## No Space for Subculture, No Space for Disruption: Taming Creativity in Urban Development Projects

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Abstract: Recent urban development projects often try to cater to both high-tech innovation/start-up culture and local culture/sustainable living. In the process, the so-called "creative class" (Florida 2002) has become a focal point for innovative answers to increasing urban pressures. Our paper explores local subculture and art scenes as a place where current innovation policies and alternative approaches to urban future-making collide. We explore the (re-)making of prevalent understanding of creativity in the context of Munich – an economically successful and over-saturated city with a relatively conservative approach to innovation and disruption and no apparent need for the "creative class" remedy. In particular, we investigate the opportunities and manifestations of subculture in three urban development projects that are envisioned as collaborations between innovators and (sub)culturally oriented creativity. Following a co-production STS approach, we observe that these development projects serve as sites where understandings of innovation and creativity are configured and stabilized in keeping with broader socio-political and economic rationalities. What is more, the projects materialize a de-facto split between the two understandings of a "creative scene," whereby alternative and potentially disruptive forms of creativity become sidelined or even prevented in Munich's imagination of urban development in the name of innovation and economic growth. Thus taming the unruliness of creativity, Munich also manages to tame the disruptive threats of innovation, ensuring that the innovation-centered modes of future-making still leave socio-economic hierarchies intact while displacing (counter-)visions rooted in the subculture.

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