. It can be noticed, for instance, that post-industrial built environment is visibly overloaded by a variety of consumption and leisure enclaves, including shopping centres, theme parks, entertainment spaces and museums, which can be explained by the changed priorities in the actual daily practices of a contemporary individual.

Referring to Bell (1999), “in sociological terms, changes in lifestyle are associated with a move from class to status” (p. xxv). Accordingly, with the growth of middle class, standard living associated with the industrial times was re-defined into a lifestyle, causing the society to move from being *class-based* to being *status-based*. Defining a class-based society Bell (1999) outlined its association with a mass-production, mass-consumption society, where the central concerns of the people were focused upon the economic aspects of life, whereas “status was concerned with the differentiation of products (as in fashion) and the desire to display one’s taste or gain approval of the social arbiters of the different circles to which individuals may belong” (p. xxv). Individualism is recognized as one of the features of a status oriented society, tackling the collective identities based on class and shared work experiences to dissolve into more pluralized and privatized forms of identity. “The status society is one where the social approval of others, or the adoption of different styles of dress or costume become a signature of a declared individualism (even if that individualism is a copy of other individualisms)” (Bell, 1999, p. xxv). As a consequence, post-industrial *lifestyles* are fed by various levels and types of consumption, announcing consumption culture as one of the key-features of post-industrialism.

Referring to Featherstone (1995):

The term *consumer society* marked a shift from considering consumption as a mere reflex of production, to conceiving consumption as central to social reproduction. The term *consumer culture* points out not only the increasing production and salience of cultural goods as commodities, but also to the way in which the majority of cultural activities and signifying practices become mediated through consumption, and consumption progressively involves the consumption of signs and images. (p. 75)

In view of that, Eckardt (2003) claimed that post-industrial cities are no longer simply having consumer culture, but they solely exist as places of consumption of not only various material but also immaterial goods.

Consumption is one of the main features and catch words that are associated with the contemporary society. According to Featherstone (2007), there is “an over-supply of symbolic goods in contemporary Western societies (...)” (p. 13). In particular, his observations outlined the growing practice of the culture of consumption which brings cultural questions to the fore and has wider implications for conceptualization of the relationship between culture, economy and society. Consumption culture, hence, is a defining element of post-industrial societies, which also has an imprint upon the development of their built environment.

The term “culture” has a broad spectrum of meanings, thus, in order to avoid misconstructions, it is important to define it. Referring to Featherstone (1995), “the term ‘culture’ is often used to apply to the totality encompassing social and cultural life (...)” (p. 136). At the same time, he narrowed down the definition to the two main perceptions of culture: “culture as ‘the process of the spiritual and intellectual development’ of the person and culture as ‘the products of artistic and intellectual practices’” (Featherstone, 2007, p. 127). In *Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity* (1995), Featherstone discussed two images of culture that resulted simultaneously from the process of globalization.

The first image entails the extension outwards of a particular culture to its limit, the globe. Heterogeneous cultures become incorporated and integrated into a dominant culture which eventually covers the whole world. The second image points to the compression of cultures. Things formerly held apart are now brought into contact and juxtaposition. Cultures pile on top of each other in heaps without obvious organizing principles. (p. 6)

In brief, culture is a combination of elements within the general pattern of a socio-spatial organization.

Playfulness and a stylistic promiscuity favoring eclecticism and the mixing of codes – the second image of culture discussed by Featherstone (1995), can be easily noticed in the way that some of the former production spaces are revitalized and adapted to new uses. A distinct example that pictures this tendency is the exhibition space of former Giovanni Montemartini Thermolectric Centre – the first public electricity plant in Rome which was constructed in 1912 and located in the former industrial area of Ostiense. Called *Centrale Montemartini*, it hosts a part of the collection of Roman sculptures of The Capitoline Museums – a group of art and archeological museums (*Musei Capitolini*) and exhibits them under the title “The Gods and the Machines”.

The exhibition combines the two seemingly opposing concepts – classical art and industrial archaeology, hence, supporting and illustrating Featherstone’s (1995) observation by providing a game of contrasts – the old machinery of electricity production acts as the background for ancient sculptures (see Figure 1).

The mixing and juxtaposition of heritage pieces of classical art and machinery is arresting in its originality and implications, refusing to accept the difficulty of seeing industrial culture as heritage at all, since heritage has by convention been defined as relics from a pre-industrial history. (Chilingaryan, 2011, p. 171)



Figure 2: Exhibition “The Gods and The Machines” (by author)

For the most part, in the post-industrial economies culture is considered as a business opportunity. Defined as industries which produce tangible and intangible cultural, artistic and creative outputs, *culture industries* tackle the production of cultural goods and services by utilizing cultural resources and using creativity as an additional input to generate the final product. Thus, basically the idea of culture industries is based on the interfusion and mutual support of culture and commerce. At the same time, keeping the focus upon income generation, culture industries might be held responsible for dimming the historical essence of heritage by putting the experience-factor at the forefront, and thus, blending the boundary between high-art and mass/popular/commercial culture. On that matter, Featherstone (1995) pointed out:

It is common in depictions of postmodern experiences to find references to: the disorientating *mêlée* of signs and images, stylistic eclecticism, sign-play, the mixing of codes, depthlessness, pastiche, simulations, hyper-reality, immediacy, a *mêlange* of fiction and strange values, intense affect-charged experiences, the collapse of the boundaries between art and everyday life, an emphasis upon images over words, the playful immersion in unconscious processes as opposed to detached conscious appreciation, the loss of sense of the reality of history and tradition; the decentring of the subject (see Jameson, 1984a; Chambers, 1987; Lash, 1988; Baudrillard, 1983a, 1993; Hebdige, 1988). (p. 76)

At the same time, what Featherstone (2007) defined as “a general stylistic promiscuity and playful mixing of codes” (p. 64) is according to Jameson (1991) a “‘degraded’ landscape of schlock and kitsch” (p.2).

Overall, this great variety that defines the dominant post-industrial (or postmodern) social and cultural dynamics is certainly reinforced by the diversity of goods and services that are suited to the contemporary, post-industrial urban lifestyles. Particularly, cultural sphere – a realm where meanings and expressive imagination are in the lead, is exploited the most. “The omnivorous cultural preferences of the new urban class of post-industrial professionals sit behind the development of “the city as an entertainment machine”, generating a range of cultural amenities” (Lloyd, 2006, p. 125). Evidently, to be able to navigate in the variety of cultural signs and imagery, (up to date) knowledge becomes important.

New forms of work and leisure, centrality of the consumption culture in the socio-cultural structure of the post-industrial societies – these are all crucial factors that affect the ways that (industrial) heritage is being managed. Moreover, culture and culture industries are simultaneously present and often take leading positions in post-industrial urban regeneration strategies. Referring to Lloyd (2006), despite at times limited economic potential, cultural events contribute to the creative ambiance of an area, hence, increasing its attractiveness. “The practical activity of local artists generates value, even if someone else often ends up pocketing the profit” (Lloyd, 2006, p. 167). The “new bohemia”, as Lloyd defined the cultural actors of the late 20th and early 21st centuries in *Neo-bohemia. Art and commerce in the Postindustrial City* (2006), played a big part in enhancing the interests of post-industrial capitalist enterprises, especially when it concerned property speculations of various sorts, as well as entertainment production. Global competition, capital flows and open market for investment stimulate cities to become more entrepreneurial. Hence, in order to stand out and attract capital they often stress their local features, thus, tying localism to globalism. “The process of globalization, then, does not seem to be producing cultural uniformity only; rather it makes us aware of new levels of diversity” (Featherstone, 1995, p. 13). Hence, even though globalism is perceived as a phenomenon that reinforces the development of a uniform and homogenized global culture, “intensified through commodification on a world-wide scale: a McDonald’s burger in Tokyo tastes no different to one bought in Paris, or Birmingham, and is purchased in surroundings which are usually identical” (Walsh, 1992, p. 63), it is also providing opportunities to display local cultures and particularities. Accordingly, taking into account this specific context, (industrial) heritage adapted to new uses testifies a new sense of rootedness while celebrating the eclecticism of contemporaneity.

Markedly, places matter not only on account of their histories, but also as sources of local mobilization that can take multiple forms and be nourished by multiple sources. For instance, the revival of dismissed industrial factories and former production spaces, often situated in marginal working-class neighbourhoods, started due to artists' initial desire to occupy and utilize the large and inexpensive spaces according to their creative needs. Today, the 'high-end' art and culture have mixed into the former working-class environment, becoming a part of the post-industrial image of an authentic urban experience. Thus, many former industrial factories and production spaces turned into new residential, work or leisure entities.

Overall, post-industrial societies continue to evolve, identifying new issues in the organization of built environment. The emergent complexity of the post-industrial social structure outlines existence of the new ways of thinking and requires knowledge that will allow not only reading the abstract systems of symbols and signs within the built environment, but also looking at how they are utilized in the day-to-day practices.

In the fields of architecture and urban planning at present, particularly in the Western countries, industrial heritage management constitutes an integral part of urban planning and development processes. Popular forms of industrial heritage management – adaptive re-use and sustainable conservation, are post-industrial solutions of bringing disused industrial built structures back to use. These approaches also emphasize some of the trends that were identified in the post-industrial social structure – the increased importance of an image and the shift-away of the focus from the production of (tangible) goods to the production of experiences.

In order to understand the position of industrial heritage in the context of contemporary urban development and planning practices, the following (chapter 3) takes a closer look at the up to date definitions and value of heritage, focusing upon the most common (industrial) heritage management strategies.

3 MANAGING (INDUSTRIAL) HERITAGE: PRESERVATION AND THE PARADIGMS OF TRANSFORMATION, ADAPTIVE RE-USE AND SUSTAINABLE CONSERVATION

While the layering of historical residue in the urban fabric contributes to the intensity and appeal of towns and cities, the built environment is in a perpetual state of flux. (Hobson, 2003, p. 3)

Built environment can be seen as a conceptual system. At the same time, it also contains remains of different conceptual systems. Driven by economic, cultural, technological or religious forces, social change directly affects built environment and the rapport that people have with it. During the Industrial Revolution, for instance, Western societies have been constantly concerned with the idea of progress and benefit, exploiting and manipulating the environment for that matter. However, social change and its influence upon built environment are noticeable not only by the changing appearances and functions of human-made surroundings, but also by the way some of its built structures are managed, represented and perceived.

Primarily, the framework of this research is designed to understand the evolution of industrial heritage. To do so, one has to be acquainted not only with the timeframe in which former production spaces evolved (which was discussed in the preceding chapter 2), but to take a closer look upon the heritage management policies, terminology and connotations that are linked with the transformation paradigms.

Referring to Alfrey and Putnam (1992), “in several economies heritage related investment, development and trade have moved from a marginal position to attain considerable importance, linking cultural industries, leisure and tourism, retailing and economic regeneration” (p. 33). Prior to tackling the complexity that different specialized fields create when joint within a single cause, there is a necessity to outline and update the definition(s) and value of heritage, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. After that, the focus will be narrowed down and directed at examining the position of industrial heritage in the context of contemporary urban development and planning practices.

3.1 HERITAGE: DEFINITION AND VALUE

It is not an easy task to define (and manage) the concept of heritage, mostly, because it is composed of complex and interrelated tangible and intangible attributes that range from material manifestations, including built environment and natural landscapes, to the intangible cultural attributes of a society – its traditions, knowledge and cultural expressions.

In *The Economics of Cultural Policy* (2010), Throsby identified three types of cultural heritage:

- Built or immovable heritage, such as buildings, monuments, sites or locations, including groups of buildings and sites found in historic city centres;
- Moveable heritage, such as artworks, archives, artefacts, or other objects of cultural significance; and
- Intangible heritage, existing as works of music or literature handed down to us from the past, or as inherited practices, language, rituals, skills or traditional knowledge that communities and groups recognize as culturally important. (p. 106)

Diverse charters, or guidelines, recommendations, resolutions and statements across the globe, aimed at protecting cultural property and managing architectural conservation and restoration, define the scope and definition of heritage. Since the international implementation of the renowned International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites in 1964, also known as the Venice Charter 1964, a number of conservation guidelines were developed – for the most part by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The new guidelines not only expressed concern for physical heritage – historic monuments and buildings, but also outlined non-physical heritage – environments, social factors and intangible values. As a result, by the end of the 20th century, the scope of heritage internationally included tangible and intangible heritage as well as environments.

In the present-day theoretical discourses, heritage is often characterized from a constructionist perspective. Graham and Howard (2008) explained the constructionist perspective as “referring to the ways in which the very selective past material artifacts, natural landscapes, mythologies, memories and traditions become cultural, political and economic resources for the present” (p. 2). Thus, they defined heritage as present-centred, “created, shaped, and managed by, and in response to the demands of the present” (p.3).

In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (2008), Graham and Howard asserted that heritages have many uses and multiple producers, including public/private sector, official/non-official and insider/outsider, and each stakeholder has varied and multiple objectives in the creation and management of heritage. Furthermore, in *The Industrial Heritage. Managing Resources and Uses* (1992), Alfrey and Putnam specified four kinds of heritage-making agents, including “individuals and voluntary cultural associations; Public authorities and political parties; Disciplinary and professional specialists; Producers for consumption by others” (p.34). Considering the varied demands of heritage-making agents, heritage, thus, can be viewed from diverse perspectives.

Value of heritage indicates its further development. The view of heritage as a commodity “that is simultaneously multi-sold in many segmented market places” (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000, p.22) validates the idea of heritage as a predominantly economic resource of the present. From the variety of policy applications that touch upon the relationship between heritage and economic activities, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), listed the three most prevalent policy applications:

First, heritage is an economic activity in itself, an industry commodifying past structures, associations and cultural productivity and trading these for an economic return that can be measured in jobs, profits or incomes. Second, heritage places can be treated as locations for economic activities and assessed according to their ability to attract, accommodate or repel economic functions. Third, and most indirectly, heritage in various manifestations can be used in the creation and promotion of place images for dominantly economic purposes. (pp. 156-157)

In *The Economics of Cultural Policy* (2010), Throsby discussed the basic concepts of cultural capital and cultural value as means towards understanding the economic dimensions of cultural heritage. According to him:

Items of cultural heritage can be brought into the economic calculus by regarding them as assets with the usual characteristics attributable to economic capital: they require investment of resources, in their manufacture or creation; they function both as stories of value and as long-lasting sources of capital services over time; and they will depreciate unless maintained. (p. 107)

Throsby (2010) also looked at the idea of value when applied to cultural heritage and discussed basic distinctions between the different types of value, particularly focusing upon individual versus collective value, private and public value. Still, the guiding themes in the discussion were the economic and cultural types of value.

Discussing the economic value of heritage, Throsby (2010) took the paradigm of neoclassical economics, “In a neoclassical world peopled by rational fully-informed utility-maximizing consumers, value arises through processes of exchange in perfectly-functioning markets” (pp. 108-109). Throsby (2010) also pointed out the importance of the “willingness-to-pay of individual consumers that expresses the value of the goods in question” (p.109). Thus, the economic value of heritage is recognized by the sorts of values that individuals recognize and are prepared to pay for.

Overall, Throsby (2010) classified the value of heritage into categories that correspond to the ways in which individuals experience heritage, which is either through direct consumption or use, or indirect through the so-called passive use, or as a beneficial externality.

Use value is experienced through direct consumption of heritage which takes place, for instance, when one visits heritage sites. Also, referring to Throsby (2010), direct consumption occurred “through the ownership of heritage assets, or through the enjoyment of the services of such an asset by living in a heritage house or working in a heritage building (...)” (p. 109). Use value is reflected in market processes.

Non-use (passive use) values “are experienced by individuals but are not reflected in market processes since they are derived from those attributes of cultural heritage that are classifiable as non-rival and non-excludable public goods” (Throsby, 2010, p.110). Research in environmental economics provides three categories of passive-use value that Throsby (2010) identifies as applicable to heritage due to close parallels between the concepts of natural capital and cultural capital. The passive-use value categories are:

- Existence value: individuals value cultural heritage simply because it exists;
- Option value: individuals wish to preserve heritage items in order to leave open the option that they may consume their services in the future;
- Bequest value: individuals wish to pass on heritage assets to future generations (p. 110).

Beneficial externality entails both: the use and non-use characteristics. It derives from the fact that heritage may generate positive spillovers. “A heritage building or site, for example, may give rise to a beneficial externality if passers-by gain pleasure from observing its aesthetic or historic qualities (...)” (Throsby, 2010, p. 111). On the whole, following Throsby’s (2010) discussion one can clearly observe the interconnectedness of the economic and cultural values of heritage.

According to Alfrey and Putnam (1992), “there are several institutional structures which have contained and shaped heritage values” (p.7). In *The Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses* (1992), Alfrey and Putnam (1992) stated the following:

The structures of planning and conservation have exercised a powerful influence on the direction and subject matter of heritage, encouraging a definition of resources heavily dependent on landscape features, and defining value according to particular criteria.

Typically, conservation was introduced as one component of the larger agenda of land-use planning, and this context has served to shape the development of ideas about how heritage could and should do. (pp. 7-8)

In *Conservation and Planning: Changing Values in Policy and Practice* (2003), Hobson claims that the concepts that traditionally distinguish conservation areas from listing are their character, morphology and identity. Hobson (2003) also stated that “it is difficult to generalize standards for historic interest since by definition each feature is unique because of the cumulative historical events that have shaped its existence” (p. 229).

Referring to Fitch’s orthodox study *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (1982), the scale of artifacts to be preserved vary. According to Fitch (1982), “the largest artifact which the preservationist is apt to be called upon to manage in a curatorial sense will be a *historic spatial module*” (p. 41). According to him, a historic spatial module might be “an entire historic town or village”, “the historic core of a large and still-growing modern city,” or “the historic district in a modern city – the ancient nucleus which is no longer the functional center” (see Fitch, 1982, p.41). As modules Fitch (1982) identified: Historic Town – the largest “preservable unit”; Historic District; Outdoor Architectural Museum; Historic House Museum; Historic Rooms in Art Museums – the smallest “artifactual” module of the preservationist (see pp. 41-44).

Interestingly, in the list of the artifacts to be preserved, Fitch (1982) also included disused old buildings that often have “neither important historical associations nor exceptional artistic merit” (p. 44). According to Alfrey and Putnam (1992), “determination of realistic conservation objectives depends in the first place on a detailed assessment of resources and a clear understanding of exactly why and in what context the site is deemed of value” (p. 114). Hence, considering it important to preserve and celebrate the visual identity of old buildings that have “neither important historical associations nor exceptional artistic merit,” regarding their aesthetic factor valuable for the streetscape, Fitch (1982) also pointed at the difficulty to preserve such buildings for purely museological purposes, suggesting their adaptation to new uses.

In *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (1992), Walsh considered history and archaeology to be “somewhat akin to a seam of coal or reservoir of water, a resource to be extracted and exploited, to be put to work in as many ways as possible in the market-place” (p.145). Today, “the stock of ‘heritage’ building and sites tends to increase because recent buildings are included to represent national heritage for future generations and the concept of heritage is enlarged to cover new typologies of buildings and sites, notably those with an industrial and commercial content” (Peacock & Rizzo, 2008, p.117).

The observations listed in this part of the research validate heritage as an asset and an active element in the context of post-industrial social structure and its spatial environment, which acts as a catalyst for the inputs and outputs of capital, consumption and production. Yet, how does one *cultivate* (or manage) the available heritage resources?

3.2 HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Heritage is a chimera of interpretations, attracting criticism and support in equal measure. (Hobson, 2003, p. 258)

Heritage management identifies, maintains and interprets significant tangible and intangible heritage assets, comprising sustainable ways of dealing with heritage. For this purpose, specialist skills are necessary not only to outline the heritage significance, but also to manage the sustainable use of heritage sites and structures.

Referring to the Prospects – UK’s Official Graduate Careers Website, explanation of a heritage manager’s job, “a management role in the heritage sector is all about balancing the preservation of the fabric and character of a property with the need to generate an income (...)” (retrieved from http://www.prospects.ac.uk/heritage_manager_job_description.htm). It also pointed out that “a heritage management role can encompass a considerable diversity of job titles, with individual post holders coming from a wide variety of backgrounds from both within and outside the sector.”

In *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (1982), James Marston Fitch – one of the leading figures in American architectural education and historic preservation – noted that “the task of retrieving, recycling, and curating the built world is, by its very nature, synoptic and cross-disciplinary” (p.xii).

In *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (1982), which is a consequence of the author's efforts (beginning in the early 1960s) to develop an academic program for formal training in the field of historic preservation, Fitch (1982) provided an overview of the urgent problems related to the management of the built world, offering "a holistic theoretical apparatus for a wise and civilized system of solving them" (p. xi).

Fitch's (1982) rather orthodox contribution is also a testimony of earlier concerns with the issues of sustainability, which is one of the reasons that parts of his study are implemented in the discussion of current heritage management strategies. Particularly, Fitch (1982) was an early advocate of environmentalism in architecture, promoting what is now commonly identified as sustainability. Thus, a number of problems that Fitch (1982) raised in his book are also central today, like questioning the reasonability and affordability of rebuilding the environment every generation.

Environmental sustainability is a basic issue in the present-day planning discussions. Although economic, social, and cultural aspects are to be considered, the basic issue is ecological, as "(...) there will be little room for economic and social policies once the Earth has become uninhabitable" (Albers, 2006).

Referring to Albers (2006), "sustainability means conserving resources, limiting consumption of non-renewable energy, reducing detrimental influences upon the environment caused by sealing the ground through buildings and roads as well as by the production of noxious gases. This leads to the goal of limiting the expansion of settlements by satisfying new needs for buildings within the built-up area – by directing new uses to derelict industrial land, by densifying sparsely settled areas, by conversion of former military establishments" (p.62).

Moreover, Albers (2006) identifies conservation and re-use of existing buildings in order to save resources as 'urban maintenance' (*Stadterhaltung*), pointing out that 'urban maintenance' is an ecologically responsible treatment of the city and its durable values that reside in buildings and infrastructure, which does not indicate an antithesis to 'urban development'.

At present, heritage recycling is a necessity from the viewpoint of environmental sustainability. However, the ways that societies interpreted and managed heritage in the past varied. "Over time the treatment of historic buildings has encompassed a curious mix of reverence and sanctity, abrogation and destruction" (Hobson, 2003, p.3).

Driven by societies' progress, changes create a certain opposition or tension between protecting old structures and championing new ones. Earlier, a cycle of obsolescence and decay dictated the functional and economic 'death' of buildings, considering it vital to replace old structures with vibrant contemporary buildings.

Obsolescence or mismatch within built environment is defined by Doratli (2005) as a trigger that leads an area into the process of deterioration and decay. Hence, it is one of the main contextual attributes to diagnose. Changes in the prevailing socio-economic, cultural and political conditions, as well as the variance in developing needs and expectations through time, would result in a mismatch or conflict between the capability of building/group of building or the area (Doratli, 2005). Figure 3 shows classification of the types of obsolescence brought up by Doratli in her study *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters: A Model for Determining the Most Relevant Strategic Approach* (2005).

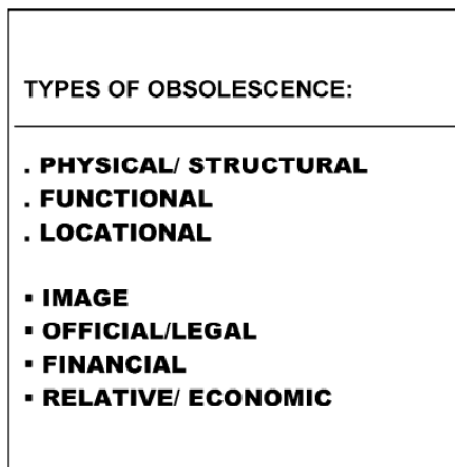


Figure 3: Types of Obsolescence (Doratli, 2005)

Until recently, developers found it more appealing to tear the old buildings down and start anew, without even taking into consideration the possible value of the building to be demolished. Referring to Alfrey and Putnam (1992), “the structures of planning and conservation have exercised a powerful influence on the direction and subject matter of heritage, encouraging a definition of resources heavily dependent on landscape features, and defining value according to particular criteria” (pp. 7-8). This approach, however, might be insufficient, as different built structures have their own particularities and value. For instance, in his work Fitch (1982) points out that historic and artistic significance of old districts must be judged by some of the most deteriorated sections which may have the greatest value and offer largest touristic potentials for restoration and preservation.

Today, the central topic of planning discussions is environmental sustainability. Hence, on account of the widespread awareness of this issue retrieval and recycling as opposed to demolition and a new construction has come to the forefront. Together with the constantly present idea of change and transformation, it makes an individual aware of the past while directing the focus at the future. Referring to Hobson (2003), “an ever-closer relationship between planning and conservation has seen planning providing the means and muscle previously lacking to prevent the last late lamented demolition of a valuable historic feature” (p. 59). In *Conservation and Planning: Changing Values in Policy and Practice* (2003), Hobson discussed the perceived values and justifications that underlie conservation planning in the UK and points out the emergence of deeper cultural attitudes to the past which is seen through the framework of conservation policies.

Changes that have gradually taken place in the ways that built environment is approached reinforce the assertion that not only architectural structures whose historicity or artistic value is already established are valuable. Moreover, realization of the benefits that could be gained from the intelligent reuse of notable architectural structures that remained in good conditions but are disused due to their functional dismissal put the more ‘recent’ stock of heritage (industrial heritage, for instance) on the spot, saving such structures from abandonment or demolition.

Already in *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (1982), Fitch discussed the economic sense of retrieval and recycling, pointing out that throughout time the cost of making anything has been high in terms of both labor and materials. Hence, next to cultural benefits that derive from the preservation and extended life of historical buildings, Fitch (1982) outlined their material qualities, recognizing that rehabilitation instead of demolishing offers a more economically and socially less disruptive means of renewing cities.

For instance, referring to the late 19th and early 20th century buildings, Fitch (1982) mentioned that these buildings were designed to use natural light and ventilation, often being natural energy savers, providing in sum more interesting and varied environments for people to live, work, shop, and eat. Fitch (1982) also stated that no effective revitalization (or “rehabilitation program”) can be realized without consideration of the four main factors: Microclimatic response; Structural stability; Sanitary levels; Historic and artistic significance (Fitch, 1982). Similarly, (in her article *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters: A Model for Determining the Most Relevant Strategic Approach*) Doratli (2005) claimed that a correct diagnosis of the level of obsolescence of physical, functional and locational characteristics and the dynamics of the place during the analytical stage plays a key role in the success of a revitalization project.

In the earlier observations made by Fitch (1982), it is clear that in the field of historic preservation one confronts an entire spectrum of physical interventions in the life of a built structure. In order to decide upon the precise policy to follow in a ‘curatorial work’ on any given project (terminology used by Fitch, which is replaced in this research by the term ‘heritage management’), a balanced analysis of several factors is essential. At the same time, it is necessary to be acquainted with the transformation paradigms that are aimed to improve and integrate tangible heritage that belonged to a different historical period into the present-day social and spatial structure and to also understand the terminology behind these processes.

3.3 TRANSFORMATION PARADIGMS: TERMINOLOGY

*The reworking of extant structures to adapt them to new uses is as old as civilization itself.
(Fitch, 1982, p.165)*

Evidently, many architectural structures adapt to the changing needs of societies, fitting into a particular time-slot. Referring to Fitch (1982), all good environments are whole and alive because they have grown slowly over long periods of time. He also suggested thinking of artifacts and built structures – cities, districts and individual buildings – as living organisms. His suggestion is based on the observation that artifacts display pathological processes of life, including simple aging. Thus, from time to time therapeutic interventions which cover a wide spectrum of treatments are necessary. For instance, Fitch (1982) advocated appliance of an intervention method to be similar to the way one prescribes and takes medicine. He implied that the most conservative treatment possible in any given case is usually the wisest.

Transformation paradigms aimed to improve and integrate built environment, inherited from the past, are part of the present-day heritage management. However, terminology that is usually applied to define these processes may differ. The many names that are usually exchanged include: Conversion; Revitalization; Redevelopment; Regeneration; Renewal; Restructuring; Adaptive re-use; Sustainable conservation.

In his orthodox study *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (1982), Fitch classified levels of intervention upon the built environment according to the increasing radicality of the intervention. The scale includes:

- Preservation;
- Restoration;
- Conservation and Consolidation;
- Reconstitution;
- Adaptive Reuse;
- Reconstruction;
- Replication.

Several of these levels of intervention are a call for a more precise explanation in the context of this research, connecting wider subjects than the pure architectural (preservationists') concerns. Yet, it is necessary to understand the general notion of historic preservation first.

Commonly, historic preservation is defined to be an endeavour that seeks to preserve, conserve and protect built environment and artifacts of historical significance. This rather orthodox approach implies the safeguarding of their original physical condition. According to Fitch (1982), “preservation implies the maintenance of the artifact in the same physical condition as when it was received by the curatorial agency” (p. 46).

Looking backward, in the United States conscious intervention in the defense of national historic and artistic heritage began with the formation of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association in 1859. In Britain the movement for preservation of historic buildings was under way by the 1770s, and France created its national preservation agency – the Commission des Monuments Historiques, in 1831 (see Fitch, 1982). At the same time, Fitch (1982) pointed out that the term *historic preservation* has become generic, thus, “it might well be replaced by one more accurately descriptive, e.g. retrieval and recycling of the historic environment, or – even more comprehensively – the curatorial management of the built world” (p. 39). He also speculated that in spite of its larger usage “in the United States the term will continue to serve as the umbrella name for the field for the simple reason that it has become institutionalized, e.g., the National Trust for *Historic Preservation*; the Association for *Preservation Technology*; (...)” (p. 39). Yet, the terminology differs in different countries. The difference could be explained by differing practices and traditions. Referring to Fitch (1982):

The concept of *protection* of the historic and artistic patrimony is embedded in European practice, while the term *conservation* is standard in Great Britain. In the United States this term already belongs to a highly structured field of expertise, the conservation of works of art, with its own specialized profession in being. (p. 39)

Historic preservation was traditionally characterized as an elitist field – static and closed from the general public. In Peacock and Rizzo’s definition in *The Heritage Game: Economics, Policy, and Practice* (2008), “*preservation* is used as an example of intervention which does not normally allow for compatible uses although these can be economically relevant” (p.116). However, with the increasing appreciation and understanding of the benefits that could be gained from the intelligent reuse, this viewpoint slightly modified. Additionally, recognition of heritage as a durable good (a term used in economics to define a good that does not quickly wear out), and thus, the possibility to ‘utilize’ it over time as opposed to its consumption in one use, identified conservation as one of the central components in urban planning. Referring to Hobson (2003), the diverse and cumulative range of policy justifications for conservation reflects the growth of practice and establishment of a close relationship between planning and conservation.

According to Alfrey and Putnam (1992), “typically, conservation was introduced as one component of the larger agenda of land-use planning, and this context has served to shape the development of ideas about how heritage could and should be” (pp. 5-6). Walsh (1992) defined conservation as “essentially a traditional, conservative phenomenon, concerned with maintaining that which conservatives consider to be ‘traditional’, worthy of representing and which best signifies the idea of nation” (p. 70). Fitch’s (1982) definition identified conservation as “physical intervention in the actual fabric of the building to ensure its continued structural integrity” (p. 46). Despite being fundamentally a regulatory activity, with the time the understanding of conservation progressed. The many facets of conservation can be noticed from Hobson’s (2003) statement where he outlined that “conservation has much to contribute to urban renaissance: creating sustainable cities, making liveable and intelligible urban forms based on scales which relate to human cognition and perception” (p. 267). In *Conservation and Planning: Changing Values in Policy and Practice* (2003), Hobson defined conservation as:

- Contributing to environmental sustainability;
- Helping to maintain relics' physical presence and visual appearance;
- Having a didactic role in education and understanding the past;
- Contributing to the cultural significance of places' identity and distinctiveness;
- Helping to provide orientation and familiarity to the environment;
- Having leisure and recreation uses.

Bearing in mind that nowadays issues involving conservation are integrated within the planning discussion, it is vital to outline the importance that the phenomenon of conservation gained within the architectural and planning discussions. Hence, according to Hobson (2003), “rather than being a desirable end in itself, conservation would be further applied as a tool of economic regeneration, driven by an urban development agenda rather than an art-historical, cultural one” (p. 64). All in all, conservation indicates fresh and creative use of the past, permitting new ways of utilizing ageing buildings and incorporating them into the post-industrial urban fabric.

Although conservation practice occurs among different professional disciplines, from fine art to ecology, in terms of its definition and application the general understanding of conservation conforms to certain paradigms. Particularly, it highlights the agenda to preserve character-defining elements of cultural resources, preventing their destruction.

Taking into account the variety of definitions, one can say that conservation is a concept which offers a range of possible meanings. Peacock and Rizzo (2008) summoned up the World Bank definition, stating that “conservation ‘encompasses all aspects of protecting a site or remains so as to retain its cultural significance. It includes maintenance and may, depending on the importance of the cultural artifact and related circumstances, involve preservation, restoration, reconstruction, or adaptation, or any combination of these’” (p.115). Evidently, adaptive reuse is one of the elements that constitute the framework of sustainable conservation. As a sustainable option to revitalize disused built structures by adapting them to different uses, adaptive re-use can be viewed as a compromise between historic preservation and demolition. Moreover, it primarily assists the intelligent re-use of old buildings that do not necessarily possess significant historical associations, emphasizing their existing values and establishing new ones. Some of the industrial heritage stock, for instance, belongs to the range of dismissed built structures waiting to be revitalized. It is also put at the forefront of many revitalization agendas as a heritage-resource which is particularly flexible to be utilized under the demands of post-industrial consumer societies.

3.4 INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

Despite the structural change, European cultural landscape is to a great extent defined by industrial heritage both in the cities, as well as in the periphery. Being *specific function-holders* – structures that are designed to host an exact activity, after deindustrialization industrial buildings, factories and production spaces ceased serving their original agenda, becoming somewhat needless remnants of the industrial past.

The abandonment that surrounded former industrial built structures earlier could be explained by the lack of awareness of its value as a resource on the part of the prospective producers and users. Moreover, Alfrey and Putnam (1992) held the conservation planning responsible for the establishment of public definitions of heritage, which led to an assumption that the building and landscape resources must conform to certain general standards of environmental design. These standards disfavored industrial buildings and landscapes for being too recent, too altered, or having no conventional architectural aesthetic. However, a number of big projects (e.g. the London Docklands – once the largest port, part of the Port of London – now redeveloped for commercial and residential uses, or the Ruhr area in Germany – chosen by the Council of the European Union to be the European Capital of Culture in 2010) gradually triggered interest in industrial heritage and its appreciation as a valuable resource and a marketable product.

According to the *Joint ICOMOS-TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes – “The Dublin Principles”* (2011), appropriate original or alternative and adaptive use is the most frequent way and often the most sustainable way of ensuring the conservation of industrial heritage sites or structures. At the same time, new uses should respect significant material, components and patterns of circulation and activity.

In *The Industrial Heritage: Managing resources and uses* (1992), Judith Alfrey and Tim Putnam provided a categorization of the objectives of industrial heritage management, which included:

- Piecing together the remnants of long-lost (or not so long-lost) industry to understand how it functioned;
- Protecting and caring for buildings, sites and machinery because of their technical, historical or aesthetic interest;
- Finding new uses for redundant but irreplaceable elements of the industrial landscape;
- Restoring disused machinery and working practices to use;
- Recording the knowledge, skills and experience of industrial populations;
- Using the results of the above to show how past generations lived and worked. (p.1)

Conservation, according to Alfrey and Putnam (1992), “tends to be concerned with only a part of the industrial heritage – it can validate and help to protect the structures and appearance of things, but may not be able to sustain the patterns of use which have justified them” (p. 8). Adaptive reuse, however, allows fitting heritage-resources according to the existing demands. Accordingly, the paradigms of transformation – sustainable conservation and adaptive reuse, are means that assist the transition of the tangible symbols of industrial age and their integration in the post-industrial society.

The synthesis of the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ on account of the adaptive reuse suggests an alteration of the original purpose. Hence, in order to adjust former production spaces, factories and buildings to the current needs and be able to decide upon a correct management strategy, one should evaluate the potential of a heritage-resource. Alfrey and Putnam (1992) claimed that “properly understood and used, the resources of the recent industrial past can play a leading role in a process of regeneration” (p.56). Thus, the key-factors that advocate sustainable conservation and reuse of derelict industrial built structures are:

Economic consideration: material quality of industrial heritage often makes it a strategic resource for further developments. Industrial factories are spacious and solid built resources with reliable material characteristics that provide numerous options of reuse. In times of rapidity this feature, which is also a resource-based economic basis, might assure a quick ‘readiness’ to host a new function.

Historic consideration: former industrial factories are places that contain memory. They are monuments of the Industrial Revolution that shaped the present-day urban environment as a place of work and entrepreneurial enthusiasm. This aspect is particularly important when considering the place-making objectives of revitalization and the potential of industrial heritage to be a tourist attraction. Moreover, industrial heritage is often being recognized as landmark.

Diverse marketing campaigns, events of global and local importance, signify an important basis for a (successful) revitalization project simply due to introducing former production spaces anew. In this way they manifest the integration of industrial heritage as a new entity in the contemporary society and its built environment.

It is apparent that the way some of the European former industrial factories and areas developed into a vital part of the post-industrial consumer and entertainment culture could be explained by the new ways of feeling, thinking, seeing and acting in regard to the legacy of the industrial times. It is also essential to highlight the importance of strategic thinking, which suggests sustainable conservation together with adaptive reuse as a smart solution to revitalize the industrial heritage. According to Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of contemporary purposes.

Based on the study of the industrial area of *Lausitz* (Germany), the volume *Industriebau als Ressource: Denken* (2007), edited by Otto Markus, emphasizes the potentials of industrial heritage and offers methods and strategic tools to improve, reuse and revitalize former industrial buildings and working class neighbourhoods. The approach taken by INIK – Institut für Neue Industriekultur, in this study offers an interdisciplinary cooperation of economic, technical, cultural and ecological impulses, claiming that this mixture can deliver a holistic solution for the currently disused former industrial sites, offering a long-time sustainable conservation that goes beyond a simple maintenance. Thus, the study provides typology of strategies that outline certain positive socio-economic, cultural and spatial features that occur on account of conservation and adaptation of industrial heritage (see Figure 4).













	A	Umbau aktiviert Stadtbrachen
	B	Umbau aktiviert Peripherie
	C	Umbau schafft Anbindung
	D	Umbau reaktiviert alte Verbindung
	E	Umbau fördert Gewerbe- und Industrieansiedlung
	F	Umbau fördert Tourismus
	G	Umbau fördert neues Wohnen
	H	Umbau bewirkt Gründer- und Forschungsansiedlung
	I	Umbau fördert Trendwende
	J	Nutzung von „unten“ eröffnet Freiräume
	K	Frühevaluation eröffnet Chancen
	L	Konservierung lässt Zeit

Figure 4: Typology of the Strategies (Markus, 2007)

- A Reuse activates urban wastelands
- B Reuse activates outskirts
- C Reuse accomplishes linkage
- D Reuse re-activates old connections
- E Reuse fosters settlement of trade and industry
- F Reuse fosters tourism
- G Reuse fosters new living
- H Reuse induces settlement of founders and researchers
- I Reuse fosters a change in trend
- J Bottom-up use creates open spaces
- K Early evaluation opens chances
- L Conservation allows time

Perception of change affects the rapport with heritage. Whether change is something to be fearful of, avoided or embraced, it influences what is done with the relics of the past.

Referring to several theorists (see Hobson, 2003; Walsh, 1992), the increased use of the past opens fundamental questions whether this phenomenon is a reflection of a genuine interest in the past, or it is an artificial manipulation of circumstances for ulterior purposes.

Motivation is an important factor that triggers the development and transformation processes. Today, industrial heritage adapted to new uses becomes an entity which is complex to understand on account of the conflicting meanings that are piled upon it, which is a product of the contemporary (re-)production, manipulation and consumption of industrial heritage.

For a better understanding of these processes, one should question the interests and motives pursued by the producers (and the users). Thus, the following part (chapter 4) focuses upon the outcomes of industrial heritage management, outlining the turnaround of the traditional rapport with industrial heritage.

4 CONTEMPORARY (RE-) PRODUCTION, MANIPULATION AND CONSUMPTION OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

The past is not defined by history – particular taught knowledge or the state; the past exists within individuals' interpretation of the qualities of age in the environment surrounding them and in the use of those qualities to improve their understanding and enjoyment of the present. (Hobson, 2003, p. 52)

The notion of heritage and of its value has been shaped over the course of time. Having to overcome the lack of awareness regarding industrial heritage as a valuable resource, today it is present in many fields related to history, archaeology, tourism, leisure, planning, conservation and preservation. Ability to utilize industrial heritage in a great variety of ways and for different markets, integrating it in the post-industrial social and spatial structures, highlights Hobson's (2003) observation about the direction that interpretations of the past have taken today (see the quote above).

Today, in the context of post-industrial society and its spatial environment, there are different ways to maneuver, (re)produce and consume industrial heritage. Being a constitutive part of European landscape, industrial heritage, for instance, has gained a renewed significance and is very present in the cultural scene. Yet, in its modified state industrial heritage is very complex to understand and to define. The difficulty emerges on account of different agendas that underlie the regeneration and reuse of industrial heritage.

Because industrial heritage is utilized for different purposes, it opposes the antiquarian agenda of observation, record and analysis of the old buildings and artifacts associated with manufacture or material production triggered by industrial archaeologists.

The difference between the ways that former production spaces were perceived and managed and their utilization and representation today is striking. Many factors, including the great influence of consumer culture, generated this drastic shift. Being (voluntarily and effortlessly) trained to consume various and particularly thrilling cultural products, post-industrial individuals often label industrial heritage as an exotic cultural resource, mostly taking its authentic and raw aesthetic as a point of departure.

According to Hobson (2003), commerce's realization of a vast market of heritage consumers exploits the use and interpretation value of features and their environments. Hence, after losing their original functions many former industrial areas have turned to culture industries and tourism in order to gain revitalization tools. With the success of several industrial sites in central parts of Europe (Wales and Iron Bridge in the UK, the Ruhr area of Germany and Nord-Pas-de-Calais in France), industrial heritage tourism as an option of revitalization strengthened its positions. Furthermore, former production spaces turned into breeding places of creativity, becoming an attraction also from the point of view of leisure, creative and experience industries.

4.1 EXPERIENTIAL INDUSTRIES

The past has emerged as a pool of architectural styles, to be dipped into and mixed and matched in the bricolage of the new shopping arcade. Images from our pasts are exploited as inspiration for a catalogue of heritage-kitsch, to be dispatched to our not-so-loved ones at Christmas time, while on a grander scale; historical themes are manipulated in some leisure-consultant's scheme for yet another waterside development, complete with heritage center or museum. (Walsh, 1992, p. 145)

Eclecticism is a ubiquitous phenomenon of the post-industrial age. In the field of industrial heritage management, for instance, approaches to revitalize former production spaces that combine different fields relating to history, contemporary art and culture etc., indicate not only their renewed thematic priorities, but also manifest eclecticism in the contemporary heritage management process. Florida (2004) defined eclecticism as a form of cultural intermixing, which can be a powerful creative stimulus. Hence, with the strong presence of tourism, leisure, experience and culture industries, different qualities of (industrial) heritage are juggled in accordance with the current needs and tendencies of post-industrial consumer societies.

The concept of selling an entertainment experience is taking root in many spheres today, ranging from business to culture. Pine and Gilmore discussed this phenomenon in their article *Welcome to the Experience Economy* (1998), published in *Harvard Business Review*. This issue, however, has already been outlined by Toffler in *The Future Shock* (1990). A part of Toffler's (1990) speculations and forecasts about the revolutionary expansion of experience industries (which he defined as *the post-service economy*) concerned the psychologization of all production. Toffler (1990) particularly stressed the designed psychological 'extras' of the goods for which the consumer gladly paid.

In their experience economy development analysis, Pine and Gilmore (1998) compared the entire history of the economic progress with a four-stage evolution of a birthday cake. Hence, preparation of a birthday cake from scratch was an indication of the agrarian economy. As the goods-based industrial economy advanced, cakes started to be made from the premixed ingredients. However, with the emergence of service economy this way of preparation was substituted by an order of a ready cake, despite the cost increase. The final point of Pine and Gilmore's (1998) observation outlined the "time-starved 1990s" – parents neither made the birthday cake nor threw the party. Instead, they "outsourced" the entire event to businesses that staged memorable events for the kids.

This progression outlines emergence of the experience economy, asserting the next competitive battleground to be in staging of experiences. Although Pine and Gilmore's (1998) analysis referred to the business context, it also may be applicable in other (cultural) spheres. A number of cultural infrastructures, for instance, respond to consumers' desire for experiences by explicitly designing and promoting them. According to Toffler (1990), culture industries are mostly devoted to the creation, or staging of specified psychological experiences that participate in experiential production. In view of that, in the 1970s and the 1980s a tendency defined as 'heritage boom' emerged (Walsh, 1992). It resulted from a remarkable expansion of sites that represented the past and was marked by the development of various museums and heritage centres. In addition, the 'boom' was characterized by the spectacle that heritage offered. Thus, fictional recreations of the past on account of the innovative representational techniques that produce multi-media experiences produced the heritage-experience.

Application of techniques that produce heritage-experiences reinforces contemporary conservation ethic, promoting the idea of travelling back to the past. However, the actual utilization of some heritage structures today (for instance, industrial buildings and factories adapted to new uses) rejects this idea. It is the eclectic approach that fosters revitalisation of redundant industrial buildings, assisting their economic and cultural renewal. According to Peacock and Rizzo (2008), "the 'economic importance' of culture, in terms of income and employment opportunities, is increasingly emphasized and, therefore, the allocation of resources in the cultural field is widely advocated as a tool to foster local development and to improve urban economic conditions" (p. 33).

Psychologization of production, argued by Toffler (1990), can be traced in the whole attempt of the heritage industry to recreate the past. Moreover, “commercial heritage industry is commodifying pasts into heritage products and experiences for sale as part of a modern consumption of entertainment” (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000, p.1). In addition, fields of education and entertainment, culture, conservation and commerce, contribute to the multiple thematic production of industrial heritage, enlarging the range of its consumers. At the same time, the growing popularity of *heritage-products* also suggests re-discovery of places, local traditions and histories. In the cultural sphere, particularly within the market of special events and festivals, industrial landscape is often an exotic backdrop – a spectacular part of an entertainment event.

You are taking a journey into the past and the future. Five disused bucket wheel excavators and continuous bucket dredgers as well as stackers, each up to 130 meters long and 30 meters high, are located on a peninsula in the lake Gremmin: in a whole 7000 tonnes of industrial history.

Once, here was the central office of the brown coal open mine Golpa-Nord, which was flooded in the meantime. Until 1991 brown coal had been extracted around the peninsula. Then the open mines’ giant equipment – monuments of the machine age – should have been scrapped.

But former mine workers and visionaries associated with the BAUHAUS Dessau saved the steel colossuses and grouped them into an impressive ensemble.

FERROPOLIS is a living museum abuzz with fitting scenery for concerts and events. And FERROPOLIS stands for recreation for one whole day – an island far away from the everyday life, a spot full of energy. (Retrieved from <http://www.ferropolis.de/in-english/information.html>)

The excerpt above is representing Ferropolis – the city of iron (*Stadt aus Eisen*). What is interesting about this former industrial site is its presence in the entertainment industry, affirming the capability of industrial heritage to be utilized as an active part not only of the tourism but also of the entertainment industry.

The five enormous excavators which form the city of iron, are not only witnesses of almost 100 years of industrial heritage but nowadays also provide a breathtaking setting for all kinds of activities, events, festivals and much, much more. (Retrieved from <http://www.ferropolis.de/in-english/info.html>)

Being an open mine Golpa-Nord – “a place of unbridled industrial power and environmental disaster on the one hand and secure jobs, and excellent performance by workers and engineers on the other” (description taken from the official website ferropolis.de), the area is now defined as a museum, an industrial monument, a steel sculpture, an event location and a theme park, thus, outlining the importance of ambience enhancement in the current marketing and revitalization strategies of former industrial sites.

According to Pine and Gilmore’s (1998) development analysis of experience economy, an experience is not an amorphous construct. It occurs when a company intentionally uses services as the stage, and goods as props, to engage individual customers in a way that creates a memorable event. The above mentioned example of Ferropolis illustrates Pine and Gilmore’s (1998) assertion: it is the existing industrial landscape and its ‘equipment’ that are utilized as a fascinating setting for various events. In this manner, however, objects that were/are valued for their connection with the industrial past acquire a new linkage to the entertainment and consumption culture of the post-industrial society. All in all, Pine and Gilmore’s (1998) outlook at staging principles and characteristics of experiences provided in *Welcome to the Experience Economy* (1998) can be projected and traced in many regeneration projects of industrial heritage.

4.2 PRODUCTION

In the age of constant flexibility, innovation and renewal, everybody is engaged in the (cultural) production of the surrounding environment. In this context, industrial heritage is a strategic site on account of its high resource potential which is usually defined and consumed by certain market(s). Talking about individuals that are involved in the post-industrial ‘adjustment’ of heritage sites, Alfrey and Putnam (1992) noted four kinds of heritage-making agents: individuals and voluntary cultural associations; public authorities and political parties; disciplinary and professional specialists; producers for consumption by others. Thus, it is a matter of (their) choice, what product to create, which resources to use and how to use them. According to Florida (2004), today’s professionals are drawn to stimulating creative environments – places that are open to diversity, giving an opportunity of self-expression and validation of identities.

In *The rise of the Creative Class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life* (2004), Florida stated that “human creativity is the ultimate economic resource. The ability to come up with new ideas and better ways of doing things is ultimately what raises productivity and thus living standards” (p. xiii). At the same time, the (creative) ways of adapting former industrial built structures to new uses are mostly based on a practical viewpoint.

Transformation processes involving heritage are fundamentally based upon different angles of human knowledge and creativity in responding to the external socio-economic and cultural dynamics and demands of a society. Moreover, characterizations of the driving forces that trigger the transformation processes of former production spaces define the degree of public, non-profit and/or private involvement. An option to combine public and private interests in a joint model of public-private partnership also exists. It is essential, however, not only to assure the profitability from the perspective of the investor/developer, but also the long-term and sustainable efficiency of the site in the local and regional contexts.

Necessity to serve the needs of post-industrial societies supports the juxtaposition of the past and present, allowing certain flexibility in the utilization of industrial architecture. However, this approach also creates tension. According to Lloyd (2006), industrial buildings are not simply “manifestation of “dead” labor and bygone economic strategies,” but they are also inscribed in “the practical activities that shape and reshape material space, and which include both active rehabilitation and passive neglect” (p. 26). In other words, the whole dynamic and the ability of industrial heritage resources to create a range of products intended for diverse markets and consumers affects the level of how much industrial past is actually present and preserved.

Today, many former industrial and mining areas apply tourism as a strategic tool for their regional and economic revitalization. “Having gone through the traumatic process of declining employment and downgrading of environmental quality, the search for new activities to support sustainable regional development is a political priority” (Jonsen-Verbeke, 1999, p. 70). European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH) – a project financed largely out of European funds – states the increased interest from the part of European policy-makers in the development of industrial tourism, aiming for it to play an important role in the (economic) revitalization of former industrial regions.

4.3 INDUSTRIAL TOURISM

Tourism is a persistently growing branch of industry in the era where consumerism is recognized to be a way of life. When one talks about tourism, its general view and connotations are often linked to the highly promoted and marketed images, images that circulate via the means of mass communication, promoting a rather carefree enjoyment of life. Until recently, it was not common to associate such destinations as the Ruhr area, or any other former industrial area, as touristic, mostly because it would have been hard to picture the heavy and brutal industrial scenery as an attractive destination next to the widespread touristic images of picturesque towns and beautiful natural landscapes. At the same time, in his article *Strategien und Konzepte für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung des Tourismus zu Zielen der Industriekultur* (2004), Ebert claimed that the “thematic destination” called industrial culture is not a new phenomenon. According to him, it has been recognized since the peak of industrialization, and can be traced in the establishment of the first museums to showcase the technology of the era, gradually contributing to the development of this market. Thus, industrial tourism as a term and its practice emerged with the increasing interest in culture industries, part of which is the industrial culture.

Industrial heritage tourism (also defined as ‘industrial culture’), refers to the development of touristic activities and industries on the sites, buildings and landscapes that derived from the industrial processes. In the Anglo-American context, the term “industrial culture” is referred to as “industrial archaeology,” and was first put into use in Britain. The roots of industrial heritage tourism can also be found in the UK – the birthplace of The Industrial Revolution – where the decline in manufacturing started earlier than in the rest of Europe. Here, the relics from the period of industrialization were already explored after the World War II (Hospers, 2002). Addressing the origins of industrial archaeology, Falconer (2006) noted Britain as a country that championed the subject of conserving and re-using industrial heritage internationally since 1973, promoting industrial landscapes as World Heritage Sites and being instrumental in the creation of The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage (TICCIH). Thus, interest in ‘industrial archaeology’ gradually spread over in declining industrial areas in Europe. From the 1980s the concept of industrial heritage tourism started to be occasionally applied as a strategy of regional restructuring.

In Germany, according to Jeffries (1995), the concept of *Industriekultur*, most notably promoted by Wolfgang Ruppert and Hermann Glaser's *Centrum Industriekultur* (founded 1979) in Nuremberg gained particular popularity, even fashionability, over the past decade. The Nuremberg center defined *Industriekultur* as the cultural forms that developed along with the process of industrialization. It also stressed the need for society to be actively engaged in a dialogue with its own history and environment. Hence, in an attempt to get away from art history's traditional fetish for façades, *Industriekulturforscher* emphasised the 'subject-oriented' approach, concentrating on the socio-cultural milieu evoked by old industrial buildings, rather than the objects themselves (Jefferies, 1995).

Industrial culture regards various aspects of the industrial past. At the same time, in connection with contemporary socio-economic and cultural organization of the society, industrial heritage is a resource which is interpreted. According to Alfrey and Putnam (1992), “both the potential and the problems of industrial heritage reach their greatest extent in areas where decline and disappearance of established industries or economic restructuring have placed renewal on the agenda” (p.44). It has been acknowledged that the resources of the recent industrial past, properly understood and used, can play a leading role in a process of regeneration.

Today, touristic tendencies are defined by present-day mediators – the mass- and social media. Slogans, signs and images that are transmitted via media of mass communication delineate the up to date themes and products of the global touristic market. For instance, in an attempt to combine leisure and education activities, one of the major trends in tourism in the 1990s has been a move away from the traditional elements of tourism-scenery, sun, two weeks a year – towards urban, heritage-based short-break tourism (Walsh, 1992). Hence, it is not surprising to encounter suggestions and descriptions of industrial tourism within the offers provided on the various internet sites. Many internet pages that are devoted to promoting Germany as a tourist destination (germanyiswunderbar.com, for instance) outline industrial tourism, honoring the ways that the industrial heritage is revitalized. Selection of the Ruhr area as the European Capital of Culture in 2010, highlighting the potential of industrial heritage tourism as cultural attraction, could be recognized as the culmination of this process.

4.3.1 RUHR2010

The Ruhr's attractions come, literally, in heaps and tons. (germanyiswunderbar.com)

The Ruhr area embodies industrialization and economic boost of Germany in the period from 1850-1950, being crucial for Germany's development as one of the first industrialized countries. Despite the industrial restructuring, deindustrialization and the crisis of heavy industries, the region managed to transform into an economically and culturally resourceful place, part of the Route of Industrial Heritage and the European Capital of Culture in 2010. The Route of Industrial Heritage – a part of the tourism information network of industrial heritage in Europe (ERIH), turned the industrial landscapes of heavy machinery and infrastructure into an open-air museum, creating thematic routes that showcase industrial relics and key industrial heritage sites of the Ruhr region. Although it is acknowledged that attraction of the Ruhr region is primarily its industrial culture – monuments and industrial sites (also supporting industrial tourism), leisure activities and events which are greatly supported by the authentic industrial façades have steadily established themselves as an inseparable part of the new development dynamics of the former industrial landscape of the region.

Nowhere else can you see so many spectacular sights so close to each other. There is plenty both to look at and experience at these remarkable locations – where collieries have been turned into temples to design and industrial wastelands into parks for the 21st-century. Enjoy rest and relaxation at reservoirs and public parks, culture in the gasometer, dancing in the old colliery washhouse, German beer on a brewery tour, strong football traditions, the latest niche sports and much more. The interactive museums in former mines, coking plants and steelworks are fascinating visitor attractions during the day. By night, they are transformed into fantastic illuminated worlds, creating a night-time panorama that is simply breathtaking. These almost surreal cathedrals to industrial heritage are great subjects for photos.

(Retrieved from <http://www.germany.travel/en/leisure-and-recreation/scenic-routes/route-of-industrial-heritage.html>)

In particular, the region gained great publicity through various events that were premised upon the interplay of industrial aesthetics and contemporary culture, attracting global public and media attention. Thus, aimed to create specific experiences of industrial culture, events such as *European Night of Industrial Culture* or *Extraschicht* highlight the transformation of the region and the renewed integration of industrial heritage in it.

Premiered in 2001, ExtraSchicht turns industrial plants and production spaces into venues of industrial culture, transforming the former heavy industry region to a modern region of business and culture. “Industrial culture is the acme of the region's structural transformation. Where coal and steel once shaped life, today we see presentations of art, culture and nature” (see the official website extraschicht.de).

Since industrial heritage proved to be an exciting and unique setting on account of its tangible characteristics, it is particularly valuable in the growing market of special events and festivals, providing the tourists with entertainment and amusement in the form of diverse cultural events. Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in the German city of Essen – one of the largest and most modern collieries and coking plants in the world, a UNESCO World Heritage site, is said to be one of the most spectacular places to visit in the Ruhr region. Regarded as ‘the most beautiful colliery in the world’, the winner of the top 100 sights of Germany 2012 by German National Tourist Board, the complex is a testament to the modern architectural movement of the 1920s and 1930s and the rise of heavy industry (Retrieved from <http://www.germany.travel/en/towns-cities-culture/unesco-world-heritage/essen-zollverein-coal-mine-industrial-complex.html>). Apart from The Denkmalpfad Zollverein – an interactive discovery trail through an open-cast mine which is left in its original condition, the complex is also promoted and recognized as a vibrant cultural venue.

Keeping in mind the fact that tourism is a popular global leisure activity which greatly contributes to the economic development of any place, to be rediscovered as a touristic attraction would be of vital importance especially for abandoned and often deprived industrial landscapes and their built structures. Nevertheless, one may argue that there is a necessity of a significant mass of heritage resources as a key condition to turn industrial areas into a tourist attraction.

According to Ebert's analysis in *Strategien und Konzepte für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung des Tourismus zu Zielen der Industriekultur* (2004), to be able to participate in the tourist market and be qualified accordingly, certain criteria – availability of sufficient and interesting “hardware” – must be fulfilled. Hence, not only the tangible (a façade), but also the intangible (stories that are able to ‘move’ the crowd) are of great importance. This statement Ebert (2004) justified by the example of a well-known (touristic) monument – Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris – where a great amount of people is interested in the tragic story of its ringer (i.e. the story “behind the scenes”), rather than the architectural construct itself.

Yet, how to categorize attractions that traditional industrial regions in Europe are offering? Referring to *Industrial Heritage Tourism and Regional Restructuring in the European Union* (2002) – an article by Gert-Jan Hospers, industrial tourist attractions in the European context comprise some general categories. Some of them include industrial relics in the field of production and processing, which are rather popular among visitors, including numerous sites located underground (e.g. mines), or on the surface (e.g. plants, shipping yards etc.). Often such sites and workplaces are restored and transformed into museums that showcase the industrial history. One can say that this category of *heritage attraction* is one that takes into account and stresses the sustainable conservation and preservation ethic of industrial heritage. In other cases, however, industrial monuments are consciously neglected with the aim to show visitors the aesthetics of de-industrialization. For instance, in the BBC article by Suemedha Sood from 10th October 2011, *The Complicated Allure of Industrial Tourism* (Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/travel/feature/20111007-the-complicated-allure-of-industrial-tourism/1>), the author touched upon the new kinds of attraction by listing various examples of industrial heritage from different continents (e.g. Japan, France, United States). Here, industrial tourists look for evidence of how the societies functioned and grew over time, finding beauty in what might be regarded as sources of pollution. The American city of Detroit is probably one of the strongest examples illustrating the aesthetics of de-industrialization.

4.4 MANIPULATION

This whole new dynamic – the different categories of industrial heritage attractions, is an integrative and constitutive part of the experience industries. Turning back to Pine and Gilmore's (1998) argument on the experience economy, their expectation was that experience design will become as much a business art, as product design and process design are today. According to Pine and Gilmore's (1998) observation of the design and characteristics of experiences which they conducted in *Harvard Business Review*, the first of the five key experience-design principles is to theme the experience, envisioning a well-defined theme in order to help organizing impressions that are being encountered.

“An effective theme is concise and compelling. (...) it must drive all the design elements and staged events of the experience toward a unified story line that wholly captivates the customer” (Pine & Gilmore, 1998, p. 103). One can state that the same strategy is vital in order to position industrial heritage in a touristic market. A strong example to validate this argument is The European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH), which is branded as the tourism information network of the most important industrial heritage sites in Europe – from disused production plants to industrial landscape parks and inter-active technology museums (see <http://www.erih.net/welcome.html>). Basically, it is a theme route, presenting more than 850 sites in 32 European countries. The backbone of the route consists of the so-called anchor points: the outstanding industrial monuments in the former heartlands of the Industrial Revolution, Great Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg and Germany. The routes assist to discovering the European industrial history in detail, showcasing the heritage of the industrialization and its remains, marketing them as visitor attractions in the leisure and tourism industry on a global level.

Referring to Pine and Gilmore (1998), while the theme forms the foundation, the experience must be rendered with strong and not removable impressions. Hence, they suggest harmonizing impressions with positive cues as the key experience-design principle. “Impressions are the “takeaways” of the experience; they fulfill the theme” (Pine & Gilmore, 1998, p. 103). The desired impressions can be created by the cues that affirm the nature of the experience, strengthening the defined theme. Yet, in case of a poor meditation – inconsistent visual (perceptual) cues – confusion may occur.

In the context of adaptive reuse and transformation of industrial heritage, elimination of negative cues – the third key experience-design principle by Pine and Gilmore (1998) – may be particularly important. Pine and Gilmore (1998) suggested eliminating anything that diminishes, contradicts, or distracts from the theme. In the case of former industrial factories and areas – often problematic heritage spaces in a post-industrial city – it would be the negative impact of deindustrialization. Thus, enhancement of sensory stimulants supporting a (new and positive) theme is of vital importance.

Overall, to create an effective and memorable experience, Pine and Gilmore (1998) emphasized the importance to engage all five senses – the more senses an experience engage, the more effective and memorable an experience can be.

Being a part of culture industries, an industrial experience is operated accordingly, producing impressions that root in the mentality. Clever production of industrial experiences and products that are especially targeted to eliminate what Pine and Gilmore (1998) defined as the negative cues, are imperative to revitalize former industrial factories and areas, particularly the ones that suffered abandonment and decline for a longer period of time. At the same time, being interpreted diversely, industrial monuments attracted different types of users and visitors. Different groups have different objectives and gain different experiences. Thus, it can be assumed that older generations – people that possess personal memories and experiences linked with the industrial past – are most probably driven by nostalgia, whereas the younger generation – individuals that are used to an eclectic way of life, mixing and matching environments, lifestyles and cultures – are driven by a broad set of factors, including curiosity about the past and entertainment by it.

According to Pine and Gilmore (1998), “each experience derives from the interaction between the staged event and the individual’s state of mind” (p.99). One could say that artificial and glamorized representations of the industrial past, owing to a new cultural and entertaining image of a former factory, are representative of a new aesthetic rooted in the new (cultural) habits and lifestyles of post-industrial cosmopolites. Hence, an emphasis on the industrial history by means of creating heritage experience and simulations, utilization of the industrial heritage for various practical activities that do not have a contextual linkage to the industrial past, create complexity and double-sidedness regarding the whole issue of industrial heritage revitalization.

Although the option to use former industrial premises for different types of activities often remains one of the few alternatives to their complete destruction, utilization of industrial sites and built structures simply as carcasses for hosting new practices, as well as the selectivity of heritage-experiences, their simulation and commercialization, question the essence of industrial factories today. In *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World* (1992), Walsh speculates about several factors that assist a place to lose its real or deeper identity. According to him, loss of the true history, remodelling by the service sector – specifically, estate agents and tourism managers – as well as promotion of historical styles assist this process. Walsh (1992) speculated that historical phenomena “will be replaced by modes of heritage imagineering which unite places only through the promotion of façade and the desire to consume the spectacle” (p. 139).

Tangible and intangible heritage, signs and images from different cultures and historical eras create a complex environment, outlining the changeability of the seemingly unchangeable notion of identity. According to Kumar (2005), the identity of a place is not fixed and it is variable, depending on a particular mix of local and non-local forces and circumstances.

Post-industrial lifestyles, consumer culture, experiential and leisure industries introduce a variety of (tangible and intangible) images and goods, some of which are extracted from different cultures and historical periods. As a consequence, people are getting increasingly flexible not only on account of their spatial mobility, but by acquiring the ability of switching their mindset between different connotations and experiences, and instantly generating new ones.

Former industrial factories that are adapted to new uses are a mixture of several components: they are not only historical monuments that represent industrial past, but also new products of post-industrial societies. According to Alfrey and Putnam (1992) “heritage resources may present themselves as self-evident and unchanging – but perceiving that self-evident stability depends on sharing a set of assumptions, more or less explicit, about values and orders of significance in general and the historical associations of the particular objects in question” (p.42).

Furthermore, transformation, adaptive reuse or revitalization of an industrial built complex often means rising new patterns of behavior and personal engagement on an emotional, physical and intellectual level. These activities provide a key to develop new understandings of a (heritage) place, differing or corresponding to the imposed institutionalized meanings.

Place, referring to Florida (2004), is the key economic and social organizing unit of the present-time. His speculation about open and tolerant places having an edge in attracting different kinds of people and generating new ideas illustrates and explains recent popularity of disused industrial areas. Today, artists, businesses in the fields of communication, media, information and design are demanding former industrial buildings for their functional, resource-based and convertible ‘surfaces’. Referring to Walsh (1992), “people do make places, and an understanding how people affect places is crucial” (pp. 158-159).

Through time, industrial heritage adapted to new uses acquires (intangible) values that are linked to the contemporary dynamics of the environment and its socio-cultural structure, enabling establishment of new bonds between the place and its users. However, the general discussion about sustainable conservation and adaptive reuse often overlooks new roles and definitions that industrial heritage acquires. To understand these, industrial heritage needs to be acknowledged as a new entity.

5 LOCUS OF IMAGINARIES: METAMORPHOSES OF FORMER INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES MATTATOIO DI TESTACCIO AND LEIPZIGER BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

Industrial heritage recycling is a necessity from the viewpoint of environmental sustainability. Current practices of industrial heritage management, particularly in Western societies, combine preservation, sustainable conservation and adaptive reuse with the need to generate an income. Hence, in chapter 4 the discussion was focused upon commercial approaches of putting industrial heritage to use by articulating heritage-value as an asset to integrate it into tourism and leisure fields of post-industrial consumption culture.

Material value of industrial heritage makes it a strategic resource for further developments.

Therefore, industrial heritage is approached as a resource to fulfill the needs and wants of post-industrial societies. However, recognition of the favorable set of interconnected benefits that could be gained from the intelligent reuse of former production spaces also suggests alteration of their original essence, providing industrial heritage with new roles and definitions.

In conjunction with the common strategies of heritage management, including institutionalized rules and regulations regarding sustainable conservation and adaptive reuse, the assertion that contemporary concept of industrial heritage is largely defined by post-industrial societies and their lifestyles underlies the whole dynamic of this research.

In its modified state, often being at an interface between industrial history and contemporary socio-cultural milieu, industrial heritage is very complex to understand and to define. The case study research, thus, approaches industrial heritage as a *locus of imaginaries* – a complex, dynamic and hybrid entity, which can be looked at from different perspectives. Because it often operates as a core element upon which new connections are built, industrial heritage demands a multifaceted act of elaboration and definition. Accordingly, methodological framework is developed to examine the complex interplay of different factors that assist the evolution of industrial heritage as a new entity.

5.2 METHODOLOGY

Many revitalization schemes are dealing with the necessity of establishing an image for derelict industrial sites to improve and shape their rotten perception. This is often a matter of interpretation and play, stressing the *representation-aspect* of the past and present layers. Given the distinct industrial aesthetic and historic significance of industrial heritage, functional restructuring makes it a symbol of various affiliations. Often there might be several narratives that would emphasize either the past or present stances of industrial heritage, making its understanding obscure. Thus, in order to better understand the roles and definitions of industrial heritage adapted to new uses, and to examine the complex interplay of different factors that assist the evolution of industrial heritage as a new entity, following research questions are asked:

- What is the correlation between the industrial past and the post-industrial image of former industrial places?
- Does the adaptive reuse and sustainable conservation of industrial heritage result in its perceptual alteration?
- How does a particular interpretation of industrial heritage change?

To outline the emergent roles, definitions and perceptions of industrial heritage, as well as to understand the interrelations of the past and present stances, a case study research is conducted, involving former industrial complexes located in Germany and Italy - *Mattatoio di Testaccio* (Slaughterhouse of Testaccio) and *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* (Leipzig Cotton Spinning Mill). Moreover, to outline the contemporary concept of industrial heritage, a methodological framework of the case study research, composed of three main layers that result upon the two core defining stances – the past and the present, is developed. This framework is also designed to set boundaries when looking at the processes of construction of meaning.

LAYER 1: WHAT IS THERE? WHO IS THERE? WHAT IS GOING ON?

Aim: to help acquiring general knowledge about each of the case studies.

This layer initiates the analysis of each of the case studies, approaching them by three main questions: What is there? Who is there? What is going on?

These *W-questions* derive from Richard Florida's (2004) theorization of the quality of a place, outlined in *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life* (2004), will give an overview of the main information regarding each of the case studies.

LAYER 2: EXPERTS' REFLECTIONS

Aim: to provide personalized images of the case study, shared by the interviewees.

Interaction with an environment stimulates its personalization. Thus, when people interact and bond with an environment they grant meanings to it. "We do not store judgment-free snapshots of our past experiences but rather hold on to the meaning, sense, and emotions that these experiences provided us" (Schacter, 1996, p. 5)

This layer is designed to provide opinions that were shared by the interviewees – actors and experts, on each of the case studies – an image from the 'inside'.

LAYER 3: IMAGE IN THE MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION

Aim: to outline images and representations projected to the public.

Image is the touchstone of present-times. It is not fixed but rather dynamic. At the same time, once implemented, an image has a tendency to be rooted, often turning into a stereotype. Media of mass communication play an important role in confirming or constructing certain images. They are often the filters that stimulate personal judgments, substituting the lack of personal experience. Based on the purposive sampling and observation of representations that were available in the media of mass communication, this layer aims to capture the image that is being projected to the public – an image from the 'outside.'

Furthermore, purpose of this methodological framework is not only to indicate the qualitative evolution of the case studies, but also to pinpoint their "Unique Selling Proposition" (USP). This term, borrowed from the marketing jargon, is often a crucial component of an advertising campaign, representing uniqueness of a product or service. Careful analysis of experts' observations, of the embedded images and newly gained definitions will, thus, help distinguishing the features that are being currently circulated in regard to these former industrial areas.

In times of hyper-visual mass culture, people and places demand visual representations. Thus, a great part of the case study analysis rests upon images as research medium. According to Chaplin (1994), “visual representation has communicative potential and is acknowledged to be increasingly influential in shaping our views of the world” (p.1). In this respect, photographs and other means of visual representation – screenshots, videos, posters and flyers, are used as an integral part of the case study research and as a point of access, allowing to develop a theoretical insight into the stand of industrial heritage today.

In *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods in the Sociological Imagination* (2004), Knowles and Sweetman describe three key theoretical approaches to visual images within social research. Under the realist paradigm, exemplified by early anthropological fieldwork and the classical tradition of photo-journalism, images are regarded as *evidence* – as representations of reality and an uncomplicated record of already existing phenomena or events. At the same time, images help to *construct* reality, from a broadly poststructuralist perspective. The semiotics or semiology perspective is the third key paradigm that regards the already existing images as texts which can be read to uncover their wider cultural significance and the ideological and other messages they help to communicate, naturalize and maintain (see Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). These paradigms are put to use to complement the aims of the case study research.

5.3 CASE STUDY 1: MATTATOIO DI TESTACCIO

5.3.1 LAYER 1 – WHAT IS THERE? WHO IS THERE? WHAT IS GOING ON?

Mattatoio di Testaccio or ex-Mattatoio, as it is often called, is a former slaughterhouse which is located in Testaccio neighbourhood in Rome, Italy. Today, it is a multifunctional complex and an integrative part of Roman contemporary cultural landscape. Particularly, Mattatoio as a new entity specializes in the field of edutainment – education + entertainment – offering cultural, educational and leisure activities that are in tune with the post-industrial culture of sustainability. Image that circulates in the media of mass communication today outlines Mattatoio's transition *da luogo di morte a culla della cultura giovanile* – from a place of death to the birthplace of young culture. This transformation, however, is a complex one, accompanied by at times strikingly different and often overlooked agendas and narratives that underlie the formation of its present-day image.

In 2004, The Urban Studies Department of Roma Tre University – *Dipartimento di Studi Urbani, Università degli Studi Roma Tre* – conducted a study to characterize transformation of the ex-Mattatoio and of the Testaccio district. The study *Studio per la caratterizzazione urbanistica dell'intervento di trasformazione dell'ex Mattatoio* particularly focused on the analysis of the tangible structures of Mattatoio di Testaccio and of Testaccio neighbourhood. Hence, in the framework of this study, a chart that indicates main points and places of social interaction within the neighbourhood can be found (see Table 1). Although this chart is dating back to 2004, the year when the study was conducted, it is exemplary in helping to understand the socio-cultural profile of Testaccio neighbourhood.

Isolated from the rest of the city, partially because of its physical configuration, Testaccio neighbourhood was always self-sufficient in terms of work, trade, education and leisure facilities, being able to integrate the residential and non-residential functions. The chart confirms this assertion, demonstrating the local, metropolitan and international levels of utilization of the features of the area. Although it does not include some of the new establishments, particularly the ones that took place within the premises of Testaccio's slaughterhouse, the chart is usable as an indicator of the main features of the neighbourhood, giving a general overview of its socio-spatial structure.

TABELLA - LIVELLI D'UTILIZZAZIONE DEI LUOGHI DI AGGREGAZIONE SOCIALE

<i>livelli / luoghi</i>	<i>Quartiere</i>	<i>Metropolitano</i>	<i>Internazionale</i>
Mattatoio	*	*	
Monte de Cocci		*	*
Piazza Centrale	*		
Università	*	*	*
Villaggio Globale		*	
Campo Sportivo	*		
Biblioteca Comunale	*		
Chiesa	*		
Oratorio Salesiano	*		
Fiume, Lungotevere Testaccio		*	
Sede della A.C.Roma	*	*	
Case Popolari	*		
Mercato	*	*	
Pubs – Ristoranti		*	*
Cimitero Acatolico		*	*
Ararat- Centro Culturale Curdi			*
Centro di Anziani	*		
Scuola Popolare di Musica	*	*	*
Comittato DS	*	*	
M.A.C.R.O			*
Campo di Bocce	*		

Table 1: Studio per la caratterizzazione urbanistica dell'intervento di trasformazione dell'ex Mattatoio (2004)



Figure 5: Extract from the website dedicated to Testaccio

TESTACCIO – THE HEART OF OLD ROME (IL CUORE DELLA VECCHIA ROMA)

Mattatoio di Testaccio – the slaughterhouse of Testaccio – indicates the linkage to the neighbourhood of Testaccio already by its name. The 20th district of Rome – Testaccio – is located in the south of the Aventine hill, at the left bank of the river Tiber. Its name originates from *Monte Testaccio* – Mount Testaccio, also known as *Il Monte dei Cocci*.

Monte dei Cocci is a mound formed from the discarded pieces of amphorae (testae is the Latin term for “pottery” or *amphorae*), accumulated over centuries as a result of the transportation of goods and raw materials such as oil, marble, wheat and wine to the port of Ripa Grande. An accumulation of the estimated number of about 53 million discarded stacked pieces of jars, *Monte dei Cocci* – about 30 meters high with a diameter of about 1 km – was formed in the period between the era of Augustus (*l’età augustea*) and the third century.

Despite the fact that over time Testaccio was a subject to a profound structural transformation, it is often referred to as one of the traditional Roman neighbourhoods. Being one of the first primarily residential working-class neighbourhoods, established in Rome after the unification of Italy, Testaccio – the area around *Monte dei Cocci* – gradually turned into a metropolitan hot-spot known for its busy nightlife. This image is also repeatedly circulated in the travel guides, referring to Testaccio as an up and coming working-class neighbourhood and a place where one can have coffee and a pastry, eat and have a night out.

Influenced by the development of a new multifaceted image and metropolitan ambiance that is strongly linked to the Roman cuisine and nightlife – Monte Testaccio is a distinctive and inseparable part of Testaccio’s new identity. Numerous bars, music-clubs and restaurants surround it, offering its visitor entertainment that is spiced up by the traditional Roman cuisine.



Figure 6: Monte Testaccio by day (by author)

Foodies like Testaccio because of the traditions surrounding the Roman cuisine of the stockyard workers. This means offal will be served in local restaurants, as workers were given these pieces at the end of the day-and they (or most likely their wives and mothers) learned to cook them into tasty meals. (Retrieved from <http://goeurope.about.com/od/rometestaccio/ss/testaccio-rome.htm>)



Figure 7: Monte Testaccio by night

Looking at the information available on the Internet, for instance, one can clearly trace the transformation of the profile of the neighbourhood, further enriched by the adaptive reuse of the ex-slaughterhouse of Testaccio.

MATTATOIO DI TESTACCIO

Represented today as a lively area for cultural displays and artistic events, transformed from being a place of death into a birthplace of arts and culture – *da luogo di morte a culla della cultura giovanile* – the slaughterhouse of Testaccio was constructed in the period from 1888 until 1891. Based on the architectural project of Gioacchino Ersoch, Mattatoio di Testaccio contains a total surface area of 105.000 square meters. The complex is emblematic piece of Roman industrial archaeology, one of a remarkable historical and architectural value on account of its modern organization system and innovative structures in iron and cast iron, marking the transition between classicism and modernism. Mattatoio di Testaccio was closed down in 1975, when the production was moved into a larger structure on Via Palmiro Togliatti. This decommission was explained by the disability to meet the needs of the city of Rome at the time. The city went through a drastic growth in the number of its inhabitants, reaching 3.000.000. To compare, in 1891 – the year when the slaughterhouse was inaugurated – Rome had about 430.000 inhabitants.

Decommission in 1975 marked the turning point for this piece of industrial heritage. From that time on, ex-slaughterhouse and its adjacent cattle field (*Campo Boario*) became a subject of various metamorphoses.

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Figure 8: Campo Boario and Mattatoio before the revitalization

Note: Pictures that are used above to illustrate the area before the revitalization were extracted from a manuscript which was kindly provided by Prof. Francesco Careri during the one-on-one interview on November 11th, 2010.

CAMPO BOARIO – AN EXAMPLE OF SELF-ORGANIZATION AND CO-HABITATION OF DIFFERENT CULTURES

Under monumental protection since 1988, vacant premises of the slaughterhouse soon generated an alternative social milieu composed of youngsters and nomads occupying parts of the industrial structure. It was the cattle field – *Campo Boario* – in particular, that turned into an epicentre of the new socio-cultural dynamic, hosting various minority groups, including Kalderasha Romani of Rome (Italian nomads), Kurdish immigrants and a small community of Senegalese immigrants. They were the pioneers in bringing some vitality to the abandoned and isolated premises of the ex-slaughterhouse, creating their own microcosm in this enclosure. Social and cultural centre – *Villaggio Globale*, also situated in the premises of Mattatoio, until now remains a place that deals with the issues of immigrants, bringing intercultural issues into the spotlight.



Figure 9: Alternative Uses of Campo Boario

Note: Picture that is used above, illustrating alternative uses of Campo Boario, was extracted from a manuscript which was kindly provided by Prof. Francesco Careri during the one-on-one interview on November 11th, 2010.

All in all, several initiatives and cultural institutions marked the emergence of a new cultural profile of the ex-slaughterhouse, influencing the direction of its transformation.

To start with, the social center – **Il Centro Sociale Villaggio Globale di Roma**, was one of the first cultural institutions to set up in the premises of the ex-slaughterhouse in 1990. Prior to the establishment of the revitalization plan by the city administration to turn Mattatoio into a cultural hub – *Città Delle Arti* (The City of Arts) – bringing education, contemporary art and culture together, Villaggio Globale already kicked-off the cultural shift in the area, giving way to underground musical and artistic expressions, turning Testaccio and Mattatoio into the symbol of Italian underground scene of the 90s.



Underworld - Clubbing in Villaggio Globale Testaccio Roma

Il CSIOA Villaggio Globale era uno dei posti dove, a cavallo fra il '98 e il 2006, ho vissuto tantissimi bei momenti della mia vita da Liceale, prima, e universitaria, poi... Peccato che ormai sia caduto in mano di rimastini che lo abbiano trasformato in un postaccio davvero squallido... I tempi d'oro del Toretta e affini sono ormai morti e sepolti!

The Villaggio Globale is a club set in a squatted old slaughterhouse in Rome's city centre. Between 1998 and 2006 I spent so many unforgettable moments of my student life (first as a high school, then ad a university student) partying there... But unfortunately it has now turned into a smelly run down place full of punks... its golden age is gone forever, what a shame!

Figure 10: Underground expressions

Another institution – **Scuola Popolare di Musica di Testaccio**, or the Popular School of Music of Testaccio – established in 1975 by a group of young musicians that took over and recovered abandoned premises on Via Galvani, was also one of the first cultural institutions to use some of the abandoned premises of the ex-Mattatoio.

“It was 1993 I think (that) we started to use the space,” told Roberto Nicoletti in a personal interview. “We rented this place for our activities from *Comune di Roma*, because we needed places. Initially the music school started at via Galvani 20, it was our original place.” (Roberto Nicoletti, personal communication, November 9, 2010)

Apart from the teaching, the Popular School of Music of Testaccio was socially and culturally active, organizing concerts and meetings that soon became permanent, and thus, adding up to the establishment of the new cultural profile of Mattatoio di Testaccio, that was soon-to-follow.



Figure 11: Scuola Popolare di Musica di Testaccio (by author)

It is today that the ex-slaughterhouse has a more or less established image of being a multi-functional cultural complex that is assigned to a few institutions which have a clear dominance and prominence on the site and set the cultural tone of Mattatoio di Testaccio. However, one should consider that the transformation process of the ex-slaughterhouse was not without obstacles. The strong negative image, which was linked to the Mattatoio as being “a place of death,” was one of them. Furthermore, after the decommission in 1975, the established autonomous social landscape – alternative milieu associated with the minority groups and the underground scene – only strengthened the already existing negative image, turning Mattatoio di Testaccio into a void space.

In a one-on-one interview, Adriana Goni – anthropologist involved in examining the social and cultural life of Testaccio within the framework of the interdisciplinary study to characterize the transformation processes of ex-Mattatoio, conducted by The Urban Studies Department of Roma Tre University in 2004 – confirmed this speculation:

Yes, yes. When I did this (i.e. *Studio per la caratterizzazione urbanistica dell'intervento di trasformazione dell'ex Mattatoio*) in 2004, I asked them (*the locals*) to write, to design the ‘dark’ areas of the neighborhood, you know these areas ‘behind’ – to do mental mappings – and they put in dark the Mattatoio and the river I told you about. These are areas, which they considered as left behind (...). (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010)

Yet, what was discouraging for some people inspired the other. Mattatoio di Testaccio and Campo Boario in particular, inspired Stalker (*laboratorio d'arte urbana*) – a group of architects and researchers affiliated with Roma Tre University and known for projecting their specific views and practices of the space – to engage with it.

Coming together in the mid-1990s, they founded the research network Osservatorio Nomade (ON) in 2002. The group works experimentally, engaging in actions to create self-organized spaces and situations, and paying particular attention to forgotten urban space – areas around city-margins, abandoned areas or regions under transformation (Retrieved from <http://www.osservatorionomade.net/tarkowsky/manifesto/manifesting.htm>).

Thus, Campo Boario – a place that by its composure fully corresponded to Staker’s field of interest and nature of their practice – was quite attractive to the group.

In view of the emerging socio-cultural dynamic, the slaughterhouse of Testaccio – originally an industrial built structure with an exact function – started to mutate into a more complex formation that needed to be experienced, in order to be understood. Abstracts and photos that are shown below are chosen to project the impressions and experiences that one got from interacting with Mattatoio di Testaccio before its revitalization.

Inside the large courtyard of the Mattatoio slaughterhouse a haze of dust is kicked up every time someone or something drives through the large gates at the entrance. Carriage horses gallop by, cars pulling wagons purposefully find parking out in the middle of the wide empty spaces. In my first week at this refugee/workshop/squatter/forum the horse manure burned out of control while gypsy kids played games in the shade of the large trailer homes. A strange assortment of activities, comprising Kurdish tea ceremonies, exploding techno beat sounds, conceptual art installations, distressed tourists, transsexuals and lots of marginal others inhabit the Mattatoio compound or frequent the larger Campo Boario district, which fits nicely into the surrounding area of Rome like a desert oasis fits in the tropics. (Peter Lang, from a manuscript kindly provided by F. Careri in 2010)

PG.01/02.04 IMG RO



Figure 12: Alternative uses of Campo Boario



Figure 13: Alternative uses of Campo Boario

Campo Boario is an urban area produced by the globalization process as many others in different cities and countries of the world. These are areas which seem extraneous to our culture even though they are part of it by now. They are beginning to emerge in the way we perceive our cities, in our mental maps. In these places the city forgets all its masks and becomes naked, showing what the city itself does not know. No traditional projects are accepted, the energies and the intelligence to redefine itself are found in its ability of self-organising, to invent new and different intercultural rules and relationships in space and time. Here architects can leave behind their certainty and their projects, finding the way through unknown processes, involving many different actors, many different levels of perception and action. New possibilities open the way to transformation of public spaces and to innovative urban experimentation, preserving their multiple identities. Here we are beginning to define new tools and methods to develop the self-representation of these realities producing neither objects nor projects, producing only paths and relationships. The discipline becomes hybrid, moving from architecture to public art, something we can start calling “civic art. (Careri and Romito, from a manuscript kindly provided by F. Careri in 2010)

These abstracts clearly indicate features that were particularly appealing to Stalker – the uncertainty and vagueness of the space, which was simultaneously indicating its ‘truthiness’, challenging, but, providing freedom to interact with it at the same time. Interestingly, these are the features that the majority of former industrial production spaces possess.

Stalker played with the space, transforming it into a giant playground of actions and interactions in the period from 1999 till 2002. It first marked its position in Campo Boario on the occasion of the first official opening of the slaughterhouse to the public in 1999, in the framework of the Biennale of Young Artists of the Mediterranean (*la Biennale dei giovani artisti del Mediterraneo*). The group proposed to integrate the Kurd refugees’ community coming from Turkey in the already existing multicultural context of Campo Boario. Earlier, the Kurds were living in a small paper village near Colloseum called “cartonia” (in Italian ‘cartone’ means paper). However, it had a short life and was soon dismantled. Hence, Stalker organized a workshop “From Cartonia to Piazza Kurdistan”, with an objective to identify a public space and turn it into a Kurdish square. In that way, they put the question of the Kurdish minority and its dialogue with the city of Rome to the forefront. During the workshop, Stalker decided to occupy and restore a building which housed the veterinary of Campo Boario. The building was named “Ararat” and became the main gathering place of the entire Kurd community in Rome. In 2007, the building was officially assigned to the Ararat Association to host refugee information, social and cultural center. However, to develop a new project – *La Città dell’Altra Economia* – within the framework of the revitalization plan of the ex-slaughterhouse, in April 2007 the Rom Calderasha Community was evacuated from Campo Boario. In the same year, the City of Alternative Economy was inaugurated. The images below visualize the area after the replacement.

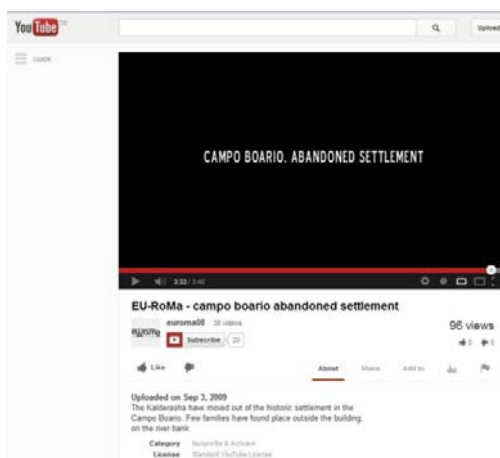


Figure 14: Abandoned settlement



Figure 15: Eviction



Figure 16: Eviction

Note: Pictures that were used above (Figure 12, Figure 13, Figure 15, Figure 16), illustrating alternative uses of Campo Boario before the revitalization, were extracted from a manuscript which was kindly provided by Prof. Francesco Careri during the one-on-one interview on November 11th, 2010.

Figure 16 illustrates the eviction that took place in order to establish Città dell'Altra Economia, revitalizing Campo Boario and ex-Mattatoio.

MATTATOIO DI TESTACCIO – CITTÀ DELLE ARTI

In the beginning of the 1990s, administration of the city of Rome raised the issue of urban renewal and integration of the abandoned areas in the city, gradually starting to work on the plan of functional restructuring of Testaccio's slaughterhouse. The plan was tackled within the framework of urban revitalization project Ostiense-Marconi, aimed to revitalize former industrial areas in the city of Rome. To revitalize Mattatoio di Testaccio – a derelict industrial structure which is under monumental protection – was not an easy task. Eugenio Cipollone – one of the architects involved in the revitalization of one of the pavilions within the slaughterhouse complex for Roma Tre University (*Università degli Studi di Roma Tre*) – points out that:

(...) Mattatoio was not demolished because there was a law which said that it has to be protected. In a way it was saved, but in another way it was condemned, because the monument surveys in Italy are so conservative that you can't change almost anything, and possibilities to find another use for such a building are very difficult. (Eugenio Cipollone, personal communication, November 10, 2010)

Until 2002 there was no certain plan of re-use, apart from the decision to host the Faculty of Architecture of Roma Tre University in one of the pavilions of the former slaughterhouse – a part of Ostiense-Marconi project. Aiming to grant Mattatoio di Testaccio with a new cultural profile, administration of the Municipality of Rome (*Comune di Roma*) soon established a plan to devote the site to the production of culture and art.

To establish the creative milieu, necessary to shape the new cultural profile for the place, working and experimentation spaces within the complex were opted to be provided to the young and creative. Also, according to the revitalization plan, several cultural institutions, including Roma Tre University (*l'Università di Roma Tre*), MACRO Museum of Contemporary Art (*il MACRO Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di Roma*), Academy of Fine Arts (*l'Accademia di Belle Arti*) and the National Dance Academy (*l'Accademia Nazionale di Danza*), were to be hosted in the premises of the ex-Mattatoio. Since several associations already established themselves in the area soon after the decommission of the slaughterhouse – the elderly social center *Centro Anziani di Testaccio*, social center *Villaggio Globale* and the music school *Scuola Popolare di Musica di Testaccio*, it was decided to keep them as a part of the "City of Arts" (*Città delle Arti*), since conceptually they fit the idea.

Mattatoio di Testaccio is owned and managed by the city municipality. Keeping up with the political situation, resignation of Walter Veltroni – the first leader of the Democratic Party within the centre-left opposition, and the election of Gianni Alemanno – the founder of the more right-wing and socially conservative Social Right party – as the mayor of Rome in 2008, led to some modifications of the whole idea of the slaughterhouse being a center of art production for the younger generation. Hence, a more static approach aimed at exhibition rather than production was undertaken. In the one-on-one interview in Rome, Eugenio Cipollone explained:

The idea here was more to have a site for the production of art, and the *Pelanda* building (*one of the pavilions*) was built by the previous administration as the building for the production to be used by the young artists. Then the administration changed, the right parties arrived, and they said that they don't want the young producers, and so it is a museum now. It is now a place to exhibit, not to produce. (Eugenio Cipollone, personal communication, November 10, 2010)

He also recalled:

We first worked on the Mattatoio at the end of the 90s, between 1999, because Roma Tre University signed an agreement with the city for the use of a part of the Mattatoio, but this part of Mattatoio was still to be decided – which one to use. So, they made sort of pilot project, giving the first building to the university, and this building was renewed by me and also by Professor Cellini, which was more the, let's say, the administrative way – was the interface between the university and the city. I made a project and the works, and it was very successful, because within one year from the starting of the operation we were able to bring the students inside of the Mattatoio, which was a quite incredibly difficult thing, because, all the area of the Mattatoio was completely fenced until the end of the 1979, until 1999, and it was a sort of a forbidden city for the town, inside there were some camps, parallel powers like the cops that had their motorbikes parked there, they had sort of parking site where they could also have their cars and so on – basically everything that the city didn't know where to put. (Eugenio Cipollone, personal communication, November 10, 2010)

In 2002, next to the project to locate the Faculty of Architecture of the Roma Tre University, an area of 105.000 square meters, which hosted two great pavilions, was adapted for the second location of MACRO – MACRO Future – later renamed to MACRO Testaccio.

MACRO Testaccio – a part of the Museum of Contemporary Art of Rome (*Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di Roma – MACRO*), was another key-choice on the to establish Mattatoio's modern cultural profile.

The decision of establishing the museum in the premises of the former slaughterhouse was made in the period where the municipality tried to push the idea of Rome as not just a historical city with the monuments and the Roman ruins etc., but to create a contemporary identity of the city. So, the idea to create a contemporary art museum there was linked to this political and cultural decision. (Costanza Paissan, personal communication, November 12, 2010)



Figure 17: Main entrance of Mattatoio di Testaccio (by author)

The revitalization project *MACRO FUTURE all'ex Mattatoio* was led by Luciano Cupelloni's architectural office. The same office was also responsible for the revitalization project to establish the Academy of Fine Arts – *Accademia Di Belle Arti All'ex Mattatoio*, initiated in 2004 and accomplished in 2011. The project to revitalize and transform the two core pavilions designed by Gioacchino Erosch into the new exhibition spaces of MACRO took place in the period from 2002 till 2007. Luciano Cupelloni's official webpage (<http://www.lc-architettura.com/>) provides with a descriptive representation of the main features and specificities of this revitalization project. Particularly, the original aesthetics of the space – cast-iron columns and beams that structured the walls and the ceiling of the pavilions, clearly marking the atmospheric space and allowing flexibility in realizing different artistic expressions and exhibitions – were emphasized. In 2010, MACRO acquired an additional exhibition space – **La Pelanda** (*dei suini*), which was going to be a space of cultural production – *Centro di Produzione Culturale*, according to the initial plan. The stalls that once were processing (pork) meat were now re-designed to host a centre for cultural production, aiming to combine educational and cultural activities. Similar to MACRO Testaccio, the intervention, restoration and revitalization of La Pelanda is done very meticulously, preserving original architecture and the equipment.

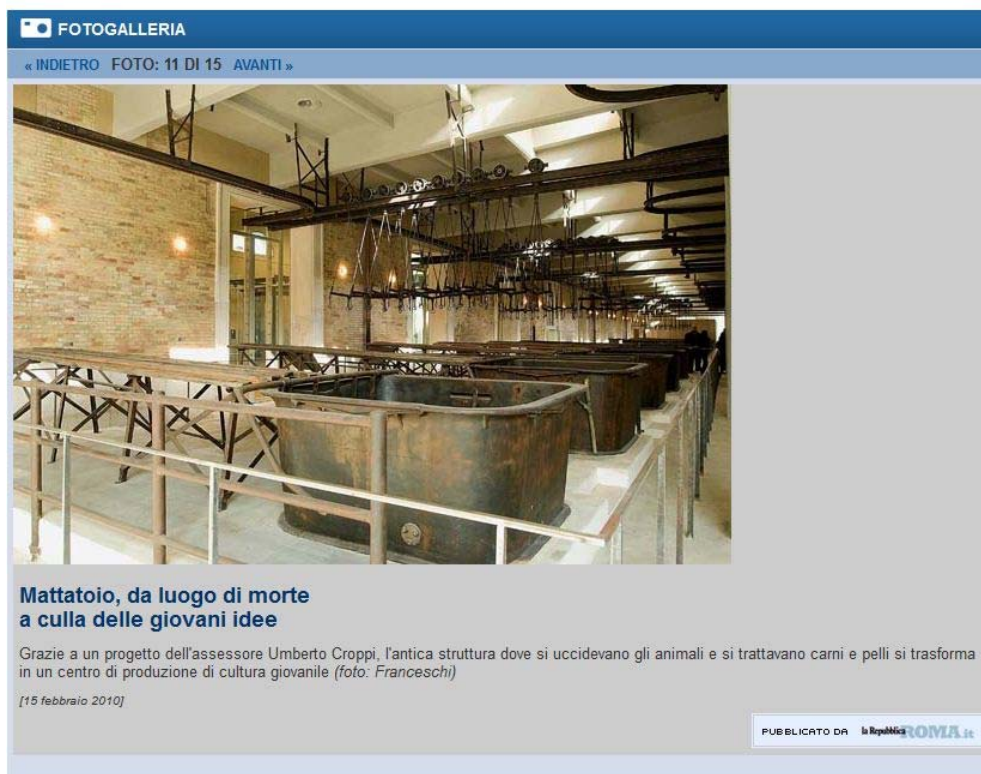


Figure 18: From a place of death to the birthplace of young culture

However, a project which received the most national and international acknowledgment for its revitalization concept is **The Alternative Economy City – La Città dell'Altra Economia (CAE)** – an innovative project which resulted from the decision made in 2004 by the City of Rome together with *Tavolo dell'Altra Economia* (i.e. a permanent working group of 40 non-profit organizations). An investment of 5.000000 Euros allowed to take over the 3.500 square meters of covered space and approximately 8.000 square meters of open space in front of the slaughterhouse complex – Campo Boario – and to transform it into The Alternative Economy City. As mentioned earlier, the decision to inaugurate La Città dell'Altra Economia resulted in the eviction of the already existing alternative social milieu composed of the minority groups, including the Kurdish and Rom Calderasha communities.



Figure 19: La Città dell'Altra Economia (by author)

The definition of Altra (Other) economy is seen as an alternative to the now dominant capitalist economic system. It is nature-inspired, rejecting the objectives of growth, development, the unlimited expansion and the pursuit of profit at any cost. Talking about the decision to establish the CAE within the premises of Mattatoio, Alberto Castagnola – a retired economist who was engaged in the development of the idea of the “alternative economy,” mentioned that during his work in *Tavolo dell'Altra Economia*, they expressed their need for a place as the “concentration of experiences.”

We found positive reaction from the mayor of the city at that time, so they started to study what were the possibilities, and they found this place. There was a very strong interest from the side of the Rome county council for this place, because it was closed up for more than 40 years, and completely abandoned (...) so they said, “ok, this would be interesting for us, and your project will be the very first one that can give the idea of what we are going to do with this kind of space”, and so they started to push. We were worried that the place was too big for us, because we are small groups and small organizations, but they said that they were going to pay for everything. So they paid for the restoration of this place (...). (Alberto Castagnola, personal communication, November 10, 2010)

Revitalization project to place the Alternative Economy City within the premises of ex-slaughterhouse, officially accomplished in the period from 2005-2007, was also led by Luciano Cupelloni’s architectural office. Touching upon the aspects of revitalization, Alberto Castagnola pointed out:

(...) we discussed with the architect all the aspects of solidarity, alternative economy that would be of interest for us, so down there you have the solar panels, glasses are special glasses that reflect, in this way you have help for the equilibrium of the climate in the room – interior climate, and those are the main things. Everything inside is very simple. When we came inside, we found everything, also the dishes in the kitchen, all the machinery for the heating for the conditioning, so everything was already arranged and we didn’t pay anything for that. We were working together to arrive at this point, it took about three years doing all of that, instead of the two years according to the previous plan. (Alberto Castagnola, personal communication, November 10, 2010)

Criteria of environmental sustainability and technological innovation was particularly emphasized and applied in the course of the revitalization. Thus, the CAE project is nationally and internationally acknowledged for its innovativeness (see <http://www.lc-architettura.com/>). Luciano Cupelloni describes the goal of sustainability as a measure of transformation and as an experimentation of virtuous processes and technical systems which re-define the architectural planning field with the innovation of criteria and methods, processes and instruments, but above all aims and results.

Unique in its undertaking(s) on the national and international levels, the project tests the limits of the physical and functional modification, innovative in the context of environmental sustainability bound with the historical context. (Retrieved from <http://www.lc-architettura.com/index.php/2005-2007-citta-dellaltra-economia-allex-mattotoio-di-testaccio-in-roma/>)

From the social perspective, La Città dell'Altra Economia is devoted to bring institutions and citizens towards new forms of production, consumption, work and savings. It promotes alternative Roman economy, fair trade, ethical finance, renewable energy sources, open communication, responsible tourism, recycling and organic farming – all on the site of the former slaughterhouse and its cattle field. Besides, it offers an organic food market, bio-bar and restaurant, and also assists in developing knowledge by providing a library, documentation centre, a conference and a training room.

We considered the project from the very beginning as something in-between: not public and not private, what we call social-public. This means that there is participation. (Alberto Castagnola, personal communication, November 10, 2010)



Figure 20: La Città dell'Altra Economia (by author)

All in all, Layer 1 delineated the past and present stances of Mattatoio di Testaccio by examining the development of this site and its transformation, which was initiated by the processes that were generated after Mattatoio's decommission. Today, Mattatoio di Testaccio is affiliated with a few cultural and educational institutions. To fully conceive the transformation and establishment of Mattatoio's new cultural profile, Layer 2 will outline personalized opinions of the experts that were/are engaged with the ex-slaughterhouse, building upon the observation of Mattatoio as a new entity.

5.3.2 LAYER 2 – EXPERTS' REFLECTIONS

When people interact with an environment they establish bonds and grant meanings to it, thus, creating their own personalized images of it. Looking at Mattatoio di Testaccio as a new entity, descriptions from the perspective of the actors and experts that are actually involved in the development process of the ex-slaughterhouse are important, giving an additional input to assess the new image of Mattatoio di Testaccio.

In 2004, Adriana Goni, together with architects and urbanists from the Urban Studies Department of Roma Tre University, took part in an interdisciplinary research aimed to characterize the transformation of ex-Mattatoio and Testaccio neighbourhood – *Studio per la caratterizzazione urbanistica dell'intervento di trasformazione dell'ex Mattatoio*.

Some part of us were architects, urbanists that were looking for the problems connected with the traffic, structure, the impact of the new buildings, new activities into the neighborhood, and not only the neighborhood, but also the urban area around. I focused in particular at the social and cultural life of the neighborhood. (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010)

Considering that one of the core focuses of this research was to examine the correlation between the industrial past and the contemporary image of the slaughterhouse, during the one-on-one interview, questions about the the industrial past of the area and its influences were asked. While describing the situation in the past, Goni's responses outlined the existing negative image, which was developed over time.

(...) almost all people living there worked in ex-Mattatoio. Ex-Mattatoio was at the same time the reason for living there, but not a very good place in the imaginary, because it's a place of death, because it's a place in which children don't go and, of course, thinking about all those animals, the noise when they killed them. You know, that the pigs are very loud, also the smell and so all the things that are around there started to be in the imaginary of people – the place of death. So the real life in the neighborhood was created in confront to this area; Mattatoio was the place of work. (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010)

In the perception Mattatoio was detached from the rest. People were not allowed to enter, just the workers. In addition, it was connected with a “dirty industry” – linked to death – it is not an industry, like metal, mechanical industry, it's a very masculine thing. The area around... it was the river and the train rails, which was thought as the part of the Mattatoio, so this was another cause that led this area to be abandoned.

(...) People from the neighborhood never had an opportunity to participate in the making of the place. So, when it was abandoned, the negative imaginary remained, keeping the locals away from this place. At the same time, some other groups – social group which made the Villaggio Globale – which is a social center of the Kurds, foreign communities, started to occupy some places, but they were external people – from outside – so perhaps in the social center some young people, but not much from the neighborhood came, but it was also seen as a negative place because of these people, because they made parties, because of the time of the cocaine, because immigrants were viewed as suspects, as something negative, and then came also the Roma people – the gypsies – so the place of Campo Boario was like a negative occupation for people from the place. So this made people (*i.e. locals*) go far away from this place. (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010)



Figure 21: Campo Boario and Mattatoio di Testaccio before the revitalization

PG. 01/02.15 IMG GC



Figure 22: Campo Boario and Mattatoio di Testaccio before the revitalization

Note: The screenshots above were taken from a documentary movie by Angela Landini "Ex Mattatoio Città delle Arti" (2006) for RAI Educational Channel.

In the one-on-one interview, Alberto Castagnola agreed with the suggestion that the area of ex-slaughterhouse had a negative association which was also deriving from its recent past. Upon his description:

Down there (*he showed*), you have the place where the horses were kept; there is also a social center that makes concerts and so on, not a positive one. When we (*CAE*) arrived here there was a group of gypsies living here for a number of years, they were very happy to live there because the area was closed and nobody was entering there, they were Italians, they had Italian passports, all the children were going to the schools. So it was a situation absolutely well organized and they were very happy. But the mayor was obliged to push all the gypsies out of the area, in a very bad way. (...) for a number of months they remained outside at the street. (Alberto Castagnola, personal communication, November 10, 2010)

A different outlook of the social organization of the area in that particular time-slot – prior to the establishment of La Città dell’Altra Economia – can be found in the description made by Francesco Careri and Lorenzo Romit:

The slaughterhouse is placed in a central area, within the ancient walls of the city, but it is hidden by the Tiber river, the railtracks, and an ancient dumping place of roman amphorae called Monte dei Cocci. The area is the perfect cul de sac where uncertainty and instability manage to settle away from sight. (...) Here, different communities, extraneous to the “normal” life of the city, live together: in this large space, the caravans of the Rome Calderasha community – an Italian nomad community, specialized in working raw materials; the stables have been occupied by the cavallari and their three hundred horses, the conductors of the horse carriages which permit tourists to have a different perspective of the city of Rome; on the opposite side there is Villaggio Globale, the most famous roman social center, which has been occupied and self-managed and in which intercultural activities take place during the year; other parts of the space are inhabited by different foreign communities, especially from Senegal and north Africa, by Italian homeless men and women, and by anyone who cannot find a place somewhere else. The result is a strange cosmopolitan and multicultural universe which lives in the surreal city of Pasolini and Fellini, a universe which no one would imagine to find in the center of the modern Touristic Rome. (Francesco Careri and Lorenzo Romito, from a manuscript kindly provided by F. Careri in 2010)

Francesco Careri – an immaterial architect (according to his own definition), member of Stalker, answered to the initial question of the one-on-one interview in November 2010: what is special about Mattatoio, with a smile, replying that he does not know in which scale to answer. Being a part of Stalker, his reflections upon the time prior the “institutionalization” of the Mattatoio – the time when he and the group were actively experimenting with this abandoned and neglected structure that contained “several interesting communities” – are particularly valuable. For Careri the fact that Mattatoio was linked with the ‘dirty’ industry and represented a place of death was never a problem – “I never *smelled the blood* there,” was his humorous answer.

No, this wasn’t a problem for me at all. It’s more the life we have seen, it’s more the experiences we did, the knowledge, the meeting with the Italian gypsies that were there, the possibility to meet other people there that you don’t normally meet. (Francesco Careri, personal communication, November 3, 2010)

Regarding the issue of negative perception and its effect on Mattatoio’s development, Eugenio Cipollone’s speculation was that:

Ex-Mattatoio had a negative image for the people that stayed outside and didn’t have an idea of what was inside. (...) it was a sort of a forbidden city for the town, inside there were some camps, parallel powers like the cops that had their motorbikes parked there, they had sort of parking site where they could also have their cars and so on – basically everything that the city didn’t know where to put. (Eugenio Cipollone, personal communication, November 10, 2010)

To the same issue – perception of the slaughterhouse-area at the time of its abandonment – Francesco Careri’s response was:

Like a black hole! (*He laughed*) Nobody went inside to see what was there because of the gypsies, because of the blacks... Me too, I have been inside for the first time in the 90s. I was a little bit afraid, because it was really a strange place, like nomads land, like... after I appreciated that. Now, if I encounter a place like that I go there, but I was twenty and it was for me too much. There is a fantastic movie from Federico Fellini inside the slaughterhouse choosing the actors, so doing interviews of the people who worked there, when the slaughterhouse was still working. (...) For us the place was the garbage of the city, so the place where city put all the that it didn’t want to face, so it’s like the place where all the neglected problems were, and for us this was the reason, to go and see how does it work, a space like that, how can we work with that.. (Francesco Careri, personal communication, November 3, 2010)

Interestingly, this last observation by Careri, particularly its descriptive way, coincides with the thoughts on ex-Mattatoio's image expressed by Eugenio Cipollone. Both of them saw Mattatoio di Testaccio as an enclosed storage space which was full of issues that the city had to deal with. Thus, implementation of culture and alternative economy was chosen by the city administration to fight the existing issues, revitalizing and enhancing this former industrial complex.

(...) now the industrial archeology is very much appreciated. The museums of contemporary art love to be in this places of archeological importance, and of course they had this big spaces that nowadays museums need (...). (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010).

However, the case of the ex-slaughterhouse is different.

This wasn't just a place of industry, it was a very negative place where the animals were killed (...)," explained Alberto Castagnola, negating my suggestion whether Mattatoio's industrial architecture is attractive for the people. "(...) there is no connection. Connection is the place itself, the structure that is able to be transformed into different uses, and these are marvelous things. So you can respect the structure, accurately renovating it, and you can use it anew. In Pelanda they left all the elements. This is marvelous; because this place is huge, you can do a number of activities... you can practically do whatever you want (...). So there are spaces that can be utilized in a multiple ways, and activities, if you have the means and the possibilities to organize them. (Alberto Castagnola, personal communication, November 10, 2010)



Figure 23: MACRO Testaccio (by author)

“There are people who work in art and architecture, they say that this is a wonderful place, because it’s half derelict and there is an eclectic edge to it. (...)” mentioned Cipollone in the interview. Of similar opinion was Costanza Paissan – the curator of MACRO museum:

(...) artists are really impressed by the space. We tried to organize exhibitions where artists could react to the identity of the space and create new works in the pavilions. There is a good communication between the architecture and the activities. (Costanza Paissan, personal communication, November 12, 2010)

Thus, to the question whether the industrial space acts as an attractor, Paissan responded positively, “it’s a hint of the era.” She also outlined Mattatoio as having advantage compared to the white-cube-museums. “Because people go there also to see the formal slaughterhouse of Rome, to see how it changed and what can happen in this kind of space,” at the same time, however, she mentioned that “you have to put things into space, and then it begins to attract people.” Paissan’s response here mirrored Alberto Castagnola’s opinion in regard to the same question (see above).

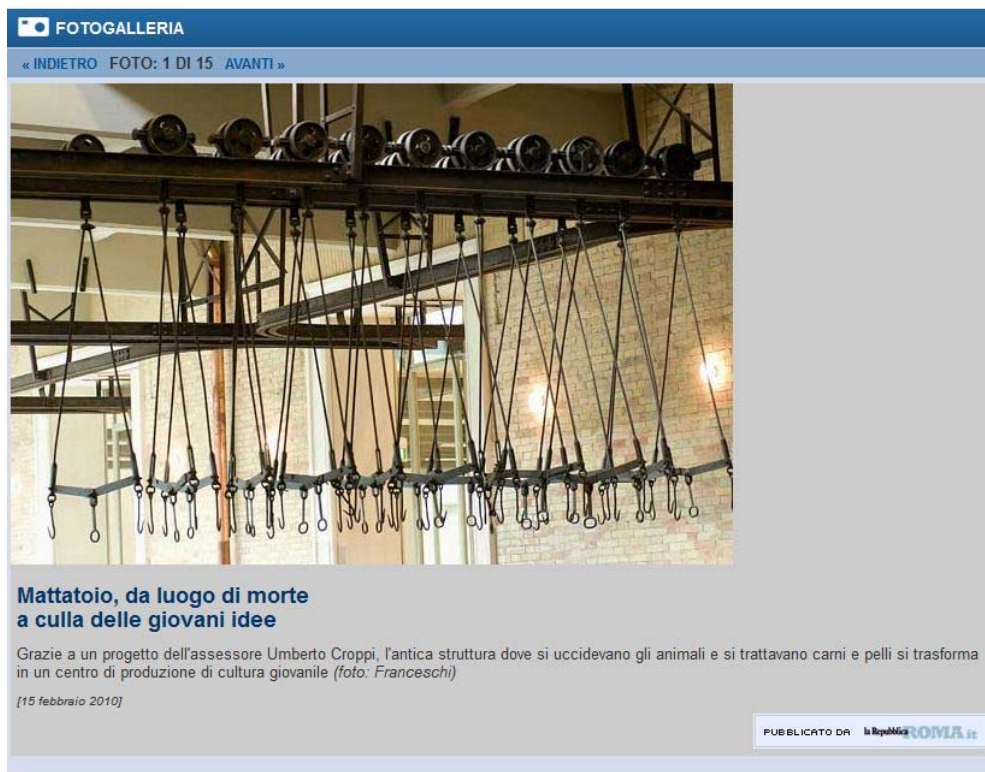


Figure 24: From a place of death to the birthplace of young culture

Discussion of the images that experts had with reference to Mattatoio di Testaccio started with the depiction of the negative aspects bound to Mattatoio's industrial past. Today, however, being revitalized and represented as a new entity – one that hosts several cultural and educational institutions – Mattatoio di Testaccio acquired new roles and a new cultural profile. Therefore, this part of the discussion aims to reveal whether that image of the ex-slaughterhouse which was depicted by the experts earlier has changed.

Alberto Castagnola, for instance, described the qualitative improvement of the area with the establishment of La Città dell'Altra Economia. To the question about the positive change in its perception he responded:

Absolutely! One fundamental point here is that there is no traffic; you have a parking space, but when you enter, there is no traffic inside, you have a very small number of cars coming to bring the goods, so the people – families with children – they arrive here, children are completely free and they are very happy. Have you noticed the playground created with the tires? ... It is something that cannot be done everywhere in Rome. It's very simple. Children arrive and feel like this is their place and they can play with all these things here. So it's possible to have a number of people here who arrive regularly, and consider this as one of their places. (Alberto Castagnola, personal communication, November 10, 2010)



Figure 25: L'altra Domenica (by author)

Moreover, based on the qualitative transformation of Mattatoio di Testaccio, different social layers added up. According to Adriana Goni, “the old ones (*inhabitants*)... I don’t think that they really use this space. (...)” Additionally, Goni outlined recognition of Testaccio on a global scale, linked to the institutions that are located within its premises. This fact renewed the interest of the locals. Hence, they started re-visiting Testaccio not only because of the established nightlife there, or to see this traditional Roman neighborhood, but also because of the new cultural profile of Mattatoio di Testaccio.

By adjusting its opening hours – from 4 p.m. till 12 a.m. – MACRO Testaccio made a clear statement of affiliation with the contemporary profile and the nightlife of the neighborhood.

It was a precise choice because this is a neighborhood which is lived during the night, so the museum goes in this direction, while here (*the other Macro museum*) we are open from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. (...),” pointed out Costanza Paissan. She also remarked that “the identity of the museum is linked to young people, to people who don’t have the memory of that place, and the museum could also count on the fact that the neighborhood of Testaccio is a young space with bars and university, and the creation of the museum was a new thing that attracted a lot of people. (Costanza Paissan, personal communication, October 12, 2010)

The possibility of a drastic change in the perception of the area, Adriana Goni explains by the absence of references with its former condition.

(...) the museum could involve more people, make some art exhibitions about the memory of Testaccio, you know, or dedicate a room for the memory of Mattatoio, and then involve people to make some interviews, make an anthropological research...I think, that it needs really a recognition of the immaterial heritage that made this place unique. Because this place is also the people who live around. You have families of the people who worked there or the families of people who made this neighborhood, so this is a heritage (...).

For the new people Mattatoio doesn’t represent anything. I mean, they see what they are looking at and receive now. If the museum made a permanent exhibition about what happened there, also for the schools, perhaps it would help to maintain the immaterial heritage and the new people would know about the place. I think some of the new people who came are very interested and very sensitive about the cultural layer. (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010)

It's really a strong passage from a past of death and a negative past to a positive past. I don't think a lot about the fact that the animals were killed there when I go there. I think for example about the fact that it was a production space of something that is not culture and now it is a production space linked to culture. So, like all the industrial spaces, there is a different kind of production. (Costanza Paissan, personal communication, November 12, 2010)

So far, these observations affirm the transformation-dynamic of Mattatoio di Testaccio, which pushes the industrial past to the background, outlining the new post-industrial image.

Conversations with the experts were also exemplary in showing that what is important and unique to some is dispensable for the other.

(...) all these different projects that are inside the Mattatoio could've been also in the other parts of the city. They are like global projects, you know. They are good, because they are social, because they have a cultural content behind, because they are not the McDonalds in the middle of the city in a place like it, but apart from the architects that think the renewal of the places, that they take the old signs of identity, apart from them I don't think that people think to valorize this immaterial heritage. (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010)

Touching upon his perception that derived from the time when Stalker was still active in Campo Boario, Francesco Careri's reaction was quite direct:

I think we were the city of other economy, and we were the city of arts, because we have understood what this place was about. It was a place where with art you could give importance to what was happening to those who lived there, so art is not something that arrives and cleans the reality, and then puts an object of art. Art has to invent the reality, to understand it and to represent. So once you have a reality like that, you cannot clean it and do a museum. This is really something which is against my idea of art. (Francesco Careri, personal communication, November 3, 2010)

At the same time, in spite of his criticism, Careri also admitted that he goes to the area with his children, pointing out that it is a good place to stay and that it is safe. "Every time I am there, I meet many friends. So, there are people there, who don't live in Testaccio, but coming from different parts of the entire city," he said.

By describing his varying experiences and interactions with the place, Careri indirectly indicated the social shift that happened in the area:

I think now the imaginary that you have, that the city have, is the place that there are people from the left, or fake poor, bourgeois with money that go there to do alternative things (*he aughed*). (Francesco Careri, personal communication, November 3, 2010)

Regarding the emerging social dynamic within the area, Adriana Goni pointed out:

In general, the people who go to CAE (La Città dell'Altra Economia) are also local, they are the new inhabitants of this area – of the historic center – the middle class, a little bit poor – they are not poor, but they are the middle class – and so they look for the prices... and these new groups are looking more for the quality, and the practices – if it's fair... so, I prefer to buy just one thing, one pair of shoes, and not fifty pairs of shoes etc. But this is a cultural change, so, from this point of view I think that the things that are at the Mattatoio nowadays are more for (from) the new population of Testaccio, not from the old one. Apart from that, the old population has also this kind of negative imaginary... (Adriana Goni, personal communication, October 25, 2010)



Figure 26: L'altra Domenica (by author)

Nothing is more difficult than to know precisely *what we see*, points out Maurice Merleau-Ponty in *Phenomenology of Perception* (2002). To him, "perception is built up with states of consciousness as a house is built with bricks, and a mental chemistry is invoked which fuses these materials into a compact whole." (Merleau-Ponty, 2002, p. 25) Looking at the ways of thinking that the experts shared in one-on-one interviews – the perspectives from the ‘inside’ – Layer 2 expanded the discussion of the formation and transformation of Mattatoio di Testaccio’s image. This process, however, is incomplete without an additional outlook from the ‘outside’, which is provided in the following Layer.

5.3.3 LAYER 3 – IMAGE IN THE MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION

Formation of Mattatoio’s new image is approached and *judged* in this Layer by looking at representations – visual and written – that are granted to the former slaughterhouse by media of mass communication. To distinguish the commonalities in representations, written pieces from various printed and online publications are put together in order to outline the image that is presented to the public. This strategy will help finding out whether there are any correlations between the images that are perceived by the experts and the image that is channeled via media of mass communication.

In recent years, Mattatoio di Testaccio is seen as a place which is increasingly characterized by the variety of its cultural and artistic manifestations and events, adding up to the experiences of post-industrial metropolitan life. Social and mass media are means that help constructing that new reality. Directly and indirectly they transmit certain images that direct opinions and influence decisions.

Being somewhat detached from the rest of the city of Rome, even though considered within the historical center, there must be a specific reason why one would want to go to Testaccio neighborhood and to visit the former slaughterhouse. Describing the neighborhood as *something a bit different* than all the other Roman neighborhoods, travel and leisure websites outline the particular features that Testaccio possesses, providing with the reasons to go there. For instance, they emphasize gastronomic particularities in Testaccio – the traditional Roman cuisine, and define Testaccio as an up and coming working class neighborhood and a place where Rome’s beautiful people go to exercise their *dolce vita* (Retrieved from <http://goeurope.about.com/od/rometestaccio/ss/testaccio-rome.htm>).

Testaccio is also described as Rome's traditional working class neighborhood whose recent gentrification has changed its reputation from hard-at-work to hipster (Retrieved from <http://www.oh-rome.com/en/rome-districts/testaccio/>), pinpointing the presence of lavish night clubs and bars that influence the whole flair of the area. In line with the dynamic character of the neighborhood in the evenings, exhibition spaces in the premises of ex-Mattatoio are open from the late afternoon until the midnight, making Mattatoio di Testaccio a part of the scene.

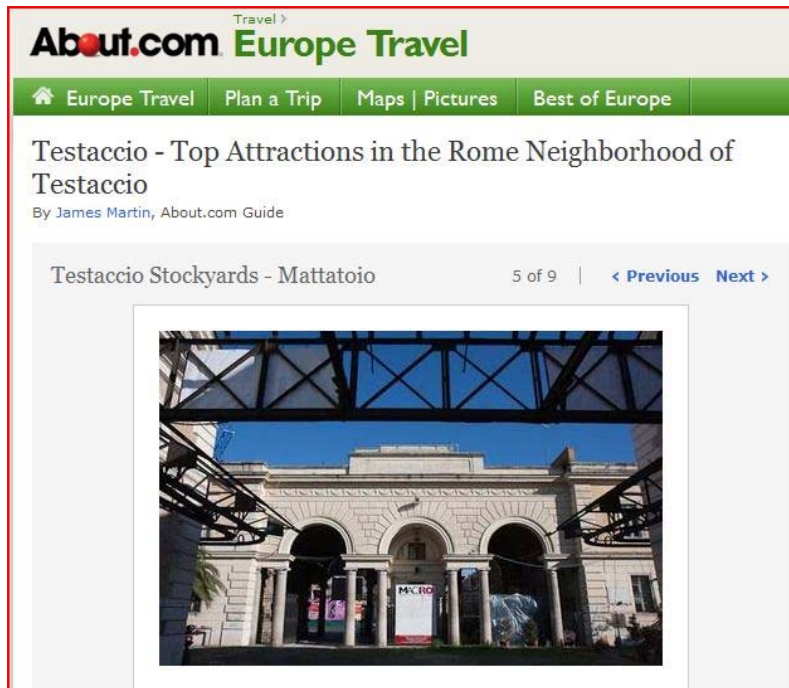


Figure 27: Top attraction

The revitalization strategy designed for Mattatoio di Testaccio, giving it an educational, cultural and artistic profile, with an emphasis upon the issues of sustainability, is determined by the city administration. Although the ex-slaughterhouse is considered as one of the most important industrial buildings in the city of Rome – it characterizes the transition from classicism to modernity, providing an important historical example of monumental and rational nature of industrial architecture at the end of the century – this industrial complex as such is often in the background. It is mostly seen as a cultural venue, characterized by cultural and artistic activities that take place within its premises, under the patronage of the institutions that are located there. Thus, the heritage-value of this architectural structure is only briefly articulated.

Images and information that circulate in the media of mass communication mostly present the new cultural profile of the ex-slaughterhouse. A lively area for cultural displays and a place where “haute art” events take place – this image evolved on the account of MACRO Testaccio. In view of that, contemporary art is announced as one of the cornerstones of Mattatoio, continuously supported by festivals and events of national and international scope that use the industrial premises as their backdrop. For instance, some of the internationally recognized events that took place here included *Fotografia Festival Internazionale di Roma* – Rome International Photography Festival, and an art fair of global scope – *Roma Contemporary* (earlier: The Road to Contemporary Art), which invited galleries and art dealers to stage public exhibitions and to present modern and contemporary art in MACRO Testaccio.

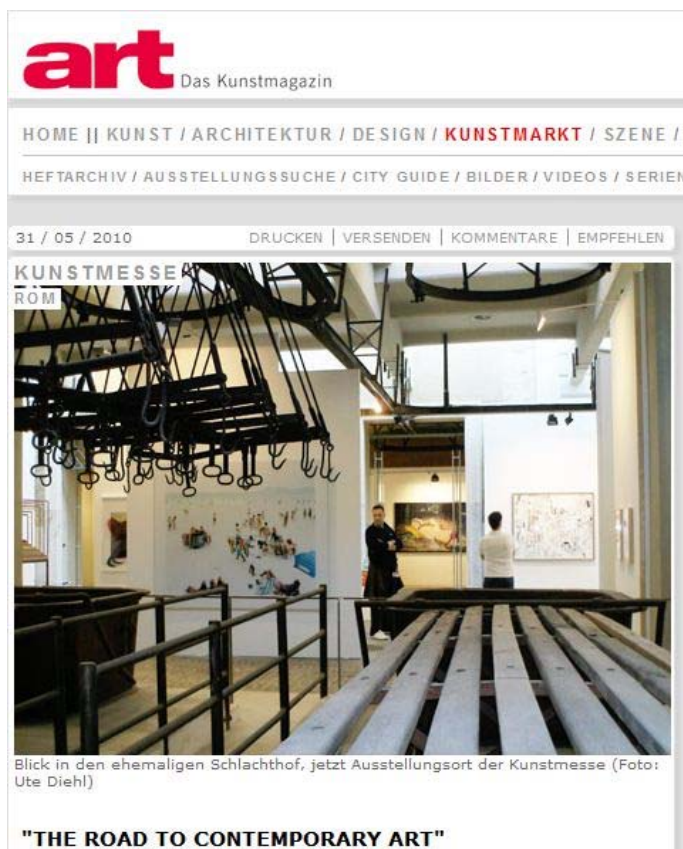


Figure 28: Yesterday a slaughterhouse, today a cultural hub

Repeatedly, announcements in the newspapers and periodicals invite to visit and experience the former slaughterhouse and to see its magical spaces. Accordingly, to emphasize the specific character of Mattatoio di Testaccio, the industrial aesthetic of its pavilions, and particularly their distinction from a “white cube”, is outlined.

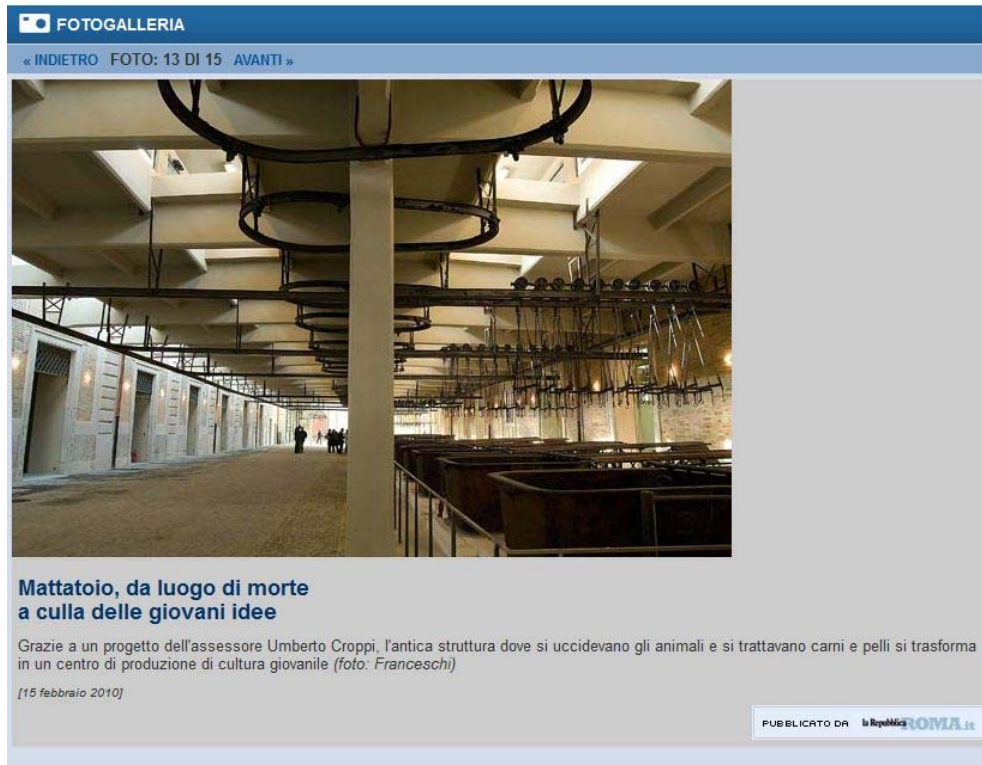


Figure 29: From a place of death to the birthplace of young culture

Qualitative transformation of the former slaughterhouse – from a place of death into a place of cultural expression – is also the feature which makes this piece of industrial architecture exotic.

Exhibitions start late in the afternoon, but a good time to walk around is in the morning. They haven't really dismantled all the mechanisms upon which carcasses were moved around the place, so you can get a pretty good idea of what went on here--without the smell. (Retrieved from http://goeurope.about.com/od/rometestaccio/ss/testaccio-rome_5.htm)

The synthesis of maximum innovation which is possible in the historical context of the slaughterhouse – preserving the original structures and the equipment at the same time – is one of the main contemporary characteristics of Mattatoio di Testaccio from the architectural perspective. In the official website of Musei in Comune, for instance, MACRO outlines the dimensions and layout of the space as particularly suitable setting for some of the most significant works of national and international art (see http://en.museiincomuneroma.it/ne_fanno_parte/macro).

Putting aside the art-profile of Mattatoio di Testaccio, another aspect which is outlined in the mass and social media, giving a drastically opposite image to the one that existed in Campo Boario after the decommission of the ex-slaughterhouse, is established by the presence of CAE – *Città dell'Altra Economia* – one of the first places in Europe which is entirely dedicated to practice sustainability and alternative economy in Rome.



Figure 30: Snapshot from the CAE Facebook-page

Città dell'Altra Economia not only promotes the alternative economy and ecological way of life, but it also emphasizes the importance of social interaction within the area.

In the report by *Radio Città Futura* “Inaugurazione della CAE”, from 30 November 2012, dedicated to the re-opening/inauguration weekend of the new CAE, one can find the following description:

This is one of the most beautiful places of our city and one of the places where an important part of the Roman livelihood exists, and which, we think, can become a home for all those experiences that happen within the city – cultural experiences, social experiences – having a place to exist here. (Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ApEkFKDF84>)

Also, CAE strongly positions itself as a family-oriented place. Recently, this aspect was enhanced by additional events that take place in the area, for instance, “C’era una volta...” – *Il primo Festival di Family Artentainment di Roma* (“Once upon a time...” – Festival of the Family Artentainment of Rome). Initiated in 2011, this one of its kind festival in Rome involves entire families. Various activities, such as theater performances, film screenings, exhibitions, readings, cultural and art activities are designed to introduce the children to the world of contemporary art, acquiring for this purpose the philosophy of ‘edutainment’, which aims to educate children and young people by entertaining them. Additionally, a farmer’s market is hosted every Sunday in the premises of the cattle field – Campo Boario.

The new image is also traceable in the series of short videos that one can find on the video-sharing platform YouTube. These short videos – also dedicated to the re-opening of the CAE – picture people that came to the opening and their responses to the question: “Cosa vorresti dalla tua Città?” or “What would you want from your city?”



Father and son:

(...) It's something that we would like to have – a point where not only adults, but especially children are taught to eat in the right way, with nutritionists who know what to advice in order to be healthy, eat well and how to read food labels.

(Retrieved from

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xeRyNkwtvqM>)

Figure 31: Inauguration CAE



Figure 32: Inauguration CAE

Mother and daughter:

I would like a city more suitable for children, with spaces that are adjusted to them, where you don't have to juggle between cars, maybe even play activities. Spaces to run and play together.

(Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6aJOFxwsVaA>)



Figure 33: Inauguration CAE

Grandfather and grandson:

Well, more spaces of this type. Where there is a square in its real sense: where people can meet, where there is a social dimension, let's say. More spaces for those who play music in the streets, artisans or the small businesses...

(Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hn8QkBVyMQM>)

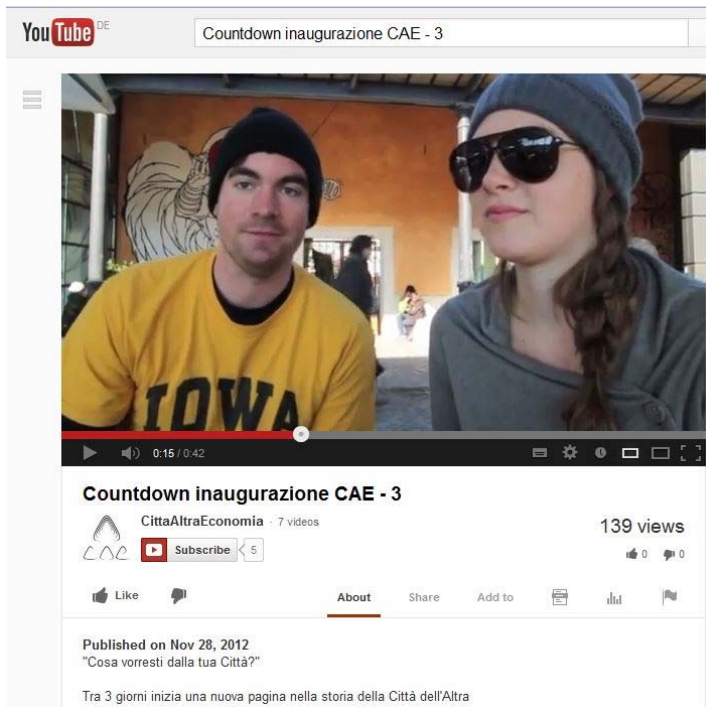


Figure 34: Inauguration CAE

Young couple/friends:

What do I want in Rome is to find a place without a car, without the chaos – noise and at the same time find Italian food.

(Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yTs57M7CUF4>)

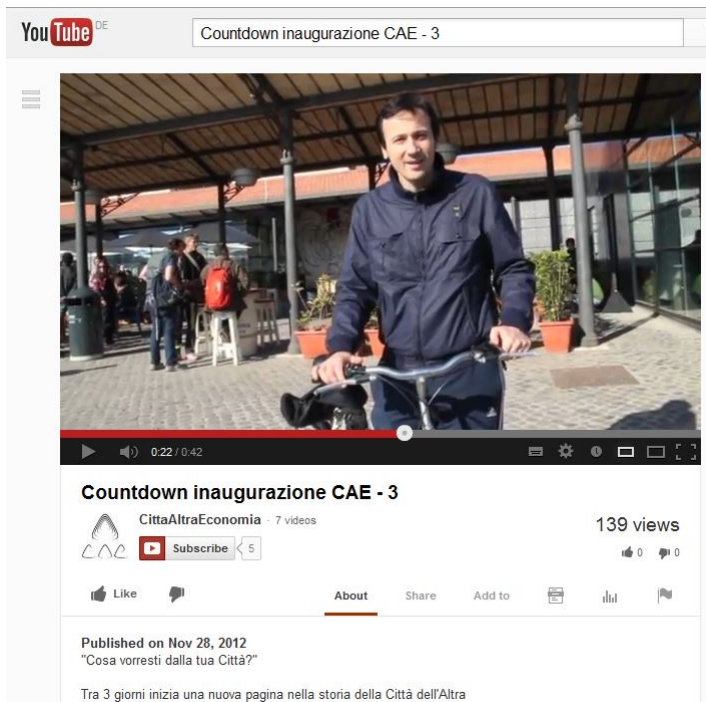


Figure 35: Inauguration CAE

Cyclist:

My expectation is to be able to come here with a bike (...) walk comfortably (...).

(Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yTs57M7CUF4>)



Figure 36: Inauguration CAE

An older lady:
 I would like that this place continues to be a meeting place open to everyone: grandparents, parents and children, who can meet, eat together, play together and enjoy this beautiful place.
 (Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZQJk9G1oVgU>)

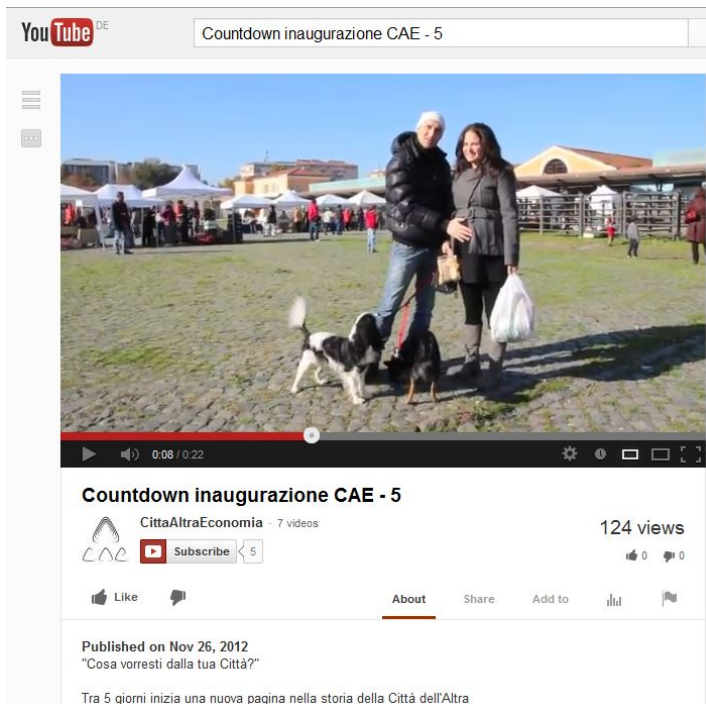


Figure 37: Inauguration CAE

Newly established family:
 I would like a city that gives free access to pets and one that provides healthy food for my family.
 (Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qzGe6J5nnKs>)

Interestingly, the choice of the respondents in these video corresponds to the image which is being projected – an image of a family-friendly, sustainable and culturally rich place. Similar were also the responses and wishes of people. It must also be acknowledged that the message that is projected by the Alternative Economy City is completely detached from the industrial and recent history of the place. The same observation is appropriate when looking at the cultural announcements that are made by MACRO.

All in all, understanding the issues of representation and production and exchange of meanings could also be furthered by looking at how a movie plot is constructed. Hence, an interpretation of industrial heritage in a documentary movie can be a good example to tackle the question of the image and its transformation, focusing upon the correlation of the industrial past and present images in particular. A film about Mattatoio di Testaccio by Angela Landini for RAI educational channel – Radiotelevisione Italiana S.p.A., Italy's national public broadcasting company – starts with a depiction of the history of the establishment of Testaccio district as a Roman working class neighborhood. Hence, the initial part of the film is composed of many nostalgic setbacks that are somewhat romanticizing the past –the 'retro' music in the background, interviews with the older population that recall episodes from the past of the working-class Testaccio neighborhood. Archaeological importance of the site is also acknowledged, which makes representations of Testaccio somewhat interactive by 'playing' with the different layers its development (from antic to the modern), and approaching the industrial development in Testaccio and establishment of the Mattatoio in the end. Depiction of Mattatoio di Testaccio in this movie is very much stressing architectural features of the slaughterhouse by showing elements of its built structure before the revitalization, and also interviewing the architects who were involved in the revitalization process. Overall, the entire first half of the movie is dedicated to the representation of the historic background upon which Mattatoio was established. In the second half, however, the focus shifts, and attention is paid to the revitalization plan developed by the administration of the city of Rome. Here, the idea of the *Città Delle Arti* is presented, linking it with the interviews and depictions of the institutions that are a part of the project. Looking at the construction of the plot, a great share of the focus was on the issue of Mattatoio's revitalization from the architectural perspective – the descriptive representations of the plan and its composites. These are seen as the means to assist the revitalization of the former slaughterhouse. Thus, the main accent in the movie was upon the dialogue between the architectural structure, its users and the projects. Of particular attention is the final scene, which is composed of (avant-garde) images of the artistic works exhibited in Mattatoio (MACRO Testaccio), announcing the new cultural profile of the former slaughterhouse.

To summarize, Layer 3 focused upon analyzing the information about Mattatoio di Testaccio which was channeled via media of mass communication. This perspective was chosen to provide an additional outlook of the images that are presented to the public. Providing articulations of images from a perspective that came from the 'outside' is the last step to complete the observation of Mattatoio di Testaccio's new synthesis.

5.3.4 SUMMARY – CASE STUDY 1: MATTATOIO DI TESTACCIO

The first part of the case study research focused upon the transformation processes involving the former slaughterhouse of Testaccio – Mattatoio di Testaccio. This case study was selected because of the specificity of its industrial production and the negativity linked with the fact that Mattatoio was a “place of death.”

To depict Mattatoio di Testaccio and its adjacent Campo Boario, a methodological framework consisting of three main layers was used – developed for the purpose of the case study research. Providing a general overview of the place, Layer 1 referred to the main facts and occurrences around the transformation of Mattatoio di Testaccio which turned it into a multifunctional complex and an integrative part of Roman contemporary cultural landscape, and emphasized its affiliation with the institutions that reside on the site.

Layer 2 brought the personalized opinions of the experts' that were and are engaged with the ex-slaughterhouse into the picture, providing an additional outlook to the formation of its image by referring to the opinions received from the experts during the one-on-one interviews. It became clear that Mattatoio di Testaccio accumulated different perceptions. Although mentioning the negative associations that were linked to the former slaughterhouse on account of its past, presenting it as a place full of issues that the city had to deal with, it was also recognized that the new cultural profile of Mattatoio and the activities linked to it have steadily revitalized its rotten image, renewing the interest of the locals in the area.

Finally, Layer 3 outlined representations of Mattatoio di Testaccio that were found in the various printed and online publications and which were put together to outline the image that is presented to the public. It soon became clear that although the former slaughterhouse is considered as one of the most important industrial buildings in the city of Rome, characterizing the transition from classicism to modernity, the industrial complex and its history moved to the background, being mostly seen as a cultural venue, characterized by cultural and artistic activities that take place within its premises.

Overall, the observations made by means of the methodological framework affirm the transformation-dynamic of Mattatoio di Testaccio. It also allowed to pinpoint the “Unique Selling Proposition” (a.k.a. unique selling point, or USP) – features that are particularly emphasized, and around which the new image of Mattatoio di Testaccio is built. Clearly, because of the specificity of its industrial production and the negativity which was linked with the fact that Mattatoio was a “place of death”, the USP of Mattatoio di Testaccio rather featured its exceptional industrial architecture – considered for many years one of the most advanced in Europe for the modern organization of its production and the intelligence of architectural solutions – and the innovative concept of revitalization and refurbishment of its industrial structures. However, with the strengthening of its new image, the cultural profile – events and activities linked to it – came to the forefront. Thus, the image that circulates in the media of mass communication today often focuses upon Mattatoio’s transition *da luogo di morte a culla della cultura giovanile* – from a place of death to the birthplace of young culture.

People carry remains of distant experiences in their minds that tie them to the past in a special way. Observations within the framework of this case study research made it clear that what is important and unique to some is dispensable for the other. Examining the correlation between the industrial past and the post-industrial image of former industrial places, the case study research showed that the new image of Mattatoio di Testaccio slaughterhouse is freshly constructed upon the current activities that happen within its premises, having no linkage with the industrial (or recent) past. Nevertheless, the negative image in the minds of people with personal connection to this place remains intact due to the lack of direct or indirect experiences with its present state. Thus, in view of the emerging socio-cultural dynamic, the slaughterhouse of Testaccio – originally an industrial built structure with an exact function – mutated into a complex formation that needs to be experienced, in order to be understood.

Second part of this chapter examines a former industrial complex located in Germany – Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei (Leipzig Cotton Spinning Mill). Similarly to the first case study – Mattatoio di Testaccio, the methodological framework composed of the three main layers is used, in order to help defining the contemporary essence of this former industrial structure by looking at the processes of its development.

5.4 CASE STUDY 2: LEIPZIGER BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI

5.4.1 LAYER 1 – WHAT IS THERE? WHO IS THERE? WHAT IS GOING ON?

Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei – Leipzig Cotton Spinning Mill – is situated in the western outskirts of Leipzig, in a former working class neighborhood called Plagwitz. Development of Plagwitz was strongly influenced by the construction of the Leipzig Cotton Spinning Mill in 1884. Interestingly, the mill in its contemporary representation is still of great importance for the district, as one can notice from the following excerpts from articles referring to the Spinnerei and its transformation.

Today, the heart of Leipzig's emerging art scene is found in Plagwitz, a shabby area that seems much removed from the city centre's chocolate-box Gothic and bourgeois Gründerzeit stolidity. Off the beaten track, and beyond the former-GDR's bleak apartment blocks, many of which are presently being demolished, lies decrepit but strangely beautiful industrial area that is home to the Spinnerei. (Heighton, L. & James, S., *Art Pilgrimage: Leipzig, ArtReview*, January 2008)

This location, the former *Baumwollspinnerei* at the borders of the district Plagwitz, preserves the past in a fascinatingly relaxed manner with all its imprints and is a nucleus of a highly topical and global cosmos. (Härig, B., *Mit vielen Wassern gewaschen, Monumente*, February 2008)



Figure 38: Main sign of the cotton spinning mill (by author)

Registered on the 21st June 1884 as joint-stock company – *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei Aktiengesellschaft* – the site was bought from Dr. Karl Heine. Johann Morf from Zurich was directing the project, which was aimed at sustainability and expansion, constituting in the end about 12 hectares (Report 2009). In 1884-1907 Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei developed into the largest cotton-spinning mill in continental Europe. Settlement-like, the area was considered a modern place and included not only the factory, but also a kindergarten, gardens and the accommodations of the workers.



Figure 39: Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei (spinnerei.de)

The second decade of the 20th century was marked by an intense international competition in the global market. However, with the beginning of the war, the supply of raw cotton almost entirely collapsed and was replaced by setting up the munitions factories that produced light explosive mines from 1917 onwards. The cotton imports were gradually resumed after the war. As National Socialism created a resurgence of all over Germany, producing thread for military uniforms became a profitable business, and production in Leipzig increased. However, with the beginning of the Soviet occupation on the 1st July 1945, the production was weakened as the Spinnerei's large and productive machines were appropriated. In the summer of 1946, the Spinnerei became a *Volkseigener Betrieb* – a publicly-owned company – belonging to the region of Saxony.

For its post-war generation in particular, the Spinnerei was a formative, integrative and social place that was more than a workplace and source of wages – it was a socio-political institution. As well as work, social support and independence, it provided free time and cultural activities for the family. (Report 2009, p.26)

German history, particularly the East-West division and reunification in 1989, leading to a new political situation, had its effect on the whole dynamic of the city of Leipzig. The city faced complex challenges that were linked with the massive deindustrialization. A new socio-economic and structural dynamic emerged, where the weakened economy led to a shrinking population and abandonment. Clearly, these changes, together with the decline of the cotton yarn production in the early 1990, affected the cotton spinning mill. Thus, the production of thread ceased in the beginning of 1993, eventually having the business and the workers dismissed.

Referring to Report 2009, in August 1993, the Spinnerei was sold to a West German buyer by the *Treuhand* – the trust which was responsible for the GDR’s formerly nationally-owned companies. The new owner produced cord for car tire until the 2000. However, it was already during the early 1990s, that the path of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei’s transformation into a cultural factory was opened. That is to say, this was the time when under the leadership of Spinnerei’s former administrator Regina Lenk some of the premises of the former mill started to be used for alternative projects and to hosting the first few artists. Buying the property in July 2001, the new owners – Dr. Florian Busse from Munich (Heintz & Co.), Tilmann Sauer-Morhard from Berlin, and Bertram Schultze from Leipzig (both from MIB AG), with an addition of Karsten Schmitz from Munich in 2002, officially set the cultural tone of the area in accordance with the local artists’ community.

Out of the non-systematic settling of creatives at the turning point, Schultze developed an urbanistic vision: The *Baumwollspinnerei* should become a magnet for arts and culture, but not a Disneyland with fully refurbished lofts and overpriced rents. (Apin, N., Pinsel statt Spule, *taz*, April 2005)



The logo features the word "Spinnerei" in a large, bold, dark red serif font. Below it, the slogan "from cotton to culture" is written in a smaller, dark red, lowercase sans-serif font.

Figure 40: Logo and slogan of the Spinnerei today

SPINNEREI – FROM COTTON TO CULTURE

Artists were the pioneers in the process of revitalization and qualitative transformation of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei, however, it took some additional input before the art production, presentation and trade evolved into major activities at the Spinnerei, making it the place with the highest artist' density in Germany, according to *Lausitzer Rundschau* from 13 September 2006. Initially, the developers were following the *do something* principle of New York urban development (Report 2009). Thus, the idea "from cotton to culture" was first shaped as a result of a trip to New York, organized in 2004 by the Federkiel Foundation.

During our visits to the Armory Show, the Whitney Biennial, the P.S. 1 and especially the Dia:Beacon and the MASS MoCa in Massachusetts, we saw a further evidence of the undeniable charisma of art seen in a former industrial setting. This experience led to us organizing the Spinnerei's first WERKSCHAU, a collective exhibition of work by all the Spinnerei artists, in the summer of 2004. This took place on our 120th anniversary, and the Spinnereifest that was also held to mark this was the first step in creating better communication between the Spinnerei's various users. (Report 2009, p. 6)

In the *Impulsveranstaltung zur Konzeptfindung für ein Münchner Kreativquartier – Kreativen Raum Schaffen* in 2011, Bertram Schultze explains that the slogan "from cotton to culture" was strongly influenced by the claim made by Massachusetts Museum of Contemporary Art (Mass MoCa) – "from mill to museum." Dealing with arts and culture, yet, remaining authentic in its tangible structure, the museum provides features that the Spinnerei acquired for its further development.

Today, we call it only *Spinnerei*, because it represents a nice link to our history as the largest cotton spinning mill of the continent, but also because it is a nice word to comprise the craziness taking place at this property." (Bertram Schultze, *Kreativen Raum schaffen*, Juni 30, 2011)

Comment: the German word "Spinnerei" is colloquially used for "crazy ideas"

The first artists to set up in the Spinnerei included some well known high profile Leipzig artists that still continue to work in the premises of the former cotton spinning mill. Gradually, the mill was branded as an authentic industrial place of high quality arts production, gaining an immense success and international acknowledgment on account of the New Leipzig School of painting.

By the end of 2004, the Spinnerei was already well known as a center for artistic production, attracting the attention of Leipzig's gallery scene. Adding up to this knowledge, on the 1st of May 2005 a gallery tour took place, officially opening the gallery spaces for an open weekend that received over 10, 000 visitors. Renowned galleries, such as Brooklin's Pierogi Gallery and London's Fred, who came to the site because of the growing international reputation of the Spinnerei and their personal connections with the regional galleries that resided there, acted as an incentive for additional tenants and drew greater international interest.

Eventually, in an article from the 1st of February 2007, *The Guardian* described Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei as "The hottest place in Earth."

Moreover, thinking strategically, the developers considered it important to attract galleries that already had experience behind them and would know how to operate past the success of the Leipzig art scene. The exhibition rooms' exceptional quality and atmosphere and the affordable rent helped to make the site attractive to galleries (Report 2009). *The tried-and-tested healthy mixture of artistic and non-artistic uses* became one of the Spinnerei's main characteristics that also allowed its long-term development and functioning. Hence, today, in addition to the artists, creative minds from various fields, such as architects, designers, manufacturers, craftsmen, and also dancers and musicians 'occupy' the Spinnerei, working and living in its premises.

To the 'outside', however, Leipzig's cotton spinning mill is mostly known for its art-production and the dominant cultural profile – a fact which was also confirmed by Bertram Schultze:

Well let's say to the visitor and the outside world there is a clear dominance of art and culture and because to the most people who hear about Spinnerei, they think it's a pure art factory. Actually we sometimes have the problem in our marketing that people – normal tenants – come up to us and say, "we didn't know that we could even have a space in Spinnerei, because we thought it's only for artists and for the galleries" (...) it's balance you have to keep. (Bertram Schultze, personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 41: The Spinnerei today (by author)

Today, Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei is a new cultural entity. To illustrate this assertion, Figure 41 depicts the various signposts that are aimed to help visitors in navigating within this former industrial complex, showcasing the new uses and users of the cotton spinning mill. This depiction, which was taken during one of the fieldtrips on a regular day in 2013, also acts as a silent statement of the Spinnerei’s qualitative turn “from cotton to culture.”

Because the activities that take place within the former industrial premises of the mill are diverse in their nature, for a better understanding of the development of its profile, an overview of a few initiatives that are considered be responsible for the routing and strengthening of the cultural image of the Spinnerei in particular, are taken into consideration.



Figure 42: Spinnerei Archiv Massiv (by author)

SPINNEREI ARCHIV MASSIV

Founded by Bertram Schultze in 2004 as an exhibition room, Spinnerei Archiv Massiv is a museum and a gallery combined. It is divided between showcasing the historical records and artifacts which date back to the industrial past of the Spinnerei and the presentation of young contemporary art from the Spinnerei's studios. To deal with the increased public interest in the Spinnerei, in 2007 Archiv Massiv extended and acquired a new role as an information center, adding to its services individual and group guided tours of the Spinnerei. The tours usually focus on the architecture, art and revitalization aspects of this former cotton spinning mill, choosing the topic depending on visitors' main areas of interest. Also, Spinnerei Archiv Massiv has a so-called *Bildarchive* – a photo-archive, which is an ongoing exhibition that shows artistic documentary photographs of the gradual changes in the Spinnerei (Report 2009). Since 2008 Archiv Massiv also presents products created in the Spinnerei's workshops – a place where one can acquire a Spinnerei souvenir, like a t-shirt or a bag with the Spinnerei logo (see Figure 43).



Figure 43: Souvenirs from the mill (by author)



Figure 44: Spinnerei Archiv Massiv (by author)

HALLE 14

Halle 14 is a large production hall which covers 20.000 square meters and constitutes five floors. It is also of great importance in the new cultural landscape of the Spinnerei. Owned by the Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei Verwaltungsgesellschaft mbH, this building is run by HALLE 14 e.V (a registered association devoted to continue the dynamic rehabilitation process that was started by Federkiel Foundation in 2002), devoted to a non-commercial use. Run in conjunction with a number of non-profit partners, Halle 14 aims to foster a dialogue between the contemporary art world and the local public. The chairman of the Spinnerei and the HALLE 14 e.V., Karsten Schmitz defines it as a thinking and communication space for contemporary art. Halle 14 hosts various events that are targeted not only to involve the local resident-artists, but also bring-in the general public. For instance, in the context of Spinnerei's commercial development plan, it was the internationally-attended symposium "How Architecture Can Think Socially" that initiated the idea of turning Halle 14 into a non-profit center for contemporary art, contributing to the preservation and revitalization of Halle 14.

We are responsible for slowly developing the art center, for putting up all the different projects that take place here (...), the core issue are international group exhibitions, which we have three exhibition spaces in the building. One we use ourselves for exhibitions and the other two are used by our partners (...). On the second floor, there are two exhibition spaces that are used by the partners: The Art Academy of Leipzig with one class – class of installation and space, and another has been used for three years by the Columbus Art Foundation. They are gone now, and now we are searching for a new partner to use his space. Then we have an art education program for children and young adults, we have an art library which you see back here, with 36.000 books and media of contemporary art, which is growing because it is a big sort of donation by an international art fair, who give us all the application materials from commercial galleries to apply for the art fair, and the material is passed through us and we make a public library out of it. In addition we have a fellowship program for international artists, new this year, which, in comparison to LIA (Leipzig International Art Programme), provides the artists with a fellowship of 1000 Euros per month and the artists are selected by an independent jury. Then we have a lecture series which takes place once a month, not so regularly right now (...). (Ute Volz, personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 45: Halle 14 (by author)

In Report 2009, Ute Volz pointed out that retaining authenticity and the luxury of space remain the key principles for the conversion of the area. The utilization concept, thus, provides for more presentation and project space, for studios and accommodation for scholarship artists, and for workshops and storage space. In an interview from 26 April 2012, Karsten Schmitz specifies:

Our concept is designed to allow us to find users for partner spaces, event spaces, studio spaces and also storage, which means that further protagonists of fine arts come to the hall. This brings energy as well as money into the hall, but we also have to get to know each other and our strengths. It is crucial that both sides have a similar standard of quality and interest for extraordinary and unknown things. We have always expected ourselves to be international, and it is in our interest to learn from the artists of the site and collaborate with local protagonists such as the Academy of Visual Arts. We do not want to be an ufo that has accidentally landed in Leipzig but a plant with roots in Leipzig that grows organically and develops as an organization. (Retrieved from <https://artsation.com/en/journal/editorial/interview-mit-karsten-schmitz>)

LIA –LEIPZIG INTERNATIONAL ART PROGRAMME

Leipzig International Art Programme (LIA) is a non-profit international residency program that fosters artists by providing them with spacious studios and cultural support for a fixed period of time. The program, hence, fosters exchange by linking young artists with the regional and international art community. Additionally, in the framework of the seasonal gallery-tours (*Rundgänge*), LIA organizes exhibitions, showcasing the works of the resident-artists. Furthermore, Anna-Louise Kratzsch – executive director and founder – points out that LIA organizes interdisciplinary panels that offer opportunities for a wider audience to access the world of art and to experience the place where art is created. Here, the Spinnerei operates as a composite and an important element upon which new connections are built.



Figure 46: Artists' residence (by author)

They (*the artists*) have 83 square meters big studio here with 5 meter big ceilings, so they can do large installations or paintings or whatever they think to do, (...) the artists live and work in the same place. When an artist comes here, he gets the keys, he opens the doors, he has his bed, there is bathroom and kitchen, and he can start working. (Anna-Louise Kratzsch, personal interview, 28 July 2011)

The pictures that were taken during the winter gallery-tour in 2013 – the time when one could peek inside the artists' workshops that are usually closed from the general public – allow seeing a more private-side to the Spinnerei (see Figure 46 and Figure 47). Both pictures are atmospheric, transmitting that particular blend of the industrial and the artistic, and depicting what Anna-Louise Kratzsch mentioned in the one-on-one interview – the combination of living and working within the industrial premises of the Spinnerei.



Figure 47: Artists' residence (by author)

RUNDGÄNGE DER SPINNEREIGALERIEN – SPINNEREI GALLERY TOURS

As it was briefly mentioned, the gallery tours – *Rundgänge der Spinnereigalerien* – give an opportunity to experience the former cotton spinning mill as a dynamic place of contemporary art-production, yet, getting in touch with its industrial aesthetic at the same time.

According to the Spinnerei’s official website – <http://www.spinnerei.de/> – the gallery tours give the “opportunity to explore exciting new exhibitions and experience the SPINNEREI in action.”

The gallery tours are seasonal, taking place in winter, spring and autumn. Particularity of this experience – apart from the possibility of enjoying contemporary art, events and initiatives around it without paying any fees – is the chance to sneak into the otherwise closed spaces of the artists (see Figure 46 and Figure 47), and at times catch them directly at work.



Figure 48: Spinnerei gallery tours

Note: This snapshot is taken from the documentary movie “From Cotton to Culture” (2010), dedicated to the 125th anniversary of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei.

Beforehand, lots of people came to the spinning mill, who had heard that art was taking place there, but who could not observe it, because they couldn't access the artists' workshops and that changed abruptly when opening the galleries. It was the very first time where a big audience could perceive big art concentrated here on this area. (Bertram Schultze, documentary *from cotton to culture*, 2010)



Figure 49: Spinnerei gallery tour

Note: This snapshot is taken from the documentary movie "From Cotton to Culture" (2010), dedicated to the 125th anniversary of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei.

Overall, all of the above mentioned initiatives are important as they are the foundation of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei as a new cultural entity. They also provide an opportunity to experience the transition "from cotton to culture", manifesting the former cotton spinning mill as a production space of a new kind, being also responsible for the sustainability of the cultural profile of the place. Furthermore, Layer 2, providing additional perspective upon the qualitative transformation and peculiarities of the Spinnerei from the experts' perspective – an outlook from the 'inside' – will build upon the general observation of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei as a new entity.

5.4.2 LAYER 2 – EXPERTS’ REFLECTIONS

In an interview for artsation.com, titled “*We do not want to be an ufo that has accidentally landed in Leipzig*” from 26 April 2012, Karsten Schmitz tells a story of what the situation was like in the Spinnerei after the German reunification:

That is a very nice story and probably a unique one as well,” Schmitz points out. “Usually such an industrial site becomes fallow land. That never happened to the cotton mill though, after the reunification a manufacturer who was still producing textiles bought the site, but only two or three of the 20 halls. The administrator had the halls emptied one by one and the machines were sold to the East. She was looking for different ways to use to space and rented rooms out whenever possible. The main thing was to have someone use them so they would not dilapidate. The son of the administrator happened to be the artist Peter Bux, and together with Peter Krauskopf he cleared one of the rooms to use it as a studio in 1992. Neo Rauch settled in this environment as well, together with Rosa Loy and Stefan Stöbel. In the beginning everything was very Spartan; the studios of Peter Krauskopf and Neo Rauch could not be heated which meant that they had to use a coal stove to at least warm themselves. (Retrieved from <https://artsation.com/en/journal/editorial/interview-mit-karsten-schmitz>)

In 1992, when there was still some industrial activity on the site, Neo Rauch was one of the first artists to move and establish a studio in the Spinnerei. In the interview “*Things nesting in every brick*” for Report 2009, he recalled:

The people we knew allowed us to look over this area as a potential studio site. The first person to set up here was Peter Bux, whose stepmother was a trustee of the site. Bux let Peter Krauskopf in on it, and he included us, as he didn’t really want to be stuck here alone. So the five of us took over this storey. (Report 2009, p.39)

Being one of the first to settle in the Spinnerei, Rauch was also able to occasionally meet the remaining workers:

Strictly speaking, we were workers too, of course there was certain charm in the mixture, and a surprising lack of friction. At some point – I can’t remember exactly when – the machines were dismantled. That left just a big, bare hall. It’s a pity that no-one can see it that way anymore – it was wonderfully empty, with a forest of fragile columns. (Report 2009, p. 40)

To the question: what was the initial motivation for him to buy and invest in the Spinnerei, Bertram Schultze – the executive director of the spinning mill management company – Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei Verwaltungsgesellschaft mbH – responded:

I know Spinnerei for quite a while, because I've been one of the first tenants here as well, so when I moved to Leipzig, I was introduced to the Spinnerei by an artist who was already there, that was in 1993-94, so that was actually the time when they were still producing here, but already some alternative tenants were already here, so this parallel thing between bringing down production and at the same time new people moving in, which is actually a great luck that it happened this way in the Spinnerei, and I always was just fascinated by the size and the space that it actually was still kept as a factory, like it was built up a hundred years ago, so it hadn't changed too much – it was still very authentic, and I think that was a fascinating thing for someone coming into the property and working at the property (...).
(Bertram Schultze, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

“We could see the potential in the site”, noted Dr. Florian Busse, Tillmann Sauer-Morhard, Karsten Schmitz, Bertram Schultze in their collective introduction to the Report 2009 – a publication dedicated to the 125th anniversary of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei, demonstrating its actors – tenants and users – and looking behind the scenes at their studios and workshops.

The factory we got to know through artists like Sandro Porcu and Kaeseberg in 1994 was sprawling, venerable and showing its age. It was much quieter than it is today, but it was already filled with new life. We were charmed by the site's unique atmosphere, and that of the studios and workshops that were being set up as the industrial activity wound down,” (Report 2009, p. 3), at the same time, “we had a problem. Financing an industrial complex over a hundred years old, with 20 buildings on a site measuring approximately 10 hectares and with 90.000 square meters of usable space, only about 6.000 square meters of which presently had tenants, looked like a considerable risk.

(...) we concentrated on the wonderful resources we already had: an authentic factory city, largely in the state it had been from 1884 to 1907, with workers' homes along the Thüringer Strasse, a factory, kindergarten and an allotment site between the Spinnereistrasse and the Karl-Heine canal. (Report 2009, p.4)

The decision to buy the property on the 26th July 2001, despite the fact that “every bank we asked to finance the enterprise, however, turned us down as soon as we mentioned the words “huge old factory”, “artists” and “East Germany”, rejecting to “put up the money to what they saw a pile of bricks,” Dr. Florian Busse, Tillmann Sauer-Morhard, Karsten Schmitz and Bertram Schultze explain as being based largely on intuition:

After all, the bottom had already dropped out of the overheated property market of the post-reunification period. Although we could not expect any added value in economic terms, we sensed that the Spinnerei had tremendous potential. (Report 2009, p. 4)

We didn't have a concept, like a master plan, of what to turn out of it – that was not the case. It was just like – price is fine to what you get, ok. Let's see what happens with it,” told Bertram Schultze in a one-on-one interview, “(...) well, actually this came over the years, that you could really have a feeling for the place. When we came to the market, I think it was in October 2000 and we bought it I think on the 2nd of January 2001, so it was a very short phase more just based on numbers, which seemed to be good, but in the end it was about one or two years after that, that we really realized what kind of quality of built structure we had bought. Because I think that was one of the main reasons why Spinnerei works and functions economically the way it works today, is the richness or the everlasting kind of building what they have did here over a hundred years ago, so they have built this mainly the production halls in a very expensive way, so in the aftermath we have to invest very little money to enable new tenants to go here and use these spaces, and because we have to spend little money, we can refinance on the law rents, and the law rents is the basis actually for the young and creative people to have spaces here, so it's very easy. Of course at the same time you attract people who are attracted by the old factory, and if you would start polishing the whole place just to get in lawyers or whatever – have office tenants – then you would have to have other rents as well. (Bertram Schultze, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

I just think that this is a fascinating complex in itself – just physically – by looking at the buildings and by knowing the fact that we have the living quarter over here, that we have allotments and a recreation area over there and a kindergarten...so you really have all the infrastructure you would need for a whole town actually, so that was from the first moment it was the attraction of bringing in very different tenants into here, and the fascination of the topic of contemporary fine art grew with getting more and more involved in the development here, because half of the tenants who were there were artists actually coming out of that field, so it became more and more the topic, and we also did several trips for example to the US just to really look at the art factories, how they were built up and how they worked, and that was actually where we really saw how you could attract people actually by contemporary art in an old factory, and by other things as well, but the main topic was contemporary art (...). (Bertram Schultze, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

In Report 2009, describing the first open weekend on the 1 May 2005, when the galleries officially opened their new spaces to the visitors, the owners and developers state:

Overnight, we put Leipzig on the global art tourism map. We have continued to maintain and build on this ever since, walking a fine line between being a living and working space and being a visitor attraction. No other “art factory” known to us has achieved this balancing act – most are either private studio complexes closed to the public or dedicated visitor attractions, focused solely on staging exhibitions. The Spinnerei is both. It is a workspace, and it is also a venue with a great deal to offer to public. Visitors can spend all day looking at outstanding exhibitions in a fascinating setting without having to pay a single cent of entrance money. (Report 2009, p.7)

Furthering the idea of Spinnerei as a nexus for the artists and the art-lovers, Neo Rauch noted:

A few years ago, when housing galleries in the Spinnerei was first considered, I was, to tell you the truth, one of the skeptics. I felt that, for a city like Leipzig to have a cultural infrastructure that would deliver and a well-balanced cultural climate, the galleries needed to be spread throughout the city, not concentrated in one place. At the time I thought there would be something unintentionally comical about mass galleries in this industrial fortress. But there’s been a lot of development in the site since. I needn’t have worried – I was thinking too mechanistically. And – as I recently discovered – there’s an economic aspect to the way it’s arranged now. I’ve heard that Leipzig’s art scene attracts more visitors than its music scene. (Report 2009, p. 40)

So far, the excerpts from the various interviews (presented above) reflected upon the initial stages of Spinnerei's transformation. Carefully examining some of the statements, one can outline the critical role of the tangible and intangible factors in forming the Spinnerei's image. Some of the depictions clearly underline the fascination by the authentic built structure of this industrial complex, outlining a certain power that Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei possesses. To understand this phenomenon, a closer look – purposefully dividing the tangible and intangible aspects – at the reflections of the actors that closely interact with the Spinnerei is taken next.

THE TANGIBLE

The tangible features of Spinnerei's industrial structure are often emphasized as a very attractive aspect for the gallery owners and the artists.

(...) most existing architecture in the city does not have for example ceiling this high, or rooms these big, so when you for example have a look at Hall 14 or Eigen+Art gallery, spaces like this you do not very often find in cities like Leipzig, so the only possible place is a former industrial area. (Arne Linde, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

It was particularly this feature that stimulated the developers and the creative, directing the potential of the site. For instance, in the one-on-one interview from 28 July 2011, Bertram Schultze expressed:

I always was just fascinated by the size and the space that it actually was still kept as a factory, like it was built up a hundred years ago, so it hadn't changed too much – it was still very authentic, and I think that was a fascinating thing for someone coming into the property and working at the property (...). (Bertram Schultze, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

Referring to the industrial materiality in Report 2009, the developers pointed out:

(...) the construction quality was outstanding. A hundred years ago, cotton-spinning mills were generally built solidly and to last. For one thing, they were built to last forever, and for another thing a constant temperature of 23 degrees had to be maintained during thread production in order for the thread to come out well. This explained the buildings with solid masonry over a meter thick, large cast-iron box windows and cork insulation and roofs overgrown with chives. It took comparatively little investment to enable new tenants to use the old buildings, and the running costs were also quite low. We were able to rent out parts of the buildings on favorable terms – an important factor in attracting young creative individuals – while preserving their authentic features. (Dr. Florian Busse, Tillmann Sauer-Morhard, Karsten Schmitz, Bertram Schultze, Report 2009, pp. 5-6)

In his interview for artsation.com, Karsten Schmitz uses the term architectural charm when talking about the particularity of the cotton spinning mill:

The particular thing about the site is its architectural charm. Even though the cotton mill is an industrial complex it has a cozy atmosphere with its red bricks and pleasant proportions. Despite their size the buildings and the site as a whole afford a positive experience for people. (Karsten Schmitz, interview for artsation.com, April 26, 2012)

“The place is fantastic,” expressed his fascination Hilario Galguera – gallery owner who visited and exhibited in the premises of the Spinnerei – in a documentary dedicated to the 125th anniversary of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei in 2009:

Could be a dream for any cultural promoter of any kind, because I think it has facilities to make almost anything you want. And also the conditions make it very-very appealing. I like it very much. (Hilario, Galguera, documentary *from cotton to culture*, 2010)

Furthermore, it is the combination of the practicality in the economic terms combined with the spatial features of the Spinnerei that tackled the interest of the creative, convincing them to reside in the Spinnerei. This suggestion can be outlined in the following excerpt from Gerd Harry Lybke’s (Eigen+Art Gallery) speech, where he explained the motives of moving his gallery into the premises of the Spinnerei:

We repeatedly relocated in Leipzig, always to the best spot and at the moment the Baumwollspinnerei is best for us, because for the same amount of money as in the city centre you get many more square metres, exactly as in the city centre, where we were also together, here the same situation. Artists are on-site... well, we knew the site anyway (...) we didn’t bring drop-in audience, who was interested came here and the best chance to present arts. (Gerd Harry Lybke, documentary *from cotton to culture*, 2010)

In his depiction of the Spinnerei's and its particularities, painter Matthias Weischer mentioned the importance of spatiality as an important impulse for creativity. He also refers to the already present creative milieu as stimulating:

Of course, the rooms are attractive, I mean besides atmosphere, there's lots of space, a certain height I need (...) there is much air, I came here from a very narrow workshop and had the feeling "uh-huh... now I can breathe again, I can do larger formats, I can expand." For ideas you need space and also a certain height – that's important for me. And here you find that. Naturally, the Spinnerei was an opportunity. I pondered, whether I should do it or not, was a bit doubtful and couldn't imagine working at a location with many more artists... was apprehensive because of the narrowness, but that wasn't true at all. You had the feeling of being at the right spot. There are colleagues I appreciate very much and somehow a certain atmosphere emerges. There is this 'drive'. You have the feeling – everybody is working... there's searching, there's working... simply having the feeling – here, high level work is done, it inspires, it gives you this boost I think. (Matthias Weischer, documentary *from cotton to culture*, 2010)

Increasingly it seemed like a snowball effect, practicality that derived from the attractive spatial and economic factors that the Spinnerei possessed, establishing a strong artistic and cultural profile which then became a stand-alone factor for the further cultural expansion, attracting new residents to the area. Excerpts below illustrate this process.

For me it was a practical consideration. (...) There were no alternatives; actually, it was without any alternatives – the Spinnerei. It is the central spot that attracts transregional attention for arts in Leipzig. For that reason it was developed, yes, that is ok. (Uwe-Karsten Günther, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

It happened that most of the other galleries that are here moved from the city center to Spinnerei, and I did not have a gallery at this point, but I was working as a journalist and writing a text about this movement to Spinnerei, and decided together with another gallerist Jochen Hempel from Dogenhaus Galerie, that we would maybe share a space and I started in 2005 in building number 4, where I had a very small space, and I opened the gallery just the same day when all the other galleries opened their spaces.

(...) I just saw everybody moving here, so I thought that this is the right space and the right time to do the same. (...) It was some kind of group movement in the end, one gave the initial power and the others just followed. (Arne Linde, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

Following the dynamic processes of Spinnerei's mutation into a new entity with a strong cultural profile, one can say that the comparison that Karsten Schmitz made in regard to Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei fully captures its present-day essence:

The cotton mill is comparable with an agora where visitors, but also art lovers, artists and we as intermediaries can come together. (Karsten Schmitz, interview for artsation.com, 26 April, 2012).

Continuing the assessment of the opinions and viewpoints that were expressed by the experts and actors who are involved in Spinnerei's transformation and revitalization processes, one can point out another special feature – one that many abandoned industrial built structures possess – the *unfinishedness* of its tangible structure. It is this feature in particular, that is attractive for the artists and the creative, mirroring authenticity and flexibility in their imagination.

A few excerpts from experts' interviews presented below justify this assertion. According to Anna-Louise Kratzsch (LIA):

(...) this is really a unique place, because if you look at other factories, for example Kulturbrauerei in Berlin, the danger was to really sort of restore these places and finish them up nicely, and also to have supermarkets and cinemas, but there is no life anymore, and rents go up and things like that. So what's so nice about the Spinnerei is that it has kept its sort of industrial feeling. When you walk up this staircase here, it's the same staircase the workers have been using 125 years, so when you walk around here outside, it's the same cobblestones and things are not perfectly finished (...).

(...) there are people here from the creative industry, and they see that actually the *unperfectional* setting here is a benefit, and, what is also very special here, in this place, we have so much space! High rooms, high ceilings, big rooms, and that's something you do not find in many other cities, especially in other countries – you could not afford it, and so the sort of rough industrial setting here gives actually the basis of the creative industry being here.

(...) I think it's so important to keep this roughness too, you know, and all elevators, and the dust... it belongs to this place, and I think it's important for the creative. (Anna-Louise Kratzsch, personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 50: Aesthetic of unfinishedness (by author)

However, in the conversation with Ute Volz – the managing director of Halle 14 – who talked about the establishment of Hall 14, one could not only trace positive features linked with the industrial materiality, such as the advantage of its spatial structure for showing big exhibitions and making art projects that would need a lot of space, but also the challenge that former industrial places bring with them. Yet, it is partially this challenge that is appealing for the creative.

(...) in 2003 we started with international group exhibitions on one floor, the whole building was just basically in its rough state, you know, there was no renovation done, no work with the building done, of course there were some temporary exhibitions, walls erected to show the exhibitions, but it was sort of using the building as it was, and it was also reacting to the building as it was. (...) So we slowly had to learn how to deal with these sizes.

(...) So of course the role of the architecture is a very strong one, it also is a very strong one because it's always present – you don't suddenly hide in a white cube. (Ute personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 51: Space for creativity (by author)

Industrial setting is seen as an ‘exotic’ asset that triggers creative interest.

(...) You can see white cube galleries and museums all over the world. That’s not the point. The point is to see that here. To see Gründerzeitbau from the 19th century in its way how it was made and how it actually functioned, and see it in the new context of work, but to feel this and to see that, that’s really unique. (Anna-Louise Kratzsch, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

Similar to her acknowledgment is Bertram Schultze’s opinion:

(...) I think there is a very special magic going out from contemporary art in old factory spaces. Just because you know the space has actually been used for something different, and now you have something totally different in it and you can kind of make a very special show compared to showing in a museum where everything is really high end and fine and well done and white cubish or whatever, I think this has a very special fascination to the visitor and to the curators as well at the same time. They have these spacious spaces which sometimes are huge and have their very own fascination even without art, and then if you put art in them it might be even better, sometimes it’s just contaminating the space... (Bertram Schultze, personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 52: Space for creativity (by author)

Both, Anna-Louise Kratzsch and Bertram Schultze are delineating the particular mixture which is resulting from a correlation of the Spinnerei's past and its present-stance, the tangible and the intangible – where the authenticity of the industrial structure, the notion that “it's the same staircase the workers have been using 125 years,” triggers the intangible – the fascination about the space and assists to a creative outcome.

For art production – you have beautiful spaces, you have very good light coming inside because you have huge windows, and then on the other hand, it is a formal production space, so people have been producing here – really working, and I think this sometimes influences the artist in his work, so maybe he takes the studio more serious as a working space within an old factory. (Bertram Schultze, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

THE INTANGIBLE

According to Merleau-Ponty (2002), perception opens a window on to things, yet, it is difficult to know what is seen from it. Based on the opinions of the active users and developers of the site, one could say that the tangible – the industrial aesthetic and materiality of the Spinnerei – is not a stand-alone factor that is considered attractive. It is also a trigger of a certain emotional response, which is under the focus in this part of the research.

When reading/listening to Neo Rauch's interviews about how he first obtained a working space in the premises of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei, one can come across a depiction of his emotions and perceptions that were stimulated by the materiality of the Spinnerei:

It was between 1992 and 1993 when we moved in and when entering the area a strong fascination was present. The location's atmosphere immediately caught me. A charming state of decay, wildness, seemed attracting, stimulating (...) The atmosphere was the decisive factor and the rooms had the appropriate dimensions. (Neo Rauch, documentary *from cotton to culture*, 2010)

In the further excerpts from Neo Rauch's interview for Report 2009, the importance of a strong emotional substance in a built construct is emphasized:

(...) it's about the space's atmosphere. It's all a question of atmosphere. How was a space given its shape? What kind of stories can you sense there? (...) here the sense of continual production over the decades act as a kind of dynamic force, and this is something that every brick is a part of.

(...) Places are what really speak to me. I wouldn't be able to produce any art if I didn't have a sense of place.

(...) atmosphere has to fill me up with things that nest in every stone of the wall and linger as low-level echoes in every corner of the room. I don't think I could get anything done in some brand-new concrete-and-glass box with its windows all facing north. The connection with aged architecture, architecture with a history seems to be important to me. It seems to provide a sort of resonating space. As far as that goes, working here is very productive to me. (Neo Rauch, for Report 2009, p. 41)

Looking at Rauch's source of inspiration, it becomes apparent that the relationship of the past and the materiality that contains its traces is an important factor that fascinates the artists and the creative.

(...) here time plays an important role, well, there is the lived one... there is a kind of history and one can also see it – those are proper buildings, built stone on stone, that's not like... today everything is just cobbled together, this one here had something venerable, grown, timeless, at least for me it plays an important role and for the artists too – I'm not an artist, actually – but it is important for me to have the opportunity, at least mentally, to do different things – there's not a clear... there's not necessarily much that doesn't work... certainly there are things that do not work, but. Everything here is a bit ramshackle, you can see transientness of time... (Uwe-Karsten Günther, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

As opposed to *the constantly on-the-go* quality of the post-industrial society with a similar approach to its materiality, it seems that the material solidity of the Spinnerei provides a sense of stability that is combined with the freedom and flexibility gained on account of the industrial *unfinishedness*.

It was always some kind of satellite to the city center," pointed Arne Linde (ASPN) in a one-on-one interview. "So you had to really go there, and I liked it very much. It was really like an island, I liked in a way romantic setting of bricks and stuff. And when it happened that we all moved here, I was very happy that there was no main investor, or main concept for the whole area that everything would look the same and have a complete renovation, so you know from other transformations that one is coming and deciding about everything, so you have very different solutions and we are free to form our spaces as we like, (...), so you have different approaches – different ways of handling architecture and room and space. This is an aspect that I very much like about especially this area here. I also think that what happened in the last twenty years ... also this gentrification processes everywhere in the world, that a lot of people think of this formal industrial areas in a very romantic, a very emotional way. They know it from Berlin or Munich and when something like this happens in Leipzig they will also like it. It's a particular expectation. (Arne Linde, personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 53: Premises of the Spinnerei (by author)

Talking to Michael Ludwig – one of the people that work in the *Archiv Massiv*, who also provides guided-tours of the Spinnerei – it becomes clear that factors that attract different people in the site vary and are very much influenced by the professional profile and the relationship to the site that the visitors have. Explaining the main focus of the guided tours – which is to provide detailed information about the history and the concept of the Spinnerei today, combining it with a visit to some of the galleries and workshops on the site – Michael Ludwig pointed out the main aspects that usually interest the visitors during a guided tour:

The visitors wonder about how the factory was functioning as a cotton spinning mill – the cotton spinning time. The question they ask most – when did it end here with the cotton? (...) One third (*of the visitors*) is interested in the art, and two thirds in the Spinnerei as a whole – the history, and its being an art center now, and how does it change. This is what they are interested in; usually it's not the art as first. It is, well they come for the galleries, but it's for the Spinnerei. (Michael Ludwig, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

(...) It is about the mixture between art and culture and the industrial setting that people are interested in to see. When they come here they don't know exactly what this is. They know that it's somehow an art center, it was a cotton spinning mill, and they want to see how it works – everything belongs together, and some of them are especially interested in the New Leipzig School and the art from Leipzig, they have heard about it, but mostly people that come on Fridays and Saturdays don't – the normal visitors. The groups, they have more detailed information of what they want to see (...)

(Michael Ludwig, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

Remark from Michael Ludwig:

We have statistics how many groups arrive, but we don't keep the record of what type of groups. I think more than 50 percent aren't from Leipzig, I think the majority is from the Western part, you know, people who have time – most of them are older than 50 – so they have time and money, and they are interested in culture.

Whether the mixture of industrial architecture and contemporary art and culture is something that attracts visitors, Arne Linde – gallery owner (ASPN) – also responded positively. However, she did not make much reference to the industrial architecture, but rather emphasized the existing cultural milieu within its premises:

I would say yes. And it's also that it's a bit away from the city center, so this 'island situation' makes people come here and then leave again and have a feeling that they have seen for example all galleries of Leipzig, compared to for example Cologne or Berlin, where you have to take taxi off the city to see everything. It's here all at one spot, and of course people, a lot of people like this industrial style or setting. (Arne Linde, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

I think it's really the mixture of uses, of exhibitions and of different things that are offered that makes it so attractive to the people, because everybody can find something and you can just spend time here. (Ute Volz, personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 54: Premises of the Spinnerei (by author)

(...) what's attractive to people beside the actual art that they see, is that the Spinnerei is almost left as it was. It's not sort of this high profile posh development you know, that everybody thinks looks like in every other city in the world, but it's sort of a real authentic development, and the other thing is that on the outside it's really left as an industrial site. There is this sort of idea not to put art in public spaces, so on the outside you wouldn't find any artwork, which is a decision to say that outside it should stay the industrial site and in the inside is the art, and that works really well. (Ute Volz, personal communication, July 28, 2011)



Figure 55: Aesthetic of unfinishedness (by author)

(...) there is this feeling that Spinnerei has to be careful not to become too nice, and then of course people come into Hall 14 and say, “oh, thank god that there is this space that is still so raw and so rough! Are you sure you want to leave the walls like this?” you know, and then we say, “Yes, this is our nicest room; we have very different rooms as well. (Ute Volz, personal communication, July 28, 2011)

All in all, it became clear that the industrial character and the building qualities of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei are not only particularly suitable for cultural production because of their flexibility, but they are also stimulating emotional reactions. The artists in particular were influenced by the immediate connection with the aged architecture and history which was mediated through the material substance of the cotton spinning mill. The production spaces – their industrial roughness and *unfinishedness* – created that special atmosphere that some of the artists and developers vaguely described as charming and fascinating. Hence, the industrial aesthetic of the Spinnerei was viewed as an asset, as opposed to the white-cube gallery and museum spaces. In sum, the existing mixture of the authentic industrial setting and the creative milieu – the two simultaneously co-existent features of the Spinnerei’s – makes it a new and complex formation.

5.4.3 LAYER 3 – IMAGE IN THE MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION

Social and mass media are essential attributes of the post-industrial society. They mediate, manipulate and at times even direct perspectives upon different issues. By examining the written and visual representations of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei in the mass media, putting together written pieces from various printed and online publications and looking at its representation in a documentary movie, Layer 3 aims to distinguish how Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei is presented to the public.



Figure 56: Leipzig's art factory (spinnerei.de)

Once looking through the articles and their titles written and published online or in print, it quickly becomes clear that Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei – the former cotton-spinning mill in Leipzig – is mainly defined as a cultural hub and a hotspot for artists and the creative. A worldwide interest and a lot of attention was drawn to the former cotton spinning mill mostly because of the hype around the New Leipzig School of painting (*Neue Leipziger Schule*) – a movement of modern German painting which is marked by the tradition of figurative painting and the high-quality craftsmanship closely linked with the Academy of Visual Arts Leipzig (*Hochschule für Grafik und Buchkunst Leipzig*). Popularity of this movement established Spinnerei's new cultural profile in the local and international art-scene and turned the artists into an international art-world sensation.

The artists – Neo Rauch, Matthias Weischer, Tilo Baumgärtel – stars of the movement, are based in the premises of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei, thus, marking the Spinnerei and making it an inseparable part of almost every other article written about them.

In July 2009, Sigrun Hellmich wrote:

When five of the most important Leipzig galleries opened up large attractive premises on the site all at the same time four years ago, it almost became a “theme park”. Neue Leipziger Malerei (new Leipzig art) was the magic formula that brought international attention and attracted collectors and buyers as well as buses full of art tourists. Even the jet-set was turning up to the jointly hosted gallery tours now. In search of uncharted territory on the world map of art, always looking for something new, it was then that the old was rediscovered. The feel of the run-down production buildings from the Gründerzeit era (19th C) is reminiscent of the fallen GDR. And the new “spinners” fit well into the image of the East breaking up. (Hellmich, S., International Hotspot, Hip Community or Art Ghetto? – the Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei, *Goethe-Institut e. V., Online-Redaktion*, July 2009)

“The creative heart of the city beats in a former spinning-mill”, indicated Dimo Rieß in his article for the *Financial Times Deutschland* – Figürliches hat wieder Sexappeal, from 23 October 2006 – defining the spinning-mill as a *Kunstmekka*. The fact that until the very end of the GDR-times yarn was being processed there turned into a somewhat exotic historical attribute of the Spinnerei.



Figure 57: Artists' village in the cotton spinning mill

Defined as a location with well-staged charm of catacombs and appealing industrial desertedness of factory workshops – Spinnerei marks out the intangible magnetism of former industrial factories and production spaces. Some of its written representations in the media of mass communication acknowledge industrial aesthetic and authentic features of the industrial built structure in their depictions, once again validating significance of the intangible (see below).

Not only artists felt inspired by the factory, where spindles whirred even more than hundred years ago. Also architects, engineers, graphic artists, fashion designers and craftsmen are inspired by the charm of this special real estate built in the *Gründerzeit*. (Schmidt, S., Produktive Ideen-Spinner, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, December 2006)

On visiting the former cotton mill, it's impossible to overlook the genuinely profound effect its history as a centre of industry and community has had on its present incarnation. The history of Spinnerei mirrors in several ways Germany's passage from one of the nineteenth century's youngest and most advanced industrial powerhouses to rubble-strewn bankruptcy and back again. The artists, artisans and everyone else who lives/or works in this centre of artistic production and intellectual exchange no doubt recognizes something of its old freewheeling spirit. (Heighton, L., & James, S., *Art Pilgrimage: Leipzig*, *ArtReview*, January 2008)

Apart from the fascination by the industrial setting and its particular authentic flair, in their depictions of the Spinnerei articles often emphasize the qualitative transformation "from cotton to culture," focusing the description upon the emerged creative milieu within the industrial premises. Described as a lively settlement where one can find many business and creative branches – the creative mixture that exists in the Spinnerei is its contemporary trademark, framed in the remarkable industrial construct.

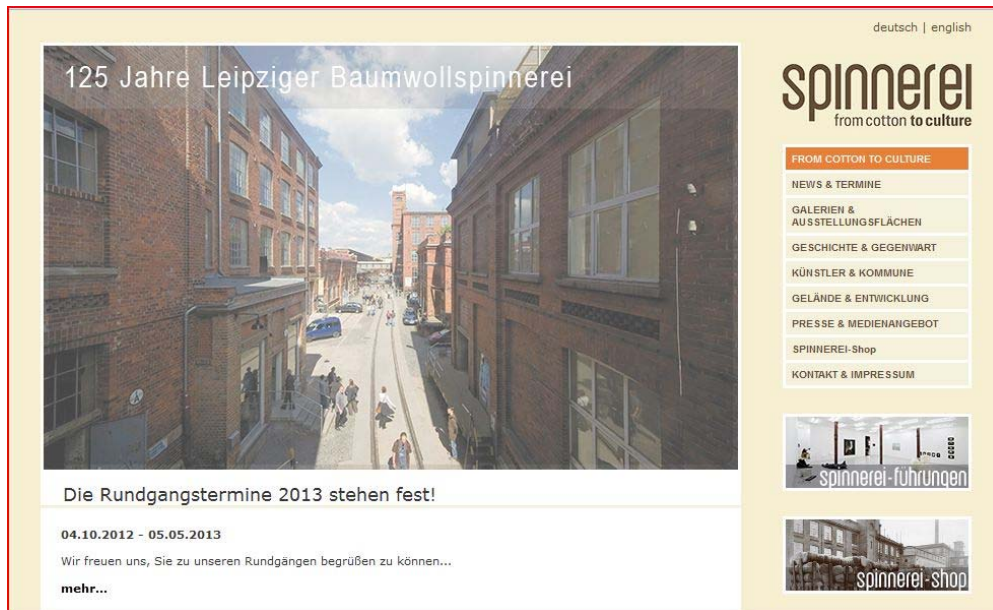


Figure 58: Snapshot from the official website

The excerpts below logically continue and enhance one another, outlining the key pillars that compose the Spinnerei today.

Charm cannot only be found in the art hype of Neue Leipziger Schule that had its birthplace here and painter Neo Rauch as its spiritual father. In this authentic factory-city, ranging over 100 000 square metres, act commerce and arts, oddballs and “spin doctors” – adjusted ones and alternative ones next-door to one another. An alternative open space for cheap rents. (Leipzig: Spinnerei, ganz "hot", *Welt Online*, March.2010)

When walking along the rails that transported cotton on wagons in earlier times, and through the side streets of “Spinnerei” one can frequently discover unusual things. Suddenly, you stop in front of design-bikers, there is a hidden music studio, there is a plant-oil-gas-station, a Tango-factory, a wine retailer and a wood workshop. The best way to become familiar with the area is to join one of the regular tours, where also international guests participate. (Schmidt, S., *Produktive Ideen-Spinner*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, December 2006)

However, if one were to point out one representation amongst the great variety of articles and reports that depicted the Spinnerei as a new entity, the winner would definitely be the quite extensive report by Gordon Burn in *The Guardian*, where he defined the Spinnerei as “the hottest place on earth.”

It’s bleak, depressed, run down – and local artists are selling works for a million dollars.

Gordon Burn goes to Leipzig to see why the art world is flocking to a mill in the former GDR.

(Burn, G., The hottest place on earth, *The Guardian*, February 2007)

The brief ‘teaser’ of this article is intriguing. It outlines the timeworn industrial features of the Spinnerei, but it is not romanticizing them. Instead, the excerpt is making the reader somewhat curious about the exotic and contradictory combination of the former GDR mill and the artistic boom that is linked with it (see Figure 59). Burn’s definition of the Spinnerei as “the hottest place on earth” was also repeatedly quoted in other journalistic pieces.



Figure 59: The hottest place on earth (spinnerei.de)

Furthermore, Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei is acknowledged as an attraction in the websites that give travel-tips. *The New York Times*, for instance, placed Leipzig as number 10 out of 31 in “*The 31 Places to Go in 2010*” (from 10 January 2010), describing the Spinnerei as a home to a variety of galleries – a must-go for the art cognoscenti. Published in the *Travel* section of *the Guardian*, a chart recommending 20 travel destinations in Germany “*Wunderbar! The best of Germany*” from 19 March 2011 placed Leipzig as number one in for its “cutting-edge arts.”

“It was cold, dirty and dusty on the remote and inhospitable industrial wasteland in the western part of the city when not only small enterprises but also a throng of artists began to rent premises there in the mid-1990s,” depicted Sigrun Hellmich the Spinnerei before its transformation in her article for Goethe-Institut e. V., Online-Redaktion “*International Hotspot, Hip Community or Art Ghetto? – The Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei*” from July 2009. To show the qualitative transformation of the Spinnerei from being an inhospitable, dirty and dusty industrial wasteland to becoming an international hotspot which is on the to-do list of the places to visit by the well-heeled Westerners, it is enough to look through a few newspaper articles (see below).

An excursion to the industrial district Plagwitz with its dusty charm of centuries-old industrial culture is part of the journey of wealthy looking Western visitors to Leipzig. (Kohl, C., Die Fabrik der Einfallpinsel, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 2007)

The qualitative transformation of the Spinnerei is particularly apparent by looking at some of the descriptive representations of the visitors that come there during the big seasonal gallery tours. Some of the excerpts that are shown below – taken from the different written pieces that were circulating in the press – illustrate this assertion.

It was early evening, and the half-mile strip of cobbled street had turned into a kind of runway for the well-heeled locals and the fly-ins from Seoul and Cologne and Manhattan, unsteady in their Jimmy Choos and Manolos.

(...) They had been among the first into the old spinnerei buildings when the area was still considered a dangerous place to be – „full of alcoholics, drug takers, and people on the street“. This has all since been tidied away into high rises in west Leipzig. We were being jostled by people carrying glasses of wine, gallery-hopping in the international style, as we talked. “We said that when the beer at the corner shop is replaced by champagne, it is time to move on. (Burn, G., The hottest place on earth, *The Guardian*, February 2007)

Leipzig, September 7th – Two gentlemen with greying hair and golden buttons along their jackets appear a bit indecisive on that old industrial area. Should they follow their ladies, tottering single-mindedly towards the next showroom between rusty rails and brittle cobblestone pavements? No, the two gentlemen with Swabian accent prefer to enter the wine retailer nearby. Now, they lean there at a bar table besides a rusty brown iron column with their glass of wine, originated from the Saale-Unstrut-area. In the meantime their wives disappeared in one of the art galleries, whose brick-coloured facades pile up in front of the old railway tracks. Indoor, the ladies defilade along the colourful paintings, stare at needle-sharp photographs, which mostly depict empty rooms, or blink into dark chambers with black and white flashing slide-projectors. (Kohl, C., *Die Fabrik der Einfallpinsel*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 2006)

Today, cotton is long gone, and whoever thinks about the Spinnerei, thinks about Neo Rauch and the Neue Leipziger Schule, about arts and all those attracted by it. Heels of female tourists patter over cobblestones in-between the huge halls, young men with three-day stubbles drink milky coffee, limousines are parked within sight, and from eco-wall-paint to oil paintings – everything available is bought. (Stationen: Die Betriebsgärten der Baumwollspinnerei in Leipzig, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 2009,)

So far, the examples and speculations that were outlined above emphasized the fact that certain images are not only formed upon personal experiences, but are also communicated through the lenses of the media of mass communication.

Representations of *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei*, transmitted by the media of mass communication mostly describe the recent events and the present-day reality of the site. Such records help not only to confirm, but to construct the reality from a particular viewpoint – channeling new images and interpretations of former production spaces to the public, and thus, reinforcing them. To illustrate this, some of the definitions that were used to describe the Spinnerei are put together and listed (see Table 2). This listing (taken from various recent German and English articles that referred to the cotton spinning mill – found in the Spinnerei's online press archive: <http://www.spinnerei.de/press-archive.html>) is deliberately put together to look at the prevailing image of the Spinnerei that is being projected to the masses.

- ✓ A number one travel destination
- ✓ Hotspot für Künstler
- ✓ Magnet für Kunst und Kultur
- ✓ Ein Kunstzentrum
- ✓ Die Fabrik der Einfallpinsel
- ✓ Ein besonderer Anziehungspunkt in der Messestadt
- ✓ Ein Biotop der Subkulturen und eine Experimentalwerkstatt für Nischenprodukte
- ✓ Eine wichtige Adresse für die internationalen Kunstszene
- ✓ Industrieareal mit der besonderen Atmosphäre
- ✓ Ein Kunstmekka
- ✓ Produktive Ideen-Spinner
- ✓ Eine kleine Stadt in der Künstler und Gewerbetreibende wohnen und arbeiten
- ✓ Ein Standort hochwertiger Kunstproduktion
- ✓ Ein Areal angefüllt mit Stimmung und Energie
- ✓ Eine Stadt in der Stadt
- ✓ Eine Kunstfabrik
- ✓ Ein Schmelztiegel der lokalen und internationalen Künstler, Galeristen und Sammelszene
- ✓ Entstehungsort der Kunst
- ✓ An art spinning mill
- ✓ A real citadel of contemporary art
- ✓ A factory for creative minds
- ✓ An urban microcosm of art
- ✓ A place where there is always something to discover

Table 2: Listing of definitions

- ✓ An art hotspot
- ✓ A center of research where art is made but also sold
- ✓ Nukleus eines hochaktuellen und weltumspannenden Universums
- ✓ The hottest place on earth
- ✓ Der gefragteste Standort moderner Kunst
- ✓ Decrepit but strangely beautiful industrial area
- ✓ Künstlerdorf
- ✓ Ein Geheimtipp für Kunstkenner in aller Welt
- ✓ Ein Kulturtempel
- ✓ Eine der weltweit angesagtesten Produktionsstätten zeitgenössischer Kunst
- ✓ Ein legendäre Kunstzentrum
- ✓ Für Kunstinteressierte wohl interessanteste Fabrik der Stadt
- ✓ Ein begehrter Standort
- ✓ Ein erfolgreicher Kreativstandort
- ✓ Ein undurchsichtiges Gestrüpp
- ✓ Ein institutionalisierter Freiraum für Künstler
- ✓ Ein Erfolgsmodell
- ✓ Touristen-Attraktion
- ✓ Ein „must go“ im Osten
- ✓ Ein alternativer Freiraum zu günstigen Mieten
- ✓ Ein „Fabrik-Outlet“
- ✓ Ein „mythischer“ Ort
- ✓ Ein Areal angefüllt mit Stimmung und Energie

Table 2 (continued)

To add to the discussion of the representation, production and exchange of meanings, an overview of the plot of a documentary movie *“From Cotton to Culture”* (2010), particularly of its construction, provides an additional filter to look at the correlation of the industrial past and the present through the lens of the film.

This documentary – made on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei – starts with the acknowledgment of the industrial history. Several black-and-white photographs that represent workers (mostly women), followed by the images of the factory and the title – from cotton to culture – are showcased. An interview-piece of a former worker recalling what was happening on the site during the industrial time initiates the storyline. Interestingly, the part where it is talked about the industrial history is very small, shifting the attention of its viewer to the transformation “from cotton to culture” already in the initial part of the movie. Interviews with the artists, images of their works and the working process within the premises of the Spinnerei, is one of the main motives of the movie. At the same time, the factory building is occasionally showcased, stressing the building quality and its authenticity. An emphasis is put on the qualitative transformation of the Spinnerei, channeling the idea “from cotton to culture” by emphasizing the mixture of its users – interviewing gallery-owners and artists and showcasing the gallery tours.

According to the observations made along the course of the movie, one could interpret the structure of its plot as one that channels the idea of sustainability and progress, outlining the positive influence of Spinnerei’s new cultural profile. This speculation is justified by looking at how the chronological depiction of the gallery-tours, the images of the construction process on the site (stages of gradual revitalization) and the working process of its creative users are represented in the movie. Overall, this documentary-is focusing upon the present-day image of the Spinnerei, showcasing its activities and users being in-dialogue with the architectural structure of the former cotton spinning mill, promoting its successful revitalization.

The movie ends by showing the celebration dedicated to the 125th anniversary of the Spinnerei, which was combined with the seasonal gallery-tour. Particularly symbolic is the activation of the chimney as representative of prosperity by the Chancellor of Germany – Mrs. Angela Merkel.

The final scene is composed of the photos from Mrs. Merkel’s visit, finalized by several photos from the industrial times – depicting the transition. All in all, the 125th anniversary of the Spinnerei had a high media exposure, highlighting and strengthening the already established brand “from cotton to culture.”

5.4.4 SUMMARY – CASE STUDY 2: LEIPZIGER BAUMWOLLSPINNEREI

The second part of the case study research focused upon transformation processes involving the Leipzig cotton spinning mill – Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei. This case study is exemplary, as it outlines the constant dialogue between the authentic industrial environment of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei and its contemporary development.

Similar to the first part of the case study research (involving Mattatoio di Testaccio), a methodological framework consisting of the three main layers was used – developed for the purpose of the case study research. To give the general overview of *what is there, who is there, and what is going on* at premises of cotton spinning mill, Layer 1 looked at the past and present stances of the industrial structure. Providing the general overview of the main historical events that shaped the Spinnerei, outlining it as a formative, integrative and social place in the past, it presented some of the main structural components that compose the foundation of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei as a new cultural entity, manifesting the former cotton spinning mill as a production space of a new cultural kind. The observation also made clear that Spinnerei operates as a composite and an important element upon which new connections are built.

Giving an additional perspective on the qualitative transformation and peculiarities of the Spinnerei from the experts' perspective – Layer 2 built upon the general observation of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei as a new entity, tackling the issue of perception. Some of the statements that outlined the critical role of the tangible and intangible factors in forming the image of the Spinnerei's, clearly underlined the fascination by the authentic industrial structure of the former spinning mill. Relying upon experts' interviews conducted in Layer 2, it became evident that it is important to keep the industrial rawness and references to the past, proving the existence of a certain active and ongoing relationship and a constant dialogue between the industrial past and the contemporary cultural profile of the Spinnerei. Overall, a particular mixture which is resulting from a correlation of the Spinnerei's past and present-stances, the tangible and the intangible, is delineated.

Finally, Layer 3 presented the image of the former cotton spinning mill which is communicated to the general public via the media of mass communication. Examining the written and visual representations of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei in the mass media, putting together written pieces from various printed and online publications and looking at its representation in a documentary movie, Layer 3 distinguished that the Spinnerei is mainly defined as a cultural hub and a hotspot for the artists and the creative.

Usually depicting fascination by the industrial setting and its particular authentic flair, articles often emphasize the qualitative transformation “from cotton to culture,” focusing the description upon the creative milieu which emerged within the industrial premises. Thus, such records not only confirm the existing reality, channeling the new interpretations of the mill to the public, but also reinforce it. Overall, the chosen methodological framework outlined the correlations of the industrial past and the post-industrial image of the Spinnerei. Synthesis of different information – expert-interviews and representations of the Spinnerei in the media of mass communication – led to a conclusion that Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei is a new entity which is not defined by its industrial past, but rather perceived on account of the cultural profile, linked to the contemporary art and culture.

The methodological framework also allowed delineating the “Unique Selling Proposition” (a.k.a. unique selling point or USP) of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei – features that are particularly emphasized and around which the new image of the cotton spinning mill is built. Hence, a succinct representation of Spinnerei’s USP was found in one of the flyers, dating back to 2010: “Today, the Spinnerei is an authentic, historic factory complex whose soul is its many creative inhabitants and the contemporary content which they bring to it” (Spinnerei flyer, 2010).

Deriving from the outcomes of the analysis, it is the existing mixture of the authentic industrial setting and the creative milieu – the two simultaneously co-existent features of the Spinnerei’s – which makes it a unique formation.

6 INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY – IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Industrial carcasses act as breeding places for new types of production and use. Former industrial complexes *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* and *Mattatoio di Testaccio* are exemplary to justify this assertion. Being significant industrial testimonies, they are examples of industrial structures that have transformed into new entities, becoming a part of post-industrial socio-cultural landscape. By looking at the contemporary interpretations, definitions and representations of industrial heritage (referring to the case studies), one can also state that it is a matter of interpretation and play. Moreover, the versatility of new functions and meanings that are piled upon industrial heritage, provide it with flexible and dynamic images.

However, as already mentioned in the initial part of this research, next to the substantial amount of the available information regarding regeneration of industrial heritage from the architectural perspective, adapting industrial built structures to new uses, little attention has been paid to the alteration of values and emergence of new definitions of former industrial factories and buildings. Thus, in the urge to examine the complex interplay of different factors that assist the evolution of industrial heritage as a new entity, following research questions were asked:

- What is the correlation between the industrial past and the post-industrial image of former industrial places?
- Does the adaptive reuse and sustainable conservation of industrial heritage result in its perceptual alteration?
- How does a particular interpretation of industrial heritage change?

To answer the research questions, this chapter evaluates the observations that were made in the case study research (chapter 5), setting the research back into a wider context.

Integration of former industrial complexes, factories and buildings is an economically and culturally sustainable solution of conservation and revitalization. At the same time, being influenced by transformations in the structural and spatial formations of post-industrial Western societies (also defined as *consumer, media, and network, information, electronic and high tech*), industrial heritage as a resource becomes complex and flexible. This is evident in the diverse (and at times conflicting) meanings that are piled upon it, particularly in the processes of management and adaptation. In the light of the aforesaid, the role of management in routing the correlation of industrial past with the present-day requirements is crucial.

An excerpt from *Prospects* – the UK’s official graduate careers website – provides an exemplary definition of a management role in the heritage sector, illustrating this assertion. According to the job description provided on the website:

Management role in the heritage sector is all about balancing the preservation of the fabric and character of a property with the need to generate an income (...). Hence, some of the typical work activities of a heritage manager include: generating income from commercial activities, such as catering and hiring out the venue for events and film shoots; organizing and monitoring building, renovation and conservation work; dealing with the media to promote the site; developing new ways to present the attraction or collection to maximize visitors' enjoyment and understanding; liaising with external agencies such as funding bodies, professional associations, other heritage organizations, tourist bodies and regional development agencies; developing outreach activities in the local community; event planning; running a commercial shop; developing the ability to think laterally and generate new and innovative ways of presenting the concept of heritage to new generations; etc. (Retrieved from http://www.prospects.ac.uk/heritage_manager_job_description.htm)

Evidently, this depiction outlines the constant interplay and juggling between the past and the present stances of heritage, indicating the state of being dependent on the contemporary socio-cultural and economic circumstances. Being a testimony of the industrial extraction and production activities, the case study examples of Mattatoio di Testaccio and Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei also show that the correlation between the industrial past and the post-industrial image of industrial heritage is instable and shifting. On the one hand, former production spaces are directly linked to the industrial past on account of their tangible structures that are a testimony of the industrial extraction and production activities, and on the other hand, post-industrial societies demand new goods and experiences, thus, enabling the industrial heritage to be transformed accordingly.

Knowledge and memory influence the interpretations of a built environment, implying particular expectations in regard to the built environments and their roles in a society. A factory is an industrial symbol, yet, being adapted to new uses, it transforms into a new entity. Once symbolizing progress and modernity, industrial landscapes and built structures are either reduced to ruins, or approached as economic, cultural and material heritage-resources. In *Industrial Ruins: Spaces, Aesthetics, and Materiality* (2005), Edensor explores the varied uses and perceptions of industrial ruins – the so-called waste spaces in which ‘nothing happens’. According to him, “industrial ruins are thickly woven into local leisure practices ranging from the carnivalesque to the mundane, and have been utilized as exemplary, experimental spaces from which to broadcast possible alternative eco-centric, artistic and social futures in the city” (p. 50). Former production spaces, thus, have particular appeal not only in terms of their cheap appropriation, but also because of their specific characteristics, providing freedom and flexibility for experimentations – a quality that is crucial for any artistic expression. As a result, such places often turn into epicentres of alternative social dynamics, generating vitality in the often derelict and abandoned spaces. However, this progression is not without consequences. The cultural upgrade often takes place on account of the artists and creative being the driving force of a positive change. They discover cheap-to-rent areas (mostly derelict and marginal places in the cities, including former industrial sites that are often considered unattractive), upgrade and make them appealing by establishing cultural milieu. In doing so, they generate attention to those sites, accelerating additional interest which usually results in further development. The emerged vitality and exciting atmosphere are attractive features that eventually foster people from a different (usually a more well off) social status to move in, which mostly results in the increase of the rents and removal of those unable to pay them. Looking at this sequence, one can certainly speculate about the future of such spaces. What will the new forces of their renewed progression be?

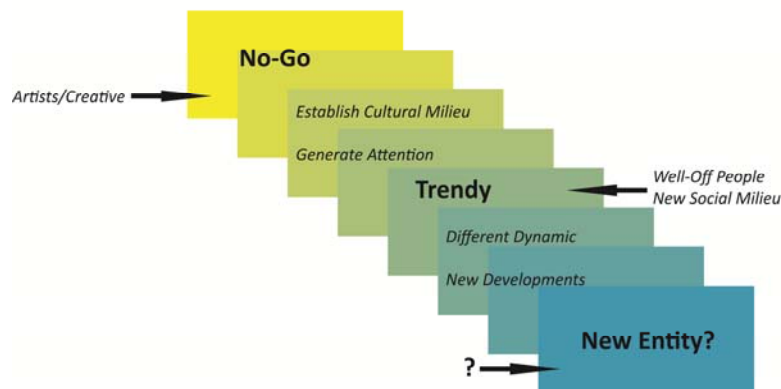


Figure 60: Sequence of development

As the case study examples showed, in spite of the long-dated and stable presence of the industrial built structures, functional restructuring brings new meanings and representations into play. Referring to the case study research and general observations, one can assert that roles of industrial heritage in the present-day socio-cultural environment have become more complex than its preservation and revitalization agenda.

Industrial heritage adapted to new uses transforms the previous idea of industrial heritage, making it an active element that circulates in the post-industrial cultural and creative landscape. “Ironically, former sweatshops are now being put to use in the manufacture of images for an aesthetic economy” (Lloyd, 2006, p.46). Referring to Williams (2005), “no aspiring city is without its converted warehouse museum, a badge of cultural respectability signifying its accession to a realm of sophisticated, international urbanity” (p.122). In addition to Lloyd’s (2006) statement, this declaration also outlines the qualitative transformation of industrial heritage, pointing out at the increasing expansion of this phenomenon. One of the examples illustrating this assumption is the cultural development of Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei, which has gained a great stimulation from the revitalization example of the MASS MoCa factory in Massachusetts, United States.

Today, former production spaces tend to be characterized as settings with implicit potentials, serving the contemporary economic, cultural and social purposes anew. It is regarded economically and culturally wise solution to integrate industrial heritage into contemporary urban fabric, a decision that also contributes to environmental sustainability. At the same time, industrial heritage adapted to new uses represents an entity where the past and the present are linked. This characteristic mutually contributes to the revitalization of the industrial built structure, and creates its “Unique Selling Proposition.” However, it is also a matter of choice which features to emphasize and how, in order to create a certain *product*.

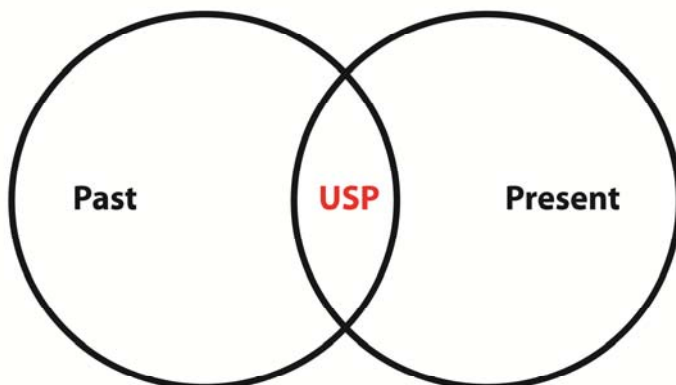


Figure 61: Unique selling proposition

There is complexity and dynamic behind the seemingly uncertain and vague former industrial places. Its images are variable, formed not only upon personal experiences, but also mediated from the 'outside' via media of mass communication. According to Ashworth and Graham (2005), "if heritage knowledge is situated in particular social and intellectual circumstances, it is time-specific and thus its meaning(s) can be altered as texts and re-read in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place and scale" (p. 8).

Often operating as a core element upon which new connections are built, industrial heritage demands a multifaceted act of elaboration and definition. It is a form of communication that 'carries' informational baggage that influences our perceptions and behaviour patterns. Predominantly, adaptive reuse of industrial heritage takes account of a different thematic, constituting a new entity that offers a field of activities that border with the industrial past, contemporary socio-cultural milieu and consumption culture. However, as the case study research showed, being adapted to new uses industrial heritage mainly communicates ideas and values of the post-industrial society, being partially abstracted from the original meanings that were linked to its industrial functionalities. At the same time, it will be incorrect to state an entire detachment from the industrial past, claiming a drastic perceptual alteration, as there is a constant interplay between the past and the present stances.

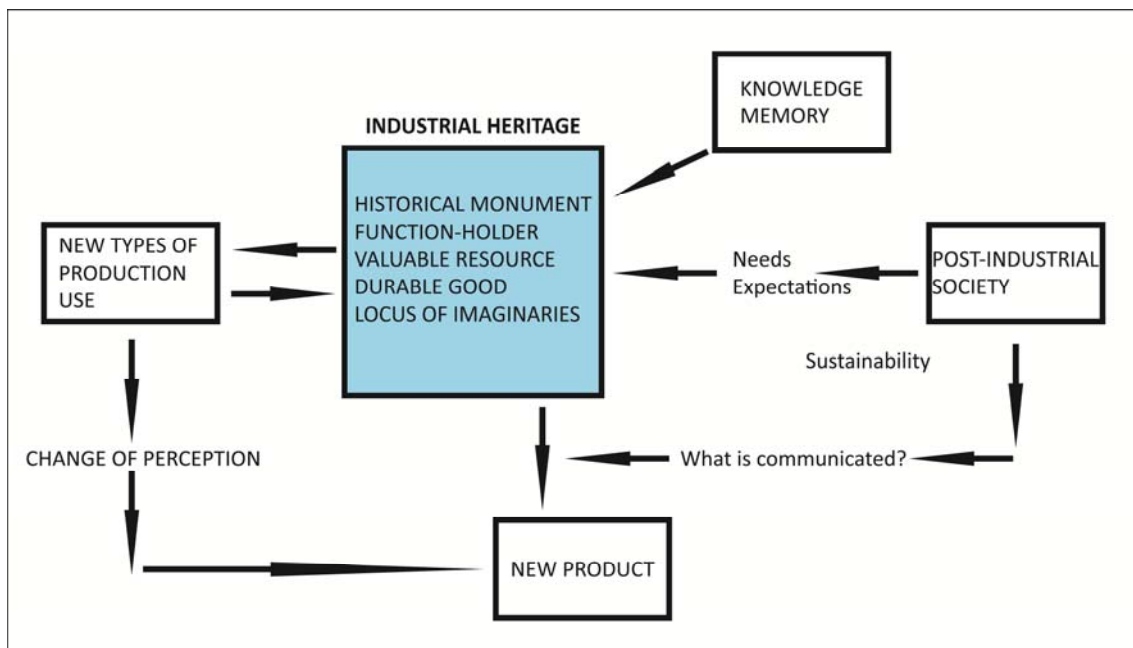


Figure 62: Dynamic factors of transformation

6.1 THE CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE

Post-industrial environment is full of signs that convey meanings and engage in an active process of interpretation – a constant and almost mechanical everyday practice. In this context, industrial heritage is a symbol of various affiliations. It is a concept that is composed of many layers that are deriving either from the past or the present-stances, and thus, accumulating different perceptions, views and representations.

The concept of representation, referring to Hall (1997), has come to occupy a new and important place in the study of culture. “Representation *is* an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of culture. It *does* involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things” (Hall, 1997, p.15). Ferdinand de Saussure, known as the father of modern linguistics, established the general view of representation. His model of language formed the semiotic approach – “mode of knowledge of understanding the world as a system of relations whose basic unit is ‘the sign’” (Gottdiener, 1995, p.4) – to the problem of representation in a wide variety of cultural fields. Saussure’s analysis of the sign considered two elements: the form (the actual word, image, photo, etc.), and the idea or concept with which the form was associated. The first element, thus, was defined by Saussure, as the signifier, and the second element, as the signified. According to Hall (1997), “if the relationship between a signifier and its signified is the result of a system of social conventions specific to each society and to specific historical moments – then all meanings are produced within history and culture. They can never be finally fixed but are always subject to change, both from one cultural context and from one period to another” (p. 32). As regards architecture, according to Eco (1973), it presents a particular challenge to semiotics on account of the assertion that most architectural objects are not designed to communicate, but to function. Yet, he also points out that even while recognizing its functionality, architecture is commonly experienced as communication.

Referring to the case study research, representations of *Mattatoio di Testaccio* and *Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei* in the media of mass communication mostly describe the present-day reality of these sites, recording current events. However, these records not only present the reality of these industrial structures, but by channelling new images and interpretations of these former production spaces to the public, they communicate and reinforce their new essence.

According to the observations of the built industrial heritage within the post-industrial context, it is reasonable to affirm the ability of architecture to communicate ideas and values of a given society. Referring to the outcomes of the case studies (see chapter 5), industrial heritage adapted to new uses is abstracted from the original meanings that were linked to its functionalities. It is inserted into a new socio-cultural framework of post-industrial societies that re-defines former production spaces, charging them with different meanings.

Based on the general observations and the case study analysis, one can say that industrial heritage remains a production space with a changed, multifaceted profile. In the context of sustainable conservation, changing rapport with industrial heritage is primarily noticed by the alteration of its connotations. “There is something active about identity that cannot be ignored: it isn't 'just there', it's not a 'thing', it must always be established” (Jenkins, 2004, p. 4).

Place names, being symbolic attributes, often draw distinctions by channelling images and associations, communicating historical connotations. Signs that can be manipulated and interpreted, they are able to set the tone of a place by evoking images and connotations. In *Place, Naming and the Interpretation of Cultural Landscapes* (2008), Alderman defines naming as a noteworthy cultural practice not only because of its ability to create a sense of continuity over time, but also through its capacity for changing and challenging lines of identity. Considered similar to a branding strategy, that creates a unique name and image for a product in the consumers' mind, establishing a differentiated presence mainly through advertising campaigns with a consistent theme, naming is often employed strategically by developers to create place identities and/or emphasize particular (e.g. historical) representations. A good example to depict this observation is the slogan “from cotton to culture” of the Spinnerei, which is concurrently its unique selling point (USP) – the factor or consideration presented by a seller as the reason that one product or service is different from and better than that of the competition. The slogan refers to the industrial past and the former functionality of the factory, yet, it also emphasizes its current cultural profile. Similarly, present-day representations of *Mattatoio di Testaccio* that circulate in the mass and social media focus on its transition “from a place of death to the birthplace of young culture” – *da luogo di morte a culla della cultura giovanile*, thus, concentrating upon the new cultural profile of the ex-slaughterhouse.

In their theorization, Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) define heritage as “a view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future” (p.2). Case study analysis demonstrates that industrial past is a feature that can be tuned up and down in respect to the current needs and objectives. In view of that, post-industrial images of former industrial factories can be negotiated, prioritized or put in the background.

Mutations of industrial heritage from a static historical monument to a flexible resource and a *locus of imaginaries* were already apparent during the desktop research, performed in the initial parts of the thesis, which indicated the existing complexities regarding manipulation, regeneration and consumption of industrial heritage in post-industrial Western cultures. Overall, the case study research and observations that supplemented it confirmed the assertion that industrial heritage is regulated, negotiated, manipulated, and transformed by post-industrial societies and their culture. As a consequence, new connotations of industrial heritage and of industrial aesthetic emerge, creating a different (for instance, cultural and entertaining) image of former industrial factories, buildings and landscapes. It was also apparent that the changed pattern of demands and needs of the society affected not only the way that former production spaces are managed today, but also their meanings.

All in all, the focus of this study exceeded the mere discussion of the ways to preserve, utilize and integrate physical manifestations of the Industrial Revolution into the contemporary urban fabric. Dealing with the issues and consequences of industrial heritage transformation in the context of post-industrial societies, this study aimed to draw attention to the shifts in perceptions attached to the former production spaces and to the emergence of new values, roles and definitions, looking at the media that assisted their establishment. Based on preliminary observations and assumptions, methodologically this study approached the already existing knowledge by rearranging it, hence, putting the non-apparent and the ‘taken-for-granted’ facts and information at the forefront, outlining and uncovering new facets of the issue.

According to the observations conducted in the framework of this research, industrial heritage adapted to new uses communicates ideas and values of post-industrial societies. It is rather abstracted from the original meanings that were linked to its industrial functionalities and is inserted into a new post-industrial socio-cultural framework that re-defines it.

Composed of the main features that outline the contemporary concept of industrial heritage, Table 3 is intended to simplify the contemporary essence of industrial heritage, in order to make it more accessible and understandable.

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AS A BUILT CONSTRUCT

Characterization(s):

Asset
Resource
Monument

Attributive Information/Qualities:

Durable good (-economic consideration)
Cultural good (-historic consideration)

Management strategies:

Sustainable Conservation / Adaptive Reuse / Consumption

INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AS A CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT

Characterization(s):

Product of the present
Allows multiple thematic productions

How is a new meaning established?

Meaning is constructed/produced through representations
Meaning is produced by communication and practice

Extras that can be articulated:

Tangible/Intangible values

Table 3: The concept of heritage

LESSONS LEARNED/FURTHER SUGGESTIONS

Post-industrial views of the self and of the surrounding environment are complex and layered. The goal of this research was to provide an observation of the alteration of values and meanings of industrial heritage against the backdrop of post-industrial societies – a transformation which is rather intangible in its character. This research aimed to:

- Observe the ideas and values projected on and through industrial heritage against the backdrop of post-industrial society;
- Form a general understanding of industrial heritage as a contemporary concept focusing upon the roles and definitions that it acquires through its contemporary representations;
- Raise awareness and appreciation for industrial heritage in the full richness of its contemporary meaning.

This study confirmed that it is crucial to balance sustainable conservation of built structures, while adapting them to new uses in accordance to the needs and wants of the society.

As a result, industrial heritage mutated from being a static historical monument or an abandoned ruin to a flexible resource and a *locus of imaginaries*. This issue was often overlooked by the professionals and institutions involved in the sustainable development and conservation of heritage. A variety of things that involved industrial heritage management included:

- Exploring industrial functions and records;
- Showcasing;
- Caring and protecting the built structures;
- Learning from them;
- Restoring;
- Reusing.

However, the course of this research, particularly the case study research, showed that the changed patterns of demands and needs of a society affected the ways that industrial heritage is ‘treated’ and perceived today.

The qualitative evolution of industrial heritage gradually affected the perception of industrial aesthetic, modifying it and establishing a new image that is linked with the contemporary culture, post-industrial lifestyles and the idea of a creative environment. New forms of work and leisure, the centrality of consumption culture in the socio-cultural structure of the post-industrial societies – these are all crucial factors that affect the ways that (industrial) heritage is being managed today.

Deriving from the case studies, following lessons have been learned:

- Heritage buildings tell stories, however,
- Activities and practical engagements form the area/object;
- Industrial heritage is a recyclable (cultural, political and economic) resource of the present;
- Industrial heritage is an asset that requires investment of (economical and human) resources for its regeneration;
- The existing reality dictates the rules of heritage management;
- In the context of the post-industrial society, industrial heritage is experienced anew;
- Clever management strategies and comprehensible communication are the necessary extras to construct new images.

Every built object possesses certain values that are either bound to its material structure, or are an outcome of the processes that happen around it, granting the object with intangible values. Referring to the case study research, a lesson can be learned: multiple different factors determine the further development, transformation and revitalization of disused industrial buildings, factories and production spaces. At the same time, each place has its own specificity. Hence, to develop a successful and clever management concept, this research suggests developing a framework of layers that would *extract* and *filter* the different (and at times hidden) aspects and characteristics of the place to be developed.

The methodological framework that was applied in the case study research, for instance, was chosen to outline one's ability of looking, understanding and perceiving former industrial built structures from different perspectives, hence, pinpointing its changing connotations and outlining the "Unique Selling Proposition" (a.k.a. unique selling point, or USP) of each of the places.

Imperative:

Overall, in the context of this study, it is important not only to understand *what* is happening, but also *why* and *how* certain phenomena occur. Thus, in order to avoid complications and make use of the existing built resources to the fullest (be it a former industrial factory or any other built structure), one must:

- Be up-to-date with the current development of the society and the tendencies that emerge as a result of this ongoing process;
- Take into account the complexity of different perceptions deriving from the past or present stances;
- Occasionally rearrange the already existing knowledge, looking at phenomena from different perspectives, as this approach can be an eye-opener, outlining and uncovering new facets within a seemingly known issue;
- Understand the attitudes, perspectives and needs of the current society;
- Understand the development potential of the structure to be developed;
- Take into account the recent development patterns of this structure;
- Be attentive to the change of the ideas and values that might take place through time.

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APPENDIX (EXPERT INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS)

CASE STUDY 1: MATTATOIO DI TESTACCIO

Interview with Adriana Goni – Dipartimento di Studi Urbani (Roma Tre), from 25.10.2010

- *By looking at the work done by Roma Tre in 2004, I want to ask you what is in your opinion special about Testaccio, and also about Mattatoio as a structure in it?*
- In 2004 we made an interdisciplinary work. Some part of us were architects, urbanists that were looking for the problems connected with the traffic, structure, the impact of the new buildings, new activities into the neighborhood, and not only the neighborhood, but also the urban area around. I focused in particular at the social and cultural life of the neighborhood. What represented the Mattatoio to them? And it was very interesting, because the area of Mattatoio, for example the little hill which is in front of Mattatoio – Monte dei Cocci – is this Roman structure, do you know how it was made?
- *Yes, it was made from amphora pieces...*
- From oil and wine... there is the old Roman port in the river... they threw these amphorae there and they created this hill. In the medieval times this area was a very important area from a symbolic point of view. Of course, the houses from that time are not anymore there, you can't see it anymore, because they were made of wood essentially, but in this area they used to play (medieval plays) with horses, with pigs in little carriages, carnival, but at the same time against... the horses with the cavaliers, the kings and the princes ... so it was a very important place in this area. In Roman times the port gave also this kind of commercial aspect to this area. If you look at the port in the imaginary of the people, it was a hidden place nowadays, because the river nowadays is a negative place for people, because it was disused, because it's dirty, because there are animals and it's very dark. It could be a green place, but at the state that it is now, it's not good. Everybody knows that the port is there, I mean the port, this Monte dei Cocci, they are two references in the identity of people. So from the beginning it was commercial, from the Romans. It seems difficult to think about 3000 years ago..but the identity, it was maintained in all this time. From anthropological perspective this is not very rare, the identity made by little steps, or the starting many-many years ago. So, this is the first time. The second time, from the medieval times, it was also a very symbolic place, because of that games, and because it started this cemetery, you know, it also started this things... the death, the commercials, the Spanish people that came to this

areas, it was a very particular area, and in new times with the Mattatoio, with the industrial times, you know industry in Rome was not really, it didn't work, so this area has a new...
(interruption)

So there is like a renewal with this industry of Mattatoio, with the slaughterhouse, and all the buildings around this area started to be built, linked to this new industrialization, I think you know that. There are very nice articles from Laura Palazzo about popular housing, how this area was built...

- *The working class...*
- Yes, the working class... and so, but almost all people living there worked in Ex-Mattatoio. Ex-Mattatoio was at the same time the reason for living there, but not a very good place in the imaginary, because it's a place of death, because it's a place in which children don't go and, of course, thinking about all those animals, the noise when they killed them. You know, that the pigs are very loud, also the smell and so all the things that are around there started to be in the imaginary of people. The place of death. So the real life neighborhoods created in front of this area. This was the area of the work, it's ok, because we live next to the slaughterhouse, but, at the same time, we make all our life – real life – in the other parts. So the schools, the markets – the markets its very important thing there– the squares, the church, and so on. And the strange thing in Testaccio, is that although nowadays it is situated in the center of Rome, it maintains the identity. The popular houses made that people rest in the same house for a long time. Now there is a gentrification phenomenon, almost the two streets near to the Via Marmorata, the rest has maintained a little bit as it was.
- *So, would you say that the specific memory is more referring to this place of death of animals?*
- Yes, the only thing that it's open to the others is because the internal rest of the cows that the slaughterhouse didn't use, has been sold in front, under the Monte dei Cocci, was sold to people, and was part of the traditional and popular cooking of Rome. I don't know if you know something of these... it's a very poor cooking, but it's something that old ladies etc. went in front of the Mattatoio, but not inside. Inside was a place where men go to work and that's it. They don't want to be nearby.
- *But apart from that is there any other specific memory attached to the place, from the industrial times I mean?*
- They have more this contradictory remembrance that it was good times, because the slaughterhouse existed, because of work existed near, so it was good times. And so it's the

moment, as I told you, in which started the new life, the modern life of this area. Because thanks to the work that was there they made the schools, they made the houses, they made the bread...*forno* – where they cooked the bread, they started to have a commercial life, they started...so all of them they say it is thanks to the slaughterhouse. But in the perception, it was not used as a public place, and of course it was a slaughterhouse, so people were not allowed to enter either, families, kids, just the workers. In addition to this, it was an industry which is very dirty, if you want, which is full of death, it is not an industry, like metal, mechanical industry, it's a very masculine thing. The area around... it was the river and the train rails, which was thought as the part of the Mattatoio, so this was another cause that led this area to be abandoned.

- *So, is the area now perceived differently, since CAE is there and also Macro museum?*
- It was a very big problem, from my point of view, because here (in this laboratory) we make participatory planning- this part of the department- and when I did the research, I think it was a research that could be useful for them to make participatory planning with people in some open spaces. But it never happens like this. People from the neighborhood never had the opportunity to say something about this place, about the destination of this place. So, when it was abandoned – it was abandoned for a long time – and this negative imaginary makes that people didn't go, no? people from the place. At the same time, some other groups – social group which made the Villaggio Globale – which is a social center of the Kurds, foreign communities, started to occupy some places, but they were external people – from outside- so perhaps in the social center some young people, but not much from the neighborhood came, but it was also seen as a negative place because of these people, because they made parties, because of the time of the cocaine, because immigrants were viewed as suspects, as something negative, and then came also the Roma people – the gypsies – so the place of Campo Boario was like a negative occupation for people from the place. So this made people (i.e. locals) go far away from this place. Then, the projects that could perhaps make some public renewal – which was that of the University, of the Museum of Contemporary Art thought that they don't need the rest. So the University needed some classes, some spaces to make classes, the museum needed places for exhibitions...so nobody asked people what they want. The place, it's very big, it's enormous, so it could transform in a public space. The other problem is, that outside Testaccio has many public places. It has the market, which is a very important thing, and nowadays they make a new project for the market, transferring it into another bigger area, which is also a very important area, because under this place there are some archeological materials, some materials from Romans,

because it was historically the football place of the Rome, I don't know if you know about that, of the Rome team, so the place where the market is going to be now is also a very important place. Then you have the principal square, the main square, and the municipality renewed this principal square, in front there is the church. If you come when they make procession, they take the Madonna of the church and they make this procession in all the streets of the neighborhood, if you come during that time it is incredible... Then, from the other part, they have the school, public library, I don't know if you know where, in front of the American cemetery, a little bit more inside in the neighborhood they have this school, and two camps of football, enormous, they have one of the biggest sportive associations of Rome, so they have many public spaces. They don't need for the everyday life a space like it, they have an old people' center, also very good, some part of the old people center, where there are two rooms at the beginning of the Mattatoio, I don't know if you've seen, at the main door, main entrance they have the music school and the old people' center. So this could be a little bit, a thing that they gained, but just that, and in the entrance area – not inside. So, when they asked all the projects for this area, because it is a very important area, now it is in the downtown, because now the industrial archeology is very appreciated, all the museums of contemporary art loves to be in this places of archeological importance, and of course they had this big spaces that nowadays museums need, and so they also think to give this spaces to the people from outside. I was at some presentations of politicians to people of that place, and they say ok, we give you the Mattatoio, but it's just words. CAE is a very important thing, but the responsible people for that it are also external, which is like a coordination of all the cooperatives, associations of *altra economia*, which are working since 60 years, before entering there. So, it's a project of the municipality of the region, which finds a place and say, "ok, you can go here", but they are outsiders of the neighborhood. So, it was not perceived, and it was not discussed as an open place, then, nowadays the situation is very well read, because CAE, the University, the museum are not public, but are social experiences. So, if you want, you can go to the museum, and they make it also open, and free, you know, exhibitions and you can be there, you can play. Also because all the people of the center are there, the University is not closed, because it's public, so it's not closed, CAE is not closed, because all the cultural events that are organized there are free. So, they also have a room that is free, and so it could be for the people from the neighborhood, and of course, you have a bar, but it's an open space and they make one Sunday of the month a market (*l'altra domenica*). So it's a kind of service which is open to the public.

Nowadays the situation is very worrying, because this administration now is selling a lot of public spaces, trying pretty much to privatize some of this area. CAE is under the pressure to be evicted, and also the social center which is outside...I don't know what is going to happen there.

- *So, the municipality gave this space, but now it wants it back?*
- Because this is another political administration. The president was from the left administration, which is in favor of this "altra economia" experiences – organic agriculture, renewal of the energy.... The current administration is from the right, and they are privatizing many public spaces, so of course this is a fantastic place, this is a wonderful space, but for private investors also; so, the risk is that not only that the people continue to be outside of Testaccio, but that they privatize this area, so that you will have to pay to enter, if you want to remain there you have to consume something... you know? And that this place will lose the possibility of being a public square open to others. I think it could be a very nice prospective, because when they finish to renew all the area where there is the CAE, it could be a wonderful public space.
- *And also during the three years, since the CAE is located there, there is probably also particular identity already established around this right?*
- Yes. In general, the people who go to CAE are also local, they are the new inhabitants of this area – of the historic center – because, as Saskia Sassen said last Friday when she was in Rome: now there are some cultural movements about sustainability, which are creating new generations, so kids now the cities, agriculture..but are more the new inhabitants of this area, not the old ones from the industrial times, which were the middle class, a little bit poor – they are not poor, but they are the middle class – and so they look for the prices.. and these new groups are looking more for the quality, and the practices – if it's fair.. – so, I prefer to buy just one thing, one pair of shoes, and not fifty pairs of shoes etc. But this is a cultural change, so, from this point of view I think that the things that are at the Mattatoio nowadays are more for (from) the new population of Testaccio, not from the old one. Apart from that, the old population has also this kind of negative imaginary...
- *So, they still have that negative image you think?*
- Yes, yes. When I did this (*the research*) in 2004, I asked them to write, to design the 'dark' areas of the neighborhood, you know these areas 'behind' – to do mental mappings – and they put in dark the Mattatoio and the river I told you. These are areas, which they considered as left behind of the neighborhood, and also to indicate the areas that they considered 'promising', where they live, the public areas where the library is, the sportive

areas, via Marmorata and the public spaces of the church, of the main square, of the market etc. So, in the imaginary the things that the municipality did there, didn't work to reduce the boundaries. But it is true that there is a new population, so gentrification brings in this new population.

- *Yes, and also it's I think it has been six years already...*
- Yes.
- *At that time, the CAE wasn't there was it?*
- No, no.
- *And Macro?*
- The Macro was starting. They knew that it's going to be there. I remember the political meetings where it was said that they didn't believe that they are going to use this area for public purposes. So, the municipality presented the renewal project – something very big – but they didn't care and they didn't make participatory planning – a real participatory planning – because the problem with participation is that you can't tell people what you are going to do, unless you make it in a public assembly. You say, "ok, I'll tell them". That is real participatory, which is not the case here.

And then the same thing with the associations: in this small work that we made, I made a list with all the associations – it's full of associations, it's incredible. So, if you really involve all these people to take some spaces or to work, to use these spaces, it could be possible to make something really. But you have to involve people, if not, they are going to keep this imaginary in their minds and if you don't make any sense it's going to be as the Romans you know, the remembrance, they remain in their imaginary. It's not the place which was meant to be for the people.

- *Overall, if you consider Macro for instance, is it a positive thing that they took the space in Mattatoio from the inhabitants. Did the inhabitants have a feeling that the museum was imposed onto them?*
- Inhabitants have different cultural layers. The old ones, I don't think that they really use this space. It's good that a museum, university, CAE, which are public and social, I think that this is good that a great space like this was destined for these things. Of course the museum could involve more people, make some art exhibitions about the memory of Testaccio, you know, or dedicate a room for the memory of Mattatoio, and then involve people to make some interviews, make an anthropological research...I think, that it needs really a recognition of the immaterial heritage that made this place unique. Because this place is also the people who live around. You have families of the people who worked there or the

families of people who made this neighborhood, so this is a heritage that I don't know that they use it. Also the university – it's a university of architecture, perhaps they also could make something like this. They asked us for this urban study, but to tell you the truth it's more about the material infrastructure of the place, the planning... so although it was a good study, and archeologists and anthropologists were involved but i noticed that the cultural aspect was not the real emphasis, although Piccinato, who was directing this project, was very sensible to these things, but they didn't really care. I think the problem is that all these different projects that are inside the Mattatoio could've been also in the other parts of the city. They are like global projects, you know. They are good, because they are social, because they have a cultural content behind, because they are not the McDonalds in the middle of the city in a place like it, but apart from the architects that think the renewal of the places, that the take the ole signs of identity, apart from them I don't think that people think to valorize this immaterial heritage.

- *When I was looking through the study, it's more planning oriented, as you mentioned, but as I am looking at the perceptual regeneration of the structure, I would like to ask you whether you think there is a change of identity happening.*
- Architects of course considered the identity aspect of the place, they were brave to maintain the particularities of the buildings, but these are some sensitive aspects, but then the rest – having a museum there, a university, I think they could've link it to the history of the place, as a recognition.
- *What is crucial to re-imagine the Mattatoio?*
- I think with this administration we can't talk about these things. As I told you, they are thinking to privatize all these spaces. If these things remain public perhaps...and now they are also cutting a lot the cultural funds, so I don't think you can ask them to invest.
- *So now the focus is more on the commercial aspects, rather than the cultural?*
- Yes, no doubts. And so this is a heritage that is going to be lost unless the museum or the university takes some decisions to make something in this direction...
- *And are there any interactions among the main actors of the Mattatoio, like CAE and Macro?*
- No, this is another problem. The problem is that each one was there with a precise project, and things that they had to do, and no one put them around a round table to think about this. The municipality wanted to have the power all the time, but when you make a participatory process, which could be the best thing, as for example, you have a lunch place at CAE, which can perhaps make social places for students, instead of them going there all the time to take the pizza...it could work, or you could make it into a place where students

could make some nice exhibitions, perhaps they would also use the spaces at the museum, but until last year that the opened the path, because now there is a path open between CAE and Pelanda, but it wasn't there first. They were all isolated. And also the university from the museum at the beginning was closed, and all isolated, the community of Kurds, the social center etc. I think that in Italy participatory planning is something that is not if interest for the politicians, they wanted to have the power to decide, as they are doing now, so they want CAE be evicted and of course they (CAE) are very weak, because they have a great network outside that supports them, but inside they have no connections with the museum or the university. And the same happened when they evicted the gypsies to put CAE there. So it's like a war among the poor and weak, and municipality decides who goes out and who comes in. and this is very difficult because this is something which is very dangerous. These experiences take real identity which is there for many years, so of course if they are there just for two or three years, they are very weak to demonstrate anything.

- *So as I understood it, as soon as a new identity starts to get established, it's taken away, which if you think, also could be a negative thing, isn't it? That you never know what will happen and who will come next.*
- Yes, for the neighborhood it doesn't really matter what happens inside; because the place is not just a part of the neighborhood, it is also a part of the metropolitan and national identity. Because this place (CAE), for example, is unique in Europe and in the world, so perhaps they think they are a place of this new economy, and we have our networks outside, and so they don't think about creation of the links with the people who are around and it's a problem.
- *Would you say that for the neighborhood the image of the place hasn't changed that much, whereas on the global scale it did?*
- On the global scale Testaccio is famous also because of the activities inside, because of the the museum, the Pelanda, which is a space for exhibiting young artists' works, so the interest was renewed and people started to know the place and re-visit Testaccio, which in the last years was more just for the nightlife which is there, or it was visited as a traditional Roman neighborhood because the Roman team has its place there – the camp which is going to be a market, but not because of the Mattatoio as a significant place. It was just a part of all the degraded industries that was abandoned. And for the neighborhood I think it's very ambiguous. Last year with the gentrification some people came here because of the new art scene and because it's making a new identity, but the majority – the old inhabitants – it's

not something that is of interest for them. They go outside but not inside. That is another very strange thing for me.

The entrance is the main arch, and the strange thing also is that the tables for the old people (interaction) are put outside, but never inside of Mattatoio, at the borders. They are there, but not really.

For the new people Mattatoio doesn't represent anything. I mean, they see what they are looking at and receive now. If the museum made a permanent exhibition about what happened there, also for the schools, perhaps it would help to maintain the immaterial heritage and the new people would know about the place, because they are not people that don't care. I think some of the new people who came are very interested and very sensitive about the cultural layer.

I think it's very important to maintain the memory, the history, and recognize the different layers of uses, so people know what happened. Some architects are very sensitive for this aspect, people who use the museum are also sensitive, they saw the problem of identity connected with the name and the built elements, but after some time when people will go there, they will see a museum and they won't understand what happened in the past here, or the old people that live in Testaccio see a place different than they knew it – it's an empty museum of modern art. So, basically when you have collective history you need moments to re-tell people about the origins of the place. The origins would be reinforced if once a year you make an exhibition dedicated to the beginning of this place. It is fundamental for the immaterial heritage to remind "who we are? Where we came from?" In general, such things are made, but they are made in the popular parties, by playing the traditional songs of Rome, but the problem lies in the degree, how much this information is transmitted to the new generations. Of course the grandparents can tell the kids what happened, but when these people die and nobody cares to take and put the pieces of information together, they eventually will be lost. So, either they read some historical books telling these stories, yet, I have some difficulties to find a book about the history of Mattatoio. It's difficult to find materials documenting the stories, orally transmitted about this place. So, I think the solution will be to have a place with a permanent exhibition of its history, and once a year something to tell additionally. I think some people are still alive, so it's important to be in touch with them and take all this history.

Also an interesting thing about Mattatoio is that it's something top-down, on the one hand it's a problem, because the municipality takes everything in its hands, on the other hand you have the money and the architects involved. So it's very important, because industrial areas

are really destroyed and a lot of investment is needed. I think industrial places are wonderful places.

Interview with Alberto Castagnola – CAE, from 10.11.2010

- *How are you involved in CAE?*
 - Well, I am an economist, and I am retired since the last ten years, but I was always working as a second job let's say, not paid (*laughing*) - just to be clear. I was involved in the movement, I would say in political terms, and I was working with the number of organizations that were working for development – the ones that are preparing projects for the development in the south. Now, in the last ten years we were engaged with the idea of an alternative economy, so it means that we decided on the basis of our analysis that dominant mechanism - the mega-machine is doing too many negative things to the planet itself, so we decided to make an experiment, to try to find out differences, following logics and ideas and perspectives, and so on, so completely different from the one we experienced, and we are still inside this kind of machine, and so we are working on this. This means that from one side, we are part that is doing the analysis, more or less the analysis that we are doing in terms of the growth, and we are talking in terms of solidarity economy. The difference is that, with the growth people are thinking in terms how to change the system, we agree with their ideas, but we are not doing anything to change the system. So what we are doing is very limited experiences, small projects, in the quantity very limited, and we are trying to experiment, we also produce things, but just with a different logic. This is the problem; the reality is a little bit different. We encounter a number of difficulties. The dominant system is trying always to absorb our experiences, and so we are fighting against that, and fighting to invent, to create new ideas. Many of the organizations that are working on the solidarity movement, I could say, they don't realize that they are doing something that is strictly connected with the capitalism, I mean the logic is almost the same, and it is difficult to convince them that they have to do something more, something additional to change the perspective. So this is the project.
- In Rome, some years ago, we organized at least ten fests for the solidarity, alternative, other economies, and at a certain moment we created a Table connected to the country council. About 60 organizations are at this Table, and we started to work together within this table, no power no money...just to talk and to discuss about preparing something that is called the

Chart of Principles and it takes more or less tough discussions, because the discussions were always done in the assembly, in the working groups, and we discussed altogether, word by word, but all the people that were signing in the end this document, they knew what they sign. And during this work we started to think in terms of place that could become a concentration of experiences. We found positive reaction from the mayor of the city at that time, so they started to study what were the possibilities, and they found this place. And there was a very strong interest of the Rome county council for this place, because it was closed up for more than 40 years, and it was completely abandoned, the situation I will show you later on, and so they said, "ok, this would be interesting for us, and your project will be the very first one that can give the idea of what we are going to do with this kind of space", and so they started to push, we were worried that the place was too big for us, because we are small groups and small organizations, but they said that they were going to pay everything, and so they paid for the restoration of this place, all that is inside is original, but initially everything was destroyed – no windows, nothing, so they started to make the restoration, respecting existent built structure. So you have practically the same impression, I think from this standpoint it is a very interesting solution. We discussed with the architect all the aspects of solidarity, alternative economy that would be of interest for us, so down there you have the solar panels, glasses are special glasses that reflect, so you have help for the equilibrium of the climate in the room – interior climate, and those are the main things. Everything inside is very simple, and when we came inside, we found everything, also the dishes in the kitchen, all the machinery for the heating for the conditioning, so everything was already arranged and we didn't pay anything for that. So we were working together to arrive at this point, it took about three years doing all of that, instead of the two years according to the previous plan.

We started more or less in 1993, while we were finishing the text of the Chart we started bargaining with the mayor for the solutions. So, this is the situation and this is the physical situation. You can imagine down there were 23 organizations inside and more or less 10 or 12 that were collaborating from the very beginning. So, as you noticed, from the 60 that composed the Table only one is working here. So, other decided not to participate at the experience, because they had other experiences in Rome and they preferred to remain in this dimension. We preferred to enter and get in touch with the local government on the basis of the political importance. In the previous years, Roma was giving biological food in all the schools for the young people, so we said that this mayor could continue expanding this kind of idea. We considered project from the very beginning as something in-between: not

public and not private, what we call social-public. This means that there is participation. We think that it could be useful for the local county council to work on our perspective. So there are some limitations, not so many, we think it could be a good formula for a number of alternative experiences, so we started this idea, knowing the difficulties. It's hard to explain to you... the same organization that was discussing with the mayor about this project was also attacking the county council because they were not in this sector, but in another sector, they were collaborating with transnational companies for a number of cultural initiatives and so on. And we started to say that this was not acceptable, so we started a campaign and there was a critic towards the mayor, in the meantime. The answer was very good, the one expected, and the mayor decided to have an official regulation for the contacts of the local county council and transnationals. On the basis of the limitations of the United Nations for the transnationals, so there was a list of the things that transnationals cannot do, if they want to collaborate with the local county council. So there was a fixed regulation, and this regulation was communicated to the transnationals when they were entering into the contact with the mayor. So, our perspective was a little bit separate; this means one year and a half of work with all the different powers within the county council, we had to discuss with the administrative structure, it was a mess! Five people for a one year long series of meetings in order to create the regulations, where to help the local government not to be attacked by the European Union, because they are in favor of a complete freedom, of changes and of no limitations to the transnationals and so on...I don't know if it's clear enough, because I am trying to give you a complete observation of the whole process...

- *Where there any difficulties with the establishment of the concept of the CAE in this place?*
- There are two answers to that: one answer is the regulation, so for two years the regulation was in action, so there were difficulties for the transnationals to enter; second moment: local county council decided to create a different body, the property of this body was the mayor, but it was dependent on the physical terms, I mean budget and so on, finances, and they enter in touch with the transnationals, so they just forgot about the regulation of the mayor. I don't know if it's clear enough... so they decided that the mayor was not responsible anymore, but the responsible was this body. And in this sense the body could do whatever it wanted, because it was independent from the normal usual activities. It was a trick. So the situation was always changing.

The other answer is that here we started to have some difficulties from the beginning, so before we entered. It is very difficult to explain because this was a long process, the point that we decided to get in touch with the mayor was that all the people who would enter

here could be connected in a consortium, consortium that would then get in touch with the mayor, and we decided, we started to discuss with all the organizations that were interested to enter here the nature of this consortium. I would say the real powers of this consortium and at that moment we decided to have a light consortium, not a heavy one, it means for the organizations that are there no budget in common. For the solidarity economy the budget is important... so we started to discuss again, and we succeeded to have a result among us, at that moment the body of the county council that was responsible for this place said, "ok, you haven't succeeded to have a conclusion, and we decide the way you enter." So they decided that each organization, or groups of organizations that would want to enter, all of them should become enterprises, so juridically recognized by the state, and a number of our organizations weren't like that, they were just small organizations, so all of them were obliged to become an enterprise. They opened a general call to people that would be interested to enter here, so we were under the risk that everyone can enter, people that weren't following the process and so on. These things didn't happen, so the ones that were winning the call were people that we knew – the same groups that entered, but now it was divided, so here there are nine different groups of enterprises, with different ways of grouping, so not all of them are consortiums – in Italy there are different structures, so you can have cooperatives of different levels, also a huge second-level cooperative with nine cooperatives inside, and the call was won by a second-level cooperative. So we entered here, and we were already divided before we started. Then there was a second point that we succeeded to put within the call the idea that if people entered, they could organize a consortium, the county council could discuss this consortium and the following activities – following means that the period for this call was three years. This is the situation in which we are now, so the three years are finished and we are practically out, according to the fact that this consortium we prepared immediately, but the body that was responsible for this place didn't accept to recognize this consortium, so officially they should discuss the solution for the future which was not done. So were here for these three years, and we paid rent, but according to the contract, we have to leave this place – that's the situation.

- *They don't want to prolog the contract?*
- The point is that in the meantime the mayor that was responsible for the body changed, and we found ourselves completely abandoned. You know the Italian situation in the political terms is very complex...so when we started the discussion, the mayor changed, now it's the democratic party, and in the local government there were also the extreme left parties together, during ht e period we were here, more than two years ago, there was a fraction

between democratic parties and the extreme left, and the responsible for this body it was extreme left, so what was the direct connection with the mayor in the beginning changed before the change of the administration. So it was a change from the central left to the right, and now the administration is completely right...so the idea is that they are eliminating all the people that are inside, to organize enterprises.

- *They want to do it more private?*
- That's right. Because the local county council doesn't have much money, so they don't want to spend money, there is a number of works to do for the ordinary repair.

The idea that they have in mind, but we don't know anything about it, they would like to have a call for the people of the biological sector, and people from the alternative energy sector, and that's all. So two out of the nine sectors we are now. For the second call, they want to have a body, some enterprise or something, that can spend all the money for the restoration and repair works and so on, and they have the possibility to rent all this general structure, this means more room, and all the space. They are going to have a very good excuse to make people pay for going here for some concerts, etc., and because they are obliged to pay for the expenses, but when you start to do like that, it changes completely the logic and the situation, because then it becomes a place where you pay for a ticket to enter. So they decide to make the tickets cost as high as possible, so they could have some profit out of all this operation.

- *So, as I noticed now you are making a petition. When the situation would be clarified?*
- There is no answer. This is their tactics. We asked for a meeting with the mayor last November, one year ago, they didn't answer. We tried all ways to contact them, direct, blogs etc. - no result.

- *The call is already made?*

- They are preparing this call, and as far as I know, I am not sure, there were some voices that they had many difficulties in order to write the call, because they are trying to do something that is impossible, so they say we are the owner and we give to other people, to other enterprises all the payments and all the gains that could be done in private sector, but this place is public, you cannot leave all this place to private restoration.

So they are giving us two more months, till the end of November. Somebody told us that it is very likely that they are giving us the second prolongation.

- *So another three years?*
- No, no! Another two months. For us it's terrible, because some of the people that are there, they just left, because without having any perspectives they cannot continue to invest here.

If you don't have a guarantee that you are here for another three years as a minimum, but if we were to have serious discussion, we would ask six years.

Given the situation that this place is a little bit far away from the historical city center, and at the same time it is closed, so there are no streets passing here, in order to make people to arrive here and decide that it is a very nice place, increase the level of cultural activities, it will be very difficult. We wrote about 120 e-mails for different type of things.

L'altra domenica is functioning with some money from the regional government; all the other things didn't have any money, because for us we were obliged not to make people pay for the ticket. So all the things we made were with the support from some friends or old relations with some actors.

- *What type of events did you make, apart from L'altra Domenica?*
- We did many things: from concerts, classical music, to theater. This place is marvelous! You can practically do whatever you want. And if you have the possibility to have some budget, not a very high one, that allows you to pay for some technicalities, like the loudspeakers...all those things were done by ourselves, which means that the level couldn't be very high. You have to do a lot of work. Imagine: you have absolutely no money, you have to make a lot of work by yourself, and some of the organizations here are very small and they don't have people to provide for this kind of work. They just have the people to work for their organization. So this is limited, and in order to do things we need time, because now Saturday and Sunday we have a number of people here, when we have the special Sundays, we have very nice groups of people here. But why today you cannot have here training courses or a number of laboratories for theater, or something like that. All this space could be utilized for a number of initiatives. You can have children here in the afternoon, or you can have schools. But to have schools, you have to go to the schools, make the agreements...
- *When I talked to Adriana Goni, she mentioned that this space had negative associations. People were avoiding this place.*
- That's right. I'll tell you. Down there (shows), you have the place where the horses were kept; there is also a social center that makes concerts and so on, not a positive one. When we arrived here there was a group of gypsies living here for a number of years, they were very happy to live there because the area was closed and nobody was entering there, they were Italians, they had Italian passports, all the children were going to the schools. So it was a situation absolutely well organized and they were very happy. But the mayor was obliged to push all the gypsies out of the area, in a very bad way. Eventually they were asking for money, and we decided to help them with moving to another place, for a number of months

they remained outside at the street. Because they were absolutely closed here, and it would be impossible to do the works inside, so the mayor decided to push them outside. The situation is very bad for them.

- *Would you say the CAE has improved the perception of the whole area?*
- Absolutely. One fundamental point here is that there is no traffic; you have a parking space, but when you enter, there is no traffic inside, you have a very small number of cars coming to bring the goods, so the people – families with children - they arrive here, children are completely free and they are very happy. Have you noticed the playground created with the tires? ... it is something that cannot be done everywhere in Rome. It's very simple. Children arrive and feel like this is their place and they can play with all these things here. So it's possible to have a number of people here who arrive regularly, and consider this as one of their places. The point is that if you want to multiply the number and if you want to accept more people coming inside, you could do that by offering the places. For example there is also the school of music, they should come here and play music.
- *Is there any interaction for example with Macro or the music school?*
- Until now no. When they opened the Pelanda, administration was already changed, and the point is that the body that is responsible for this place is different – it's another *assessore*. They divided amongst themselves. So, practically there are two different parts that are not in touch.
- *This is a whole place, and it's interesting to notice that it's divided into different places...*
- That's right.
- *So when the situation changes, the perception that we already established because of the CAE is going to be changed...*
- That's for sure. There is a point here: by law they cannot put inside houses or supermarket, so commercial structures, by law. This can be utilized by universities. So we have architectural faculty here, and they are waiting for the Academy of Fine Arts to come here, so you have a museum and two universities. And this could be very interesting, because people from the universities could go to the museum, and so on, and in the spaces you could make the very first exhibitions of the students. So, there is a kind of unity that could be built up in this place, the connections and so on. The point that we don't know is that if they decide to do this kind of connection, if they accept to situate here people who come from the extreme right parties, it's completely different from the general cultural direction.

- *The director of the music school, Roberto Nicoletti mentioned that initially they were going to receive an additional space in Mattatoio, but because of the political change this decision froze...*
- *What do you think, what kind of image of Mattatoio is projected to the outside now?*
- I could say that we don't know anything about it. There is a general difficulty that all the money for the universities and for the culture in general was cut drastically in the last two years. So, in Italy this situation is terrible. If you have less money than you had a year or two years ago, how can you plan new things? I don't know if you read the daily newspaper here...a couple of days ago there was a heavy rain in Pompei, marvelous place – the house of gladiators with paintings inside - was destroyed. I know it's difficult for you to get in touch with the situation in Italy, but it's like that.
- *Well, initially I was also considering Ostiense as an area of research, but then I thought that it's still under construction really, and nothing particular is established there yet, and I thought this is more or less clear and you can see the change, but now looking at the situation with the CAE...*
- This was our project you know, to have contacts. In the first two years we were giving these spaces to all kinds of organizations that were more or less on our line of thought, so people were taking care of international problems and so on. Our idea was that this would be a place where different organizations and initiatives, culturally and politically important, could be hosted.
- *And what about the locals?*
- This was one of our mistakes - we didn't have many contacts, and according to the faculties it's more or less closed up. Did you realize that there is only one small entrance there, and it's a small door, stop, everything is closed? On the other side is closed, and the only door is this one, and you have the other door outside, and also down there is the traffic. And it is very strange, because for example this small part of the street here, there is a number of clubs. In the night, when you arrive at nine o'clock here till 4 in the morning, it's full of people, at 8 o'clock in the morning nobody is there. So, people that are living in Testaccio are not going there in the night, they are not going there in the morning.
- *You mean that this place, this area, is more used by the people from the outside?*
- That's for sure. Because there is a possibility for parking, which is absolutely fundamental in Rome.
- *CAE, the markets and the events that you make, are the locals also taking part in those?*

- In general, people are coming, but we don't have many contacts. We should have done a very accurate work, to get in touch, make people do things inside. This is one of our mistakes, because we were too much engaged with the organizations... I have a list of seventeen mistakes; two of these are not having contacts with the locals, and no contacts with other municipalities.
- *What do you think about the industrial architecture, is it contributing in any ways in terms of providing interest for the people to come here?*
- I would say no, because this wasn't just a place of industry, it was a very negative place where the animals were killed, so this was the negative part of the markets. So there is no connection. Connection is the place itself, the structure that is able to be transformed into different uses, and these are marvelous things. So you can respect the structure, accurately renovating it, and you can use it anew. In the Pelanda they left all the elements. This is marvelous, because this place is huge, you can do a number of activities... you can do whatever you want, and we did it. So there are spaces that can be utilized in a multiple ways, and activities, if you have the means and the possibilities to organize them.
- *So, what do you think will happen in the future?*
- We don't have any idea. We are waiting day by day, and I can tell you something: we are making all the documents, we have a number of people signing them, in the meantime we are organizing a number of meetings with people in Rome to discuss what could be the perspective of the solidarity economy in Rome. Like a plan B.

Interview with Costanza Paissan – MACRO, from 12.11.2010

- *How Macro museum was established in Mattatoio?*
- It was a decision of the municipality of Rome that decided to re-use the spaces of the slaughterhouse that weren't in use anymore. This transformation began in the end of the 90s and there was a renovation of the site and the municipality decided to give these spaces to different cultural actors of the city. Macro is not the only present institution in Mattatoio, because there is the faculty of architecture from Roma Tre university, there is CAE, there is an organic market selling fruits and vegetables during the weekends, so the idea of the municipality was to create another identity for that space, of which Macro is one part. The transformation began from the buildings which were called 9A and 9B which are pavilions at the right and left hand side at the entrance, and then this year there was the addition of La

Pleanda, which was another part of the slaughterhouse, for the pigs, which is now part of the Macro.

- *How would you characterize the area prior the establishment of Macro? I have talked to some people that mentioned the presence of the negative image connected with its being the place of death...*
- It's really a big area which was an economic area of the city. When the slaughterhouse was moved to another area in the city, this was an abandoned space, and abandoned space with a strong identity, and I think that the choices of the architects who renovated this area was to maintain its identity, so when you go to Mattatoio you can see the hooks, you can see the cages in the external areas, they tried to give a new meaning to this space, to give a positive meaning of the creation versus the death that was before.
- *Was there any difficulty in the beginning, when you started the exhibitions there, in terms of attracting people?*
- No, because the identity of the museum is really linked to young people, to people who doesn't have the memory of that place, because the slaughterhouse it's really an old use for that space, so the museum could also count on the fact that the neighborhood of Testaccio is a young space with bars and university, and the creation of the museum was a new thing that attracted a lot of people.
- *I also noticed that the timetable, the opening hours from 4 pm to 12 pm fits, goes together with the nightlife...*
- Exactly, it was a precise choice because this is a neighborhood which is lived during the night, so the museum goes in this direction, while here (the other Macro museum) we are open from 9 am to 7 pm, there we decided to open only in the afternoon to attract people. For example, you go out for dinner there and then go to the museum.
- *Is there any interaction with the other actors that are situated in Mattatoio?*
- Yes, there is an interaction with the university, we have invited students to participate in our activities, we asked the university to use the other pavilions to organize some events, there is also the music school of Testaccio which sometimes organizes concerts in the external areas etc., so there is really an interaction with the actors.
- *Would you say that it is more people from outside who are involved in the new Mattatoio, rather than the locals?*
- No, for example in 2009 there was an event that was organized in the external areas of Testaccio, so the people from the neighborhood could go there and garden, and grow their vegetables, so there is a connection.

- *How the decision to adapt culture in this area was made?*
- It was a period where the municipality tried to push the idea of Rome not just a historical city with the monuments and the Roman ruins etc., but to create a contemporary identity of the city. So the idea to create a contemporary art museum there was linked to this political and cultural decision.
- *It seems like a global trend to adopt culture...*
- I think in Europe in general there are many examples of that. I also did a PhD on a building in Rome, Pastificio Cerere, it's an old industry of pasta, and it's in San Lorenzo neighborhood, another popular neighborhood in Rome, from the 70s gallerists and artists started to occupy these spaces and create a very important cultural reality in Rome, which is active until today.
- *Could it be said that the main attractor for such spaces is the space itself?*
- Yes, it's a hint of the era. You have to put things into space, and then it begins to attract people.
- *Because the building has a very strong industrial image, is there any contribution to Macro – the eclectic mixture of contemporary art and industrial appearance?*
- Yes, for example artists are really impressed by the space. We tried to organize exhibitions where artists could react to the identity of the space and create new works in the pavilions. There is a good communication between the architecture and the activities.
- *Do you think visitors are interested in this mixture in particular?*
- Of course, it's the difference between a white cube museum and a museum which has a strong identity like Mattatoio. Because people go there also to see the formal slaughterhouse of Rome, to see how it changed and what can happen in this kind of space. So yes, architects are really interested in this space, and photographers, historian etc.
- *I also read that also the fair Road to the Contemporary Art took place in Mattatoio...*
- Yes, a contemporary art fair. Rome decided to have its contemporary art fair so Pelanda and the two pavilions of Macro Testaccio were occupied by the stands of contemporary art galleries that wanted to sell their works.
- *Why exactly these spaces were chosen?*
- For dimensions, for the characteristics of the space which are great pavilions without any division etc. and also because this space belongs to Macro contemporary art museum.
- *What are your future plans in terms of this area?*
- We are trying to create an identity and to organize events there every year that can characterize that space. For example, the contemporary art fair will be organized also in

2011; we will do a photography festival that was there last September. So there will be precise events and moments in the live of that space.

- *Events which are globally important, more internationally oriented?*
- Yes, and also exhibitions, for example we cannot organize there a solo exhibition of one artist, it will be really a challenging thing to do, so it's better to do great group shows. We are also trying to have some exhibitions that can make people travel without moving, so people who are in Rome, can see for example new American artists, we had an exhibition called "New York Minute", which was really the explosion of that space. So we will have also a group show from a very important foundation from Turin, which decided to bring their works and have a show here, so there will be really great events, because we have a lot of space. And in May 2011 the next Road to the Contemporary Art will take place there.
- *Lastly, what is your personal opinion about the place of death becoming a place of art and culture? What is your opinion on this kind of transformation?*
- I think that it's really a strong passage from a past of death and a negative past to a positive past. I don't think a lot about the fact that the animals were killed there when I go there. I think for example about the fact that it was a production space of something that is not culture and now it is a production space linked to culture. So, like all the industrial spaces, there is a different kind of production.

Interview with Eugenio Cipollone – Architect, from 10.11.2010

- One thing that you have to know and maybe to study is also the history of the Mattatoio before this mission. Mattatoio was, when it was built, at the end of the 18th century, one of the big infrastructures that were built for the city as it became the capital of the Italian kingdom.
- *It was Gioachino Erosh, who designed the Mattatoio?*
- Yes. He was city architect – city employee – a very good architect and he planned the slaughterhouse as one of the very modern buildings. At the time that it was achieved, it was considered the most modern and the most well organized slaughterhouse of Europe, and this structure, as you can also see from those books that we can show you, was used with some changes until the end of the 70s, until 1979 if I am correct. And in the urban plan that was functioning at this time –the master plan – it was decided to demolish it completely and to make an urban park, because it was in the central part of the city – within the Roman walls – in the neighborhood that was a former industrial site of the city, even if this city was

never an industrial city. It was more the industrial infrastructure for the users of the city, here in this site we have the Mattatoio, we have the general markets (Mercati Generali), we have the Gasometro, we have the electric power plants and so on; here it was, let's say the industrial site of the city. *(showing a book)*

It was a study that we made with the university about this entire neighborhood, because Mattatoio is only a part of this heritage that is going to be dismissed, or has been already dismissed.

- *Initially I was considering to study also the area of Ostiense, but because I am focusing more on the ...*
- Buildings
- *.. on already seeing some changes, mostly the identity change, the Ostiense site seems still under construction*
- Is still even in dismission! And as you see, even in Mattatoio, if you go there, there is something renewed and something that is still like in the 1979, and in the beginning, I will show you a PPT (Power Point Presentation), and we'll see how it has been developed, we first worked on the Mattatoio at the end of the 90s, between 1999, because the university of Roma Tre signed an agreement with the city for the use of a part of the Mattatoio, but this part of Mattatoio was still to be decided - which one to use. So, they made sort of pilot project, giving the first building to the university, and this building was renewed by me and also by Professor Cellini, which was more the, let's say the administrative way – was the interface between the university and the city – and I made a project and the works, and it was very successful, because within one year from the starting of the operation we were able to bring the students inside of the Mattatoio which was a quite incredibly difficult thing, because, all the area of the Mattatoio was completely fenced until the end of the 1979, until 1999, and it was a sort of a forbidden city for the town, inside there were some camps, parallel powers like the cops that had their motorbikes parked there, they had sort of parking site where they could also have their cars and so on – basically everything that the city didn't know where to put.
- *So you would say that it had a negative image?*
- It was completely for the people that stayed outside and didn't have an idea of what was inside, and for the ones that had the possibility to get in, used it as storage.

Also, you have to separate the two parts of the Mattatoio, because you have Foro Boario, and when Eugenio talks about Mattatoio itself, it's the small part (*buildings*), apart from the market. The market during that years has been used by Vilaggio Globale, by the Nomads, it's

almost empty inside – is a big fence where there is CAE. Actually they have the CAE, but the slaughterhouse was organized – there is a railway here, there was a railway stop and the cows and the beasts were taken by the railway inside the market. Inside the market it was sold and then taken to be slaughtered. The real slaughterhouse is this one (*shows*), but we are used to say that the Mattatoio is the whole complex.

The very first part has been given back to the city, it was during the 80s, the Vilaggio gGobale still has a social center, because it is a historical one, and it's quite important for the history of the Mattatoio.

Then you have a lot of scattered things, there is a center for the older people (Centro Anziani), the music school, the house of peace, the house of Kurds, but all those things happened by occupying, without authorization, and then it was legalized. And in a way, what university did it was more or less the same, because it was empty and disposable.

One of the buildings (*two buildings?*), it is a very nice pavilion, and it was the first one to be renewed.

(Showing the PPT presentation)

- As you see, this is the Mattatoio, and this is Foro Boario, here is the CAE, this is the Macro building and here is La Pelanda building. And this one is the first building of the university. This is an old photograph, the whole complex, where you can see how it was originally, and this is the original plan by Gioachino Erash - the old organization of the complex. He planned also a wine market, which was never achieved. These are the original drawings, and these ones are the original photographs as it was accomplished. Photographs of the situations that you could find there not many years ago. This is the Pelanda before the works for example. One of the important things to know is that the railway system – the transportation of the cattle – was done about 25 years later, but was very well integrated in the original buildings; so, the first step was this pavilion here for the university. It was the parking for the cops working for the city, it was outside, inside it was used without any continuity, for example for theatre performances took place for a couple of days, and then for months nothing else happened.

This building that appears as unitary thing was changed in the 30ies, we studied also the history of the building itself, there were some concrete slaps which are not originals, because the original was made of many pavilions, and they destroyed in the 30ies everything inside for doing this big tunnel pavilion. There is an image of the 30ies with these metal structures that was demolished in the 50ies, and so we reconstructed more or less. The project was very simple, because we had really no money to do anything. So the project to

divide it into 4-5 halls: one main lecture hall, and three big halls to make the projects for the students. And we started with a renovation, we made floor heating the very rough solution which we can say that now way the winning strategy - with less money and not much time to spend you can achieve great results - there was done new pavement, a new light roof (*searching for a word...*), doors that weren't here, were designed for this occasion. The dividing walls we tried to make as transparent as possible to keep this spatial sensation.

We have constructed only this building, you can see the transformation. We did everything, also the furniture, the benches, benches that were produced by Spanish constructor - it was good work made with very few money. And it is still functioning, started as a provisory work, but it's now more than ten years.

1999 we started the project (before the museum started) and we ended in 2000 and we made some further work in 2001, but this photograph was made in the year 2000.

And it was also very well used for other purposes, like small exhibitions of the students, or big exhibitions, concerts made by students. Then Paolo worked with the city management for doing a plan about the use of the Mattatoio. So we did this building here before there was a plan, and we can still say that the big problem of this plan is that all what you see in white is still something that is not decided, so the plan made an intervention about the buildings - which function they had to have, to which institution they were given, for example the yellow ones are for the university of Roma Tre; about the public spaces, which are the most important thing in the complex like this - there was no idea. And still now - ten years after, because this plan was made in 2001 - they are still trying, they are still deciding what is for whom. Still now, clearly you can see this kind of problem- pieces of fences that begin and end without any logic. There is no strong master plan and no leading administration of Mattatoio. There is still several parts, and now what we are doing is giving the last impulse to the university part; we have no idea of why they are now closing the CAE, why instead they are spending some money on Pelanda in Macro and we don't know what future is planned, still we don't know. But the big error, let's say, that was done was that the entire complex is owned by the city - they make conventions with institutions, with the university for the use of 90 years - they rent it for free or for a symbolic amount to the university, to the other institutions, and the other institutions have to do the restoration works of the buildings, but they didn't made a master plan - master idea - of the supply for the energy, for example, for the lighting, so it's all left to the single partners what they are doing there. And if you go for example to the wonderful exhibition about Federico Fellini which is now ongoing in Pelanda, if you go there in the evening, you can see it in a very

impressive, because from where you enter everything is dark, you don't know where to go – the ticket office is in one place, the exhibition is in another, and you don't know where to go. The exhibition is wonderful, I have to say.

- *Is there any interaction among the actors in Mattatoio?*
- At the moment no. The only actor that tries to make interaction is the university, which offers for example the pavilion. Last year it was the Festa dell'architettura, 10 days festival, and they gave spaces to make lectures to the city of Rome – the idea was the cultural re-use. But for example it's clear (shows at the photo), that opening of this crossing would mean something for the two parts of the town.

Actually, this doesn't seem to be the problem, our opinion – the first thing you had to do was to open this and to restore these two pavilions to make two wonderful bars or restaurant and to give a new piazza to the neighborhood, and then you could do all the works that you wanted around, but they started from around, and the center is dead; and then they wonder why the markets here die, so it's quite obvious that you have to make a strategy how to use the space.

- *And the locals? Are they involved?*
- They are not much involved. In Testaccio there is nightlife, and it's completely separated. I think there was one wonderful moment in which all these neighborhood was pulsing of life, it was during the building works here, I had to interrupt, because I had to offer this pavilion to the big young artists biennale that was made in Rome in 2000, and in this moment every pavilion was colonized by young artists that made performances and shows and so on, and in these pavilions food and drinks were organized. If you could freeze the image of this moment, it was the fantastic way of reuse the Mattatoio, because it was fantastic.
- *Why the university decided to take this space?*
- I don't know, this is a question that you could ask Cellini. One answer is because of this building, which is enormous, full of steel structure, and it is impossible to reuse for the university. You have some nasty buildings which are impossible to re-use and this is an urban problem.

This building, with graffiti, is a fridge, completely abandoned, and it is impossible to restore. One thing you also have to know is that Mattatoio was not demolished because there was a law which said that it has to be protected - in a way it was saved, but in another way it was condemned, because the monument surveys in Italy are so conservative that you can't change almost anything, and possibilities to find another use for such building is very difficult. As you can see here, this building here was like this, with a roof, everything, but in

ten years it's crumbled down, because if you don't give new life to the buildings, this is the destiny that they have. And so only starting with one and then with the other one showing that you have to do something more, something different too - to ensure them new life, changes become possible. So this is the part that belongs to the university, and we made also a survey making confrontation between the old plan and the actual plan, to get to know which parts of the buildings are original and which are not, and also the possibility to find the archeological remains under the existing buildings. We classified also the building by typology by what is possible to do- dark ones: the ones that is possible to restore, the red ones are the ones that could be demolished- and all the intermediate possibilities to change them. We made, let's say, a master plan for the university, showing that all the necessities could be hosted in the spaces that we were doing. And then there are ongoing projects, but not in a chronological order (*showing the current projects they work on*), very simple ones where they intermediate floors -to be used by departments. This is the big one which is still a building site (*showing the buildings on the PPT*) – a huge building, another slaughterhouse with big water disposals that has to be transformed into an aula mania, and was developed by another professor. This is another pavilion made by another professor... another slaughterhouse, and this was a project to make it a library and other aulas. And this is a fridge, where we also made proposal to make it an art library, by doing big halls and taking lights inside, but I think now it is almost impossible to save it. It was already difficult to do it ten years ago. There were proposals to do a new building which was refused by the monuments survey. This is the pavilion that I showed you before...

And this was the idea of the master plan for the university part: with the open spaces, with small services for the students, with yards and so on, this is something which is being partially used to define the work we are doing now.

- *So the end result will be like this..?*
- Like this for the university. A parking space here at the front, because we have to do parking even in the center of the town, I don't know why, I think we are the only European city which needs parking inside of the center, and then at the end this one is another pavilion which is on a building site. The project was made by us, and it will be a multiple purpose building, because as you see it here, it is an empty building only with these columns, but once there was a wall between each one of these two beams, and we tried to reconstruct and create multiple purposes by moving walls. So you can have an entire hall divided into different small halls for small lectures and so on, and more or less this was the idea with these movable walls that can give you all the possibility to use the space in different ways.

- *You mentioned that this space was negative ...*
- Which space?
- *Mattatoio...*
- From the beginning, because it was a slaughterhouse, so it was something that was inaccessible to the people.
- *Would you say that now this negative image is completely gone, or you think that the locals in Testaccio are still suspicious regarding the site?*
- No, suspicion for the site not, because, as it was dismissed in the 1979 maybe the people that lived in Testaccio had a bad opinion about the Mattatoio - people who worked there. Now almost everything is changed. Many young people live in Testaccio – it is a neighborhood which has been gentrified. And so, I think people would like to have a place there, where some activities are going on, where there are pedestrian spaces, where there is an urban quality. The problem is – it's still not there, and it is a strange part of the town, because you are closed. You have the river, you have the railway and then you have the mountains – Monte Testaccio, and so it's an enclosure, I mean you have the neighborhood here and no one goes there.

It's impossible to walk around first of all, you arrive here, then you have to stop, you have to go back, then you arrive here and then you stop..., so the only real possibility to have any urban space is here around, because it is very well connected to the one of the most lived sites here. So it was very easy to connect it and to do here a livable place.

It could be beautiful, but it's quite easy to forget about Mattatoio. I mean the city can live without it. Even ourselves, we worked on the Mattatoio until 2004. Then nothing, and then, this year, suddenly, "oh rush-rush, we have to do this project". There is no continuity. And the problem is, that this was a slaughterhouse, here you have the camps or the drunk people, the social center, everything that... the idea is, that if at the right moment, when the building is dismissed, or after it's dismissal, it is decided to re-use the heritage of such a big complex, you need a strong power, which can only be the power of the city council, or someone that decides about the use of the open spaces, more than the buildings, because the buildings, of course you need here a certain percentage of the commercial ones and of cultural ones, because the idea, maybe the error was, that the idea of the previous administration was to do something that was exclusively a cultural site. Everything that had to do with commerce was like a bad word.

- *And why is it, you think, that they decided to use particularly this space for cultural purposes? Do you think a part of it comes from the present-days trendy idea of the usage of industrial sites as cultural “factories”?*
- Maybe also, but this idea is very old, and of course this is a very central area, you have beautiful buildings disposable for various uses. Also it is very difficult to use those buildings for other uses. If you transform it into a shopping mall, you have to do a lot of work, and then it’s maybe not something that a city wants for such a central part. There is not a cultural center in the city of Rome, it was meant for young people. Although Rome is full of culture, but institutional culture, historical heritage...but truly, the idea began in the 80s, to do a cultural center here. It began to be something concrete when the university decided to go in, and the rest was very weak, let’s say, to do the MACRO here was a very weak idea, because at the same time they decided to do the big MACRO in the other part of the town, also there was MAXXI. So the city of Rome has three contemporary art museums, but they don’t have the works to show. They don’t know what to show. The idea here was more to have a site for the production of art, and the Pelanda building was built by the previous administration as the building for the production to be used by the young artists. Then the administration changed, the right parties arrived, and they said that they don’t want the young producers, and so it is a museum now. It is now a place to exhibit, not to produce. But the idea was nice, I mean, the place of the death that becomes the place of cultural production...
- *Yes, I’ve read that the idea was to have city of arts right?*
- Yes, it was an idea, but it was not economically sustainable.
- *So now it’s starting to be more commercially oriented, with the new administration?*
- I think so, because also this intelligent, interesting experiment with the fair market here, was a good idea, but very-very weak also in this case, because first of all it was undecided, and those two parts were absolutely not communicating. You had to enter here (*shows*), and when you enter you get scared first of all, so you don’t get the idea of getting to a wonderful place where you can eat, or buy organic products, rather that it is a place that maybe something bad happens to you. And then also it was not a business project – a sustainable market that has to be sustained by the city.
- *Now they opened a passage from the MACRO site to CAE, isn’t it?*
- Yes, they opened a passage at this point here (*shows*), and it could be very useful unless the timetable of the Pelanda would be arranged with the CAE. Because you always find Pelanda closed when the bar at the CAE is open.

- *I think they are arranging the timetable more with the activities at Monte Testaccio (i.e. nightlife)...*
- Yes, the exhibition here is open until 12am, which is very interesting as an experiment, but imagine if this fair market was here, and not here (*shows*). It was the union between the university and the Pelanda and the MACRO, it was a starting project, and all the interventions we made were without any essential planning. Everyone plans what he likes to do beforehand, so now we are doing this buildings and demolishing this one (*shows*).
To conclude, the weakness of Mattatoio is the weakness of the political power in Rome. I say this because CAE has been made by the extreme left and still is conducted by workers that are from the cooperatives, and now the right power is fighting them, pushing them to close, and in a way it's crazy.
- *So they are pushing CAE not because of the idea behind this project, but because it was coordinated by the left parties?*
- Yes, and because there is a place here that could be used, and it's easier to use this, instead of starting to renovate a new place, simply to take one of them. Also they (refers to CAE) are stupid, because when you go to the bar and you ask for Cola they consider you a fascist, just because you are asking a Cola, so these are two extremes. So there is not a unitary idea.
- *So now, if you take the public from outside and ask them about Mattatoio, what do you think, what kind of associations do they have?*
- There are people who work in art and architecture, they say that this is a wonderful place, because it's half derelict and there is an eclectic edge to it. But for example a friend of us from Milan went there to the bar (CAE), and was saying "what kind of place is this?" (*negative tone*). I mean there is not any offer of something alternative, so now the city is really suffering because of such mistakes, because it's been too long that the Mattatoio was inactive. From 1979 you have here only five buildings that have been renovated. This is typical Italian. I think a place like this in a German city would've been completely renovated within two years. It's something really interesting, but it's a program that has a little to do with architecture and urban planning.
When I go to the discussion with the city to approve a project and there are the various departments, everyone says something against. And so you never get an agreement. There is not an idea that we are doing something, we have to do this. There isn't an interest of doing something for the city. This is a big crisis. Now some people are going there (to Mattatoio), because every Sunday morning here they sell fresh groceries.
- *So basically you will go there only knowing?*

- Yes, only knowing. You don't go there to make a stroll, because there is nothing there. If I had the power, I would say, first of all, to take all the dirt away, let's clean up, let's make some lights...
- *Yes, I agree, it's not a very pleasant place to walk there.*
- Yes, absolutely, but it could be a wonderful place. When we were students it was quite funny, I used to go there because there was a small restaurant, and we used to go there because there were some concerts and so on, but since then, now the young people doing the concerts there, they are our age (mid 40s) (*laugh*)!
- *And for the locals?*
- Locals are strange, because it's a kind of popular neighborhood, but they are maybe suffering, because of the gentrification, because at night there is crazy traffic. University takes more people, more students and more traffic.
In a way, if I understand what you are looking for correctly, I think that of course Mattatoio has a bad identity, so they (locals) don't ask this site to be their identity. It was abandoned also because of its identity. I think that the big diversion is that if you had to renew a slaughterhouse in Germany, the main problem is how I can transform a place of death into a place of something else. Here it is less important. It is more, how can I do something here, but not because it was a slaughterhouse, it could be also the king's place.
- *When I asked the people from CAE, why you chose this place in particular, they answered that this place was given to them because of the spaces available to use.*
- But not to understand the potential of a place which is there - it is a real center of Rome, you have this beautiful empty space next to Colosseo, less than a kilometer away - it is incredible!
- *And how the nightlife started in Monte Testaccio?*
- It started during the 80s, with the wine cellars. They were carved into this mountain during the 18th century, there were places to store and sell the wine, and also there where osterias (restaurants) - they took the rests of the meat from the slaughterhouse. When slaughterhouse was dismissed these small osterias slowly went down, because there was nothing more. It was a place where many people worked, and then went to eat and drink here. And then it slowed down, and one after another they turned into places that played loud music, because nobody said anything, so that's how it went... very simple.
- *Globally, the future project is to...*
- Actually the process of the university from the planning point of view is complete. The problem that we have is what happens with the square, with these two buildings (*shows*),

nobody knows exactly. Another interesting thing is that the decision to bring university here must be read as the decision to bring here the most open to the city departments of architecture, art and something like this, because in a way the university in Rome is not an open place, it is an enclosure, a place where you go only to study, so this is a quite strong transformation that happened in the recent years with the birth of Roma Tre. The first university La Sapienza is an enclosure which has real walls, fences like the Mattatoio more or less, or like jails...and Roma Tre is a diffused university, and in a way architecture because of all the love for the art...

The problem is that the city got this heritage – enormous piece of heritage - and didn't had the money to do anything with it, as well as it didn't have the strength to government the process with the private capitals, so they tried to do everything with the public capital. Because if the central government of the city had the power to acknowledge the openness for the mixture between the private and the public capital, but setting the rules themselves – deciding upon the commercial and non-commercial percentage and the actors that can go there.

The main idea is that you have so many buildings, why you can't have also some shops or a gym for example, why not? But until some years ago if you would say shops...shops??? You have plenty of restaurants here, why to do a restaurant there?

CAE and Macro is done by Luciano Cupelloni, also partially the Pelanda. He was referent for the Comune di Roma.

There is not any unity at the complex because there were no rules, no governance. All those buildings were empty pavilions with no lights, no power, no heating, and so everyone was doing its own plans inside of each building. This is the craziest thing. We are finishing the university buildings in a couple of years.

Interview with Francesco Careri – Stalker (Roma Tre), from 03.11.2010

- *In your opinion, what is special about Mattatoio as a place, including Testaccio area?*
- I don't know in which scale to answer (*laughs*).
- *Why were you interested in this area, with the stalker project for example?*
- We arrived there because this was a place – neglected space – an internal boarder of the city. So we arrived because it was neglected, because it was inhabited by several interesting communities like gypsies, there were also people from Senegal at that time, there was the

Villagio Globale, that was different than now, because it was managed by better people than now.

- *And what about now?*
- I don't know, it's been a long time that I haven't been there. There are the new...last time I was there I was with my children, and I had to pass through because the grandmother of the children lives on the other part of the river, and it was closed, so I asked, "hey, please open the door, I have to pass." And they said, "No! You can't pass." I said, "Hey, I have been there for ten years, and I have always passed, what's the problem?" and they were like, "no no, now nobody can pass." And I started to shout, I said that this is the privatization of public space, why don't you go away etc. because it's really a horrible management now, they are really closed, and before it was more open to Testaccio, to the old people - it was more accessible.

So, one of the conditions was that Villagio Globale was doing interesting political activities there, they wanted to open and they accepted that we arrived with the Kurdish project. The idea of the Kurdish arrived completely by chance; because there was Öcalan...you will read about this (*referring to the material he provided me*), but it was the arrival of Öcalan to get the arms and to stop the war, he tried to start peace processes, so once he arrived to Rome there were thousands of Kurdish coming, like I don't know 2000, 5000...it was a fantastic moment, because nobody knew about the Kurdish, nobody. The Kurdish didn't exist as people, Armenians you know that exist, but Kurdish not, because you know...

So, we decided to do something. When Öcalan was taken by the secret service, some 300 Kurdish decided to stay in Rome, they lived under the bridge, in a shanty town here in front of Colloseo, so we've been there, and we saw that they were looking for visibility, because they didn't go to the outskirts, but they stayed in the touristic center of Rome, so we said, "why don't we do a project with them?", to give more visibility to them. We went to the office of Kurdish in Italy, it's a politic organization linked to PKK, and they accepted to do this. We went to Villagio Globale, so we started this, and it was interesting for us, because we are architects that are sort of immaterial architects. For us it was more interesting to represent what was happening there.

- *And who was in the area at that time? Villagio Globale, the music school, was there Macro already?*
- No-no, nothing institutional. Also the music school arrived after, because it was only in Monte Testaccio, but they opened the new space after we arrived. Centro Anziani was there.

Go there, it's fantastic, those communist old women! Also the horses (carrozze turistiche), but you will find our history there.

What we did was, what we also tried to explain in the article of participation, was to build with them what we called *dispositivi relazionali* to not to represent them, but to let them be represented. In a sense, we've helped them to put an imaginary in a way.

- *So the place was chosen because of Villagio Globale, because it was central and abandoned?*
- Yes, because it was possible to squat without so much problems, and because it was central – it was inside the Roman walls – because stalker was born in Testaccio and Gasometro. This has always been our area.
- *How was the area perceived at that time?*
- Like a black hole! (*laughs*) Nobody went inside to see what was there because of the gypsies, because of the blacks... Me too, I have been inside for the first time in the 90s. I was a little bit afraid, because it was really a strange place, like nomads land, like...after I appreciated that. Now, if I encounter a place like that I go there, but I was 20 and it was for me too much.

There is a fantastic movie from Federico Fellini inside the slaughter house choosing the actors, so doing interviews of the people who worked there, when the slaughterhouse was still working. I will send you the link.

For us the place was the garbage of the city, so the place where city put all the that it didn't want to face, so it's like the place where all the neglected problems were, and for us this was the reason, to go and see how does it work, a space like that, how can we work with that.

- *How do you think it is represented nowadays? How can you characterize the transformation?*
- Our idea was that Campo Boario would be transformed in a solidarity part of the city, not only for poor people, but it was important to have a place inside Rome, in a central area, where you could open a place to document for example the very important Newroz, because it's transformed completely into a Kurdish place, you don't think it's Rome. We are in the center of Rome, so a place also where the different communities of Rome, not only those who live in Campo Boario, could do auto representation – fests for Jewish people, Africans etc. I think this was its value, what we have seen as a perspective. Not a marginal area, but also institutional, but that the institutions could open and face the problems in a positive ways. So a place where to face this.
- *Is there any particular memory that is attached to Mattatoio in terms of its past?*
- For me the fact that it was the place of death of the animals has never been a problem. I never "smelled the blood" there (*laughs*). No, this wasn't a problem for me at all. It's more

the life we have seen, it's more the experiences we did, the knowledge, the meeting with the Italian gypsies that were there, the possibility to meet other people there that normally you don't meet.

- *With the new institutions that are there now, what kind of image is projected to the outside?*
- I think now the imaginary that you have, that the city have, is the place that there are people from the left, or fake poor, bourgeois with money that go there to do alternative things *(laughs)*
- *Why exactly to this place then? Do you think it was the industrial heritage trend?*
- No, I think it's because it's a big empty space in Rome. Because of the Villagio Globale that was there since 90s, and it's like you have a marginal look...but I go there no with my children, it's a good place to stay, there is practically nothing, and I am afraid for CAE now, but they didn't go strongly to change the space, they accepted all the imposed rules from the commune di Roma, but you have to force the situation, you have to be courageous. I was speaking with Alfonso – the leader of Villagio Globale at that time, he is now working with the municipality...and Alfonso said about Altra Economia – it's like they arrived when the table was ready and everything was cooked. But we were inside; we were fighting to have a place, a possibility like that. So it's also because Veltroni arrived and he chose his way. I think they gave the place to the people that were friends with Veltroni, so the left parties etc. so now I am not surprised that with the arrival of Alemanno new policies are introduced, to put the right associations.

Ok, now let's defend Campo Boario from Alemanno now...ma vaffanculo! No, it was better to defend from Veltroni and give importance to what was there. I think there is something that I don't like. So, ok, when now we have to defend CAE, we will do, but with not so much enthusiasm *(laughs)*.

- *What about the interaction among the actors that are located there?*
- This is another thing. Pazzesco – a really crazy thing. Macro doesn't speak with the faculty of architecture...
- *Why is that so?*
- Because everyone wants to be the star, to be the first. It's completely stupid. I go to work there every day, because I do my courses in the faculty, and I leave around Gazometro, so I have to pass by. It's a labyrinth – metal fence, and what I wanted to do these days: last week I decided to push the fence of the Macro, because I wanted to pass... it's incredible, those fences inside. This has to be an open space, because it's the city space, if you want to do the city of arts, you have to open the place, because... and so I passed, and I also cut myself

(*laughs*), and the guard said, “hey, what are you doing?”, I said, “look at my hands, if something happens, it’s my responsibility. I am a teacher here and I want to pass.” It’s incredible that you arrive and all spaces are closed. Every small association arrives and takes the space.

It has been named The City of Arts. The city is open. Those fences, it is really something that I can’t accept. What was also important - when we arrived in Campo Boario, there were no fences at all; it was completely open. Now there is the fence of CAE, of Villagio Globale...

- *Now they opened a passage from Macro to CAE...*
- Yes, this is fine, I think, but... (*laughs*) - It’s been ten years, too much!
- *In terms of identity...*
- I think we were the city of other economy, and we were the city of arts, because we have understood what this place was about. It was a place where with art you could give importance to what was happening to those who lived there, so art is not something that arrives and cleans the reality, and then puts an object of art. Art has to invent the reality, to understand it and to represent. So once you have a reality like that, you cannot clean it and do a museum. This is really something which is against my idea of art. And, the CAE: the gypsies are the other economy and they have always been that.

We have written a letter to the mayor, to Veltroni – it’s in the book – saying that you have this fantastic community of gypsies, they are Italians, they have the documents, they did the military service, they go to the schools, to the markets, so really a community of gypsies integrated in the city. So you have this community in the historical center, I think there are no European city with gypsies in the historical city center. So for the mayor to have a community like that has to be reachness, something that you should cherish, but then he arrived and he cleaned the space to give it to CAE. To me, this is not right. I think the other economy is gypsies. I suggested Riccardo (president of CAE), to give them an opportunity to do a gypsy market one a month for example, but to preserve this alterity there, if you want to use the word *altra*. They tried, but they stopped because of the political problem. This is what I said, you have to push. Probably this is something that the city won’t accept, but you have to be courageous.

- *Who is going to CAE, to Mattatoio nowadays?*
- It’s a sort of squat. You have the idea to be in an alternative place, but it’s safe, it’s not dangerous, it’s not squatted. So you can go there with your children, with many people. Every time I am there, I meet many friends, so there are people there, who don’t live in Testaccio, but coming from the entire city.

- *What kind of image would you imagine for Mattatoio in the future?*
- I hope, everything will stay like that. If the city will transform this space now, they will 'plastify' everything it will be completely fake. Now there is Ararat, still there. There are some illegal migrants that sleep here and there, that are not visible, there is this strange imaginary of wasted land that I like (*laughs*), and there is the state of possibility, of potential. I think if they transform everything into a commercial center like they transformed Macro, then it's hard to start a different space, to re-start. What I hope is that the fences fell down, and probably the power has to change. The director of Macro etc. there is a lot of things that didn't work since years. So it's only the change of people that manage all the different ideas of city, of culture of art, of architecture of teaching... because they are not ready to do something interesting, they just continue to occupy other's spaces, but without understanding what kind of spaces are that. I think it is still possible, it is still interesting.

Interview with Roberto Nicoletti – Scuola Popolare di Musica di Testaccio, from 09.11.2010

- *Bacisally I am interested in the history of the establishment if each of the actors. How was the music school established in Mattatoio?*
- The first part of the place we have was the first floor, did you see our places? We have a place which is called maschio, by the entrance under the arch, this place and also the first floor looking at the entrance to the right. It was 1993 I think we started to use it, we cleaned the place and then they give us the first floor, and then the two other big places near the centro anziani, they were for the animals, and then we cleaned this place, we rented this place for our activities from the comuna di Roma. we have contacts because we need places, we have problems with space, so we asked for a new place, and they gave it to us. Initially the music school started at via Galvani 20, it was our original place.
- *In your web site some history was featured...*
- After, we came here in 1991, we had also the place in Mattatoio, and in 2002 we received the other two big rooms and the ground places where the policemen had the office, but because they didn't have much to do, they transferred this office to another place and gave this space to us, the four rooms.
- *Did you request the spaces in Mattatoio?*

- Yes, because we had problems with the space and we left from via Galvani here, then they asked for a new contract for rent, then it was too much and we had to expand our activities in another place.
- *Did you specifically asked for a place in Mattatoio?*
- Yes, because we knew that it wasn't used. In the beginning they gave us the fridge, where they wanted I think to make a library for the architectural department, but we left. The place was too big, and we had to spend too much money to arrange that place, and we agreed with commune to have other places, instead of the fridge, which was impossible for us to arrange.
- *How was the place when you received it?*
- At that time there were not much things to work about, to make our activity ready, so we just cleaned because there was no pavement, so we had to put the roof, etc., the other place we has before was an office, so it was fine, just to arrange the acoustics...but not so much work to do.
- *Who was there already?*
- Centro anziani and I think in the direction of Campo Boario – Centro Sociale, but I don't remember if there was the faculty of architecture already, because the faculty of architecture they took the place the following year, and converted it for their activities.
- *How would you describe the place? Was there any negativity attached?*
- No, I think the architecture if this place is beautiful. It's the first years of 19th century, so I think it is very trendy for the time we are leaving. The next years of the area near the Monte dei Cocci expanded, a lot of places emerged, but until the 80s it was a post-industrial place where they worked with irons, so there was a place where you would put what you don't need and don't want to put elsewhere - a little bit forgotten place.
- *I also heard that people avoided Mattatoio because of it not so pleasant image, and of the people occupying the place earlier.*
- We didn't have any problems with the immigrants...
- *What is in your opinion interesting about Mattatoio as a place?*
- There was a project from the comune di Roma to make la citta delle arti, but unfortunately this project stopped, it's a pity because it's a good place to make something for youth, like in Madrid, Berlin and Paris they have such kind of places... it was a good project, but with the change of the government they stopped the whole project.
- *Why? Also the CAE is having problems because of the political reasons...*
- I don't know why CAE struggles...

We are an association, we pay a rent for the place; we don't have the place for free for making our activities. We are only one association, so maybe for us it's simple. I don't know, you should ask the political parties...we have good relations with the technical part of the comune di Roma till now, but now we are realizing that they stopped with this project and they don't know what to do with this place, maybe they want to save money and don't want to invest into this project...

- *Since the school is partially in Mattatoio, what is changed since 1993 for your activity?*
- People of Rome know more about the Mattatoio, so they come also when we make concerts and some activities...they come inside and find that in Mattatoio you can find cultural events also with the Macro.
- *Do you interact with Macro?*
- Not so much. We want to, but we are different structures, we are a private association. With university when the students occupied the place they asked us to make some events together, or to talk about the reality of Testaccio, so we have normal relations when you live next to each other. So we have to solve some problems, but we don't have any activities together.
- *I was interested, are you interacting with the locals? And how do you involve them with the area?*
- The school is known in the area, since we have this new place from 2002-2003, we make concerts, we make also concerts for children, on Sundays we open this area to Testaccio. In the beginning the activity of the school was a little bit outside. We made something around, with the marching band, in June we make the final concerts of the pupils. Now, this year, we asked the municipality to make some activities, like we did in the past. So I think we will stay in some place and make concerts or events for the people of Testaccio. We are arranging something.
- *Is it possible to say that Mattatoio is a bit associated also with the music school?*
- Its little part, not in general. But they know that we are there, we make activities.
- *About its industrial architecture, how in your opinion it is contributing to the music school?*
- For the big room we have to make something with the walls for the acoustic, but we cannot change much, because it's under protection. So we left all the iron structure. It's good, the only problem is that it's very big and we had to arrange a little bit for the acoustic. In the other rooms also a little bit for the walls we put some stuff, but there was not so much to do, we left the architectural elements the way they were.

I like the building I think it's good for the music school to be in such place, because there are good rooms, very high ceilings, so when we make activities for children it's a good space with light. It's quite, except in the evening when they open all the pubs.

- *What are your future plans?*
- We stopped, because we were promised from the earlier administration to have also the centro anziani, so we want to leave this place where we are talking right now, and to relocate all the music school to Mattatoio, but the time wasn't enough to arrange this move, and so now everything is stopped and we don't have this opportunity because Centro Anziani doesn't want to move now to another place, so I don't know now. But 4-5 years ago we were very close to make this arrangement and change all the places of the school, but now it's stopped because with the new administration everything is stopped, and we cannot do that anymore. But we still have a part in Mattatoio. We have the right side, and Centro Anziani has the left, and then we have two other big rooms, so the centro was in the middle and we wanted with the earlier administration to take also centro anziani, but it's not possible now. We had better relations with the earlier administration, maybe the new administration doesn't have a good opinion about us and they prefer to help other associations, but we have to knock at the door, maybe we'll have surprise, who knows? But anyways there are no rules for this area.
For the places of the commune we, as an association, pay less than if we rent from the private owner.

CASE STUDY 2: MATTATOIO DI TESTACCIO

**Interview with Bertram Schultze – Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei Verwaltungsgesellschaft mbH,
from 28.07.2011**

- *What was the initial motivation for you to buy and invest in Spinnerei?*
- I know Spinnerei for quite a while, because I've been one of the first tenants here as well, so when I moved to Leipzig, I was introduced to the Spinnerei by an artist who was already, that was in 1993-94, so that was actually the time when they were still producing here, but already some alternative tenants were already here, so this parallel thing between bringing down production and at the same time new people moving in, which is actually a great luck that it happened this way in the Spinnerei, and I always was just fascinated by the size and the space that it actually was still kept as a factory, like it was built up a hundred years ago, so it hadn't changed too much – it was still very authentic, and I think that was a fascinating thing for someone coming into the property and working at the property, and then I lost it out of site by doing other things a couple years, and developed another smaller factory nearby – Stelzenhaus, it's very special but not that big - and it was difficult, but financially and economically it was a success, and by the topics happening there as well, so the company I worked for on that project asked me, if I would do the Spinnerei, once they would buy it. Because they had come to the market, because the last production space had been closed and the pre-owner had put it to the real estate market, and so it was more a decision based on the fact that it seemed right to buy this property, comparing the buying price to what you get. So you get almost empty factory which already has some new tenants, which might show the way to where to develop, and you thought actually at that moment that you could deal with the risks that this property would have within it, and it turned out to be that way, specifically said. Actually it was a more economical decision that we took in the beginning, saying, "ok, the price is fine for what we get." And then we didn't have a concept, like a master plan, of what to turn out of it – that was not the case. It was just like - price is fine to what you get, ok. Let's see what happens with it.
- *So basically you just saw potential in the space.*
- Yes. Well, actually this came over the years, that you could really have a feeling for the place. Because it was a really short period of decision making. When we came to the market, I think it was in October 2000 and we bought it I think on the 2nd of January 2001, so it was a very short phase more just based on numbers, which seemed to be good, but in the end it

was about one or two years after that, that we really realized what kind of quality of built structure we had bought. Because I think that was one of the main reasons why Spinnerei works and functions economically the way it works today, is the richness or the everlasting kind of building what they have did here over a hundred years ago, so they have built this mainly the production halls in a very expensive way, so in the aftermath we have to invest very little money to enable new tenants to go here and use these spaces, and because we have to spend little money, we can refinance on the low rents, and the low rents is the basis actually for the young and creative people to have spaces here, so it's very easy. Of course at the same time you attract people who are attracted by the old factory, and if you would start polishing the whole place just to get in lawyers or whatever - have office tenants - then you would have to have other rents as well.

- *The architecture of Spinnerei is protected?*
- Yes, it is. It is heritage. Actually what is interesting here, is that Spinnerei is not heritage in total, so we have single monuments here, and it's not a site heritage. And also there have been buildings here which don't exist anymore, so even some listed buildings have been torn down, and during the history of Spinnerei even we have done that as well (*laughs*). Especially when you start off with the project like this, and when you look at it now you would maybe say, "I shouldn't have done it", but at that time it was the right thing to do, so don't think about it anymore.
- *You didn't have any particular plan when you bought the place?*
- Actually no. we didn't have any particular plan. Still today we don't have a master plan for this project, but I think we have had a vision and an idea. I just think that this is a fascinating complex in itself – just physically – by looking at the buildings and by knowing the fact that we have the living quarter over here, that we have allotments and a recreation area over there and a kindergarten...so you really have all the infrastructure you would need for a whole town actually, so that was from the first moment it was the attraction of bringing in very different tenants into here, and the fascination of the topic of contemporary fine art grew with getting more and more involved in the development here, because half of the tenants who were there were artists actually coming out of that field, so it became more and more the topic, and we also did several trips for example to the US just to really look at the art factories, how they were built up and how they worked, and that was actually where we really saw how you could attract people actually by contemporary art in an old factory, and by other things as well, but the main topic was contemporary art and you could see what you can't do here as well, because in Germany we don't have big tradition of private

money going to the art spaces, like you have it in the US, where people and the companies would like to be on the board or would like to be patrons, we don't really have that here, or we have it very small, so you could clearly see, you won't be able to go on and on for the profit basis like the Americans very often do it, or on a basis of one guy financing it all the time because he is just so in love with the art, so we knew that we had to do a commercial development, I think that's the very unique thing about Spinnerei and even in the worldwide comparison with all the art factories that are working commercially, but, nevertheless offering a huge offer to public to have a look at the contemporary art for free, so that makes it very special. But anyway there were several, but one factory was really outstanding and that was the MASS MoCa where we kind of picked our claim from it. They have from mill to museum, and we made – from cotton to culture.

- *So first it was the artists that were already established at the Spinnerei that gave you the idea of going into that direction and looking for the similar factories?*
- Yes, well actually there was also not very much alternative to go on with the development here on the property. You have to know that when we bought the property the real estate market crashed mainly here in East Germany, and when you went to bank and you said that in east Germany you've got a factory with some artists...they would say fuck off, without giving you any money, and it was very difficult to get finance for anything to do in here, so the topic to work with the artists was – you don't actually need a finance, just little money, maybe to save the roof or whatever, and then you could actually rent out the studios and get in a little money. So that was the topic we had to follow for the first I think three years actually, because before we didn't get in the galleries we didn't have any finance in the property.
- *If the artists weren't here and nobody wouldn't have been using it, how would've you then used the space?*
- I can't tell, because it was so long ago actually (*laughs*), and of course today you estimate things with the experiences you've made over the last years, and at the moment I am developing another factory, bigger than this one down in Nurnberg, one of the first things was to get artists in but this was something I could learn from here.
- *Is this a trend?*
- It's liked to be used as a trend definitely, and I think there are professional developers using artists to make places, and I hope the artists know that they are being used for it, that's a typical story that happens in some very big developments as well. In our case especially in the Spinnerei, in Nurnberg we'll see, artists is a permanent topic and I think will always be –

it's the only way to run the place actually. But it is that way because we don't have too much market pressure in the real estate market in Leipzig, and we don't have it in Nurnberg either, but if you were in a place like London or Paris or New York, then of course you would be under pressure, and the ownership would maybe like to have other margin on their money, compared to what they get out of the program like this one.

- *You've mentioned the combination of commerce and culture, but is there any dominance?*
- Well let's say to the visitor and the outside world there is a clear dominance of art and culture, and because to the most people who hear about Spinnerei, they think it's a pure art factory. Actually we sometimes have the problem in our marketing that people – normal tenants - come up to us and say, "we didn't know that we could even have a space in Spinnerei, because we thought it's only for artists and for the galleries", and that already happens in Nurnberg as well, although we have big tenants there who have got nothing to do with art, and we need them there as well, for example having a call center on 3000 square meters or a computer store on a 3000 square meter or in Spinnerei is not really important to the outside imagination what a Spinnerei is, but it's very important for the economic functioning of the Spinnerei, and because of them I can allow myself to put up another let's say hundred studios here for artists, so it's balance you have to keep. And so you need the big tenants – the very normal tenants – which are not really interested to show up to the outside, they just want to do their business, and then of course you have the topic of art which maybe doesn't pay as much money in comparison, but on the other hand they pay something like an intellectual rent to the place.
- *In your opinion, what is it in this mixture of modern art and industrial architecture?*
- I think you have both, for the first thing for the topic of art production – you have beautiful spaces, you have very good light coming inside because you have huge windows, and then on the other hand, it is a formal production space, so people have been producing here, so really working, and I think this sometimes influences the artist in his work, so maybe he takes the studio more serious as a working space within an old factory, but I think it comes from that, it was just one of the few possibilities to have big studios for little money was in old factories, so that's kind of history that developed in that direction for artists definitely, and on the other hand for the galleries, of course I think there is a very special magic going out from contemporary art in old factory spaces. Just because you know the space has actually been used for something different, and now you have something totally different in it and you can kind of make a very special show compared to showing in a museum where everything is really high end and fine and well done and white cubish or whatever, I think

this has a very special fascination to the visitor and to the curators as well at the same time. They have these spacious spaces which sometimes are huge and have their very own fascination even without art, and then if you put art in them it might be even better, sometimes it's just contaminating the space...

- *(Telling about the memories and at times negative perceptions attached to the factories as places of hard work...)*
- I know these memories which you just formulated but I don't know if these memories really exist by the people who had their social middle point actually in these factories, because we have made our small museum down there, and very often we've got the people coming there who have been workers here during the GDR times, and when they start telling about their memories, you can clearly see that this was just the center of their lives and everything happened around the Spinnerei, and the memories are not really bad, they are just sad actually that they don't have this anymore. So, I think maybe it's an intellectual class, which never worked in a factory, which has this, "oh my god, this has been so hard work and dirty and difficult", of course you must take into consideration the time you are looking at, because around 1900 then of course, or if you're looking around 1960-1970 then it might be something different, and it's always a very-very sad thing when a big factory closes, so nobody's happy about that one, no one, not even the intellectual people are happy about that, so I don't think if this argument of yours works – the bad memory turning into a positive one.
- *What about the closure in the 1990s, and the perception triggered by those events?*
- Well, I don't know, I think especially here in Leipzig by the beginning of the 90s end of the 80s, when the unification took place actually, in Leipzig so many factories were closed, I think about 100.000 people lost their jobs, especially in the West Leipzig around all the industrial places, which certainly wouldn't have been capable of working in a profitable capitalistic world, they wouldn't have been able to be kept up, so maybe you can't really put a proper judgment on the factory of Spinnerei because of this big surrounding where everything crushed at the same moment, but for example in Nurnberg we have AG, which belongs to Electrolux – the Swedish big company - for ten years, and they just decided to close the AG producing factory in Nurnberg which has been there for over a hundred years, just because producing in Poland is much cheaper, so it's something different, and they got really masses of really bad press for that, but this bad press was a huge possibility to start up a new project right after it, because it was just in peoples' minds, they just kept reading about it, and then in the beginning when we started out and we bought the factory,

everyone just said, “listen, you will never be able to recreate something new here, to convert it into a new quarter because you’ve got this really ugly history, which is just sticking at your heels”, and it was just a couple of months ago, but it was actually the other way around, because there was this huge interest to know what happens to the place now, and so it was a very curious and positively orientated journalism, which took off then. I mean they still kept on banging on Electrolux, but on the other hand they kept on keeping the positive media about the place, so it depends how the history was, and I think it depends what you make out of it, you know. If you make something out of it which serves the maybe the confidence which has been out into you in the beginning then it’s ok, if you misuse the confidence then...

- *All the press about Spinnerei’s success helps you to develop the place in Nurnberg?*
- Of course it is. At least for example it was very easy to install artists there, just bang and they were a hundred people there, because of course Nurnberg would love to have a place like Spinnerei.

I think it’s much easier to create and to develop something if people believe in what you’re doing. If you have a positive example like this one, which in the end could be luck as well, you know, because we have been in the luck of the moment, with the success of the New Leipzig School, and all that, of we prove that we could do that in Nurnberg, where you don’t have any famous contemporary painter like Neo Rauch or you don’t have any famous gallery like Eigen+Art, then we maybe would prove that we have a kind of competence in this kind of real estate development, and then maybe one day communities would come up and ask us if we would like to redevelop a factory – that’s what we are heading for actually (*laughs*).

- *If there wasn’t the success of the New Leipzig School, how you would imagine the further development?*
- I think the success of the New Leipzig School, or what people connect to it, is very positive for the development, but it’s negative at the same time, so it’s both, because on the one hand you have topic which has worldwide interest. I think the New Leipzig School is the only brand which is connected to the name of Leipzig, and is worldwide known at least in a certain circle of people who are interested in art for example. On the other hand, the New Leipzig School defines a pretty narrow picture of the contemporary fine art, and we have so many other very good artists who just don’t work on this topic. So actually it’s a problem for some artists especially working in Spinnerei, working in Leipzig, because they just get stuck into you know this cupboard of the figurative, narrative painting, which they definitely don’t do. But I think that’s for a person who takes a little bit closer look at Spinnerei, that they see

that there is actually a huge variety of very interesting artists who even hang in the big museums of the world and they never touch a paintbrush, they just do other things. I think for us it's quite good that there has been this hype, especially in our development phase, because it drew a lot of attention to the place, and people got to know it, and people have to get to know you, if you want to be successful, and maybe tried to install you for many years in the art world, but now the hype is gone away, and even people are talking bad about it or whatever, maybe they are jealous, but now, because you're known, you've got the opportunity to maybe try to put the focus on this actually broad art thing happening here on the international context, which is build up especially by the people running the stipendiary programs here, so it's a lot going on which is very interesting, which makes it a very broad network actually worldwide on the art topic, maybe not as loud as a big article in the New York Times magazine about the New Leipzig School, but which I think for the sustainability of what's happening here is much more interesting at the moment. So it's good that it was there, and it's good that it's gone - the hype.

- *Do you think the eclectic context of industrial architecture and the art and culture is another factor and an attractor for the visitors?*
- Absolutely! Much more than a museum. That definitely is the case.
- *Why?*
- I think there are two aspects to it. Normally, and still today it is like that, if you go to an existing factory, if you don't work there, or if you don't have any special permission, you can't get in, because it's just a closed-up factory, and it's just for the people who work there or who just have to do something in there, if you try to get into BMW factory or a Porsche factory here in Leipzig you will have no chance to get in – so public doesn't get in, so it's an opportunity actually to go into an area which has formally been closed, and I guess you wouldn't have been able as a normal citizen just to walk through a slaughterhouse, let's say, if you weren't working there. So these were all closed areas actually, like gated places, if you were allowed to go in then you go in, but normally the public is not allowed to go in. so that's a opportunity to go in. I don't know if the tourists who come today to Spinnerei still have that feeling, but people coming into AIG at the moment, they definitely have that feeling, because four years ago it's been totally closed, no one was allowed to go in there except for the people who had been working there, so it has this special fascination, that now I can go to that part of the town which formally has been closed from me. That's I think one thing, and then it's this thing that actually it's just I think having art exhibitions in these spaces is just like a media coming into one of these places which have been closed and just

taking it, just using it, just showing, “I am here now, and I use this space”, because it was actually built for something else, but that is gone, and now what do we do with this space?

I will show you, we have exhibition for example, very often it’s not a permanent thing going on with the exhibition thing, very often you have this intermediary use actually of former factory, or former bigger office areas or whatever, and even that is a very nice idea I think. And then, of course you can keep it up permanently, like we keep it up here, I think what is important, and that’s what I love about the Spinnerei, is that you don’t create it into a museum. I think that is a problem of many other art spaces. Well, we have static exhibitions here as well, which stay the same... I mean by the use of it – I know many factories which have been turned into museums, so at 6 o’clock it’s closed, and it’s over – it’s dead. Here it’s not. I think you have this mixture of exhibition spaces, so you are a visitors place, but at the same time much more than being a visitor’s place – we are home to people. Especially we are home to artists, and I think that makes the special atmosphere, that you have both. You have people working and living here, they wouldn’t do that if you have too many visitors – too many visitors would drive them away, because they need their peace to work, but at the same time we have the visitors, which is quite an interesting influence to the artists working here as well. Because most of the visitors are intellectual, cultural people, who are interested in the topic, and not just a broad tourist group going into a zoo or something like that, so that’s a special tourism which we have here, and that’s very good I think.

- *Even when galleries are closed you can still enter here late in the evening?*
- Yes, to walk around.
- *To summarize, which factors would you name as the factors of Spinnerei’s success?*
- I think the first main point is the quality of the building structure coming from history – very professional, very expensively built. Second point is: we are very lucky to have owners who maybe don’t want the last point of interest behind their investment, but on the other hand are fascinated about the topic; this ownership is great for us. It’s the success of the New Leipzig School, was very important especially in the right moment of the development of Spinnerei, and I think the permanent communication and quality management happening around, I mean to the outside world – the marketing – but much more to the inside, so together with the artists, with the galerists, with the other tenants, I think these are important factors. And, just being true to yourself – just do your thing, what you think is right for this place, don’t look too much left and right, so... other people do other things, and that’s ok, we do our thing, and I think that makes us unique, and that’s ok!
- *Would you use this as a formula to apply?*

- I think so, yes. Maybe you would have to be more defined, because Nurnberg is really something which started off on a different basis, you had the experience from this development, and on the other hand you have different building structures there – you have to invest more money, compared to here, it's younger the factory, it's bigger, but I think once you have the experience of running such a big place with so many different tenants, and you've done the development phase as well, so it's not just looking after people – most of them I've brought into here actually, then it should be easy to do another place.

But your question wasn't actually a question, how to make these factory spaces, what are the important things for the factory developments, you asked actually why it happened properly in Spinnerei. But if you want some definition, how does a factory have to be located so it could turn out into something like Spinnerei...

- Yes...
- Then it would be something different. You need a town which has at least 250.000 inhabitants, which has universal structure, so ideally an art university or an art school or maybe design, architecture – something connected to it. You should have a cultural infrastructure, like probably should be some museum for contemporary art, some Kunsthalle, Kunstvereine, whatever... and the factory should be big, so size matters in this type of project I think, so really need it, because with the big size you have the potential of something that can radiate to the outside, and ideally it has a famous history. So if a factory has a well known, famous history – it's the best thing what you can have. For example in Leipzig you can get into a taxi from the airport and say you want to go to Spinnerei, you don't have to tell the road, and people take you here. And in Nurnberg you can go off the airport and say AIG, and they will take you there. So I think it's a good start that people know it, and very often people have a direct connection to these factory sites, so either they have been working there themselves, or they know someone who's been working there, or someone knows someone who knows someone who's been working there, so you always have some connection to it. So ideally, it's a famous factory with a famous history, and then you can easily pick on that one, of course if you choose a stupid name which hasn't got anything to do with the history, because you want to distinguish history, and then it's your own fault. I think it's very important to try to stay linked to the history, to the fact of why this factory has been built, which is quite difficult with a slaughterhouse (*laughs*)!
- (*Talking about the differences in Rome and the influence of the nightlife...then Detroit situation*)

- Sometimes it's too big! Because I think Detroit was so much focused and built up on the car production, if this one dies out that there is nothing really to be influential to start something new. But maybe not every old factory can be converted into something new, and maybe there is no lobby and no interest of any American sponsorship into this area, I don't know, depends...

They have to try and revitalize the whole city, and maybe in the end it will be a big success and lots of people will say, why didn't I take part? But you know, you had this in New York in the eighties, New York was like Detroit today, not because of the production, but they had really big problems, and they had a development philosophy for the city, which we actually had in the beginning here as well, which is called – do something – so they just demolished thousands of flats, because there were so many empty flats there, so they just demolished them without knowing what to do with the space after that, which I actually quite interesting philosophy (*laughs*).

- *Would you say that on the account of these examples now, saying that you can make it work, would you say that it has changed (for example taking the situation with the bank you mentioned earlier)?*
- It has changed, yes. But the whole market is changed again, so it's always you know...if you have a depression in a market of new media, than the banks won't support much the new media for the next five years (*laughs*), and then they will touch upon that again. And it's the same, if we have a depression in the real estate, then the banks won't touch things in the real estate which seem a little bit risky. This is a very a-typical story for a bank anyway, because the problem is that you don't have very much contracts with tenants which run for a certain fixed period, because an artists will never give you a fixed period - he wants to just to have a normal contract, where he could get out within one month and that's it, although he stays for 15 years. It doesn't matter – he doesn't want a 15-year contract
- *The feeling of freedom! (laugh)*
- Right! But that is what the bank estimates. They want stability, and they want to see it in a contract. And so that makes it difficult. But I know the bank that finances us, which is the Sparkasse Leipzig, so actually a local bank institute, which knows how the local market works, they finance the Tappetenwerk as well, which is close by, and they finance it because they have had good experiences here. That's what they told us once, because it's a similar...it's like a small copy of Spinnerei – a smaller factory where they have creative tenants inside.
- *So the experience they've had affects?*

- Right.
- *The last question comes back to the topic of the past: so here you have the small museum dedicated to the history of the place, but other than that are there any influences on the current activities in the Spinnerei? In any ways?*
- Yes, there's a lot. It's due to what you see today from the past, and that's the structure - the structure of the property. The first thing is that already a hundred years ago these factory buildings had to have a constant temperature of 23 degrees – so you would work in the cotton industry properly, and that's why they've built this factory very unique. You have these double glassed windows and they are casted iron, so it doesn't rust if we refurbish it. We just take out old glass, paint the structure and then we put in new glass, so that saves a lot of money, and the building has actually ecological standards which you would have to have today if you put up a new building. So actually that's something which influences us today, and will influence this place the next hundred years, I am sure of that – is the structure. But it's not only that, looking at a single building, it's also looking at the whole site for example they've put up a divided waste water system a hundred years ago, so they had a separate water system for the rain water, and they had a normal waste water system. And when we took over, we had to pay about 30.000 Euros a year just for getting all the rain water into the canalization, and we've just re-done it like it was in the old times, and now we have to pay only a 1000 Euros per year, so these are actually mechanisms from the past, from the history, from the founding time of this property, which serve the working of the place today very well, especially in terms of how much do you have to invest, how high the rents need to be, and at the same time how high are my side-costs like heating, like waste water etc. so, this is a very physical thing that influences us today, and I think then there is of course the atmospheric thing, which influences the people who hang out there in Spinnerei, who work here – they clearly are affected by the place, there is a certain spirit which they feel here.
- *Have you encountered criticism so far?*
- Very little actually.
- *What was the concern?*
- Well sometimes you hear, people say wasn't the cotton production a former important culture as well, and I say, of course, but it's not there anymore. And it's not a thing which is weighing up against another, it's just – it has been a cotton spinning mill, now it's more a cultural factory. So it's just a nice claim, and that's it. It's not putting something worse than the other.

- *Was it the older generation that claimed that?*
- Funny enough I can't think of a moment where we would have a very special criticism to what's happening here. There have been things, articles, where you've thought like...there has been an article which was called "The Golden Ghetto", but that's a stupid young journalist who wants to show up in a maybe overall too positive media world about this place, and on the other hand he was here for one hour, he doesn't know about this place – definitely not. If you want to know about this place, you have to stick around for a weekend or something, and so that's for example the only article where I thought, ok, putting this headline just not looking at it really, just not being aware of what's happening here, and the way it was written, it was the same shit as the headline (*laughs*). But that's the only article which I remember... of course I am never content with any article about the Spinnerei, because it always misses out on some details, but in the end they are all very positive. And actually have you seen the arte movie, which has been on "Kunst gegen Kommerz?", it's a very very very good thing actually!

It's about one hour, and the last ten minutes is about the Spinnerei, and the Spinnerei is the only positive example of how to kind of deal with the culture and commerce at the same time, and not always let them fight one against another. It's a freelance who did it, but they sold it or did it for Arte.

Interview with Uwe-Karsten Günther – Laden für Nichts, from 28.07.2011

- *Meinung bezüglich der umgewidmeten industriellen Fabriken, bzw. die kulturelle Wandelung*
- Das Thema betrifft eigentlich jetzt Bertram Schultze...
- *Und Ihre persönliche Meinung dazu?*
- Hier an dem Beispiel sieht man, dass so was funktionieren kann und so eine alte Fabrik, die bietet eben, wenn dann keine Produktion stattfindet, viel Raum und mehr Möglichkeiten zur... „kreativ“ ist ein blödes Wort...aber zur Umnutzung durch die Räume und dann es ist aber auch intelligent gemacht quasi Kultur anzusiedeln in so einem Gebiet. Hier ist es auch so gestartet, mehr oder weniger als Produktion und dann wurden andere Betreiber hier angesiedelt und das hat, beziehungsweise die Führung, dieses Industriegebietes total entwickelt, bzw. forciert und dadurch eben ist es zu so einer Mischnutzung gekommen, also wo es auch klar wurde, dass das wichtig ist, weil so ein Objekt ökonomisch gar nicht zu realisieren ist

- *Seit wann sind Sie hier?*
- Ich bin der letzte zugeogene Gallerist – 2007. Für mich war das eine ganz praktische Überlegung. Ich hatte vorher einen Raum in der Innenstadt, also als solitärer Ort gegenüber vom Museum.
Es gab eigentlich keine Alternativen, es war jetzt alternativlos – die Spinnerei. Es ist einfach der zentrale Ort, der auch überregionale Beachtung findet, für Kunst in Leipzig. Dazu ist es eben entwickelt, ja, das ist ok.
- *Verbindet man also in der heutigen Zeit Spinnerei mit Kunst und Kultur?*
- Ja, mit Kultur. Also klar verbindet man mit der zeitgenössischen Kunst, das stimmt schon, aber es gibt jetzt verschiedene andere Ansiedlungen, z.B. Jugendtheater, es gibt auch so Atelier Stipendium, das international ausgeschrieben ist usw., also es gibt jetzt nicht nur die kommerziellen Galerien, obwohl diese natürlich sozusagen das Ganze verbreiten und natürlich auch die viele Künstler, die hier ihre Ateliers haben, das sind bestimmt hundert Ateliers in der Richtung.
- *Hat die Industriearchitektur ihren Einfluss auf die Spinnerei?*
- Es ist zumindest insofern interessant, ich meine das ist natürlich auch so ein Zufall, aber klar das ist aufgrund der ganzen Situation jetzt gerade hier im ehemaligen Ostdeutschland, das ist eben so erstmal dem Fakt geschuldet, dass es überhaupt zu dem Leerstand kommt, das ist nun mal Punkt eins, weiß nicht, ob man das jetzt in dieser Form nochmal vorfindet, also... und das hat insofern Einfluss darauf, weil hier schon mal die Zeit eine ganz andere Bedeutung spielt, also es gibt halt gelebte...es gibt so eine Art Historia und es sieht man ja auch – das sind halt die richtigen Bauten noch, da wurde Stein auf Stein gebaut, das ist alles nicht so... heute sind die Dinge einfach zusammengespart, das hier hat so was Ehrwürdiges irgendwie, was Gewachsenes, Zeitloses, das spielt zumindest für mich eine wichtige Rolle und für die Künstler an sich – ich bin jetzt kein Künstler – aber es ist für mich natürlich auch wichtig, dass es die Option – zumindest auch die gedankliche Option – gibt, verschiedene Dinge zu machen – es gibt jetzt nicht so eine klare... es gibt nicht unbedingt viel, was nicht geht... es gibt bestimmt einiges, was nicht geht, aber. Das hier alles ist so ein bisschen marode, man sieht auch die Vergänglichkeit der Zeit...
- *Zieht das auch Besucher an?*
- Das zieht Besucher auch an. Das ist jetzt nicht der wichtigste Punkt, glaube ich, aber es ist schon interessantes Gebiet... das ist schon so, absolut.
- *Was sagen sie zum Aspekt der Vergangenheit? Die frühere Arbeit, die hier gemacht wurde, die Erinnerungen...spielt das eine Rolle?*

- Das glaube ich nicht. Wenn man darüber redet, dann versteht man das schon aber es ist jetzt nicht so, dass es in irgendeiner Weise damit was zu tun hatte.
- *Man wird direkt an die jetzigen Prozesse denken?*
- Ja, ich meine es gibt die Referenzen an den eigentlichen genutzten Raum und das finde ich auch ok – zu sagen welcher Raum war das – aber es ist auch nicht so, dass wenn ich diese materialen Referenzen sehe, denke ich unbedingt... aber die Besucher nehmen das total wahr. Das nehmen die total wahr. Es hat mir ganz oft passiert, wenn jemand drin war (*in seinem Raum*) hat er die Besonderheiten sofort bemerkt.
Wenn ich darüber nachdenke, spielt es eine Rolle, aber das ist jetzt nicht so... das zeichnet aber natürlich auch die Qualität des Umnutzungsraums, dass man quasi gar nicht mehr sich daran bindet und quasi vollkommen Neues entwirft und das ist wirklich eine Qualität.
- *Ist es ein Trend geworden?*
- Nein, das ist nicht so. Künstler suchen sich Orte wo es billig ist und möglichst viel Raum gibt. Das hat sich so entwickelt, da eben die Mieten einfach niedrig sind... es hat sich so ergeben und das ist oft so, wenn man nach Berlin guckt oder nach Leipzig, in den beiden Städten ist es auf alle Fälle so... kennst du Westwerk? Da wird auch viel vermietet, es ist halt so, dass es nach der Wende so viel Leerstand gab in der Industrie.
- *Werden Sie hier noch bleiben?*
- Ich habe jetzt nichts Konkretes vor, aber das ist schon sicher... ich bin jetzt schon 4 Jahre hier und ich war komischerweise überall 5 Jahre. Ich habe das jetzt nicht vor, aber ausschließen werde ich das auch nicht.
Für dieses Gebiet sehe ich das auch so, dass die Galerien nämlich eine dicke Rolle spielen und das einfach so zu ändern...das weiß ich nicht...
- *Die Faktoren, welche die Transformation beeinflusst haben?*
- Eigentlich sind das in vorderster Linie die Künstler, das sind die Pioniere. Galerien waren nun quasi eine weitere Entwicklung des Gedankens.
- *Was, wenn es den Erfolg der Neuen Leipziger Schule nicht gäbe?*
- Das kann ich nicht beantworten. Das ist spekulativ. Ich meine, interessant wäre für mich eher die Frage: Wie entwickelt man das jetzt weiter? Also diese Erfahrung ist halt da, jetzt kann man nicht weg denken und sagen was gewesen wäre, wenn das nicht...
Die Ateliernutzung ist einer der wesentlichen Bestandteile, die Galerien sind nur so... die promoten das nach außen.

Interview with Ute Volz – Halle 14, from 28.07.2011

- *What do you do?*
- I am the managing director of Hall 14. Hall 14 is not for profit art center of Spinnerei which is based in this 20.000 square meter production hall, which is actually the biggest production hall of the whole Spinnerei. This whole area is dedicated to not for profit use, and basically it's conducted or organized by a non-profit association which it's called Hall 14 e. V., which is sort of the German shortage for and association – eingetragene Verein. And we are responsible for slowly developing the art center, for putting up all the different projects that take place here, the development has been going on since 2002, so it's been 9 years, and the core issue are international group exhibitions, which we have three exhibition spaces in the building. One we use ourselves for exhibitions and the other two are used by our partners. We have partners in the space that use these spaces with their own exhibition programs, and they are completely independent.

On the second floor there are two exhibition spaces in Hall 14 that are used by the partners: The Art Academy of Leipzig with one class – class of installation and space, and another was has been used for three years by the Columbus Art Foundation, and their gone now, and now we are searching for a new partner to use his space. Then we have an art education program for children and young adults, we have an art library which you see back here, with 36.000 books and media of contemporary art, which is growing because it is a big sort of donation by an international art fair, who give us all the application materials from commercial galleries to apply for the art fair, and the material is passed through us and we make a public library out of it. In addition we have a fellowship program, new this year, for international artists, which in comparison to LIA, provides the artists with a fellowship of 1000 euros per months and the artists are selected by an independent jury. Then we have a lecture series which takes place once a month, not so regularly right now.

- *About?*
- The core issue is contemporary visual art, and we sort of go into different directions from there. All sort of interdisciplinary directions, as long as contemporary visual art is either the starting point or the end point, you know. So the topic is always connected to visual art.
- *Can it be also visited by the people from outside?*
- Yes.
- *Is the library also used by the 'outsiders'?*

- Yes, it's the whole idea of the not for profit institution, that everything we do is public for everybody who wants to take part. And of course the children' courses and projects are limited to a certain age of the children but it's open to whoever wants to participate.
- *Those who use the library, is it more the people who are connected in some ways to Spinnerei by working or living here, or is it also people who hear about the initiatives?*
- It differs. Of course some of the artists and some of the people who work here take part in some of the events as well, but the most people that come are the people who know Spinnerei as a place where interesting things happen and they know Hall 14 as an interesting place with good exhibitions and so on, and you know, they look out what's next, what's being shown and what's happening and then they come along for the events, for the exhibitions, for the openings, and so on. There also are people now and then, it's of course difficult sometimes to tell, who come for a specific event or a specific topic about which they probably read in a newspaper, sort of discover the Spinnerei and the Hall 14 through this topic, because they've never been here before, and they say, "oh, finally I've come to Spinnerei", you know, "I've always wanted to come", and somehow the exhibition theme, for example, draws them here, so it's quite different settings, and then of course there's this big national and international visiting people who, of course, don't really come for an event on a Thursday afternoon, for example, but come for these gallery weekends, or generally stop by in Leipzig because they're on their way to Berlin and they've heard about Spinnerei and come to visit.
- *Your opinion about such places, in particular the connection of industrial architecture and the culture.*
- First of all, I think that it's a very fascinating combination, I think there's a very high potential in these spaces, because art and culture gives them a certain kind of use that has possibilities, or that they are connected with art and culture or with not for profit uses especially, there are some sort of criteria, or things connected that we could do that a commercial use wouldn't do, or they wouldn't be content with the fact, for example here in Hall 14 we don't have heating in some spaces, and of course we have these huge spaces that are just enormous, and for a commercial use you always would have to you know divide them, you would have to sort of change the windows because they are not isolated enough, and, 'cause we have different windows, maybe you've noticed that the other buildings that were exchanged in 1988-89 and they are really quite bad, so that was actually one of the reasons why Hall 14 has been chosen to be dedicated to the not for profit uses, because it's sort of impossible to heat it normally, efficiently.

- *Hall 14 opened at the same time New Leipzig School was booming?*
 - No, before. It was actually opened at a point...it was a very slow start, Hall 14 had been empty for 10 years, and at some point a Munich art collector, who is also a shareholder in the company of Spinnerei, he came into the company to do something with this site, or support this site, and discovered Hall 14 as a place which would be perfect to show big exhibitions, to you know, make art projects possible that need a lot of space and that nobody else could make possible because they don't have the space, and it actually all started in 2002 in December with a symposium called "How architecture can think socially" , which sort of was the starting point for the development here, and there also is a big publication of the symposium, which was or us a very important sort of starting point, and afterwards in 2003 we started with international group exhibitions on one floor, the whole building was just basically in its rough state, you know, there was no renovation done, no work with the building done, of course there were some temporary exhibitions, walls erected to show the exhibitions, but it was sort of using the building as it was, and it was also reacting to the building as it was. So the big job for the curator was to sort of meet the challenge of how can you make an exhibition with maybe 15 artists in a space that's 4000 square meters big, it's impossible. And actually the first exhibition started in the sort of if you have the big floors, in the middle there is this sort of an area out of stone which you see back there (*shows*), sort of in-between, and it had the ventilation for the humidity of the building and some elevators and things, and these little rooms the exhibition was done, because they were the rooms that were sort of normal sized, and the rest was just too big. So we slowly had to learn how to deal with these sizes, you know, and another thing that was directing or guiding the curator was that exhibition space that was selected for the exhibition was the third floor and the roof was leaking at about 35 different spots, so of course, you couldn't show painting, you couldn't show photography there, because it would all fall of the wall, so basically it directed what way the curator had to go.
- So of course the role of the architecture is a very strong one, it also is a very strong one because it's always present - you don't suddenly hide in a white cube - however, this sort of plane how strong can the architecture be or should be it shows in the three different exhibition spaces very much, as the people who developed the spaces thought about what do we leave as it is, what do we set against, what do we sort of put against it to make a contradiction and also to make it possible to show art, like the Universal Cube, it's the space of the art academy. They put square cubs inside the space of different sizes, in-between the space, they made a new floor and a new ceiling and used a very bright lighting, so it's sort of

a very big contrast to outside, and then for example Columbus art foundation – they decided to renovate the space, and they defined an open space with just some walls, sitting inside of space, so it's a big open space, but you still have areas that are clearly defined, but there are no closed rooms. And the third space is ours, so we basically we moved our exhibition space from the third floor to the ground floor, and on the third floor we had this improvised exhibition architecture, I would say, more like a labyrinth in the end, and now here we have this big sort of square in the space – this room in a room – and it gives us sort of intimacy in the big space in a way, and of course the way of playing inside-outside, using the outside, and the architect actually put these great panels outside, to transport this outside-inside idea even more. So it shows that the way of reacting to the architecture is very diverse, but it has to be a very strong reaction – you can't do just a little bit, because it's just too big.

- *The whole activities kicked-off the process of Spinnerei's transformation?*
- It was one of the factors I would say, but the big boom and the fact that the galleries came was of course due to single people who convinced the gallerists to come. But you have to imagine, when the first exhibitions were done here, at Hall 14, the Spinnerei wasn't a place to just go and look around, you know, but you had to especially come out for the exhibitions, because there was nothing else around, there was no café nothing – the café started in 2003 or 2004 I think, so before the galleries came, so there was a plus - a big step forward - and then things sort of slowly moved on, so for our development it was already important that around 30 artists were there on this site already, and then we came along, and then the café came along, and then the galleries were convinced and then it sort of all took off to this big thing, but funny enough, because we are not for profit, we moved a lot slower than the galleries, the galleries moved in, renovated their paces and started going, and we were still sort of on the hold (*laughs*), so it was actually in 2006 that we started to really do something architecturally with the building, like the universal cube was built in 2006, the visitor center here was the first space that we sort of touched together with an architect, and of course developing this space here meant that you had to suddenly think about everything else – where's the electricity, where's the heating, how's it going to go on with the rest of the building, so that triggered a lot, and then it also triggered sort of this whole acquiring the funding for the roof, for the façade, and now for the third step of the renovation which is actually starting in two weeks, so there will be a lot of change in the next few months.
- *Was there a particular image that Spinnerei had before the whole boom started?*
- Some people probably knew it, some people didn't, some people knew it from, "oh yeah that's this place with a lot of workers", and it was a place with a lot of workers, and a place

where people as pupils or students had to do an internship for a few weeks, sort of working with the workers here, it basically was some formal industrial site, there is some little flowers blooming.

- *Could you trace a change now between what you just described and the present situation? Is it now strongly associated with the art and culture?*
- Yes, Spinnerei is now strongly associated with the art and culture, with hosting very many different things – not for profit and profit, or commercial and non-commercial, with the artists, with the different creative workshops and so on, and the best image probably is that the artists which started in 1993-1994, had this moment where they were asked why they were not going to Berlin, why were they staying in Leipzig, and why were they settling in Spinnerei – it's outside the city, it's far away, and what are you doing here and so on, and they said, well it was a joke back then, that, "well, we're just waiting for Berlin to come here", and of course now Berlin is coming here, because it's an interesting space and of course there is a lot more going on in Berlin galleries altogether, but they can't believe how the things are going here, and all galleries are doing things together, and it's no competition, but it's just being together in one space.

And I think it's really the mixture of uses, of exhibitions and of different things that are offered that makes it so attractive to the people, because everybody can find something and you can just spend time here.

- *Do you think that this combination of architecture and the events and activities here is also something which attracts people?*
- Definitely, I think what's attractive to people beside the actual art that they see is that the Spinnerei is almost left as it was, it's not sort of this high profile posh development you know, that everybody thinks looks like in every other city in the world, but it's sort of a real authentic development, and the other thing is that on the outside it's really left as an industrial site. There is this sort of idea not to put art in public spaces, so on the outside you wouldn't find any artwork, which is a decision to say that outside it should stay the industrial site and in the inside is the art, and that works really well. I mean there is some people who criticize this area around the chimney, where the little trees are, the cinema is actually a part of that place now, but the little trees for some doesn't really fit in, so there is this feeling that Spinnerei has to be careful not to become too nice, and then of course people come into Hall 14 and say, "oh, thank god that there is this space that is still so raw and so rough! Are you sure you want to leave the walls like this?" you know, and then we say, "Yes, this is our nicest room; we have very different rooms as well."

- *Your plans for the future?*
- The whole issue of the fire security, and many things that are connected with that. And then there are some spaces that need to be developed into studios, because they are still empty now, and so it's different things. But the step forward for Hall 14 will be enormous, because it defines all the spaces that are left now, that are still undefined.

Interview with Arne Linde – ASPN, from 28.07.2011

- *Since when are you in Spinnerei?*
- Since 2005, and it happened that most of the other galleries that are here moved from the city center to Spinnerei, and I did not have a gallery at this point, but I was working as a journalist and writing a text about this movement to Spinnerei, and decided together with another gallerist Jochen Hempel from Dogenhaus Galerie, that we would maybe share a space and I started in 2005 in building number 4, where I had a very small space, and I opened the gallery just the same day when all the other galleriests opened their spaces.
- Could you maybe tell a little bit about this movement to Spinnerei that you mentioned?
- For me it's completely the same decision to go to Spinnerei and to open a gallery, because I didn't imagine to have a gallery before, and I was writing a text about all those artists that were very successful at this moment, like Matthias Weischer etc. - the painters that were my age and making lots of money
- *The New Leipzig School?*
- Exactly, and I was writing an article and expecting something like 3 Euros for a line of my article...and thought, it's stupid to do it. When this business so close related to my own job is making so much more money. I was working for artists and galleries earlier, and I was also writing about art and art world in Leipzig and not only Leipzig, so I was very close to what was happening here, and I think I would not have opened a gallery in any other place of the world, I would not just have imagined to do it, or there would be no reason. I just saw everybody moving here, so I thought that this is the right space and the right time to do the same.
- *And you say, they were influenced by the success of the New Leipzig School?*
- Eigen+Art gallery was maybe the biggest gallery in 2002 and 2003, when this all happened, but they had a very small space in Leipzig – it was a flat – so you had to go to the first floor, and it was 100 square meters a small room, so it was obvious that it was too small. They also

had another space in Berlin at this time, and they decided to keep the Berlin space small, and to make the Leipzig space bigger, and, you know, Leipzig is a small town, so everybody is talking to everybody – so every other gallery heard about this project and so everybody decided one of the other two has also to go to the Spinnerei. And for Eigen+Art it was that at this point when they were so successful with this young Leipzig school for painters, they had to make some kind of move, or react on it, so they also had to enlarge the space, because it was also too narrow to show big paintings, so they couldn't get them in, so it was a perfect situation to get in this big building here, and so was for the other galleries.

It was some kind of group movement in the end, one gave the initial power and the others just followed.

- *What do you think were the most important factors that influenced this whole transformation? What kind of image did you have of this place before? What did you know about it?*
- I think you know the history of Spinnerei, that it was used by artists earlier... I also knew some people who were working or even living here. I visited some parties illegally made in some basements, I don't know... somewhere, I cannot remember everything, but it was always some kind of satellite to the city center, so you had to really go there, and I liked it very much. It was really like an island, I liked in a way romantic setting of bricks and stuff. And when it happened that we all moved here, I was very happy that there was no main investor, or main concept for the whole area that everything would look the same and have a complete renovation, so you know from other transformations that one is coming and deciding about everything, so you have very different solutions and we are free to form our spaces as we like, for example sometimes I have a floor like this, and in Eigen+Art you have a very glossy, closed and shiny floor, so you have different approaches – different ways of handling architecture and room and space. This is an aspect that I very much like about especially this area here, I also think that what happened in the last 20 years, also this gentrification processes everywhere in the world, that a lot of people think of this former industrial areas in a very romantic, a very emotional way. They know it from Berlin or Munich and when something like this happens in Leipzig they will also like it. It's a particular expectation.
- *So you think that this way of thinking in respect to such places is already established?*
- I think these places roll! This is for Leipzig it's very new, but in the world things like this happened 20 years ago, so it's not a copy of something else, but it's not completely new.
- *So you would say that industrial setting plays an important role?*

- Yes, it does. And it's also that most existing architecture in the city does not have for example ceiling this high, or rooms these big, so when you for example have a look at Hall 14 or Eigen+Art gallery, spaces like this you do not very often find in cities like Leipzig, so the only possible place is a former industrial area.
- *Do you think this also attracts the visitors? This mixture of the architecture and contemporary art and culture?*
- I would say yes. And it's also that it's a bit away from the city center, so this 'island situation' makes people come here and then leave again and have a feeling that they have seen for example all galleries of Leipzig, compared to for example Cologne or Berlin, where you have to take taxi off the city to see everything. It's here all at one spot, and of course people, a lot of people like this industrial style or setting.
- *So would you say that the present-day association of Spinnerei automatically connects it with the cultural aspect?*
- Yes.
- *What are your future plans?*
- I moved in this space in the end of 2009 and made a contract for five years, with an option to be able to prolong it. I still think that Spinnerei has some potential to be developed. I think that the creative community is still growing; there are still galleries and art projects moving in, so I still see it growing, and I don't think there will be any better space for my gallery to exist. Not in Leipzig and also not in any other city. But on the other hand I know that it can change pretty quickly, everything, so it's not just about Leipzig, but also about the art world. Now in Hong Kong they have a big new art fair, and everybody is talking about Asia, I haven't ever been to Asia, so maybe next year I'll travel there. It's changing so quickly, so you never know. And it can also happen that nobody will be interested in German art in two years anymore and I will become a journalist again and write about Chinese art fairs (*laughs*), you never know...but for now it's very sure that I'll stay here some more years, and I don't think that for a gallery it is possible to think in 20 years intervals, because you have to change your space, you have to change your programs, you have to stay alive and this sometimes makes it necessary to also leave something that's still working but doesn't have the perspectives you need for the moment.

Interview with Anna-Louise Kratzsch – LIA, from 28.07.2011

- *What do you do?*
- We are an international artist and residency program, and we foster international artists and we are about 4 years old. We are based at the Spinnerei and we have around 5 studios and an exhibition space, and artists come here for periods from 3 to 6 months normally, and each artists visiting us gets a studio space fully furnished and care taking, studio visits, and we have a big community here, so we can exchange. We have open studios and stuff like this, and on the othe side we have our big exhibition hall and each artist here participates in a group show.
- *Werkschau?*
- No, that's another thing.
- *Halle 14?*
- Well, it's also another project with a library and they also have a little artist residency just starting and we have open residency everyone can apply to, and how it normally works: the artist applies and then we equip them with funding letters so that they can actually search for funding themselves. Some also come and sponsor themselves, so it depends.
- *So, basically they come, work here, do exhibitions...?*
- Yes, they have 83 square meters big studio here with 5 meter big ceilings so they can do large installations or paintings or whatever they think to do, so there are the studios and the artists live and work in the same place. So when an artist comes here, he gets the keys, he opens the doors, he has his bed and he can start working. And there is bathroom, kitchen facilities, so everything is here.
- *And how did you come to Spinnerei?*
- How did I come to Spinnerei? Ohhh! (*laughs*), that's a long story... I studied art history and cultural studies in Leipzig and shortly before I got a scholarship I started an internship actually at Hall 14 (*in Spinnerei*). So, I started working here from time to time, whenever I had periods open, and I always returned here, and so when the Spinnerei developed or started, around 2003, 2004, and then the space it was very much different, because there were not a lot of signs, and people got lost... you know, it was just the beginning of developing it as an artists' space with galleries, which was new. Before there were just artists' studios here, and it was a little bit like nomadic you know...artists had their spaces, but you would not know where they are, and it was a little bit more intimate. And, when I came here I started actually the first guided tours, I sort of did group meetings and

organized groups and I took them around, and I made little tours, trying to show places to people which they would not normally find themselves.

- *To people from outside, to those who are not artists?*
- People from outside, yes, but also later on I just had for example friendship circles from museums and things like that. So there were different clienteles coming.

So I did that and then shortly before I finished my studies the Spinnerei came to me and said, "We have the galleries, we have studio spaces, but we do not have an international program, so would you be interested?" like, "we would build the infrastructure, but then, you know, you then have to also make it work and you also have to pay for it, but we would be willing to give you space, which you could make work." And so I started 4 years, when I was 27, from scratch, from nothing - no money (*laughs*) – and we started the residency, step by step, trying to find sponsorship, and trying to establish an artist clientele...

- *(...) What attracts you in such (former industrial) places?*
- I have to say, this is really a unique place, because if you look at other factories, for example Kulturbrauerei in Berlin, the danger was to really sort of restore these places and finish them up nicely, and also to have supermarkets and cinemas, but there is no life anymore, and rents go up and things like that. So what's so nice about the Spinnerei is that it has kept its sort of industrial feeling. When you walk up this staircase here, it's the same staircase the workers have been using 125 years, so when you walk around here outside, it's the same cobblestones and things are not perfectly finished...
- *Exactly! That's the point I try to establish, that without a particular visual change, there is a change. So I am trying to trace the factors that assist to this change.*
- I think that the change was really that there are people here from the creative industry, and they see that actually the unperfectional setting here is a benefit, and, what is also very special here, in this place, we have so much space! High rooms, high ceilings, big rooms, and that's something you do not find in many other cities, especially in other countries - you could not afford it, and so the sort of rough industrial setting here gives actually the basis of the creative industry being here. And also, what's so important at this space is that it's not only the art, we have the bike builders etc., we have a good mixture of people who do handcraft, people who do other things who have creative ideas, but they couldn't do it in another place, because it would be strange. And because it's big space, everyone tolerates the other, because, you know, you are not stepping across your way all the time, and I think it's so important to keep this roughness too, you know, and all elevators, and the dust... it belongs to this place, and I think it's important for the creative.

- *And your program also makes it more international here right? I mean, it gives the knowledge about the place to the international communities.*
- Yes, we also do exhibitions abroad, we did a show of LIA artists and artists from the city in New York for example, we could do a show in Paris in a year, and so we also try to catch the sort of creative energy which is here, and try also to bring it outside, and on the other hand also some artists have moved here too, who started here, and they liked the city, so they moved here, or they have found galleries, or they have found an exhibition, or so I have a couple of artists who've returned here, also to LIA, to you know, to continue, because they fell in love with the city and that's pretty much also the idea, to actually establish also core of people.
- *So now it's basically assisting the new imaginary of Spinnerei, in terms of its understanding...*
- Spinning means also having a crazy idea! So this guy here, for example (*points at an artist and laughs*) is very good at that!
- *What kind of role the past played here, when you first came?*
- You know, when I came here everything was empty already, you would walk in the 2000 meter square big halls and would feel the smell, the smell is still here...
I once met a woman, she worked here as a manufacturer – as a worker – and she came to one of our shows, and she was very surprised, you know, about the change, but she wasn't particularly nostalgic about the past, I mean if you think about it, 4000 people lost their jobs... for me it's difficult because when I came here everything was already, you know, empty – tabula rasa – and so we don't think about this too much..I certainly do not, but it's sad too that all the machines are gone too you can't see them anymore, so I think that's also an important point why you can't actually have this nostalgia going on.
- (*I am talking about the differences between the CS, and also am bringing up the example of Centrale Montemartini*)
- The building itself is the narrative part, and people would not come if you would not have all those.
- *So is this something that attracts people?*
- Absolutely! You can see white cube galleries and museums all over the world. That's not the point; the point is to see that here. To see Gründerzeitbau from the 19th century in its way how it was made and how it actually functioned, and see it in the new context of work, but to feel this and to see that, that's really unique.
- *What are your future plans?*

- We are working on international projects with LIA artists and Leipzig artists and in 2012 at 3 museums. What I try it here, is to keep the size, I don't want new space and in itself, in the program you can always change things.

Interview with Michael Ludwig – Guide, from 28.07.2011

- *What kind of tours do you do? What in particular are the visitors interested to see?*
- We do normal tours for visitors who just come here without any registration for an hour. So they come usually on Fridays and Saturdays, every full hour, between 11 am. and 6 pm., and then we also do group tours, where you have to register in advance, and then you can have a two-hour tour, and the maximum group is 20 people, so it's 190 Euro. We give detailed information about history, the concept nowadays, and then we go to the 2-3 galleries, and we try to see some other studios – the porcelain for example.
- *What do the visitors usually ask about?*
- The visitors wonder about how the factory was functioning as a cotton spinning mill – the cotton spinning time. This is the question they ask most – when did it end here with the cotton?
- *So they are mostly interested about the industrial past?*
- I would think so, yes. One third is interested in the art, and two thirds in Spinnerei as a whole – the history, and its being an art center now, and how does it change. This is what they are interested in; usually it's not the art as first. It is, well they come for the galleries, but it's for the Spinnerei.
- *Is this also this mixture between art and culture and the industrial setting?*
- Yes. This is it. It is the mixture people are interested in to see. When they come here they don't know exactly what this is. They know that it's somehow an art center, it was a cotton spinning mill, and they want to see how it works – everything belongs together, and some of them are especially interested in the New Leipzig School and the art from Leipzig, they have heard about it, but mostly people that come on Fridays and Saturdays don't – the normal visitors. The groups, they have more detailed information of what they want to see.
- *What kind of groups?*
- We have statistics how many groups arrive, but we don't keep the record of what type of groups. I think more than 50 percent aren't from Leipzig, I think the majority is from the Western part, you know, people who have time – most of them are older than 50 – so they have time and money, and they are interested in culture. So they come to Leipzig to see

culture, they don't come here to seat at the beach...I don't know...so they come here for the weekend to see the culture in Leipzig and they want to see the culture here.

- *What about the foreigners?*
- We have a lot of foreigners coming, a lot of Dutch people...
- *And they come for?*
- They come for art; they come for Neo Rauch, for the New Leipzig School and to see the paintings.
- *Is it more people who would register in advance coming, or you have more spontaneous people coming?*
- More spontaneous.

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Naira Chilingaryan

