Another new museum? Imagining the space of art in the creative city

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Abstract

With the transformation of urban governance into a mode of entrepreneurialism, museums have become prominent and privileged sites for reshaping cities as attractive places for cultural and artistic consumption. Using an ethnographic field study, the authors investigate how the logic of the creative city is at work in the planning of a new art museum in a medium-sized Swiss city. The analysis shows how the entrepreneurial rationale is contested and re-appropriated through the use of classic and situational modes to organize this cultural institution. The ways of imagining the museum are described as the effects of these three modes of ordering – entrepreneurial, classic, and situational – as well as their hybridization. The authors conclude that by attending to the multiple layers of urban life, which unfold in and around museums, we can imagine other 'new museums' than those of the entrepreneurial city.

Museums as architectural icons in the creative city

As urban governance becomes transformed into a mode of entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989), cities are heavily competing on the global catwalk to appear as the most creative or entrepreneurial (Degen, 2003). As cities battle to outperform each other with creative superlatives, an ongoing process of "imagineering" moves between place making and place marketing and between branding and boosting one's image (Steyaert and Beyes, 2009). In this "image inflation" (Zukin, 2008: xii), cultural events, mega-spectacles, and, especially, iconic architecture are inscribed into new forms of urban policy-making that smoothly integrate culture, politics and economics (Degen and García, 2012). In particular, museums have sometimes come to form "highly speculative flagship projects" to enhance the city's image (MacLeod, 2002: 604). Ever since the Bilbao effect, in which a seemingly unknown city was able to put itself on the (tourist) map by attracting the star architect Frank O'Gehry to build a new Guggenheim museum, museums have become a prominent and privileged strategy in reshaping cities as attractive places for cultural and artistic consumption; in fact, some now speak of "museumified cities" (Hetherington, 2006: 597). For instance, the new "Museum by the River" in Antwerp, designed by the architect duo Neutelings-Riedijk, which opened in 2011, calls itself "more than a museum, actually a whole new city centre" (www.mas.be).

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The exhibition on prestigious projects for "Museums in the 21st Century", organized by Art Centre Basel (2008) and shown at several cities worldwide, strikingly demonstrated the considerable investment required to build new museum architecture and to renovate and/or significantly expand existing infrastructure. In addition to Bilbao or Antwerp, the list of new museums seems endless: Bregenz and Graz in Austria, the Paul Klee Center in Bern, Switzerland, le "Musée des Confluences" in Lyon, France, and so on. In addition, existing museums are being revamped in a combination of classic and new: consider Berlin's Museum Quarter or the extension to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.

As with the Guggenheim, some big players opt for offspring. For instance, the Centre Pompidou has opened a new affiliation close by the city of Metz, while the Louvre has planned a new branch in Abu Dhabi. The "Louvre-in-the-desert", as some have nicknamed it, is a creation of the French star architect Jean Nouvel (who earlier designed the Culture and Convention Centre in Lucerne) based on a mega-deal between the French government and the emirate. This museum will be part of a larger cultural district on the "Island of Happiness" (Saadiyat Island) where Guggenheim plans to build a new subdivision, possibly its largest exhibition space so far. In "the age of touristic reproduction", the "architecture is almost always there before the tourist arrives" (Groys, 2008: 107). With regard to art museums, Groys argues that the fascination for and the global spread of artistic forms work regardless of cultural contexts and conditions, asserting the art works' identity no matter where they are on display.

This abundance of museum projects convincingly exemplifies the way that urban governance connects architecture and art with economic and political strategies (Kornberger, 2012), but we might be overly hasty in accepting at face value the grand narrative of the creative city – the 'age of creative reproduction' – and its cultural projects. Actually, few empirical studies have considered how this entrepreneurial logic is at work during the planning and design of new architectural projects and how this is connected with changing conceptualizations of museums. Therefore, we pursue two research questions: How is the logic of entrepreneurialism reframing concepts of the museum? And which other practices are used to resist and appropriate entrepreneurialism?

In the following, we first sketch our conceptual position by arguing for a research approach that goes beyond reproducing the grand narrative of urban entrepreneurialism and that documents the hybrid and multi-discursive unfolding of urban creativity. Then, we explain the methodological features of our empirical field study of the planning of a new museum in a Swiss town. Our analysis is presented in three parts. First, we evoke the entrepreneurial logic, which inscribes the understanding of museums into the script of spectacle, entertainment and the creative industries. Second, we sketch how a classical mode holds on to a concept of the museum as a utopian site of representation and classification. Third, we describe how a situational mode enacts a different notion of a museum and its spaces, based on an interventionist concept, which opts for a more nomadic performance of minor sensibilities and affective experience.

Urban entrepreneurialism: Beyond the grand narrative of the creative city

Diagnosed as "a key feature of neoliberal capitalist societies" (Hetherington and Cronin, 2008: 1), today the notion of cities acting and being run in an entrepreneurial way is widely accepted. In his seminal article "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism", Harvey (1989) situates the advent of the 'new urban entrepreneuralism' in the early 1970s. The erosion of the economic and fiscal base of many industrial cities heralded a shift in urban politics away from a managerial-administrative regime of public services and local welfare provision "towards the promotion of economic competitiveness, place marketing to attract inward investment and support for the development of indigenous private sector firms" (Painter, 1998: 261).

While Harvey (1989: 12-13) was already relating entrepreneurial urbanism to the mobilization of urban cultural resources, he might not have fully foreseen how relevant the forces of culture, creativity, aesthetics and consumer spectacle would be in shaping the symbolic economy of the entrepreneurial city. To make these linkages clearer, it is helpful to turn to Zukin's notion of the "artistic mode of production" (1989: 176). This term denotes urban redevelopment strategies focused on the art and heritage sectors and responding to "greater 'leisure' time and more 'sophisticated' patterns of consumption" (p. 176). The increasing value of art also affected the value of corresponding factors like "the urban *forms* that grew up around it, the activity of *doing* it, and most important, the status of *consuming* it". Thus, a close relation emerges "between *accumulation* and *cultural consumption*" (p. 177; orig. emphasis). In this constellation, museums and their architecture are about more than 'just' gallery spaces and more or less coherent arrangements of objects to tell stories about our pasts and presents. They become pivotal locations of entertainment, consumerism, city marketing, tourism, heritage preservation and inter-urban competition (Hetherington, 2006).

Two decades after Zukin's pioneering work, relying on culture and the creative industries to propel urban regeneration has become the preferred script for urban entrepreneuralism (Miles and Paddison, 2005). According to Amin and Thrift (2007: 152), "a tight coupling between postindustrial capitalism and urban aesthetic form is taking shape, read as necessary for the survival of the economy in general and cities in particular (...) [and] based on the economics of cultural mobilization". This connecting of economic development and culture regularly takes the form of iconic architecture that aims at sculpting an entrepreneurial image of the city. Designed to become cultural icons and often resulting from public-private partnerships, such mega-projects are discursively articulated as flagships for urban renewal and redevelopment. Here, spectacular 'high art' – or Culture with a capital "C" (Zukin, 1995) – is called upon to symbolize urban cultural prowess, to enhance the city's image and to thus attract further anticipated investment.

In this reading, then, the trope of the creative city is closely related to and constitutes the main contemporary manifestation of the rise of urban entrepre-

neurialism: "[t]he script of urban creativity reworks and augments the old methods and arguments of urban entrepreneurialism in politically seductive ways" (Peck, 2005: 766). Accordingly, the call for cities to become more creative looms large in contemporary debates about urban policy and urban development (Chatterton, 2000; Evans, 2009; Florida, 2002; Pratt, 2008). Broadly put, however, the discourse on the entrepreneurial/creative city seems to be split into two 'camps' (Beyes, 2012). On the one hand, and "as opposed to earlier versions of the 'culture industry' (…), academic studies of the influence of cultural industries are increasingly upbeat" (Latham et al., 2009: 171). On the other hand, the entrepreneurial optimism that brings forth "a futuristic vision of a visually enticing city of dreams" is "entwined with a post-apocalyptic scenario of urban unrest, deprivation and despair" (Hubbard and Hall, 1998: 1).

The 'celebratory' take on the entrepreneurial-cum-creative city is epitomized by "the most popular book on regional economies in the last decade" (Glaeser, 2004: 1; quoted in Peck, 2005: 741): Florida's influential and widely discussed "The Rise of the Creative Class" (2002). The book presents an intriguingly simple hypothesis: If cities attract creative people, then they are economically more successful and their regeneration is accelerated through the creative activities of these people. Creativity thus gravitates to specific locations, as creative people tend to "cluster in places that are centers of creativity and also where they like to live" (p. 7). For Florida, this is not a small change, but a "sea-change"; indeed, "it is the emergence of a new society and a new culture (…) a whole new way of life" (p. 12).

On the other hand, that book's success among urban policy makers is mirrored by the criticism it attracts among urban scholars on methodological and conceptual grounds as well as with regard to the corresponding policy model and growth predictions (e.g. Evans, 2009; Pasquinelli, 2008; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008). Moreover, the celebratory, optimistic narrative of urban improvement and renewal through an urban entrepreneurialism constructed around creativity and culture is countered by research into its dark side. In fact, the critical potential of research into urban entrepreneurialism has been 'mined' by critical geographers engaging with the "geographies of 'actually existing neoliberalism'" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 368; see Latham et al., 2009: 143). In brief, as we have seen with regard to the proliferation of new museums of art, the similarity and exchangeability of urban development strategies looks like a zero-sum game. Echoing a similar point already raised by Harvey (1989: 12), Zukin (2008: xii) writes: "Like brands (…), most cities develop the *same* marketing tools. They *all* have tall towers and modern art museums. They *all* hire the same famous architects from overseas. They *all* offer lattes at sidewalk cafés. They are *all* 'creative'" (orig. emphasis). Moreover, this kind of zero-sum game has damaging effects in the form of an increasing disparity in wealth and income and processes of urban impoverishment, dispossession and displacement (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 2008; Mayer, 2010). And, contrary to its promise not to take advantage of state interference urban entrepreneurialism is complicit with "a dramatic intensification of coercive, disciplinary forms of state intervention"

(Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 352; Ronneberger, Lanz and Jahn, 1999), for instance through "the wholesale, and frequently shockingly brutal, 'cleansing' and 'pacification' of inner-city areas" to make them 'safe' for shoppers, 'creatives' and cultural connoisseurs (Latham et al., 2009: 182).

However, both optimistic narratives and critical counter-images are complicit in presenting the relationship between the urban and the entrepreneurial as somehow self-evident. In this respect, both 'camps' reproduce the trope that entrepreneurial urban development as we know it is unavoidable; both perpetuate the grand narrative of the creative city (Beyes, 2012). In what follows, we suggest making the relationship between entrepreneurship and the city more ambivalent. After all, the most basic definition of cities is probably that they organize people, things and affects in manifold constellations (Thrift, 2005: 140); they are sites of a diversity of organizational forces (Knox, 2010). Thus, they are simultaneously constituted by discourses and technologies of control and regulation *and* by myriad everyday experiments and connections that exceed and destabilize urban routines and mechanisms of urban governance (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Novy and Colomb, 2013; Miles, 2012). In Lefebvre's words, therefore, "[a]s a place of encounters, focus of communication and information, the urban becomes what it always was: place of desire, permanent disequilibrium, seat of the dissolution of normalities and constraints, the moment of play and of the unpredictable" (1996: 129).

As scholars of the creative city, then, we are asked to trace and reflect upon the logics of entrepreneurialism and how they 'play out' in the city: how they are administered, adopted, appropriated and reconfigured. Moreover, we need to become more careful in adopting and reproducing a purified narrative of how urban governance translates art and spectacular architecture into desired means to the end of becoming a creative city. It should give us pause that a recent comparative analysis of urban creative industry policies and their effects shows disappointing results and diagnoses an over-reliance on either unproven or hardly transferable policy models (Evans, 2009). In other words, we see a demand for in-depth empirical studies of entrepreneurialism at work in so-called or would-be creative cities.

Research approach

Our empirical case study presents a planning process dedicated to the question of whether, and if so what kind of, a new art museum should be built in a medium-sized city in Switzerland. As the path towards a new museum turned out to be contested and twisted and led to an unexpected outcome, it is particularly appropriate for studying how the 'conventional' logic of entrepreneurialism in the creative city is infusing the ways a museum is imagined and how such imagineering is itself re-imagined, resisted and appropriated.

Designed as a participatory planning approach under the tutelage of the canton's government and its department of culture, the project took place from

spring 2006 to spring 2007. It consisted of three phases. The first phase was dedicated to the creation of new ideas. Citizens were encouraged to express and discuss their ideas in public workshops, and museum experts gave interviews on how they imagined the future of the museum. In the second phase, the ideas generated were clustered and translated into 'construction kits', on the basis of which the participants of phase one were invited to more concretely devise 'their' future museum. Third, the project team established by the department of culture condensed these scenarios into potential solutions, which were presented at the project's closing event. The whole process was accompanied by regular meetings of a committee consisting of representatives from the municipality, the canton, and the art club.

As participating observers (Waddington, 2004), two of the authors of this paper accompanied the whole planning process and gathered material by attending 20 team meetings and 12 citizen workshops, by collecting six folders of project documents and conducting research in the city's archives (reading history books, guide books, planning documents, protocols) (Hodder, 1994), by conducting and transcribing narrative interviews (Czarniawska, 2004) with nine participants, by accessing 34 further transcripts of project-related interviews conducted by a team of journalists, by attentively following the local news over the course of two years, and by taking numerous field notes (Wolfinger, 2002).

Our data analysis was informed by Law's (1994) notion of 'modes of ordering'. Such modes denote patterns in the performance of socio-material relations and thus describe ways of generating (versions of) organizational reality (Law, 2007: 10). Modes of ordering have much in common with Foucault's concept of *discourse*, but they differ from (at least the conventional notion of) discourses in that they are not synchronous (Law, 1994: 21). Instead they are conceptualized as a multiplicity of 'mini-discourses' that "develop protocols for dealing with, profiting from, or resisting one another" (p. 111). Importantly, while modes of ordering "sometimes come in the form of simple stories or accounts", they cannot be reduced to 'mere' narratives, "because they are also, to some measure, performed or embodied in a concrete, non-verbal, manner in the network of relations" (p. 20). Modes of ordering thus (re)construct patterns in complex and messy webs of (verbal and non-verbal) practices which organize socio-material relations.

Acknowledging and enacting modes of ordering propels us to think of the art museum as imagined and assembled in multiple ways, which differently organize the museum and its participants. The modes presented in the following are an effect of an ordering performance, too, as we impute certain effects with "extended patterns of coherence" (Law, 1994: 111). In this sense our analysis took form as we gathered possible pattering effects and grouped them into narratives of coherence (within modes) and difference (with respect to other modes). During and after the participatory planning process, we continuously translated the empirical data into our reconstruction of the planning process, identifying potential modes of ordering and their respective elements and practices. Through mapping (McDonald, Daniels and Harris, 2004), coding (Charmaz, 2000) and

(re)reading data we identified three different modes of ordering 'towards' a new museum of art, which we present in the following.

The museum as spectacle: Inscribing the entrepreneurial mode

A first mode of ordering, the entrepreneurial, was centered around the imagination of a new cultural space, a new art house that would serve as a hub for the city's creative energy for both art experts and the wider public. In addition to, or even on top of collecting, preserving and educating, the museum's task becomes to inspire and excite by way of an impressive architecture and a more spectacular program. Oriented towards a prosperous future for the city's cultural and architectural landscape, the entrepreneurial mode drew almost literally upon the discourse of urban entrepreneurialism we discussed above, as can be seen in the following excerpt from the canton's government economic strategy paper:

> The region's cultural landscape has to vibrate as a whole and on different levels. It has to penetrate the social and economic life. At the same time it is in need of strong icons and highlights. Convincing contents need an expressive and self-confident realization in architecture. In order to do so we need courage for the unconventional and the will for additional expenses. (from a government document, our translation)

In order to promote the attractiveness of its capital city, in 2006 the government announced that it would invest in the construction of a cultural "lighthouse": a new art museum. The art museum was particularly suitable for participating in the unfolding of the entrepreneurial mode as it had already gained a reputation for its sophisticated exhibitions on a national and international level. And, as it shared a building with the natural history museum, it lacked space. Furthermore, the imagination for a new museum was explicitly related to the recent construction of several other museums and cultural facilities in various Swiss cities. In newspaper articles, in citizen workshops and in government presentations, we encountered a discourse on how the city risked falling behind. While the other cities had invested in 'iconic' architecture over the last fifteen years, the government's attempts to create architectural icons had failed in the recent past: popular plebiscites had rejected both an extension for the art museum and a new theatre. Since the Swiss political system prescribes referendums for cantonal projects that will cost more than CHF 15 million, the government had to find ways of winning over the majority of its citizens.

Therefore, the entrepreneurial mode inscribed into its concept a concern for how the citizens could be won over as reliable partners when it would come to mobilizing the necessary resources for a new building. Accordingly, a government official explained that the participatory process presented a possibility: to "create an awareness" of the project and "promote" the idea of a new art house among the voting population. Thus, the participatory pre-project was provided

with a comfortable budget and a time span of 10 months. It was managed by a newly appointed, relatively young and energetic project leader, a 'networker' who became the 'face' of the overall project. Most importantly, this participatory project was enacted by drawing heavily upon creative workshop formats and aestheticized forms of documentation and communication. By addressing interested citizens – as well as multiple experts – as knowledgeable participants with valuable ideas, this mode enacts a consensus-oriented form of participatory policy-making, aiming at a solution, which would be beneficial to all participants. This performance of consensual participation was epitomized in a drawing presented at the beginning of each workshop, showing a funnel through which all the generated ideas would be processed in order to become part of the resulting museum.

Moreover, the entrepreneurial mode can be characterized by its performance of specific aesthetics. Participants were addressed not as voters in the comparably drab environments of representative elections, but as forward-looking, open-minded and stylish trendsetters. For instance, the public workshops were organized using fashionable moderation techniques such as the "world café" and the "future workshop", and ideas for the art house to come were collected and organized in a large "catalogue of ideas", presented in brochures with an attractive graphic design and further distributed by way of new media (project website, online video). Workshops and other events took place at special locations with a post-industrial atmosphere, such as an old warehouse and an old train depot, with caterers serving healthy Italian sandwiches and good wines. These aesthetic performances provided a 'sneak preview' of the spectacular and entertaining way in which the new art museum would be consumed. There was little or no emphasis on (extending) the art collection, something that was more prevalent in the classical narrative.

The museum as representation: A classical counter-narrative

Early on, however, the idea of building a new art museum was countered by a second mode of ordering, which promotes a classical concept of the museum as a representation. Whereas the entrepreneurial mode envisaged a new architectural icon, the 'classic' mode of ordering aimed at reconstructing the existing 19th-century 'art temple' in all its grandeur. That is, the classical mode circled around the stabilization of the current museum as a place of 'professional' art knowledge and research and sought to keep stable the established relations between the museum building, the collection, the well-respected experts of the museum and the audience. This mode performed the museum as a place for a growing art collection, well-crafted exhibitions and educational programs for its visitors. It combined discourses on art connoisseurship and cultural heritage with the need to extend the art collection and remove the natural history museum from the existing classicist museum building, and with the indispensability of the art club and its members for the successful operation of the museum. The mode was 'classic' in the sense that it (re)enacted ordering practices that date back to

the beginning of the 19th century. It was situated in – and aimed to continue and improve – the historic configurations of the city's culturally bourgeois institutions.

In contrast to the entrepreneurial mode, that sought to create a dynamic cultural space through new alliances, the classic mode imagined the museum as perpetuating a knowledge space that is highly specialized, recognized by international art circles and directed by independent art experts. It achieved this by drawing on and reproducing a discourse of art connoisseurship, which is orientated at an elitist, not easily accessible (if not alienating) experience of art. As one of the curators explained,

> [i]t makes sense that the reception of art is difficult – you only receive something from art when you use your head. That's why I appreciate the holy temples of art that produce a certain fear of entering. […] Because, at the end of the day, not everybody has to go to the museum. (interview excerpt, our translation)

This fragment points at a comparably elitist narrative on art and the art museum relating to a set of practices, buildings, artifacts and roles which in concert perform a materialized system of knowledge that dates back to the early 19th century when the art club was founded. In the club's charter of 1877 we read: "The art club consists of artists and art lovers and pursues the enhancement of the appreciation of art by regular meetings, the constitution of the art collection and the organization of exhibitions" (our translation). Today, these practices of meeting, collecting and exhibiting are still performed on a regular basis and define the relations between the collection, an international art scene, the art club, the museum building and the audience. In the performance of these practices the classic mode enacts its participants in a specific way.

For instance, the existing building was enacted as an 'asset' that should not be replaced by a contemporary building but should instead be 'liberated' from the natural history museum, which was currently accommodated in the same building. In the international contest for sought-after artists the classicist temple turned out to be a comparative advantage, with its strict order and classic decoration perceived as an attractive exception within the predominantly (post)modernist museum landscape. Accordingly, the art club had conceived a plan to move the natural history collection to a new but functional building at the city's periphery, and to thus gain exhibition space without spending scarce resources on iconic architecture. Furthermore, the necessary plebiscite would be a decision not for or against more 'culture' but instead for or against more 'nature', and thus more likely to be won. However, the project was put to rest, when the canton announced its plan for a new art museum – somewhat out of the blue, as several members of the art club asserted.

In contrast to the entrepreneurial mode, moreover, here the citizen is constructed as rather ignorant in matters of art and culture, as somebody who should not have a say on the future of the art museum but instead is welcomed to visit one of the museum's pedagogical programs. The figure of the art expert, on the

other hand, is performed as a politically independent actor whose knowledge and intuition make him (and sometimes her) capable of steering the future of the art museum. Preserving the autonomy of the museum and the art club is of utmost importance so that the collection and exhibition of art can stay free from governmental influences. As a member of the art club told us: "There is no democracy in art, it's all about knowledge, knowledge and intuition … absolutely. Democracy might be a laudable form of government and living, but in art democracy has no place" (our translation).

The museum as intervention: A situational enactment of art

In a third mode, the conflict between a brand new museum space and an upgraded classical building was reconfigured by questioning the idea of a spectacular and/or representational museum space enclosed by walls, and turned to a much more ephemeral and nomadic idea of performing art in intensive moments at more unusual locations or times. Therefore, we call the third mode of ordering the situational mode as it is manifested in temporary and experimental enactments. It differs from the other two modes in that it aims not to stabilize a lasting (new) order but to reconfigure the present. In this sense, the situational mode of ordering can also be understood as a mode of *dis*ordering. It interferes with predominant imaginations of the museum and temporarily opens a potential space for new configurations. Nevertheless, this mode also (re-)enacts a specific 'tradition' of urban art and thus relies on and reproduces existing, and quite well-established, patterns of doing art in the city. Drawing on an interventionist understanding of art, it seeks to reconnect the bodily and sensual relations that the participants have with the city and invites them to appropriate common places through experimental ways of talking and walking. The situational mode enacts art as a possibility to reflect on and potentially change the everyday life of the city.

To illustrate this bundle of art discourse and urban-artistic practice and how it enrolls human and non-human actors, in the following section we describe an artistic intervention, which took place at the margins of the museum's planning process. While participants were asked to sign in on beforehand, the format also welcomed – was indeed devised for – the taking-part of passers-by and curious spectators. This intervention was initiated by two local artists who had been asked by the government to conduct one of the pre-project citizen workshops. Instead of using a fixed workshop location, the artists invited the participants on a walk through the city. Starting in the museum quarter in the eastern part of the city, the walk led through a parking garage, the central market square, the planning department's attic, and ended in an old warehouse in the western part of the city. One of the artists explained that the intervention was based on "a sort of strategy, which takes the resources, jumbles them and creates something that does not exist". He continued,

> It's about the immediate creativity in everyday life, about the shifting
> of existing conditions. It reassembles the given and in that way cre-

ates a certain form, so that something emerges that was not part of the world until then. (interview excerpt, our translation)

Although the situational mode feeds into and is perhaps partly co-opted by the entrepreneurial mode, in this case it also made use of the planning process by seizing the opportunity to intervene in the process of re-imagining the art museum.

A group of people, I among them, moves slowly through the 'museum quarter' (...) Behind the concert hall, we enter a recently constructed public parking garage. (...) In one of the parking spaces there is an overhead projector; we build a half-circle around it, sitting down on the portable folding chairs we were given earlier. There is an old-fashioned wooden carriage on which is mounted a sign that reads "warm up". On top of another carriage, folding tables are brought in and installed across the garage. (...) In changing constellations, we group around the tables, discussing the art museum, generating ideas and criteria. Occasionally, a car comes in or leaves; the drivers give us bewildered looks, or so it seems. (from our field notes)

Walking into a highly functional transit space such as a parking garage in order to search for (the imagination of) a 'new' museum challenged the predominant logics of both parking garages and museums. These disruptions unfolded less on a functional level, since the garage continued to operate as usual, but rather on an aesthetic and imaginative level, with respect to established ways of perceiving these spaces. During the 'workshop' the organizers provided no guidance or clarification; instead participants were invited to make sense of the situation themselves. Here urban space in general and the art museum in particular were enacted as something not so much planned as invented and enacted in the everyday lives of the citizens.

The next stop is the city's central marketplace. Underneath the large roof of the central bus stop, flipcharts, an illuminated sign "taking the pulse" – duct-taped to the ticket machine – and a couple of chairs are arranged in the form of a little auditorium. Equipped with a writing pad and a questionnaire, the participants set off to interview pedestrians. The questions circle around the popularity of the art museum and people's wishes and imaginations for its future. After interviewing a couple of people, the participants return to the bus stop and report their findings. Curious pedestrians stop for a while and observe the proceedings. (from our field notes)

Through a range of activities – setting up a temporary research center, experimenting with scholarly practices, reporting back, drawing charts, using questionnaires and flip charts, as well as labeling the intervention "taking the pulse" – the space around the bus stop was temporarily reframed. In a playful way the workshop participants were invited to take up the positions of those who usually provide the imagination for the future of urban life: scholars and experts.

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The third stop of the walk was located in the attic of the city's planning department:

> As we get there some participants are already working quietly in between the department's dusty planning models. Children are preoccupied with drawing images of how they imagine a future museum while adult participants work out small texts, some of them alone, others in small groups. (...) I decide to climb a small staircase leading even further up into the roof. Through a tiny window I can overlook the city's roofs. A whole series of associations pop up: Where am I? In a secret workspace? What am I doing here? Did artists plan this? (from our field notes)

Using the planning department building as the location of a workshop to imagine a new art museum created a measure of ambivalence and entitlement quite removed from the usual set-up of participatory policy-making. The department – stuffed with models of built and un-built planning projects – was enacted as a disorderly place that is open for the visitors' playful and imaginative appropriation. The situational mode at the same time challenged the predominant way of relating to urban planning and simultaneously invites imaginative ways of re-appropriating it.

The situational mode thus enrolls the citizen as an 'artist' who can come up with his or her own ideas and is allowed to intervene creatively in the organization of everyday urban life. Here artistic practice is constructed less as something to be consumed or something, which presupposes knowledge and expertise, and more as something one can do by artistically participating in the unfolding of everyday life. The situational mode thus assumes urban space to be an invariably contested and shifting milieu, which is perpetually configured and reconfigured, and it can be said to perform a kind of mobile "politics of the common" (Amin and Thrift, 2002) or "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1996; Harvey, 2008).

Discussion: Imagining the space of art in the creative city

Our analysis reveals that the way a new museum is imagined can be connected to broader discourses and conceptions, which historically have been developed to frame (the governance of) museums. We have been able to distinguish at least three such conceptions: the museum as spectacle, as representation and as intervention. The first turns museums into sites of spectacle and entertainment, into what has been called "the new museum" (Message, 2006). Firmly embedded in what we have described as the conventional logic of the entrepreneurial city, "new museums" are primarily "new" in the sense that they aim at appearing innovative and exciting to a wider public. Message (2006) argues that this understanding of the museum is usually conveyed not by what is exhibited but by means of museum architecture, forms of installation and publicity. This type of museum defines itself in contrast to the classic paradigm of collection, preservation and scholarship and instead is built around the idea of a lively and exciting museum experience. The interest thus shifts away from the exhibition object, its

collection and classification, and its constitutive practices of archiving and conservation, and focuses on the experience of the visitor as consumer. It follows that new museums are probably more in competition with other forms of popular culture, such as cinemas, shopping malls and fairs, than with their 'unspectacular' ancestors.

The second conception historically associates museums with modernity and its crisis. The museum is conceived as a place of grandeur where the great works of civilization (and often the identity of a nation or region) are collected, remembered and protected. The museum collection testifies to a history of evolution and progress, giving its audience a staged experience of the past. The concept of the museum as representation thus "defend[s] the museum's traditional commitments to collecting, preservation, and scholarship and resist[s] the move to populist programming, building expansion, and market driven narratives" (McClellan, 2008: 4). In this perspective, Adorno, among others, has pointed out that the museum can be aligned with the mausoleum, as a sepulcher for dead objects, a graveyard for works of art (Witcomb, 2004). Importantly, in tune with modernity's emphasis on order, objectivity and distance, the museum here is called upon to counter heterogeneity and disorder. It allows "a disciplined and disinterested aesthetic judgment to be presented to the public who [is] in turn constituted as an appreciative aesthetic community" (Hetherington, 1999: 67).

Questioning the traditional museum as well as the high-profile architectural icon and 'new museum' as the principal place for art, the third conception of museum, as intervention, performs art in what we call a situationist way. This mode of ordering the relations between artistic practices, city dwellers, and urban materialities and affects, as well as its potentially disorderly effects, can be epitomized in Debord's famous claim that what "alters the way we see the streets is more important than what alters the way we see paintings" (2009: 89). The situational mode reflects on the relations between art, the city and its inhabitants, and plays with the possibilities of reassembling them in new ways, allowing for "the organization of another meaningful ensemble which confers on each element its new scope and effect" (Debord in Andreotti, 1996: 28). The playfulness at work in our example resembles the situationist practice of 'détournement', which consists of creatively appropriating and reorganizing "pre-existing elements [and implies] a process of de-contextualization and re-contextualization" (Andreotti, 1996: 27-28). In this sense, the third mode of ordering entails moments of disordering, which unsettle and potentially reconfigure predominant modes of organizing. The reference to Situationism and its iconic status in art history and cultural interventions also implies that provoking "moments of disruption in everyday life" to counter the seeming homogeneity of the modern city and unearth its possibilities through movement is not a marginal practice, but instead a well-established one with a rich history in its own right (McDonough, 1996: 63).

At the same time, our analysis has allowed us to document how the understandings of what museums mean and how to organize them are heavily infused with discourses and images from the script of urban entrepreneurialism in its

contemporary guise of the creative city. However, based on our case we see that this is not a straightforward and smooth process, as the entrepreneurial logic becomes questioned and contested by more traditional ideas of museum production as well as by alternative spatial imaginations of where art takes place. To cut a long story short, the iconic new museum was never built. At the final presentation, three scenarios were presented. The first project, with the title "switch center", proposed a new museum building in the vicinity of the main train station and the old train depot. The second scenario, the "continuum mobile", aimed at preserving and extending the status quo of the art museum by providing the natural history museum with a new building and thus creating more space for the art collection. The third option came as a surprise, suggesting the canton had switched its support to a different cultural player, the textile museum. The project, called "Bling Bling: the textile museum in its prime of life" was geared at investing in and overhauling the textile museum, which preserved the heritage of the local textile industry in the 19th and early 20th century. And so it went: the canton withdrew from the plan to realize a new art museum and decided to invest in the textile museum. The art museum stayed in the existing building and the citizens were asked to – and in fact did – vote for the construction of a new natural history museum.

Broadly speaking, the first two alternatives offered at the presentation seem to mirror the modes of ordering discussed above, with the "switch centre" solution emerging from the entrepreneurial and the "continuum mobile" from the classic mode. However, the final "Bling Bling" decision is a hybrid one, combining elements of (and thus both stabilizing and changing) the different patterns of ordering. First, it clearly adheres to the entrepreneurial mode as it strategically refocuses on a museum, which is unique within the Swiss museum landscape and thus more competitive when it comes to promoting the city as a creative hub. Second, the promotion of the textile museum was also a part of the government's wider-ranging plan for turning the museum into a central heritage site, a place designed to convey historical awareness of, and to reconnect to, the city's 'golden age'. By extending the textile collection (and the adjacent library), the goal was also to turn the museum into an internationally renowned center for textile expertise.

Finally, to identify what we have described as the situational mode of ordering requires that we say something about the everyday practices in which the textile museum is performed. While a vast number of little interventions might contribute to the unfolding of the museum, we can observe traces of these in the way the renewed textile museum operates. In imaginative fashion shows and moderately provocative exhibitions the traditional museum of textile crafts has lately been staged as a site of playful questioning and destabilization of its 'old' identity. In the imagination of the new textile museum we can thus identify traces of all three modes of organizing described above.

The rather moderate forms of intervention enacted in the textile museum lend some force to the suspicion that formerly unsettling cultural practices in general and situational tactics in particular have been co-opted by the script of

the entrepreneurial city and thus 'lost their teeth' (Beyes, 2009). Perhaps, then, "we can only conclude that the bourgeoisie was as adept at *détournement* as the situationists themselves, that, in fact, recuperation and *détournement* were one and the same, a shared cultural strategy" (McDonough, 2004: xiv). However, our analysis shows that the mingling of modes of ordering, their feeding off of each other and their corresponding impurity should not come as a surprise. Moreover, the more radical interventions described above demonstrate the potential of spatio-imaginary reconfigurations which cannot be fully inscribed in the logic of the entrepreneurial city. In this sense, we should be wary of quickly folding the situational mode of ordering, and indeed the interplay of the three modes, into the grand narrative of entrepreneurial co-optation and the irresistible rise of a certain image of the creative city.

What we end up with, then, is a messy and unstable process of participatory urban politics. While they were strongly informed by the discourse and tropes of the creative city and urban entrepreneurialism, from the outset these tropes were hijacked, undermined, contested and subverted. The analysis of our case therefore shows that, enveloped in the everyday assemblages of urban life, the path towards the 'new museum' in the entrepreneurial city is far from clear-cut. Coming back to Lefebvre's apprehension of the urban as "place of desire, permanent disequilibrium, seat of the dissolution of normalities and constraints" and of "moment[s] of play and of the unpredictable" (1996: 129), we therefore suggest that scholars of the processes of organizing (in) the creative city need to stay attuned to the disorder and thus the potentials of urban life.

Moreover, as especially the interventionist mode demonstrates, such moments of play and of the unpredictable potentially constitute a different kind of urban entrepreneurship, one that reconfigures how urban space lends itself to participation and appropriation, and that provokes new encounters and unforeseen relations. From serious or carnivalesque performances of resistance (Lyle, 2008) to the affective enactments and reorderings of urban geographies by homeless people (Cloke, May and Johnsen, 2008); from the reclaiming of the urban agenda by informal actors reanimating indeterminate spaces (Groth and Corijn, 2005) to the emergent (self-)organisation of 'inoperative communities' through mobile clubbing and flash mobs (Kaulingfreks and Warren, 2010) to indeed the disorganising potential of site-specific art interventions, which 're-route' or add to the multiple trajectories that organise urban life (Beyes, 2010; Beyes and Steyaert, 2013): the urban fabric produces manifold manifestations of creativity and new forms of expression which allow change to happen. In this sense, we think it is urgent to add to our understanding of cities in neoliberal times by exploring stories that present alternatives to the dominant critique of urban entrepreneurialism, because it is here that we might "imagine possible futures beyond the narrow confines of a globalized, neo-liberal, free-market model" (Latham, 2006: 91).

Conclusion

Museums, like other cultural and artistic sites, have become important stages on which cities enact their entrepreneurial policies; this has led urban policy makers to invest generously in museum projects. In this paper, we have asked how to read current conceptualizations of the museum in light of its inscription in the discourse of the creative city: Has the museum been reduced to just one more shiny cultural exemplar on the scene of urban spectacle? To answer this question, we have joined more recent conceptual attempts, which encourage us to do more than simply reproduce the grand narrative of the creative city and/or to present stories that repeat the dominant critique of urban entrepreneurialism. In the first book on the entrepreneurial city, Hall and Hubbard (1998) already raised the question of how to write the entrepreneurial city and how to address this problem: "the academic writer must be wary of the ways in which their representations are not simply a mirror of the experience of the city, but ultimately become constitutive of the city, as practices of representation are exercises of discursive definition and power which define the city itself" (p. 202). In reply to this scholarly problem, we have argued in favour of studies that take a more in-depth or ethnographic approach to more closely document processes of urban hybridization. Since cities are palimpsests where layer after layer is written over one another (Hetherington, 2008: 274), our analysis into how a contemporary museum is planned and designed has tried to enact various layers that are written into the contemporary conceptualization of museums. Even if museums have become pivotal in performing the spectacle of the entrepreneurial city, our analysis confirms that "[d]ifferent stories leak out through the city's narrativized spaces of spectacle" (Hetherington, 2008: 290). Such stories need to be told. They emphasize that there is more to museums than what the entrepreneurial urban policies of the creative city make us believe. Whether catalogue of the past, spectacle of the present, or intervention for a different future, museums remain spaces where our imaginations become as much ordered as disordered.

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