

***EL RAVAL AND MILE END: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO
CULTURAL QUARTERS IN BARCELONA AND MONTREAL, BETWEEN
URBAN REGENERATION AND CREATIVE CLUSTERS***

by

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Abstract

The present research analyses the dynamics of local development according to the processes of urban and cultural planning in artistic and cultural quarters, particularly those located in Barcelona and Montreal. The research attempts to understand how the process of territorial and urban renewal, based on the culture-led regeneration approach, may concretely transform formerly industrial spaces, an important element in the present context of globalization and competition between territories. Our research addresses a number of pertinent questions in the case studies of Raval in Barcelona and Mile End in Montreal. After the decline of the industrial sectors it is necessary to regenerate and to reconvert these devitalized spaces and marginalized quarters in order to define a new urban identity which organizes the urban space, in this case based on cultural initiatives. To conclude, we have tried to highlight how two districts of similar cities are trying to revitalize themselves and succeed in terms of socio-economic, cultural and territorial development.

Introduction

The present research analyses the dynamics of local development according to the processes of urban and cultural planning in artistic and cultural quarters, particularly those located in Barcelona and Montreal. This study attempts to understand how the process of territorial and urban renewal, based on the culture-led regeneration approach, concretely transforms formally industrial spaces, an important element in the present context of globalization and competition between territories. Our study addresses a number of questions in the case studies of Raval in Barcelona and Mile End in Montreal. First of all, we examine whether policies of territorial and socio-economic regeneration applied to cultural quarters produce a real renewal on a local scale, or if they represent discontinuous projects that forego punctual changes which are not integrated in terms of cultural and socio-economic revitalization. Does the intensive regeneration process represent a multidimensional strategy that takes into account a range of socio-territorial actors at a horizontal-complementary level? Or does it reflect a vertical and hierarchical model of urban planning and management? If the transformation of the city involves an overall regeneration of creative districts, can it contribute to a new definition of a *cultural city and urban identity* based on the ideas of knowledge economy and creative city, which are often put forward now as a source of competitive advantage on the global level? By answering these questions, this comparative study on creative and cultural quarters in Barcelona and Montreal focuses on the main factors of city's regeneration, trying to determine if the cases fit the culture led-regeneration model, our theoretical basis. Our research also encourages the debate on the actions that policy makers and local administrations can take to establish a new policy in order to implement an *integrated strategic-cultural repositioning* of the city, according to a multidimensional and multilayer approach. In other words, the objective of this research is to demonstrate how culture and creativity represent a fundamental axis for the regeneration of cultural quarters of Raval and Mile End. And also it aims at clarifying how these territories are structuring their areas in order to achieve sustainable and economic targets. The present article is structured in three parts and aims at understanding the dynamics of spatial and socio-economic re-organization for cultural and creative quarters in Barcelona and Montreal.

- (I) The first part of this paper will analyze the nature and the definition of cultural and creative quarters; and it will assess their role in enhancing the creative and cultural city in the context of a global competition on these themes.
- (II) The second part will present case studies that examine the relationship between the cultural-creative spheres, systems of knowledge economy, and local economies in the districts of Raval and Mile End. This part pays special attention to the transformation of these quarters, as well as to the roles and relations among different socio-territorial actors who take part in the process of urban and cultural regeneration by fostering *new cultural and diffused centralities*.

- (III) The third part of the research will compare the two case studies. Focusing on the main elements of territorial and cultural development, and the role of actors in their respective contexts, it suggests new urban practices for local renewal strategies.

Evans (2009) suggests a classification of cultural quarters and creative quarters, defining specific features depending on an economic, a social and a cultural framework. The first type is founded on a process of local economic development with a high range of place-making branding, where the zoning and the regeneration, in terms of “culture”, are key elements of orientation. These *cultural quarters* have a high level of historic preservation and conservation; and are identified them as festival and cultural centers in cultural city. The second type of creative quarter is mixed-used, with more diversity and urban design quality in terms of buildings, facilities and landscapes. They have an area of polarization and attractiveness expanded on the city-region and they are based on the knowledge economy. They produce new high-technology services, creative products as well as innovation spillovers. Creativity, design, fashion, architecture and high technology services are fundamental characters of these new areas of the creative city. Evans (2009) suggests these features are not necessarily exclusive of each type of quarter but often cultural and creative characteristics are present in the same creative and cultural clusters which develop a multi-dimensional identity and multi-functional uses. Wynne (1992) identifies the emergence of cultural quarters as geographical spaces that contains the highest concentration of culture, creativity and entertainment in a city or town, in terms of cultural clustering and concentration of networks of actors linked to the cultural field.

We can argue that the *cultural quarters* and *creative quarters* are the product of interactions between urbanization, culture and creativity, especially if we pay attention to the role of networking activities and clustering processes in specific urban areas. We do understand how it is important to define and delimitate the *cultural quarter* for enhancing the networks of actors embedded and clustered in a specific area. Therefore, if we take a look at cities like Barcelona, Paris, London, Turin and Rome, we can assess that the regeneration process, based on cultural quarters, is significant. This regeneration process is supported by an official objective of development, regarding social and economic concentration of actors which are interested in boosting culture and creativity, and their impact within local contexts (Landry, 2000; Santagata, 2002; Roodhouse, 2006). They increase the strategy of regeneration and renewal of complex of buildings and of depressed urban areas, supporting social inclusion and territorial cohesion as the main driving forces of socio-territorial innovation processes (Tremblay, Klein and Fontan, 2009).

This kind of issue means two things: the first one is that the consideration of culture is important and plays a focal role in structuring urban policies and local development. The second one is that every quarter represents a special and characteristic area which has to structure and preserve its *territorial identity*. What is more, we can observe two levels of policy which concern the development of cultural quarters. The first one is based on a global strategy of development and is supported by public implementation processes. The second one is based on a local strategy for implementing and supporting the process of socio-economic regeneration of marginalized quarters; it takes advantage of the characteristics of a specific territory in terms of social life, economic activities and creative performances. To conclude, the aim of this article is to see if culture is a focal attribute of territorial renaissance of Raval and Mile End and to determine to what extent the cultural paradigm is the tool which re-defines the significance of *place* in terms of *identity, territoriality and functionality*.

1. Cultural district, economic change and creativity: an integrated approach for a territorial regeneration

The aim of this research note is to determine whether the culture is a focal attribute of territorial renaissance of Raval and Mile End. The cultural paradigm is a tool which re-defines the significance of *place* in terms of *identity, territoriality and functionality*. A large number of experts have studied creative cities from different perspectives and dimensions, producing debates and new visions regarding this phenomenon. Florida (2002), with his theory on the creative class has conceptualized and has re-elaborated the nature of the creative city, contributing to the debate on this argument with academics and policy makers. Sacco and Tavano Blessi (2005b) suggest an approach of development based on *evolved cultural district models*, in

which the creative perspective highlights the driving forces of relational and organizational spaces linked with local assets and competitive factors of innovation.

Concentration (in terms of proximity and agglomeration process), specialization (in terms of creative and competitive clusters), innovation (in terms of technological services, products, social networks and organizations) are three fundamental elements that foster local growth and competitiveness. Creativity represents and contains a *multilayered process* of accumulation and concentration of skills, forces and energies in the city, offering urban spaces the possibility of a real change of its functions and identity. Scott (2006) mentions that the process of knowledge spillover in cultural and creative cities takes advantage of the geographic proximity of social relations, economic interconnections and infrastructures concentrated in a specific part of the city. Feldman (1994) considers proximity, innovation and knowledge development as a focal point to give a character of local competitor to a specific place or urban area. In addition to this, we can argue, considering this theoretical framework linked to the cultural dimension, that creativity and geographic proximity are two important factors to enhance an overall and radical urban change by a modern city towards a creative and post-modern metropolis (Sassen, 1991). Additionally, a *creative milieu* reinforces the creative sense of the community: the creativity promotes, enhances and boosts creativity, establishing a new paradigm of urbanity (fig. 1).

The approach elaborated by Italian research experience (Becattini, 1991; Santagata, 2002), represents the capability to activate a strategy of renewal and re-launch a territory on the basis of what has been called *evolved cultural district*, a policy and a tool for elaborating and supporting strategies of development in urban and rural regions based on cultural and artistic activities.

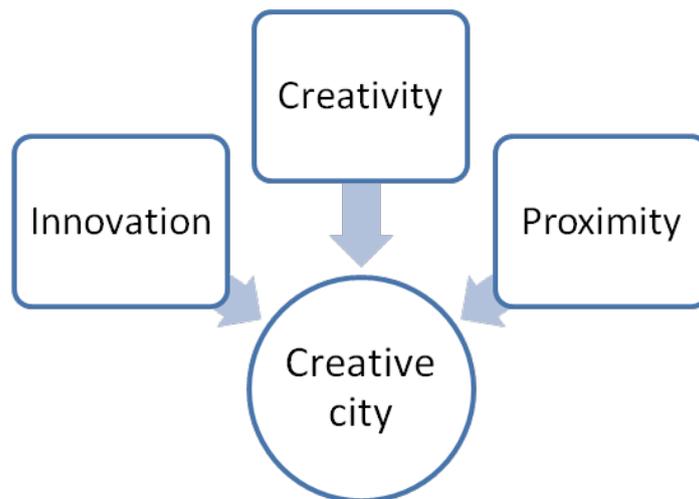


Fig. 1: key factors of emerging creative cities in terms of clustering development process.

The *evolved cultural district approach*, as a strategic tool of development and planning, fosters a model of territorial interactions and socio-creative synergy among plural actors locally based. Moreover, it defines a space of governance where local economies and territorial forces play a role in socio-economic innovations for developing strategies of regeneration. The urban space is the privileged space of interactions where networking forces support and boost common synergies among local players (Becattini, 1991; Santagata, 2002). Therefore, creative and cultural sectors and high-tech industries play a role in developing interactions among locally based actors, clusters and communities, for implementing innovation and for encouraging cohesion processes within the fragmented districts. Thus, creativity and innovation, in terms of *cultural quarters* and *knowledge clustering spaces*, call upon policy makers to re-thinking urban areas and their levels of governance (Glaeser, 1999). According to interactions between knowledge intensive industries and territories, we could argue that the process of urban growth and planning depends on high dynamics of concentration of economic activities and cultural forces based on creative organizational networks (Veltz, 1996; Tremblay, Klein and Fontan, 2009). Therefore, creativity is not the final product but it represents the *driving force* of urban change (Fig. 2). Creativity drives the urban transformation, in some cases but not all of course, and gives the territory the innovation framework needed to foster modern changes elaborated by

local players, social communities and decision makers¹ (Landry, 2000; Scott, 2006; Storper and Scott, 2009; Tremblay and Tremblay, 2010).



Fig. 2: Process of interaction and synergy in creative urban areas.

The creative city, according to the process of cultural clustering development, can transform the urban space into a cultural metropolis by which industrial and traditional quarters represent *local corridors of regeneration*. Cultural and artistic quarters, creative spaces, techno-creative developing clusters, micro-niches areas of creativity and geographically based innovation can be seen as *territorial and strategic catalyzers* of regeneration.

As Markusen (2006 p. 1928) writes, “*the attractive forces for artists are complex and include agglomerations of artist-hiring employers in media, advertising and arts, and entertainment industries, as well as amenities such as lower costs of living, recreational amenities and good environmental areas, and rich and innovative cultural conventions*”. Thus, these quarters which host the artists could encompass all these factors and become cultural neighborhoods for creative people. However, as Florida says (2002) networks of artists, livability and public support are important elements for attracting artists and talented people who generate requalification of old and dismissed spaces and quarters like “El Borne” and “el Raval” in Barcelona or Hoxton-South Shoreditch in London. However, as Markusen indicates, artists are not a magical solution, although they can be part of a culture led regeneration process. It is from this point of view that we wanted to analyze the transformations in two districts in Montreal and Barcelona.

1.1 Method of research

This research was done using an interdisciplinary *systemic approach* that involves geographical and spatial prospective in order to understand the complexity of the urban phenomenon and its multiple dimensions (Bertalanffy, 1971). In particular, the geographical analysis that illuminates this *systemic approach* allows us

¹ To a large extent, policy makers do not have much of a choice but to support revitalization processes when they have negative impacts on the economic vitality of a city, but there always remain choices to be made in terms of which zones and actors to support, which local urban processes to favour, what impact these will have on cohesion, etc.

to understand the urban system in its holistic, global and post-modern dimensions (Harvey, 1990), without neglecting the goals and the main objectives of an analysis that focuses on the city as a *complex dynamic urban milieu* (Vallega, 1995). This article is based on a number of different methods which includes 22 semi-structured interviews and 3 phone interviews as well as a detailed analysis of documentary sources on the two cases. To start, we obtained information from municipal reports, scholarly publications, newspapers articles and studies undertaken by different institutions. Then, in-depth semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with managers (artistic and operative directors), workers and local authorities involved in the governance of the area (public bodies and industry representatives). The *systemic approach* makes it possible to integrate these two sources and to analyze the city as an *open territorial system*, in which a number of actors organize, plan and establish institutional and social relations in the region for spatial organization (Giddens, 1987). The following table indicates the respondents who were interviewed in the course of our research that is people who were chosen for their responsibilities in the revitalization projects of the city, particularly those in Mile End, but also others and the strategy more generally.

N. person	Title	Organization	Place
1	Director	CDEC RESO	Montreal
2	Director	Heritage Montreal	Montreal
3	Project Officer	Montreal City Council	Montreal
4	Political Chef	Project Montreal	Montreal
5	Director	Culture pour Tous	Montreal
6	Director Communication	Culture Montreal	Montreal
7	Project adviser Sector "Culture"	CDEC Plateau-Mont Royal	Montreal
8	President	Clark Agency	Montreal
9	Director Communication	Clark Agency	Montreal
10	Member-Artist	Association P2	Montreal
11	Member-Artist	Association P2	Montreal
12	President	Association RCAAQ	Montreal
13	Director	Articule Agency	Montreal
14	President	TOPO Agency	Montreal
15	Vice-President	TOPO Agency	Montreal
16	Director	Atelier Circulaire Agency	Montreal
17	Businessman	Restaurants and cultural sector	Montreal
18	Director of Communication	Ubisoft	Montreal
19	President	Civil Association "Tot-Raval"	Barcelona
20	Project Manager	FOCIVESA	Barcelona
21	Director	CCCB	Barcelona
22	Director	Art Gallery	Barcelona
23	Project	Arquiteturas	Barcelona

	Development Manager	Colectivas	
24	Professor	UOC (Universitat Obierta de Catalunya)	Barcelona
25	Professor	UAB (Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona)	Barcelona

Table. 1: Interviews.

1.2 Why Barcelona and Montreal?

A few points can support the idea that Barcelona and Montréal are significant creative-cultural cities and interesting to compare for the following reasons:

- i) Barcelona and Montréal are creative cities that are living a process of *functional, economic and social regeneration* based on the knowledge economy (Florida, 2002; Stolarick and Florida, 2006; Tremblay and Tremblay, 2010).
- ii) *Spatial planning and cultural policies* represent the key factors of the cities' functional changes. There is a strategic policy to define the *priorities and the objectives* between culture and urban planning (Sacco, 2006; Pilati and Tremblay, 2008).
- iii) The central and neurlgic areas of first regeneration (Barceloneta, Vila Olimpica, Montjuic, Diagonal, Art District (QDS) and Old Montreal are the pivots of an overall regeneration of the whole degraded industrial areas or creative devitalized areas (Sacco, 2006; Fundacio Kreanta, 2010).
- iv) Their respective metropolitan areas represent a *complex urban territory and diversified spaces of governance* made up of many different economic/creative sectors and socio-territorial actors, oriented towards the regeneration of the urban space. They also redefine new local policies of integrated sustainable development (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000).
- v) The urban changes, in terms of spatial organization, clustering development and economic-creative functions have to support a *global and integrated vision* of development (Porter, 1995). The territorial cohesion is a fundamental element to achieve and consolidate the integration of different parts of both cities (Castells, 2004; Borja, 2010).
- vi) The new emerging polycentrism in Barcelona as "hiper-Catalunya Region" could represent an interesting experience for Montreal's regional organization, polarized around the main cultural poles. It could contribute to *new cultural, technological and creative areas* embedded in cultural quarters.
- vii) Barcelona and Montréal are two cities with a dual cultural vocation. On one side, they are urban poles (*pure node*) that regulate and plan strategies and policy at a local and regional level. On the other, they represent mega-poles (*transversal node*) that act at a trans-regional and international level (Camagni and Gibelli, 2002; Dematteis and Bonavero, 1997).

Culture and creativity are not the goals toward which it extends the action of planning, but they represent the *driven-forces* of the territorial and economic planning process². The definition of "Culture" both in

² The analysis of culture refers to the idea of considering Barcelona and Montréal in their revitalization process:

- (i) Paradigm of reference on which the action of urban planning of the most depressed and degraded areas, both central and peripheral, is built.
- (ii) Fundamental paradigm to redefine the strategic purposes and *urban governance* actions.
- (iii) Main factor on which rebuild the city's identity (Montreal:Metropole Culturelle 2007-2017) (Barcelona: :creative city of Europe).
- (iv) Element of reference to redefine and to rebuild the urban space in terms of creativity, innovation, technology and social coeshion.

Barcelona and Montreal, on our point of view, is closed to the elaboration of *new spaces of urban governance based on cultural development*. An interesting report has been produced by Barcelona City Council and it defines Barcelona as “*Ciutat del Coneixement*” (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000). It highlights that the urban changes of the metropolis and its new cultural identity are based on the knowledge economy. The analysis is very interesting because it takes into account the global strategy developed by the local actors and institutions and it is useful to define a new configuration of the city. Joan Clos, the ancient city councilor, has said about this transformation ““*The knowledge city is the successful and richest city, better interconnected with the global networks. The new city replaces the old industrial chimneys with neurons of the knowledge revolution. The city is an intelligent city, made by ideas and capacities in order to implement and achieve a high quality of life for its citizens. The revolution of knowledge should be regarded as the engine of collective and individual progress, supported by the development of a critical spirit of the population, by the growth of culture and the widespread access to new information networks*”³.

As some authors have observed, the process of governance represents the key element of change, because it defines a common platform/space of regulation (Benko and Lipietz, 1992; Pratt, 2000; Daviet, 2005) that could assess *socio-territorial innovations* linking territorial growth, new social identities and innovative sectors of production (Fontan, Klein, and Tremblay, 2005). Barcelona represents an important metropolis of *knowledge economy* in Europe and it is interesting to see how creativity and culture are main factors of neighborhoods change. Castells (2004) suggests that Barcelona is moving towards a new economic dimension based on “*societat del coneixement*” and “*societat de la informació*” through which every citizen is more connected with the global world. Definitely, Barcelona with its new cultural and creative centralities represents a model of global metropolis supported by local metropolitan cores. Vladimir de Semir, (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000) Director of the Knowledge City Department of Barcelona, affirms that Barcelona is changing into a compact knowledge city. This territorial change is a point of reference within the global network of cities and Barcelona represents an important core in the Mediterranean Region because of its geographical position, quality of life, universities and business atmosphere. Thus, the comparison between Barcelona and Montreal becomes even more relevant if we take into account the cultural and creative features based on urban policies and territorial regeneration. In this sense, the objective of this research is to determine if Raval and Mile End are indeed two dynamic territories as well as laboratories of new urban convergences, which represent new strategic approaches/transformations for defining urban systems based on cultural regeneration.

2. Creative clustering process and cultural quarters: a strategy of regeneration

We should begin the analysis of the cultural quarters setting some general points:

- (i) Defining the meaning of the cultural quarter or district (creative and artistic identity).
- (ii) Analyzing the governance and policy of cultural quarters (Raval and Mile End).
- (iii) Describing the functional and economic organization of these quarters embedded in the city.
- (iv) Considering and observing the cultural quarters as economic spaces of growth as well as territories of democratic participation.

We know how *cultural clusters* can be potential drivers of urban regeneration processes. Therefore, the urban policies adopted by Barcelona and Montréal’s Local Governments, appear to implement their strategies of development and to foster cultural and artistic clusters (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000). In fact, given the decline of the industrial production system and the boosting of tertiary activities, a source of creativity, innovation and qualitative growth in urban contexts has been identified in cultural and creative

³ “*La Ciutat del Coneixement és la ciutat que tenim però millor, més rica, més connectada amb el món. És la ciutat que substitueix les velles xemeneies industrials pels bits i les neurones de la revolució del coneixement. És una ciutat intel·ligent, amb idees i amb capacitat per portar-les a terme, i que es tradueix en una qualitat de vida més alta per als seus ciutadans i ciutadanes...La revolució del coneixement ha de ser entesa com a motor del progrés col·lectiu i individual, amb el desenvolupament de l’esperit crític de la població, l’augment de la cultura i l’accés generalitzat a les noves xarxes de la informació* » (Original Catalan Version) (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000 p. 1) .

industries. Scott (2004) underlines the strategic role of creativity and innovation for developing metropolitan areas as well as the factors of emerging cultural clusters in particular fragmented zones. A first approach has been developed during the last 15 years, on the basis of the process of socio-economic networking and territorial clustering in some European cities such as London, Manchester, Glasgow, Dublin, Rotterdam and Berlin. From this has emerged a definition of cultural quarters as has been formulated by the London Local Government (DCMS, 1998) and then enriched by the Greater London Authority (GLA) and by the Mayor of London:

“Cultural quarters must be developed as a key contributors to London’s creative capital and the development of the broader economy, in order that achieving a better balance between the cultural facilities of inner and outer London can go some way towards reducing the social and economic inequalities between different part of the city” and following “ supporting the development of cultural quarters and promote their role in regeneration, encouraging creative industry developments in the Thames Gateway region” (Greater London Authority, 2004b, p. 142). “Designation, development and management of cultural quarters can help address the need for affordable workspace for creative industries, provide flexible live/work space, encourage clusters of activity and provide a trigger for local regeneration. Cultural and creative activities are something price out of traditional areas. They contribute to wider regeneration and mixed use policies; they should be sustained by the planning system and supported by wider economy and cultural development initiatives” (Greater London Authority, 2004a, p. 139).

Since the early 90's, the cultural regeneration approach has emerged as a strategy for urban and territorial development in many depressed areas and marginal spaces. The cultural dimension has developed its potentials according to a twofold process of (i) marketing planning and (ii) revitalizing urban neighborhoods for boosting abandoned industrial areas. In order to do this, the strategic role of public actors has been fundamental to the planning policy of creative and cultural clusters, both in terms of *financing and supporting the projects*, and for *supervising and management* of territorial development (Scott, 2004). As we know, the cluster within the local production system is seen as a network of territorial entities concentrated that generate and produce positive externalities and external economies in a synergistic action in order to foster innovation and competitiveness (Porter, 1998). Following from this definition, culture and creativity have become the key elements to restructure the urban space according to the logic of the creative and artistic clusters. Therefore, the definition of creative neighborhoods and cultural hubs has become the main framework for elaborating strategies of clustering planning in urban areas, according to the post-fordist paradigm which transforms the industrial district to technologic district (Benko and Lipietz, 1992).

The urban policies adopted by Barcelona and Montreal’s Local Governments are aimed at fostering cultural and artistic clusters based on the revitalization of industrial neighborhoods (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000). In the context of a decline of the industrial production system, a source of creativity, innovation and qualitative growth in urban contexts has been identified in cultural and creative industries. Scott (2006) underlines the strategic role of creativity and innovation for developing metropolitan areas and analyzes the factors of emerging cultural clusters in particular fragmented zones. A first approach has been developed during the last 15 years according to the process of socio-economic networking and territorial clustering in some European cities such as London, Manchester, Glasgow, Dublin, Rotterdam and Berlin. The strategies formulated by local stakeholders are the pivots of regeneration of industrial and depressed quarters, as they consider interests and goals with a participative and multidimensional approach (McCarthy, 2006). They make the difference between *culture-led regeneration* and *cultural regeneration approaches*.

Culture-led regeneration approach requires the use of cultural activity as the principal asset and driver of regeneration, while the cultural regeneration approach involves the integration of cultural activity into a broader strategy of development, where different elements build and plan an integrated process of renewal. The first approach identifies the contemporary strategy to define “cultural quarters” as spatially limited and distinct clustering areas that represent a polarization of cultural facilities and uses. In this case, we can consider a critical mass of actors and identities that form together a specific space-*platform* of territorial complementarities and synergies (Santagata, 2002a). This is the perspective that we have considered for our research on cultural quarters of Barcelona and Montreal. It is very interesting to underline that one of the principal goals of regeneration strategy oriented by the cultural district approach is to encourage and support the synergies between socio-economic actors and local communities, in order to elaborate an *integrated*

outline of complementarities (Sacco and Ferilli, 2006). These new cultural clusters (ex. Raval, El Borne in Barcelona, Mile End and Plateau in Montreal and Pigneto, Testaccio-Ostiense, San Lorenzo in Rome) are embedded in artistic quarters, geographically limited. They polarize cultural activities and creative performances between creative and economic actors, for encouraging and implementing “territorial synergies” (Landry, 2000; Santagata, 2004; Storper and Scott, 2009) (fig. 1). The objective of our research is to clarify how this process of revitalization has been developed, analyzing the role of local actors in the process of governance. We have produced the following study with the support of theories based on new cultural regeneration approaches (Becattini, 1991; Scott, 1997; Mommaas, 2004; Sacco, 2006; Scott 2006; Evans, 2009) and we have taken into account the latest research on cultural clusters and cultural districts with an integrative perspective (Tremblay, Klein and Fontan 2009). Therefore, if we follow these approaches, we could define cultural quarters as:

- (i) *Relational and organizational spaces of participation/debate/practices between local institutions and citizens in terms of cultural development* (Sacco, 2006).
- (ii) *Local districts of innovation and social regeneration based on cultural regeneration* (Sacco and Tavano Blessi, 2005b; Roodhouse, 2006).
- (iii) *Micro-cultural “cities” and artistic quarters with special identity and sense of territoriality.*
- (iv) *A territorial concentration of cultural and artistic activities and facilities based on creativity.*

We could define cultural quarters as a “micro-region” where local communities and developed local factors are linked together by a special “genius loci”, according to a *systemic auto-poietic* and *auto-referential principles* for achieving territorial and cultural goals⁴ (Vallega, 1995; Benko and Lieptiz, 1992).

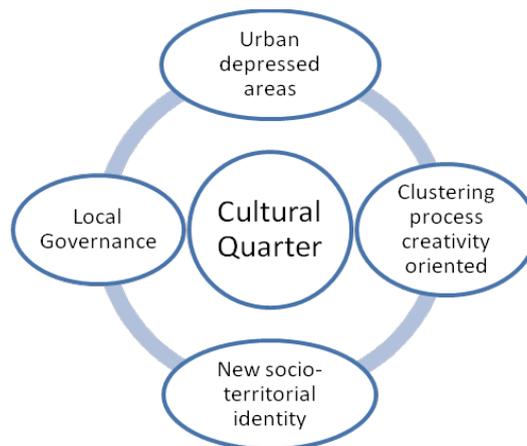


Fig. 3 Factors of development of cultural quarters.

⁴ We can suggest that a *cultural and artistic quarter*, as a space of territorial regeneration, represents a geographical context in which urban policies and cultural goals are linked for achieving an integrated development based on social cohesion and inclusion (empowerment). We have to underline some aspects that use to characterize the identity of the quarter at geographic and anthropological dimension:

- (a) Cultural identity of its groups and communities of residence.
- (b) Historical aspect and memorial identity.
- (c) Cultural life in terms of culture, creativity and art (material and immaterial).
- (d) Economic activities linking to the territorial and urban spaces.
- (e) Territory’s creativity (quarter and local scale) represents a process of innovation
- (f) Innovation is the capability to accept the creation at social and global level and changes the territory.
- (g) Social cohesion and social inclusion.
- (h) The presence of associations, groups, partnerships that define the interests of different communities (multi-ethnic groups) for achieving better life conditions.
- (i) The level of integration among different ethnic groups who live the quarter and build *omotopic and etherotopic spaces of conviviality or conflict* (Vallega, 1995).

3. Barcelona and its creativity: “el barrió” of Raval as an example of cultural quarter.

The case of Raval in Barcelona is very emblematic because it aims to regenerate and renovate a central quarter according to territorial challenges and social changes that involved the local community which has defined as distinctive character of “ravaleja”. El Raval is a neighborhood in the ancient Ciutat Vella District. The neighborhood, especially the part closest to the port, is also informally known as “Barri xinès”, “Barrio chino” meaning “Chinatown.” El Raval is one of the two historical neighborhoods that border the Rambla (the other is the Barri Gòtic). *El Raval* has changed significantly recently, due to its central location, it has become an area of attraction of Barcelona. The Raval today is witnessing an interesting change in terms of population. Many immigrants have chosen *El Raval* as their place to live (47.4% of its population was born abroad), from Pakistanis and Indonesians, to a more recent Eastern European community, especially from Romania. This cultural and territorial identity is the product of social construction and territorial dimension processes (Lefebvre, 1974). However, if we take in consideration Raval and Mile-End in a comparative study, it is important to analyze three factors of socio-spatial organization:

- 1 – How the process of regeneration leads to define a critical mass and artistic atmosphere to a real cultural quarters in terms of clustering organization.
- 2 – Which is the *role of actors* outlining different cultural clusters into the Raval and Mile End.
- 3 – What kind of effects in terms of *spatial and social changes* we can observe regarding art clustering development and art buildings polarization in the two neighborhoods.

Both in Raval and in Mile-End, we can identify a huge concentration of cultural activities and creative capital that encourage the growth of local communities which play a key role for developing local economies and supporting regeneration master plans through spontaneous and institutional strategies. Furthermore, observing these dynamics, it seems that we could formulate a new typology of cultural and creative quarters in which their organizational structures and effects are becoming more multifaceted. In fact local synergies and local economies illustrate “El Raval” and “Mile-End” according to urbanization, regeneration, post-modern identity, social diversity and strong immigration dynamics.

The CCCB Director (interview) affirms “*I think that the most important topic and challenge in the Raval, considering the cultural regeneration as new local framework, is represented by the strong and intensive process of immigration. It is a new immigration that is changing the neighborhood; it represents the new important issue of Raval, for a territorial development, a social identity and a local creativity. We must understand that Barcelona is changing fast and the Raval represents the most important area of transformation in the city....The CCCB is the center of art and creativity of the city’s changes, so we should consider the new territorialization process in the quarter as an important element of research and debate for our productions and experiences. We cannot ignore it.*”

El Raval seems to represent the emergence of a cultural and creative quarter, more structured and diversified in which different actors play a fundamental role of transforming a depressed area into a new cultural cluster (DDAA-Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1997; DDAA-Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2003; Districte de Ciutat Vella, 2003; Subirats and Rius, 2008). Although we observed an intensive clustering concentration in the Raval, it may be interesting to clarify the role of actors in the area and the importance of connections of the cluster (Porter, 1998). Sacco suggests (2006) the concept of “*incremental cultural cluster*” because this approach defines not simply a physical agglomeration of cultural facilities concentrated in Plaça des Angels, but also because it describes the *dynamic processes of development*, according to organizational networking systems bringing together different players (Sacco and Ferilli, 2006, Scott, 2006; Paiola, 2008).

Furthermore, the process of urban regeneration in Barcelona is at mature stage and it defines new dynamics of urban growth and socio-economic development in order to highlight a Catalan multifaceted identity. Barcelona, in its post-Olympic and Olympic transformations (1992-2008), has accepted the challenge and has taken the role of city of creativity (DDAA-Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1999; Dipuacio de Barcelona, 2000; Districte de Ciutat Vella, 2002; DDAA-Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2003; Borja, 2010). In

terms of critical mass, the cultural-creative “boost” continues to deeply change the city, while focusing on potential cultural dimensions, art and architecture, and an unique flexible urban space (Veltz, 1996; Camagni and Maillat, 2006; Gausa, 2009). For this reason, urban regeneration projects have included a strong creative and multi-disciplinary orientation, with the aim of creating, restoring and regenerating new urban areas of excellence, based on local identity and innovation (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2000; Pilati and Tremblay, 2007).

First of all, Barcelona’s model as policy and operational paradigm, has been responsible for re-building and re-designing the space on the basis of *joint public-private partnership* animated by a strong shared strategy (Viard, 1994; Camagni and Maillat 2006; Gausa 2009; Borja 2010). It has given citizens an outline of analysis and evaluation according to an active participation model based on a bottom-up approach which has involved associations, collectives of artists, neighborhood committees, working groups and volunteers. Thus, the role of decision makers in order to plan good governance has been significant, especially according to local institutions which have supported private initiatives (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005). The public actors have played a key role in planning and governing the development processes of urban and cultural planning in Barcelona (DDAA-Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2003; Delgado, 2007; Mascarell, 2008; Fundacion Kreanta, 2010).

The main objective has been to develop innovation and growth through major urban, artistic and architectural projects, with the aim to achieve the development of degraded industrial areas such as El Raval, El Borne, Barceloneta, Vila Olimpica, Diagonal, 22@, Poble Nou. In support of this policy, a large variety of programs, projects and actions have been formulated in order to encourage, increase, and enhance the cultural practices and creative growth. However, a *top-down* policy, formulated and articulated by institutional and public/private actors, has matched collective and associative actions through a bottom-up approach, with civic foundations and collective associations. This *Catalan dimension* of creativity and cultural growth is founded upon art, cultural complexes and museums, which are concentrated in some cultural neighborhoods like El Raval, El Borne and Monjuic.

As an artist director says” *The goal is to transform Barcelona into an international platform-hub of knowledge by which, local and global networks will be able to lead and by-pass knowledge, savoir-faire and innovation. My task, as an expert of art and creation environments, is to create and stimulate networks of locally based creative networks in order to promote art and business in my community and in my neighborhood ..El Raval...where I work.*” It is important to mention that the MACBA and the CCCB (Barcelona Museum of Contemporary Art and the Centre for Contemporary Culture in Barcelona) are examples of the first regeneration of Raval, and they represent deep changes of economic dynamics and socio-cultural features of Ciutat Vella’s district⁵. It is also important to underline that the Special Interior Reform Plans established for Raval, Barceloneta and the Eastern Sector in 1980-1985, were done after the Ciutat Vella Integrated Actions Programme was formulated. In 1986 the Ciutat Vella Integrated Rehabilitation Area (ARI) was created, as the participative consulting body, with representatives from the City Council, the Catalan Government and the Spanish Government, the district associations from the four neighborhoods and the Chamber of Commerce.

As some Catalan scholars write “The existence of the denominated cultural cluster of Raval, around the square of Angels, is one of the features considered in general more positive and successful of the regeneration process of this neighborhood”⁶. Although this cultural cluster has been founded and planned (at first stage) by top-down policies, in order to build the pole MACBA-CCCB (Museu d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona and Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona). These art-centers have become creative incubators and spaces of experimentation. They influence the whole Catalan cultural context (Subirats and Rius, 2008). Raval is the quarter where multi-faceted features of multiple dimensions (social, cultural, territorial, environmental and economic dimensions) define a model of development based on the uniqueness of urban and socio-cultural characters. “El Raval” could be defined as a *district-laboratory*, the so-called *Raval-LAB*.

⁵ Ciutat Vella is the first historic district of Barcelona and it is formed by four quarters: El Raval, La Barceloneta, La Rivera and El Barrio Gotic. The other 9 districts are: Eixample, Sants-Montjuic, Les Corts, Sarria-Sant Gervasi, Gracia, Horta-Guinardo, Nou Barris, Sant Andreu and Sant Marti.

⁶ “L’existència del que s’ha anomenat el cluster cultural del Raval, a l’entorn de la placa dels Àngels, és un dels aspectes considerats generalment més positius i d’èxit del process de reforma i transformació del barri” (Subirats and Rius, 2008, p.97).

Raval is the district in which creative experiences, alternative models of planning and cultural resources, cultural and creative networks are linked as well as addressed to define an urban mosaic of post-modern representations. During our research, we have interviewed a member of an Association called “Arquitecturas Colectivas” which has been working for the Raval District and for the Barcelona Council, restoring the oldest industrial areas like Barceloneta. The interviewee says “*We have to redefine the principles and values of regeneration and urban planning...we cannot think to formulate an integral requalification (talking about Barcelona and Raval) without taking into consideration the active participation of citizens...it is a strategy that is not conform with the reality. The governance as an associative process of management, planning and operation, is the key factor to achieve a qualitative and sustainable development. I used to work for the Council of Barcelona as architect and urban planner, but now I prefer to work with associative fields and support strategies elaborated by local groups and associations. I think that if we want to generate a real urban change, we must involve the citizens and social groups in the process of regeneration in order to increase the creativity and social innovation to restore our places and squares*”.

The action of groups, collectives and associations is strong and cohesive in the Raval. In fact, the civic association Tot-Raval is becoming a fundamental actor of coordinating and planning socio-economic initiatives in order to encourage the development of the district. It combines and links the different identities for achieving community’s targets (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1997; Districte de Ciutat Vella, 2003). This combination of strategic tools and approaches in terms of *top-down and bottom-up strategies* of urban policies represents and symbolizes the relationship between local development processes (Raval) and global dynamics of metropolitan growth (Barcelona) (Subirats and Rius, 2008; Borja, 2003). *Raval-urban laboratory* is the core and the *meeting-networking space*; according to its organizational structure founded upon the multiplicity of identities, by which local instances interface with global networks of post-modern society. It represents a geo-spatial and socio-cultural laboratory of experiments and convergences of cultures and territories.

Some characteristics should be emphasized in order to understand the dynamics of the neighborhood, its history, its evolution and the current socio-territorial practices of organization. First of all, we could highlight:

- (i) Raval is an old neighborhood with a strong religious presence in terms of structures and institutions.
- (ii) Raval has a strong identity among industrial workers, since it has been a working-class neighborhood close to the port, having many factories, abandoned buildings and obsolete industrial complexes.
- (iii) Raval has dynamically lived through progressive functional decline, which came as the result of the de-industrialization process, causing extensive degradation to the social, economic and territorial framework.
- (iv) Raval is a ghetto in the city center, with a history of social and territorial conflicts.
- (v) It occupies a geographical and functional centrality in Barcelona.
- (vi) In the Raval a strong local identity has been developed and it is supported by associations and collectives of various kinds.
- (vii) Raval, as a depressed downtown area, has attracted the attention of local and provincial governments.

Some current changes within the composition of Raval district include:

- (I) A general strategy of urban regeneration.

- (II) A strong economic interest from the real estate actors as well as public-private investment and partnerships such as Focivesa.
- (III) The district has become a laboratory of creativity (District Laboratory).
- (IV) A social and cultural regeneration (infrastructure, training, education, participation).
- (V) The definition of *El Raval* district as a *laboratory* and a meeting place of multi-ethnic groups.
- (VI) A new urban center for culture and creativity in Barcelona.
- (VII) An ongoing process of transforming the neighborhood into a truly *evolved cultural district*, according to the paradigm of the concentration-production diffusion of artistic and cultural products and services in favor of a complex economic and social regeneration.
- (VIII) Raval is witnessing an intense activity of renovation as well as architectural and urban regeneration. The most obvious example is the *Rambla del Raval*. (long pathway in the neighborhood).
- (IX) Raval represents an international platform for creativity in Barcelona.

Considering the main urban transformations that have involved the Raval, it is important to characterize the framework of global change in the district of Ciutat Vella, which is the main area which encompasses the Raval (1988-2005). We could summarize this change in some significant points of requalification:

- Urban renovation has involved some 500 buildings and 4.500 homes, of which 20% were empty. Some 110.000mq of occupied land have been transformed into public space (61%), facilities (15%) and housing (24%).
- Some 3.100 new public subsidies homes have been built, 600 through complete restoration.
- With the grants for private rehabilitation, 3.109 buildings have been improved, accounting for around 53% of the private buildings in Ciutat Vella.
- Public investment in rehabilitation grants amounts to 40 million Euros.
- The public space has been rearranged based on the criteria of opening up more open spaces in the high physical density of Ciutat Vella. Actions such as the opening up of the Rambla del Raval, the George Orwell and Francesc Xirau squares, the continuation of the Maritime Promenade or the prolongation of Avinguda Cambò and the areas of Allada Vermell and Pou de la Figuera are some of the major elements of this policy.
- Renovation of public roads has involved 265 streets in total. Mobility plans have given priority to pedestrians over vehicles in those streets that are not main thoroughfares. Street renovations included modernization of services networks: electricity, water, gas, telephone, lighting and sewage disposal.
- Ciutat Vella has gained a new infrastructure: the pneumatic solid waste collection network. There are 2.420 meters of underground network and two collection centers in Santa Caterina and Raval.
- The Ciutat Vella neighborhoods have been equipped with over 40 new facilities, such as libraries, civic centers, social and personal services centers, schools, nurseries, residences and home for elderly people.
- Three famous municipal food markets in Ciutat Vella have been renovated: Boqueria, Santa Caterina and Barceloneta.
- Major city facilities, such as (MACBA, CCCB) and faculties of the Barcelona, Pompeu Fabra and Ramon Llull universities have been located in the Raval and in the historical centre.

- The investment made by the public administrations, up to the 2005 financial year, in the Ciutat Vella transformation and revitalization process has exceeded 1.300 million euros.

4. The Raval-Lab: the role of actors between planning and renewal as “barrio laboratorio”.

The role of public and private actors in defining and planning processes of development has been fundamental to establish urban cultural policies of regeneration (Mascarell, 2008). It is important to consider the role of four major types of actors that have a strategic participation. These significant actors are: (i) the Municipal Government of Barcelona; (ii) the Local Development Agency Focivesa as actor operating in Ciutat Vella District; (iii) MACBA-CCCB-UB as main cultural and artistic institutions of Raval; (iv) the Foundation Tot-Raval as civil association. The first actor has played an important role to define the strategic objectives of the district as well as the adoption of an integrated rehabilitation program, formulated and established through specific interventions in the Raval, especially in the north part of Raval. The local and regional Institutions (Barcelona City Council, Deputació de Barcelona and the Generalitat of Catalonia) as well as the national and international Institutions (National Government and EU) have supported and financed projects for the maintenance and the upgrade of old buildings, for the demolition of old buildings and for new projects, like the museum complex MACBA-CCCB-UB (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2003). The second actor (Focivesa) was constituted as a public limited company with municipal capital in 1999. The company was created with the aim of overseeing the entire urban infrastructure and building actions planned within the context of the Ciutat Vella transformation and revitalization processes.

The company’s business plan divides its activities into two branches, according to the nature of its capital. (i) The sphere of public service activities which includes management of the operations of the Municipal Actions Program (PAM) which the City Council collaborates with. This dimension includes the economic promotion of actions linked to the strategic targets of the revitalization of Ciutat Vella. Also within the municipal initiative actions, the promotion of private rehabilitation is developed through the Ciutat Vella Housing Office. (ii) The second sphere of action is linked to economic market activities in order to develop and support operations for the acquisition or the selling of land or built-up area, whether in the form of plots, whole building, or homes and commercial spaces, which will be developed with the aims of boosting regeneration of the urban fabric and the economic revitalization of the district. The third groups of actors (MACBA, CCCB, and UB) have played a central role in order to polarize and concentrate artistic life and cultural infrastructures in the Raval. They support the emerging urban centrality of Raval considering the polycentrism which is building the new metropolitan area of Barcelona. The role of these important cultural centers produce structural and spatial regeneration effects and, nowadays, they manage and plan cultural and creative events linked with the territory.

The “Foundation Tot – Raval” as the fourth strategic actor, plays a valuable role because it combines and coordinates different identities of the district and so it has a decisive action of integration of multiple actors. The Foundation is composed of 60 identities (firms, social associations, groups of social workers, individual members, artistic and creative groups) that work and coordinate several projects to achieve an economic and a social growth in Raval. The main objective is to achieve a better quality of life in the neighborhood, according to collective works to upgrade a real local socio-economic development. When we have mentioned the important role of actors, the Director of Tot-Raval Foundation says *“It is very important to identify and meet all the local actors in the quarter, and boost them to participate in the governance process and the strategy of development...we should encourage the process of networking by multi-dimensional perspectives and to involve the largest range of actors. The objective is to foster the plurality and the different features of the quarter and involve the local communities into the regeneration process...we should walk together if we want to achieve our objectives. This is the reason why I said that there are many Ravals in the Raval. We have people who have lived here since 1920-1930. We can meet people who arrive in the area from everywhere and in different periods, incrementing an intensive immigration process. We have arrivals according to the gentrification process that constitute an important social dimension of Raval (artists, actors, students, professor and managers) who are attracted by the quality of life and the artistic atmosphere. It is very important to observe and communicate with all of them, and the Tot-Raval Foundation enhances the communication and the debate to achieve common goal, this is our first priority. In the Raval we have a kind of melting-pot and multicultural atmosphere: we have a kind of co-existence, but it is not still*

a form of integration....so the participation and empowerment of local groups, municipal committees and associations is the most important thing to generate common processes of development (procesos comunitarios de desarrollo cultural)”.

When we asked the director of Tot-Raval Foundation if we could affirm that the Raval is an emerging cultural area, she replied: “*We can consider the Raval as a real cultural quarter formed by two different levels of culture. The first level based on the macro-culture (MACBA, CCCB, and UB)⁷ and the second level composed by small and medium associations, galleries and studios that we must represent and link together to solve problems and conflicts and to stimulate the complementarities...We must boost the territory and its artistic dimensions according to the clustering concept, and also we must highlight the quality of permeability of the neighborhood... We have suggested two initiatives during these last years and I think that it was a real success. (i) We have transformed the most important theatre of Barcelona (Teatro Liceu), located in the Raval, in a experimental stage for local habitants, performing art and training actors. Then (ii) we have organized in collaboration with MACBA an education and training section inside MACBA’s spaces for stimulating manufacturing and artistic pr.ouductions. In this way we have also connected artists and citizens during the events (like Taller Obert)”.* The Raval’s experience represents the transformation of the industrial quarter int Raval-Laboratorio and considering it, not only as a territorial experience but also like a concept for development...we have to appreciate the Raval as a real quarter by which is developing a new sign of innovation and creativity, like a neuron in Barcelona that can expand and reproduce itself”.

We should consider that governance has a multi-dimensional approach because there are various spaces and levels of management and planning. Moreover, the governance has a multiform dimension because there are actors from different sectors and functions. Therefore, it is very significant to define a platform of common practices and a clear trajectory of development (Tremblay, Klein, Fontan, 2009). According to the cultural district approach applied to the field of culture and territory (Sacco, 2006), the Raval could clearly be considered as a model of *evolved cultural district*.

The concept of a cultural district has been elaborated by the classical research on “industrial district” by Marshall’s approach and found later, in the theory and empirical application, an innovative cultural driving strategy for regenerating and developing territories (Becattini, 1991; Santagata 2002; Hutton, 2004; Santagata, 2004; Bagwell, 2008). Furthermore, some scholars have analyzed the cultural district economic approach by the integration with new researches based on socio-territorial innovations (Santagata 2002a; Sacco and Pedrini, 2005; Sacco 2006; Tremblay and Tremblay, 2006; Tremblay and Pilati, 2008). Following these works and combining the approaches, the Raval represents an interesting case of research, regarding the territory as new space of regulation among plural actors involved in the cultural regeneration process⁸.

The Raval’s neighborhood, as *emerging evolved cultural district*, has its core in the clustered system located in Plaça des Angels: a multi-dimensional space, an artistic and creative production centrality of innovation polarized in MACBA-CCCB’s pole. Definitely, the cluster is the center of an urban policy which aims to transform the Raval and its socio-organizational system. The clustering process in the Raval has its main element of experimentation and challenge in the CCCB⁹. It is a unique institution that we can define according to the transformations of its multi-dimensional organization and multi-facet activities. Creativity, urbanization, history and political issues are four fundamental axes of research and debate (Rius and

⁷ Museu d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA); Universitat de Barcelona (UB); Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona (CCCB).

⁸ Regeneration is:

- (I) Urban because it has its skeleton in urban design and architecture of the neighborhood.
- (ii) Economic because it is based on the promotion of local jobs and economic development.
- (iii) Social because it tends to develop an inclusive, democratic and participatory support of the local community.
- (iv) Territorial because it wants to promote and foster the territory as a complex system of actors and opportunities.
- (V) Cultural because the culture and artistic creativity are the main factors of the transformation process.
- (Vi) Identity regeneration because it wants to tie in factors of territorial identity and ethnic factors to build an inclusive and multi-dimensional space, where the elements of endogenous and exogenous co-exist together in the social system of the district.

⁹ The CCCB has been founded in 1994 with a complex private-public strategy aiming to requalify the religious center of “CASA de la CARITAT”. It is very interesting that the local actors and cultural promoters of Barcelona have found their inspiration observing the model of Centre Pompidou in Paris. However they have established to build and plan the CCCB with an horizontal and decentralized dimension, more flexible and open to visitors and local communities (Rius, 2006). We have chosen the CCCB as important actor of development and we have decided to make an interview with the Director because it was the first cultural element that has contributed to transform the Raval.

trajectories of productions of urban cultures (Rius and Rodriguez, 2006). As the Director of CCCB says “*the CCCB is a hybrid space where different cultures can be connected in order to generate creativity and art production in Barcelona, especially considering the immigration process as a main element of recent transformation*”. As Scott suggests (2006) “*creativity needs to be mobilized and channeled for it to emerge in practical forms of learning and innovation, which is why I have insisted above on the notion of a creative field effects*”. The evolved cultural district of Raval is developing this dimension of a socio-territorial networking system that produces creative effects and complementarities for the territory in order to foster local economic growth.

5. The neighborhoods of Mile End and Raval: an inclusive and polycentric approach for a territorial regeneration.

Mile End is changing its territorial identity. It used to be an old industrial area populated by workers. The changes are both spontaneous (bottom-up process) and institutional because they are supported by local and municipal institutions (top-down process). Mile End is becoming a cultural quarter in which the agglomeration process of creative activities is associated with concentrated local dynamics of high-tech and creative firms. The same process has occurred in the district of Hoxton-South Shoreditch (SoSho) in Northern London, where with the presence of artists and art schools, the district has undergone an important transformation of economic and social fabric. SoSho could represent a model of orientation for the future growth of Mile End. The English neighborhood has turned into a real district of innovation and creativity with the polarization of institutes and creative companies in the field of art, culture and multimedia.

These ex-industrial districts (Raval, Mile End, SoSho) are the incubators of new cultural facilities and activities, both as *emerging polycentric cluster* (Mile End) and as *cultural consolidated cluster* that is strengthening and increasing its socio-economic networks and transforming into an *evolved cultural district* (Raval). It can be demonstrated that the emerging creative cluster of Mile End represents the key factor of cultural and creative regeneration and it involves many different economic sectors interconnected by complementarities in terms of networks, new business connections and potential partnerships (ex. Ubisoft and artist-run centers). Mile End is a creative polycentric cluster with a mix of uses and strategies based on a flexible specialization (Scott, 2004). It is made up by formal and informal socio-economic actors, often recognized by artistic presences which contribute to increase the economic development of the area. “Formal” and “informal” groups of artists and artist-run centers like Diagonale, Agence Topo, Centre Clark, Article, Galerie and Atelier Circulaire have a strong presence and reputation in the district’s borders, according to the creative networks where active local players take part in the process of governance. Therefore, we have a convergence of needs and interests from the lower and the upper parts of creative and economic spheres. Cohendet (2010, p. 92), describing the creative life in Montreal and its levels of creativity, writes “*...in between the underground and the underground, we suggest that a key role is played in the creative city by the middleground, which is the level where the work of communities is decisive in designing the grammars of use and other common platforms of knowledge necessary for the knowledge transmission and learning that precedes innovation in those geographically bounded innovative environments*”. Regarding Mile End, we could observe some main elements which are building this cultural area:

- (i) The revitalization of the urban economic space and the concentration of innovative and creative firms (Scott, 2006; Tremblay and Tremblay, 2006; Tremblay and Pilati, 2008; Darchen and Tremblay, 2009).
- (ii) The cluster of Saint Viateur-Est is both a creative and a cultural pole because it is formed by a mix of interconnected activities and sectors (design, communication, architecture, multimedia, art, cultural services, galleries, artist run-centers, fashion and high technology firms).
- (iii) The high level of flexibility and specialization of local firms and multimedia industry provides exchanges between artists and firms (Cohendet, 2010).
- (iv) The configuration of cultural/artistic areas as spaces “of multiple belongings”, traditionally open and tolerant (Hutton, 2006).

- (v) A large participation of citizens in the elaboration of creative and cultural strategies of regeneration.
- (vi) The regeneration process is more spontaneous than institutionalized.

Regarding the empirical analysis, we can observe specific characteristics which define the territorial identities of Raval and Mile-End in order to evaluate the role of socio-economic actors in planning and structuring the area and in order to analyze the level and intensity of relations according to the networking and clustering system. It is also important to note the level of internationally branding of some institutions that play a key role for boosting local development and for encouraging their strategic goals¹⁰. The following table highlights the same specific features which define the processes of cultural regeneration in the Raval and in the Mile End (table n. 2).

Table 2. Cultural regeneration in the Raval and in the Mile End

RAVAL	MILE END
Consolidate cultural clustering quarter and emerging evolved cultural district (MACBA-CCCB-UB-FED-CIDOB-School of Art and Design Massena-National Library of Catalunya-Centro de Estudy Català).	Artistic and creative quarter and emerging polycentric cluster embedded into the old industrial buildings (Creative firms, Ubisoft, artist run-centers).
Developed clustering process (Top-down)	Latent clustering process (Bottom-up)
Significant strategy of urban planning supported by Local Institutions and National Government (Top-down).	No relevant actions and no real strategies for urban planning and buildings rehabilitation supported by Institutions.
Culture-led regeneration approach (Top-down).	Cultural regeneration approach (bottom-up).
High concentration of cultural facilities.	Dispersed and spontaneous cultural activities.
Intensive critical mass and artistic atmosphere (Top-down and bottom-up processes).	Creative firms, Ubisoft, artist run-centers, galleries and studios (bottom-up process).
Territorial integration and proximity (physical, institutional and organizational dimensions).	Not a real spatial integration and low organization among actors and artists.
Social diversity and multi-ethnic dimension.	Social diversity.
Strong process of recent immigration by North Africa, East Europe and Latin America	Immigration (not recent) and gentrification.
Intensive retail activities.	Emerging retail activities.
Intensive tourism flows and touristic events.	No tourism activity.
Emerging of social cohesion process and common practices of participation into local governance framework.	Characteristic "Mile-End" territorial identity.
Strong international identity and territorial branding process.	Regional and national identification as cultural neighborhood.

Table n. 2: Characteristics and differences between the Raval and the Mile End.

It is important to note that the processes of clustering development are dynamic and flexible in both neighborhoods. Therefore, we can observe how the cultural cluster in the Raval is living a phase of consolidation and a new orientation towards the evolved cultural district model (Sacco, 2006). However, it appears that in Mile-End is still in the organizational process of territorial regeneration ; it has consolidated itself in terms of social identity and creative networking production system, classifying Mile-End and Plateau as the first cultural quarters in Quebec and Canada (Hill Strategy Research, 2010), but the process is not finalized. However, we can observe how the clustering process is emerging around creative firms and

¹⁰ An important role is played by the CDEC (Corporation de Développement Économique Communautaire or CEDC in English , Community Economic Development Corporation) that is a Local Economic Development Agency embedded in the territory with an evident impact and strategic role in the social and economic life of every quarter and "arrondissement" in Montréal. They are important because, as public agencies of development, they represent and link together all the associations, groups and actors who are active and dynamic in the process of planning and transformation and revitalization of depressed and poor areas

innovative working spaces like *Ubisoft* in particular, that attracts artistic and cultural players in the neighborhood.

6. Mile End as a space of creativity and cultural development: the *pole Saint- Viateur Est*

In this comparative study, we observe that the process of territorial regeneration is supported and implemented through spontaneous changes and socio-economic factors that have led to the concentration of artists, galleries, creative firms and artistic studios into the old industrial buildings localized in the area of *Saint-Viateur Est* of Mile End. They are embedded inside 6/8 old blocks of manufacturing factories. The clustering territorial dimension encompasses and forms a quadrilateral zone between Rue Macguire (south), the rail station (north) in Rue Bernard, Avenue de Gaspé (east) and Boulevard Saint-Laurent (west). Some artists and art managers who live and work in this neighborhood talked about this rapid transformation and they said “*we don’t know what is going to happen to this sector of Mile End, because everything is changing so fast...we believe that it is good to discover new spaces and new works of talent and emerging artists and creative people who are working and producing in this territory...we can realize how Mile End is changing, mostly in these last years...We support and we encourage, as artists and directors of artist-run centers,, the production and the diffusion of artistic works and creative manufactures of various artists who produce in our multi-dimensional spaces...we would like to increase the art market, creating and linking art-production and art-products with workshops and exhibitions*”. As the interview shows, the rapid changes have surprised also the creators and the art managers located in the district, because they did not think that Mile End could have been transformed so rapidly into a new creative district. It is interesting to mention the socio-economic factors that have induced artists and creative people to move into these old textile sites. During the interviews, the main factors of attractiveness were identified as the following:

- Open and comfortable spaces of work.
- Low prices of ateliers and studios.
- Stimulating atmosphere and networking relations between artists, creators and creative firms.
- Proximity and concentration between various sectors of Mile End and other zones of the district, like the -industrial site borders with the Rosemont area.
- Quality of life and good facilities in the area, mostly according to the centrality of Mile End in Montreal.
- The intensive gentrification process that has determined a kind of exodus from the ancient industrial areas located in downtown (Place des Arts, Vieux Port and Boulevard Saint Laurent).

More precisely, creative firms and artist-run centers in this cultural pole tend to adopt a very particular organization in terms of concentration inside old industrial buildings located in the sector of *Saint-Viateur Est* (Fig. 3).

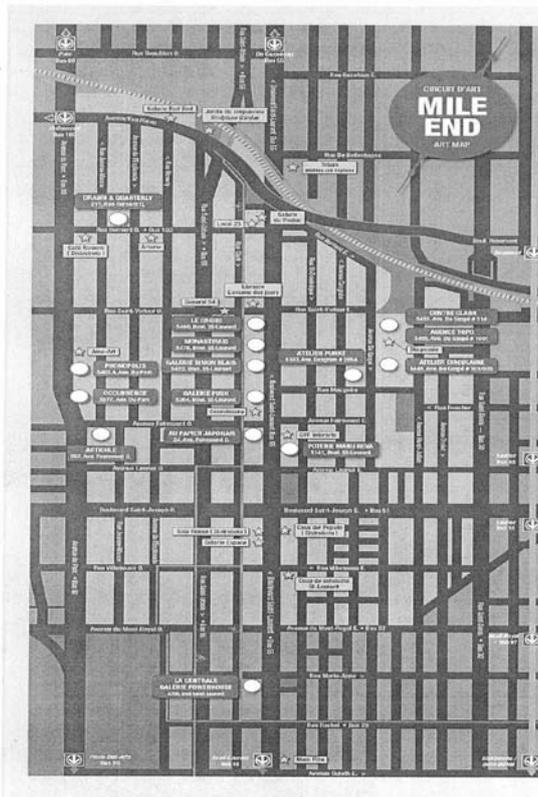


Fig. 3: Mile End Art Map.
Source: Brochure Article, 2009.

Today it represents a *real functional pole* of art production and creativity in Montreal. We can observe a real emerging clustering process embedded into the old industrial textile buildings. This process of development is enhanced and supported by the exchange and networking activity of some fundamental local actors. An important role of supporting and financing artists and creative firms is assumed by Ubisoft. Ubisoft, as an important socio-economic actor and strategic firm in the area specialized in the field of multimedia, plays a key role to develop local dynamics of networking between different entities interested in the regeneration of Mile End. As the director of communication says “*Ubisoft has an important effect in the nature and in the morphology of Mile End, mostly in terms of economic changes and cultural perspectives of development. We have participated actively in art performances organized in the quarter and we have supported initiatives like Ateliers Portes Ouvertes, where artists and creators have been financed by Ubisoft. Also, we have expressed our will to support and protect the lofts and the studios where the artists produce and diffuse their productions...we can play a role of mediation but we can't have a role of negotiation...we are always a private firm and we have our economic interests. It is certain that Ubisoft has led the district to develop a new identity based on multimedia and creativity and, today, we can affirm that Mile End is a place of art production and creation... We should remember that Ubisoft established its offices in Mile End in 1997 because of the possibility to rent large spaces for lower prices. Therefore, the prices and the accessibility were the major factors of localization, without a particular strategy at the beginning...after a creative atmosphere has developed cumulative effects in the territory*”. Furthermore, the cultural development adviser of CEDC Plateau-Mont Royal, suggests how is important to support and foster the creativity production and the artistic life in Mile End, mostly in the sector Saint-Viateur Est. During the interview she affirms “*The role of CEDC is to endorse and support the activities of artists who work and produce in Mile End. The CEDC is an institution which is responsible for coordinating and arranging various local actors with the aim to find common strategies and to foster a process of collective development by empowerment strategies. The CEDC has the task of listening to different instances and to mediate among different actors*”

like the City of Montreal, the Plateau Municipality, the communities of artists and the associations of citizens who live and work in the neighborhood. Certainly, the attention has been focused around the area of Saint Viateur-Est because in this territory the de-industrialization process has generated great chances and advantages of development and regeneration. Large industrial buildings are incubators of art and creative productions. Artists and artisans are concentrated in those areas and come together to produce and disseminate art, but especially to produce new artistic products. We are leading to support the local art community and neighborhood committees in order to avoid the process of gentrification and its negative effects, which would produce a further exodus of artists and creators from the neighborhood....An important role was played by a new association called Pi2 (Pied Carré), because it is a kind of lobby and group of artists (managed and governed by artists and created in 2009) which supports and encourages the artists claims and their active practices with regard to the local institutions”.

Other associations are growing to support and implement the artistic life in the area of Saint Viateur Est. A member of Pi2 who was interviewed says *"the process of production and creation by artists in the Mile End is intensive but we need to find a way to develop the neighborhood and anchor the artists and the production activity in the area as well as involve local communities and associations in the process of creative production. We need to prevent the process of gentrification and, furthermore, minimize the action of investors of the real estate market in order to avoid the depletion of the district's resources. Mile End is a reflection of the shock caused in the central artistic area of Montreal (Quartier des Spectacles), where an action planned and managed by the institutions led to the departure of artists. We have to achieve another objective for the pole Saint-Viateur and it is to recognize and institutionalize the work of artist run-centers. Thus, the city should manage and regulate their activity, protect their spaces and support and finance the associations of creators and artists. We are making a survey of artists (cartography research) who work in Saint Viatuer to better understand their work, needs and requirements. After this study it will be easier to develop strategies in order to meet local and public institutions and to evaluate potential instruments for supporting artists and creators located in the neighborhood”.* Mile End has to be protected and safeguarded according to its creative identity because it could be affected by dynamics of intensive gentrification which would lead to the expulsion and the exclusion of artists from the neighborhood. Two main strategies have to be pursued in the district. The first strategy concerns the issue of protecting the artists in their own territory, and supporting their identity and works as cultural agents. The second action concerns the economic and the financial dimension related to rent the spaces (lofts and studios) and also the possibility of the artists buying directly the buildings. The pole of Saint Viateur-Est is an example of how this dynamic should be formulated in order to avoid the exodus and the disappearance of artists, as it has happened in other neighborhoods such as Trastevere and Rione Monti in Rome, Soho in New York and El Borne in Barcelona.

The director of an artist-run center says *"we must form a true coalition and partnership in order to increase the cultural production. The bottom-up approach of revitalization leads to a joint-process of transformation of the district; it involves local communities, associations, groups of self-managed artists, volunteers, and the CEDC which has the role of coordinating and supporting collective action...Thus it is possible to embed the artists in their spaces and preserve the Mile End from an additional and incoherent redevelopment caused by a residential property portfolio, which would deprive the district of his original identity...Finally we should support a real process of clustering in terms of milieu effect which fosters the local stakeholders, the institutions and the artists, with the aim to create an artistic pole embedded in the quarter”.*

Furthermore, the cultural development adviser of CDEC Plateau-Mont Royal, suggests how is important to support and foster the creativity production and the artistic life in Mile End, mostly in the sector Saint-Viateur Est. During the interview she affirms *“The role of CDEC is to endorse and support the activities of artists who work and produce in Mile End. The CDEC is an institution which has the role to coordinate and arrange various local actors with the aims to find common strategies and to foster a process of collective development by empowerment strategies. The CDEC has the task of listening to the different instances and to seek mediation and a common trajectory among different actors like the City of Montreal, the Plateau Municipality, the communities of artists and associations of citizens who live and work in the neighborhood. Certainly, the attention has been focused around the area of Saint Viateur-Est because in this territory the de-industrialization process has generated great chances and advantages of development and regeneration. Large industrial buildings are incubators of art and creation productions. Artists and artisans*

are concentrated in those areas and come together to produce and disseminate art, but especially for producing new artistic products. We are leading to support the local art community and neighborhood committees in order to avoid the process of gentrification in its negative dimension, which would produce a further expulsion of artists and creators from the neighborhood....An important role has played by a new association called P2 (Pied Carré), because is a kind of lobby and group of artists (managed and governed by artists and created in 2009) which supports and encourages the artists claims and their active practices toward the local institutions”.

Thus, other associations are growing up for supporting and implementing the artistic life in the area of Saint Viateur Est. A member of P2 association has been interviewed during this research on Mile End and she says *"the process of production and creation by artists in the Mile End is intensive but we need to find a way for developing the neighborhood and anchoring the artists and the production activity in the area as well as involving local communities and associations into the process of creative production. We need to prevent the process of gentrification and, furthermore, minimize the action of investors of the real estate market avoiding the depletion of the district. The district of Mile End is ultimately a reflection of the shock caused in the central artistic area of Montreal (Quartier des Spectacles), where an action planned and managed by the institutions has led to the exodus of artists. We have to achieve another objective for the pole Saint-Viateur and it consists in to recognize and institutionalize the work of artists run-centers. Thus, the city should manage and regulate their activity, spaces and should support and finance the associations of creators and artists. We are doing a survey of artists (cartography reserach) that work in Saint Viatuer to understand their works, needs and requirements. After this study will be easier to develop strategies formulated by artists and it could be possible to meet local and publi institutions and to evaluate potential instruments for supporting artists and creators located in the neighborhood”.*

Mile End has to be protected and safeguarded according to its artistic and creative identity because it could be affected by dynamics of intensive gentrification that determinate the expulsion and the esclusion of artists from the neighborhood. Therefore, the industrial sites and obsolete buildings occupied by art studios and art running centers are essential for creative production and synergic atmosphere as well as their renewal represents the main structural factor for anchoring the artists in the neighborhood. Two main strategies have to be pursued in the district. The first strategy concerns the issue of protecting the artists in their own territory and supporting their identity and works as creative and cultural agents.

The second action concerns the economic and financial dimension related to the rent of spaces and studios or the possibility of buying directly the buildings and spaces. In any case, the key element is the ability to acquire and manage industrial space through a business plan for the protection of rent or for purchasing the access to the artists. The owners of the buildings should have a plan for protecting the artists. The pole of Saint Viateur-Est is an example of how these dynamics should be formulated and established in order to avoid the exodus and the disappearance of artists, as it has happened in other cities or in central metropolitan districts such as Trastevere and Rione Monti in Rome, Soho in New York and El Borne in Barcelona.

The artists prefer to stay and work in a neighborhood where the quality of life and the quality of production are linked with a creative territory rather than be influenced by processes of gentrification and renovation linked to the major property developers and residential's targets. These dynamics of preservation of the neighborhood are very particular and they concern of establishing a shared development process, formulated by local actors involved in the cultural and socio-economic regeneration.

The director of an artist run-center says *"we must form a true coalition and partership for increasing the cultural production and supporting the creativity. The bottom-up level of revitalization leads to a joint-process of transformation of the district, involving local community organizations, associations, groups of self-managed artists, volunteers and CDEC which has the role of coordinating and supporting collective action...Thus it is possible to embed the artists in their spaces and preserve the Mile End from an additional and incoherent redevelopment caused by a residential property portfolio, which would deprive the district of his original identity...Finally we have to build and support a real process of clustering in terms of milieu effect in the territory that fosters local stakeholders, institutions and artists with the aim to create a creative and artistic pole embedded in the quarter”.* With their exhibitions, special projects, conferences, training programs and more specifically their artistic residencies and the rest of creatives are embedded in the artist

run-centers into the industrial blocks of Mile End. Art proposals are received annually and selected for the quality and originality of their research and artistic expression, as well as their contribution to the advancement of contemporary art practices. They became a cultural reference and a site for research, production and dissemination of contemporary art at a regional, a national and an international levels. They organize conferences (Agence Topo, Clark, Atelier Circulaire, Articule) and workshops around specific themes proposed by exhibiting, members or resident artists as well as they work like web production laboratory that invite the artistic community to rethink the space within the context of cyberspace. They are networking platforms that offer to the members various services pertaining to dissemination, promotion and training. One of the targets is to make their members' practices better-know, circulate their works, increase their visibility on the national and international scene and promote sale. The artistic run-centers represent local models of cultural regeneration as well as spatial entities for innovative and creative performances.

Conclusion

The objective of this comparative study was to analyze the process of cultural and territorial regeneration underway in the neighborhoods of Raval in Barcelona and Mile End in Montreal in order to determine if they fit the model of culture-led regeneration. *El Raval* and *Mile End* are two emblematic cases of central areas that have been transformed and revitalized in order to regenerate industrial zones and transform obsolete buildings and dismissed spaces into new zones of creative and cultural production. Barcelona and Montreal are seen as urban and regional poles of creativity and new cultural regeneration based both on urban planning and on advanced cultural policies. On the basis of our analysis, we can consider the model of cultural/creative cluster of Mile End and the approach of the evolved cultural district of Raval, as important territorial experiences in elaborating a significant operational strategy of regeneration in their respective metropolitan areas.

On the one hand, *El Raval* has consolidated its clustering dimension as well as its territorial configuration of cultural centrality. Indeed, El Raval is building a new networking and clustering synergy based on the evolved cultural district theory according to which local actors play a role in co-operation and collaboration to achieve an integrated cultural change. The synergy between local stakeholders and the community is a fundamental factor to develop an *evolved cultural district* as well as to increase creative models of territorial development. El Raval is seen as the best example in Barcelona.

On the other hand, Mile End is seeing the emergence of cultural/creative poles embedded in old industrial buildings, but it may be too early to conclude on culture-led regeneration, although the zone appears to be moving in this direction. In this case we can see how the process of regeneration has been induced by spontaneous dynamics and governed through a bottom-up approach by local actors, many of whom are in the artistic-cultural sector. Thus, the regeneration approaches both concerning the cultural cluster and the evolved cultural district, represent an interesting turn in the urban cultural policy-making. Definitely, we can observe that the culture-led regeneration model based on cultural activity as the main asset and pivot of regeneration has governed the strategies of development of Raval in terms of cultural clustering process. The local policy has been formulated in order to increase and implement the cultural and territorial regeneration of this neighborhood with the aim to develop an integrated evolved district based on cultural facilities. However, despite this process of regeneration in the Mile End undergoing its first phase of development, we consider that the culture-led regeneration approach could be a constructive model for better planning the future strategies of this district. We are witnessing a change of perspectives from an exclusive and vertical dimension of cultural experience to a much more inclusive, horizontal synergy of actors for development.

The following schema suggests these dynamics that are establishing and structuring these creative territories, regarding "El Raval" as *Catalan model* of cultural neighborhood and Mile End as *creative emerging territory in Montreal*.

A cultural quarter can be identified and planned: (i) to improve the regeneration of a geographical area; (ii) to concentrate, as a physical and creative hub, cultural, social, and economic activities; (iii) to act as a catalyst of production and consumption of cultural services; (iv) to encourage the participation of local communities; (v) to support and maintain artists galleries and studios, as well as preserve the quarter (Raval and Mile End) by the intensive gentrification and real estate interests; (vi) to improve the quality of life for workers and citizens who live in the quarter; (vii) to reinforce the local development through the partnership between local institutions and other economic and productive sectors (table n. 3). We can see how Raval and Mile End represent cultural quarters restored by a regeneration process and they are emerging locally and internationally as new open neighborhoods, symbols of participation and accessibility. They represent new creative spaces in old industrial marginalized areas as well as potential quarters of sustainable development constructed from the relation between the territory as geographic and economic space and the culture considered as a series of symbols, representations and values produced by the local community.

To conclude, *El Raval* and *Mile End* represent cultural districts restored by a regeneration process and they are emerging locally and internationally as new open neighborhoods, symbols of creativity, culture, participation and accessibility. They are new creative areas as well as potential districts of sustainable development re-born from the relation between territory as geographic and socio-economic space and culture considered as an outline of symbols, representations and values produced by the local community. In conclusion, Raval and Mile End represent two examples of developing cultural districts and they could very well define new territorial models of integrated strategies of regeneration, in which the local communities are involved actively in the processes of development and governance.

Also, Raval and Mile End represent two examples for developing cultural quarters as well as they could define new territorial models for integrated strategies of regeneration where the local communities are involved actively in the processes of governance and development. They are two territorial and cultural experiences based on clustering process of creative firms, local institutions and creative industry that demonstrate different dimensions of collaboration and exchange among local stakeholders which play a focal role of planning and governance.

Raval	Mile-end
<i>(i) Nature of cultural and artistic quarters</i>	
<p>Consolidate and develop a cluster in terms of cultural facilities, multi-dimensional spaces and artistic infrastructure. Old industrial spaces and marginalized areas</p>	<p>Recent process of emerging cluster of cultural and creative industries embedded in the old industrial buildings (6-8 blocks). Depressed area and no functional complex of buildings.</p>
<i>(ii) Structure of cultural and artistic quarters</i>	
<p>Emerging evolved cultural district as a territorial model for socio-economic development based on the integration process of innovation, creativity, human capital and infrastructure clustered around major players as MACBA, CCCB, UB, CIDOB, School of Art and Design Massena, National Library of Catalunya, Centro de Estudy Català</p>	<p>Emerging artistic and creative cluster industries based on the networking platforms between groups of artists and new innovative firms embedded in the same buildings and blocks (artistic run-centers and creative firms in the fields of design, communication, multimedia, architecture and social economy) – no presence of real cultural buildings and infrastructures.</p>
<p>Potential integration between vertical and horizontal networks of different economic sectors driven by <i>culture-led regeneration</i> approach for boosting local economies as well as consumption-entertainment cluster.</p>	<p>Formal and informal relations between artists and cultural players, private firms and local institutions (CDEC-Ville-Local Council) for boosting the process of agglomeration – It is an emerging cluster <i>production and promotion oriented</i>.</p>
<p>It is an “incremental cluster according to the role of actors and to the process of territorial organization. It means that a fundamental action of actors has supported the project and it is governed by “the Barcelona Model” of development partnership between public and private players. In addition, the cultural cluster is important not only as territorial and physical agglomeration but, mostly, as an <i>organizational and relational process</i> of development.</p>	<p>The lack of important public/private institutions culturally oriented like museums, multi-functional spaces and auditoriums. Ubisoft is a significant actor in fostering and encouraging cultural and artistic activities.</p>
<i>(iii) Role of actors</i>	
<p>The main actors (MACBA, CCCB, UB, District Ciudad Vella, Barcelona Council, FONCIVESA, TOT-RAVAL, associations of artists and social groups) play a significant role in terms of finance, participation, organization, management, networking activities. The model of development is based on dual dimensions: (i) Top-down approach which was supported and financed by institutions (Generalitat de Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona, Banca de Catalunya, Caixa de Catalunya, FOCIVESA) (ii) Bottom-up approach oriented and elaborated by local communities and associations (like TOT-RAVAL) and Artist Galleries (like Galleria des Angels) for increasing and fostering the process of socio-economic regeneration.</p>	<p>The process of development in terms of policy and role of actors was oriented by an “auto-promotion” and “self-management” strategies (bottom-up) at the beginning of cultural change between networks of artists like artist run-centers), CDEC and associations. Main artist run-centers: Agence TOPO, Articule, Atellier Circulaire, Dare-Dare, Diagonale, Clark Agency, LA CENTRALE, Galerie Powerhouse.</p>
<i>(iv) Integration</i>	

EMERGING EVOLVED CULTURAL DISTRICT based on <i>synergy</i> , <i>complementarities</i> and <i>creative atmosphere</i> among a lot of players and sectors (Culture, Tourism, Technology, Commerce, Retail) in the quarter embedded and concentrated in a unique territory.	Lack of integration and more dispersed spatial dynamics of interconnections, but strong relation between Territory, Technology and Art and Manufactory geographically limited.
<i>(v) Creativity</i>	
New coalitions of actors (Culture-Technology-Education-Social Life) and new spaces (CCCB) for an emerging <i>international platform of creativity</i> based on LAB-RAVAL where CREATIVITY, CITY, and TECHNOLOGY are three fundamental paradigms of qualitative growth.	Strong relationship between creative artists, galleries and creative firms like UBISOFT.
<i>(vi) Empowerment</i>	
Providing support to community groups' giving local people "active participation"; helping to provide solutions to problems; giving local people a role in policy processes (TOT-RAVAL is the actor as a foundation that works on these trajectories and objectives).	Developing and supporting participation of creative groups and associations of local community in the quarter.

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