

make use
september 2008

Make Use

A comparison between temporary-use strategies of intermediary organizations with the goal of using vacant buildings as workplaces for social and creative entrepreneurs



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POLIS, European Urban Cultures

Amsterdam/Brussels, September 2008

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PREFACE

Amsterdam is not Berlin. Many people, including me, experience Berlin as a very energetic, dynamic city that is constantly reinventing itself. I am fascinated by that energy and asked myself why Amsterdam is lacking this type of energy. This brought me to temporary-use, a very flexible and highly dynamic form of using public space and vacant buildings. After limiting it down, I ended up focusing on temporary-use of vacant buildings. The essence however, is to make use of something that isn't used at all. Seeing potential and having the will to do something with it. The organisations I found started with a similar urge and found a very relevant potential, creative and social entrepreneurs that have difficulty finding affordable working space.

I very much enjoyed the process of finding information and later on doing interviews. I got very enthusiastic about the variety of initiatives and noticed that I started to look different at cities in general and Amsterdam in particular. I saw more opportunities, experienced more shared visions and am now very eager to unleash all that energy. The other side of the story is that of stress. I can easily say that this thesis was the hardest thing I had to do, especially for the time pressure and the feeling of being lost. Elements like a crashed computer, a lost USB-stick and having completely revised my content three times also worked very counterproductive!

But most importantly, I know more than ever before what I would like to do. I believe more than ever before, that a city is what its people make of it. A city without people is a 'hard' city. I want to be part of the people that make the soft souse that is pored over the city, giving it a sweeter taste. And the starting point for this future, already reverberates in the slogan of the city I will live in, 'I Amsterdam'!

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EMBRACING THE TEMPORARY

1.1 Creativity in cities

When talking about the future of cities, it is often heard that ongoing changes follow each other in a rapid pace. After the industrial economy, the service economy and the knowledge economy some say that we have now entered an economy with fundamentals in knowledge *and* creativity. Charles Landry wrote a book called 'the creative city' in which he explains that 'cities have one crucial resource – their people'¹. In his view, 'human cleverness, desires, motivations, imagination and creativity are replacing location, natural resources and market access as urban resources'². According to Landry, this leads to the situation that creativity of the people that live in cities and the people that run cities, will determine future 'success'.³ This idea can be put next to a bit older theories that revolve around networks or agglomeration or knowledge. The idea of creativity playing an important role in city development, is strongly supported by scientists, drivers and politicians. Richard Florida and Charles Landry count for two of the most important or at least most influential scientists on this matter. Their popularity and the amount of cities that openly declare the desire to be 'a creative city' show creativity in cities to be of great importance. There is also critique on the rhetoric on 'the creative city'. Eric Duivenvoorden for example asks himself is for whom 'the creative city' is meant. Is it for the well-educated and wealthy top layer or is it for all the residents.⁴ Richard Florida, admits that his theory has no answer to the question of what 'should be done' with the seventy

¹ Landry, C. (2000) *The creative city*, p. xiii

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Kallenberg, F. (2004) *Easy City, Interventies in een verscheurde stad*

percent of the population that does not participate in the 'creative economy'.⁵ It is therefore important to keep your eyes open, also for the possibly negative elements that come with transitions that are connected to 'the creative city'. This is also stressed in *Accommodating Creative Knowledge* where apart from economic and socio cultural polarisation also other reservations and cautions are mentioned.

1.2 The creative city needs creative entrepreneurs

'The creative city' is a term that incorporates a rather wide field and thus can be seen as rather vague. Landry himself, states that a number of preconditions are needed for a city to be creative. He distinguishes concrete factors and more intangible aspects which very much resemble the idea of hard and soft factors (or infrastructure). Landry also explains that a creative city is difficult to achieve because of the need to connect a wide variety of actors, agents and interest groups each with its own interest. He also wants to widen the idea of creativity being only good for economics, he also focuses on social benefits. He very much emphasizes on the inclusive character that a creative city should have. On this matter David Harvey stated the following: 'while traditional state-financed urban developments are no longer affordable, the radical shift to neo-liberal planning policies has failed to offer inclusive models.'⁶

One of the important elements of the creative city and city development however, is clear: creating space for creativity. One of the elements is that cities should create working places for people that work in the creative industry:

⁵ Beekmans, J. Boer J. de (July, 2008) *Urban leftovers: Berlin vs. Amsterdam*, retrieved at from www.popupcity.net

⁶ Quote of Harvey, D. in Oswald, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., 'Patterns of the unplanned' in Frank K. and Stevens Q. (2006) *Loose Space*

creative entrepreneurs. If a city doesn't provide affordable working space for its creative entrepreneurs it is much more likely that they will flee the city in search for cities that do have affordable working space. In practice this is exactly what happens. Cities that are performing well economically, have difficulty attracting creative entrepreneurs who don't have a strong economic position. Economic pressure and strong regulations are examples of powers that could make it very difficult for creative entrepreneurs to find a working space, especially at a location near the centre. In paragraph 3.6.5 this subject will be treated more extensively.

1.3 Temporary-use as part of the solution

Temporary-use is a relatively new subject. One of the first serious attempts of doing research in this field was done by Urban Catalyst. Urban Catalyst acts as an interdisciplinary platform on urban planning. It developed from an European Research Program with the same name, that explored strategies for temporary use in residual areas from 2001 to 2003.⁷ According to Urban Catalyst 'a use is defined as temporary if those initiating it and the others involved expect it to be of limited duration.'⁸

Spiegel and Teckert state that there is room for a re-evaluation of the role temporary-use could play in cities, partly because the traditional master plan fails.⁹ Following, the research of Urban Catalyst made clear that temporary-use does 'really' count for an underutilised resource in urban planning. A resource that can have positive economic, social and cultural effects. It can act as a mean to create win-win situations beneficial for real estate owners, developers,

⁷ Quote retrieved from www.urbancatalyst.net (7th of July, 2008)

⁸ Oswalt, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., 'Patterns of the unplanned', in K. Frank and Q. Stevens (2006) *Loose space*, p. 275

⁹ Oswalt, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., 'Patterns of the unplanned' in Frank K. and Stevens Q. (2006) *Loose Space*

the community at large and the users, possibly creative entrepreneurs. Urban Catalyst research also shows temporary-use as possible generator of atmospheres, ideas and networks.¹⁰ This can also be seen as adding to Landry's intangible aspects also called 'soft factors'¹¹ or soft infrastructure.

Temporary-use can also be seen as a new way of looking at space. Where 'an empty or unused space as economic fallow land is the product of a logic of exploitation that defines it as 'unused capital', this can be replaced by 'an idea of functionality that sees only uselessness in the dysfunctional of the unused and empty.'¹² One of the roles temporary-use could play in the field of filling up the unused and empty is offering affordable working places for creative entrepreneurs.

1.4 Organisations

Creating affordable spaces for social¹³ and creative entrepreneurs, can be seen as a mission that serves several goals. The organisations in this thesis have this mission in common. As a means they make use of vacant (space within) buildings on a temporary basis. As said before, this counts for a relatively new strategy that moves away from the 'normal' planning routes. The organisations are *Urban Resort* from Amsterdam, *SpareSpace* from Groningen and *Precare* from Brussels. Apart from what they have in common, they also show some significant differences. Most important differences seem to be the city they operate in, their (historical) background, context, emphasis and network. Part of the goal of this thesis is to add more clarity on which of these differences

¹⁰ Lehtovuori, P. (2003) *Temporary uses, the forgotten resource of urban planning*

¹¹ Lehtovuori, P. (2003) *Temporary uses, the forgotten resource of urban planning*, p. 24

¹² Spiegl, A. and Teckert, C. in Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary Urban Spaces*, p. 9

¹³ In the research I will include social entrepreneurs as users. This will be treated more thoroughly further on in the thesis

actually are important in reaching the shared goal of creating working space for creative entrepreneurs.

1.5 Goal of this thesis

The focus of this thesis lies on strategies. Strategies of intermediary organisations that have the goal of creating working places for creative and social entrepreneurs, with temporary-use of vacant buildings as a means. In this thesis I would like to find out how temporary-use can be embedded to act on urban challenges formed by global trends and place specific elements. I would also like to find out which roles are played by the main actors, what are the strategies of the intermediary organisation, what are the main differences between these strategies and which strategies work.

1.6 Relevance

The research of Urban Catalyst made clear that 'the success of temporary-use as urban catalyst'¹⁴ is depending on the economic situation of a city on the one hand and the cultural accessibility and legal status on the other. In this thesis, there will be looked for elements that determine 'the success of temporary-use as a way to create working space for creative and social entrepreneurs'. These elements will probably not be the same as found by Urban Catalyst. This is because temporary-use is different between the cities (that the organisations are based in) on that matter are limited.¹⁵ The differences in the success between the organisations, is therefore based on other elements. Elements where the strategy might make the difference. Also, the angle (strategies of

¹⁴ Lehtovuori, P. (2003) *Temporary uses, the forgotten resource of urban planning*

¹⁵ This will be treated more thoroughly further on in the thesis

intermediary organisation with a similar goal) and the scope (only three organisations) are different. Arguably, this thesis begins where the research of Urban Catalyst stopped. This can be seen an element that gives this thesis a relevant starting point.

The research of Urban Catalyst also showed temporary-use to be an underutilised resource in urban planning with positive economic, social and cultural effects. When considering that research in this field is limited, this also shows this thesis to be relevant. Three other elements that I found give meaning to this thesis as well. First of all, there is a gap between empty vacant office space or paid anti-squatter organisations 'filling up' vacant office space, and social and creative entrepreneurs (paying for) 'using' vacant office space. Secondly, creating space for creativity is being portrayed as relevant. This fits in the transition where hard factors have been slightly pushed to the background and soft factors becoming more and more the centre of attention.¹⁶ Using the potential of vacant buildings in favour of social and especially creative entrepreneurs adds significantly to the optimisation of a dynamic and creative city. Thirdly, in many European cities, there is a big potential of relatively expensive office space left unused. As an indication, the prices of these office space and the amount of empty office space in Amsterdam and Brussels are shown in the first supplement.

1.6.1 The gap between 'filling' and 'using'

The office space that is not in use, is currently often empty or filled by anti-squatter organization like 'Anti-kraak' or 'Camelot'. These organizations only serve the purpose of keeping squatters out and adding a very limited amount of

¹⁶ Musterd, S. (2007) *Accommodating Creative Knowledge*

temporary housing units¹⁷. Real-estate companies and housing-agencies pay these organisations money for their services. On the other hand you see the need for space from different other 'groups' that find themselves walking against a 'firm brick wall'. Affordable housing in Amsterdam is an example. But also from a more commercial angle, the hotel branch has difficulty with finding buildings. The latter is even more surprising when taking into consideration that the local government of Amsterdam already foresees big problems with the amount of hotel rooms being too limited, creating a situation for the tourist sector that has negative economic consequences.

Doing nothing with or filling up vacant buildings without a purpose other than keeping squatters out, can hardly be seen as 'adding' something to a city. The local government of Amsterdam also portrays empty vacant buildings as a significant problem, but as Maarten van Poelgeest states, the local government doesn't have any tools to do something about it.¹⁸ Current plans for letting real-estate companies pay tax every month after a one-year vacant period, are according to Poelgeest not very constructive. When he said on television that squatting probably has a bigger impact on real-estate companies, this stirred up discussions about the good and bad sides of squatting and the legal status that has come under fire on a national level. The four big cities as well as Groningen, show to be in favour of the legal status.¹⁹

Instead of squatting or tax arrangement, temporary-use can count for being an interesting other option of using the un-used. Creative and social entrepreneurs can add something to the city (on different levels) by instead of filling, actually

¹⁷ Limited in this context means that big buildings only serve as a living place for a very limited amount of people under some strict conditions. For example, short terms of notice and limited possibilities of use over the space

¹⁸ Elderman 'ruimtelijke ordening' which stands for (freely translated) spatial arrangements

¹⁹ Zachte, M. (14 August, 2007) *Gekraak in een glas water*, retrieved from www.Amsterdamcentraal.nl (12th of July, 2008)

using a space or building. Urban Catalyst, a research organisation, follows this line of thinking and states that the temporary use is economically more profitable than temporary vacancy. 'Whilst the financially weak users can benefit from cheap space, the owner profits from his property becoming known and re-valued, the establishment of new usages at the location and the protection against dilapidation and vandalism.'²⁰ The use of a vacant buildings can have many different faces to the outside world. A vacant building can be transformed to a private, semi-public or partly public space. Following this line of thinking, it's possible to create a situation that's beneficial for not only the users and owners as stated by Urban Catalyst, but also for the local government and the residents (especially the ones living close by).

1.6.2 Creative city rhetoric

In his Magnus Opus called 'Cities in Civilisations' Peter Hall describes four different ways in which creativity plays an important role in the well being of cities. Through his description it becomes clear that creativity has always played an important role in city development. He describes the cultural, intellectual and artistic creativity that can make a city into a breeding place of cultural innovation and social and economic transformation. He describes creativity in technological innovation as a result of working together, specialisation and innovation. He also describes a coming together of culture and technique leading towards the cultural industry. The fourth description of creativity favouring the development of cities has to do with technical and organisational creativity from the ones who run the city. These so called urban innovations were mostly powered by a teaming up of the local government with local entrepreneurs. In these descriptions creative entrepreneurs play an important role as well as breeding places linking up with the mentality to cross borders in

²⁰ Oswalt, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., 'Patterns of the unplanned' in Frank K. and Stevens Q. (2006) *Loose Space*, p. 286

creating new coalitions. These points form centres of attention for cities wanting to become more 'creative'.

Some cities though, have problems in what can be called 'keeping creative energy inside the city'. More and more local governments also portray this as a serious problem. I will use Amsterdam as an example in the following, as a way to get more insight in the described situation.

Amsterdam saw its creative appeal and potential under treat during the end of the nineties due to an economic boom in real-estate.²¹ This resulted in a shrinkage of the amount of affordable space for social and creative entrepreneurs. Part of that problem is caused by the large amount of creative universities Amsterdam counts. The logical consequence is that a lot of people are looking for a way to earn money and find a place to work, where the price is low enough to keep a certain amount of freedom. The latter makes clear that there is a link between the amount of rent to be paid and the amount of free work (not directly commercial) that can be made. Chester explains that because the rent at the Volkskrant building went up with 200 percent²², the pressure to work commercially also went up. The consequences very much go against the aim of Urban Resort to create synergy and an inner building economy.²³ Amsterdam set up 'Amsterdam Breedingplaces' to do something about the limited amount of affordable space for creative entrepreneurs. This exemplifies that (affordable working) space for creativity is becoming more and more prioritised by local governments. The reasoning behind this is very strongly embedded in economic rhetoric that drifts on theories from the likes of Scott (innovations in the creative industry), Bianchini, Landry (creative city), Florida

²¹ Oswald, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., 'Patterns of the unplanned' in Frank K. and Stevens Q. (2006) *Loose Space*

²² Based on a comparison between the initial rent as suggested by the Volkskrant building and the current rent

²³ Interview Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design)

(creative class) and many more. Landry is currently busy with Comedia²⁴ trying to widen this economic angle, making also the social contribution 'visible'. This description of Amsterdam can arguably be generalised for cities that work with creative city rhetoric. In paragraph 3.6.5, this shift will be given more attention.

²⁴ Research organisation set up by Landry and Bianchini

1.7 Research question

Little research has been done to the subject of temporary-use of vacant buildings. This goes especially for cities that show a strong economy and a large amount of vacant buildings. The research therefore has a strong explorative character. When also considering both the gap between 'filling' and 'using' and the strong discourse around the creative city, it shows the relevance of doing research in temporary-use of vacant buildings in favour of creative and social entrepreneurs. This leads to the following research question:

How can intermediary organizations through temporary use of vacant buildings, help to create affordable working places for creative and social entrepreneurs?

A search for temporary-use strategies.

THE CONCEPT OF TEMPORARY USE

2.1 Roots

The term 'temporary-use' has its roots in theoretical models dating from the late 1950's. Lefebvre states that everyday life had been colonized by capitalism already just after world war two. The notion of capitalism as strong influence on everyday life was based on the following main transitions: 'shorter working hours, labour-saving appliances and more disposable income'.²⁵ In the late fifties, the Situationist International (SI), responding to the homogenizing and disciplining effects of functional urban planning, formulated a new approach to the social space of the city.²⁶ At that time, temporary-use was an action method of proclaiming your stand as well as a method to discover one's desire for specific ambiances. The 'constructed situation' was one of the important means of the SI. According to the SI, it should be composed of actions, in a transitory decor. The constructed situation was grafted on the idea that the 'passive spectators had to be turned into 'livers', who knew the real living and 'found' the beach (SI) lying under the pavement (modernism)'.²⁷ The temporary-use aspect depicted 'the urban fabric' as the ground on which actions were to happen. History of temporal aspects in a city can also be seen in Archigram, an English collective of architects during the sixties and seventies. Their main idea was that the build environment had to move along with the demands of society, the physical following the dynamic. They were searching for new developments in

²⁵ Elden, S. (2004) *Understanding Henry Lefebvre*, pp. 115-117

²⁶ Ronneberger, K. (2003) 'From Regulations to Moderations' in Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary Urban Spaces*, p. 47

²⁷ Swyngedouw, E. (2002) 'The strange respectability of the Situationist City in the Society of the Spectacle' in *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pp. 153-165

technology, to mobilize and change city shapes, as in projects like 'the walking city' and 'the instant city'.²⁸

When looking at the more recent history, temporary-use seems to have different backgrounds showing it to be what it is: a method. Arguably, the different backgrounds can be put in four categories. The first is the grassroots category that seems strongly influenced by the SI. Second, is the commercial category where temporary-use is a way of marketing. Third, is the planning category where temporary-use is opposing the master plan method and fourth is the artistic category that is very much about bringing art and creativity to the people as opposed to for example a museum. Underneath I will describe the first two categories for they form the most opposing poles. The latter two arguably fit in somewhere in the middle.

From the early nineties on, the Situationist International (SI) again became subject to an interest from a cultural, scholarly and activist point of view.²⁹ The self-proclaimed successors of the situationists, the advocates of subversive visual politics, 'culture jamming'³⁰ and re-appropriation of public space by the public, use temporary urbanism to address the struggle over who can still use 'these homogenized spaces'.³¹ Also, new organizations and people as Ad busters, Reclaim the streets and Banksey are inspired by the SI in their struggle against a too strong force of commercialization. Again, cityscapes are the ground for the different forms of rebellion and again temporary-use is in the midst of the action.

²⁸ Beekmans, J. and Boer, J. de (May 9th, 2008) *Lost in transition*, retrieved from www.popupcity.net (12th of July, 2008)

³⁰ Lasn, K. (1999) *Culture jamming: the uncooling of America*

³¹ Homogenised spaces as an outcome of the locational competition by increasingly wagering on cultural policies (the city of events) which is strongly connected to theory of Richard Florida and Robert Temel

Jens Danschat also focuses on the grassroots' background of temporary-use. He portrays temporary-use as the opposite of the master plan and states that temporary-use 'starts out from the context and the current condition, not from a distant goal'³². Secondly, 'it seeks to use what already exists rather than inventing everything anew'.³³ And finally, temporary-use is concerned with small places and brief spans of time as well as the conditions at various points in time'.³⁴ This category shows temporary-use as an extension of grass root movements.

Opposed to this background, one might look at the guerrilla store movement that was first initiated in Europe by 'Comme des Garçons' and in Holland by 'Blend magazine'. Here, temporary-use was seen as a cool new way to market products. The guerrilla store or pop-up store now seems to be hip and showing up more often. These stores show that companies are quite interested in sponsoring temporary stores which gather a lot of attention. I experienced in Berlin an invitation-only temporary gallery which was sponsored by a liquor brand. I interviewed Philip Fontana, who started in Antwerp a exhibition space slash meeting place slash restaurant slash bar slash disco on the top of an unused building, with a beautiful view. The whole set-up could have been possible only for the large amount of sponsoring. The top floor of het Volkskrant building is also sponsored. Off course, a very important element must then be that it is an open space for people to go to, it must have a public function and thus is only interesting for a limited amount of options. It also is only interesting if it can draw a lot of attention. This means that the idea of a temporary store is not enough anymore, one has to try and top all former ideas or at least have a good marketing concept.

³² Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary Urban Spaces*, pp. 12-13

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

2.2 Defining temporary-use

Temporary-use on its own seems quite easy to grasp: a (certain) limited duration of use. This focus on duration however, is not shared by everybody. Robert Temel for example, states that 'when viewed from a distance, every use can be seen as temporary'.³⁵ This seems a rather redundant remark, but in practice it is quite relevant. Jaap Draaisma of Urban Resort explained that all the contracts over office space are of limited duration with a range from one year contracts to ten year contracts. Are these contracts examples of temporary-use? Even though it is temporary-use and both parties might expect it to be temporary-use, this still is not quite what is often meant with temporary-use. Temel therefore, doesn't see the provisional character as the unique aspect of temporary-use, but the idea of temporality that is inherent in it. He suggests that we should not apply the word 'temporality' in its literal sense to spaces and uses, but rather use it to refer to 'special qualities' of the temporary.³⁶ These special qualities are for example, charging a particular location (place-making) and giving it a specific meaning it did not have before.³⁷ Another quality is the experimental value because temporariness can avoid a certain amount of risk for not having to be anything on the long term. When portrayed like this, temporary-use is not about the temporariness alone, but also about the idea inherent in it. This idea of the content of temporary use being an important element is also highlighted by Lehtovuori. He uses the phrase 'secondary character' as a collective approach to describe the different temporary uses. A list of dualisms between the upper side and lower side within a hierarchy in the culture of town planning. It most of all shows that it is difficult and seemingly impossible to speak in general terms

³⁵ Temel, R. 'The temporary in the city' in Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 60

³⁶ Temel, R. 'The temporary in the city' in Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 60

³⁷ Temel, R. 'The temporary in the city' in Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*

about the content of temporary use, other than being a power that breaks 'the normal' or 'the evident' content.³⁸

However, Urban Catalyst did the most profound research in this field (when considering Europe) and dealt with the definition problem in a different, very practical way. In the end, they used a definition that avoids difficult discussions around content or the ideas behind temporary-use and instead use temporal expectation as the common treat. This made Urban Catalyst come up with the following definition: 'A use is defined as temporary if those initiating it and the others involved expect it to be of limited duration.'³⁹ This definition is also used in this thesis and portrays temporary-use more as a means than as a definition. This also leaves space for having different interpretations of temporary-use and what it can do. These will be discussed in the next paragraph.

³⁸ Lehtovuori, P. (2003) *Temporary uses, the forgotten resource of urban planning*, Helsinki: Painopaikka Art-Print Oy

³⁹ Oswald, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., (2006) 'Patterns of the unplanned' in Frank K. and Stevens Q. (2006) *Loose Space*, p. 275

2.3 Visions and positive outcomes

What might be considered more interesting than the direct definition is the way temporary-use is being portrayed. There are quite some visions on temporary-use each with its positive outcomes. When diving into the subject you come to find out that temporary-use is mostly embedded in critical planning theory. In that sense it stays quite close to the way the SI portrayed it, being a force against modern city planning. Following, are different visions on temporary-use and its possible positive outcomes.

In the article 'patterns of the unplanned' two important elements on temporary-use are mentioned. Temporary-use can have long term positive effects and unplanned phenomena of temporary use can be incorporated into planning and management of cities.⁴⁰ Both act as an elucidation for structurally embedding temporary-use into new forms of project development transforming citizens into initiators and developers of urban development.

Spiegel and Teckert highlight that temporality itself is an unusual idea for architecture and planning and for the uses proposed for their spaces. Usually, planning is for the long term and not for rapid changes in use. Yet this very temporality offers its own qualities, which can be interesting for both planning and economy, as well as for groups of users who usually have little to do with planning or economy on the large scale. Temporary-use therefore, produces a change in the culture of planning. A change away from the more traditional form of using a master plan. The difference according to Spiegel and Teckert, is for example that temporary-use explores a more open and democratic

⁴⁰ Oswald, P., Overmeyer, K., Misselwitz, P., 'Patterns of the unplanned' in Frank K. and Stevens Q. (2006) *Loose Space*

appropriation of the city.⁴¹ Democratisation through participation in the urban field will be discussed further in paragraph 3.6.3.

Spiegl and Teckert also state that the most important conceptual basis for starting a temporary project is a do-it-yourself mentality of the city's residents.⁴² Temporary-use floats on the creativity and energy of the people. But there is another important element in it as well; 'the conception of an empty or unused space as economic fallow land is the product of a logic of exploitation that defines it as unused capital. The principle behind it however, is based on an idea of functionality that sees only uselessness in the dysfunctional of the unused and empty'.⁴³ This difference in the way temporary-use can be portrayed, very much captures the essence of temporary-use and also shows the reason why it is not so common. Seeing space as economic fallow land, leads to solutions that revolve around (direct) economic profit. Temporary-use widens the scope on how to deal with this so called economic fallow land through those who have a do-it-yourself-mentality.

According to Overmeier, temporary-use can and should be used for experimentation.⁴⁴ Temel adds that this is among other reasons 'because temporariness can avoid a certain amount of risk for not having to be anything on the long term'.⁴⁵ It also makes up a very cost-effective method and can help to create valuable information on for example new planning techniques. Jens Danschat states that temporary-use could for example be implemented 'to test programmes which have the effect that mixed uses, which are so difficult to

⁴¹ Spiegl A. and Teckert, 'Tom Waits 4'33"' in C. Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 17

⁴² Spiegl A. and Teckert, 'Tom Waits 4'33"' in C. Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*

⁴³ Spiegl A. and Teckert, 'Tom Waits 4'33"' in C. Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces* p. 9

⁴⁴ Overmeier, K. (2007) *Urban Pioneers*, p. 17

⁴⁵ Temel R. 'The temporary in the City' in Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 60

implement in master planning, emerge from their own accord'⁴⁶.

Experimentation as an outcome of temporary-use will also be discussed in paragraph 3.6.4.

In a publication called 'Temporary uses, the forgotten resource of urban planning' Panu Lehtovuori analyses the results of the Urban Catalyst research. Based on the different case studies⁴⁷, he comes to a list of different trajectories that temporary-use can follow. This gives a very clear and practical idea of the different outcomes that temporary-use can have. Lehtovuori makes a distinction between seven different trajectories:

- Stand In: No lasting effect on a location and only use a space for the time available.
- Impulse: temporary-use gives an impulse to future developments through the use of pioneer programs or practices.
- Consolidation: temporary-use becomes permanent.
- Coexistence: temporary-use continues, only in a smaller form.
- Parasite: temporary-use depends on permanent use or institution.
- Subversion: temporary-use acts as an interruption of an existing permanent use (for a short time)
- Pioneer: temporary-use as the first 'urban' use of a site, establishing a way of settlement, possibly becoming permanent.
- Displacement: 'A permanent institution is displaced for a limited period of time and established in an improvised way as a temporary-use.'⁴⁸

This list forms a good basis of the different practical outcomes temporary-use can have. Impulse forms an interesting trajectory with a wide variety of aims and outcomes. This trajectory is also stressed by the Urban Catalyst team when they made the statement that temporary-use can have long term positive effects.

⁴⁶ Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 12

⁴⁷ Residual urban areas in Amsterdam, Naples, Vienna, Berlin and Helsinki

⁴⁸ Lehtovuori, P. (2003) *Temporary uses, the forgotten resource of urban planning*

Further on in this thesis, these trajectories will be used in the process of trying to place the temporary-use strategies of the different organizations.

2.4 Place creator for social and creative entrepreneurs

As already explained before in this thesis, cities that are economically performing well, have difficulty attracting creative and social entrepreneurs who don't have a strong economic position. These entrepreneurs form an important element of the ambition of any city that wants to be creative or innovative. Temporary-use can function as an instrument that enables a city to have more capacity to hold on and attract creative and social entrepreneurs. This however, is a broad statement and also not the only positive element that can be mentioned. Underneath are a few other views on the contribution of 'temporary use as place creators for social and creative entrepreneurs'. Underneath this will be brought back to 'temporary use as place creator'.

Temporary use as place creator, benefits the creation and development of independent projects. Therefore it also encourages the cultural, social and even political dynamics of a city in the long term. In addition to the urban dynamic, temporary use contributes to the development of a district. It can charge a particular location giving it a specific meaning it didn't have before.⁴⁹ The least it will do, is avoid an urban wasteland, and in the best case it will for example encourage preservation and development of a social-relational fabric.

Temporary use as place creator, also acts as an enforcement of the 'laboratory' aspect. This means that new things can be tried out without too much direct financial risk. In other words, it gives the opportunity to experiment. The temporal aspects means avoidance of the cumbersome aspect of permanent

⁴⁹ Temel R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 60

establishment. In the end, it could give an positive impulse to the city, the residents and the users.⁵⁰

Temporary use as space creator, also encourages the creation of a network benefitting cooperation and exchange.⁵¹ Urban Resort uses the terms synergy and inner building economy which is very strongly related. It is often possible for vacant buildings to host several different activities as can be seen in all three organizations that are used in this thesis. This can lead to neighborhood contacts, exchanges, joint ventures and to the development of a social, economic, cultural vitality in an industry that operates on the basis of networking.⁵²

Temporary use as space creator, can also be beneficial for the owner. It can even be said that temporary-use is partly and could be even more, an economic tool for the owners of buildings. Paradoxical, the owner is often the most difficult to persuade in cooperating. In short, the positive elements for an owner are the increased value of the building and the reduced maintenance costs. Temporary-uses thus, makes an invaluable contribution to the site's commercial value. Yet as soon as it becomes possible to exploit that commercial value, temporary projects will have to leave the site. This way, temporary use can be portrayed as a travelling creative circus at the service of urban development.⁵³

Temporary use as space creator, off course also benefits the potential users. It gives the opportunity to social and creative entrepreneurs to have an affordable place to work, often in a nice location with interesting other users. This makes up a possible very inspiring place!

⁵⁰ Seroen, F. *Theorie, tijdelijk gebruik*, retrieved from www.Precare.org (July, 2nd. 2008)

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Seroen, F., *Theorie, tijdelijk gebruik*, retrieved from www.Precare.org (July, 2nd. 2008)

⁵³ Overmeier, K. (2007) *Urban Pioneers*

2.5 Strategies

As noted before, the intermediary organization and the local government are both players that very much influence the way temporary-use is being practiced. This thesis is about the strategy of intermediary organization which will thoroughly be discussed. Underneath are strategies that are more from a government or governance point of view.

Klaus Overmeier relates temporary-use to open-source planning. In his foreseeing of the future of temporary-use, he clinches to this metaphor as a way to describe the tactic of having a broad spectrum of concepts, making the possibility of *good* concepts coming into practice, a lot bigger. This goes away from making people part of the process by letting them look at the plans, they will be designing and shaping urban space themselves.

The urban development concept 2020 of Berlin theoretically incorporates temporary-use as a pioneering practice creating new perceptions on planning and steering processes. The means are organising topical debates and reviewing the experienced projects. Standing open for temporary-use, portraying it as a pioneering practice and having an active policy on debating about and revising of temporary-use can be seen as a governmental strategy.

This strategic treatment of temporary-use can be extended by the local government. This can be done by promoting temporary-use through specific communication and mediation strategies. This can be shaped in many different ways. Brochures could for example show information on how to find a location, indicate the most important contacts and boost a summary of the most relevant building regulations. The local government can play a role as facilitator and

mediator between the different parties involved. When done in a personal way, this will help dispel uncertainties at the decision making level and accelerate procedures.⁵⁴

Another way of communicating, is through competitions and organising brainstorm sessions. These tactics have proven themselves also in temporary-use projects in Amsterdam where for example 'Kinetisch Noord' won an open ideas competition allowing them to transform the NDSM wharf into an experimental public space. An open ideas competition was also held in the 'Tolhuistuin', a former private garden next to the distinct Shell building just over the IJ, across central station. The outcome is a cultural multi-dimensional plan, which will last for five years.

There are a number of examples of administrative measures that enforce temporary-use as well. During tours of inspection, an interdisciplinary assessment can be made of the proposed temporary-uses. Also, setting up 'coordination units' or 'special task units' could act as an enforcement of temporary-use. Of course, financial support for temporary-use can also act as an efficient resource.⁵⁵

Stevens and Voigt are also in favour of decentralising unmarketable sites away from local government towards district authority. These places then should come available on favourable terms, to non-profit or community-based initiatives.⁵⁶ This way, temporary-use functions as a way of giving voice or space to the local. This fits in a framework of participative procedures. Stevens and

⁵⁴ Stevens, M. and Voigt, C., 'The scope of Temporary Use' in Overmeyer, K. (2007) *Urban Pioneers*, pp. 120-121

⁵⁵ Stevens, M. and Voigt, C., 'The scope of Temporary Use' in Overmeyer, K. (2007) *Urban Pioneers*

⁵⁶ Stevens, M. and Voigt, C., 'The scope of Temporary Use' in Overmeyer, K. (2007) *Urban Pioneers*

Voigt state that 'public participation is increasingly a feature of informal planning and district redevelopment procedures.'⁵⁷ Negotiations are centre in these processes, followed up by acting in a do-it-yourself way. This way, temporary-use is embedded in a strategy that enforces participation. This fits to the idea of the participative democracy. Here, the idea is that people have more ways to be part of the decision making process. This is based on a move away from the representative democracy leaving voting as the only way of contributing to the decision making process.⁵⁸ Some scholars argue in favor of 'participatory democracy' based on communal activity taking place in the domain of civil society. This idea is based on a belief in strong non-governmental public sphere counting as a precondition for a strong.⁵⁹ These scholars tend to stress the value of separation between the realm of civil society and the (formal) political realm.⁶⁰

2.6 Conclusion

Cities are currently more interested in cultural and creative resources than they used to be. The linkages with especially economic prosperity, but also social benefits, made cities realize that there is a source that can be used more strongly. Temporary use can act as a contribution to the prosperity of a city in several ways. It can also acts as a contribution favouring the users, the owners and the district.

'A self-conscious recognition that a city has a crisis or challenge that needs to be addressed is the starting point for considering creative solutions; without this

⁵⁷ Stevens, M. and Voigt, C., 'The scope of Temporary Use' in Overmeyer, K. (2007) *Urban Pioneers*, p. 123

⁵⁹ Chambers S. and Kymlicka, W. (2002) *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society*

⁶⁰ Seligman A. B. (1992) *The Idea of Civil Society*

no political will or sense of urgency can be generated to drive creativity'⁶¹. Urban resort, Precare and SpareSpace all formulated a 'crisis' in the city. They all believe that there is not enough affordable working space for creative entrepreneurs. This was the starting point for a creative solution: temporary-use of vacant (office) buildings. To do this, no direct help was asked to the local government. Instead, an organization was formed that tries to link the need for affordable space with the potential of vacant buildings. This creates a new linkage between two worlds that before never had any corresponding interest. So a new network is being created and the role of the local government is just a facilitating or catalyst one. Temporary use without governmental interference can be done because of a certain form of what Lefebvre named 'power leaking'. This term indicates the gaps in the regulatory power of in this case, the local government.

The local government cannot venture with property. Also, project developers (including housing cooperations) have trouble finding the potential users and adjusting to their needs for they do not have a strong network and knowledge of the creative and social entrepreneurs. This means that intermediary organizations could be seen as 'needed', to fill that void.

⁶¹ Landry C. (2000) *The creative city*, p. 106

FACING GLOBALIZATION

3.1 Historical perspective

Globalization is a term that describes the way countries and cities are becoming more connected both economically and culturally. This process is build up as a combination of economic, socio-cultural, technological and political forces.⁶² Globalization, though is often used to refer to only economic globalization. This means integration of urban and national economies into the international economy by means of trade, migration, capital flow, foreign direct investment and the spread of technology.⁶³

Economies and cities are highly unstable entities. The dynamics are tightly linked and thus, developments over time occur simultaneously or lagged. Different phases of economic globalization had a profound influence on the form and sort of urban development. In the nineteenth century it was the Industrial Revolution that gave shape to the typical factory town. These had their origins in Britain, France and Germany, but have emerged and are still emerging in many countries around the world. In the twentieth century, it was the Fordist mass production that became of big influence on the growth of large industrial metropolises like Detroit and Manchester. Larger and smaller cities were also influenced by these changes in a variation of intensity.

Urban economic structures have undergone another remarkable shift away from Fordist mass production regimes. This is described by Harvey as a transformation towards more capital-intensive ways of production or a move

⁶² Croucher, S. L. (2004) *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity a Changing World*, p.10

⁶³ Bhagwati, J. (2004) *In Defense of Globalization*

towards places with less expensive labor force. He describes this change happening in the late sixties and early seventies, and labels it as flexible regime of accumulation. Subsequently, also the type of production changed. Production became more flexible and new principles as 'just-in-time' and 'production-on-demand' delivery of products were adopted. Flexible post-Fordist markets replaced old rigid labor markets of the Fordist period. This had consequences for the development of cities and urban regions. The shifting economic structures, the downfall and rise of some particular economic activities that are all taking place in a context of changing routines considering production, all have strong impact upon life in a city.

With each wave of urban transformation, the relation between economic globalization and urban change became more mutual. More and more, urban change is not simply a matter of following economic transformation, in contrary. More and more, economic structure and transformations get affected by the characteristics of a city. These characteristics were shaped according to the path that a city had followed over time. There is a growing belief that in order to attract new economic activities, certain urban 'milieus' are gaining in importance. Soft location factors or soft infrastructure are terms that try to grasp how to have influence on an urban milieu in order to attract and hold on to creative and knowledge intensive activities.⁶⁴ In this thesis, attention will be given to both (economic) globalization trends and place specifics for these two factors very much form urban challenges and urban characteristics that both are very relevant for temporary-use to develop.

The strategies of Precare, Urban Resort and SpareSpace form the basis of this thesis. The actual implementation of temporary-use of vacant buildings has different forms, benefitting different players. In the discussion part of this thesis,

⁶⁴ Musterd, S. (2007) *Accommodating creative knowledge*

attention will be given to different ways of implementing temporary-use. Certain is that a growing number of cities believe that culture, creativity and innovation are the key concepts for a bright future.⁶⁵

3.2 Global trends make urban challenges

Globalization trends have a strong impact but at the same time, the unique and distinctive character of the local seems to have gained importance. Many people believe that the location preferences from companies, especially in the creative sector, has shifted from 'hard' to 'soft'. This means that an attractive living environment and residential environment, tolerance towards differences in lifestyle and ethnicity, a lively cultural scene, the feel and the look and meeting places for business and leisure purposes all have become more important.⁶⁶

Temporary-use in its current form doesn't seem to have a strong theoretical base. The basis lies more in the collection of bottom-up initiatives and new coalition that altogether exemplify the possibilities. These examples are to be found in many cities, but especially in Berlin. Not coincidentally, that city also acts as the basis for Urban Catalyst, an interdisciplinary platform on contemporary urban issues that is very much concerned with temporary-use. The motivation for this platform becomes clear with the following statement on their website:

'Radical processes of transformation are changing the cities and landscapes we inhabit. The traditional instruments of architecture and

⁶⁵ In Musterd, S. (2007) *Accommodating creative knowledge*

⁶⁶ Musterd S. (2007) *Accommodating creative knowledge*, p. 17

urban planning are increasingly unable to address these new challenges.'⁶⁷

In the following theoretical part of this thesis, the focus will lie on these radical processes of transformation. The theoretical part will be very much about how globalization influences processes that have a distinct influence on cities, making up urban challenges in which temporary-use can play a certain role. First, there will be looked at the influence of global transformation trends on transformations within cities. These transformations lead to certain 'urban challenges' in which temporary-use might play a positive role.

3.3 Temporary-use facing urban challenges

Some urban challenges can be connected with the non-traditional (planning) instrument, being temporary-use of vacant buildings. Five urban challenges are highlighted. The choice for these challenges is, apart from being mostly caused by globalisation processes, very much powered by the idea that temporary use can face these challenges. Also important to note is that these challenges are seen from a city perspective. Following are the five urban challenges:

- having a sustainable approach
- making the supply side more flexible
- making a city better able to experiment
- creating space for creativity
- creating possibilities for participation

In general, it can be said that temporary use can act in many different ways but is very much empowered by people with a do-it-yourself attitude. It is important to note that the focus of the five chapters describing the urban challenges, is

⁶⁷ Quote retrieved from www.urbancatalyst.net (7th of July, 2008)

not specifically on temporary-use as place creator for social and creative entrepreneurs.

3.4 Place specifics

Place specifics are formed by different processes and relate to concepts like 'path dependency' and 'embeddedness' of firms and people. These terms suggest that spaces of places are highly relevant.⁶⁸ Underneath, both terms will be highlighted.

The influential geographer Doreen Massey settled with her book 'Spatial divisions of labor: social structures and the geography of production', attention to the region as an accumulation of several layers. Each of these layers have its origin in a phase within the cultural-economic past. In every phase of the development of a region, residents had to find an answer to the dynamics of international economic development. The question of how to deal with industrial buildings that lost their direct purpose, make up a good example. The developments in the past and the historical path, also creates what can be called 'path dependence': neglected aspects of the past can act as negative or positive aspects when developing new initiatives. In the broadest sense path dependency is a notion stating that history matters. Pierson poses the idea of increased returns: '.. the probability of further steps along the same path increases with each move down that path'. Using old buildings for new creative initiatives could be seen as an example of such a path. Regions or cities thus are in the first place, a result of specific historical processes.

Embeddedness is coined by Polanyi already in 1944, but it changed of content a few times after. Taylor has referred to embeddedness as: 'the incorporation of

⁶⁸ Musterd, S., (2007) *Accommodating Creative Knowledge*, p. 13

firms into place-based networks involving trust, reciprocity, loyalty, collaboration, co-operation and a whole raft of untraded interdependencies'⁶⁹.

Embeddedness thus shows the importance of place for creating an environment in which creative and social entrepreneurs would like to be part of. Rotterdam's architectural cluster is a good example of path creation and embeddedness.

Path dependency results in place specifics and will form an important element in the research part of this thesis. In chapter five will be looked at the different characteristics of the cities where the three organizations are settled. Also the most important other players will be mentioned. Both elements show a relevant picture of conditions that make up the playing field for temporary use to take place. It will help to understand the chosen strategies of the different organizations. Embeddedness shows the importance of soft factors and will also come back in this thesis, but in a less evident way.

3.5 Main actors

Within temporary-use a few actors are involved. As mentioned by Klaus Overmeier in *Urban Pioneers*, only two players are necessary. The owners and the users of a building. Especially in Berlin, this basis is often enough for temporary-use to sprawl. In other cities where it is more difficult to find suitable buildings and have the right permits, the role of the local government and intermediary organization seem more important. The owners and especially the users play a relatively small role when it comes to the bigger picture of

⁶⁹ Taylor, M. (2005) *Clusters, the mesmerising mantra*, p. 8

temporary-use in the city. The local government and especially the intermediary organization on the other hand, have a rather big influence on how temporary-use may develop in the city. The emphasis therefore will lie more on the latter two, with off course a focus on the intermediary organizations.

3.6 From global trend to temporary-use

As described in the former chapters and will be described in the coming chapters, (economic) globalisation has a profound influence on urban development and thus also temporary use. How global trends have influence on temporary use, can be exemplified by looking at Groningen. Groningen acts as a good example to show the impact of global trends on local city circumstances with its own urban challenges. The alderman of city development declared in his weblog that knowledge and especially creativity are the sectors that show to be the most important in creating jobs. The classic industry, he mentions as a dried well that cannot be expected to show significant growth. This can be seen as part of a long lasting global trend in Western Europe. Classic industry is moving away to cheap production countries and is to be replaced by another industry as part of what Harvey labelled flexible accumulation. In this search, creativity is being portrayed as a source for new companies creating new jobs and economic development. Embracing creativity can thus be seen as an urban challenge for Groningen. In this transitional period, Groningen also very much emphasizes the potential of cross over. New networks in combination with knowledge and creative thinking should give Groningen the boost it so eagerly looks for. In order to do that, an important event cannot be unmentioned. 'Groningen Gist' is an event that took place in 2005 with the goal of bringing people together from different disciplines, in order to stimulate new coalitions, creativity and innovation. This event was seen as one of the first in the Netherlands with a strong fundament in

creative city rhetoric and exemplifies the role creativity has been given by the local government. One of the speakers was from 'Nieuwe Garde' and suggested to use the un-used build environment in the centre on a temporary base in favour of creative entrepreneurs that otherwise would be going to for example Amsterdam. This way Groningen acts as a laboratory for young creative talent and offers room for bungling. Temporary-use thus, shows to be helpful in creating space for creativity as one of the urban challenges that come with globalization trends. The coming paragraphs will also show globalization forming urban challenges and temporary use facing these challenges.

3.6.1 Sustainable approach

The success that Al Gore had with his movie 'an inconvenient truth' very much shows the growth of environmental awareness as a global trend. Another aspects that also evidently show this transition to be strong is the Kyoto Protocol that got implemented on the 16th of February in 2005. It acts as a protocol for 182 countries (they ratified the protocol) with the goal of reducing greenhouse gases in order to prevent or at least manage climate change. Environmental sustainability is a term that is often used and can be considered part of a current discourse within this trend. In 2005, on a world summit in New York, sustainability acted as one of the many themes. Sustainability was to be understood as a cooperation between three sustainable 'pillars': environment, society and economy. Cooperation is a goal, but in practice these three pillars show competing interests that are very hard to match. Partly as a consequence, sustainability is often understood as only environmental sustainability. However, the goal of reducing the human impact on the Earth's resources to a more sustainable level, is a hard one to reach without considering and incorporating the social and economic dimensions.

Kyoto and the discourse considering sustainability also have their impact on the city. In Amsterdam for example, all the new buildings will be almost completely self sufficient (only water is still needed) in 2015. This is five years before it becomes national policy, reasoning that the sector involved in the innovation and technology that is needed will experience a boom and will later on be able to make more profit. This example can be considered a cooperation between the economic dimension and environmental.

The 'urban challenge' for a city can thus be seen as connecting environmental conservation and protection with economic development. In this sense it is interesting to mention the eco-towns in Japan where an eco friendly approach is connected to an economic approach. Since 1997, the national government through the economic department (METI) supports local governments and private organizations with projects that contribute to a society where the cycle of materials and commodities play a central role. An examination of the Japanese Nikkei journal Ecology of 2006 showed that 70 percent of the surveyed companies reduced costs by using less energy and producing less waste. It is not coincidentally that Japan is quite far with sustainability, it was a country that produced an enormous amount of waste and is a country almost without natural resources and therefore very dependant of other countries.⁷⁰

However, it does remain a controversial idea that these two dimensions are able to mix. The big controversy lies in the idea that infinite economic growth is impossible on a finite planet. The advocates of a 'third road' look at sustainable development as part of a change in our living pattern going from one that is more based on 'more' to one that is more based on 'better'. The emphasis should then be more on the quality of life, rather than a more materialistic

⁷⁰ Stroeks, R. (June 14th, 2007) *R3: Reduse, Reuse and Recycle* retrieved from www.twanetwerk.nl (July 14th, 2008)

approach. It is hard to predict if this paradigm shift, away of the dogma that material wealth is the only wealth, will actually occur.

An important urban challenge thus, is having a sustainable approach on city development in general. The question if temporary-use fits in, gets answered in a manifest called 'Vitale Architectuur' that was offered to the state secretary of VROM that is also about spatial design and the built environment. The manifest was prepared by BNO, the only Dutch professional association of architects, and states that temporary use of a building is seen as part of a sustainable approach.⁷¹ BNO takes it a step further and states that sometimes constructing a new building, despite the desire of the sponsor, is not really necessary. The current buildings that are up for destruction, are often still functional, but need to be differently furnished and used. The architect should look into the potential of the building involved, convince the sponsor that there is no need for a new building and then rearrange the existing building in such a way that the organization again fits in perfectly. This vision of being restrictive in the creation of new buildings, can be seen as quite remarkable when considering the angle.

The design of new buildings should also very much consider sustainability. Given the knowledge that the lifespan of a building is much longer than the current use, it is therefore necessary to anticipate on the use after fifteen or twenty years. Flexibility and differentiation are two important terms in that sense. If a building is flexible, it will still be suitable for other uses after the original use. This way, there is no capital destruction and the investments will deliver a higher return. Important is that these changes are most of the time possible without major renovation costs. Concluding, BNO portrays sustainability not as added value, but rather as an architectural quality. Architecture in this context, is not only environmentally sound, but also resilient, dynamic and flexible. This goes for

⁷¹ Bond voor Nederlandse Architecten (2002) *Manifest vitale architectuur*

both, the relationship between form, function and building technology as well as for the different scales in time.

That it is not necessary to wait for new design to change the function of a building is proven in Amsterdam. In a document that translates itself as 'new life for empty offices', the large amount of empty offices are portrayed as a problem. In order to solve this, transformation is seen as an important solution. On the front of the document, the 'Post CS'⁷² building is portrayed and thus seen as a perfect example of a transformation. This same document shows transformation to be more (environmentally) sustainable than breaking it down. In other words, temporary use of buildings can be seen in a wider field concerning transformation of buildings. And thus is temporary use part of a sustainable approach.

Next to this angle, temporary-use can also be seen as a way to increase density. Stolarick and Florida⁷³ stress the importance of urban density for it intensifies non-market interactions. High density in combination creates conditions where innovations are more likely to occur. Apart from other positive elements that come with density especially highlighted by Jane Jacobs, it also acts as a way to lower the use of transportation, especially the car. This way density can be seen as part of a sustainable approach from another angle as well.

Concluding, the results can be seen in the model underneath.

Global transformation trends	Transformations within cities	Challenges	Temporary-use of vacant buildings
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⁷² A building that is used on a temporary basis by 'Venue' who stands for around 130 creative businesses

⁷³ Stolarick, K. and Florida, R. (2006) *Creativity, connections and innovation: a study of linkages in the Montreal Region*

-Growing environmental awareness	-‘Greener’ policies with a focus on environmental sustainability	-Sustainable approach - Resilient, flexible and dynamic architecture	-Use extensively what is already there -Increase density
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3.6.2 Flexible supply

Much is written about urban life under ‘the creative class’. Some state that they would have a different lifestyle that is characteristic for ‘the future urban dweller’. Arguable tendencies are for example, networks becoming increasingly important, growing individualism, a blurring state between work and free time, an increase in loose contacts and the so-called ‘third places’⁷⁴ (a relatively new phenomenon describing a space in between work and home). These phenomena together form a change in lifestyle which can be referred to as a global trend.

Bourdieu long ago, considered consumption, taste and lifestyle all as people’s expressions of habit, judgment and preferences. Different social classes have different habitats and live within different taste structures and life-styles. Seen in this light it is interesting to portray ‘the creative class’ of Florida, as a possible new social class with its own consumption pattern, taste and values.⁷⁵ This view however, is a very contested one and if wandering along thinking in these terms, the danger occurs that ‘the creative city’ will place the needs of the creative people on the forefront. This leads to the relevant question posed earlier in this thesis by Eric Duivenvoorden: for whom is the creative city?

⁷⁴ Oldenburg, R. (2001) *Celebrating the third place*

⁷⁵ Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*

There is a large number of prominent social and economic changes that also had its influence on urban life. Florida sees a proactive open society as an important precondition for an inclusive creative society.⁷⁶ He cites Lloyd and Clark stating that people in elite sectors in the post industrial city having 'quality of life-demands' and increasingly act as a tourist in their own city. As a major reason, Florida mentions the flexible working hours and the associated demand for flexible forms of leisure.⁷⁷ Following this idea, Ted Langenbach (creative director of club Now and Wow and a famous nightlife entrepreneur) sees a widening of opening hours of public facilities as a positive impetus for the energy during evening and night. As a positive example, he cites that after a dinner in Paris you can visit the Palais de Tokyo (museum that's open until 24.00 pm) and then go drinking or dancing.⁷⁸

The outlined society of Florida is based for an important part on the creative industry. In doing so, he also indicated that 'creativity is not an individual phenomenon, but an inevitable social process'⁷⁹. Jane Jacobs mentioned in 1961 already that busy, bustling, chaotic cities have a high 'development rate'⁸⁰. And a high development rate gives the best chances for innovations that lead to urban expansion. These busy, bustling, chaotic cities are characterized by co-inhabitants with many anonymous contacts. Contra dictionary as it sounds, it helped to ensure an element of trust and security.⁸¹ The increase of loose contacts as stated by Jacobs in 1961, later on became a much more general rule in cities.

Hall comes with another perspective. In his book 'cities of tomorrow' Hall

⁷⁶ Florida, R. (2002) *The rise of the creative class*

⁷⁷ Florida, R. (2002) *The rise of the creative class*, p. 224

⁷⁸ Information retrieved from www.kei-kenniscentrum.nl (July 12th, 2008)

⁷⁹ Florida, R. (2002) *The rise of the creative class*, p. 34

⁸⁰ Development rate: measuring the increase of value of new economic activity on existing activity within an urban economy in a certain period

⁸¹ Jacobs, J. (1961) *The death and life of great American cities*

mentions the expected effects of the current economic and technological developments on the future urban life in the big cities. In this regard, he notes two trends. First, the growing social inequality and inadequate way of politics to counteract. He finds support in the theories of Sassen that speak of globalisation and labour migration. Hall sees polarization as by-product of these transitions. The second development is the digitalization of everyday life and the everyday environment. He cites the increase of dependency on privileged information which might result in polarization between different spatial scales⁸². That information and the lack of information is an important tension can create has a current form in the questions that hang around privacy legislation and the Internet.

In his book 'the great good place', Oldenburg introduces a new concept: 'the third place'. This is a place where people can meet one another in a relaxed atmosphere where people can exchange ideas. According to Oldenburg, the third places all together form the heart of the social vitality as well as the foundation of democracy. They bring social equality among the guests, create a habit of public company and offer psychological support for individuals and groups. They provide a place where you can forget your concerns for a minute and simply enjoy the company and sounds of those who surround you.⁸³ This is consistent with the picture outlined by Jacobs, in which loose contacts play an important role.

Castells can find himself in this analysis and also mentions the individualization trend within the network economy. But he also noticed that there is another side. He mentions the social movements that show a counteracting tendency like feminism, religious fundamentalism and the rise of nationalism. Between

⁸² Hall, P. (2002) *De creativiteit van steden: An idea whose time has come*

⁸³ Oldenburg (1991) *The great good place*

these two extremes, Castells sees the traditional institutions of society collapse. Through this, the society gets divided into individuals and communities.

As can be seen in the outlined, there are many views from different angles on the changing shape of the urban lifestyle in combination with the emergence of the creative economy. Mandatory seems that 'new' urban living (either with or without the creative class notion) has a more demanding stature that finds its expression in the rising demand for flexibility in general and flexibility for the leisure opportunities in particular. The rising demand also goes up for a unique living environment and the demand for places where you can either work or 'live' (blurring).

Temporary-use of vacant buildings, especially with an open or partly open character, can play an important role in making the soft infrastructure (and thus the leisure offering) of the city more flexible. It thus follows the trend in the demand side of a selection of residents in the city referred to by some as 'the creative class'. This immediately raises questions over whom 'the city' should serve and what that means for temporary-use of vacant buildings. Should temporary-use with an open character, be adjusted to the quarter its based in, taking into consideration the residents that live there? Or should temporary-use with an open character consider residents on a different scale, only the neighbors for example. Should temporary-use with an open character adjust at all? Isn't it better to allow a relatively large amount of freedom to temporary-use for it has a temporal character. Aren't restrictions and regulations the walls around creativity and experiment?

When answering the last question with yes, and following the idea of using temporary-use to encourage creative entrepreneurs, it would help in creating a more unique living environment. It would also help encourage the authenticity

of a city through a more bottom-up way. The rising demand for Oldenburg's third places can also be supplied by temporary-use with a (partly) open character. The Volkskrant building has an example of such a place on its top floor. This floor has been made into a bar which functions as a working place for the residents of the Volkskrant building as well as a meeting place, a restaurant, a bar and a disco. Concluding, one might say that there is a linkage between the demand side based on a selection of residents, and the possible supply side based on temporary-use of vacant buildings with an (partly) open character.

Concluding, the results can be seen in the model underneath.

Global transformation trends	Transformations within cities	Challenges	How temporary-use of vacant buildings fits in
-Changing lifestyle	-A changing demand	-Flexibility on the supply-side	-Focus on dynamic, experimental and flexible offering

3.6.3 Participation

Criticism of urban planning has been around since the 1970s. The relatively weak planning approach that focused on the following of economic and social dynamics is quite widely rejected. Castells thinks the criticism is too much exaggerated and refers to Brecht's reflection: 'If horrible cities have been made following a plan, that was because the plan was horrible, not because there was a plan.'⁸⁴ Castells refers to 'historical experience that reveals the importance of plans, rules and general conceptions about the relationship

⁸⁴ Quote of Brecht in Castells, M. (1997) *The information age: Economy, society and culture: Vol. 2, The power of identity*, p. 151

between buildings, activities and public spaces in the production of the city.⁸⁵ However, the objective of the book *Local and Global* is 'how to respond to the globalization of the system through localization of the managing and representing institutions, bringing together participatory democracy and informational development, administrative decentralisation and cultural integration.'⁸⁶ Castells thus mentions participatory democracy as an element in responding to globalization. Participatory democracy is a process in which citizens are able to have influence on the process of governing other than only through voting. It can thus be seen as a way to empower people. An exhibition in Liverpool on interventions showed some interesting information following the notion of participatory democracy. All around, the exhibition showed notes on several issues of which one stated the following: 'There is no more welfare state (England). Citizens are expected to take matters of economical, social, cultural and urban development in their own hands.'⁸⁷

This was a statement very much in favour of participatory democracy.

In a NIROV report in the Netherlands a very similar conclusion was made. The report states that the relation between inhabitant and government has changed. Governmental interfering is often seen as 'tutelage' and the financial base of the 'welfare state' has also proved inefficient. Individual responsibility therefore plays a larger role than ever.⁸⁸ Participatory democracy can thus be seen as incorporating individual responsibilities through participation in decision making processes. Temporary use can arguably play a role in encouraging the participatory democracy. Spiegel and Teckert portray temporary use as an

⁸⁵ Castells, M. (1997) *The information age: Economy, society and culture: Vol. 2, The power of identity*, p. 151

⁸⁶ Castells, M. (1997) *The information age: Economy, society and culture: Vol. 2, The power of identity*, p.6

⁸⁷ Liverpool exhibition about interventions as part of a bigger issue concerning shrinking cities (January, 2008)

⁸⁸ Buunk, W., *Politieke stromingen in de publieke ruimte*, retrieved from www.kei-centrum.nl (July 24th, 2008)

explorative notion in favour of a more open and democratic appropriation of the city.⁸⁹ An example could be that people can decide that one of the vacant buildings that is in the midst of their neighbourhood, should be transformed into something else, something useful. This can be seen as the basis of one of Jeanne van Heeswijk's projects called 'the blue house'⁹⁰. This is a newly build house in which artists are invited to temporary be an inhabitant of the new quarter in which the blue house is situated. It acts as a place for the unplanned, for that which is still to come. The inhabitants of the quarter named IJburg have a strong influence on what is going to happen inside the blue house. This can be seen as an organic way of giving residents a voice in the functioning of their own living environment. According to Jane Jacobs these small scale organic solutions are preferable over big and strong ones. She therefore favours her own jigsaw structure (community, social, small scale) over the holistic city viewpoint (flagship developments, large scale).⁹¹

The current politics in the Netherlands are emphasizing on new initiatives and experiments which can be seen as a way of empowerment. But this is done still with a focus on a top-down approach with for example 2500 new created 'combination employees'. These employees are suppose to create links between sports, culture and education.⁹² This shows that there is an insight that something should be turned around, but the way to do it still looks quite pale.

Concluding, the results can be seen in the model underneath.

Global transformation	Transformations within cities	Challenges	Temporary-use of vacant buildings
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⁸⁹ Spiegl, A. and Teckert, C. 'The scope of temporary use' in Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 17

⁹⁰ Information retrieved from www.blauwehuis.org

⁹¹ Information retrieved from the Liverpool exhibition in RENEW rooms

⁹² Information retrieved from www.kei-kenniscentrum.nl (July 12th, 2008)

trends			
-Urbanization	-Exploring possibilities of participative democracy	-Enforcing participation	-Empowerment

3.6.4 Experimentation

There are powers that have a homogenizing effect on cities. This goes for the big stores that tend to be everywhere but also the waterfront being discovered 'en masse' as a place to host new activities. Relph wrote a book called 'Place and Placeness' and in this book, he describes placelessness showing the reasons for what he found to be increased homogenization. Although he also mentions good aspects that help facilitate shared understanding, he also states that placeness suppresses local meanings. On the other hand he also tries to make a comprehensive account of place which stands for authenticity. This has also been discovered by businesses as an element that 'sells'. Allen Scott follows this line of thinking and relates the fortunes of some prosperous cities to a focus on distinctiveness or uniqueness for this offers strong competitive advantages. He mentions this as being one of four interrelated processes that relate to globalization.

Temporary use can act as a catalyst enforcing the local or place (specifics) and its authentic character. Temporary use can thus charge a particular location, giving it a specific meaning it did not have before, also called 'place making'.⁹³ The content of temporary use however, plays an important role in the way it contributes to the authenticity of a place. It could also do the opposite and

⁹³ Temel, R. 'The temporary in the city' in Hayden, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*

enforce placelessness. When temporary use is at least partly bottom up however, it is clear that it enforces what is happening at a cities soil. This seemingly always empowers the authentic.

However, in a discussion with Jaap Draaisma, he explained that because of the many foreign creative students and entrepreneurs in Amsterdam, the Volkskrant building also gives them working places. This can be seen as an interesting point where you can portray international creative students and entrepreneurs in two ways. First, as an enforcing power for the authentic character of Amsterdam for it shows its openness towards the outside world which is something that Amsterdam through history has 'always' been famous for. Secondly, it can be seen as a enforcement of placelessness, where local talent is not given a change and sees itself forced to go to other cities.

From another point of view, globalization can be seen as a force that changes the conventional ideas around sense of place, location and context. It can be said that in highly transitional periods like described by Relph and many others, mistakes are inevitable. Solutions depend on experiments which can be managed by organizations open to new ideas. This is the cost of living through a paradigm shift on what Landry foresees to be at a similar scale as that of the industrial revolution. Landry goes further, stating that solving problems in the old way does not work and although not everything has to be thrown overboard, priorities need to shift.⁹⁴

A new modern thinking thus, seems necessary. A thinking in which activities of people melt together with the necessary build objects. It is necessary to experiment with new strategies and methods of 'city making' that can be

⁹⁴ Landry, C. (2000) *The creative city*, p. 33

flexible, dynamic, temporary and mobile.⁹⁵ Small arts and crafts, business services, technology, new media firms and start-ups are typical temporary users, because their resources are scarce and they need time and cheap space to develop. These individuals and entrepreneurs are characterised by an independent do-it-yourself mentality. Much more than economic calculations and public support, they are based on enthusiasm and personal networks.⁹⁶ Summarised, enthusiasm or energy together with creativity should be given space for experimenting. Because temporary use is cheap and can avoid a certain amount of risk for not having to be anything on the long term, it very much suits an experimental role. Local authority can enforce experimentation by letting things happen or by acting as a catalyst. This is an old discussion that every now and then moves to the centre stage.

From the planning point of view, temporary use can be seen as a research tool, which helps the planner in testing different uses and spatial patterns. After a while, the different situations can be analysed, leading to potentially wiser decisions than the first thought-out obvious plan.⁹⁷

Concluding, the results can be seen in the model underneath.

⁹⁵ Beekmans, J. and Boer, J. de (May 9th, 2008) *Lost in transition*, retrieved from www.popupcity.net (July 12th, 2008)

⁹⁶ Lehtovuori, P. (2003) *Temporary uses, the forgotten resource of planning*

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Global transformation trends	Transformations within cities	Challenges	Temporary-use of vacant buildings
-Homogenization	-Lack of authenticity -Uniformity	-Experimenting -Enforcing authenticity	-Way to experiment, -Grassroots authenticity -Place making

3.6.5 Creating space for creativity

Zef Hemel works at the local government of Amsterdam as the vice director of the 'spatial planning department' and counts for one of the advocates of the creative economy. Just as Peter Hall, Hemel uses history in countering the statement that the creative economy is just a hype. He mentions names of scientists who long ago were already working with creativity in the city. Already in the beginning of the nineteenth century Hippolyte Taine stated that the "artistic environment" has been decisive for large cultural upturns in cities. A long series of publications by theorists as Alfred Marshall (1890, the theory of industrial agglomeration), Joseph Schumpeter (1938, the theory of innovation), Francois Perroux (1961, the theory of growth), Gunnar Törnquist (1978, the creative environment) and a long series of publications by Jane Jacobs (from 1961 to date, including 'Economy of Cities' and 'Death and Life of Great American Cities ') have shown that rhetoric about the importance of creativity is absolutely not a hype.⁹⁸ In a article called 'starting note creative cities', Hemel also refers to Kees Fens stating that Caravaggio was a genius, but the real genius was Rome for that city grew and attracted geniuses. This indicates the mission for a city; creating the proper conditions for creativity to unleash! Hemel as well as Hall refers to this mission as being one of the most important tasks for the 21st century. Together, a historical perspective shows that creativity can be seen a

⁹⁸ Information retrieved from www.kei-centrum.nl (July 12th, 2008)

crucial factor for its success, making it relevant to also focus on creativity in the future.

From a historical point of view, Peter Hall also came to the conclusion that societies that are highly conservative and very stable, will not generate creative places.⁹⁹ Although it can be said that national political climates in Europe seem to show a quite conservative trend, local governments seem to portray this more and more as a turn in the wrong direction. Tensions between these different stands show for example in the Netherlands. Here, the national government shows a majority in favour of abolishing squatting (arguably a conservative stand), while the four big cities as well as Groningen show to be against it.

European cities in general seem very intrigued with terms as 'creativity', 'innovation' and 'knowledge'. From this thinking of creativity in the city rolled out the idea of the creative milieu or cluster. Tornqvist came up with the term 'creative milieu'. According to him this enhances four features: information transmitted among people, knowledge (partly formed by storage of information), competence in relevant activities and creativity as an outcome of the former three mentioned activities. Afterwards Andersson also tried to grasp the creative milieu. He mentioned six prerequisites of which structural instability and diversity seem the most remarkable. Malecky then adapted these prerequisites to three policy variables: professional labour presence indicating competence, urban agglomeration where communication and cultural activity is heightened and the conditions to promote synergy or instability. The first two conditions have been analysed by the likes of Florida and Tinagli, but the latter

⁹⁹ Musterd, S. (2007) *Accommodating Creative Knowledge*

one is rather hard to identify. It seems closely related to the entrepreneurial climate of place.¹⁰⁰

While Scott and many others focus more on clustering of creative companies, Florida deflects this focus towards the creative people. Florida tries to grasp the reasoning of 'the creative class' to settle somewhere. Although Florida is highly criticised¹⁰¹, Saris and Brouwer mention that the adage 'labour follows company' has been turned around and became 'company follows labour'.¹⁰² Many cities therefore try to attract talent, but it is also possible to invest in growing talent. This is seen by people like Landry as a more inclusive model which is not so much about competing for a few as it is about getting the best out of everybody.

Landry and Florida are among the most famous advocates of the role creativity should play in cities. Landry states that cities have one crucial resource – their people. He states that human cleverness, desires, motivations, imagination and creativity are replacing location, natural resources and market access as urban resources. The creativity of those who live in and run cities will determine future success.¹⁰³ The creative city describes a new method of strategic urban planning and examines how people can think, plan and act creatively in the city. It explores how we can make our cities more liveable and vital by harnessing people's imagination and talent. It does not provide definitive answers, but seeks to open out an 'ideas bank' of possibilities from which innovation will emerge.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Musterd, S. (2007) *Accommodating Creative Knowledge*

¹⁰¹ Peck criticizes the causality also on the matter of businesses following the creative class

¹⁰² Saris, J. and Brouwer J. (2005) *Creativity as competitive factor for urban regions*

¹⁰³ Landry, C. (2000) *The creative city*, p. xiii

¹⁰⁴ Landry, C. (2000) *The creative city*, p. xiv-xvi

In 2000 Landry stated in his book 'the creative city' that surprisingly little is known about the conditions necessary for creativity and innovation to emerge. A set of new concepts he thought, seemed necessary. Landry posed 'civic creativity' as an interesting new term aiming at creativity harnessing the public good. Landry also highlighted pilot projects and poses the question how they can be developed, mainstreamed and replicated.¹⁰⁵ Pilot projects and temporary use seem to go together very well. As mentioned before, temporary use can avoid (financial) risks and therefore forms a beautiful platform to develop creativity. This way it contributes to the creation of the necessary conditions for a 'creative city'.

In 'Accommodating Creative Knowledge', a document from 2007 that is based on a wide set of European examples, the ideas on how to create good conditions for creativity to emerge seems to have reached another level. Underneath is a summary of the views given by those who advocate for cities to turn into more creative places. They stress the importance of:

- Distinctiveness and authenticity: very much emerges from the history, culture and experience of a city and are apparent in the physical fabric, cultural amenities and commercial offerings. This is already treated more extensively in chapter 3.6.3.
- Small scale and fine grain development: the importance of small shops and independent operators for they are essential to interesting, sustainable urban districts.
- Vibrant and distinctive neighbourhoods: Some specific areas or districts within cities show to have many of the qualities that are highlighted above. These places represent an environment where young and mobile people want to live in and visit for they have character and a 'real' atmosphere.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

- Appeal to young people and their lifestyle and interest: Interests of young and talented people are prominent in the process of shaping urban fabric. This is already more extensively treated in paragraph 3.6.2
- Diversity in population and lifestyle: people are likely to be drawn to places that show diversity and a tolerant behaviour towards newcomers and outsiders.¹⁰⁶

Temporary use very well fits the above mentioned important elements. As well as the points that are treated more extensively in other paragraphs, the others show to be very much in line with the 'package' that can be offered through temporary use. Small scale and fine grain development can be helped by temporary use for it offers places with low risks, flexibility and low rents. It also helps to create vibrant and distinctive neighborhoods which is for example very visible at the NDSM terrain. An argument made by for example 'De vrije ruimte' is that temporary use can also stimulate gentrification processes. This can have negative consequences, but is rather difficult to approach in a general sense. Awareness leading to possible consequences is the only general statement that can be made for the diversity in temporary use very strong. Concluding, it can thus be stated that temporary use acts as a pushing factor in creating more creative places. Amsterdam shows to be a city that already implements temporary use as a way to encourage creative places and does this quite successfully.

Concluding, the results can be seen in the model underneath.

Global transformation trends	Transformations within cities	Challenges	Temporary-use of vacant buildings
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¹⁰⁶ Musterd, S. (2007) *Accommodating Creative Knowledge*, pp. 22-23

-The growing importance of creativity	-Policy to encourage the creative city	-Creating space for creativity	-Facilitating and enforcing the possibilities for creative entrepreneurs
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3.7 Placing the results

Underneath is the model that shows all the global transformation trends. Within these 'trends', temporary-use of vacant buildings can have a function. The model is a strong simplification of what has been described in more detail in the former paragraphs. The growing importance of creativity can arguably be seen as the most relevant trend. As stated in the introduction of this paragraph, it is important to mention that chapter three doesn't focus on the content-side, but approaches temporary-use of vacant buildings more as a means.

-	-Lack of uniformity	-Experimenting	-Way to experiment, authenticity
Global transformation trends	Transformations within cities	Challenges	How temporary use of vacant buildings fits in
-The growing importance of environmental creativity awareness	-Policy to encourage the creative city	-Creating space for environmentally sustainable approach	-Facilitating and enforcing the possibilities for creative entrepreneurs
-Changing lifestyle	-A changing demand	-Flexibility on the supply side	-Focus on dynamic, experimental and flexible offering
-Urbanization	-Exploring possibilities of participative democracy	-Enforcing participation	-Empowerment

3.8 Conclusion

In this conclusion, there will be looked at what the results mean for the cities where the organizations are embedded in. However, because these results are strongly generalized and almost no hard data concerning the three cities is used, it is also not possible to hard draw conclusions. The first point is environmental awareness. Amsterdam wants all the new buildings to be self sustaining, starting in 2015¹⁰⁷, This shows the city to be quite sensitive when it comes to environmental awareness. It is hard to say whether Brussels and Groningen show sensitive for a (environmentally) sustainable approach.

Amsterdam also shows to be a city where a changed lifestyle seems apparent. Gentrification processes seem to be taken place in a lot of different quarters at the same time, showing the 'inner circle'¹⁰⁸ of Amsterdam to be a place that is more and more 'furnished' for those who have money to spend. Something that also shows when looked at the housing prices. This trend is very much in line with processes that can also be seen in especially London and Paris. However, the (social) housing in Amsterdam still counts as a strong opposing force in keeping the less wealthy including their lifestyle inside the city. Gentrification processes also take place in Brussels, especially in the Marollen but also in other parts of the city. The change in lifestyle off course also has its influence on Brussels, but it is not clear in what way and how strong. The same goes for Groningen, although it can be said to be a city that is furnished very much for students and their lifestyle. Because Groningen is not a very big city and geographically shows a bit isolated, lifestyle changes will probably not appear in the same pace as in bigger cities like Amsterdam.

¹⁰⁷ This is five years before the rest of the Netherlands

¹⁰⁸ Extended centre of Amsterdam with a ring road as a mental barrier

The openness from the local authorities for participative democracy is hard to have insight on. All cities show good examples where Groningen has 'Groningen Gist' which indicates a strong soil for public-private partnerships. Amsterdam shows competitions where everybody is invited to think about a certain urban issue, for example the Tolhuistuin. The best idea subsequently gets the support of the local authority and will be executed. When we consider the participatory democracy level of countries, the EDI (Everyday Democracy Index) makes up a good index. The EDI is a new developed index by DEMOS, indicating the democratic status of a country. This can also be seen as a way to indicate the participatory democracy level. In a document on EDI, the scores of Belgium and the Netherlands have been put next to that of the other European countries. Both show to be higher than the European average showing the Netherlands in the top with a score of 44.6 and Belgium in the sub-top with a score of 33.3.¹⁰⁹

The possibilities for experimentations from an authoritarian perspective, have to do with both letting things happen and the possibilities encouraged by the local government. Amsterdam shows to be a strong regulator in encouraging experiments like the NDSM terrain, Post CS and the Tolhuistuin. The local government is also criticized a lot for not being able to just letting things happen. A lot of 'free spaces' where Amsterdam was famous for, have been removed, mostly because of safety reasons. Brussels seems to show a less strict local authority which creates space for things to happen. On the other hand, Brussels doesn't seem eager to encourage experiments. As for Groningen, it is unclear where the city stands on this matter.

¹⁰⁹ Information retrieved from www.demos.co.uk (August 18th, 2008)
<http://www.demos.co.uk/files/EDI_all%20chapters.pdf>

The growing importance of creativity for the city is a point that clearly divides the three cities. Amsterdam shows to have faith in the 'promises' of the creative city. This becomes clear in many ways of which an example is the 'CCAA'¹¹⁰, a platform for enhancing the creative industry in the Creative Cities in the Amsterdam Area. Groningen also shows to believe in the positive elements of becoming a creative city, as can be seen in the new slogan 'Groningen, City of Talent'. Brussels however, doesn't seem so sensitive for the rhetoric around the creative city. This could have something to do with the complex (layered) way that Brussels is governed. A strong vision is mentioned by people like Florida and Landry as a crucial element in becoming a more creative city. A strong vision however, is very difficult to generate in Brussels. Brussels also doesn't receive that much money through taxes for many of the wealthy people, especially Eurocrats, that works in Brussels, don't live in Brussels and therefore don't pay taxes to Brussels. This very much financially limits the possibilities beyond the most necessary.

¹¹⁰ Creative Cities Amsterdam Area

RESEARCH

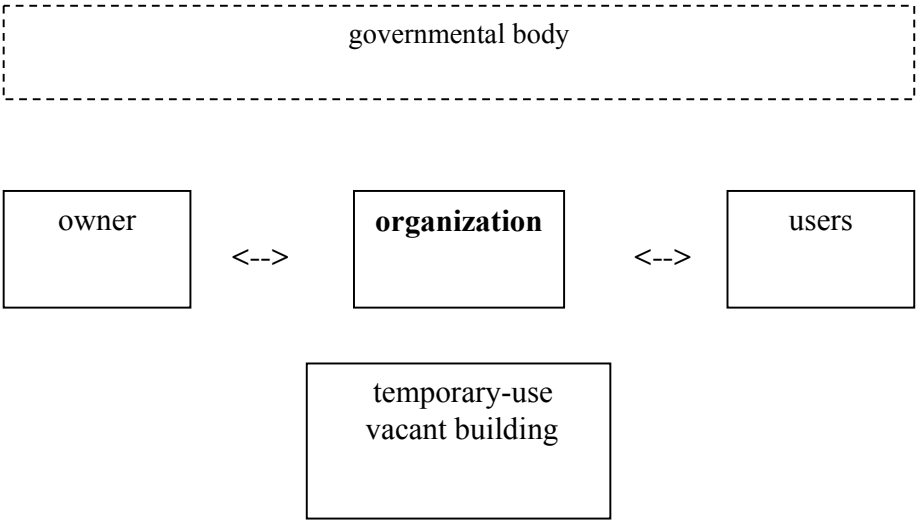
4.1 Research set up

4.1.1 The research question

How can intermediary organizations through temporary use of vacant buildings, help to create affordable working places for creative and social entrepreneurs?

A search for temporary-use strategies.

4.1.2 Conceptual scheme



In this thesis the strategy of three intermediary organizations will be highlighted. The organizations play a role in bridging the gap between owners and users. Above is made visible where the organizations can be placed in a basic model. The intermediary organizations want to use a building in favour of the users; creative and social entrepreneurs. To do this it relies on the different actors involved. It needs the explicit help of the owner of the building. The owner can have different approaches and interests ranging from good will to (indirect)

financial interest. Theoretically, getting the owner of a building at a point where he's willing to give his property up for temporary use is not only the first step, but most of the times also the hardest step. The interviews will show if this is also true in practice. Also, the governmental body can have different approaches and interests. In theory, it can function as a bridge builder between an organization and an owner but it could also be the owner or simply subsidise the organisation or the project. It could also very well have no function at all during the process. However, what can be said to be the same is the fact that all of the players do not give simple one-dimensional help. Theoretically they all receive something back as well. Again, this is something to be found out using the interviews.

4.1.3 Type of research

The type of research that will be conducted is explorative of character.

4.1.4 Research subjects

The research subjects are the temporary-use strategies of intermediary organizations. When it becomes clear how and what these strategies look like, they will be compared to each other. This might then lead to advice on what strategy works best in what circumstances.

4.1.5 Method of collecting data

I will do desktop research using:

- Literature focusing on why social and creative entrepreneurs are important to a (creative) city, as well as focusing on temporary-use. The latter is especially aimed at finding out the history, variety, context and potential.
- Web pages and (linked) documents from the organizations.
- Documents from the different local governments.

Semi-structured interviews will also be used for what can be concerned to be the key players. The different players that were interviewed are:

- The key players within the organizations (representatives of Urban Resort, Precare and Sparespace).
- Other initiators who are also (indirectly) involved in temporary use.

The key players in this thesis are Jaap Draaisma from Urban Resort, Frederik Seroen from Precare and Jack Brandsma from SpareSpace. The latter two can be seen as the singular driving force behind the organisation, backed up by a team which shows a bit more distance from the related projects. Jaap Draaisma also acts as a driving force behind the organisation, but is much more part of a team. However, Draaisma together with Haye Schoolmeester is seen as the one who is most concerned with the practical organisation of the Volkskrant building.

The willingness of these key players to cooperate with the research turned out to be very strong. The interviews with Seroen and Brandsma took about two to two and a half hour, while the two interviews with Draaisma taken together, also took up about two and a half hours. The first interview with Draaisma had an orientating character, while the last one had a more semi-structured form. Both interviews were conducted inside the Volkskrant building on the top floor where a bar slash restaurant slash disco is situated. The interviews were both stopped by Draaisma for time reasons. However, the interviews showed to be very informative and provided all the needed information. The interview with Brandsma also took place inside the building that is used on a temporary basis. This interview was not only with Brandsma, but also with Annelie Uittenbogaard who helped to set up SpareSpace and functions as co driver of the whole project. The interview was

very pleasant and after an hour or two (when Annelie was already gone), Jack Brandma also showed some interesting parts of Groningen as well as his own working place which he rents from Carex¹¹¹. The whole meeting took about four hours which showed to give a good insight in SpareSpace. The interview with Seroen was on a terrace in the centre of Brussels after he showed me the place where he works that also acts as one of the buildings that is used on a temporary basis by a small range of different entrepreneurs. The interview was very pleasant and provided all the needed information.

Apart from the key players there were also interviews done with:

- Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design, Amsterdam)
- Joop de Boer and Jeroen Beekmans (Golfstromen, Amsterdam)
- Cathelijn de Reede (Blend magazine, the Netherlands)
- Philip Fontana (LUCY*, Antwerp)
- Robbe van Bogaert (Youth organisation, Antwerp)
- Sara Spoelstra (Student writing a thesis on the breeding places policy of Amsterdam)

These interviews generally took one hour and a half and very much showed an interesting variation of entrepreneurs (the first four names) who also worked with vacant buildings on a temporary basis. The latter two provided background information and were not so directly involved with temporary use. Spencer and Chester Griet used a building in the center of Amsterdam as an exhibition space where they could show all the work of Circus Design. This also acted as a place where they could work, although that was not the basis. Joop de Boer and Jeroen Beekmans established a studio for contemporary urbanism and culture called Golfstromen, which explores the city (focus on Amsterdam) through experimental projects and campaigns. In the summer of 2008, Golfstromen also

¹¹¹ Carex also acts as an organization that acts as place creator for creative entrepreneurs.

hosted a temporary concept space in an empty five room building which acted as a fully facilitated meeting spot hosting project space for creative start-ups, a showroom/guerrilla fashion store hosted by 'OntFront'¹¹², frequently changing exhibitions and refreshing events, a mini-cinema programming experimental films and documentaries and a 'Wohnzimmer' bar. Cathelijn de Reede works at Blend magazine and does besides marketing also 'new business'. This included the organization of four guerilla stores (that were also in Amsterdam and Groningen), a temporary gallery and a the development of a whole mini creative cluster with a strong focus on temporary content in the bows of an old train bridge. Philip Fontana started a temporary pop-up/guerrilla cultural platform called LUCY* and acts as a concept with reference to Andy Warhol's iconic "Factory". Just as club 11 in Amsterdam (trough which he was greatly inspired) LUCY* was situated on the top floor of an old office building. It acted as a bar slash restaurant slash disco slash exhibition space and acted as a place where lecturers and workshops were held. The concept was strongly sponsored and had a commercial interest. Robbe van Bogaert works for a youth organisation and is very much involved with starting up festivals, parties and other events in the city. He has a strong network of people both on the side of the initiators and on the side of the local government. He plays a role in between both sides, concerned with giving youngsters a chance, especially trough organising events in the city. Sara Spoelstra is a student 'cultural anthropology' and finished a thesis on the breeding places policy in Amsterdam. She provided useful information especially on how the Volkskrant building can be embedded in the breeding places policy. The only one that showed to be unable to conduct an interview with was Klaus Overmeier who did not respond to the two mails that were send to him.

¹¹² Information retrieved from www.ontfront.nl (August 13th, 2008)

The interviews were processed through annotation. The interviews with the three key players form the basis and the additional interviews are used to expand on that. Apart from interviews, observations also played a role. Several temporary use projects were visited including the projects of all three organizations.

4.2 Relevant definitions

4.2.1 City as a process

Cities are getting different names: smart city¹¹³, flexible city¹¹⁴, experiment city¹¹⁵, learning city, learning organism¹¹⁶, a process rather than a form¹¹⁷, etc. When you look at the resembling elements, you get an idea of a city being in a constant state of development. Portraying this as the most significant element makes 'the temporary city' a good term to incorporate all the different angles. 'The temporal city' portrays a city as an ongoing process.¹¹⁸ And so, the city is a momentum, a coincidental status of a society in an also coincidental state of the physical shell of that society on a certain moment.¹¹⁹ By giving time a central position, the position of 'the lasting' gets denied because time is the essence of perishableness.¹²⁰

The process of building is still very much based on following programmes and shaped without much influence of citizens. A modern relic from the fifties where because of time pressure, centralized building processes were (more)

¹¹³ Information retrieved from 'Financieel dagblad, 24 November 2007 nr 47' (January 4th, 2008)

¹¹⁴ Sennet, R. (2001) *A flexible city of strangers*, retrieved from www.monedediplo.com (January 4th, 2008)

¹¹⁵ Information retrieved from www.experimentcity.net (August 17th, 2008)

¹¹⁶ Landry C. (2000) *the creative city*, p. xvi

¹¹⁷ Graham, S. (2008) video lecture retrieved from www.tomaat.org (August 17th, 2008)

¹¹⁸ Beekmans, J. and Boer, J. de (May 9th, 2008), *Lost in transition*, retrieved from www.popupcity.net (July 12th, 2008)

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

necessary.¹²¹ Buildings are necessary, but also form a restricting element that stands in the way of urban dynamics. In Amsterdam six million square meter office space is empty while there is a very strong need for houses and hotels. The dynamic element of a city can be considered one of the main qualities of urbanity.¹²²

In both Amsterdam and Berlin, a strategy on temporary and flexible urbanism is an important step towards a new spatial practice, but from another point of view. In Amsterdam the hardware and the software seem to be misbalanced and economic reasons seem to constantly prevail over the cultural perspective. Berlin has plenty of urban residues and niche spaces which are not really forbidden to use.¹²³

'Urban Residue' and 'Golfstromen' are two Amsterdam examples of organisations deliberately playing with the temporal element. Urban Residue, which stands for the residue of the modern city, is a small organization that is interested in using the un-used niches that have a certain quality that can be described as adventurous, unexplored and unexploited.¹²⁴ Golfstromen is an organization which does not follow the normal routes. Its basis lies in a philosophy rather than a field of expertise. Therefore it does not show to be an organization that is easy to grasp. The basic idea is that a city must be energetic and dynamic and Golfstromen wants to encourage this process.¹²⁵

4.2.2 Strategy

Strategy itself is about making choices that will have a certain effect. When conditions change, this requires a well thought response. A well thought strategy

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Beekmans, J. Boer J. de (July 15th, 2008) *Urban leftovers: Berlin vs. Amsterdam*, retrieved from www.popucity.net (July 12th, 2008)

¹²⁴ Information retrieved from www.urbanresidu.nl (July 28th, 2008)

¹²⁵ Information retrieved from www.golfstromen.nl (July 28th, 2008)

helps with a well thought response. Strategies are adaptable by nature rather than they are a rigid set of instructions.

4.2.3 Creative and social entrepreneurs

When you look for temporary-use of vacant buildings, you come across a wide variety of initiatives and users. In this thesis the question revolves around the temporary use of vacant buildings. It is important to have a clear understanding of whom the users are. As a basis, social and creative entrepreneurs are considered to be the main users of the buildings that are used on a temporary basis by the three different organisations. Therefore it is crucial to understand where the terms creative and social entrepreneur stand for.

An entrepreneur is someone who sets up a business or is self-employed. A creative entrepreneur is concerned with the creation and exploitation of creative or intellectual capital. The essence of what a creative entrepreneur does, is investing in its own talent or that of others or both. A social entrepreneur identifies social problems and tries to resolve them with the use of entrepreneurial principles. The final goal is to make social change and the means is organising, creating and managing a venture. The success is measured by looking at the impact on society.

4.2.4 Intermediary organisation

An intermediary organization offers intermediation services between two parties. The intermediary organizations researched in this thesis offer 'services' to the users and the owners of the regarded building. This is a very theoretical approach which doesn't necessarily fit the practice. It does however count as a basis for the role these organisations play.

4.2.5 Vacant building

Vacant means empty and when referred to a building it stands for the temporary status of unused. This relates to thinking in terms of exploitation that defines vacancy as 'unused capital'. This can, however be replaced by thinking in terms of functionality that defines vacancy as simply 'unused'.¹²⁶ The latter is a mental shift which is related to thinking from a capitalist point of view (real estate/housing companies). When looked at as functional disuse it opens up possibilities beyond thinking in terms of direct benefit.

4.3 Notes concerning the research

In the following chapter, the place specifics will be described of the three cities in which the organisations work. Following, three organizations will be described looking especially at the roots and the philosophy. The descriptions are not based entirely on interviews, but also on documents and website information. Together, this gives an insight into not only the organizations, but also the development of the organizations. This is because the background of the organisations is thought to be an important element in understanding the future plans and the chosen strategies.

¹²⁶ Spiegl, A. and Teckert, C. 'The temporary in the city' in Haydn, F and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*, p. 9

CITY CHARACTERISTICS

5.1 Brussels (Competition)

Belgium as a whole doesn't show a strong policy when it comes to stimulating the creative industries.¹²⁷ This picture becomes much more complicated when considering for example the policy of Flanders that does show to believe in the importance of the creative economy. However, Brussels as a city in a divided country doesn't show the ambition and will to be a creative city. This leads to a situation where Brussels and Precare don't seem to have a shared mission with the city of Brussels. The framework contract that Precare has with OCNW is therefore based on mutual interest. Precare want to create working places favouring urban initiatives and projects while a few people from OCNW see benefits in the idea that vacant buildings symbolizing the depravation get transformed to temporary used buildings symbolizing revitalisation. This can then be shown to the outside world as a sign that something is done! However, this is not so much a structural understanding as the framework contract between Precare and OCNW might suggest.

When looked from the perspective of vacant office space, Brussels shows almost equally high rents¹²⁸. It also shows to have a large amount of vacant space, that gets larger when moving away from the Leopold Kwartier to the periphery¹²⁹. The vacancy however, doesn't show a high rate. Especially in the Leopold Kwartier, vacancy rates show to be healthy, meaning that they are between 5

¹²⁷ Steenhoven, J. van den, Berg, K. van den, Rietbergen, M., (2007) *Creatieve starters, knelpunten voor starters in de creatieve industrie*

¹²⁸ See supplement 1

¹²⁹ See supplement 5

and 8 percent.¹³⁰ This means that the offer of potentially interesting buildings is not particularly large and that not so many owners directly feel an impulse to look beyond the obvious when trying to rent out their building. The price for starting entrepreneurs to rent seems to be relatively normal. Therefore, the enthusiasm and large amount of organizations that would like to work in vacant building through Precare don't seem to be 'mostly' caused by a strong need for affordable places to work. Precare works with a lot of organizations that work on a non-profit base. This and the fact that Precare has a strong name and network through Citymine(d) seem to also play a role in the many requests received by Precare. When we go back to Brussels it was quite clear that the city had a strong grassroots movement in the late eighties and nineties. This generated interesting organizations of which a few still exist. Citymine(d) is such an example. Although the years where grass root organizations popped up everywhere seem to be over, Brussels can still be seen as a place with a good soil for social and creative initiatives. On a level where creativity and economy meet however, Belgium is way behind the Netherlands.¹³¹ So it can be said that in Brussels the interest for becoming a creative city is not so common. This goes for both 'the top', where almost no documents or policies show to include or discuss this phenomenon and 'the bottom' where grass roots organizations seem to be more about 'the social' (or use of the creative favouring the social) than 'the creative'. This can also be said about Precare which for example show to be compassionate about non-profit projects and initiatives. On the point of regulations and openness from the different governmental sides, Brussels can arguably be seen as very open. If an organization would like to be funded or subsidised for a project, it can try at many different levels and authorities. This is in contrary to more strongly regulated and specially more centralised forms of

¹³⁰ Information retrieved from www.DRO.amsterdam.nl (July 24th, 2008)
<www.dro.amsterdam.nl/aspx/download.aspx?file=/contents/pages/97655/nieuwleven_kantor_en.pdf>

¹³¹ Interview with Philip Fontana (LUCY*)

governing, where chances for funding are much smaller. Off course this has also down points (the missing of a strong vision for the city), but it does count as a sort of openness towards different initiatives.

5.1.1 Competition

There are several organizations that see a certain potential in vacant buildings. Of course there are squatters as well as anti squad organizations of which a famous one is Camelot property. These organizations receive money from owners for the single service of not letting the building be squatted. Camelot was also mentioned by Frederik Seroen as the most significant 'competition'. It acts however, also as an example of how important trust is and that owners are seemingly willing and able to pay for temporary use.

Organisations with the same aim seemingly don't exist yet, but if they do Precare wouldn't see it as a treat, but as a gain. Precare as well as Citymine(d) see themselves as catalyst with the (mutual) dream of creating an urban movement. Both are actively involved in a role as catalyst where they connect organizations trough for example meetings and encourage them to be active!

5.2 Groningen

Groningen sees itself as a city of talent. On the website they state that 'besides being a student city, Groningen is also ahead in the areas of research, innovation and entrepreneurship: a real city of talent.'¹³² The University of Groningen, Hanze University Groningen, the UMCG University Medical Center Groningen and the Province and municipality of Groningen are working together to under the common denominator of 'Groningen, City of Talent'. In cooperation with 'Marketing Groningen', this new alliance has started a national campaign under the motto: 'Here is space for talent'.

¹³² Information retrieved from www.Groningen.nl (July 22th, 2008)

Because of its ambition, Groningen portrays the talent drain¹³³ as a serious problem. Because SpareSpace focuses on students with a creative background that are almost finished, this very much fits the ambition of Groningen. The local government and the province pour money in the SpareSpace project and an active cooperation in the future is very likely to happen. The amount of vacancy however, was (in 2006) under the Dutch average, and showed in 2007 to still be in the lower region.¹³⁴ Because of the low rent¹³⁵, the need for affordable workplaces is not very strong. This is also what SpareSpace noticed when they couldn't find users through the network of 'Nieuwe Garde' and finally chose to focus on Minerva (art) students. Also important is the existence of Carex who controls a lot of vacant buildings hosting a lot of creative entrepreneurs. The soil for creativity in Groningen can be considered quite apparent. Groningen has a strong tradition when it comes to being innovative. 'The region is located on a number of primary routes, including the Tyco Global Network, one of the world's most advanced broadband networks.'¹³⁶ Groningen also shows a strong vision which incorporates creativity. It is for example the only local government that proactively tried and succeeded to get Blend to do a guerrilla store in Groningen.¹³⁷ The And also, Groningen seems to be able to grasp the good aspects of being relatively small, there is a feeling of trust and togetherness and a small gap between different disciplines making cooperation just a small step wide in scope.

The mayor of Groningen, Jacque Wallage, paid a visit to SpareSpace on the 15th of May, 2008. He showed to be very interested and said that the goal of

¹³³ Groningen counts as a large student city which sees its graduates often leave the city

¹³⁴ See supplement 4

¹³⁵ See supplement 3

¹³⁶ Information retrieved from www.daaromgroningen.nl (September 13th, 2008)

<http://www.daaromgroningen.nl/en/rubrieken/doing_business/it>

¹³⁷ Interview Cathelijn de Reede (Blend)

SpareSpace very well fits within the objectives of Groningen wanting to focus on being a city of talent. Groningen is the biggest student city (percentage wise) in the Netherlands, but has difficulty holding on to students after they graduate. It is easy to understand that this so called 'brain drain' is something that Groningen wants to counteract, but it is also a problem on which the local government has only limited influence. Offering space to (talented) creative entrepreneurs who are still studying at the university helps in keeping talent inside the city. Because the users are still at university they simple can't leave Groningen, and by starting a small business you also start with forming a professional network. This comes on top of having your own informal network and having a nice place to work making it much more appealing to stay, exactly what Groningen wants! The funding from both the local government as well as the province comes from the economic department. This very much that Groningen sees economic potential in creativity in large and the SpareSpace initiative in particular.

5.2.1 Competition

Also in Groningen there are anti-squatter businesses like 'Interveste' and 'AdHoc beheer'. The latter describes its aim as followed: 'Protect vacant property with maximum effectiveness (through Ad Hoc live managed cost effective solutions).'¹³⁸ This very much shows the anti attitude based on the desire from the supply-side for maintaining the good shape of the building and having the possibility to easily get the people out when the concerned building needs to be handed over to the new owner. The first most of all comes down to keeping

¹³⁸ Information retrieved from www.adhocbeheer.nl (September 13th, 2008)
<<http://www.adhocbeheer.nl/home/?lang=en>>

squatters out. The latter comes down to the arrangements of special contracts that don't give too much rights to the users.

One sort of anti-squatter business forms an exception: Carex. The starting point was not so much that of following the desire of the supply-side, but moreover addressing the fact that so much empty space in the city can be used. Instead of an anti-squatting business it can better be labelled an anti-vacancy business. Carex thus is a company with the aim of transforming vacancy into living- and working space. This business started out as a group of volunteers in 1991. Now it counts for an important player in the field of temporary-use over vacant buildings and grew out to become an professional company with seven employees, managing over 400 buildings. They use feudal tenure contracts which makes the rights of tenants very limited and ensures the temporary element over the use of a building. Different then the anti-squatter businesses, Carex wants to fully open up the space of the buildings in favour of the users. These will pay rent far beneath the market price. The basis of renting is 68 euro exclusive and 90,50 euro inclusive (water, gas and electricity). Carex doesn't ask money from the owners who frequently offer buildings and otherwise only ask for a symbolic amount.

5.3 Amsterdam

The local government of Amsterdam portrays the lack of affordable working places for especially creative entrepreneurs, as a big problem which acts as the pushing factor for the breeding places policy. Urban Resort is very strongly

embedded in this policy making up a situation where the local government offers Urban Resort different (big) potentially interesting buildings every year as well as a large amount of subsidy. The future plans of incorporating one big building every year is very likely to be supported by the local government, although another organisation with a comparable approach (Venue) that was behind the Post CS¹³⁹ building, seems a strong competitor. A new central building¹⁴⁰ where both organizations tried to establish themselves, Venue was chosen by an independent organization as the most suitable.¹⁴¹ The amount of vacancy in Amsterdam is big and shows to be way beyond the Dutch average.¹⁴² The same goes for the general rent one has to pay for a working place.¹⁴³ Add to this that the demand for working places by social but most of all creative entrepreneurs is very strong, and you get a picture where temporary use is by many seen as a blessing.¹⁴⁴ The local government portrays the creative potential in its city mostly from an economic angle. Interesting however, is the notion that creativity and economics still count or being world apart. The breeding places policy as well as a lot of other initiatives however, show the governmental will to change this. There is for example an organisation called Creative Cities Amsterdam Area in which the potential of creativity is portrayed for a larger area incorporating 6 other cities as well. Amsterdam also monitors its creative industry which for example showed an increase of 4.2 % in the employment rate (2006 to 2007), making up a share of 6.8 % of the total amount of jobs.¹⁴⁵ These examples shows a strong regulatory role of the local government. On the other side, bottom-up activities haven't been pushed

¹³⁹ An old building which hosted a mix of creative businesses, a museum, an exhibition space and a club and was very popular for the three it existed in its complete form.

¹⁴⁰ The old ABN Amro building at a very central location

¹⁴¹ Interview Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design)

¹⁴² See supplement 3

¹⁴³ See supplement 4

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design) and interview with Joop de Boer and Jeroen Beekmans (Golfstromen)

¹⁴⁵ Groep R. van der, Oosteren, C. van, Slot, J., (2007) *Monitor Creatieve industrie*

away. Blijburg¹⁴⁶, Fluor¹⁴⁷, Robodock¹⁴⁸, OT301¹⁴⁹, club 8¹⁵⁰ and a lot of other examples show to be very grass rooted. It is however difficult to assess how strong the soil for creativity is. From a more theoretical approach, people like Florida and Landry state that the perspective for Amsterdam looks bright, a statement that is backed up by a positive employment rate and a strong ambition to be a creative city. What also needs to be mentioned is the fact that Amsterdam as one of the very few cities in Europe shows strong awareness of the option of temporary use and quite some times, formed a coalition (public private partnership) to implement temporary use. This was for example done with the Post CS building, the Tolhuistuin and very recently Duintjes CS¹⁵¹. According to alderman van Poelgeest, the latter fits perfectly within the ambitions of Amsterdam. Breeding places for the creative and innovative industries are of great importance for the accommodation of creative entrepreneurs. Moreover, they reinforce the image of Amsterdam as a creative and innovative city.¹⁵²

5.3.1 Competition

Squatting played an important role in the history of Amsterdam. Although this role somewhat faded, it is still done and in growing numbers also by foreign people. As well as in Brussels and Groningen, again Amsterdam also has anti-squatting organisations. One of those organisations also shows to be open for actual use of vacancy in the form of small businesses. However, this seems a rather small element in the big pile of anti-squat organisations, but nevertheless

¹⁴⁶ Information retrieved from <<http://www.blijburg.nl/>> (August 22nd, 2008)

¹⁴⁷ Information retrieved from <<http://golfstromen.nl/fluor/>> (August 22nd, 2008)

¹⁴⁸ Information retrieved from <<http://www.robodock.org/2007/index.php?page=text&id=3>> (August 22nd, 2008)

¹⁴⁹ Information retrieved from <<http://squat.net/overtoom301/pages/home.html>> (August 22nd, 2008)

¹⁵⁰ Information retrieved from <www.club-8.nl/> (August 22nd, 2008)

¹⁵¹ Duintjes CS is a building in the center of Amsterdam where 90 percent of the creative businesses formerly residing in Post CS moved away to.

¹⁵² Information retrieved from the website www.aimsterdam.nl (August 16th, 2008)

could indicate a change in thinking about the possibilities of empty office buildings. These organisations also aim at vacant buildings, just as Urban Resort does. Still, it is not so much seen as competition for the amount of vacancy in Amsterdam is enormous. Ethically however, the idea of anti squatting is a highly contested idea, especially for the people of Urban Resort that have roots in squatting or still are squatters¹⁵³.

Urban Resort is very strongly embedded in the Amsterdam breeding places policy. The breeding places in Amsterdam have joined forces in 'Office Breeding Places' and 'Network Breeding places Amsterdam'. Office Breeding Places is part of the municipality of Amsterdam. Its task is to find and develop more affordable workshops and alternative work spaces for artists and cultural entrepreneurs. Office Breeding Places has no studios or working places as property.

In the spring of 2004, the Initiative Network Amsterdam got formed and consisted of people from different breeding places. In the spring of 2005 this led to the creation of 'Foundation Network Broedplaatsen Amsterdam'. This foundation was created to:

- establish a network between breeding places in the city of Amsterdam
- share ideas, knowledge and experiences of breeding sites and create accessibility
- promote cooperation between breeding places in the business and cultural field

Because Urban Resort is part of the breeding places policy and shares the aim, it off course doesn't function as competition.

¹⁵³ Haye Schoolmeesters lives at the squatted NDM terrain

There is however, an important competitor with an aim very similar to that of Urban Resort. This organisation named Venue was in the Post CS building which is very much seen as a success. In September 2008, ninety percent¹⁵⁴ of the creative companies (accompanied by Venue) that were in the Post CS moved to another building (ABN Amro) in the very centre of Amsterdam, Duintjer CS¹⁵⁵. Urban Resort literally competed with Venue over the use of the old ABN bank building, but Venue presented a better plan. The plans were judged by an independent agency that was hired by the local government. Even this competitor doesn't really count as competition in the ambition of Urban Resort to finally own ten big buildings in favour of social and creative entrepreneurs. On top of that, Amsterdam shows large possibilities for many intermediary organisations for both the demand and supply side are very strong.

When taking all the relevant information, the following model can be made:

City specifics	Brussels (Precare)	Groningen (SpareSpace)	Amsterdam (Urban Resort)
Creative city	partly	partly	Yes
Supply: amount of vacancy	general	not clear	high
Demand: creative and social entrepreneurs	high	low	High
Rent for office space	high	low	High
Strong soil for creativity	not clear	yes	Yes
Local government			
Creative city ambition	no	yes	Yes
Strategic policy	no	no	Yes

¹⁵⁴ Around 130 businesses

¹⁵⁵ Information retrieved from www.aimsterdam.nl (August 12th, 2008)

incorporates temporary-use			
Open for initiatives	yes	yes	Yes
Strong regulations	no	yes	Yes
Competition			
Strong competition	no	yes	Middle
Competition with similar aim	no	yes	Yes

5.4 Conclusion

The relevant question is what can be considered the most important elements that indicate the potential for the organisations to use vacant buildings on a temporary basis in favour of social and creative entrepreneurs.

The element of demand and supply seems very important in that sense. This should not be seen in a economic way for if a city shows a large supply of vacant buildings, this doesn't mean that the rents go down.¹⁵⁶ It does mean that owners feel more pressure as well as the local authority, which leads to better chances for temporary use. So in general, it looks like a large amount of vacancy is good for the organisations.

The demand side shows a more predictable (economic) picture. When demand is higher, it is possible to also ask for higher rents. However, the intermediary organisations also have the benefit of being able to have more choice in users, creating the possibility to have (strong) requirements. This way, Precare¹⁵⁷ and especially Urban Resort are able to create a mix of users that they label as

¹⁵⁶ There are several reasons for this. Examples are: supply doesn't meet the wishes, price is deliberately kept high etc.

¹⁵⁷ Although Precare deliberately keeps communication small for not wanting to disappoint and frustrate people

positive. This increases the possibility of projects being a success. Off course, a large demand also shows the potential on the long run. Urban Resort would like to own ten buildings in ten years which wouldn't be possible if it wasn't for the strong demand. The counterpart is that there will also be entrepreneurs that leave the city for they find the lack of affordable working places to be frustrating. This is very dependant of what a city can offer. Also important is how expensive it is to rent a working place. This depends on a lot of factors which will not be described here, but it seems obvious that if it is expensive to rent a working place on the free market and there are no other options, this will increase the demand and possibilities for temporary use. Finally, the 'competition' is important for if many organisations exist, the offering will go up and the demand will go down. This can best be seen in Groningen where Carex acts as a very big player making the demand for working places significantly smaller. In general, a high demand is good for the organisations.

A very important role is also played by the local authority. The organisations have a similar goal and this goal can either fit in the vision of a city or not. In Groningen and especially Amsterdam it seems evident that this is the case. Both cities see in creativity as an important element for future (economic) success. Both cities show to have local governments that very much see the organisation as an factor that can play a positive role. Both organisations also receive funding. In Brussels such a connection doesn't exist. Precare therefore approaches the local authorities with a different story that is more focussed on vacancy having a bad influence on the neighbourhood (that is already in bad shape). This story however doesn't show to release a lot of energy at the local authority. Arguably, one might say that the social benefits brought up by Precare have less weight then the creative 'and therefore' economic benefits brought up by SpareSpace and Urban Resort. The local government does not only have financial resources, an interesting and large network but also owns

buildings. Having a connection with the vision of the local government therefore is good for the organisations.

ORGANISATIONS

6.1 Precare

Precare came fourth out of City Mine(d). Therefore, to understand the history of Precare, it is important to understand the history of City Mine(d). City Mine(d) was established in 1997 as a non-profit organisation under Belgian law. It is situated in Brussels, with also offices in London and Barcelona. The people behind it, describe City Mine(d) as followed: 'A production house for urban interventions, committed to the development of new forms of urban citizenship, the re-appropriation of public space -roads, airwaves, stations, estates, parks, squares, virtual space- and the creation of cutting edge public artwork.'¹⁵⁸

City Mine(d)'s work has two strands: creating interventions in public space and supporting other people or initiatives who have a similar vision of the city. Its goals were and still are as followed:

- Capture the imagination and the diverse creative potential of the city by encouraging cutting edge public artwork.
- Re-appropriate public space and make it the arena for social, cultural and artistic encounters; contribute to new forms of urban citizenship by combining the empowering qualities of culture with dynamic alliances and collaborations.
- Encourage the propagation of knowledge and experience acquired during development of the urban interventions.¹⁵⁹

The work that City Mine(d) does, brings together an interesting and unusual coalition of partners from very local to inter-city. Trough this strategy, City Mine(d) is able to tackle barriers that stand in the way of development and

¹⁵⁸ Information retrieved from <www.precare.org/Website/Precare> (July 24th, 2008)

¹⁵⁹ Information retrieved from <www.citymined.be> (July 24th, 2008)

empowerment of different participants. These participants largely have in common that they address their concerns regardless of the inequalities that exist and would prevent them from coming into action. The outcomes are urban interventions that in the end contribute to new forms of 'urban citizenship'.

Precare started in 1999 as a side project of City Mine(d) and was based around the idea of looking in a different way at vacant space. The starting point of Precare actually is the Cinema Nova project. Here, Precare was actively involved with as an intermediary organisation. The people behind Precare and City Mine(d) spotted a vacant building that was owned by a bank called KBC. They made contact and after some negotiations KBC opened up the building for Cinema Nova to use it on a temporary base. The place became successful which led to a new understanding with KBC, suggesting permanent use. This new understanding led to a mutual rewarding situation. A similar story, addressing the intermediary role of Precare, can be told about the project Bains:Connective. This is described by themselves as 'an artistic working and presentation space, which multidisciplinary laboratory is located in the ancient swimming pool of Vorst.'¹⁶⁰ Precare especially helped with making the renovation plans concrete.¹⁶¹

Because the way of using vacant buildings for urban projects was rather successful, it inspired Precare to look at vacant space in a more structural way. From 2003 to 2004, this second phase showed Precare looking at vacant space as means of providing temporary workspaces for projects and initiatives. This phase was later on seen by Precare as a more systematic laboratory phase. The availability of working spaces was gone down in Brussels and therefore the need for space became bigger. This pushed the project forward and made the aim a

¹⁶⁰ Information retrieved from <www.bains.be> (August 4th, 2008)

¹⁶¹ Information retrieved from www.precare.org (August 4th, 2008)
<<http://www.precare.org/Website/Precare/Le%20projet.php#projet3>>

more prospective one. In this phase, making contacts with both private and public owners was priority as to favour and promote Precare on a larger scale and increase the number of partnerships.¹⁶²

Early 2004, Precare managed to make 3 additional buildings available. To give an idea on what these buildings are like: one of the buildings is a 600m² print workshop, owned by the council of Jette. The other building is a family house owned by the Brussels Regional land department. The third building is a 2000 m² garage owned by the SDRB (Brussels Regional development company). In 2005, Precare continues its work and invests in the practical aspects that come with finding and maintaining new buildings. With the means of actions and usages, Precare also aims for:

- a more structural and long-term collaboration with the welfare board of Brussels
- improving its tools to share its experiences and encourage other autonomous initiatives
- enhancing its communication (through an online database with offers and demands)
- extending its theoretical background¹⁶³

Precare now, still counts for one person being Frederik Seroen that is full time involved, but has more people that assist in a flexible way. Precare is (still) very strongly embedded within City Mine(d) as all the people that work at City Mine(d) as well as Frederik Seroen, have different tasks and assist others when

¹⁶² Information retrieved from www.precare.org (June 26th, 2008)
<www.precare.org/Website/Precare>

¹⁶³ Information retrieved from www.precare.org (July 22nd, 2008)
<<http://www.precare.org/Website/Precare/Le%20projet.php#Histoire>>

necessary. This all happens in the same building making the feel of togetherness evident.¹⁶⁴

The biggest task for Frederik Seroen is taking care of the buildings that are in use. This requires managing and steering and therefore weekly meetings are held with the residents of each building. Apart from that, networking is considered a very important task. Being very dependant when it comes to using buildings, it is clear that having good relations is crucial. This becomes even more clear once you realize how a building comes under the provision of Precare. Within this process, trust is a very important matter.¹⁶⁵ This is also something that is stressed by Urban Pioneers: 'the reliability of temporary users as partners in negotiations is one of the most important criteria, both for local authorities and private owners.'¹⁶⁶ The people at City Mine(d) and Precare realize this and therefore the eventual (financial) responsibility lies with City Mine(d). This organizations has a strong network, a trustworthy position and relevant experience.

In order to have an general idea of *how* Precare works, I will shortly describe this from the point of finding a building to having a deal. Precare has two ways of walking this path, with and without the help of public authority. The first step is that people from Precare and City Mined (always) look for a potentially interesting building. When such a building is spotted, Frederik Seroen checks with the neighbours and contact with the regional branch of the offices of the land registry. Once it becomes clear who the owner is, he will be contacted. A first appointment discussing the possibilities, might follow. If this shows potential, a second appointment is made. During this second appointment (or on a third or even fourth) the interest is made clear. At this point, users are searched according to the existing selection criteria which are described in chapter 8.3.1. If the right people are found, three contracts are signed. One is between the

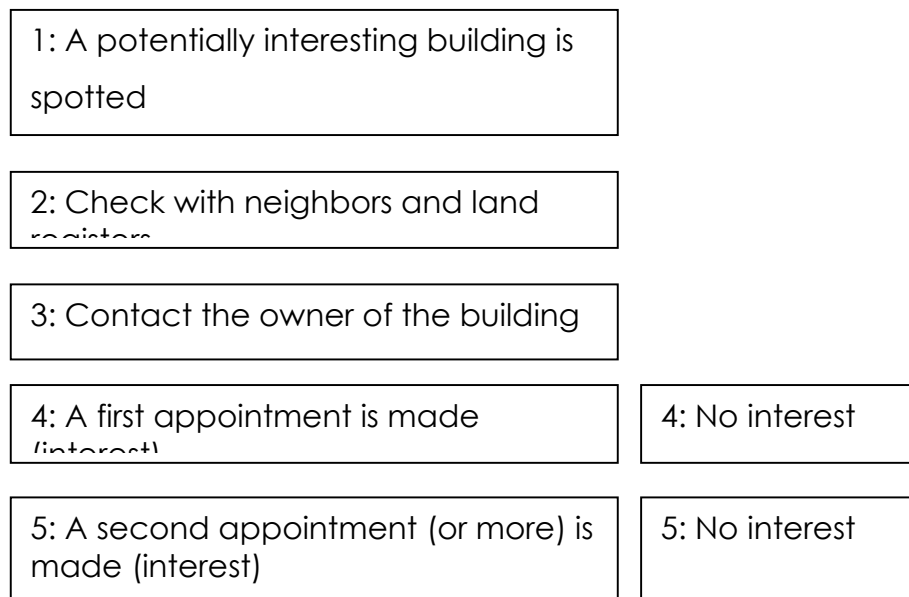
¹⁶⁴ Own observation and interview Frederik Seroen (Precare)

¹⁶⁵ Interview Frederik Seroen (Precare)

¹⁶⁶ Overmeyer K. (2007), *Urban Pioneers*

users and City Mine(d), one is between the owner and City Mine(d) and one contract is between all three parties. The first are very much about conditions, the latter is about internal regulations and technical issues.¹⁶⁷

On the next page a model shows the different steps from finding to using. In general the chance from the first step to reach the seventh is about ten percent. That means that out of ten owners, only one is willing to cooperate with Precare. Getting the owner of the building interested and willing to cooperate is also clearly shown in the model to be the hardest steps (four and step). The shown model acts as one where authority does not play any role in the process of finding a building.¹⁶⁸



¹⁶⁷ Interview Frederik Seroen (Precare)

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

6: Finding the users through the network of Precare and Citymined

7: Three contracts are signed

When authority does play a role, the steps from finding to using transform a bit. Precare has framework contracts with OCNW and the city of Brussels. Some people within both political layers see the benefits, many people don't. In negotiations, Precare emphasises on the bad status of the buildings therefore having a bad impact on the (already bad) neighbourhood. Temporary use could contribute to revolving this process, which could lead to a good impact on the neighbourhood (revitalising). Authority recognises the benefits of temporary-use of vacant buildings in favour of urban initiatives, but don't see it as a structural tool. The strongest reason for them to cooperate is that it shows to the outside world that they are doing something about bad neighbourhoods.¹⁶⁹

When asked for a 'utopian' vision for Precare, Seroen answers that Precare no longer needs to exist in its present form because everybody makes use (temporary) of a building for urban projects and initiatives. Precare would not have all the responsibility that it now has, but organizations with a do-it-yourself-mentality would be responsible themselves. This way, temporary-use of vacant buildings gets transformed into a new tool in hands of new coalitions. The scope could become bigger and the variety of the use would become more flexible. This way the role of Precare would transform to that of a catalyst. This means a stronger focus on an important aim: share experiences in order to create a self-generating cycle.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Interview Frederik Seroen (Precare)

¹⁷⁰ Interview Frederik Seroen (Precare)

There is however, a big gap between the theoretical notion of shared responsibility over a building and the actual shared responsibility over a building. The plans when taking a building into use on a temporary basis, comes with the idea that everybody who is involved has a task. This should theoretically lead to a situation where some people are responsible for maintenance, some people are responsible for the connection with the neighbourhood and some people that are responsible for the connection with the city and the most relevant organisations etc. Practice however, shows that PRECARE is needed to streamline this whole process. Frederik Seroen, as the one person fully involved in PRECARE, holds weekly meetings where representatives are obliged to go to. Practice shows that mainly for this reason, the maximum amount of buildings for one person to facilitate is three¹⁷¹. This limitation is very important in understanding the future aims of Precare.¹⁷²

Responsibility can thus be seen as the biggest obstacle for Precare to fully incorporate temporary-use as urban potential favouring projects and initiatives out of the informal circuit. The future shows a few ways in which Precare can develop of whom these two are arguably the most interesting: The first is that Precare will focus more on its catalyst function. It will focus more on informing and helping other organizations to use vacant buildings for their urban projects and initiatives. This way Precare doesn't have to bear all the responsibility and manpower that it takes to guide the process of getting vacant buildings in use. The second way for Precare to develop shows public organizations or authority taking more responsibility in the process of using vacant buildings. This can happen in many different ways. For example, with subsidy through which Precare can hire more people, creating a stronger base from which Precare can

¹⁷¹ Giving that a general building is around 500 m²

¹⁷² Interview Frederik Seroen (Precare)

operate. Another way is that politics will 'stand warrant' for the buildings. This way Precare doesn't have to bear all the responsibility and can emphasize more on the creating part. Also, Precare can then have more projects because it can avoid the big financial risks. Authority can also help by playing a more active role in suggesting buildings (of their own), play an intermediary role between Precare and the owners of the buildings and have a strong vision in which creativity, subculture and urban initiatives are more appreciated.¹⁷³

6.2 SpareSpace

To explain the roots of SpareSpace it is necessary to first look at an organisation named 'de Nieuwe Garde', which literally translates itself as 'the new stirrers'. This is a network for young creative's that started in 2004 in Groningen. The network grew quite fast leading to dependences in Rotterdam and The Hague. The organisation is based on the thought that '1+1=3'. Creativity is portrayed as a necessary condition for a liveable and flexible society. Creative people are considered to have an open attitude and the capacity to create. De Nieuwe Garde wants to act as a catalyst in favour of creating connections and linkages. They want to create a network that is tangible for young creative's and visible for the whole society. The organisation mentions three reasons for having these aims:

1. Making a network tangible through different projects, offering creative people the possibility to mirror themselves to other creative people. The fundamental idea is spreading and expanding knowledge and abilities.
2. Making the network tangible, offers the possibility to meet each other under a wider definition than people normally do. De Nieuwe Garde offers a place for fragmented personalities.

¹⁷³ Interview Frederik Seroen (Precare)

3. Making the network concrete offers space for creativity. Nieuwe Garde want to create a 'risky playing space' that stands loose of the general political, social and economic interest. By for example taking away commercial interests, this space increases.¹⁷⁴

The latter point corresponds for a large part with the idea of Spiegl and Teckert who state that 'seeing an empty or unused space (literally) as economic fallow land is the product of a logic of exploitation that defines it as 'unused capital'. This can be replaced by 'an idea of functionality that sees only uselessness in the dysfunctional of the unused and empty.'¹⁷⁵

Seemingly following this rhetoric, de Nieuwe Garde wanted to give vacant buildings in the city centre, a new temporary use. From empty building with no use, to a creative breeding place. De Nieuwe Garde came up with the original idea. This idea was to create a modular interior that can be constructed and folded in only one day. This super flexible design then, accommodates three different functions; that of a cosy teahouse where creative's and others can meet each other, a hotel room for cultural top agents of whom many can learn and off course working space for young talent that needs to be cherished. The original idea also stated that for these three different spaces, three different modular interior designs would be made by three different people.¹⁷⁶

The reality turned out a bit different. The idea of every space a specific design didn't make it for it 'just didn't work'¹⁷⁷. Jack Brandsma was chosen as one of the artists to make a design. He had a strong affinity with the idea itself as well as the specifics the furniture had to comprise to. Jack Brandsma studied interior

¹⁷⁴ Information retrieved from www.denieuwegarde.nl (August 2nd, 2008)
<<http://www.nieuwegarde.nl/organisation/manifest/>>

¹⁷⁵ Spiegl, A. and Teckert, C. 'Tom Waits 4'33"' retrieved from Haydn, F. and Temel, R. (2003) *Temporary urban spaces*

¹⁷⁶ Interview Jack Brandsma (SpareSpace)

¹⁷⁷ Quote in interview Jack Brandsma (SpareSpace)

architecture at Minerva Academy of visual arts and design in Groningen (1997) and product design at the royal college of art in London (2001). Especially during this last year, Jack got fascinated by structures that were easy to move and a bit later on space also became a specific interest. The initial idea of de Nieuwe Garde to let three people make three designs, in the end became Jack Brandsma designing all the furniture. The original idea of the three functions also got a bit adjusted and the hotel function became the dupe. Jack made the design and model for two large tables, four work units, one bar and one collapsible wall. In favor of developing the idea and actually making the furniture, money got provided from different players. The province of Groningen provided 15.000 euro, a foundation named 'Doen' also provided 15.000, the Dutch Architecture Fund Rotterdam NL 10.000 and the local government 3000. Jack Brandsma was inspired partly by 'the historical use of furniture that was very much like a crate for it had to be easy to move around'¹⁷⁸. Trough this, Jack Brandsma got involved in SpareSpace. During time it became clear that 'de Nieuwe Garde' didn't have the time and energy to really steer the whole project. A two year period of smoldering followed. In the end, the organization fell away and this gap was filled by a team of three people that gradually grew to five people, all with different backgrounds: Annelie Uittenbogaard (Management Consulting industry), Marc Petstra (interior architecture), Sipke Veenstra (marketing), Gina Hoving (real-estate) en Jack Brandsma (interior and product design). The latter one is considered to be most involved, partly because his furniture has become the basis of the whole project. Also, 'he is a charismatic person who can get things done'¹⁷⁹. Trough SpareSpace, he can also gain a lot of attention. When all added together, SpareSpace is (also commercially) quite interesting for especially him.

¹⁷⁸ Quote Jack Brandsma in interview (SpareSpace)

¹⁷⁹ Quote Annelie Uittenbogaard in interview (SpareSpace)

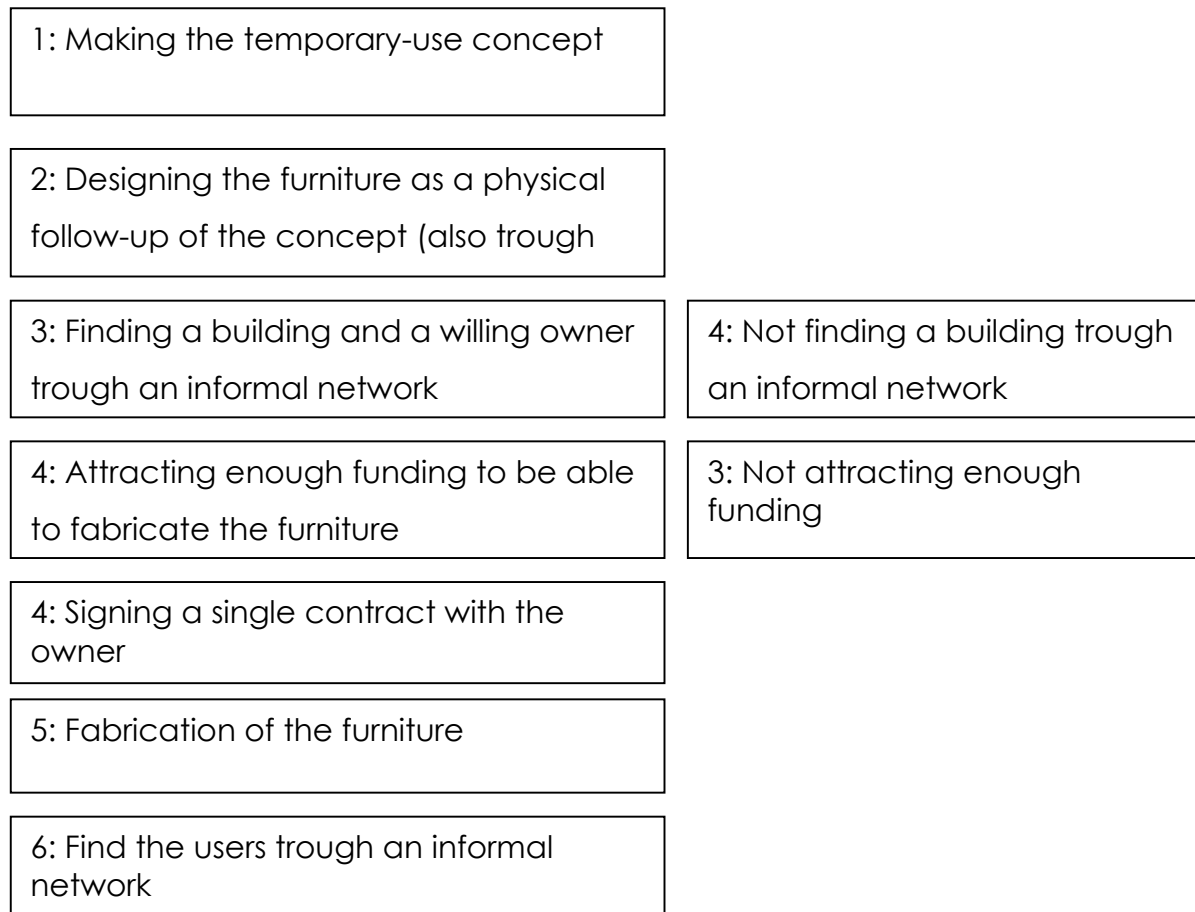
SpareSpace already did a few international projects of whom Salone del Mobile was the most spectacular. From April the 15th until 21st SpareSpace kept office in a vacant building during the Salone del Mobile, which is considered the biggest international design event in furniture related design. At this event, SpareSpace was open to both visitors and local creative entrepreneurs and functioned as a temporary office and meeting place. This event was considered a great success and caused international interest and possible new projects.¹⁸⁰

In order to have an general idea of *how* SpareSpace works, I will shortly describe how SpareSpace went from an idea to a practice. First, de Nieuwe Garde came up with the concept of foldable design furniture as a way to use a building on a temporary basis. The concept consisted of creating a mixture of design furniture that makes it possible for creative entrepreneurs to work, for interested people to have meetings and for all the users and interested people to act as a small bar. The next (practical) step was designing and making models of the foldable furniture.¹⁸¹ The step that followed was to find an owner that was willing to let his space be used on a temporary basis. This was managed trough the (informal) network of Jack Brandsma. Once the owner and SpareSpace got to an understanding, the new mission was to get enough funding to fabricate the design furniture. Attracting funding is done at different levels as has been described seen in this paragraph. Once that was realized, a singel contract was signed between SpareSpace and the owner. The furniture got fabricated and then the users were to be found. The offer of a free working place however wasn't enough to attract people trough the network of Nieuwe Garde. This led to the attraction of enthusiastic students from the Minerva University where Brandsma teaches. These steps are shown in a model on the

¹⁸⁰ Interview Jack Brandsma (SpareSpace)

¹⁸¹ This step did however take a long time for reasons already explained in this chapter

following page. The model is based on the one time use of the building on the Westerkade and does not count as being structural.



It is not quite clear what construction will be there in the future. It is not clear which building will be the next, it is not clear who is the owner and it is not clear if the conditions will be the same. It is also not clear if the furniture will pop-up in a different spot each time or that the idea will expand making it necessary to also expand the amount of furniture. What is clear however, is that the preconditions that are set for the possible use of buildings being a top location and visibility, will remain. At least for the short term, that is.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Interview Jack Brandsma (SpareSpace)

SpareSpace is a small foundation and shows to not know yet how it wants to develop. It sees temporary-use very much as an interesting subject and keeps its eyes open for partnerships which is seen as the most relevant strategy for all members of SpareSpace have a job apart from SpareSpace. Parties that are interesting for SpareSpace to cooperate with in a two way street, are the following:

- Minerva (University for Art and Design) for they could benefit from having a building with design furniture that functions as a place for the students to work. Because of the top location, the visibility and the aesthetics it also counts as a promotional tool.
- CAREX for partly sharing a vision, being part of the informal network and seeing the potential in working together. CAREX has a strong reliable name, although it might be a bit linked with messiness as well. SpareSpace might act as face builder for CAREX in exchange for handing over one or more buildings that suffice their set preconditions.
- the local government and the province for they like to find out if the idea of SpareSpace can also be executed in a 'free market-form'.
- 'Nijestee'¹⁸³ for they are the biggest cooperation in Groningen and could be interested in working together.
- 'TCN'¹⁸⁴ for they have a particularly interesting building that is not used and has the profound interest of SpareSpace: an old swimming pool called 'het Noorderbad'.¹⁸⁵

6.3 Urban Resort

In Amsterdam, there is a lack of breeding places that has only partly be smoothened by Amsterdam's 'breeding places policy'.¹⁸⁶ Part of the cause for

¹⁸³ Nijestee is a real-estate company

¹⁸⁴ TCN is a self proclaimed young and innovative real-estate company

¹⁸⁵ Interview Jack Brandsma (SpareSpace)

the shortage was the clearance of old industrial buildings and locations as 'Vrieshuis America', 'de Silo' and 'het Repetitiehuis'. These buildings acted as sub cultural centers that after their clearance weren't replaced.

Urban Resort has been set up in 2006. The board is directed by Hein de Haan, who is aligned as a head tutor with the University of Delft (building engineering) and set up an architectural firm as well as 'Citymix'. These companies were specialized in the field of city renewing and 'live-work-buildings'. The latter are special buildings that combine the functions of living and working and are to be used by (marginal) cultural and creative entrepreneurs. The function of chamberlain is executed by Ben Kremer. He had an advising role for start-up companies and functioned as a project manager. The secretary is Eric Duivendoorn. He has a background in writing and filming and can be labelled as a authority on the squatter movement from the early sixties on. Four staff members, Jaap Draaisma, Hay Schoolmeesters, Hessel Dokkum and Fred Stammeshaus, are also closely involved but don't have an exact function description. Spencer and Chester, two residents of the Volkskrant building, mention that Jaap Draaisma and Hay Schoolmeesters in their perspective, are the ones that 'run' the Volkskrant building. They are for example the faces that they see leading meetings and they are the ones that they meet when they have something to discuss.¹⁸⁷

On the first of January 2007, the local government hinted Urban Resort about the Volkskrant building. The local government also brought Urban Resort together with housing agency 'het Oosten'. It was clear that the Volkskrant building was going to be demolished in about five years in favor of new houses. Against this background, Urban Resort calculated what it would cost for such a gigantic building to stand empty for such a long time. The outcome turned out

¹⁸⁶ Information retrieved from <www.broedplaatsamsterdam.nl/en/> (July, 2008)

¹⁸⁷ Interview Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design)

positive. It was cheaper if Urban Resort was to rent the building, mostly because of the high surveillance and security costs.¹⁸⁸ The negotiations started in May 2007, and the three parties reached an informal agreement over the headlines. Somewhere around June or July, the contracts were signed and everybody knew their responsibilities. The Volkskrant building counts for the start of Urban Resort for it being the first building that they take 'under their wing'.¹⁸⁹

In order to have an general idea of how Urban Resort works, I will shortly describe

how it turned an idea into a practice. First, the local government and Urban Resort have an understanding that they can help each other. The local government as a public institution wants non-governmental or private parties to also be involved in the creation of working places for especially creative entrepreneurs. Urban Resort saw this as an opportunity to create working places for social and creative entrepreneurs according to their vision. This shared interest translates itself into a situation where the local government 'offers' buildings. These can either be owned by the authority¹⁹⁰ or owned by a company who the local government negotiates with. The latter was the case with the Volkskrant building. The local government, together with housing agency het Oosten turned to Urban Resort with the offer of letting it for a very reasonable price. Urban resort then determines if the building suits their desires. With the Volkskrant building this didn't took long and negotiations started taking place. Within half a year from the first contact, the contracts were signed. The main thing that had to happen now was finding the users and in the case of the Volkskrant building, coming up with a strict idea on the requirements.¹⁹¹

1: The local government and Urban Resort have a mutual interest and structurally help

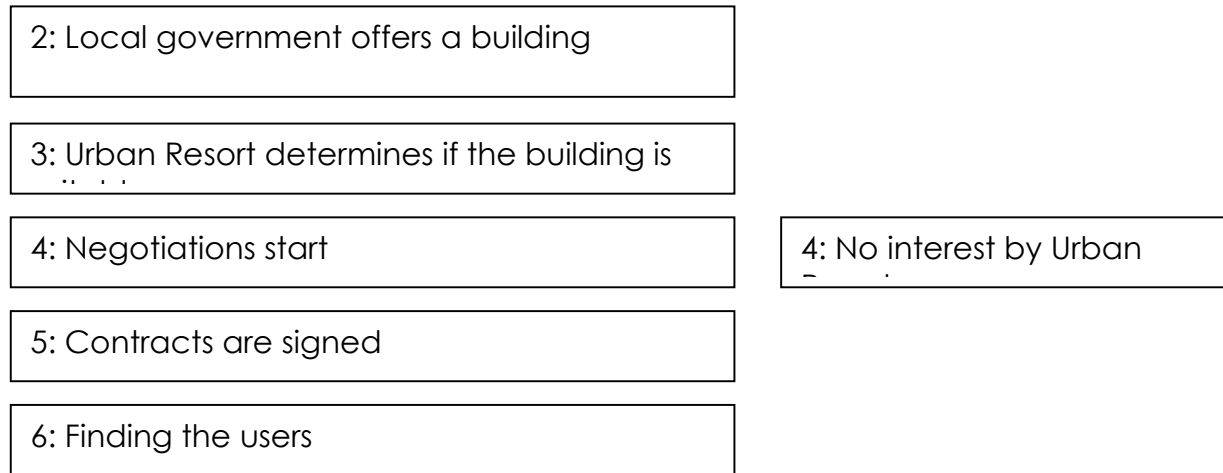
beden, retrieved from www.mijnnl.nl

(July 2011, 2006)

¹⁸⁹ Interview Jaap Draaisma (Urban Resort)

¹⁹⁰ For example by 'the Rijksgebouwendienst'

¹⁹¹ Interview Jaap Draaisma (Urban Resort)



With the Volkskrant building, Urban Resort aims at much more than just offering cheap working places where individuals can do their own thing. That 'much more' will grow as Urban Resort and the users get to know each other, explore the opportunities and work together. These ideas very much coincide with ideas of organic, opposed to planned growth. It also indicates a belief in keeping parts undetermined.

Urban Resort's ideas are also about the whole being greater than the sum of its parts. This added value gets created through 'self organization' and 'self management'. But 'self organization' and 'self management' do not easily pop up. This forms a big challenge for all individual users, all groups and all other people connected to the Volkskrant building. The challenge for Urban Resort and all the users therefore is: making the ideal workplace *for* each other and *with* each other. Producing, earning money, learning, having fun, living, all in one building.¹⁹²

¹⁹² Information retrieved from www.urbanresort.nl (August 2nd, 2008)

In favor of the synergy, the economy and the look to the outside world, there are a number of assumptions that play a role in the completion of the building. Next to artists and other artistic professions there is also room for more crafty activities and ICT. In addition, the building provides shelter for social entrepreneurs and organizations as well as organizers and producers of events and activities. In order to promote the internal economy, the building has a place for established commercial enterprises as well. In order to promote group forming and 'manage' the building in the right direction, there is separate attention to common areas. Lounges and meeting places play an important role in hosting activities receiving visitors and clients. Also, every floor has its own character with its own kind of entrepreneurs. Finally, separate space will be held free for separate (short running) projects. This is an area open to both users from the Volkskrant building, and people from outside. All this, according to Urban Resort, leads to the ideal mix for the entire building.¹⁹³

The future plans of Urban Resort are to attract ten big buildings and transform them into working places with the vision of Urban Resort attached to it. The next project of Urban Resort, is Westerdok and shows that the philosophy shifts when the building is different. Westerdok is besides having a permanent character also different for it is not so much about working places as it is about creating a strong signature design and profile. The profiles that were made and act as possible scenarios for the Westerdok, are 'senses', 'city lab' and 'school class the breeding place'.¹⁹⁴ Each has its own quality and is very much based on possibilities for participation of residents in the newly build neighborhood that is seen as to mono functional by people from Urban Resort, but also from the local authority.¹⁹⁵ Again, this shows both players needing each other. The Westerdok

¹⁹³ Information retrieved from www.urbanresort.nl (August 2nd, 2008)

¹⁹⁴ Information retrieved from www.urbanresort.nl (August 2th, 2008)

<http://urbanresort.nl/Visie_Westerdokseiland_071212.pdf>

¹⁹⁵ Interview Jaap Draaisma (Urban Resort)

also shows Urban Resort to be a flexible organization that doesn't rely on a one size fits all protocol.

6.4 Conclusion

The organizations show significant differences on a number of aspects. The roots and the philosophy show to be the most important ones. The roots show the seemingly quite similar goals of the three organizations in a different context. This way it becomes apparent that the organizations work with a very different philosophy striving for very different things.

SpareSpace wants to act as place creator for creative entrepreneurs because it wants to contribute to the creative industry. However, the people of SpareSpace didn't come up with the goal themselves and thus they show a certain distance from the rhetoric behind the goal of transforming a vacant space into a representative working place for creative entrepreneurs in order to give the creative industries a boost. Also, the commercial interests of Jack Brandsma plays a large role also in the future plans. The tension between the commercial interests of Brandsma and the goal of SpareSpace, together with the fact that nobody is full time involved in the project, is also seen by Brandsma himself as a problematic situation.¹⁹⁶ Urban Resort on the contrary, shows to have a background in the squatting scene. This background shows in a small form of anti authoritarian sympathies. On a very important presentation where all the users are gathered, Draaisma for example drinks a beer while it was forbidden to drink in the building.¹⁹⁷ Commercial interests are not priority. Urban Resort seems to come up for the sub cultural scene wanting to create working places for craftsmen, artists and other creative people that in the case of the

¹⁹⁶ Interview Jack Brandsma (SpareSpace)

¹⁹⁷ Interview Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design)

Volkskrant building are all asked to form collectives. Precare wants to function as a catalyst for urban initiatives. Therefore it doesn't only want to serve as an intermediary organization, but as a guidance in urban activism. This can exemplified by the meetings Precare organizes in which different players from different countries are linked in order to get other organizations inspired, stimulated and knowledgeable. City Mine(d), in which Precare is strongly based, sees an international urban movement as their final goal.¹⁹⁸ Portraying an international urban movement as a final goal, shows also a strong reason why Precare wants to transport its ideas. The role of Precare seems to fit the two mentioned goals and shows to keep a distance from creative city rhetoric.

These differences in background and context show to have a strong influence on the different theoretical stands and different goals that the organizations have. The roots thus form a crucial element in understanding the chosen strategies and their differences. A bit generalized, it shows for example why Precare wants to transport its ideas to foreign countries (international urban movement) and why SpareSpace wants to transport its 'concept' to foreign countries (commercial interests) while Urban Resort just wants to stay in Amsterdam (creating space for Amsterdam's sub culture). These differences show that from very different angles, temporary use is seen as having strong potential. These differences also show that the organizations will probably move in different directions.

¹⁹⁸ Information required from www.citymined.be (July 22nd, 2008)
<<http://citymined.be/ffuq.php?PHPSESSID=768a20053709c68e736868065a4d920e>>

STRATEGIES

7.1 The strategies compared

In this chapter a comparison between the strategies of the organisations will be made. The city characteristics together with their urban challenges will act as the soil on which the comparison will be made. Because strategies are hard to grasp, the comparison will consist of an in depth treatment of four different elements. These elements are:

- The goal, in order to understand what it is that the different organizations actually want to accomplish. It very much shows the similarities and differences.
- The users as to show which requirements the organizations apply and how they find them.
- The owner and the legal and financial arrangement.
- The building as in which requirements apply.

Each element will be described thoroughly for each organisation and the information will then be put in tables. These tables show the most relevant information of the three strategies next to each other. Some of the content of the tables remains unclear, which is also noted as unclear. Some of the content might be generalised which is done to gain overview. In the end however, this will lead to a clarification of the strategies and a more structural comparison. These four elements, together with the city characteristics with its urban challenges, make up the conclusions for the three different strategies.

7.2 The goal

7.2.1 Precare

At first, it is important to stress that the ambition of Precare to create working places, is not so much aimed at social and creative entrepreneurs as such, but is left more open. Precare itself speaks of projects and initiatives out of the informal circuit.¹⁹⁹ The search for is true when it comes to 'urban interventions'²⁰⁰.

Precare's roots even lie in urban interventions and following this, Precare sees itself as a stimulating force of the laboratory function (of a city) and a catalyst for beginning initiatives and more established organizations. This also fits in Precare's strong emphasis on and belief in strengthening networks. This is done by for example hosting conferences or other types of events where network forming is facilitated. This goes for Brussels, but also goes way beyond Brussels.

When selecting the potential users for a new building, Precare chooses on a pragmatic basis. The precise points are mentioned in the last paragraph and in combination with the things said by Frederik Seroen, this shows an image where the users are mostly judged for their ability to take care of the building. Another important point is that the users have to be able to work together with other users. This is not so much seen as an ambition for synergy to happen as it is a way to get people to get along (and possible work together). Furthermore, Precare is not commercial and also doesn't show any ambition to be commercial.

7.2.2 Sparespace

SpareSpace describes itself as a 'team/task group'²⁰¹. This task group is still very young and consist of people that all have a steady job. This group didn't come

¹⁹⁹Information retrieved from www.precare.org (July 22nd, 2008)
<<http://www.precare.org/Website/Precare/Le%20projet.php>>

²⁰⁰ A temporary artistic work in a square, park, street or terrain vague with the mission to bring people together and to introduce creativity and new perspectives. The artistic work is different (than 'normal') for it focuses on changes in physical and social space.

²⁰¹ Information retrieved from www.restruimte.nl (July 22nd, 2008)

up with the idea behind SpareSpace but rolled in during the process. With this background in mind, it seems obvious that a vision on the future is (still) quite blurry. Theoretically, the aim is to create working places for creative entrepreneurs and through this, giving the creative industries an impulse. This is also exactly what they are doing now and can be seen as the core business. There is however a situation in Groningen where this role is also played by Carex²⁰², only on a way bigger scale. However, SpareSpace focuses on creating a meeting place and transporting the concept through most importantly the use of foldable design furniture. These aspects make SpareSpace different than Carex and form the main requirements for the use of a building. They only want a building on a prime-location with a high level of visibility. The design furniture forms an important basis, both symbolically and practically. Jack Brandsma is the designer of the furniture plus the most important person in SpareSpace. He knew the owner of the building, his network as a teacher at Minerva got students interested and he made the design of the furniture. The latter makes SpareSpace not only an interesting initiative, but also a sort of showroom. This became quite clear when SpareSpace (with the design furniture) was invited to the design biennale in Milan. Here, SpareSpace played the role of promoter of Groningen, the furniture and Jack Brandsma himself as well as creating an interesting network. This is a whole other element of SpareSpace which has its own qualities, especially in the field of promotion.

SpareSpace doesn't have a particularly strong cooperation with the local government, but does receive funds from the local government and the province. The mayor himself also showed interest in the project mentioning SpareSpace to be an initiative that very much suits the ambition of Groningen to be a city of talent. For the future, also taking the possible promotional value, the local government is seemingly quite open for working together or at least

²⁰² Information retrieved from www.carex.nl (July 22nd, 2008)

funding. Groningen is also interested in a market version of SpareSpace where no more funding or subsidy is necessary. This would probably mean that SpareSpace becomes (semi-)commercial. Most of the people from SpareSpace have a background in commercially led businesses and there probably is a will as well.

Trough bringing together the city, students and businesses, SpareSpace seems to play a positive role in strengthening networks. This is empowered by the function that SpareSpace also offers, a meeting place where meetings can and are held.

7.2.3 Urban Resort

Urban Resort wants to create an ideal workplace for a mix of collectives and future users. In reaching this goal, all users are supposed to work *for* and *with* each other. This is quite strongly connected to the aim of creating synergy. Following this idea, self organization and self management are mentioned as ideal. In order to reach that goal for the Volkskrant building, several measures were taken. First, Urban Resort did not try to attract people, but collectives. The idea behind this, is that a collective is based on the idea that as a group they are more than the sum of its parts, the same thinking as Urban Resort about the whole Volkskrantbuilding and the basis for synergy. Secondly, Urban Resort has a strict list (in percentages) with the different types of collectives or users it wants in the building. This should then lead to an ideal mix where everybody benefits from.²⁰³ This means that there is space for creativity (40 to 60 % for art, culture, artistic production) but exemplifying, also for independent social organizations and initiatives (10 to 25 %). The numbers however make clear that the Volkskrant building is more about creative production than (for example) urban initiatives.

²⁰³ Information retrieved from www.urbanresort.nl (August 4th, 2008)

It seems understandable that the way to go from theory to practice here is not an easy one. In practice, this meant that all the collectives and other users in the building had to build their own working places. In that sense, the collectives also received a standard contract in which was noted that they as a collective were responsible for paying rent. So if the collective breaks and people leave, the other people of that collective are suppose to pay that rent on top of their own rent. Circus Design²⁰⁴ is a collective that refused the standard contract and made their own. Important difference is that the new contract doesn't make the collective responsible for paying rent for that someone who decides to move elsewhere. This is also what happened and what followed was that Urban Resort put someone else in the vacant space before Circus Design had the time to respond. That someone, according to Spencer and Chester, doesn't really fit. This is especially for Circus Design is partly commercial and values its representation and the new tenant is an artist with no need for a good representation.²⁰⁵ This shows the importance of communication, something that seemed at least partly absent.

Urban Resort is a foundation. A foundation can make a profit, but the benefits can only be of idealistic or social nature. Also important is that a foundation can receive funds from different angles as does Urban Resort, but doesn't let them join in the decision-making process. This means that the local government and 'Stadgenoot' don't have any voice in the decision-making process. Urban Resort therefore, isn't commercial but does have space in the Volkskrant building for commercial businesses (10 to 20 % for commerce, purchasing, selling, mediation and interconnection and 15 % earning more money than average).

²⁰⁴ Information on www.circusdesign.nl

²⁰⁵ Interview Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design)

Urban Resort works very close with the local government in a way that Urban Resort is strongly embedded in the breeding places policy. The Volkskrantbuilding was offered to Urban Resort by a coalition between the local government and the housing company 'Stadgenoot' formerly known as 'het Oosten'. The local government offering buildings to Urban Resort has, since then, become a routine that shows to have a win-win character. The local government wants the market to take over the role of creating working places such as done through the breeding places policy, and Urban Resort wants to own more buildings (each year, one building for ten years²⁰⁶) in order to improve the possibilities for especially social and creative entrepreneurs in their starting phase. Therefore it can be said that Urban Resort actively cooperates with the local government. In this cooperation, a clear boundary seems to exist.

Urban Resort also focuses on public space inside the building open for a wide range of visitors and clients. Through this, it strengthens the networks between the users and between the users and the 'outside world'. This can cause new coalitions and thus a generative dynamic. Thijs Timmers on the top floor and Sander van der Sluis on the ground floor together with the approximately 250 tenants host showcases, fashion shows, film screenings, performances, drama, theatre, exhibitions and parties. Sander states in an article that the Volkskrant building is a fertile ground which can lead to a flourishing future fed by space and energy!²⁰⁷

When taking all the relevant information, the following model can be made:

²⁰⁶ Interview Jaap Draaisma (Urban Resort)

²⁰⁷ Pol, M. van der (2007) *Volkskrant gebouw - cultureel broeden*, retrieved from www.mijn.nl (July 20th, 2008)

The goal	Precare	SpareSpace	Urban Resort
Space for creativity	Not so clear	Yes	Yes
Space for 'urban initiatives'	Yes	No	Yes
Active cooperation with the local government	Partly	Partly	Yes
Commercial	No	No (but possible)	Partly
Synergy	Hardly	Hardly	Yes
Strengthening networks	Yes	Yes	Yes

7.3 The users

7.3.1 Precare

The demand for 'creative' working space in Brussels is bigger than the supply. On a daily base, Precare receives appeals even though the communication is kept deliberately low toned. Practice shows that the demand has a wide variety. This shows in the amount of time they want to have the working space, the infrastructural desires, the frequency of using the space and the openness towards sharing a working space. A clear line can be drawn between initiatives looking for a place to realise a project and they who are looking for a permanent place to work.

Precare supports projects from associations or individuals in their beginning phases and/or at an experimental stage. Selection is most of all based on the motivations of the potential users and their adhesion to the following conditions, defended by Precare:

- The first condition is related to the type of developed activity. This should be a non-profit activity in the following fields: social, cultural, environmental, political and citizen based.
- The second condition is to accept the principle of a temporary occupation (conventions specify the minimal duration of occupancy).
- The third condition is to be ready to actively invest in the management of the place.
- The fourth condition is to have an open attitude towards the district. Actions could for example include collaborations with the other occupants.²⁰⁸

Once in a building, the users pay electricity and water according to what they consume. The only other thing that they might partly have to pay for, are the renovation costs. Renovations or rebuilding's that are thought to be necessary for the users, can be executed after consultation with Precare.

7.3.2 SpareSpace

When SpareSpace started at their current location, they offered a place for creative entrepreneurs for no costs whatsoever. The expectance was that the demand would be quite big, but the contrary happened. There was simply no established artists hat were interested. This probably was also due to the network of de Nieuwe Garde being too limited and Carex being a big organisation that also offers working places to creative entrepreneurs. The people that were interested and in the end are working in the SpareSpace building, are students from the art school Minerva. Jack Brandsma worked there as a teacher, showing the importance of a good network. The idea of potential users now shifted to students that also act as a creative entrepreneurs with a small start-up

²⁰⁸ Information retrieved from www.precare.org (July 22nd, 2008)
< <http://www.precare.org/Website/Demandes/Nouvelle%20demande.php#Conditions>>

business. This very much goes together with the goal of Groningen to be a city of talent.

7.3.3 Urban Resort

Haye Schoolmeesters is responsible for the tenants in the Volkskrant building. He states in an article that Urban Resort had 250 tenants in December 2007, but the need was much higher. Urban Resort received more than 2500 requests. This makes up a situation where you can be critical. Urban Resort wanted to reach a maximum mix of social, cultural and creative entrepreneurs. Urban Resort also finds it utterly important that the users of the Volkskrant building end up forming a diverse mix, for synergy forms a crucial element in their philosophy. This diversity begins with a mix of income:

- 40% of the space in the building is rented to people with minimum incomes and below
- 45% of the space is rented to people that earn more than a minimum wage
- 15% of the building is rented out to institutions with staff entrepreneurs that earn more than average

Experience showed that many people were interested in working places with a low rent, but many people also didn't like the idea of having to cooperate. When you would rent out space to the latter, it would be very likely that users would have no involvement with each other and the building. That would be a bad situation for everybody. So, individuals explicitly needed to form a collective.²⁰⁹ The idea behind the collective opposed to that of the individual is again, that it encourages synergy. According to Spencer and Chester, the standard contracts that are signed by the collectives also make the collective

²⁰⁹ Pol, M. van der (2007) *Volkskrant gebouw - cultureel broeden*, retrieved from www.mijnnl.nl (July 20th, 2008)

financially responsible for the space they occupy. In practice this means that the collective has to pay for the empty space when someone from the collective decides to leave.²¹⁰ This can be seen as a form of shared responsibility and probably also counts for a reason why Urban Resort likes collectives inside the building. Spencer and Chester didn't like the standard contract, also because of this clause, and let there's change.²¹¹ Collectives form a very important element in the strategy of Urban Resort and form the fundament for what the building will be like. That is why Urban Resort asked each group to present itself as a group with a cooperation plan. This cooperation played an important role in the selection. The cooperation plans act as a foundation for Urban Resort and the users. Urban Resort wants to create a place with everybody, in favor of all the users, the neighborhood and the city. Underneath is an overview of the main selection criteria:

- Diversity within groups and between groups (education, profession, income, cultural background)
- A fertile mix of generations, businesses and (sub)cultures
- The ability of a group to fill and manage an entire floor
- The quality of the cooperation plan

Schoolmeesters also got the idea to let each floor have its own character. The seventh floor and the ground floor got reserved for catering and events. On the sixth came the social welfare authorities. The fifth floor became the domain of the DJs, designers and party organizers. And the fourth floor became the domain of artists of the 'Rijksakademie', 'Rietveld' and the 'Sandberginstituut'²¹². Floor three then, got dominated by hip-hop, salsa and diverse initiatives from

²¹⁰ Interview with Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design)

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² These are the three leading art schools in Amsterdam

'South-East'²¹³. The second floor is in hands of three groups work together

(requirements for the users)	Precare	SpareSpace	Urban Resort
Part of a collective	Not clear	No	Yes

through out the

department and decorated the floor themselves. And finally, the first floor provides shelter to young dance organizations, IT companies and the designers of Design Circus. Urban Resort also offers internships to ROC students. Urban Resort wants to give these young people a chance to get acquainted with the different activities in the building. Tenants in turn, can use the trainees as a recourse for a variety of tasks. It is important that all groups and organizations commit their identity to that of the building and actively contribute to the appearance that the building as a whole will have.

All the information leads to the model as shown on the next page:

Take care of the building	Yes	No	Yes
Active citizenship	Possible	No	Yes
Creativity	No	Yes	No (mix)
Social	Yes	No	No (mix)
Finding the users			
Only informal network	Yes	Yes	No
Supply	Kept small	Targeted	Big

²¹³ A quarter of Amsterdam that is also called 'Bijlmer' and known for its bad reputation, especially in the past

7.4 The owners

7.4.1 Precare

Precare encourages property owners with one or more buildings which are temporarily vacant, to support initiatives of the users. This can be done by placing the buildings at the disposition of such proposals. This is portrayed as one way of presenting the positive opportunities for numerous unexploited spaces. This way you can generate and bear new projects, rather than spending vast sums of money to protect and secure the building, preventing any interventions.

After the negotiations for the use of a building, three contracts are signed of which two also by the owner. One is between the owner and City Mine(d) and one contract is between all three parties. The first is very much about conditions, the latter is about internal regulations and technical issues.

7.4.2 Sparespace

The owner of the building sees its inside change from a empty and unused space, to a full and used space. From his perspective, the building has an open character, is filled with design furniture that is used by creative and social entrepreneurs promoting the building. It can be seen as pro-motion²¹⁴ instead of anti-squatting, symbolising also opportunity seeking instead of problem solving. The owner also has the right of first purchase and he likes to have an intermediate period before actually moving towards purchase. All these reasons

²¹⁴ Pro-motion in a way that it is promoting the building and the location (place making) and pro-motion in a way that it creates motion within the building and catalyzes the dynamic city.

make the owner sublet the building for nothing. This however, does not count as a structural precondition of SpareSpace for using a building.

7.4.3 Urban Resort

The owner of the Volkskrant building is the housing agency 'het Oosten', that has undergone a fusion and now forms 'Stadgenoot'. Together with the local government, they came up with the plan to sublet the Volkskrant building in favour of 'creativity'²¹⁵. Following, the local government got Urban Resort involved. Urban Resort in the form of Haye Schoolmeesters, did calculations²¹⁶ and found that it was a good deal for both players. Urban Resort pays a monthly figure to 'Stadgenoot' and receives rent from all the users in the building. However, 'Stadgenoot' also paid 100.000 euro's to Urban Resort. Together with the local government that gave 200.000 in total this makes up a large amount of money which turned out to be very necessary. With the Volkskrant building, Urban Resort had a structure that they were completely free to transform. Urban Resort is also responsible for the building but sees itself backed up by the local government.²¹⁷ Important is also that Urban Resort foresaw that there was the option that the Volkskrant building was going to be permanent. Otherwise, Urban Resort wouldn't sign the contract.

When adding all the information, the following model comes out:

(agreement with) the owner	Precare	SpareSpace	Urban Resort
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²¹⁵ Interview Jaap Draaisma (Urban Resort)

²¹⁶ Which turned out to be much to positive according to Spencer and Chester Griet. Information retrieved from interview with Spencer and Chester Griet (Circus Design)

²¹⁷ When Urban Resort had financial problems, the local government added 100.000 euro's to the project

Legal			
Freedom to transform the building	Sometimes	No	Yes
Responsibility is for the organisation	Yes	Not clear	Partly
Financial			
Owner pays money	Sometimes	No	Partly
Option of permanence	Sometimes	No	Yes

7.5 The buildings

7.5.1 Precare

The buildings that Precare has under its wing, are found by Precare or offered by the city of Brussels. For a general sized building of 500 square meter, they receive 10.000 euro's. The contracts note very specifically that the buildings are used exclusively as workspace. This is for there are different regulations when used as housing. After the negotiations for the use of a building, three contracts are signed. One is between the owner and City Mine(d), one is between City Mine(d) and the initiator and one contract is between all three parties. The first two are very much about conditions, the latter is about internal regulations and technical issues.

A few things matter when it comes down to the potential use of a building.

- The state of the building is important, especially when the building can only be used for a short amount of time.
- The amount of time a building can be used is off course also an important factor. In general, a building has to be available for at least one year.

Sometimes a beautiful building is offered for a smaller amount of time and although the potential might be there, these offers get rejected for obvious reasons like time constraint, but possible also because the nature of the offer is purely economical (the price of the building might go up). Another example is the offering of big buildings in the periphery. These are only interesting if they can be used for a 'longer' period.

- There are limitation due to the small organization behind Precare. As mentioned earlier, Precare can only handle around three buildings a year.
- The size of the building is also important. A general building is around 500 square meter and can hold around 10 initiatives. That size makes it feasible. Bigger ones tend to be 'too much', smaller ones are simply limited in the amount of initiatives they can carry.

In a special agreement, 'the city of Brussels' presents a list of unoccupied buildings of which it is the owner, to City Mine(d). The list shows the buildings that are suitable for temporary use. The city of Brussels also shares information on the availability of the buildings (an indication) and makes it possible to visit. City Mine(d) can then select buildings from the list in all freedom according to the duration of the occupancy and the state of the presented building.²¹⁸

7.5.2 Sparespace

The temporary character of using a building is used in a very specific way. The role of the furniture is very important in that sense. It symbolizes the temporary character (the furniture can be folded and transported in only 24 hours), but more importantly makes a space into something more than just a working space for creative and social entrepreneurs. It provides a building with a face. This is something that is thought to be beneficial for the people who work in the

²¹⁸ Information retrieved from www.precare.org (July 22nd, 2008)

building, for the owner of the building, for the city and also for Jack Brandsma, the designer of the furniture and the driving force of SpareSpace.

SpareSpace has two preconditions for potential buildings. The building has to be visible in favor of an open character and the building must be located at an A-location. This way the people who work in the building are provided with a place that communicates very well to the outside world. In other words, it creates a very representative space for people to work in. The current location of SpareSpace is at the Westerkade 24 in an old Apple store. The space is on the ground floor, has a very open character due to the location in a shopping area, its location on a corner and its big windows. On the inside of the building is the design furniture making it possible for around six people to work and another 10 people to seat for meetings. The latter is now occasionally done by 'de Nieuwe Garde' and by Jack Brandsma.

7.5.3 Urban Resort

The Volkskrant building can count on investments from the local government: 100.000 euro's from Amsterdam Topstad and another 100.000 euro's from Amsterdam Broedplaatsen. Another investor is the former housing agency 'het Oosten' that merged with the 'Algemene Woningbouw Vereniging' (AWV) and now forms 'Stadgenoot'.

Urban Resort in the words of Jaap Draaisma gets a building offered from the local government, roughly speaking, every month. These buildings often get refused. Urban Resort has, as stated before, the plan to occupy one building every year. Jurisdictional, renting office space in the Netherlands is arranged in a very liberal way. Its commonly stated in the Netherlands that the strong regulations that are so known in the housing market meet their opposite in the

regulations in the office-space market. In Germany for example, the arrangements concerning office space are much stronger regulated.

Urban Resort doesn't provide space for individuals, but strives to create inspiring work palaces for independent groups. Spaces for common use (exhibition,

Requirements for the buildings	Precare	SpareSpace	Urban Resort
Possibility of permanent stay	No	No	Yes
Near the city centre	No	Yes	Not clear
Specific size	Yes	Yes	Yes

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tant) provide a tantalizing look at the inside of the building. Urban Resort supports and assists groups in the field of self-management. This contributes to savings in the renovation and operating costs, promotes mutual exchange and creates a high degree of involvement.

The information leads to the following model:

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

Temporary use of vacant buildings as (working) place creator for social and creative entrepreneurs works! The three organizations show a different background, philosophy, scope and thus a different strategy, but all three make use of an underestimated planning tool and help to create an environment in which it is made easier for social and creative entrepreneurs to blossom and flourish.

In understanding how the organisations worked, this thesis first of all highlights the relevant urban challenges and characteristics of the chosen cities. This information is important for it forms a crucial element for the chances of temporary use being a success full tool. Also very important in understanding the chosen strategies, are the roots and philosophy of the organisations. These have been thoroughly treated, clarifying the fundamental aspects of the background of the organisations. This leads to the chosen strategies that have been unravelled and split into four different aspects. All this information together has hopefully led to a better understanding of how the three intermediary organisations help to create affordable working places for creative and social entrepreneurs.

8.2 The basis

When looking for relevant global trends in which temporary use could play a positive role, it became clear that temporary use is not coincidently quite popular now. Five global trends seem to show that temporary use can help

encourage positive processes that have influence on the current state of cities. In an effort to close the gap between global trends and temporary use, two in-between steps were also highlighted. This way models show global trends leading to transformations within cities, showing certain urban challenges in which temporary use can arguably play a positive role. The challenges that cities face, where temporary use can play a positive role, are the following:

- The challenge of making a city more (environmentally) sustainable
- The challenge to answer flexible demand (flexible supply)
- The challenge to enforce participation
- The challenge of creating space for experimentation and strengthening authenticity
- The challenge to create space for (start up) creativity

Temporary use can especially play an important role facing the latter challenge. SpareSpace and Urban Resort show very clearly to contribute to the urban challenge of creating space for creativity by helping creative entrepreneurs find a working place.²¹⁹ Precare shows more affinity with the challenge of creating space for experimentation.

The global trends, together with a lot of other aspects make up the characteristics of the cities in which the organisations are based²²⁰. Most important for the temporary use possibilities of the organisations, seem the 'demand and supply' of working places and the role of the local authority. If the demand for working places is high, the possibilities for temporary use are bigger. When the supply of vacant buildings is high, this would normally mean that the price would go down. For a number of reasons, this is not the case.²²¹ If the number of vacant buildings is high, this means that there is a better change for owners to allow temporary use. Numbers show that Amsterdam has a very good

²¹⁹ Urban Resort doesn't only help creative entrepreneurs, but that is however, the focus

²²⁰ Groningen, Amsterdam and Brussels

²²¹ In Amsterdam, Groningen and Brussels

position where Brussels and Groningen have a bit lesser position. There are a number of elements that also have influence on the demand and supply of vacant buildings. Very important is also the role of the local government. Urban Resort and SpareSpace profit from a local government that places creativity high on the agenda. Precare receives funding for very different reasons²²² and has to do much more effort.

The roots of the different organisation lie in different places and show to be important in forming the different philosophies and goals. Precare shows to have an idealistic grass rooted background making up the will to create an international urban movement. SpareSpace shows to have a rather vague background with none of the people being involved in making up the concept. This makes that SpareSpace is not so much based on a certain philosophy, besides wanting to contribute to the creative industry. This gap along with other aspects, gives room also for the commercial interests of Jack Brandsma. Urban Resort, or many of the people behind Urban Resort have a history in the squatting scene. This still shows in elements that make up the goal of Urban Resort which seems to have started out with the idea of creating places where the sub culture could still thrive. It is interesting to realize that the three organizations in this thesis have very different roots and a very different philosophy but all have in common that they saw potential in the idea of temporary use of vacant buildings favouring social and creative entrepreneurs. This shows that from different perspectives, temporary use is being recognised as having great potential.

8.3 The strategic elements

²²² Especially for being a force against deprivation

The strategies of the different organisations thus, are very much based on the roots and the city characteristics. The strategic elements that are highlighted in this thesis are the goals, the users, the owners and the buildings. Underneath, the most important differences will be highlighted. The theoretical goals of the three organisations are quite different while the practical goals are very much alike. Precare wants to act as a catalyst for urban initiatives as part of creating an international urban movement. Urban Resort and SpareSpace are more embedded in creative city rhetoric although in a very different way. Urban Resort wants to create places for the sub culture. Places where synergy can happen through a specific mix of creative and social entrepreneurs. SpareSpace saw itself forced to change the initial plan of creating working places for creative entrepreneurs. Because of certain circumstances this plan changed to creating working places for creative students. SpareSpace thus, sees students from Minerva (art school) as its potential users. Urban Resort aims at a very specific mix of users with the added request that these users have to form a collective even before entering the Volkskrant building. In the search for potential users Urban Resort managed to get around 2500 requests. These potential users, different from SpareSpace and Precare, also need to pay rent. Urban Resort, again different from SpareSpace and Precare, also needs to pay rent to the owner, showing the importance of the city characteristics of (in this case) Amsterdam. Precare wants to do the opposite and want to move more to a situation asking owners to pay for the services of Precare. In requiring users, Precare also works the opposite of Urban Resort. Precare, who doesn't want to disappoint people (and getting a bad name) deliberately keeps the communication low towards potential users. Precare thus searches for users mainly in its extensive informal network. Further on, the preconditions for using a building are very practical and not so much aimed at creating synergy.

Requiring buildings, asks for a certain approach. Urban Resort sees itself backed up very much by the local government who simply offers buildings of which Urban Resort can then choose. SpareSpace shows a different approach where Jack Brandsma used his (informal) network in getting to use the current building. Precare shows to be doing both. On the one hand Precare has connections with local authorities who theoretically search and offer vacant buildings. On the other hand, Precare (and City Mined) itself search for vacant buildings. This might have something to do with Precare going back the longest of all three organisations. The preconditions for actually using a building also differ quite a bit for the three organisations. Urban Resort wants big buildings for they offer big solutions and offer better conditions for synergy to happen. It also fits the future plans of being able to shift users from one spot to another. Precare aims at buildings being close to 500 square meters. This is mostly for practical reasons which again, arguably shows the experience of Precare. SpareSpace looks for buildings inside the city centre with a strong visibility partly for the design furniture of Jack Brandsma needs to be seen. The building should be at least big enough to fit all the furniture. However, this is still relatively small making SpareSpace flexible also for the furniture being foldable.

8.4 The possibilities

In general, the city circumstances in Amsterdam show to be particularly good, making the future possibilities for temporary use of vacant buildings also look particularly good. This means that the chances for future temporary use projects of Urban Resort to be successful, are big. This is also for Urban Resort is strongly embedded in the policy of Amsterdam. However, Urban Resort shows to be ambivalent in its portraying of temporary use. The current results in the Volkskrant building show good and bad sides, but experience will probably smoothen the

edges, showing Urban Resort ready for its own defined task of managing ten big buildings. The city circumstances for Brussels and Groningen look a bit less good but still show strong potential. Precare shows to be quite ambitious wanting to expand in Brussels, Barcelona and London. There are several scenario's possible, but the difficult part is funding. Precare is subsidised and doesn't show a strong will to change that. A possibility that is looked into, is asking owners to pay a monthly amount. Another way could be for other people to copy what Precare does, but then funding will still be needed. This probably works as a limitation for the possibilities in at least Brussels and possibly also Barcelona and London. However, the positive side is that there is enough demand for working places and there is enough supply of vacant buildings and Precare has the necessary trustworthy position to act as the linking actor. SpareSpace shows to be at a point where anything can still happen. Jack Brandsma sees SpareSpace as an opportunity which he cannot fully commit to, and therefore he is in a phase where he thinks of linking up with other players. A lot will therefore depend on who that future partner will be.

SUPPLEMENTS

Supplement 1

Top 20 most expensive office space in Europe, 2005-2007					
		ranking world wide			
stad ¹	locatie ²	2005	2006	2007	euro/m2/jaar
Londen	West End	1	1	1	2009
Parijs	CBD	2	4	4	1012
Dublin	2/4 Districts	9	12	6	823
Milaan	CBD	6	6	8	698
Moskou	CBD	5	5	7	787
Zürich	CBD	n.v.t.	n.v.t.	13	629
Stockholm	Normalmstorg	7	10	14	551
Luxemburg	CBD	n.v.t.	n.v.t.	15	536
Madrid	CBD	14	17	16	524
Frankfurt	CBD	12	15	20	483
Amsterdam	Zuidas	16	18	22	459
Kopenhagen	City	26	23	23	427
Brussel	Kwartier Leopold	15	21	24	422

1: cities with the most expensive office space of the nation state

2: locations inside the cities where prices are most expensive

Bron: Cushman & Wakefield, Healey & Baker

Supplement 2

Publication: 'Basismeetset 2008'

11.4.3 Leegstand van bedrijfsgebouwen naar stadsdelen, 1 januari 2007					
	kantoren	bedrijfsruimte	opslagruimte	winkels	restaurants
Centrum	12	15	8	3	5
Amsterdam	14	9	6	4	6

1: as a percentage of the total supply

Bron: DBA/O+S Amsterdam

Supplement 3

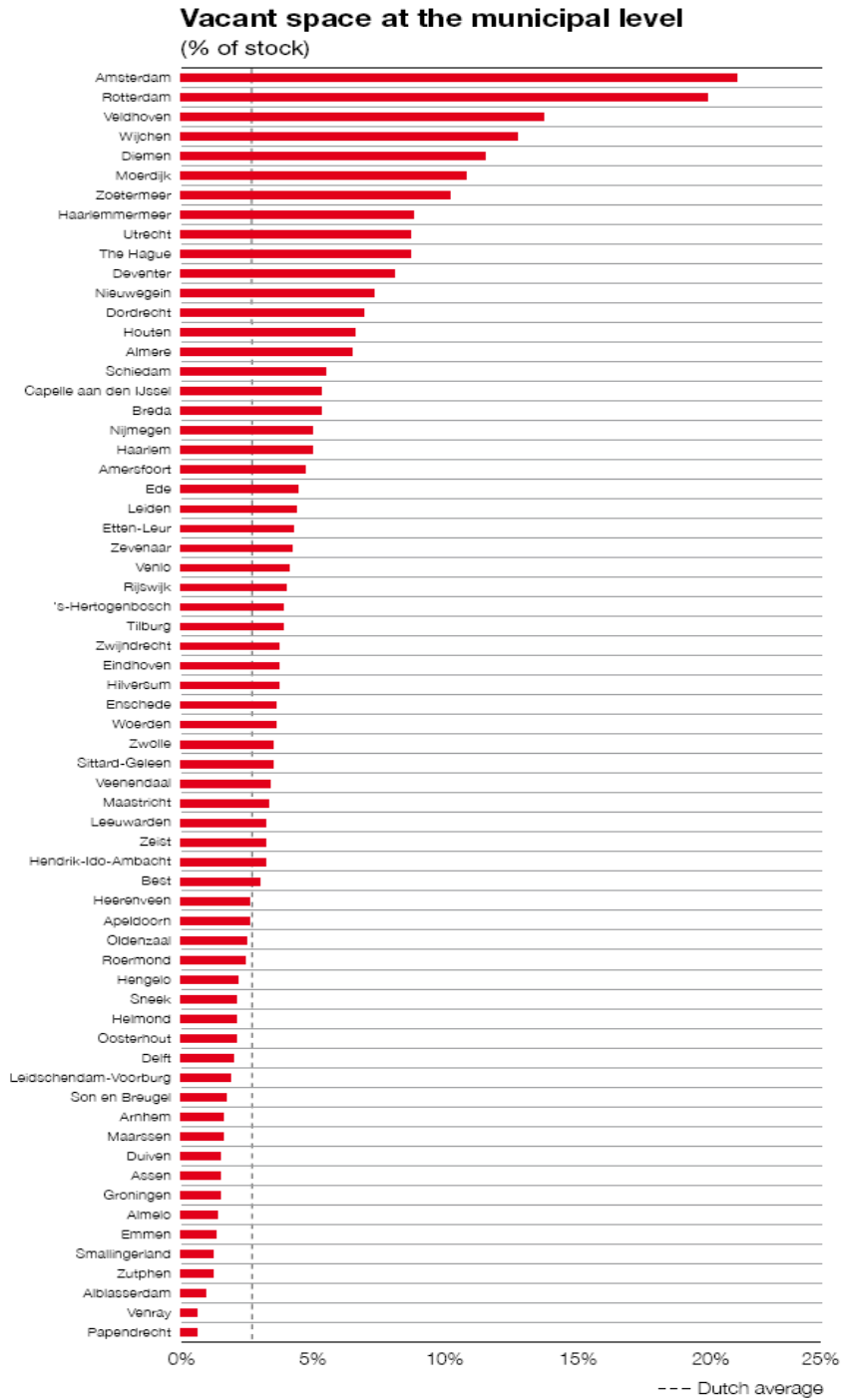
Rents for office space (in euro per m²/year)

Town/City	2006		mid 2007	
	from	to	from	to
Greater Amsterdam	30	80	30	80
Rotterdam and surrounding area	40	61	40	62
The Hague and surrounding area	30	65	25	65
Utrecht and surrounding area	33	62	33	64
Haarlemmermeer	38	95	38	95
Eindhoven and surrounding area	30	57	30	57
Arnhem and Nijmegen	25	55	30	60
Zwolle, Apeldoorn and Deventer	20	65	20	65
's-Hertogenbosch and Tilburg	25	55	25	55
Gooi and Eemland	35	70	35	70
Twentse Stedenband	25	45	25	45
Breda and surrounding area	25	60	25	60
Groningen and Assen	15	60	15	60
Limburg	25	60	25	60
Almere	35	63	35	63
Friesland	20	50	25	50

Source: DTZ Zadelhof

Supplement 4

Vacancy rate as amount of the total stock (2007)



Source: DIZ Zadelhof

Supplement 5

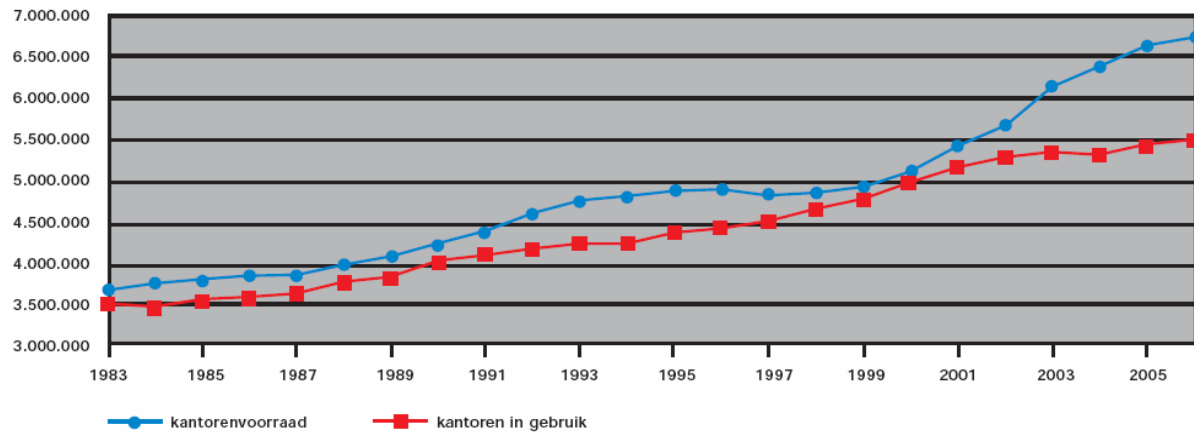
Market Index	Brussels Region				Forecast
	CBD's	Decentralised	Periphery	Total	
Total stock (m ²)*	7 942 600	2 805 000	1 888 500	12 636 100	↗
Vacant space - 1Q2008 (m ²)	6,8%	14,3%	18,4%	10,1%	↘
Available new supply 3&4Q2008 (m ²)	96 400	12 300	9 400	118 100	↘
Take-up - 1Q2008 (m ²)	46 300	22 900	28 900	98 100	↗
Private sector	37 900	22 900	28 900	89 700	↗
Public sector	8 400	-	-	8 400	↗
Prime rent 1Q2008 (€)	285	180	165	285	↗
Prime Yield 1Q2008 (%)	5.75	6.10	7.00	5.75	↔

(*) Total stock is defined as the total amount of built office space whether occupied or not as well as expected completions and refurbishments until 3 months

Source: Catella Property Belgium

Supplement 6

Vacancy rate 1983-2005 (between the red and blue line)



Source: DRO Amsterdam

General questionnaire

How can an intermediary organization through temporary use of vacant buildings, help to create affordable working spaces for creative and social entrepreneurs?

A search for temporary use strategies.

-1- Goal and underlying vision

- * What is the goal of the organisation? Did this goal change during time?
- * Is this goal embedded in a larger vision on the city?
- * Does it link up with other vision of other players (like the local government)?

-2- Organization

- * What is the history of Precare/ Urban Resort/ SpareSpace?
- * Knowing which users you aim at; who are the users in practice?
- * Knowing what is intended in theory: what is achieved in practice?
- * Does the organization aim at certain buildings? What are the conditions?
- * How do you see the workingprocess in the long run, what is seen as ideal?
- * What do the financial aspects look like?
- * What does the legal side look like?
- * Who is responsible for the maintenance of the building?
- * Who is responsible for the building itself?
- * Does trust play a role? In what sense is it important?

-3- Practice

- * Could you describe step by step the process from finding to using a building?

-4- Connections

- * Who are the main players that you work with?

* In what sense would you consider the organisation to be embedded in planning practices?

-5- Local authority

* Is the local authority involved?

* How does that cooperation look like? What is the role of politics (regulation) and to what extent are you free? Is this cooperation subject to political fluctuations?

* What does the city want, what is their aim? Does this have to do with theory on the creative city, the creative economy etc?

-6- Users

* How do you reach the potential users?

* What is their criteria when it comes to working places? What is considered important apart from the low rent (or is it just that)?

* What criteria do you use to assign working places?

-7- Property owners

* How do you get these players to contribute?

* Which benefits does temporary use provide for property owners? What do you highlight?

* What does this cooperation look like?

* What (kind of) buildings do they offer?

* How long is temporary (minimum-permanent)?

* Are extra parties involved?

* Do you have a certain expectation / requirements for a building?

* How much freedom does the contract provide?

* What kind of a contract is put on the table? What does the legislation look like?

Can cooperation (with some property owners) be seen as structural? What does structural mean in this sense?

-4- The organization in the city

- * In what way is temporary use needed for the creation of (cheap) workplaces? Is it on the agenda of local authority and other players?
 - * What elements in a city make temporary use an interesting option? What are the primary benefits?
 - * How big is the demand for (cheap) working places? (In general / for creative, social entrepreneurs)
 - * How big is the offer of interesting vacant buildings?
 - * What does the physical potential look like in the city, where lie the opportunities?
 - * What are the primary benefits of temporary use for the city?
 - * Are there any forms of commercial use of vacant buildings?
-
- * Do you have certain questions that you would like to see included in this research?

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