

Intangible Cultural Heritage and Urban Renewal

Pina Bausch's Dance Legacy and The Role of Performing Arts in the Reinvention of
Wuppertal as a Creative City

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The fantastic possibility we have on stage is that we might be able to do things that one is not allowed to do or cannot do in normal life. Sometimes, we can only clarify something by confronting ourselves, with what we don't know. And sometimes the questions we have bring us back to experiences which are much older, which not only come from our culture and not only deal with the here and now. It is, as if a certain knowledge returns to us, which we indeed always had, but which is not conscious and present. It reminds us of something, which we all have in common. This gives us great strength.

-Pina Bausch-
(Bausch, 2021)

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND URBAN RENEWAL: PINA BAUSCH'S DANCE LEGACY AND THE ROLE OF PERFORMING ARTS IN THE REINVENTION OF WUPPERTAL AS A CREATIVE CITY

ABSTRACT

Peripheral cities are often understudied in terms of their creative potential despite having unique cultural assets that can drive urban renewal. This thesis explores the transformative potential of Wuppertal, a city historically rooted in industrial development, as it seeks to redefine itself as a creative city in the wake of deindustrialization. Like many peripheral cities, Wuppertal faces challenges in leveraging its cultural resources to foster economic and social revitalization. However, peripheral cities like that also present untapped innovation and cultural development opportunities that have yet to be fully explored. Leveraging the legacy of Pina Bausch and the Tanztheater Wuppertal, this study examines how dance heritage can drive urban renewal and cultural innovation. The main research question is: How can the city of Wuppertal leverage the heritage of Pina Bausch and the Tanztheater Wuppertal to reinvent itself as a creative city amidst its post-industrial transformation?

Drawing on theories such as Richard Florida's (2003) concept of the creative class, Sharon Zukin's (1995) symbolic economy, and Charles Landry's (2008) idea of the creative city, this research situates Pina Bausch's work within the broader framework of intangible cultural heritage and its influence as a catalyst for creative city making. Using a case study approach, the research includes semi-structured interviews with dance journalists, cultural policymakers, and representatives from Tanztheater Wuppertal and the city administration. This data uncovers the nuanced ways in which Bausch's artistic legacy contributes to Wuppertal's rebranding efforts. The findings highlight the importance of integrating living heritage into contemporary urban strategies, demonstrating that the creation of the Pina Bausch Zentrum marks a significant step in establishing Wuppertal as a hub of creativity and cultural dynamism. This research contributes to the broader discourse on urban regeneration, cultural policy, and the evolving role of dance as a living cultural practice in shaping city identities. Furthermore, it emphasizes the unique role of preserving intangible heritage, ensuring a lived practice that actively engages the community. Intangible cultural performances hold significant symbolic capital, making them ideal for promoting smaller cities. This potential has been underestimated until now, highlighting the need to reassess how such heritage can be leveraged for urban development.

KEYWORDS: Creative Cities, Intangible Cultural Heritage, Community, Pina Bausch, Dance Theatre, Urban Renewal

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1 Introduction

Big cities such as New York or Berlin are often regarded as having the most opportunities for new creatives and young people. Among young creatives, the hope of living the creative dream in the big city is a common theme. Urban social studies theories, such as Richard Florida's (2003) *Cities and the Creative Class* or Sharon Zukin's (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*, often focus on these big cities full of creativity and diversity. While mechanisms in these creative megacities might have been established, peripheral cities that have the potential to become creative cities remain understudied. Particularly overlooked is the exploration of intangible heritage's role and its potential for revitalizing these cities, offering a fresh lens through which to examine the creative opportunities they present.

Wuppertal, a city historically rooted in industrial development, has been undergoing a transformative journey toward redefining its identity in the face of deindustrialization. With a rich tradition of modernity symbolized by landmarks such as the suspension railway, the *Von Der Heydt Museum*, and notably the world-renowned *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, Wuppertal is leveraging its cultural heritage to reshape its narrative through creative influences. This case study explores how the city utilizes the dance heritage of Pina Bausch to foster heritage preservation, drive its rebranding as a creative city, and attract young and new creatives to the city.

The need for methodological grounding in this research stems from the intricate relationship between Wuppertal's socio-economic landscape and its cultural institutions. The city's affordable rents and vacant industrial spaces provide an objective foundation for transformation, yet a compelling image is crucial to this endeavor. The *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, emerging from the city and propelled to international acclaim by Pina Bausch, offers unique opportunities for rebranding Wuppertal. Unlike static museums, theatre, and dance are dynamic art forms that not only preserve culture but also foster community engagement, presenting a valuable chance to reposition the city.

However, the preservation of Pina Bausch's dance heritage presents significant challenges. The influx of new choreographers, who bring individual interpretations to original productions, raises questions about the nature of living heritage preservation. Is it even possible - or sensible - to "conserve" a living, evolving art form? Moreover, Pina Bausch's avant-garde project historically garnered more national than local support, complicating efforts to root this legacy within the local community. The *Pina Bausch Zentrum* offers a new focal point for these endeavors. This thesis examines how the Pina Bausch dance heritage can

be utilized to modernize the deindustrialized city of Wuppertal and reshape it as a creative city. The *Tanztheater Wuppertal* serves as a pivotal asset in this rebranding effort, demonstrating the potential for cultural heritage to drive urban renewal and community cohesion. Through this investigation, this thesis will address the broader question: How can the city of Wuppertal leverage the heritage of Pina Bausch and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* to reinvent itself as a creative city amidst its post-industrial transformation?

By conducting semi-structured expert interviews with key figures such as dance journalists, cultural policymakers, and representatives from the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* as well as the city of Wuppertal, this research seeks to uncover the nuanced ways in which Bausch's artistic legacy is utilized to promote contemporary dance, cultural heritage, and urban development in Wuppertal. The analysis will be framed within Richard Florida's (2003) concept of the creative class as well as Sharon Zukin's (1995) concept of symbolic economy, emphasizing how Pina Bausch's work attracts creative professionals and contributes to the city's economic vitality. Additionally, Charles Landry's (2008) idea of the creative city will be utilized to understand how Bausch's innovations foster a culture of creativity and community engagement in urban spaces.

By situating Pina Bausch's *Tanztheater Wuppertal* within the context of dance as intangible cultural heritage as introduced by Vicky Kämpfe (2023), the research will highlight the importance of preserving and evolving dance practices that carry cultural significance and contribute to a sense of identity and continuity. It also shifts the focus more on the local and community-based significance of cultural practices. The *Tanztheater Wuppertal* is seen as part of the living heritage of dance and is important to the specific communities of practitioners and audiences involved. Through a qualitative analysis of these interviews, the research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the interplay between cultural heritage and the attraction value of a city within the context of a dynamic and evolving creative landscape.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Creative Cities

Researchers such as Richard Florida (2003) specifically define creative cities through the economic potential generated by cultural goods. Florida (2003) posits that creative centers are economic winners and hubs of industry growth, with creative individuals drawn to elite experiences that validate their identities. Such elite experiences might include a rich array of cultural institutions, high-quality nightlife, innovative scenes like a flourishing independent arts scene, creative spaces for new trends and industries, or the overall urban environment and quality of life (Florida, 2003). Collectively, these experiences foster creativity, innovation, and a dynamic social atmosphere, making cities more appealing to the creative class, which in turn drives economic growth and urban development (Florida, 2003). Along with the emphasis on cities as “cauldrons of diversity and difference” (p.3), Florida (2003) highlights their essential characteristics, diversity and creativity, as the main drivers of innovation and regional growth. In this way, these cities and regions play an essential role in establishing a form of creative capitalism in the 21st century, as opposed to what industrial cities such as Wuppertal used to be.

The idea of creativity as a driver of economic growth heavily relies on industrial and corporate economic factors and was established by Florida (2003) through the creative capital theory. When looking at city communities, Florida (2003) stresses that while there is increasing disconnectedness of individuals from their communities, this newly achieved individual autonomy is more effective economically and leads to the acceptance of more diverse communities. This can lead to the attraction of creative people and increased economic growth, with creative people as its driving force - essentially, creative capital. Here, the people in power are crucial for creating an environment that ensures the benefits of the population by understanding the needs of their city and its people. For Wuppertal, this suggests that by acknowledging Florida's (2003) emphasis on the role of the creative class in urban renewal, Pina Bausch's legacy could exemplify how a single cultural figure can act as a catalyst for broader urban transformation.

Another urban researcher, Charles Landry (2008), reinforces Florida's (2003) idea by emphasizing that the primary driver of a creative city is its creative people. Landry (2008) also endorses Florida's (2003) idea of looser community networks. He argues that it is vital for cities' creativity to welcome immigrants and outsiders, as a single, homogenous population can stifle imagination and creativity. For outsiders' ideas to flourish, they need an

open environment where their innovations are embraced rather than rejected. Ideally, a creative city undergoes constant renewal through the interplay between locals and outsiders, merging the freshness of outsiders' creativity with the deep, insider knowledge of locals, something a long-standing heritage such as Pina Bausch's could potentially represent.

A major challenge for policymakers in this process is to promote conditions in which a "learning society" (p.117) or a "learning city" (p.117) can unfold (Landry, 2008). It stands to question whether Wuppertal in itself has the potential to create a learning environment. In this case, Landry (2008) introduces the term the "creative milieu" (p.133), which refers to a place that fosters innovation and idea generation through a combination of physical infrastructure like buildings and institutions, as well as social networks and interactions, something that a deindustrialized city such as Wuppertal has. Such a creative milieu thrives on openness and cosmopolitanism, allowing a critical mass of people to collaborate and exchange ideas freely (Landry, 2008).

However, for a city to become truly creative, it not only requires cheap space, advantageous infrastructure, an arts labor force, and financial investments into the culture industries, it also requires "the symbolic capital of vision" (Zukin, 1995, p.150). Bourdieu's (2010) concept of "symbolic capital" provides a relevant framework for understanding the dynamics of creative urban spaces and what could potentially lead to establishing an advantageous creative milieu (Landry, 2008). Symbolic capital contributes to social power and status, shaping societal interactions and opportunities. It is a key aspect of Bourdieu's (2010) theory of social stratification, highlighting the importance of cultural and symbolic resources alongside economic capital. This abstract value constitutes a force within social fields, influencing actions and interactions (Bourdieu, 2010). In urban sociology, symbolic capital helps explain how cities leverage cultural assets to enhance their prestige and attract both residents and visitors (Zukin, 1995), promoting a potential guideline for Wuppertal. By promoting high culture and unique cultural products, cities accrue symbolic capital, reinforcing their status and appeal in a competitive global landscape. This connection between culture, symbolic capital, and urban development underscores the importance of intrinsic cultural values in shaping the identity and attractiveness of cities.

There are researchers such as Andy C. Pratt (2008) who advocate for an understanding of creativity that transcends consumption-driven models, emphasizing the intrinsic value of culture, which in turn attracts creative individuals. Pratt (2008) criticizes the creativity of a city today, which is often tightly linked to marketing strategies designed to attract elite

consumers and promote high culture, adjusting cultural products as unique selling points to distinguish the city from others (Pratt, 2008).

By highlighting the intrinsic cultural values and their impact on urban identity and attractiveness, Sharon Zukin (1995) supports the idea that culture and symbolic capital are crucial in developing and revitalizing cities. This idea outlines how Wuppertal might be able to use its own symbolic capital to reshape its narrative as a creative city.

2.2 Intangible Heritage in Cities

Zukin (1995) acknowledges local heritage as a form for fostering creativity and attraction in a city, which ultimately contributes to “urban redevelopment” (p.1). She highlights how cities capitalize on their unique cultural characteristics and heritage to create an appealing image that sets them apart from other cities (Zukin, 1995). Art and museums themselves can become icons of a city’s symbolic economy, much like Pina Bausch, who is an icon for the city of Wuppertal. This process involves the strategic use of both tangible heritage, like architectural monuments and historical sites, but also intangible heritage, such as local customs, arts, and traditions. These cultural assets contribute to a city’s symbolic capital by providing a sense of authenticity and depth, which are highly valued in the competitive landscape of global cities. Nonetheless, they might also serve as an opportunity for smaller, peripheral cities, such as Wuppertal, especially when they have heritage rich in symbolic capital, such as Pina Bausch.

Since symbolic capital refers to intangible assets, such as cultural knowledge, prestige, and social networks, it is interesting to see the definitions of both tangible and intangible heritage in terms of contextualization (Kämpfe, 2023; Bourdieu, 2010). UNESCO itself defines intangible cultural heritage as “living heritage” (UNESCO - *Frequently Asked Questions*, n.d.). This can include everchanging and evolving “oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, and festive events” (UNESCO - *Frequently Asked Questions*, n.d.) that are being passed on from one generation to the next. The true value of intangible cultural heritage lies not in the cultural practices themselves but in the extensive knowledge and skills they embody and the significance they hold for those who practice them. Meaning that it enriches the daily lives of communities, groups, and individuals by providing a sense of identity, continuity, and belonging, which enhances their well-being.

Adding to this idea, living heritages’ essential role is its endorsement of respect for cultural diversity and human creativity, and helps communities develop resilient, peaceful, and inclusive societies (UNESCO - *Frequently Asked Questions*, n.d.). What defines this

intangible heritage is its characteristic mode of transmission, primarily passed down from one generation to the next through bodily and oral traditions (UNESCO - *Frequently Asked Questions*, n.d.). It is in this ongoing exchange that the intangible heritage undergoes continuous reshaping and reinterpretation. Within its definition lie not just the art forms themselves but also the inherent knowledge and skills embedded within their representation and expression (Kämpfe, 2023).

2.3 Theatres and Dance in Cities

To a city, one of those intangible creative hubs is the theatre, as Jen Harvie (2009) suggests in her book *Theatre and the City*. She explains that “theatre actually does more than demonstrate urban process”, thus it becomes an integral part of the urban process, shaping urban experiences and, in turn, contributing to the creation of the city itself (Harvie, 2009, p.7). It is one of the major creative contributions within the city itself, but the role of the theatre itself goes beyond solely fostering creativity and attracting audiences from all over the world. According to Harvie (2009) some theatres or performances even specifically aim at intervening or changing conventional urban processes, providing creatives with an opportunity to change and influence urban life through for example “performative interventions” (Harvie, 2009, p.8). In Harvie’s (2009) opinion, “drama has long narrated people’s relation to the places where they are, what those places mean and what relationships they make possible” (p.11) and has therefore frequently engaged with tensions concerning urban attitudes, desires as well as disappointments. In case of the creative city, this means a theatre potentially contributes to Landry’s (2008) goal of creative openness and the concept of a learning city, by enhancing cultural life, promoting social interaction, and fostering an environment conducive to creativity and innovation.

The theatre in its essence can therefore serve as an example of a creative hub as it enriches the city’s cultural life and provides a space for artistic expression. Furthermore, it brings together diverse groups of people, fostering a sense of community and shared cultural experiences, as communities often “manifest their engagement in ‘culture’ and ‘arts’” (Mead & Shaw, 2021, p.10). Theatres enhance experimentation and creativity, as well as encourage public engagement and participation in the activities offered. Additionally, the theatre serves as a creative space for the creative class (Florida, 2003) to fully embrace their characteristics, such as engaging with thought-provoking content or exchanging ideas while promoting tolerance and inclusivity. Harvie (2009) describes the theatre not merely as an entertainment venue but also outlines it as potentially being one of the integral components of a city’s

creative ecosystem, contributing both to the city's quality of life and its unique cultural identity. The part that makes it a community contribution are the people collaborating within the theatre and the audiences showing their emotions and reactions to the pieces (Becker, 2008). Becker (2008) regards this as a "division of labor" (p.13) on which mainly performative art forms rely. A theatre, such as *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, could, therefore, influence urban processes in Wuppertal.

Since this study focuses on dance, specifically dance theatre, it is essential to first establish the connection between dance and theatre to demonstrate the relevance of dance within creative cities. Kate Elswit (2017) in her book *Theatre and Dance* strongly enforces the interdependence of theatre and dance. Both are performing arts that play significant roles in preserving and transmitting cultural traditions, fostering creativity, and enhancing community identity (Elswit, 2017). Additionally, dance, like theatre, is a powerful medium for storytelling. Through movement, dancers convey stories, emotions, and cultural values, often without words, inheriting a similar function of creative expression as the theatre. Elswit (2017) also highlights the historical entanglement of theatre and dance and its integral part of theatrical performances from ancient times to the present. In many cultures, early forms of theatre included dance as an integral component. For example, in ancient Greek theatre, dance was a crucial part of the choruses, and in traditional Indian theatre, dance, and dramatic storytelling are deeply linked (Elswit, 2017). Through their shared functions, however, dance could potentially have the same contribution as theatre in terms of their quality as creative hubs.

Florida (2003), Zukin (1995), and Landry (2008) primarily define the experiences that attract creative people as high arts and elite experiences. Yet, dance has long been ignored as a form of the higher culture (Lena, 2019). In the United States, it took a long time for dance, specifically contemporary dance, to establish an image that was not regarded as popular culture (Lena, 2019). Still, over time, a new development took place. Lena (2019) states that modern dance was viewed as possessing a distinctively American style, while ballet was often regarded as an outdated European import that failed to resonate with the experiences of the young nation. In Germany, Pina Bausch's form was similarly dismissed at first, but after gaining international approval, it has developed into one of the most acclaimed dance forms of its age (Klein, 2019).

2.4 Dance as Intangible and Living Heritage

Whether high culture or not, UNESCO has recognized several dance forms as living heritage; as previously established, any form of local heritage can play an important role in the appeal of a creative city, as it contributes to urban life and cultural experiences (Harvie, 2009; Zukin, 1995). Unlike tangible heritage within cities, living heritage is dynamic, constantly evolving, and adapting to contemporary contexts while preserving its traditional roots, a characteristic that can also be applied to dance (UNESCO - *Frequently Asked Questions*, n.d.). On the one hand, dance serves as a powerful medium for expressing cultural identities, telling stories, and preserving traditions. On the other hand, it is a living practice that embodies the continuity and creativity of cultural expressions (Iacono & Brown, 2016).

Hence, intangible, and through this, living cultural heritage finds its manifestation through the individuals who embody it. It is additionally disclosed in their interactions with the artifacts they create and utilize and the environment they engage with. This heritage is brought to life through various practices, activities, and performances, with the human body playing a central role in dance practices. According to Iacono and Brown (2016), through this, the “phenomenon of dance is simultaneously emergent from and constitutive of culture and society” (p.85), highlighting dance as a prime example of living cultural heritage. Doulamis et al. (2017) add that the intangible nature of dance makes it incredibly challenging to preserve and archive. Pina Bausch’s heritage, with its rich blend of dance and theatre, holds significant potential in this context. Her work exemplifies the dynamic and evolving nature of living cultural heritage, as its essence is reinterpretation with every new performance (Klein, 2019).

The bond between heritage and humanity is profound and dynamic, characterized by an ongoing exchange where each influences the other in a fluid, ever-evolving dialogue. Within this dialogue, the significance of dancing bodies becomes apparent as they reflect the social and cultural contexts of their communities, as well as the rich tapestry of their life experiences and beliefs (Iacono & Brown, 2016). Pina Bausch’s dance theater transcends the conventional boundaries of dance by integrating dramatic elements and exploring the depths of human emotions and relationships (Klein, 2019). This innovative approach aligns with dance as a living cultural heritage, emphasizing its dynamic, evolving nature and deep-rooted connection to human experiences. Movements cannot exist in isolation; they are intricately intertwined with their cultural and social surroundings. Thus, movement systems within dance embody diverse structures of thought shaped by societal norms and habits.

Furthermore, living cultural heritage encompasses more than just traditions and conventions; it is also profoundly shaped by the emotions and sentiments of individuals, as

well as their personal connections to this heritage. Factors such as taste and perception play a crucial role in how people engage with and relate to their cultural heritage, adding complexity and richness to its ongoing evolution (Iacono & Brown, 2016). This also stresses the meaning of the collective when it comes to the creation and success of an artwork; both the dancer and the spectator are crucial to the process (Becker, 2008).

Additionally, dance heritage is always transmitted and includes development as a central element. Although dance styles and traditions of dance movements are part of basic training in dance education, new dancers implement them through their perspectives, contextual knowledge, experiences, and individual takes on the movement (Kämpfe, 2023). Likewise, dance can be subject to influences that turn it inauthentic through, for example, “external influences” or a strictly rule-oriented implementation (Kämpfe, 2023, p.47). Economic interests, such as cultural tourism or political interests, question its role in Florida’s (2003) creative capital and enforce Pratt’s (2008) view on how the profit part of the creative class can lead to inauthentic creativity. Despite these challenges, the “person-bound transmission” (p.47) that is included in dance also makes it an authentic practice of cultural forms of expression such as dance because they are based on personal communication, physical disposition, and specific prior knowledge of that individual (Kämpfe, 2023). This defines dance as a living cultural heritage through its shared knowledge that supports a cultural identity by providing forms of recognition and enabling similar experiences without claiming them as absolute value.

In contemporary society, there is a continuous discussion surrounding the relevance of modern dance expressions, movement systems, and dance education methods. Despite this, various dance styles and traditions remain significant in educational curricula and artistic endeavors (Kämpfe, 2023). These practices, passed down through generations, undergo adaptations to align with evolving societal and aesthetic preferences. Preserving the original dance heritage requires collaborative efforts, including research and archival work aimed at identifying fundamental concepts and practices (Kämpfe, 2023), something that, after Pina Bausch’s death, has been implemented through the establishment of the Pina Bausch Foundation. Traditional sites of modern expressive dance, alongside dance archives and institutionally run venues, play pivotal roles in recording, reconstructing, and communicating the rich heritage of dance. Through these collective endeavors, the essence of dance continues to thrive and resonate across time and cultures (Kämpfe, 2023). Pina Bausch’s dance form could underscore the profound impact of individual expression within collective memory,

making her work not only a personal artistic expression but also a reflection of broader socio-cultural narratives.

2.5 Dance as Symbolic Capital

Kämpfe (2023) categorizes dance practices as Bourdieu's symbolic capital to emphasize the importance of dance as a heritage. As previously established, symbolic capital can also refer to the intangible assets. Therefore, Kämpfe (2023) recognizes dance as symbolic capital. Granting dance practices a heritage status acknowledges their implicit knowledge and associated processes as relevant and constitutive of social development, imbuing them with symbolic value. In dance situations, material aspects are condensed into intangible attributions: forms become active, spaces transform into stages, and a dance-specific body structure and habitus emerge through incorporation processes (Kämpfe, 2023). Recognized as symbolic capital, dance practices hold values and meanings intrinsic to social situations, underscoring their significance in cultural expression and societal dynamics (Kämpfe, 2023).

Furthermore, embedding dance within symbolic capital stresses its status as a high art and potentially elite experience within a city (Zukin, 1995). Zukin's exploration of the relationship between culture, symbolic capital, and urban development highlights how cultural expressions like dance contribute to the identity and attractiveness of urban spaces. This framework is particularly relevant in the case of Pina Bausch's person-bound heritage, where her influence and reputation serve as powerful cultural assets for Wuppertal. In this context, Pina Bausch's legacy could transform her into a "cultural means of framing space" (Zukin, 1995, p.23), meaning that her work and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* could not only enhance the cultural prestige of the city but also shape its identity as a creative hub. As a high cultural institution, it could offer networking opportunities and enhance a "for-profit culture" (Zukin, 1995, p.117).

2.6 Archiving Dance

If Pina Bausch's legacy is such a significant cultural practice, its preservation becomes crucial, involving the documentation, description, and communication of her work within the framework of intangible cultural heritage. Doulamis et al. (2017) claim that there have been improvements in digitization methods for intangible heritage, specifically folklore dances, and that these are essential for "promoting cultural diversity to the children and youth through the

safeguard of traditional performance art”. Aside from its educational purpose, it also makes local communities aware of the “richness of their intangible heritage” (Doulamis et al., 2017) and, most importantly, can be used to strengthen “cooperation and intercultural dialogue between people, different cultures and countries” (Doulamis et al., 2017). As per UNESCO, intangible heritage is mainly defined as practices preserved and lived through a specific community or group, meaning they are shaped by the conditions of their local and temporal settings and the people practicing them.

Specifically, the performing arts are challenging to preserve, archive, and digitize due to their complex structure and “dynamic nature”, as well as “the interaction among the objects and the environment” and “most importantly emotional elements”, for example, the expression of dancers and the dancing individual (Doulamis et al., 2017). The dance sphere encapsulates various expressions, drawing from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds and infrastructural frameworks, each imbued with its own set of social significances. Within this spectrum, formal settings and structural requirements play pivotal roles in presenting various dance forms. Moreover, the act of dancing itself generates a unique body of knowledge, emerging in the very moment of movement (Kämpfe, 2023). In the German-speaking sphere, the discourse surrounding dance is particularly attuned to socio-cultural contexts, emphasizing an understanding of dance through the lens of corporeality. Here, the focus is on grasping the intangible essence of dance, often revolving around conceptualizations of the body and its interplay within the art form (Kämpfe, 2023).

The integration of archival practices with performative research and transmission signifies a dynamic and evolving approach to preserving dance heritage in the present day. As dance practices are understood as a form of knowledge linked to bodily movement, dance can already be archived through performance alone. Through this, dance contributes to the archiving of cultural memory. The appreciation of this knowledge extends to its exercise in everyday practice, thereby forming a lived cultural heritage, which may also be defined as “body memory” (Kämpfe, 2023, p. 64). Furthermore, movement practices play a pivotal role in establishing, conveying, and perpetuating social values and norms. It is, therefore, paramount to safeguard and communicate this knowledge, particularly about its intangible cultural heritage aspect. However, transmitting this knowledge to subsequent generations can be a challenging endeavor.

Archiving movement practices involves establishing a range of possibilities across spatial, temporal, institutional, financial, and technical infrastructures. Traditional archiving methods, reliant on documents and objects, fall short of capturing the complexity of dance

practice comprehensively. While traditional archives rely on physical documentation, digital media can play a significant role in archiving dance practices. Video recordings, interactive platforms, and virtual reality technologies can capture the dynamic and ephemeral nature of dance, providing a more immersive archival experience (Kämpfe, 2023). In the realm of intangible cultural heritage, involving the community of practitioners and stakeholders in the archiving process is crucial as well. Their input, stories, and perspectives can enrich the archival content and ensure that the cultural significance of the dances is accurately represented. Archiving dance practices should not only focus on the movements themselves but also on the broader context in which the dances are performed. This includes information about the choreographers, dancers, cultural meanings, music, costumes, and any other elements that contribute to the richness of the dance practice (Kämpfe, 2023).

Aside from the storage of dance movement through media, the body can also be employed as a storage medium. The Performative Dance Archive approach focuses on the experiential and embodied aspects of dance practices (Kämpfe, 2023). It emphasizes the importance of experiencing and performing dance to understand and preserve its knowledge. This method involves documenting not just the movements themselves but also the cultural, social, and historical contexts in which the dances exist. In contrast, impractical research methods involve engaging with dance practices through practical experience. This hands-on approach allows for a deeper understanding of the embodied knowledge inherent in dance and can lead to new insights and interpretations (Kämpfe, 2023).

To ensure the inherent value of intangible heritage, it is vital that these forms not only be archived digitally but also include the active participation of the surrounding community. The long-standing heritage of Pina Bausch demonstrates the potential for such a legacy to foster community involvement and maintain its relevance in contemporary cultural practices.

2.7 Dance in North Rhine Westphalia

This study focuses on the development of one specific creative city, Wuppertal, and the influence of Pina Bausch, an important figure in modern dance, as living cultural heritage. To understand the importance of heritage and creative city-making in the case of Wuppertal, it is essential to mention that cities like Wuppertal, which in the past have been industrially focused cities, needed to substantially change their urban infrastructure due to deindustrialization processes ranking them as cities “located lower in the urban hierarchy” (Mommaas, 2004, p.514). However, the reorganization of cities through the renewal of cultural infrastructure has already resulted in the transformations of old factories and former

working-class districts into cultural experience centers (Landry, 2020). An example of this can be found in the bordering area of Wuppertal, famously known as the Ruhr region. This region has already undergone similar transformations in *Emscher Park* and *Zeche Zollverein* (Landry, 2020).

Based on this historical context, The *Tanztheater Wuppertal* exemplifies how living cultural heritage can turn into a truly unique success story for a city with an industrial-dominated past. The theatre does not only include the city's name, Wuppertal, in its own title but also displays the unique dance form of its founder, Pina Bausch. The term dance theatre encompasses a never-before-seen combination of dance and theatre. Breaking with all tradition, dancers cough, dance in wellies, or have branches on their heads, features that Gabriele Klein (2019) calls an “aesthetic revolt” (p.8). Pina Bausch's variant radically questions both the terms dance and theatre by including speaking, singing, and screaming and combining these expressions with plants, objects, and animals, explaining everyday contexts in the form of dance practices (Klein, 2019).

Additionally, Bausch was renowned for the conscious inclusion of the subjectivity of each participant. By asking her dancers questions, she drew on their perceptions, associations, thoughts, personal backgrounds, and sensitivities in verbal or danced form during the choreographic process (Kämpfe, 2023). Her form of dance was able to thrive and, at the same time, retain its original construction through an awareness of what is to be danced or the feeling of what is to be danced.

Even after her death in 2009, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* continues to attract audiences from all around the world, turning into a living cultural heritage sensation even for audiences that are not primarily interested in dance as a cultural attraction (Klein, 2019). Many artists, not only in dance but also in theatre, film, and other artistic fields, have been influenced by her. In numerous dance and theatre pieces, fragments can still be found today that consciously and deliberately, or even unconsciously and unknowingly, refer to her aesthetics (Klein, 2019). However, the label intangible heritage comes with a particular fear of museology of her dance aesthetic, as heritage preservation methods are often oriented toward tangible heritage (Doulamis, 2017). Even during her lifetime, former colleagues and dancers have criticized her dance for being glorified to the point of conservation.

Ich kam mir vor wie in einem Museum, aber in einem Museum, in dem nur Kopien ausgestellt werden. In ihrem geschlossenen Kokon verkörperten einige mit dreißig die gleichen Rollen wie mit sechzig. Es sollte etwas konserviert werden, was man nicht

konservieren kann, denn Theater spielt jetzt, in diesem Moment. (Michaelsen, 2015)
[I felt like I was in a museum, but in a museum where only copies are exhibited. Some embodied the same roles at thirty as they did at sixty in their closed cocoon. Something was being preserved that cannot be preserved because theater is happening now, in this moment] (own translation)

In his interview with the German newspaper magazine *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* (Michaelsen, 2015), the dancer and choreographer Raimund Hoghe describes his visit to the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* as a very conserved experience clinging to one specific narrative and person. However, although a repetitive narrative could be perceived by duplicating her pieces and repertoire, many of her innovations have seamlessly integrated into modern aesthetics and, through this, have retained their relevance. Elements from Pina Bausch's works have become so ingrained in contemporary culture that their origins are frequently overlooked or forgotten (Klein, 2019). It is precisely that conflict between museology through an intangible heritage label and the continuous development of her dance form through the revival of previous theatrical productions, as well the transfer of roles and positions from experienced dancers to younger ones, that makes her particular heritage so special. While the name Pina Bausch includes more than just her person and vision, new choreographers face the challenge of a careful balance between keeping her heritage alive and ensuring its relevance in contemporary society.

In connection to the theories by Zukin (1995), Florida (2003), Landry (2008), Kämpfe (2023), and Pratt (2008), the topic of Pina Bausch in the context of Wuppertal shows both similarities and differences from these theories. Especially within the consideration of dance as living heritage and Kämpfe's (2021) approaches to active body memory, Pina Bausch and her dance heritage, specifically dance theatre, serve as an example of how a relatively modern phenomenon passes from the fringes into tradition and how this could potentially aid Wuppertal's rebranding as a creative city. It also stresses what archiving contemporary dance could look like and how it can be approached through the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* itself, as well as through the *Pina Bausch Foundation*. However, it is modernity and tradition that simultaneously connect Pina Bausch and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* to theories on creative cities. Through its existence as a theatre, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* shows its potential, as highlighted by Harvie (2009), for contributing to the creative city and increasing quality of life.

Moreover, its connection to Pina Bausch illustrates how living heritage can actively contribute to the creative city through its power as a cultural magnet. Pina Bausch's innovative approach to dance attracted global attention, drawing visitors, artists, and creative individuals to the city. This aligns with Florida's (2003) idea that vibrant cultural scenes attract the creative class, fostering economic growth and innovation.

It additionally emphasizes its ability to foster cultural innovation (Pratt, 2008) that goes beyond pure economic potential and through its international success, but locally bound origin, unites both local and global audiences. Moreover, Pina Bausch's heritage also includes her focus on inclusivity and cultural exchange, which contribute to the attraction of outsiders and new creatives. Both Florida (2003) and Landry (2008) emphasize innovation and the creation of new cultural forms. Pina Bausch creative vision, and through this her *Tanztheater Wuppertal* today, are both celebrated for pushing artistic boundaries and fostering new creative expressions. In contrast, however, it stands to question how a heritage such as hers allows for room for new creativity or if it rather restricts it. It also addresses the differences and contradictions in the theory of on which basis the value of the creative city should be determined - on the one hand, Florida's (2003) creative capital and Zukin's (1995) symbolic capital approach lay an economic focus and on the other a more community-based living heritage that allows to also view the intrinsic value of culture.

3 Methodology

This thesis investigated the role of intangible living heritage in peripheral cities with the potential to become creative cities. The central research question, therefore, is: How can the city of Wuppertal leverage the heritage of Pina Bausch and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* to reinvent itself as a creative city amidst its post-industrial transformation? The research uncovered the interesting role of theatre and dance, not only in preserving heritage but also in fostering community. Aside from emphasizing the importance of anchoring the heritage in the local context, despite its national appeal, it reveals the dynamics and preconditions of the city, as well as the challenges and relevance of living heritage preservation. The case study highlights how the global recognition of Pina Bausch can be an opportunity for rebranding Wuppertal and how such a process is already underway.

Based on this research question, I have conducted an interview-based study on the phenomena of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*. Therefore, this research is guided by a qualitative data analysis through semi-structured interviews. These in-depth interviews were conducted with an initial interview guide to better structure the understanding of how different cultural institutions function within the city. Since informants on this topic are limited and difficult to contact, I treated these interviews as expert interviews. The interviewees, through their long careers and extensive experience within the city's municipal structures or the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, provide valuable insights into the long-term developments and dynamics within the city, the theatre, its surrounding area, and the broader topic of dance in Germany.

Thematic analysis was chosen for this research as it emphasizes the context of the data and its connection to the research question (Puppis, 2019). This method involves identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns and themes within the data, which allows for a nuanced understanding of the subject matter. Eight expert interviews were conducted for this qualitative study to investigate the aforementioned research question and its dynamics. Thematic analysis was instrumental in highlighting the intricate interplay between the city and the theatre. By systematically coding the data and identifying recurring themes, this approach elucidates how various factors and narratives intersect, providing a comprehensive view of the complex relationship between Wuppertal and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, as well as their impact on the cultural landscape.

3.1 Sample

The sampling frame of this research encompassed all institutions in Wuppertal that are tied to either Pina Bausch's heritage or the city's cultural and independent scene. Therefore,

the purposive sampling strategy involved snowball sampling and multi-criterion sampling to select participants with expertise relevant to the research topic (Bryman, 2012). Participants were primarily chosen for their professional roles in institutions relevant to this research. Given the theatre's location in Wuppertal, those institutions included the municipality, the theatre itself, and the initiatives surrounding it. Through this, the professional experience of the participants was also crucial.

Secondly, the expertise of the interviewees was a vital criterion. To ensure comparative standpoints, I decided to include two interviewees with outside perspectives of the city's impact and sphere to additionally establish a more differentiated outside perspective. In relation to the research question, they could allow for the discovery of unexpected patterns, new emerging sub-themes, and unexpected connections that might not be captured by pre-determined survey questions. Even if some did not have ties to Wuppertal itself their extensive background knowledge on the area's cultural history or expertise on dance within Germany played a significant role in their selection. The majority of participants have worked in their field for a long time and could therefore offer professional and elaborative opinions on the development of Pina Bausch's heritage and the city's cultural structures.

Lastly, all participants should be able to reflect on cultural and urban developments in and around the city of Wuppertal. Since urban regeneration through living heritage is central to this thesis, it is important to understand historical processes around the city and area. With these criteria, the following individuals were interviewed to pursue the main objectives of this thesis:

Interviewee	Name	Institution	Role
1	Barbara Kaufmann	Tanztheater Wuppertal	Ensemble Direction/Dancer
2	Wiebke Hüster	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Theatre and Dance Critic
3	Ursula Popp	Tanztheater Wuppertal	Head of Public Relations
4	Bettina Paust	Kulturbüro Wuppertal	Head of the Cultural Office

5	Bettina Milz	Pina Bausch Zentrum	Content Coordinator and Manager in the Preliminary Phase
6	Jens Nieweg	Tourismusverband NRW	Team Leader Theme Management Cultural Tourism, Events and Enjoyment
7	Martin Bang	City Marketing Wuppertal	CEO
8	Salomon Bausch	Pina Bausch Foundation	Founder

Figure 1: Demographic information about Interviewees

My selection process was additionally guided by emerging theories or concepts during data analysis (Creswell & Creswell, 2023). The search for potential interviewees was also aided by recommendations from initial contacts who referred other potential participants. Initial contacts, such as Barbara Kaufmann and Dr. Bettina Paust, provided further recommendations, facilitating the discovery of additional relevant participants. Through this, my analysis and data collection were a continuous process. In this way, semi-structured interviews provided flexibility and helped develop the topic further, allowing for a certain number of question topic areas to support coding and categorization (Bryman, 2012).

3.2 Operationalization

In my research, I delve into the possible benefits of Pina Bausch's heritage for the city of Wuppertal and the rebranding as a creative city that could result from that. I aim to analyze the functions of Wuppertal as a creative city, as well as the influence dance and Pina Bausch, have on its structure, to comprehend the exceptional influence of one specific individual. For this study, key concepts such as "cultural heritage", "artistic impact", "community engagement", and "economic factors" were operationalized into specific interview questions and themes for analysis.

Cultural heritage was operationalized by asking interviewees about their experiences and perceptions regarding the preservation and impact of Pina Bausch's work on Wuppertal's cultural landscape. This concept was determined based on the theory of Kämpfe (2023) and Iacono & Brown (2016) to clarify in what way Pina Bausch's work is preserved through

various cultural institutions throughout Wuppertal and if the status of intangible heritage and its influence can be determined.

The artistic impact was addressed through questions on the influence of Pina Bausch's creative vision on local and international art scenes and how her legacy is maintained and evolved within the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*. This concept ensures a specific look at Pina Bausch's dance heritage, as described by Kämpfe (2023) and Klein (2019). Additionally, it aims to reveal the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*'s inherent value as a cultural industry (Pratt, 2008) that actively contributes to its city's unique creativity. Hers and the theatre's artistic impact outline the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2010) her dance holds.

Community engagement was explored by inquiring about initiatives that involve local communities, audience development strategies, and the theatre's role in fostering a sense of identity and belonging in Wuppertal. Community engagement as a concept can be used based on UNESCO's criteria for intangible heritage and specifically dance as intangible heritage (Kämpfe, 2023) and was created on the basis of Landry's (2008) idea of creativity as more holistically encompassing social, cultural, and economic dimensions. Bausch's heritage can be seen in its ability to positively contribute to urban innovation and community engagement. Lastly, economic factors were examined through discussions on funding strategies, financial challenges, the economic impact of the theatre on the city, and the role of cultural tourism. This concept was formed based on Florida's (2003) creative capital, through which he links to economic metrics and urban competitiveness. The success of cultural initiatives like Bausch's *Tanztheater Wuppertal* is measured by their ability to attract the creative class and stimulate economic growth.

Each of these concepts was linked to specific codes during the data analysis phase, ensuring that the abstract research questions were effectively translated into concrete, analyzable data

3.3 Data Collection and Ethical Considerations

The data for this study was collected through a series of eight interviews conducted from mid-March to mid-May. Due to the geographical distance between the researcher and the interviewees, the majority of these interviews were conducted online via Zoom. This method ensured flexibility and convenience for both parties, facilitating a more diverse range of participants. Before each interview, participants were provided with information on the study, outlining the purpose of the research, the nature of their participation, and the measures taken to ensure their confidentiality and data protection. Informed consent forms ensured that

participants were fully aware of their rights and the scope of the research. The interviews were conducted in German to ensure participants' comfort and gain deeper access to their knowledge. The participant translated any special terms that needed an additional translation. The interviews were recorded using Zoom's audio recording option, and they consented to be recorded prior to the start of the interview.

Post-interview, participants were sent a new, additional consent form requesting permission to use their names in the thesis. This step was taken to maintain transparency and respect for the interviewees' preferences regarding their anonymity and the attribution of their insights. This ensured that only those who were comfortable with being identified were named. Some participants requested changes to their interview transcripts. These requests were carefully considered and, where appropriate, implemented to ensure that the data accurately reflected the participants' intentions and viewpoints. This practice underscored the researcher's commitment to accurately representing the participants' contributions and maintaining the integrity of the data.

3.4 Data Analysis

To make sense of the interview data in a systematic way Bryman's (2012) questioning methods were employed to provide a clearer question topic outlay. The interviews were transcribed, anonymized, and timestamped with the help of the Turboscribe software, and then translated into English for the purpose of this study. Using Atlas.ti, coding of the interviews was conducted to establish themes, sub-themes and categories. The software helped identify codes within multiple documents and made it easy to compare the codes to each other (Creswell & Creswell, 2023).

Although coding in qualitative research is not necessarily a linear process, coding was initially done with open coding for segmenting and then axial coding to determine whether the codes developed through open coding cover the data sufficiently (Boejie, 2005). Through this initial category descriptions with codes and sub-codes were established. Lastly selective coding can be used to reassemble existing codes to see how the collected data is linked between categories (Boejie, 2005). Given the purposeful nature of the sample, coding had to be revised multiple times. With the initial coding of the data a lot of very detailed codes emerged which could be organized into broader themes and sub-themes and resulting in more concise coding-categories (Appendix C & D).

Following Creswell & Creswell's (2023) steps for qualitative data analysis the coding groups lay the foundation for identifying the most recurrent and contradictory themes within the data, adding to the interconnection of the themes and the creation of a “story line interpretation” (Creswell & Creswell, 2023, p.208). An analytical framework was applied to interpret the data fully, aligning with a grounded theory design.

3.5 Positionality

The researcher's reflexivity is an important aspect when it comes to qualitative research, as the researcher's position can subjectively influence the outcome of the study (Berger, 2015). The goal of reflexivity in qualitative research is to enhance the accuracy and credibility of findings by acknowledging and accounting for the researcher's values, beliefs, knowledge, and biases (Berger, 2015). It is essential to acknowledge that, within my research, I am an outsider to the intricate knowledge of the ongoings within the Wuppertal cultural scene and, therefore, an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, making me a peripheral researcher (Dwyer&Buckle, 2009).

This outsider perspective can have both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it allows me to approach the topic with fresh eyes and an unbiased perspective, potentially uncovering insights that insiders might overlook. My detachment from the immediate cultural context can foster more critical and objective analysis, free from preconceived notions or ingrained biases that insiders might have. However, being an outsider also presents challenges. My lack of intimate knowledge and lived experience within the Wuppertal cultural scene means I may miss nuanced understandings and contextual subtleties that insiders inherently grasp. Additionally, gaining trust and rapport with participants might be more difficult, as they might view me as lacking the shared experiences that foster mutual understanding and credibility.

Moreover, despite my position as an outsider, it is important to recognize the risk of losing objectivity due to my family connections to Wuppertal. My infrequent visits to the city have likely shaped my perceptions and could inadvertently lead to a bias towards Wuppertal. I tried to actively mitigate these biases by remaining open to what participants stated and encouraging them to enrich my knowledge of Wuppertal with their expertise.

This methodology, consisting of semi-structured expert interviews, aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of Pina Bausch's theatre and the city of Wuppertal. The iterative coding process and the use of multiple data sources will ensure a robust analysis,

contributing valuable insights into the role of Pina Bausch's legacy in shaping Wuppertal as a creative city.

4 Results

4.1 Analysis

The in-depth analysis reveals that Pina Bausch's influence transcends artistic innovation, profoundly impacting Wuppertal's cultural, social, and economic landscape. The comprehensive data gathered from interviews illustrates the multifaceted nature of Bausch's legacy and its potential for uniting the city under one creative image. One of the significant findings is the divergence in perspectives between officials from the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and city representatives compared to those of external journalists and institutions. These differences underscore the complexity of Bausch's impact and the varied ways her work and the city of Wuppertal is perceived and valued. This analysis will delve into these themes, providing a detailed exploration of the dynamics at play and offering insights into the potential of Pina Bausch's legacy for Wuppertal's rebranding as a creative city and highlighting its already existing potential.

4.1.1 The Influence of Pina Bausch

Wuppertal has thrived into becoming the underdog of creative cities in Germany, as shown by an interviewee from the *Tourismusverband NRW* referencing a recent newspaper article describing Wuppertal as the new Berlin. However, the most famous asset of the city to the outside spectator remains Pina Bausch and not the city's independent cultural scene. The *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, founded by Pina Bausch, is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year. According to one interviewee, the theatre has been “one of the most important experimental places for 50 years, influencing many generations of choreographers”. Unsurprisingly, the name PINA has become almost a brand in itself, reflecting a certain iconicism. Bettina Milz from the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* initiative noted that “there are rarely such exceptional personalities”. There is no doubt that Pina Bausch has had a significant impact on the world of dance, with multiple global tours and “In residence” collaborations. Her international work has resulted in collaboration all across the globe, including cities such as Mumbai, Istanbul, and Santiago de Chile.

Bausch's international success has in the past significantly elevated Wuppertal's status, as “people flocked to Wuppertal to see the pieces,” and one thing was always clear: “Wuppertal is where Pina works,” ensuring a close link to the city itself during her lifetime. For Pina Bausch herself, the only place to work is the city of Wuppertal. Her son, Salomon

Bausch, describes that although his mother had received other offers, she always decided to stay in Wuppertal, holding it in high regard for being an “everyday city”, a reference from her Kyoto speech. Bausch explains this decision by arguing that Pina Bausch could not have done her work anywhere else in the world. In a city like New York, the constant influx of exciting artists would have distracted her and her company. Wuppertal, being a quieter city with fewer cultural offerings, provided an environment conducive to focused and concentrated work.

Additionally, the conditions at the Wuppertal stages should not be underestimated. Unlike other venues where productions constantly change, causing significant stress, Wuppertal offers more space and time for uninterrupted work. Even though many interviewees state that the city has been in great support of Pina Bausch’s work for quite some time, her beginnings in Wuppertal were certainly met with skepticism. The *Tanztheater Wuppertal* has remained an “ivory tower”, as Barbara Kaufmann calls it, amidst the economic struggles of the relatively poor city, which has been extraordinarily supported over many years and decades, showing continuous support, especially in dance. This is precisely as Pina Bausch wanted it to be, leaving a legacy through which dance would never truly disappear in Wuppertal.

While there were already dance companies in Wuppertal and the area before, her influence spans beyond the boundaries of just this city by contributing to the federal state of North Rhine Westphalia’s unique dance image, being the only German state that has dance houses and a genuinely unique dance structure for contemporary dance, as described by one interviewee. While others have tried to establish dance houses in Berlin, such as the journalist Wiebke Hüster, the senate there would simply not fund such an undertaking.

4.1.2 Preserving an Icon

One key component here is the intangible cultural heritage aspect of Pina Bausch’s legacy and how it is preserved and has evolved within the community. The rapid establishment of the *Pina Bausch Foundation* already suggested the importance and supported the city, and the federal state of North Rhine Westphalia was willing to provide, as it took only roughly a month to get the approval for the *Pina Bausch Foundation*. Even before her unexpected death in 2009, Pina Bausch had already considered manifesting her artistic legacy through the idea of a foundation. Although, according to her son Salomon Bausch, this foundation initially had a vessel function, it quickly turned into a space where the essence of

the dance theatre style was detailly recorded and archived, and the copyright to Pina Bausch's choreographies and pieces was ensured. Now, the "large inventory" recorded has been meticulously digitized. This digitization was mainly derived from documents the artist had compiled herself to "bring the pieces back to the stage". Through careful digitization and the avoidance of putting content "boxes", the ongoing process of archiving material seeks to retain the inherent value and practical information on Pina Bausch's pieces. In order for this data to be authentic enough, the *Pina Bausch Foundation* uses a very "flexible data structure" to make sense of the extensive network of "pieces, people on stage, creators of stage designs, music, performances with performance venues, and dates" provided through various forms of media such as photos or videos.

However, the particular challenge of dealing with Pina Bausch's heritage is that her artistic vision did not include a fixed plan for each of her plays but rather a continuous development and could even be changed or adjusted after it initially premiered. Salomon Bausch explains that his "mother once said that her pieces do not develop from front to back or anything like that, but from inside out". Often, notes from dancers or assistants collected in a, as Bausch puts it, "show bible" begin to outline processes and development of pieces. Therefore, a recreation of these pieces today poses the challenge of very complex creative processes of one specific individual. An advantage of Pina Bausch's legacy is that it is relatively young within the sphere of heritage. While the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, the theatre still employs dancers who have experienced these pieces when Pina Bausch was still Artistic Director and was involved in its creation.

One of those dancers is ensemble lead and rehearsal coordinator Barbara Kaufmann, who has been creatively collaborating with Pina Bausch herself. She describes the excitement of creating new pieces, stressing the responsibility to keep Pina Bausch's heritage alive and continuing her heritage. Former dancers like her are essential for the transfer of knowledge to younger generations of dancers, ensuring that Pina Bausch's pieces will not be just copied bit by bit from the visualized video material or the hand-written notes from the archive but maintain the "specific form" with which Pina Bausch herself worked. This delicate balance is maintained through the collaboration of teams with mixed experience backgrounds, bringing together experienced dancers with younger generations so that they can make the pieces their own. According to Kaufmann, learning Pina Bausch's movement language is very unique. She describes the process of these "collective movements" as an intense interaction with music, with movements that can only trigger emotions. While the difficulty with this, of course, is that all of these movement invention processes came out of her inner map, Pina

Bausch also greatly focused on the individuality each dancer expresses through their own body or their specific presence. This individuality in her work allows younger generations to make it their own while still learning from the original dancers themselves.

4.1.3 A New Generation

Part of this continued heritage is the significant generational shift ensuring more openness. The generational shift among younger dancers and artists has led to increased visibility for both Wuppertal and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*. This shift has manifested in more open rehearsals and a generally more accessible environment through, for example, the social media usage of the dancers. The head of public relations of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* says that the rehearsal process “used to be much more closed and hermetic”, especially while younger dancers nowadays are more inclined to post about rehearsals on social media. There are some discrepancies between interviewers whether Pina Bausch herself spoke about her aesthetic approaches or not. One interviewee says that Pina Bausch rarely spoke about her approach, and another suggests that there are, in fact, carefully curated interview collections.

Nonetheless, marketing for both the *Pina Bausch Foundation* and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* remains purely informative. Marketing from the side of the theatre or the foundation is almost exclusively focused on practical information, something that is thoroughly maintained throughout social media, program booklets, or premiere announcements. All these strategies have an announcement character, plainly stating that there is a piece playing and when avoiding any additional PR campaigns. Especially the interviewees from the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the *Pina Bausch Foundation* stress the uniqueness and importance of this approach, emphasizing the vitality and excellent quality that Pina Bausch did not “succumb to the temptation, so to speak, to make interpretations”. This is also important to ensure the audience’s open interpretation and perception of her work, allowing each viewer to have a different approach. Additionally, Ursula Popp states that they “don’t want to put words in her mouth that we don’t know if she actually said or thought. I believe she also placed value on that”.

4.1.4 Maintaining Relevance

It seems as if this is also one of the reasons why Pina Bausch’s pieces have maintained a certain timelessness. The original appeal to Pina Bausch’s work was the “intersection between performance and opera, theatre” as well as the “theme of the body” processing the aftermath of the Second World War. This resulted in Pina Bausch’s work being a coping mechanism for traumas experienced by society during those years. While the style of dance

remains unique, one of the interviewees believes that “in large part, most pieces are quite timeless”. This can mainly be seen through the perception of the audience today. According to Salomon Bausch, audience members often describe the pieces as modern or contemporary, not believing that what is shown on stage today is actually over forty years old. Barbara Kaufmann also remarks that it is interesting for some people to see new dancers’ dance pieces that they have seen ten years beforehand. They find it “very exciting to see new faces, new people in these roles”, while others sometimes feel that this performance “no longer fulfills them”. Especially the locals have a great emotional attachment to the pieces. Barbara Kaufmann describes that “many people who know the dance theater from the beginning, that means they also know the original cast, who had seen the pieces when they came out, when they had their world premieres”, and that that can be very emotional as well.

4.1.5 The Role of the Artistic Director

What has become clear is that preserving such a heritage is no easy task. As the primary custodian of Pina Bausch’s works, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* entrusts new artistic directors with the significant responsibility of continuing her legacy through her pieces. However, as Bettina Milz very fittingly formulates it, finding a new artistic director is “a very complex selection process” because there simply cannot be “a successor to Pina Bausch, just as there cannot be a successor to Picasso”. Despite this, the dance company, in its essence, still needs to creatively work on new things. While the work on existing repertoires of Pina Bausch is, of course, creative, according to Bettina Milz, it also became clear that there needed to be work on new pieces. The current artistic director, Boris Charmatz, has been praised by the majority of the Wuppertal interviewees for his new direction in connecting the heritage to the region and forming the first French-German collaboration of a German theatre. Bettina Milz expresses optimism about the exceptional continuity of artistic excellence at the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, especially with Boris Charmatz now leading. She highlights the dual focus on maintaining the existing repertoire and introducing new works by Charmatz, who is widely recognized internationally.

However, there has also been some criticism from outsiders, such as by art critic Wiebke Hüster from the German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. She not only criticizes the choice of Boris Charmatz as an Artistic Director due to his lack of previous experience with dance heritage but also criticizes how Pina Bausch’s heritage is dealt with. Although she praises projects and former pieces, she primarily criticizes that the *Pina Bausch*

Foundation and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* are gatekeeping Pina Bausch's production. Hüster is convinced that Pina Bausch's pieces belong "in all companies, very urgently. And not just her so-called dance pieces, but the early, super radical works and also the huge dance theater pieces". In her opinion, it was a mistake to "discourage the world from playing these pieces," and she firmly believes that a loosening of the grasp that the theater has on those pieces would benefit Pina Bausch's heritage immensely. Specifically, such an opening would prevent the Pina Bausch legacy from becoming another museum. In the tourist industry, museums that are directly connected to specific artists' personalities are very popular among visitors. As Jens Nieweg from the *Tourismusverband NRW* remarks, the legacy and heritage of Pina Bausch show potential for more than just musical structures.

4.1.6. The Pina Bausch Zentrum

One element that is praised by all interviewees alike is the planned *Pina Bausch Zentrum*, a major initiative to preserve and advance Pina Bausch's heritage. While all the technicalities of her pieces are an essential part of her heritage, there is a deeper, more social side that is more relevant than ever and stressed through the new creation of the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* to foster greater community engagement. Bettina Milz has been sent by the *Ministry of Culture* in North Rhine Westphalia to head this project. According to her, this new building will have all the functions that do not exist in traditional theaters. This will include a large stage with 400 square meters that has a "variable spatial structure", such as concerts, readings, installations, performances, and dancing. Milz fittingly describes the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* as an "interdisciplinary house" where "dance will truly be in charge". Bettina Milz emphasizes that the new initiative is not intended to be a museum but rather a dynamic space for research, development, and creativity, aiming to balance both excellence and inclusivity.

She further explains that what fundamentally defines Pina Bausch's work is a profound humanism, a deep curiosity about people, diverse art and cultural forms, and different life realities. This engagement, Milz asserts, fosters international exchange and enriches the global cultural dialogue. The continuity of this part of Pina Bausch's heritage should thrive within the new center by leaving enough space for new creative development. Wiebke Hüster additionally emphasizes the importance of creating and maintaining structures for dance. She argues that once a dance theater is cut or a company is merged, it becomes exceedingly challenging to reestablish these institutions. Therefore, she appreciates the existence of the current structure, regardless of its future developments, highlighting its

significance. Hüster also underscores the value of initiatives like oral history projects, where dancers are recorded on camera, recognizing their crucial role in preserving the legacy and history of dance.

In order for this space to be provided, the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* will be built according to the four-pillar model of Stefan Hilterhaus; these pillars consist of the Pina Bausch Foundation, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the so-called *Forum Wupperbogen*, which Bettina Milz describes as “the area of participation, inclusion”, also for the independent scene of the city. Although both the foundation and the theater will continue their work independently as well, the center will provide a new form of unity within the city. Bettina Milz, therefore, refers to it as a potential “open house for everyone”. This major initiative of openness undertaken by the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* aims to establish a deeper connection with the city. Although Bettina Milz stresses that they are currently not reliant on collaborations with the city, they stem from a socio-political need to contribute to the city and foster a different kind of togetherness. This openness is something that is being very much embraced by the city itself. Martin Bang from the city marketing states that the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* is an excellent initiative to unite the city and defragment its various social centers. He hopes it will have the famous “Bilbao effect” on the southern part of the city, inspiring significant urban transformation, urban revitalization, and economic growth.

There is another reason why this center is considered a significant project. There are discrepancies among interviewees regarding how important the heritage of Pina Bausch actually is for the locals. On the one hand, yes, its messages enforce openness, and the name is famous in the city; on the other hand, people see the lack of interest from the side of the citizens in comparison to the international prominence. While the theater feels that there is an awareness of Pina Bausch’s heritage among citizens, claiming that it is the one thing that Wuppertal is associated with, apart from the infamous suspension railway, Martin Bang from the City Marketing provides a different perspective. He says that Wuppertal residents and the surrounding community do not understand Pina Bausch or her heritage, “It is just an empty shell, this name, this word. And this place has almost disappeared from public perception.”. It is, therefore, all the more vital that the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* needs to be firmly positioned and made aware of in the public eye. Salomon Bausch adds to this perspective that the center is an opportunity to connect more strongly to the city, showing that support also comes from the side of Pina Bausch heritage representatives.

4.1.7 The Independent Scene

Likewise, the project is supported by leading figures in the cultural office for being very forward-looking. The head of the *Cultural Office* of Wuppertal, Dr. Bettina Paust, sees an opportunity to utilize the city's existing structures and collaborate on the development of the *Pina Bausch Zentrum*. Her hope is that this will cause a stronger connection and network between the city and Pina Bausch's legacy.

This hope is not unfounded. Both the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the *Cultural Office* interviewees mention that many former dancers from the theater are realizing their projects within the city. Both Barbara Kaufmann and Dr Bettina Paust stress that these dancers stay in the city and contribute to the independent scene, often also reconnecting with the theater in the process. Additionally, a lot of socio-cultural centers already exist within the city. Initiatives like *Utopiastadt*, founded by two former Pina Bausch dancers, or the *Börse*, the *Loch*, and the *Färberei*, are already working closely with the society in their city neighborhoods. Dr. Bettina Paust sees this as an excellent opportunity to use the existing structures in the city and to "jointly initiate them in the development of the Pina Bausch Center". How far the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* itself is involved in the community often also depends on the current artistic director. Barbara Kaufmann describes workshops provided for students, citizens, and anyone interested in movement, with the artistic director further enhancing community engagement through events and projects involving citizen participation. A recent project that stands out is the participation of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* in the "Wundertal" project. The Wundertal project started on the closed Sonnborner Straße, drawing around 6,000 people in three hours. It featured a large event under the suspension railway, involving 160 city residents, 20 students from the infamous *Folkwang University*, and 20 ensemble members from the *University of Music and Dance Cologne*.

Projects such as this show the draw the theater has on the region's performative arts scene. The social and economic influence of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* is a central theme, showing its influence on local businesses, tourism, and the city's international cultural reputation. The theatre has frequently indirectly integrated the city's landscape into its performances or pieces, focusing on landmarks that Wuppertal is already known for, such as the suspension railway, its zoo, or old factory halls. Insofar the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* is an "ambassador for the city of Wuppertal", as Bettina Paust describes it, even having the city's name in its own name. Ursula Popp, from the theatre's marketing department, stresses that while the theatre does not provide extensive explanations about the city, they do market Wuppertal with everything they do "because advertisement abroad mentions Wuppertal".

From the side of Wuppertal's City Marketing, Martin Bang explains that although the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* has its own marketing department, in the early years, its strong presence meant they did not need or request any assistance with using the Pina Bausch name. Currently, Bang finds the collaboration very pleasant and relaxed, with constant communication about how they can support the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*. However, for the city's marketing, the priority clearly lies with the independent scene, which does not have its own marketing branch and can, therefore, use the city's marketing support more than the theatre.

Yet, while the current artistic director, Boris Charmatz, continues to anchor the theatre in the region of North Rhine Westphalia, the theatre certainly shines on its own. Barbara Kaufmann explicitly stresses that while there are cooperations with the city, she "would not say it is Wuppertal's artistic heritage" and that stress also lies on international cooperations and pieces such as "Palermo, Palermo" that have been created through international collaborations.

Therefore, it is important to stress Wuppertal's own creative heritage, aside from what the theater has already created there. With its rich history in the textile industry, Wuppertal can be regarded as the "German Manchester". This city was once incredibly wealthy due to industrialization, but like the rest of the Ruhr area, it experienced a significant economic decline during deindustrialization. Wuppertal itself is described by the majority of the interviewees from both the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the tourist sector as an impoverished and debt-ridden city that was severely affected by the threat of economic decline that also extended to a fear of the loss of the theater through a general "theatre-dying" in the area. Despite these challenges, Wuppertal's industrial heritage presents unique opportunities for cultural revitalization. Bettina Milz highlights the resilience and growth of the city's creative landscape, noting that the free scene and socio-culture "have been built up over around 40 years, creating such a fertile ground for creativity". This historical context has fostered an environment ripe for artistic experimentation and community engagement, particularly within the realm of dance and performance arts. The adaptation of industrial spaces into cultural hubs further exemplifies this potential. Jens Nieweg cites *Pakt Zollverein* as a prime example, describing it as "a temple for contemporary dance, on the former largest coal mine in the world." Similarly, Milz observes that the transformation of vacant industrial properties into creative spaces offers "a very large experimental space", underscoring North Rhine-Westphalia's underappreciated cultural assets.

The Wuppertal *Cultural Office* plays a pivotal role in nurturing this independent scene. Dr. Bettina Paust describes the office as dual-faceted, serving as both “lobbyists for the independent scene” and a cultural, administrative body that collaborates closely with municipal politics. This support is crucial for maintaining individual cultural highlights and fostering spaces like *Utopiastadt*. Paust elaborates on *Utopiastadt*’s evolution from an old train station to “an extremely interesting, community-oriented cultural center”, emphasizing district and urban development. *Utopiastadt* exemplifies Wuppertal’s distinctive cultural dynamic, characterized by accessible artistic spaces and a burgeoning young artist community. Paust asserts that the independent scene, with its diverse and idiosyncratic structure, is a vital yet underrecognized component of the city’s cultural landscape. She emphasizes the necessity of acknowledging and leveraging these cultural assets, noting that a comprehensive cultural development plan could enhance Wuppertal’s cultural tourism—a sector where she sees significant potential. While Pina Bausch’s heritage stands out as a highlight in the city and has set the focus of its cultural scene primarily on performative art, Wuppertal’s independent scene is very diverse and special in itself.

Paust suggests that a balanced approach, integrating the independent scene with established cultural heritage, could significantly enrich Wuppertal’s cultural fabric. Such an approach involves taking stock of the city’s unique cultural characteristics and collaboratively developing strategies for external marketing and city tourism. As Paust and Nieweg, aptly put it, “city tourism is cultural tourism,” and recognizing this potential could bridge the gap in Wuppertal’s cultural narrative. By embracing these assets and fostering a collaborative cultural development plan, Wuppertal can reimagine itself as a creative city, leveraging its unique history and contemporary cultural initiatives to forge a dynamic and inclusive future. However, according to Martin Bang, Wuppertal’s rich cultural tradition also adds to its attraction value. Aside from Pina Bausch, prominent figures such as Joseph Beuys, the artist, or Peter Kowald in jazz, have “generated many fascinating cultural impulses” that now, in turn, inspire the “young, creative art and cultural scene” that attracts other young creatives to Wuppertal.

Another factor that plays a pivotal role in Wuppertal’s cultural landscape is its very high percentage of citizens with an immigration background, which, according to interviewees from the city, is seen as an opportunity. While the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* collaborates and invites international dance companies such as the *Akram Khan Company* or companies from Japan or Australia, the local communities offer a different kind of cultural diversity, where people from Greece, Ukraine, Turkey, Italy, and Bulgaria make up the social

fabric of Wuppertal-Oberbarmen's community. Bettina Milz stresses the need for such cultural diversity with its extremely great richness. It is precisely communities such as these that are part of the thriving social initiatives of Wuppertal.

Significant social initiatives like *Kontakthof* and *Bob Campus* play a crucial role in fostering community engagement and cultural integration. *Kontakthof*, for example, involves elderly participants, specifically ladies and gentlemen aged 65 and over, in dance projects that have had a profound impact on community involvement. As Salomon Bausch explains, "these projects have brought about a completely different grounding in the city", inviting people to dance performances that have never seen such a type of dance before. Such initiatives bring together diverse age groups and integrate them into the cultural fabric of Wuppertal. Similarly, *Bob Campus*, located in a former textile factory, focuses on dance training and serves as a space for cultural exchange for children and teenagers. Bettina Milz highlights its inclusive nature through the fantastic children from Ukrainian refugees, Syrian, Afghan, and African families. This initiative provides a platform for creative expression and promotes social cohesion among refugees and residents. Milz further emphasizes the broader impact of these encounters:

If there are more encounters at an early age, then there is also a certain hope for a young generation for me. It's so natural in international contexts as well. If you experience that at an early age, then it can perhaps lead to a different form of understanding. So, without ignoring differences. There are cultural differences. Differences are also a richness.

Through these initiatives, Wuppertal leverages its cultural heritage and resources to build a more inclusive and cohesive community, highlighting the potential for arts and culture to drive social change. It is also important to stress that both of these projects are primarily supported by either the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, the *Pina Bausch Foundation* and *Pina Bausch Zentrum*.

4.1.8 Funding

The funding struggles faced by the independent cultural scene in Wuppertal stand in stark contrast to the privileges enjoyed by institutions like the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the *Pina Bausch Zentrum*. The disparity in funding highlights significant challenges for

independent organizations striving to make an impact within their communities. Barbara Kaufmann stresses that, while the city is poor, “the dance theater is very, very continuously supported” with a support for salary increases which to her knowledge does not apply to other cultural institutions. Independent institutions often grapple with limited resources, facing substantial obstacles in securing adequate funding and support.

In comparison, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* benefit from a funding volume unparalleled by any other cultural institutions in the region. Barbara Kaufmann acknowledges this privilege, stating, that the theatre has suffered the least from funding cuts, because it is an important cultural highlight in the city. The *Cultural Office*, additionally state that while they are not aware of a special treatment of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, they certainly agree that it has a funding volume not comparable to anything else. This substantial financial backing allows this institution to thrive and innovate, setting them apart from their independent counterparts. While the bouquet of topics and the bouquet of tasks are growing within cultural institutions and initiatives of the city, neither the personnel resources nor the financial resources are increasing. This limited support contrasts with the resources available to the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the *Pina Bausch Zentrum*.

Despite these disparities, the Cultural Office remains actively involved in various projects, collaborating with larger institutions and initiatives, such as an EU project or a project initiated by the Wuppertal Institute and the *Pina Bausch Zentrum*. This involvement highlights the ongoing efforts to support the cultural landscape in Wuppertal, despite the challenges faced by the independent scene.

4.2 Discussion

From the analysis, several points emerge on how the city can instrumentalize the preservation of Pina Bausch’s heritage to push its image as a creative city. First of all, it establishes what criteria Wuppertal already fulfills of a creative city in terms of Florida’s (2003) and Zukin’s (1995) definition of creative urban spaces. The efforts of the city to reinvent itself have been flourishing throughout the past 40 years. While the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* has its international spotlight, many independent artistic branches and sociocultural centers have started to thrive throughout the city. The city of Wuppertal fulfills the creative city criteria of the elite experience through several cultural institutions that Florida (2003) sets as attractions for the creative class. Wuppertal boasts a rich array of cultural institutions such as the *Von Der Heydt Museum*, the sculpture park, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, and the

Visiodrom, among others, that reflect a certain modern tradition apart from their industrial past and show the existence of the desired creative milieu that Landry (2008) advocates for. When looking at aspects of successful urban spaces such as cheap space, attractive buildings, art labor force, and investment into culture industries, Wuppertal possesses most of these aspects. It provides creative space for new trends through its fertile environment and advantageous physical infrastructure, including cheap and old factory buildings from its industrial period and a diverse group of citizens. Through this, the city's independent scene has flourished and grown throughout recent years. The descriptions in the interviews show that the people in charge of the Wuppertal's cultural scene have an understanding of the cultural, urban, and social dynamics of the city and can posit its needs.

Furthermore, Wuppertal is experiencing a slow regeneration of its urban environment and quality of life. This includes nightlife entertainment, like the new Open Ground club, a university, and affordable rents that could attract young creatives. The high immigration rate highlights the city's diverse social infrastructure and its potential benefits for newcomers, creating a relatively tolerant and open-minded atmosphere. Efforts by the cultural office, city marketing, and ongoing processes to socially engage with the city's population indicate that Wuppertal is a "learning city" (Landry, 2008) willing to promote the intrinsic cultural value of their art (Pratt, 2008). Different communities are in exchange throughout different sociocultural centers in the city. This approach is not necessarily driven by economic factors (Florida, 2003) but by a desire to showcase the city's creative flourishing.

The one underlying creative theme that unites most of these initiatives is dance, showing the influence of one creative artistic individual in the city, Pina Bausch. With her exceptional creative personality, she can be regarded as a member of the creative class and is, therefore, a relevant figure in Florida's (2003) emphasis on the role of the creative class in urban renewal, showing how Bausch's legacy exemplifies how a single cultural figure can act as a catalyst for broader urban transformation. Her heritage, which is maintained through the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the *Pina Bausch Foundation*, stands out as a highlight in the city. The swift establishment of the *Pina Bausch Foundation* and the financial and social support it gets from the municipality and the region underline its icon status and stress how cultural symbols are leveraged for economic and social gains (Zukin, 1995).

Through the heritage status of Pina Bausch's dance form, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* is a historical heritage that serves as an elite experience attracting outsiders from across the world, embedding it in Zukin's (1995) symbolic capital theory. The theatre and its intangible heritage have a significant symbolic capital through its unique creative value. Pina Bausch's

creative vision aligns well with Wuppertal's idea of a creative city, and her intangible heritage can potentially reflect the city's intrinsic value anew. While it is certainly a unique selling point for marketing strategies, the theatre can serve as a creative hub within the creative city, fostering new talents and community engagement, stressing Pratt's (2008) less profit-oriented vision of the city.

The theatre already shows its ability to embrace new creatives and welcome outsiders to its creative sphere. This not only includes international dance companies but also the artistic directors of the theatre itself, a position currently held by a French choreographer. This stresses that creatives are already coming to the city and seeing the creative potential there, although this is mainly connected to the symbolic capital of Pina Bausch's work. Landry's (2008) notion of the creative city is particularly relevant here. With its experimental and innovative approach, Pina Bausch's *Tanztheater Wuppertal* has positioned the city as a creative epicenter. This aligns with Kämpfe's (2021) emphasis on the importance of cultural infrastructure in maintaining and enhancing a city's cultural life. Moreover, the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, through its founder's fondness of Wuppertal, is inexplicably bound to the city. The theater's 50-year legacy of pushing boundaries has established a unique cultural identity that attracts both local and international audiences, further embedding Wuppertal within the global cultural map.

This raises the question of how to pursue its preservation and what role new reinterpretations and local anchoring are currently playing. The *Pina Bausch Foundation* and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* maintain that her heritage is not exclusively tied to Wuppertal but instead has a national and international appeal. Yet, Pina herself saw the city as an advantage for her work. Can this perception be reversed to anchor her heritage more deeply in the local context?

The essence of Pina Bausch's relatively young heritage could serve as a bridge between the independent scene and the city's core society. Her living heritage, characterized by its adaptability to evolving societal and aesthetic preferences through her specific form of dance theatre and the frequent renewal and communal development of her deeply humanized pieces, could play a crucial role in this integration. What can be observed are the beneficial effects of archiving dance, such as the educational purpose outlined by Doulamis et al. (2017), educating younger generations about the richness of their cultural heritage, for example, through initiatives such as Bob Campus. Former dancers of the theatre have already engaged in educational practices and used this heritage to promote social tolerance and local

collaboration through projects such as *Utopiastadt*. This collective approach to art aligns with the idea that it is always the collective that makes art possible (Becker, 2008).

However, the preservation of Pina Bausch's heritage presents challenges. While her work holds significant symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2010) and remains relevant for society today, it is more popular with cultural tourists than with the local population in Wuppertal. Pina Bausch's name has become synonymous with Wuppertal, similar to how cities like New York use their cultural landmarks and figures to attract attention and investment (Zukin, 1995). Bausch's international acclaim has put Wuppertal on the cultural map, transforming her heritage into a "brand" that attracts tourists and cultural enthusiasts. Although it set the tone for performative art in the entire region, and through its combination of dance and theatre remains unique worldwide, the city's public spaces are not necessarily dominated by the symbolic economy of her intangible heritage (Zukin, 1995). The foundation of the theatre's social value within the city, particularly among locals, is debatable. Initiatives like *Kontakthof*, *Bob Campus*, and *Utopiastadt* have helped bridge this gap, but awareness of the theatre and Pina Bausch among citizens remains minimal. Adding to this is that the theatre's avant-garde status does not have sufficient rooting in the city itself; it might even be the fact that it is an elite experience that creates a gap between the theatre and the citizens of the city, a factor that is however relevant for redefining Wuppertal's city image.

Another significant problem is that interviewees report that outsiders still underestimate the city's cultural potential. While the *City Marketing* is trying to promote the independent scene and the creative scene in Wuppertal in general, interviewees stress the extreme difficulty with which the success of a creative city's pull effect can be measured. Representing the independent scene and the cultural office expresses the need for a new strategy that imperatively promotes a more elaborate display of Wuppertal's cultural advantages and utilization of its cultural potential. Funding and economic struggles within the cultural sector and institutions add to this issue. While the Pina Bausch heritage and the new *Pina Bausch Zentrum* have received significant funding, institutions such as the Cultural Office remain significantly underfunded and understaffed. This discrepancy between the city's actual cultural richness and external perceptions raises the question: How can Wuppertal effectively communicate its cultural potential to change these perceptions?

As an art form that preserves and brings communities together, theatre can be an effective tool in this endeavor. The influence and image of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, as well as the community-oriented legacy of Pina Bausch, seem to be an opportunity to make the city more visible. Despite the high art aspect of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, which ensures the

attraction of a creative city, the city's different neighborhoods showcase various sociocultural centers but lack a unified cultural hub. While looser community structures, according to Florida (2003) and Landry (2008), provide a better opportunity for newcomers, the unification opportunity Pina Bausch brings might be even more useful, as it already provides space for new creatives in the city. This presents both a challenge and an opportunity.

The lack of local connection to Pina Bausch is potentially a problem for the city. It is the role of intangible heritage that could bridge this gap. The Pina Bausch Foundation's meticulous digitization and archiving efforts ensure that Bausch's dynamic and evolving artistic processes are preserved authentically, thus maintaining the integrity and accessibility of her works. This preservation strategy aligns with Florida's (2003) and Landry's (2008) advocacy for nurturing creative environments that can continuously adapt and innovate. By retaining the involvement of original dancers and facilitating knowledge transfer to new generations, the foundation maintains the fluidity and authenticity of Bausch's work, allowing it to remain relevant and influential. As dance involves tacit knowledge, which is difficult to translate into language and traditional archival formats, the *Pina Bausch Foundation's* efforts are very efficient. This includes the implicit understanding of movements, rhythms, and expressions that dancers embody (Kämpfe, 2023) through the interaction of older and younger dancers. It recognizes the body as a primary medium for expressing and transmitting intangible cultural heritage, which, according to Kämpfe (2023), is essential. This concept of "body memory" emphasizes the lived experience and everyday practice of dance as a form of cultural heritage (Kämpfe, 2023). Although Kämpfe (2023) emphasizes that dance can be archived through performance alone, other materials, such as videos, photos, or even the "show bible," ensure that Pina Bausch's dance practice remains deeply embedded in its sociocultural context, providing detailed information about choreographer's, dancers, cultural meanings, music, and costumes.

However, the problem with archiving such heritage is that it poses dangers of musealization. Preserving her work in a traditional museum structure seems contrary to the expressive and dynamic opportunities retained in her artistic form of dance theatre, potentially limiting new interpretations of her work. Some see the preservation attempts of Pina Bausch's specific heritage as gatekeeping its potential. Similar to what Zukin (1995) suggests, the selection of a director who both respects Bausch's legacy and brings new creative energy is crucial for sustaining the theater's relevance. While the critique from figures like Wiebke Hüster highlights tensions in heritage management, the theater's ongoing efforts to innovate while preserving its core identity demonstrate a commitment to dynamic cultural stewardship.

This aligns with Kämpfe's (2023) principles by maintaining the dynamic and evolving nature of her legacy rather than letting it become static.

Bausch's legacy continues to enrich Wuppertal's cultural landscape and supports its identity as a creative city. The preservation methods of the foundation are already very advanced, using the dancers' body memory and transmitting knowledge through various digitized materials in an advanced database. This contributes to the fact that Pina Bausch's heritage and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* themselves are already well-established in their heritage and preservation methods. A generational shift in dancers has also contributed to the active renewal of her heritage and extended accessibility to the public. The timelessness of Bausch's work, as perceived by contemporary audiences, reflects its deep-rooted emotional and thematic resonance. This aspect of her legacy ties into Kämpfe's (2023) insights on the longevity of cultural artifacts that address universal human experiences. The enduring appeal of Bausch's pieces, seen in their continued relevance and the emotional responses they evoke, underscores the importance of maintaining a living heritage that evolves with the times rather than becoming static. Nevertheless, the gap between the city and the theatre remains to be filled in order to leverage this heritage for the city's potential.

A significant step towards the city has been taken through the planned *Pina Bausch Zentrum*. While it still resembles a person-bound heritage focus of the foundation and the theatre, as described by participants, this center focuses less on Pina Bausch's person. However, more on the effects her work can have in the sphere of a sociocultural institution. It unites the international draw of Pina Bausch and the inclusion of local creative spaces under one umbrella. It also adds the layer of Landry's (2008) learning environment to the city by providing space for exchange, dialogue, and research. The four pillars of Stefan Hilterhaus include not only the continuity and development of her heritage but also the independent scene through the *Forum Wupperbogen*. While this might hint at an even more substantial influence of Pina Bausch's heritage on the independent scene and creatives, performative art has always set the tone in Wuppertal's creative scene.

Additionally, archiving and sharing dance practices can strengthen cooperation and dialogue between different cultures and countries, contributing to a more interconnected and understanding world (Doulamis et al., 2017). Addressing concerns about the potential realization of the heritage, it is explicitly stressed that this center is not planned as a museum but as a dynamic process, leaving space for active rehearsals and research. Insofar Pina Bausch's legacy will remain a living practice that also includes the local and international community in its preservation. In general, the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* uses the advantage of

Pina Bausch's status as the "ivory tower" of Wuppertal to develop an even greater symbolic capital that will benefit the city's image. While the generation of economic capital for the city is likely, the importance of promoting encounters within the city and newcomers is regarded as essential to this center. Involving the local community in archiving efforts and providing educational programs can foster a deeper appreciation and understanding of Wuppertal's cultural heritage. This engagement can also generate local support and advocacy for funding and preserving cultural initiatives.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, Wuppertal presents an intriguing experiment that can offer insights into whether and how a secondary city can establish itself as a creative city. Central to this exploration is the research question: How can the city of Wuppertal leverage the heritage of Pina Bausch and the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* to reinvent itself as a creative city amidst its post-industrial transformation? The core brand of Pina Bausch provides a promising starting point, but it also poses certain challenges.

The *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and Pina Bausch's intangible heritage illustrate the idea of an elite experience that can attract new creatives to the city and help a peripheral city, such as Wuppertal, gain a renewed image as a creative urban space. While the idea of intangible heritage as symbolic capital might seem contradictory within the economic and profit-oriented approach of creative city-making, the intrinsic qualities of intangible heritage prove to be even more vital. Its potential to unite the city and foster community among locals while at the same time welcoming outside creatives makes it a powerful tool, nonetheless.

The creation of the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* is a significant step to turning Wuppertal in a creative city and leveraging the entirety of its cultural potential. Effective archiving methods are crucial for preserving dance's dynamic and intangible nature, particularly in the context of Wuppertal's cultural landscape. By integrating advanced technologies, community involvement, and innovative approaches, Wuppertal can ensure the longevity and accessibility of its rich cultural heritage, contributing to the city's cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. To address Wuppertal's creative city problem, the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* can serve as a flagship project, promoting internationality and the integration of the local space, rooting within the city itself, thus providing symbolic capital and fostering cultural and creative development.

This development of certain creative urban spaces within a peripheral city shows that creative spaces can also exist in smaller cities and might be able to have an even bigger benefit regarding communities than in creative megacities, such as New York. Moreover, it stresses the importance of intangible heritage within urban studies, balancing the accumulation of economic capital, symbolic capital, and inherent cultural value. A peripheral city has the opportunity to profile itself through the astonishing cultural achievement of Pina Bausch, providing it with such an extensive symbolic capital that stresses the significance of intangible cultural traditions.

Several uncertainties remain, inviting further exploration and careful consideration. These include finding the right balance between supporting the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* with

flagship funding and nurturing the independent dance scene. There is also the challenge of creating a sense of belonging within the community, balancing avant-garde ideas with local traditions. Moreover, there is an ongoing debate about preserving classical dance heritage while allowing it to evolve and stay relevant today. Furthermore, it is questionable whether such intrinsic value can prevent Wuppertal from experiencing the negative sides of creative cities, such as, for example, gentrification (Zukin, 1995). In addition, the dominance of Pina Bausch could lead to the extinction of other creative branches within Wuppertal.

Several issues need to be addressed in connection to this study. The main limitation of this study is the acquisition of expert interview partners, as they are hard to reach and often provide complex information. The small sample size inherent in this type of qualitative research can limit the generalizability of the findings. While the in-depth insights from expert interviews are valuable, the perspectives may only partially represent some stakeholders involved in or affected by the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* and the Pina Bausch heritage.

Additionally, interviewing individuals who represent the city of Wuppertal, *Tanztheater Wuppertal*, and Pina Bausch's legacy are prone to have a positive bias towards this heritage. The subjective nature of their positions could potentially influence more positive results. Although I have included two outside experts in my sample, the bias could still be significant. It is crucial to address these limitations to ensure the validity and reliability of the research findings. I have tried to mitigate this bias by including a variety of perspectives and sources.

Another limitation pertains to the dynamic nature of cultural phenomena. The context surrounding Pina Bausch's legacy and Wuppertal's cultural landscape is constantly evolving, highly complex, and very interconnected. The data collected represent a specific snapshot in time, which may not fully capture ongoing changes and developments. Although the inclusion of the *Pina Bausch Zentrum* in my study provides an outlook on the city's development, longitudinal studies or follow-up research could provide more comprehensive insights into the evolving impact of Pina Bausch's legacy. Despite these limitations, the study strives to maintain a high level of academic rigor and trustworthiness in its findings.

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Appendix A. Interview Guide

1. Can you tell me about your personal background and your experiences as *current occupation*? What are your daily tasks?
2. How would you describe Pina Bausch's artistic vision, and how do you attempt to preserve this vision?
3. What is your perspective on the role of the *Tanztheater Wuppertal* within the cultural community of Wuppertal?
4. What challenges and opportunities arise for the cultural scene due to the cultural policy decisions in Wuppertal and North Rhine-Westphalia?
5. What are your hopes and visions for the future of the cultural scene in Wuppertal and its (inter)national cultural landscape?

Appendix B. Interviewees

Interviewee	Name	Institution	Role
1	Barbara Kaufmann	Tanztheater Wuppertal	Ensemble Direction/Dancer
2	Wiebke Hüster	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Theatre and Dance Critic
3	Ursula Popp	Tanztheater Wuppertal	Head of Public Relations
4	Bettina Paust	Kulturbüro Wuppertal	Head of the Cultural Office
5	Bettina Milz	Pina Bausch Zentrum	Content Coordinator and Manager in the Preliminary Phase
6	Jens Nieweg	Tourismusverband NRW	Team Leader Theme Management Cultural Tourism, Events and Enjoyment
7	Martin Bang	City Marketing Wuppertal	CEO
8	Salomon Bausch	Pina Bausch Foundation	Founder

Appendix B1: List of Interviewees

Appendix C. Coding

Category	Coding Name	Meaning
City	Cultural Institutions Wuppertal	Multiple institutions aside from the Tanztheater, such as Von Der Heydt Museum, the Sculpture Park and the Visiodrom that underline Wuppertals cultural significance
	Image	Involves the cities potential and constant underestimation by outsiders
	Involvement	In how far Wuppertal is involved or linked to its Institutions
	Development	Major developments both culturally, historically within the urban context as well as approaches/processes of urban renewal
	Finance	Financial development, specifically funding problems, slim political structures, staffing shortages
Community	Citizens	Citizen participation and inclusion through workshops and educational initiatives, extreme cultural diversities and disparities within community that are sought to be overcome on the basis of Pina Bausch creative vision e.g. "Bob Campus"
	Social Effort	Inclusion through openness in art forms and educational initiatives that aim to acknowledge differences and enhance dialogue in the cultural diversity of Wuppertal
	Generation	A generational shift towards the attraction of younger artists and younger dancers that also increase the accessibility of the Tanztheater to the community, pushing for open rehearsals and more insights into the creative processes of the theatre
Artistic Vision and Impact – Pina Bausch	Initiatives	Pina Bausch Foundation and future establishment of Pina Bausch Centre based on Stephan Hilterhaus's 4 pillars, as a unique initiative to provide more open access to the theatre through workshops, talks and research
	Humanism	Deep humanism of her work influences how art is valued as a beneficial for social environments and overcoming political differences as well as engaging in dialogues
	Influence	Increased value of theatre in the region, major influence on North Rhine Westphalia as the only region with dance houses and an influential contemporary dance scene
	Creative Collaborations	With international dance companies, many former "In Residence" collaborations and collaborations with other creatives, inspiring a collaboration of the theatre and the independent scene today as well as the collaboration with Avignon through the new artistic director Boris Charmatz and collaborations with other
Region	Regional Impact	In terms of dance structures, the region was strongly defined by the dance centrism of Wuppertal, however from outer perspectives it is regarded as less relevant than by insiders perspectives

Artistic Practices – Pina Bausch	Way of working	Unique incorporation of each dancer individuality through dialogue
	Creative Vision	Creation of open, innovative experimental spaces and
	Perception of pieces	Bausch never gave any specific information about her pieces but rather wanted each individual audience member to perceive the pieces as unbiased as possible to ensure individual interpretations and emotions
Cultural Heritage and Identity	Industrial Structures	Preexisting structures provide a fertile environment for art and culture to grow and thrive within Wuppertal. These structures also hint at the cultural potential of the city and its preexisting significance
	Cultural Landscape	Cultural development planning, cultural scene, historical development of city and its effects on urban development planning
	Cultural Institutions	Cultural tourism, significance, cultural development planning, culture office, municipality,
	Cultural Heritage	Historical treasures, preservation, world heritage, artistic heritage
Challenges and Opportunities	Funding	Financial struggles, funding problems, limited resources, shows prioritization and privilege of the Tanztheater especially with the funding of the Pina Bausch Centre,
	Challenges	Staff shortage, slim political structures, vague role of cultural office within city structures, underestimation of Wuppertals cultural potential
	Opportunities	Pina Bausch Centre as new network, inclusive, “Forum Wupperbogen”
	Collaboration	Responsibilities of both Tanztheater as privileged entity to collaborate with other creative resources, based off of its founder’s creative vision and legacy
Independent Scene	Performative Art	Dominance of performative arts in the independent scene with initiatives such as Tanzstation Barmer Bahnhof and other contributions by former dancers of the Tanztheater that remain rooted in the city after their time at the Tanztheater
	Collaboration	Collaborations with communities and specific Neighbourhoods as well as organization of dance festivals in cooperation with the Tanztheater or the Wuppertaler Literature Biennale
	Creative Development	Development of many small initiatives (e.g. Utopiastadt, Börse, das Loch) and an impressive underground city
Tanztheater	Role of choreographer	Individuality and special role of Artistic Directors, only dance house where choreographer is in charge of everything and further interprets Bausch’s pieces, currently the artistic director is Boris Charmatz who launched projects such as “Wundertal”
	Value of theatre/Popularity	Theatre is still valued by both international and local audiences but also attracts a huge number of young dancers and young people in general. The theatre is additionally valued strongly by Wuppertaler citizens some of which have seen pieces from when the theatre was founded up until today.

	Publicity	Increase in publicity over recent years through social media. However, marketing is mostly purely informative, and action based, rarely promoting anything outside of concrete program
	Touring	Regular global touring with a fixed amount of 30 performances in Wuppertal itself, making it a very unique dance company with roots in one specific location
	City Incorporation	City landscape is sometimes included but more in a subtle way, city is always marketed directly with the name Tanztheater Wuppertal, Projects such as “Wundertal” staged under Wuppertal infamous suspension railway seek to include the city in pieces and use city as common heritage ground → Ambassador for the City of Wuppertal
	Continuity	Pina Bausch’s repertoire is still performed as it is today with minimal changes to the original pieces

Appendix C1: Coding Concept

Appendix D. Coding Tree

