

CREATIVITY-LED REGENERATION: TOWARDS AN EVALUATION FRAMEWORK

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ABSTRACT

The creative economy is considered to contribute to urban and regional development in several ways. In addition to the prevalent economic perspective on the creative sector as a generator of jobs and innovation, often it is also assumed to contribute to the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods. Although many policy-makers act according to this assumption, relatively little is known about the effectiveness of creativity-led regeneration projects, and to which extent this regeneration can actually be attributed to the creative economy. Therefore, this paper aims to take a first step towards an evaluation framework for the results of creativity-led regeneration. Based on four case studies of creativity-led regeneration projects in the Netherlands and Germany, the paper addresses the questions 1) what different types of creativity-led regeneration are distinguished in literature, 2) to which extent the results of creativity-led regeneration can be found in practice, and 3) how these results can be assessed. The practical cases included in the paper are situated in two German and two Dutch cities.

1. INTRODUCTION

For about three decades, both a growing and increasingly multifaceted importance of creativity and culture in urban development and urban renewal planning policies can be observed. The economic perspective soon became prevalent in these policies. Overall, these policies combine business and a people-oriented approaches, aiming in particular at supporting creative and cultural industries as generators of innovation and growth (employment, revenues etc.) and at improving quality of place (e.g. Bandarin, 2011; Foord, 2008; Trip and Romein, 2013). In an international survey of public policies and strategic plans to support and promote creative industry development, Foord distinguishes eight other primary policy rationales alongside or interwoven with economic development and employment: infrastructure; education and training; tourism/events; city branding; social/access; amenities/quality of life; heritage; and last but not least urban regeneration. Moreover, “many of these had different and arguably contradictory strategic goals: social inclusion; development of social capital; community cultural programming; and creation of

tourist venues and visitor economies” (Foord, 2008: 92). The different strategic goals of creativity-led urban regeneration as a rationale of urban policy involve economic, social, physical and environmental developments.

Further, a principal varying dimensions of urban regeneration policies is geographical scale. In general, most urban regeneration policies focus on either the city as a whole or urban districts or neighbourhoods within the city. However, the scale is not always explicitly and univocally clear. Evans (2005) defined urban regeneration as the transformation of a *place* [our italics] – residential, commercial or open space – that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline. Roberts makes more explicit that urban regeneration is a coherent whole that aims for different types of goals, but is geographically hardly more explicit than Evans: ‘comprehensive and integrated vision and action aimed at [lasting] improvement of problematic economic, physical and environmental conditions of an *area in the city*’ [our italics] (Roberts, 2004; quoted by Stouten, 2010: 13).

In this paper, we focus on this assumed contribution by creativity to the reinforcement of physical, social and socio-economic qualities of deprived *neighbourhoods*. We use a broad notion of creativity, ranging from commercial market-driven production by creative industries for geographically undefined markets to culture and art production that is rooted in and reflects the identity of a specific geographical location for local consumption.

Many policy-makers support that assumed contribution of creative output to urban regeneration, and act accordingly. However, quite a few policy actions regarding creativity-led regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods are examples of what Peck (2005) calls ‘fast policy circulation’: “an idea taken up in haste through the appeal of the prescriptions rather than the weight of underlying evidence” (Perry 2011: 9). Related to the lack of underlying evidence, relatively little is known, apart from anecdotal ‘evidence’, about the effectiveness of creativity-led regeneration policies and about the extent to which this regeneration can actually be attributed to creativity (e.g. Evans, 2005; Jarvis *et al.*, 2009; Grodach, 2011). Moreover, that effectiveness “is at best questionable” (Jarvis *et al.*, 2009: 369). Evans distinguished seven types of reports intended to publish evidence of the contribution of culture to regeneration. As he concluded that most types of report are not evidence-based, he agreed with a conclusion drawn by Lim already in 1994 that “there is need to sort out the hype from the substance in the claims commonly made for culture-led urban revitalization” (Evans, 2005: 960). Indeed, the demand in society for value for money, both effectiveness and efficiency of government policy and planning, has grown even more in the time of austerity policy with increasing competition between needs and aspirations.

In view of the above, this paper aims to elaborate some ‘food for thought’ for an evaluation framework for the results of creativity-led regeneration. It addresses the questions 1) what different types of creativity-led regeneration can be distinguished, 2) to which extent the results of creativity-led regeneration can be found in practice, and 3) if and how these results can be assessed. In the next section, the first question is addressed by means of a brief overview of international literature. Next, the paper focuses on two specific types of practical cases of creativity brought into urban districts that might, with or without explicit intention, lead to regeneration: incubators of creative industries and use of culture in a bottom up manner. These practical cases, two in Dutch and two in German cities, are borrowed from

three international projects (see ACKNOWLEDGEMENT). The analyses of the cases are based on site visits, group discussions, in-depth interviews and desk research. Noticeably, explicit information about the effectiveness and, hence, the efficiency of these cases for regeneration of their surrounding urban neighbourhoods is largely missing. In the last two sections, we distinguish several aspects that should be taken into account for evaluation of the impacts of creativity on urban regeneration and make a start, in the final section, with suggestions how to evaluate these impacts.

2. DIFFERENT TYPES OF CREATIVITY-LED REGENERATION

2.1 Restructuring of urban politics

There is no doubt that the answer to the question in the title of this section varies over time and across places. The latter is related to different policy cultures and approaches between both countries – almost proverbial are the differences between “the French state-centred approach [and] the more private-sector approach in the UK” (Kloosterman, 2013: 4) - and between cities within the same country.

Nevertheless, in a broad sense two phases can be distinguished between the mid-1970s and the recently started age of austerity policy (Kloosterman, 2013; Romein and Trip, 2013). In the first phase, culture in urban policy changed from the ‘merit good’ that it had been in most of the post-war era into an economic resource for an increasingly entrepreneurial urban government. The rise of entrepreneurialism fitted within the need for urban governments to overcome the deep urban crisis following deindustrialisation that had accelerated for about a decade then, and within a fundamental restructuring of urban government. As commented by Heeg *et al.* (2002), fundamental in this restructuring was the declining significance throughout the 1980s of the regulation in a largely top down manner by national to local governments as redistributive subunits of its welfare and equal development policies. Instead, local policies increasingly pursue locational competition strategies with the aim to improve their economic performance. Although the national government has not simply disappeared from the arena of urban planning, local governments now play a more direct and autonomous role. The main focus of urban cultural planning in their locational competition strategies was laid on constructing flagship amenities (museums, theatres, conference centres etc.) to strengthen the image of cities and, hence, their competitiveness in attracting tourists, professional workers and firms.

Around the turn of the century, a new orientation of urban policy entered on the stage: the creative city thesis. Partly replacing and partly supplementing the leading approach in the previous two decades, this thesis has become a main guideline for urban policy. It was launched by urban theorists like Landry (*The Creative City*, 2000) and Hall (*Creative Cities and Economic Development*, 2000) and made increasingly popular among urban policy-makers by Florida (*The Rise of the Creative Class*, 2002). Florida’s prescriptions for successful urban economic growth and development based on attracting the creative class soon became guidelines for local politicians and policy-makers in many cities across the world. One of his key concepts for economic performance is boosting the quality of place, consisting of three components: “what is there, who is there, and what’s going on?” (Florida,

2002: 232). Alongside this people-oriented approach, Foord (2008) distinguishes six broad categories of practical interventions to support businesses in creative industries. But notwithstanding the importance of the business-oriented approach, the shift towards the creative city thesis in urban policy also involves an increased and more explicit focus on improvement of quality of place of specific 'areas in the city'. It is supposed that this focus would attract creative producers and talent in general, and, hence, contribute not only to neighbourhoods' physical regeneration but also economic and social regeneration.

2.2 Levels of integration of creativity in urban regeneration

It can be argued that creative city policies incorporate creativity to different degrees into urban regeneration processes. Evans (2005: 967-70) distinguishes three models of integration of cultural activities on a scale from high to low degree. The first model, *culture-led regeneration*, sees cultural activity as catalyst and engine of regeneration. It is likely to have a high-public profile and is frequently cited as sign or symbol of regeneration, meant to create distinctiveness and raising excitement in places. Examples are the transformation of eye catching buildings for new uses, reclamation of open space for festivals and events, and programmes to rebrand a place. These activities claim uniqueness that non-cultural regeneration activities like mainstream housing, office and retail developments lack. In the second model, *cultural regeneration*, cultural activity is integrated on a more equal level alongside other activities in the environmental, social and economic sphere into area regeneration strategies. Investments in culture are rarely stressed as *primus inter pares* in city promotion as part of place-making and economic strategies. Finally, in the third model, *culture and regeneration*, cultural activity is not fully integrated at all in the strategic development or master planning stage. This is often because the responsibilities for cultural provision and for regeneration sit within different departments or no department takes the lead.

2.3 Spatial scope of creativity in urban regeneration

Next to the level of integration presented above, also different levels of spatial scope of creativity in urban regeneration can be discerned.

2.3.1 Art spaces

An example of small scope creative institutions and how they support community and economic development is presented by Grodach (2011) in a case study of art spaces in the Dallas – Fort Worth area. He describes art spaces as institutions that “present a more eclectic range of work from traditional folk art to the experimental, often do not possess a resident company or permanent collection, and frequently work closely with local artists” (Grodach, 2011: 74). Their main contribution to community development is serving “as a conduit for building the social networks and social capital that contribute to both community revitalization and artistic development” (*ibid.*: 75). From previous research, he identifies respectively four types of art spaces and five ways in which these may achieve community revitalization outcomes (*ibid.*: 77). These four types are:

1. Artist cooperatives: established, managed and owned cooperatively by artists;
2. Arts incubators: offer all kinds of facilities and assistance to 'artist-in-business';
3. Ethnic-specific art spaces: display art, history and culture of a specific ethnic group;

4. Community arts or cultural centres: maintain a place based service area and focus more on consumers [audience] than producers [artists].

In addition, art spaces may support urban regeneration, in particular its social and economic aspects, in the following ways (*ibid.*: 76, 78-81):

1. Neighbourhood anchors or amenities that contribute to local revitalization by boosting local tourism and consumption and by improving quality of life. This can be done by inhabiting vacant buildings; by saving historical structures from demolition; or by attracting artists and audiences from outside the area with active exhibition and presentation schedules;
2. Providing forms of community outreach. These include arts education programmes to the neighbourhood and occupational development projects. Often, these attempt to provide opportunities to participate actively in the arts to groups with normally limited access to these activities, and occasionally support these to start their own cultural business;
3. Incubating new talent to stimulate their creativity by providing work and display space, shared office services and equipment, and programs to build artistic and business skills important for career development;
4. Providing space in a community centre for artists to display their work in an environment where mentoring, peer review, and discussion are encouraged;
5. Building up social capital - the trust, mutual understanding and collective identity that roots cultural communities to place. To individuals, this may reinforce social networks that create access to new resources and opportunities and increase interaction and collaboration across cultural sectors.

2.3.2 Creative incubators

Grodach mentions the arts incubator (3.) as a specific kind of art space that may contribute to neighbourhood revitalization. A type of space that bears likeness (and differences!) to this kind of space is the incubator for starting businesses in creative industries. In fact, these happen to mushroom everywhere, and are normally concentrated in single buildings, from large and distinct obsolete factories and warehouses to vacant schools, office buildings, railway stations, army barracks, and police and fire stations. Like arts incubators as described by Grodach, the significance of creative incubators for urban regeneration lays mainly with spaces, services and activities for starting businesses (incubatees) inside the building. In addition, creative incubators are also enterprises themselves, 'producing' small but vital businesses by means of helping incubatees through their critical stages of infancy.

Quite a few of these incubators are hybrid, combining features of social, subsidized and commercial enterprises. Therefore, it can be argued that most are more explicitly directed towards trading results, and therefore more screened off from the surrounding urban area than arts incubators. Nevertheless, study visits of the InCompass project reveal that creative incubators also maintain interrelations with their neighbourhoods, occasionally for the benefit of all. Examples are services supplied by local businesses (e.g. catering, laundry etc.) and supplied to local community associations (e.g. meeting rooms for rent) or population at large (e.g. party halls, festivals and events). Further, some incubators open up – physically and socially – towards the surrounding urban districts, both to confide the 'secret' activities behind the walls of the building to the local population and to discover and possibly advance

resident creative talent. Occasionally, creative concepts and products developed in the incubator are tested with the help of the surrounding community.

2.3.3 *Creative and cultural quarters*

A current tendency by policy on cultural and creative activities (i.e. artists, firms, supporting services) is clustering in cultural and creative quarters in limited and distinct areas that, hence, contain a high concentration of such activities (Mommaas, 2004; McCarty, 2005; Evans, 2009; Tremblay and Battaglia, 2012). Tremblay and Battaglia typify cultural quarters as spaces with a high level of historic preservation and conservation that are identified as festival and cultural centres. Creative quarters are more of mixed use, with diversity and design qualities in terms of buildings, facilities and urban landscapes. Often cultural and creative features are present in the same clustered quarter which develops a multi-dimensional identity and multi-functional uses.

It is widely believed that clustering in spatially limited and distinct quarters results in economies of agglomeration for both consumers and producers of cultural amenities (Tufts and Milne, 1999; Mommaas, 2000; Santagata, 2002, McCarty, 2005), in particular if their proximity is supplemented with high quality connecting open spaces and additional services like cafés, restaurants and art galleries. Mommaas (2004: 508) commented that quarters were a next stage in the use of culture and arts in urban regeneration policies after policies' predominant involvement with "big statements and flagship projects [...] aimed at organizing occasion for spectacular consumption".

The synergy of complementary cultural experiences at close proximity as a boost to the number of visitors is also advantageous to the city as a whole. However, the aims of the policy shift towards creating spaces, quarters and milieus for culture and creativity are definitely more comprehensive than just attracting more visitors. One of these aims is urban regeneration. Due to their spatial size and diversity of activities, but also the social networks and commercial linkages that develop both within the quarter and with the urban surroundings, culture and creative quarters have more impact on urban regeneration than single artists or designers who are widely distributed in the underground of the neighbourhoods. Based on research in Raval (Barcelona) and Mile End (Montreal), Tremblay and Battaglia (2012) mention several characteristics that a cultural quarter should have in order to contribute to the regeneration of an area in the city. A cultural quarter should be planned to:

1. Improve the regeneration of a geographical area;
2. Concentrate, as a physical and creative hub, cultural, social and economic activities;
3. Act as a catalyst of production and consumption of cultural services;
4. Encourage the participation of local communities;
5. Support and maintain artists' galleries and studios, as well as preserve the quarter from intensive gentrification and real estate interests;
6. Improve the quality of life for workers and citizens who live in the quarter;
7. Reinforce the local development through the partnership between local institutions and other economic and productive sectors.

3. CREATIVITY-LED REGENERATION IN PRACTICE

In this section four practical cases are described in which creativity is brought into urban districts with the aim to contribute to regeneration. The first one is a Dutch example of an incubator for creative enterprises; the third and fourth ones are two German examples of the role played by cultural expressions in urban regeneration; and the second one, finally, is a Dutch example that contains a creative incubator next to an example of contemporary use of space for enterprises and cultural events.

3.1 *Creative Factory (Rotterdam)*

The Creative Factory is located in the Maassilo, a former grain warehouse in South Rotterdam. This is an iconic building, situated at the intersection of three deprived neighbourhoods. In order to lessen the level of deprivation of these and other deprived neighbourhoods, the municipality of Rotterdam launched an action program in 2003, including the establishment of enterprise zones alongside the reconstruction for new economic functions of several publicly owned historic buildings, including the Maassilo. The final goal of this refurbishment was to contribute to the economic development of South Rotterdam.

The Creative Factory opened its doors in 2008. It houses approximately 70 creative entrepreneurs, which are engaged in various sectors, including media, design and music. The entrepreneurs rent one or more workplaces in big open spaces, in which approximately eight companies are clustered. At the start of the Creative Factory the rental price per square metre was relatively low and affordable space for creative entrepreneurs was hard to find. However, because of the financial crisis this lack of cheap space for creative entrepreneurs does not exist anymore, implicating that the Creative Factory lost some of its competitive advantage.

The entrepreneurs are offered support, among which coaching and matchmaking. Besides, the Creative Factory also offers a number of general services, like a central reception, meeting facilities and event rooms. About half of the enterprises in the Creative Factory are starting businesses, while the others are more established businesses. The Creative Factory functions as an incubator, in which starting businesses are aimed at becoming established businesses within three years. After three years they are encouraged to leave the Creative Factory, or to stay within the Creative Factory playing an active role in professionalizing starting businesses.

The Creative Factory is managed by a director, who rents the building from the municipality and sublets workplaces to the entrepreneurs. Since the opening, a varying number of organizations is connected to the Creative Factory as a partner organization, including a company offering financial services, a cooperative bank, a housing association and three educational institutions. In 2012, four of the partner organizations sponsored the Creative Factory financially. Besides, the partner organizations also contribute in kind with their experience and networks.

The director of the Creative Factory initiated the founding of two networks of creative enterprise centres: the *Dutch Creative Residency Network (DCRN)* and the *European Creative Business Network (ECBN)*. Most of the creative entrepreneurs are not from the neighbourhood, neither do they have much interaction with the neighbourhood. In an attempt to establish more connections with the surrounding neighbourhoods once a year the Creative Factory organizes the *So You Wanna Be Your Own Boss-contest*, in which starting entrepreneurs from the neighbourhood as well as from elsewhere can pitch their business plan in front of a jury. The three best plans are awarded with a free flexible workplace in the Creative Factory during one year.

3.2 Ebbinge District (Groningen)

The Ebbinge District is located just north of the inner city of Groningen (the Netherlands) at some 500 m from the central square (*Grote Markt*). An urban regeneration programme that strongly focuses on transforming the district into a hotspot of creative economic activities is now being put into effect. Altogether, the programme is about the making of tangible and intangible qualities of place in a coherent way, including a range of work spaces for creative entrepreneurs and artists, and amenities and 'buzz' enabling them to build up social and economic networks.

After the demolition of an obsolete gasworks on the so-called CiBoGa terrain (the former location for carriers, travelling circuses and the local gasworks) in the 1980s and the abandonment in 1990 of the chemistry lab of the University, located close to one another in the heart of the Ebbinge District, the area gradually deteriorated. Several years later, the former lab was squatted by a group of artists. More recent plans by the local government for house building on both locations have not been implemented due to impacts of the current economic downturn, and in the case of the former lab also due to resistance by the artist community against demolition.

Inspired by the emerging creative city thesis, the lab has been converted after a design by the local artist community into *Het Paleis* (The Palace), a clustered live-work environment for artists, designers and other practitioners in creative industries. The main investors in this redevelopment were Groningen municipality and a housing corporation. This fits within the policy efforts of local government to keep regional creatives and creativity in the city, which is peripherally located in the North of the Netherlands, and prevent it from moving to the economic core area of the Netherlands (or Germany).

Het Paleis includes 28 apartments, 54 studios, several exhibition rooms, flex spaces and a fablab equipped with a 3D printer, all for rent by creative entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it offers temporary accommodation for 'creatives-in-residence' and several hotel rooms for visitors. In addition to these facilities, Het Paleis offers a rather extended incubation programme, consisting of workshops; mentorships and coaching; services; and cheap work spaces - rents definitely below market rate – for a maximum of 3 years. In order to strengthen the interactions of creatives working in the building with the public in the urban surrounding, Het Paleis organises Cultural Sundays. Several times a year, open studios, guest exhibitors, workshops and a kids atelier attract quite a few visitors.

In contrast to Het Paleis, new residential developments are still planned on the CiBoGa terrain. But because these were postponed to at least 2016, it was decided by the local government to make the site available as an 'open laboratory' - the Open Lab Ebbinge (OLE). The aim of OLE is experimenting, by both creating and analysing, with temporary use of space to foster innovative creative industries. The OLE programme also offers work spaces to creative entrepreneurs and meeting places for both these entrepreneurs and interested residents and visitors. In addition, it includes spaces to accommodate cultural events like concerts, lectures and exhibitions; an open space that is used as a playground and for outdoor cultural events; and a man-made beach. The core of OLE consists of a series of temporary pavilions to house creative enterprises and services (like catering) which can be removed rather easily in 2016.

OLE is an example of bottom-up 'triple helix in action'. The land was made available for free by the municipality that also constructed physical infrastructure (lighting, streets). At specific stages of the project, contributions to brainstorming were made by educational institutions in the area, the adjacent University Hospital and the Ebbinge District Association of SMEs. And finally, designing, building and exploiting of the pavilions were on the users' own account. The construction of pavilions started in 2011 and the last ones were finished just before the two day manifestation with contributions by all triple helix partners to celebrate the official opening of OLE in September 2012.

3.3 Creative quarter Bahnhofsviertel (Oldenburg)

The historical *Bahnhofsviertel* (Central Station District) of Oldenburg (Germany) suffered from increasing vacancy rates and brownfield developments during the last part of the 20th century, although a mixture of red-light milieus, culture and creative activities and even business services like banks also gave it a very distinctive character. After years of deterioration, the city council of Oldenburg appointed the district an urban redevelopment zone and decided in April 2008 on guidelines for this regeneration.

Developing a variety of activities along a cultural axis and making working and meeting spaces available for creative entrepreneurs aims at making the district a lively and exciting hot spot of cultural venues, events and creative businesses (including start-ups) to enhance its attractiveness to investors. The plans for physical infrastructure include a public pedestrian link to interconnect different cultural venues in the district, and the redesign of one of its squares as a public place for events for people to linger, to meet and to communicate. Both are shaped as lively, people-oriented developments which will leave their marks on further implementation of the official urban planning.

Rooted in the district, the non-profit cultural organisation *Kulturetage* works together with a variety of local creative producers (broadcasters, political moviemakers, etc.) and residents to actively influence the process of urban regeneration in the district. Their intention is to leave regeneration not merely to planners and experts, but to involve people's interests, wishes and visions. To that aim, they set up temporary events and interventions in public spaces in order to provoke community-based artists' impulses to shape the future of the district. This 'software' for regeneration of the district places its people, social life, liveliness, spaces and conflicts in a broader spotlight. The events and interventions include workshops

together with local artists' exhibitions; debates and dialogues; and open stages for music, theatre etc. Moreover, projects on socio-political issues like artist in refugee and food & health are implemented and a major role is being played by film – filmmaking and film screening on buildings in the district. This software forces to new types of communication and planning based on everyday life instead of statistics, policy documents and planners' visions that are kept in municipal archives.

An activity that deserves special mention was originated by Kulturetage in the 2011 'Summer in the Quarter' event. For six weeks, four foreign artists-in-residence took a critical look on the district – its social life, its history, its formal and informal institutions – and caught its uniqueness in artistic expressions. During their work in an open studio in the district, interaction took place with routines of local art, culture and social life, creating a temporary scene within the context of the current urban regeneration process of the district. When ready, they presented their expressions at unusual locations in the district – outdoor instead of traditional exhibition spaces. The main aim of this international meeting of artists was to look at the district from outsiders' perspectives in order 'to transform the ordinary into the extraordinary', hence making explicit - different as their projects were – creative energy that can be found in the district but simply had been taken for granted for quite a long time. This might help local stakeholders to better define visions for the district's future as aspired 'creative quarter' and what that requires.

3.4 Gängeviertel (Hamburg)

Gängeviertel is a live-work environment project that is situated near the city centre of Hamburg and consists of twelve historical buildings – houses, workshops and a factory - separated by alleys ('Gänge') and backyards. Currently, it contains some 7,500 m² of usable space and a community of about 140 people, including a broad range of artists and creative entrepreneurs.

In the course of the 1990s, these buildings had become increasingly derelict. A Dutch property development company submitted a plan to buy the complex and to demolish about 80 per cent for new, commercially profitable real estate, but had to drop this plan due to the current financial crisis. In 2009, the entirely vacant buildings – eight of the twelve - were squatted by a group of some 200 people, mainly practising artists and other cultural professionals. This invasion was prepared carefully: an open exhibition was set up in secret in the preceding days and it was accompanied with the start of a press campaign. The invasion had the support of many local residents: in the week after some 3,000 people visited the exhibition daily. Most probably, local residents were not happy either with vacancy of the existing buildings or with large-scale commercial development that would violate the historic urban structure.

The Gängeviertel community experiments with self-management of area development outside the commercial property market. The aim is to create a vibrant urban environment where new forms and combinations of living, working (mainly crafts and arts production), social care and cultural activities make the city 'more human' in a sustainable way. Performances of music, theatre and short film screening but also debates, among other themes about area development are organized to interest a broader public in the experiment.

Simultaneously with their arrival the squatters founded a non-profit organisation to negotiate with local authorities. It has been supported in its negotiations by professionals like mediators and lawyers. The Hamburg Department of Culture, in turn, aims to redevelop the inner city area on the basis of not only financial and economic, but also social, cultural and historical criteria. This requires a shift from traditional old school top-down planning by an 'oligarchy' of planners towards a more bottom-up approach. In this perspective, the transformation of the Gängeviertel into a live-work environment is considered a valuable experiment that may be a good practice for future planning policy.

As a result, the squatting was tolerated by the city government. It purchased the buildings and rented these out to the community of 'residential artists'. An agreement of cooperation was signed in 2011 by the community, the urban government and a local development agency for the necessary renovation of the buildings and their transformation into a live-work complex. The rents were set below market rates in this central part of the city to keep these affordable for the community of mostly people with low incomes.

The money for buying and for renovating and transformation of the buildings, the latter planned for 2013-2014, is from several sources. First and foremost, the local government invests 20 million euro from various funds, including European ones. Taking into account its considerable debt, this indicates the special interest by the government for this particular project. Furthermore, the resident community negotiated loans on favourable terms from a bank that is specialized in financing large-scale real estate projects like the Gängeviertel. These loans are paid back from revenues from rents paid by individual community members. To afford the rents, most people have additional jobs outside the live-work environment.

4. ASSESSMENT OF IMPACTS OF CREATIVITY-LED REGENERATION

In this section, we present some thoughts as an initial phase of an evaluation framework to assess the impacts of creativity on urban regeneration. This assessment is a multifaceted challenge that is being directed here by the following questions: "What is assessed (1); how should that be assessed (2, 3) and who benefits by the regeneration (4, 5)? The bracketed numbers refer to below brief discussions of these questions.

1. Most urban regeneration policies aim at the reinforcement of physical, economic, social and environmental qualities of deprived neighbourhoods. What is often missing however, at least as an explicit ambition, is to restore, preserve, renew or strengthen the symbolic values and cultural identity of these areas in such a way that its authenticity is maintained (Grodach, 2011; Zukin, 2010). This is a serious deficiency: these values and identity, represented by e.g. certain buildings or monuments, spatial lay-out, socio-cultural structures and narratives, are important for regeneration of urban districts in a way that the resident population feels at home. There is also a role reserved here for creative people and projects. Creatives often recognize opportunities and potentialities of symbolic intangibles that other people do not see, and hence they can contribute to regeneration of areas in the city in ways other residents or policy makers cannot. The Creative Factory and Het Paleis projects aim at fostering innovative creative enterprises, and combine that with opening up towards their surrounding urban districts, but

strengthening the cultural identity of these areas is not part of the explicit ambition in either case. Experimenting with temporary use of space, OLE contributes more actively to a new cultural identity of its area. However, Bahnhofsviertel and Gängeviertel most explicitly include the creation of a vibrant environment that strengthens the symbolic and cultural values of the area as the principal part of their ambitions. In this way they aim at improving the quality of place for 'creatives' and hence also for other people.

2. An apparently direct and straightforward way to assess the impacts of creativity on urban regeneration should be to evaluate the extent to which observed urban regeneration corresponds to previously set goals of creativity-based or creativity-oriented projects or programmes. One prerequisite for this straightforward method is a clear definition in advance of the types of activities and actors that are supposed to impact urban regeneration. Otherwise, assessment of impacts is indiscriminate. Obvious as this is, the issue of definition and classification of cultural and creative industries, events or people is a lasting issue from the very beginning of the creative city thesis that still remains topical. Another bottleneck of creativity-based or creativity-oriented projects or programmes in this respect is the lack of clearly defined and prioritised goals related to urban regeneration, let alone unambiguously measurable targets to evaluate their impacts, in the practice of many urban regeneration policies. Frequently, these impacts are unintentional side effects. Finally, the fixation in advance in project cycles of the moment (year, month) that substantial results (goals) should be achieved can be a straitjacket.
3. The main pitfall of an evaluation model that connects goals and outcomes in a direct and straightforward manner is that it is too simple. Cultural and creative activities are embedded in a multitude of factors and actors between which exist complicated patterns of interrelations of different types, causal directions and strengths. Creativity is not the only factor influencing urban development; other factors being for example the state of the economy, housing policy and the development of other (competing) locations. To ascertain to what extent specific observed outcomes, even if they correspond to the goals of policy, are explained by creativity requires a sophisticated conceptual model and research methodology.
4. In some way or another, neighbourhood regeneration is an 'official' policy ambition in all our four cases. However, the practical implications are not always limited to the neighbourhood level. The creative entrepreneurs in the Creative Factory, for example, are mostly not from the neighbourhood, nor do they have many relations with the neighbourhood other than working invisibly in this robust building. Furthermore, when they leave the Creative Factory, they tend to establish in other, less deprived and wealthier parts of Rotterdam. Hence, in general at least some of the effects of creativity in neighbourhoods seem to be more relevant for the city (e.g. jobs, start-ups) rather than for the neighbourhoods as such. In the case of the Creative Factory, this may be related to its predominantly top-down planning. At the other extreme, many creative producers and artists who are involved in the projects of the non-profit cultural organisation Kulturfest in Bahnhofsviertel are local residents. Both in that case and in Gängeviertel, economic development is not the main let alone the only ambition, and the interests and wishes of local residents are actively involved in regeneration of these areas by means of top-down

planning. In Gängeviertel, the squatters initially received strong support from the residents against the municipality, but the cooperation with the municipality is now more institutionalised than in Bahnhofsviertel.

5. The final issue for discussion here is who within the neighbourhood benefit from regeneration. Successful urban regeneration may be detrimental to neighbourhoods, not in the last place to their creative entrepreneurs or artists, when it evolves into gentrification (Zukin, 2010) at the expense of both authentic symbolic values and affordable real estate. Further, quite a few authors have criticised the creative city thesis, in particular as presented by Florida (2002), for aiming primarily at creating favourable urban environments to attract a 'new urban elite' rather than improve problematic living conditions of the current urbanites in deprived neighbourhoods (e.g. Peck, 2005; Jarvis et al., 2009; Krätke, 2011; Pratt, 2011). Notably, there appears no question of gentrification yet in our four cases

5. CONCLUSION

Assessing creativity-led regeneration is a complicated challenge. In fact, in this paper we only take a first few steps on the road towards an evaluation model. On our way, we highlighted some points of particular relevance. First, it is highly worthwhile to define the preservation, restoration or strengthening of the cultural identity of the area as an explicit ambition of urban regeneration projects. Another point of attention is the spatial level of practical impacts of regeneration efforts: this may be the city as a whole rather than the deprived neighbourhood at which these efforts are aimed. Furthermore, and related to this, it is important to involve the inhabitants of deprived neighbourhoods in creativity-led regeneration. Exclusive top-down planning of the creative city that (whether purposively or not) results in the settling of a new urban elite may be detrimental to the existing resident population of these already deprived neighbourhoods.

A rather straightforward method to assess the impacts of creativity on urban regeneration is direct comparison of the progress of regeneration with previously set policy goals. Schematically, this method requires an adequate picture of the state of decay on various dimensions (social, physical, economic, symbolic etc.) at $t=0$; definitions and classifications of the types of creativity – e.g. creative industries, people or cultural events - that are supposed to improve these dimensions; the goals of the creativity-led regeneration policy; and last but not least the definition of $t=1$. A rather fundamental, not yet commented weakness in this method is that it is not recommendable, if not infeasible, to set goals of creativity-led regeneration projects or programmes a longer term period between $t=0$ and $t=1$, particularly not if the faith of policy is pinned on the creative class or creative industries as engines of regeneration. The reason is that in particular these groups are rather ill-disposed of sets of measurable targets they feel as imposed on them. Where and how they live, work, build up social networks or spend their money may change rapidly and is rather unreliable for planners.

Perhaps even more than urban planning in general, creativity-led regeneration should be planned – or rather: evolve – organically rather than on the basis of a blueprint. While it is

preferable and even necessary to have a final image of the area to focus on, this should inspire rather than dictate the planning process. An agile and incremental planning process is crucial in this. But even in case of blueprint planning – what frequently still appears the dominant style in planning practice – the challenge remains to develop an evaluation framework that is flexible enough to register departures from the direction of urban regeneration as outlined in its goals

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