

## ***4. Conclusion***

The aim of this study was to show, how agents of CIs use creative milieus in a context of Creative City to transform Creativity into Cultural Goods and Services. Based on the broad empirical data pool, this investigation contributes to the comprehension of Berlins CIs, including the artists.

The uniqueness of this work comes from the three-pillar methodical approach. The assessments, which lead to hypotheses, are based on interviews. Multilevel secondary statistics substantiate these presumptions. As these statistics do not completely represent the actor-oriented site, I used primary empirical data from different written surveys (around 1,200 cases). The remaining gaps I filled with personal (with representatives of agents of CIs) and expert (representing the organizational and institutional milieu of the region) interviews, based on a semi-standardized questionnaire (of 75 interviews). In this way it was possible, to compensate the strengths and the weaknesses of every methodical approach and to provide a stable empirical basis.

With the combination of primary and secondary statistical data and the drafting of specific features of creative milieus for the Berlin case, this study will help to advance local governments in their economic-political strategies.

With the influence of postmodernism in mind, theorists and professionals try to analyze and ease the attested multiple crises of cities. In doing so, they characterize economies, that rely largely upon the embedding into an urban context and consequently contribute to a restructuring of existing city landscapes. The topography of a city is thereby an expression of its cultural capital, the economy of its symbols. With this term ZUKIN (1995) describes the importance of the cultural influence on production for the international competition among metropolitan areas. Not only the increased importance of the Culture and Entertainment Industries is meant by an increased cultural influence on production, but also cultural influence enclosing

areas of the economy as well. For that reason the content industry will become a key technology. In this context, much attention is given to culture economies.

In order to continue to filter out important elements for this work, the theoretical contextualizing of network and milieu concepts was emphasized, which can be transferred to an urban context in spite of its regional-economic origins. Particularly, the qualities of creative and innovative milieus and the role of the dissemination of knowledge took centre stage. Distinctive features of these creative and innovative milieus are the presence of active milieu contact networks, in which the agents are connected by a close exchange of information and enable the exchange of context-related knowledge, especially, and the given milieu consciousness overall, which guarantees a mental bond. With these compiled specifications, the network structure and network behaviour of the examined group can be qualified and systematically put out in the form, how the respective spatial concentrations are internally organized and what role the exchange of knowledge plays.

In addition I have presented a general description of the geographic features of the Creative Industry in Berlin, Germany, paying special attention to its intra-regional concentrations in agglomeration.

A main focus of this work, besides the theoretical debates, was the empirical findings. The influence on firm settlement in the CI is highly dominated by the concentration of other creatives in preferred districts. This study followed a predominately deductive, actor-oriented approach combining quantitative and qualitative methods: From the construction of a research design, its application with the help of a comparative case-study analysis (Advertising, Music industry and Visual Artists) to the de- and reconstruction of applied theory. It is aimed to conceptualize the complex interrelationship between place, space and the location of cultural and economic businesses in terms of Creative Milieu and its extension to a regional and personal development path.

### **The examined hypothesis**

The figures of intra-regional spatial distribution of Creative Industries in Berlin (refer to map 1 to 7) show a high spatial concentration of firms and agents in the inner-city districts. But not only the concentration is interesting, also the interrelations between the agents and their contribution to creative milieus. Especially firms from advertising and the music industry, sort themselves in space, with those for whom networking is especially important residing in the central districts of Berlin (hypothesis 1).

There exists a spatial and organisational connection to cooperation partners, customers and suppliers. On the basis of temporary limited collaboration on collective projects these are personal contacts and the experiences from previous work is very important to the production and distribution of cultural goods and services as soon as there is a source of inspiration and innovation.

The interview partners confirm the relevance of relations between actors. The relations are stable and a result of friendly terms over the years.

In all case studies a sign of belonging to the image combined with their self-cognition, the option to take part in social, often personal relations to other CIs and the option to contact them to initiate learning processes were the most important features. Consequently in central districts only a minority of cases were there by chance the rest located themselves based on specific preferences and requirements. Beside location factors as strong motivation to move or to remain in these districts, are the value of an option to be a part of networks and the value of option sharing socio-cultural infrastructure. The perceived delimitation of the specific districts are strong and are important for image building and strategy of marketing as self-conception and the belonging to specific cultural (sub-)scenes. Concerning the exchange of knowledge all criteria indicate the importance of creative milieus for the development of network related structures.

As shown in the econometric modelling of different actor groups in the three case studies, firms and agents in CIs tend to operate based on different strategies dependent on their preferred location in the city (chapter 1.2, hypothesis 2). In my approach of qualitative methods I focused in my interviews on the milieu oriented group and peripheral and non-milieu oriented groups represent only a reference factor. To do so, the majority of my almost 75 interview partners of CIs confirm the hypothesis.

The most important considerations for the client for their choice of location are the image as a creative site, the offer of qualified personnel in Creative Fields and the cultural offering and the demographic structure.

The size of firms takes great importance.

More employees in firms give more opportunities for networking (hypothesis 3). Knowledge flows easier over more nodes in a context of formal and informal networking and generates synergy effects from learning processes. As shown in the econometric modelling for advertising (table 3) the number of employees plays a significant role in explaining the networking or in special cases for utilizing different sources of innovation and inspiration.

In Berlin there exist four hotspots of CIs, whereas three of these are also artists' districts. Every hotspot has their own urban milieus including breeding grounds. There not only exists a spatial concentration but also coherence between density of CIs and artists in ZIP-code areas in Berlin (hypothesis 4).

Since small firms and start-ups have stronger affinities to specific milieus to be closer to the pulse of creativity, information and knowledge, the dependence of firms on other agents in CIs is stronger for smaller firms (hypothesis 5). The smaller and more industry specific a firm of CIs, the more is the embedness in the socio-cultural milieu.

The linkage microstructure of agents will be more close meshed outwards, more completed and consequently also the access to tacit knowledge is more difficult.

If the client's market position is strong i.e. their dependence on local or regional socio-cultural networks is not relevant for their economic success, it is possible to overcome the barrier of socio-economic bounding and leave the milieu.

If firms do so, they take along their social and value-chain related relation to the new location.

For the existence of event locations, coffee bars, pubs and clubs as an attractor for firms and agents of CIs there were no significant empirical findings in explaining the different strategies dependent on their firm size. But for the interview partners in all case studies were such places not only in reference to their importance as a place for meeting and exchange of knowledge, but explicit in connection with a value of leisure. The places were also used as self-portrayal behaviour platforms (especially for artists) and as frameworks of cultural reproduction and arenas of socialization (especially for musicians) (hypothesis 6).

This is however a part of quality of life and is reflected in the fact, that the majority of employees of the consulted firms living in the investigation areas themselves. This can be interpreted as a preferred proximity to the 'Scene', but also as the proximity to working place, in order to save time and costs for the approach.

In conclusion I can state, that agents of CIs are aware when searching their living environment in districts, by which they are inspired and where they can build up a sense of belonging to the environment respectively.

To finance adequate working spaces is one of the biggest problems for agents, especially for artists. Without public support some agents don't succeed in working creatively. Public support is consequently more important for context governance for existing, manifested milieus than the focussing of location site policy on only big firms.

The existing free spaces allow the transformation of creative ideas and support the all-round mentioned atmosphere of departure of Berlin.

The utilization of untenanted real property (mainly in inner-city districts) offers working opportunity for agents. This must be seen as an opportunity for Berlin's creatives offering spaces, which often grow from the chaos.

A reasonable re-usage of abandoned property, in particular in the downtown area, presents the opportunity to offer visual artists and other creative, innovative industries work possibilities especially in such locations, where many artists and other creative and innovative industries are already settled and where there exists a strong socio-cultural linkage within existing milieus. Private-public-partnership between agents of the real estate market and the public sector to support CIs and artists are mandatory (hypothesis 7).

To mention this restriction for agents, the decision making about the place are to be flanked by such hard location factors (hypotheses 8). Since this work is also based on projects focusing on policy advice, the hard location factors can be easily manipulated immediately for artists and other agent of CIs.

Almost every firm wants to be sooner or later in the black. Without reflecting factors of production costs like real estate market prices or the labour costs the minimizing cost calculation is standing on shaky ground. Even if in comparison to other metropolises in Berlin there exist extremely low cost of living and factors of production costs, the high supply of qualified human resources and art and cultural products leads to low prices paid for most cultural goods and services. In spite of cost minimizing behaviour of firms, small firms especially are more dependent on restricting costs (hypotheses 9).

In no other investigated CIs were the relationship between firm settlement performance and their embedding in a social environment so significant. In fact in the used social and status indices the aim of the modelling was to prove the importance for attracting music firms (hypotheses 10).

Thus not all explaining variables enter the econometric modelling, as the case may be unknown or only on the administrative level of Berlin's district available, the heterogeneity of represented different actor groups has become clear and points at certain trends of different reasons for settlement in parts of Berlin and corresponding milieus.

In accordance with the results from the questionnaire survey as well as the interviews, I propose that network structures exist for the investigated spatial clusters in Berlin. My empirical evidence strongly suggests that Berlin's different inner-city existing spatial concentrations in the Creative Industry are characterized by organisational relations but interconnected to each other. Thus, the reliance of Berlin's Creative Industries on Creative Milieus is particularly important and essential for artists and small sized firms (especially start-ups).