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Creative City: Neighbourhood transformation processes in Berlin and Rotterdam South

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Summary

The *Creative City* concept claims a progressive urban development approach to enhance social cohesion and inclusionary processes. In this context the research is analysing how the *Creative Class,* with the example of *Creative Initiatives* as self-organised groups, is impacting the outcome of *Place-making* activities in the transformation processes of two deprived neighbourhoods in Berlin and Rotterdam South.

The focus lies in gaining more knowledge of the conditions, which facilitates the sense of identity of the *Neighbourhood Community* with their physical and social urban environment they live in.

First, the research analysis why the *Creative Class* was attracted to the two studied neighbourhoods. As a next step, the concept of *Self-organization* is used to understand why the *Creative Initiatives* got active and how they interacted with the *Formal Side* in the evolution phase of urban transformation processes. The impact of self-organised interactions on *Place-making* activities is analysed to assess *Identity Building* and *Place Quality* within the *changing environment.*

A qualitative comparative two-case study is chosen in which local citizens in *Creative Initiatives* take the lead. The analysis is conducted based on semi-structured interviews and secondary data.

The study's findings show that a tolerant, open and diverse environment attracts the first generation of the *Creative Class* and an existing art community network attracts the second generation.

The results of the research also present that the emergent of a new form of *Collaborative Governance* did not provide improved conditions for an advanced sense of *Community Building* in the neighbourhood. The two case studies show that the *Creative Initiatives'* interest as end-users of the improved environment is the main factor hindering inclusionary processes between the *Creative Initiatives* and *Neighbourhood Community*.

The results of this research demonstrate that the emergence of a new status of *Collaborative Governance* out of self-organised interactions is not enhancing the outcome of *Place-Making* activities in deprived neighbourhoods and is leading into a citizen top-down approach of a powerful elite.

For a progressive urban development concept, the *Creative City* approach needs more insight of the interaction patterns between the *Creative Class* and the *Neighbourhood Community*. It is recommended that further application of the concept of *Self-Organization* be conducted in order to compare methods and findings.

Keywords

Creative City; Self-organization; Place-making; Transformation Processes;

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

CI	*Creative Initiative*: community group independently organizing cultural and art activities in the neighbourhood
NC	*Neighbourhood Community*: all other *community* groups
GOV	Rotterdam: *Formal Side* (municipality and housing cooperation) Berlin: *Formal Side* (municipality and *Quartiersmanagement*)
HC	Housing cooperation
QM	*Quartiersmanagement*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the background information of the research topic and explains why the two specific cities were chosen. It is followed by the description of the research problem, objectives and questions and ends with an explanation of the research scope and limitations

1.1 Background

Berlin and Rotterdam and the Creative City concept

Within the post-industrial context of city development, some cities became attractive destinations for the *Creative Class*. A tolerant, open and diverse environment let artists and people from the creative sector choose their preferred city to live in. It is stated that two of these cities are Berlin and Rotterdam (OECD, 2010, Arandjelovic and Bogunovich, 2013). In both cities policies exist which include the cultural development as a strategy to improve the economic situation and the image of the city. Thereby the policies of the two cities are trying to foster the *Creative Industry*.

Berlin is known for its fast growing *Creative Industry*. 20.000 artists are living in the city, and it has the highest density of galleries in Europe. After the reunification 1989 a growth of the population was predicted and new apartments, shops and offices were built. The expected growth did not occur, and artists and people from the creative sector occupied the vacant spaces. Today, next to the tourism sector, the creative sector is the most important industry in Berlin, which creates 10% of the jobs in the city. In the current urban development, the *Creative Industry* is object of city development policies (Glaser, Hoff, et al., 2012, Arandjelovic and Bogunovich, 2013).

Rotterdam, on the other hand, is best known for its port but it is argued that the city has the potential of bringing together Florida's 3 T's, tolerance, talent and technology, the main components of a *Creative City* (Landry, 2000). In comparison to Berlin, Rotterdam misses some elements of the attractive factors, but in recent years the city is developing from a port-dominated city to a *Creative City*. The *Creative Industry* in Rotterdam with approximately 12.500 jobs has been an object of the city's official policy (OECD, 2010).

Collaborative urban development

Since the shift from industrial to service-oriented cities in combination with the current economic crisis, governments are minimizing their focus on public services. The current urban development is collaborative shaped by the municipality, private sector and civil society (Urhahn Urban Design, 2010). Thereby a new type of *Collaborative Governance* has evolved based on community initiatives.

An increased number of community-based initiatives are based on self-organized activities of local artists. According to Van Ulzen, *Creative Initiatives* are on the same level of the importance as official cultural policies and necessary for the urban cultural climate as part of the organic development of the city. She argues that people from the *Creative Class* like artists are in a good position to be influential actors in shaping the city because they *"feel where the power of a city lies"* (2007, S. 215). Thereby the author is referring to the sense and ability of artists to identify and discover spaces in neighbourhoods with a special and unique character that can create places with identification potential for the community. In addition, it is argued that

artists and cultural organizations can play a key role as *dynamic agents* of transformation processes in communities (Baycan-Levent, 2011, Markusen, 2013, Markusen, 2014).

This research focuses on self-organized community-based initiatives as an example of citizen involvement in urban transformation processes. The study looks into two deprived neighbourhoods in Berlin and Rotterdam South, North Neukölln and Oud Charlois, which are socially and economically disadvantaged. In the two selected cities exist an increased attention on programs for improving the conditions through citizen initiatives by the transformation of underused properties (Jakob, 2010, OECD, 2010).

In the context of the *Creative City* concept a potential arises for *Creative Initiatives* to take on the role of under filling the physical units of cities and to involve *Neighbourhood Communities* in their activities. It is argued that the initiatives are able to establish a local creative community from the bottom–up to achieve inclusionary urban development in *Place-making* activities (Jakob, 2010) According to Alexander (1966) the complex social systems behind the physical units make a living city.

1.2 Problem Statement

Critic Creative City concept

Despite the importance of the *Creative City* approach in policy making and the acknowledgement of the positive effect of culture on urban development, improving the image of a city and attracting tourists, the concept has been subject of criticism. It is argued that in the forefront of *Creative Cities* stays the improvement of profit-led development and image-building by promoting flagship projects. In this way the government and private investors are developing cultural institutions or museums in a neighbourhood with the goal to attract further institutions and to improve the neighbourhood situation.

Instead of enhancing social inclusion processes and taking local needs into account the *Creative City* is criticised for only following a generic and ready-made approach and failing to implement a progressive urban development. In addition, it is argued that the concept contributes to gentrification processes (Jakob, 2010, Madureira, 2013, Karacor, 2014).

Critic community-based initiatives introduced by government

Current research is stating that initiatives introduced by the government are failing in including the local *Neighbourhood Community* into their activities. The programs support economic growth but do not to create interactions between the artists and the local *Neighbourhood Community* or foster opportunities for local socioeconomic development. In addition, the *Creative Initiatives* introduced by the government are part of enabling profit-led development in the municipality programs of deprived neighbourhoods. With the help of creative projects high-income residents are attracted and the property value and the image of a neighbourhood can be improved. *Creative Initiatives* are often limited to enhance the local market value and gentrification processes instead of establishing projects and activities together with the *Neighbourhood Community* (Jakob, 2010, Comunian, 2011). A lack of knowledge is emphasized about how self-organized initiatives interact with the *Neighbourhood Community* and how they affect the urban environment in transformation processes (Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012).

In comparison to government-led approaches with an outside view, *Creative Initiatives* independently evolving from the bottom-up could be in the position to enhance inclusive transformation processes and to improve the urban environment with *Place-making* activities in *Neighbourhood Communities*.

1.3 Research Objectives

In the context of the *Creative City* concept understood as an approach of achieving an inclusive urban transformation process, the main objective of this research is to examine how the *Creative Class* is impacting the outcome of *Place-making* activities in the transformation processes of two deprived neighbourhoods in Berlin and Rotterdam South. The *Creative Initiative* as a self-organised group will be applied as an example representing the *Creative Class*

1.4 Provisional Research Question(s)

As a starting point, the main and sub-questions which this research would like to answer, are defined as:

How do self-organized **interactions** of the *Creative Initiatives* impact **Place-making** activities in the transformation processes of deprived neighbourhoods?

Sub-research questions:

1. What are the main conditions of *Creative Initiative*s getting active in the transformation processes of deprived neighbourhoods?
2. What are the self-organized **interaction patterns?**
3. What is the outcome of **Place-making** activities?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Theoretical relevance

Self-organization and *Place-making* are both concepts with an undefined character. Looking into a contemporary phenomenon with the example of two deprived neighbourhoods can provide new insights, which can be added to the existing theory.

This research seeks to contribute to the growing body of literature focused on *Self-organization* of urban transformation processes.

Policy relevance

Cities that apply the *Creative City* approach want to improve the situation of deprived neighbourhoods in an inclusionary approach of urban transformation processes. If the process is triggered by formal top-down projects the interests of the *Neighbourhood Community* is not taken into account. This research can contribute to the scientific knowledge how to steer processes within neighbourhood communities as special forms of urban transformation processes.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This research is based on a qualitative research approach where a subjective perspective is implicit. Secondary data and interviews with the municipality and the private sector are used to improve the internal validity.

The study will not provide generalizable findings and cover the whole creative network of each neighbourhood and how the actors involved are affecting the development of the neighbourhood. Quantitative data collection was beyond the scope and timeframe of this research.

The limited time available for fieldwork and the unfamiliarity with the two neighbourhoods and its actors determined certain limitations on the quality of the data collection and the analysis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter will discuss the main theoretical concepts used in this thesis. The concept of attracting the *Creative Class* in the context of transformation processes in deprived neighbourhoods will be given. Following the main characteristics of *Self-organization* will be discussed using the *Complexity Theory* to explain the relationship and interaction patterns of self-organized initiatives with the *Neighbourhood Community*. In the section 2.4 the concept of *Place-making* will be presented. The chapter will conclude with an explanation of the conceptual framework adopted for this research.

2.1   Creative City

Urban and Social Creativity

Urban Creativity is stated as an umbrella concept focusing on the relationship between creativity and urban space and the interactions between artists and the community in order to create innovation processes that can enhance the quality of space and life in cities (Jakob, 2010, Baycan-Levent, 2011). According to Bettencourt, *Urban Creativity* also means *Social Creativity*. This means that the urban development of the future has to create flexible and rough urban spaces where the *Social Creativity* of people can be practiced and lived in a collaborative manner (Bettencourt, 2013). Comunian states that *Creativity* initiated between artists and the community must be understood as an innovative approach that can improve social cohesion in a city(2011, p. 1158).

Start of Creative City concept

The concept of the Creative City and its importance in urban development first occurred in the public debate in the late 1980s. In 2000, Charles Landry published the book *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* that has been widely quoted until today. According to Landry the *Creative City* concept describes a strategic plan and tools for a creative collaborative approach of city making where everyone can participate: "It explores how we can make our cities more liveable and vital by harnessing people's imagination and talent" (Landry, 2000, p. xii). In addition he states that *Creativity* is not limited to the artistic world. Also social, political and planning aspects can be managed in a creative way (Landry, 2000, p. xv).

Criticism of the concept

With the collaborative approach of city making, the concept promotes a new progressive city, which enhances social inclusion and economic development in urban regeneration processes. As many other city concepts the *Creative City* is therefore criticized for claiming an overarching solution and to serve as a global and generic ready-made concept for policy making without considering the contextual relation to the unique character of each city. In addition, the economic aspect is the main focus of the current public discourse. It is stated that the aspect of a profit-led urban development is not sufficient to define the *Creative City* strategy as a progressive vision. In addition, the *Creative City* concept is emphasizing the cities´ ability to attract the *Creative Class* with a high potential. In this context, the approach fails to explain the interactions between the *Creative Class* and their environment (Jakob, 2010, Comunian, 2011).

Suggestion shift of focus in order to enhance social inclusion

Despite the stated limitations of the concept, several authors suggest a shift in the focus of the concept in order to enhance social inclusion in urban development. The *Creative City* concept could foster a collaborative process of shaping the city. Harvey argues that all residents should have the right to the city, and that this involves *"a right to change ourselves by changing the city"* (2003, p. 23). Therefore, the interest and engagement of the local community has to be taken into account in order to implement the ideas of the *Creative City* and to create a more inclusive city vision (Jakob, 2010). Comunian argues that successful cities need visionary individuals and creative organizations. She proposes to use the *Complexity Theory* to explain and understand the emergence and evolution of the dynamic interactions between *Creative Class* and the urban environment but still sees the need in further research for that(2011).

Conclusion and definition Creative City concept

There is a strong debate about the open definition of Landry's concept of *Creative City*. However, there is a general acceptance of emphasizing the key elements of the concept leading to new interpretations of what *Creative Cities* are. Those elements are that *Creative Cities* are places in an existing cultural environment where a high proportion of creative people exists, and where new ideas are being exchanged in the interaction between the creative people and the *Neighbourhood Community* in order to enhance progressive urban developments (Landry, 2000, Pratt, 2008, Jakob, 2010, Comunian, 2011)

2.2 Attracting the Creative Class

Definition Creative Class

The *Creative Class* theory goes back to Florida's definition in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* from 2001. He describes the *Creative Class* as a wide range of people consisting of a super-creative core including artists, as well as professionals from the creative sector (Baycan-Levent, 2011). The strength of the *Creative Class* is closely tied to the economic success and development of a city and depends on the 3 T's – tolerance, talent and technology – to attract the people from the creative sector.

It is stated that a tolerant, open and diverse environment attracts the *Creative Class* with a strong preference for specific and unique locations and local assets with interesting physical features. Thus, the physical quality of places plays an important role to keep and grow the *Creative Class* and to stay competitive with other cities (Baycan-Levent, 2011, p. 27).

Artist and diverse neighbourhoods

The *Creative Class* is attracted by certain neighbourhoods in cities because of the low rents and the uniqueness of the area. The existence of old industrial or underused historical buildings with a specific character and a tolerant environment with a diversity of cultures creates the place of interest for creative people. They are using the infrastructure of the diverse environment, but at the same time there is little overlap or interaction between the two groups existing.

Process of attracting the Creative Class

1. Spacemaking and starting conditions for citizen initiatives

In the context of city development, the process of attracting the *Creative Class* starts with the provision of affordable and at the same time attractive vacant spaces. Private housing companies are looking for potential tenants among the Creative Class and provide these spaces in immigrant and low-income neighbourhoods (Comunian, 2011). Markusen states that artists can live and work everywhere, especially in non-cultural industry centres. Therefore they often contribute often to the economic development and enhanced liveability in neighbourhood transformations (2013).

Bakker Denters, et al. are emphasizing that the physical and social conditions have an impact on the nature of initiatives and the type of activities evolving in these neighbourhoods. They stress that a lack of social cohesion can trigger the development of citizen initiatives with social objectives (2012, p. 404).

The authors identify the preconditions for creative citizen initiatives as follows:

1. Physical conditions: availability of affordable abandoned properties and inequality in the provision of public assets and urban amenities
2. Social conditions: availability of social capital[1] and skills and lack of social cohesion (Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012)

Thus, in the case of transformation processes in deprived neighbourhoods the combination of the physical conditions and the incoming of new social capital lets self-organized *Creative Initiative*s and *Place-making* activities emerge.

The strategy to bring artists into the neighbourhood to improve low-income neighbourhoods is included in cities' cultural policies and finds application as an official urban strategy. It is argued that artists are being used as a tool for urban transformation processes by the local authorities and the private housing companies (Zebracki and Smulders, 2012). In addition, it is stated that local artists, as an actor group of the *Creative Class,* play a key role in urban development (Baycan-Levent, 2011).

2. Building community and gentrification processes in context of Place-making activities

The colonization of deprived neighbourhoods by artist can improve the living conditions by introducing their creative input specifically to the unique context and setting of an environment (Markusen, 2014, p. 571). This transformation process is associated with the concept of *Place-making*. The success of the *Place-making* process is thereby determined by the improvement of the liveability and sustainability, as well as new jobs and economic activity in the neighbourhood in a just and participatory process (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010).

Community Building

However, there is a debate in current research about the positive and negative outcomes of these processes. A positive outcome of *Place-making* activities is

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[1] *"Social capital can be defined as features of a group or community - networks, norms and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively."* (Putnam cited in Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014, p. 4).

associated with a slow neighbourhood growth, which enhances *Community Building* (Markusen, 2014). Portugali referred to that process as the long-term evolution of complex systems (2012). The process of activities enables social interactions in the *Neighbourhood Community*, which in turn emerge to new knowledge and improves the quality of space and life in the neighbourhood. Comunian argues that a strong integration of local identity and sense of place and belonging in the existing community is needed for a successful outcome. A local based long-term interaction pattern in urban development is therefore in conflicts with the economic and competitive interest of a city (2011, p. 1160).

Gentrification

On the other hand, a negative outcome is associated with gentrification processes. Thereby the *Place-making* activities may have negative effects on the *Neighbourhood Community* because of increasing living and housing costs, loss of social diversity and existing social networks and the risk of displacement of poor households. Research points out that the degree of gentrification is hard to measure and depends on the concept used to define the indicators (Bernt and Holm, 2009, Baycan-Levent, 2011). A positive externality of gentrification processes, from the perspective of the city government, is the improvement of the city image and the economic situation in order to attract more high-income residents (Madureira, 2013, p. 161).

Conclusion and definition of concept

From the discussion above, transformation processes involve a *Creative Class,* such as artists and professionals from the creative sector, who is attracted to vacant and affordable spaces in social and economic deprived neighbourhoods where they contribute to processes that can either lead to *Community Building or* gentrification.

The transformation processes in deprived neighbourhoods will be analysed under the aspect of *Community Building* in order to understand more about the interactions between community-based initiatives as an outcome of *Place-making* activities.

2.3 Self-organization

In the current research debate, it is stressed that *Complexity Theory* is needed to understand the development of *Creative Cities* (Comunian, 2011, p. 1164). The concept of *Self-organization* is one of the main characteristics of the *Complexity* concept and will be thereby discussed in the context of the *Creative City* strategy (Boelens and Boonstra, 2011). More than 50 years ago, Jacobs stressed out the importance of local self-organized initiatives and argued that they are able to capture the complexity of a city and to create a sense of belonging to the urban environment (Jacobs, 1961).

2.3.1 Self-organization in the context of Complexity Theory
The *Complexity Theory* is looking into the main characteristic of *Self-Organization* based on evolving interaction patterns. It gives an inside to the interdependencies between the formal and stable top-down interactions on the one hand, and the flexible, creative bottom-up interactions on the other, between stakeholders in urban development processes. The *Complexity Theory* will be used in this study to define the nature of citizen involvement needed to achieve sustainable development.

Start of Complexity Theory – Particular view and complex social overlaps

Christopher Alexander and Jane Jacobs made an important start of the *Complexity Theory* discourse already in the 1960s. They criticised the new forms of urban development as *artificial cities* (Alexander, 1966, p. 2) and as simplified structures (Jacobs, 1961, p. 435) failing to enable living cities. Both authors agree that a complex set of elements is needed to describe the nature of a city and to successfully shape it.

Cities as organized complexity – from general to particular

Jacobs describes cities as problems of *organized complexity*. Thereby a cluster of small elements named *unaverage* is needed to gain the inside view of a neighbourhood. The local needs can be identified in order to enable a living city. In addition, a key principle of a city is the process character depending on the context and circumstances. According to Jacobs, the interdependencies between the different elements define the complexity of a city. Furthermore, she claims that dealing with the complex environment of a city, a sole abstract outside view from planners has to be avoided. A particular understanding of an urban situation or problem is needed to create a vital neighbourhood (1961).

City as a semi lattice – complex social overlaps

Alexander describes the complex character as a semi-lattice with different overlaps of social networks. The tool *playing children,* for instance, can create these complex overlaps over the fixed building surfaces and public spaces of the whole city. He argues that finding the right overlap for modern urban planning is still in progress (1966, p. 16). Alexander describes the urban design as empty physical units of a city. Without the complex social system behind the design, the city would be only a tree with restrictive hierarchal organisation without overlaps (1966, p. 10).

2.3.2 Collaborative Governance
*Evolution of collaborative interactions between both sides*

In the current research discourse, several authors use the *Complexity Theory* to explain the emergence of self-organized activities in urban development in order to understand interaction patterns between the actors involved (Comunian, 2011, Boelens and Boonstra, 2011, Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012).

From global to local

In the last 30 years, the *Complexity Theory* has turned into an overarching concept of open and complex systems. Portugali describes in his article *Complexity Theories of Cities* the nature of a city as complex systems that are open and far from equilibrium and have no linear causal relation in self-organized processes (2012).

According to his definition, *Self-Organization* can be applied to the comprehensive complexity model as shown in Figure 1 where non-governmental and locally driven groups solely trigger the initial emergent activity. In the later phases of the evolution of interaction patterns, the formal and steady government perspective is needed in order to generate spontaneous new outcomes and ideas in a collaborative way. Thereby the role of the actors of both sides and the environment they interact in are in a changing process. This circular balanced process of *Self-organization* is guaranteeing the accessibility to formal resources, for instance, finance, knowledge, contacts, legal and budgetary (Portugali, 2012, Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014).

Figure 1: Comprehensive complexity theories vs. emergence complexity theories
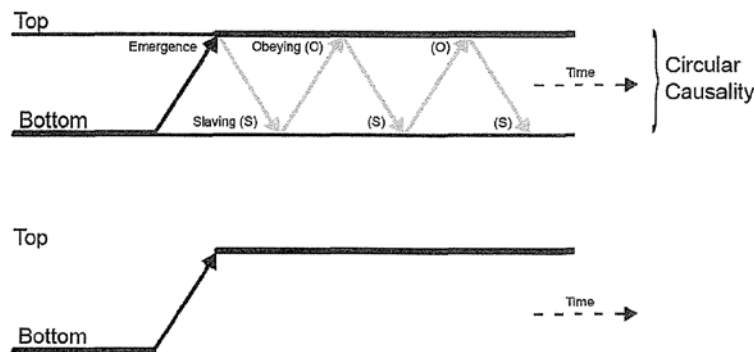
(Source: Portugali, 2012)

Emergence of new properties via Self-organization

Meerkerk describes Portugali's balanced circular process as *bounded instability at the edge of chaos*, where stable and unstable conditions are in a continuous exchange and where the right mix leads to a system of evolving ideas and knowledge that emerges to a new advanced status(2012).

According to Hamdi, *both sides* of the balanced process are always needed. The constant collaborative actions between the emergent structures and the formally designed structures become *"a natural part of the effort at social reconstruction"* (2004, p. 108). In his opinion, the bottom-up community based structures provide novelty, creativity and flexibility and the top-down government-led structures create the necessary stability.

Collaborative Governance and Self-governance

Other research is introducing the definition of citizen initiatives as collective activities as *"essentially self-organised"* (Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012, p. 397), predominated by citizen decision and leadership and as independent of government control (Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012, Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014). It is argued that the pure form of citizen control does not exist in urban development, and citizen initiatives have to be considered as hybrids where citizens lead and collaborate with public authorities and formalized structures. Thereby they are engaged in shaping and improving the quality of their neighbourhood and enhancing livability, public safety and social cohesion. According to Bakker et al., *Self-organization* can be understood as a form of *Collaborative Governance* (Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012, p. 410).

Two notions of *Self-organization* have been stated. The first describes an ideological definition *"that social and economic challenges should be addressed at the level of (local) communities"*. The second sees *Self-organization* as governance, specifically as a self-governance concept (Pierre & Peters, 2000; Fenger & Bekkers, 2007). Due to the dependencies on public resources and interventions the government role cannot be neglected in urban development processes.

2.3.3 Collaborative interactions

Formal assignment versus own motivation in the starting phase

In the discussion of self-organized activities, the question constantly arises how independent self-organized initiatives from government control are or in order to succeed in a sustainable development, need to be.

According to Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., people need to be encouraged by the government to get actively involved in the city making. However, other research stresses that self-organized initiatives are led by physical and social conditions, which let them get active in the urban environment (Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012) and are self-motivated without government encouragement or direct top-down assignment. According to Portugali the ability to overtake planning activities lies is a *basic human capability* and, therefore, self-organized initiatives are finding their own motivation to get active in the urban environment (Portugali, 2012, p. 130).

Boelens and Boonstra are representing an even more autonomous notion of *Self-organization* in comparison to the previous authors discussed. They argue that government control in participation is limiting the sustainable outcome of urban processes, and therefore interventions from local authorities in self-organized approaches have to be avoided. They emphasize that a new form of participation has to be free from government control in order to be adaptive to contemporary civil society. They differentiate between government-led participation as traditional top-down participation and community-based participation as *Self-organization*.

The authors define the community-based *Self-organization* from an isolated perspective and are not putting the collaborative activities between the actors group at the forefront of the concept. They emphasize the independence of the initiatives from government influence. Instead of an outside-in – i.e. participation - view they propose an inside-out – i.e. *Self-organization* – approach (2011).

Adaption of roles and boundary spanning in the evolution process

It is argued that in order to capture the activities of community-based initiatives in its full potential the rules of existing governmental structures have to be open and adaptive.

Meerkerk stresses that the success of self-organized initiatives can be achieved by the change of formal and stable government structures, market and society (2012, p. 21). The author concludes that self-organized processes are influential to regeneration processes of urban areas, on the other hand self-organized initiatives are an increased challenge for existing formal structures (Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012). Nederhand, Bekkers, et al. describe the process after the initial event as a *"mutual adjustment of behavior resulting in the emergence of ordered structures"* (Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014, p. 2). According to Nederhand and Meerkerk boundary spanning activities and the adaptation of actors' roles are two of the main conditions in the evolution phase of *Self-organization* (Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012, Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014).

Self-organized initiatives are in the position to create a sense of belonging to a place and be adaptive, open and flexible for unexpected changes in their urban environment. In this process, the actors and the environment are in continuous interactions and changes.

Creative Initiatives

Based on the *Creative City* and *Self-organization* theory in this thesis the *Creative Initiatives* are defined as a group of actors emerging from social networks in a neighbourhood. They play an important role in the transformation processes of spaces into places. Thereby they are able to create an important link between people and the spatial environment of a neighbourhood by *Place-making* activities.

The *Comprehensive Concept* of Portugali can be thereby used to describe the emergence of *Creative Initiatives* in self-organized activities in a balanced process. In the theory of *Self-organization, Creative Initiatives* are therefore coined in their organization as spontaneous, locally driven and from bottom-up without the need of a formal assignment.

Briefly summarized are the main characteristics of self-organized *Creative Initiative*s as a pre-empirical working definition:

1. Part of the community with inside view
2. End-user of spatial and social changes
3. Own vision of revitalization and transformation of the neighbourhood (Chapple, Jackson, et al., 2010)
4. Enhancing life to public space and building communities
5. High educated actors with civic skills and social capital

2.4   Place-making

Previous research publications stress *Place-making* as a multi-layered concept. Thereby Healey emphasizes that *Place-making* is an approach with a multiplicity of stakeholders, and their interest have to be integrated in a collective process (2010).

> *"It is a complex task of collective social construction, often over a long time period, to create an enduring and widely-shared meaning of place."* (Healey, 1998, p. 5).

The stakeholders are actors from the public, private and community sector who are integrated in a system of multiple organizations (Baycan-Levent 2010). In addition, it is argued that *Place-making* leads to a more inclusive social development and can fill the gap between the generic top-down planning approach and the complex society of cities.

Focus back on the quality of the urban environment

In the article *Collaborative planning in a stakeholder society* from 1998 Healey stresses the importance of the spatial and collaborative aspects of urban planning. The author argues that in recent decades the concern for a quality of places was neglected because the urban planning was mainly concentrating on the economic, competitive, environmental and sustainable aspects of cities.

According to Healey, the improvement of the quality of places itself will lead to a more sustainable development of the neighbourhoods, in an economic, environmental, social and cultural way. Thereby contemporary challenges of cities can be tackled, and a more integrated approach can be achieved(1998). In the current debate it is emphasized that the topic of spatial quality in cities is difficult to define and controversial in the fields of urban planning, urban design and social innovation (Moulaert, Dyck, et al., 2013, p. 389).

Citizen involvement

Boelens and Boonstra are giving four arguments why citizen involvement is important in the sustainable development of cities. First, it enhances social coherence and is able to empower weak groups and minorities in inclusionary processes. Secondly, it creates an identity between the residents and their physical environment and enhances a sense of belonging and communal citizenship. In addition, it is said that citizen involvement can produce economic resilience and facilitate political interactions between citizens and policies (Boelens and Boonstra, 2011, p. 100). In the debate on citizen involvement the concept of *Self-Organization* is discussed as a new form of a participatory process.

2.4.1 Community-based initiatives as end-users of their changing urban environment
Shaping the city from bottom-up

As discussed in section 2.3 a complex environment of a city needs an open and flexible system to be able to respond properly to contemporary challenges.

According to Jacobs, citizens have a sense of belonging, to their neighbourhood and, therefore, cannot avoid having a subjective instead of a generalized point of view of their environment. As a consequence, they are the ideal *informal experts* for urban transformation processes. The *Neighbourhood Community* is in the position to implement projects from an *inductive* approach and is able to have a particular thinking of small-scale units. The *Neighbourhood Community* can therefore play the complementary role of urban planners, knitting new urban forms in the neighbourhood environment from bottom-up (1961, p. 434).

While the so-called global, or what Jacobs calls the average, approach considers the city as a whole and with an outside view, the bottom-up self-organized approach is locally driven by actors having the planning ability themselves (Jacobs, 1961, Portugali, 2012). Non-professionals with a particular view are residents, artist and professionals, like architects, living and at the same time working in their neighbourhood. Government and professionals with a global view are considered as outsiders and are not part of the community.

Bettencourt suggests that in order to be able to cope with the complexity of a city, planning approaches should leave as much open as possible. That gives actors in local self-organized groups the possibility to incrementally contribute to the shaping of a city (Bettencourt, 2013).

Role of architects in the community

All the actors involved in the process are themselves seen as complex elements in the system (Portugali, 2012). In the balanced, adaptive processes of *Self-organization* Portugali defines architects as actors participating in the top-down planning process.

However, in *Creative Initiatives* architects are often collaborating with artists in urban transformation processes. This act of co-production is thereby not seen as a professional, global, outside view of planning but a locally driven approach. The architects are living in the neighbourhood as part of the community and are often the initiator for self-organized initiatives. Boelens and Boonstra are defining the role of

architects as being a part of an *Actor-network*[2] assemblages and *making it happen*. They position themselves in the middle of the community, as actors integrated in the self-organizing process itself (2011).

The community-based initiatives have a relationship to spatial interventions thereby. Boelens and Boonstra see the motivation of citizens getting active in the urban environment as end-users who want to benefit from the improved physical outcome in the context of spatial development and state that as a reason for citizen engagement in urban development. Based on the actor-network theory, Boelens and Boonstra argue that the spatial outcome can not be predefined, but evolves within the actor-network consisting of humans and non-humans. In addition, Boelens and Boonstra emphasize that in order to deal with a complex society, continuous interactions between people, institutions and places is needed (2011).

Creative Class in relation to the soft and hard infrastructure of the community they live in

According to Comunian, an important missing aspect of the *Creative City* approach is the understanding of the relationship between the community and the soft and hard infrastructure of local assets and space. She argues that the *Creative City* concept does describe the factors that the *Creative Class* is attracted to but does not explain how the *Creative Class* is influencing these factors and local assets. In her study of creative clusters, Comunian is focusing on the economic outcome of the dynamic interactions between the local artists and she emphasizes the strength of valuable emergence out of these networks. She defines the artists as agents co-evolving within a changing urban environment (2011).

2.4.2 Identity Building and Place Quality

In the previous section, the relation between the community-based initiatives and the urban environment was discussed. In this section the concept of *Place-making* will be explored under the two aspects of *Identity Building* and *Place Quality* as the social and physical outcome of a collective process in order to understand the importance and complexity of a place.

Place-making: physical and social dimension

Healey defines the idea of place and *Place-making* as *"deeply social and political concepts and activities, in which meanings and values are created in interaction with lived experiences"* (2010, p. 33). Thereby the physical context cannot be separated from the social meaning of the place. She argues that the aim of contemporary planning is to increase an inclusive process for *human flourishing* in places in order to secure basic needs and an awareness of diverse values of different groups in cities. She identified the need for a balanced process of *Place-making* where it is considered *"what is broadly shared and where deep conflicts lie."* (2010, p. 32). Citizen initiatives engaged in *Place-making* activities can thereby play the role of *"shaping possibilities for an emergent future"* (Hiller cited in Healey, 2010, p. 47). However, Healey states that the empowerment of local communities as informal experts in

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[2] "Associations (or actor-networks) consist of humans and non-humans (such as physical objects) and therefore provide a perspective to explain how these networks exist in a constant process of making and remaking"(Boelens and Boonstra, 2011, p. 112).

Place-making has to be accompanied with the concern for the risk of exclusionary outcomes of processes from a powerful elite (2010).

It is stated that physical planning, as one part of the *Place-making* approach, is expected to contribute to the improvement of the quality of life in cities. The change of the urban environment is named as one of the main factors to improve social and economic conditions in cities (Madureira, 2013, p. 158-159). However, based on her research of two large-scale developments in Sweden, Malmö, Madureira concludes that the physical aspect of *Place-making* in urban development is characterised by place-marketing and flagship projects initiated by the government in order to enhance the image of a city and its economic conditions. As a consequence, the community and the sustainable development of the neighbourhood are not tackled solely by the physical planning of the *Place-making* approach (2013).

Furthermore, Madureira stresses the dilemma that arises with the sole concentration on physical planning. According to her the approach generates generic *"landscape of the post-industrial city"* and aestheticized environments without the *"notion of a local or individual culture, or of the specific interests and requirements of particular groups"* (2013, p. 168). Thus, the top-down expert view of planners and architects who are building the new neighbourhood, are mainstreaming local values with in turn leads to the negative effect of gentrification for the existing *Neighbourhood Community*.

Karacor defines *Place-making* as a physical environment improvement, which enhances social inclusion. In order to create a social sustainability approach, participatory processes are needed where legal regulations are protecting the weak groups to avoid community segregation, social inequity and gentrification processes. Karacor argues that physical *Place-making* combined with participation processes that takes local needs on a human scale into account, can enhance the quality of life and identity building (2014).

Moulaert, Dyck, et al. are in search for the empirical categories and right methodology for the assessment of spatial quality. His conducted literature review states that all approaches define the quality of spaces with physical and social aspects. In addition, the end outcome and the process have to be taken into account with the awareness that spatial qualities can change over time (2011, p. 8).

In addition, the authors emphasize the importance of an integrated approach to spatial quality assessment and that different dimensions and a holistic perspective of sustainability of space, social, economic and environment aspects, is needed. By developing a framework for assessment of spatial qualities, Moulaert, Dyck, et al. proposes a way to identify spatial features in the context of the specific neighbourhood, and to evaluate how these features improve the quality of space for the users. Thereby it can be asked to what extent the opportunities of the specificity of the environment were used to improve space qualities (2013).

A solely expert view has thereby to be avoided, and the need for the end users has to be taken into account. This can be achieved by the improvement of the relations *"between space(s) and its (their) users of their spatial praxis."* (Moulaert, Dyck, et al., 2013, p. 404).

2.5 Conceptual Framework

In this section, the conceptual framework is presented and shows the linkage between the two chosen concepts, *Self-Organization* and *Place-making*, discussed in Chapter 2.

– Definition Self-organization concept: Collaborative Governance – Collaborative interactions between the Formal Side and the Creative Initiative in the starting and evolution phase

The concept of *Self-Organization* is used to explore the interaction patterns of two community-based initiatives in two different cities. Two interaction points in the process of *Self-organization* are chosen in order to understand how certain interaction patterns emerge at specific times.

#1 interaction point:

Self-organized initiatives should be independent of control from the government side in the starting phase. The initiatives have to emerge solely from community-based networks in order to be able to cover the needs of the community and its diversity, the nature of the complex society and uncertainties. In other words, non-predefined relations without external incentives from the *Formal Side* are necessary at the beginning of self-organized processes. In the starting phase, the community-based actors are in a leading and decisive position, in opposition to the formalized structures.

#2 interaction point:

In the evolution phase, the collaborative interaction patterns are analysed under the open and flexible aspects of boundary spanning activities and the mutual change of roles in the process. All authors previously discussed agree on the role of government as resource provider and democracy safeguard. Thereby the accessibility to formal resources is important for the circular balanced process.

Therefore in this study the concept of *Self-organization* is understood as collaborative interaction patterns solely emerging from community-based initiatives independent from formal structures in the starting phase and open to flexible changes in the evolution phase. (Boelens and Boonstra, 2011, Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012, Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012, Portugali, 2012, Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014). The process of *Self-organization* is defined as *Collaborative Governance* between the flexible bottom-up and stable and formal top-down actors.

– Definition Place-making concept: Community Building between the Creative Initiative and the Neighbourhood Community – Improvement of Place Quality and advanced sense of Identity within a changing urban environment

According to Healey, the quality of life can be achieved by spatial changes through *"promoting, managing and regulating 'place making'"* (1998, p. 1). The quality of life for urban residents is thereby connected to a personal and subjective perception of a place. Next to the spatial quality of the place the sense of belonging and attachment to a place is argued to be significant.

Therefore in this study the concept of *Place-making* is understood as an outcome of *Community Building* within a continuous changing urban environment influenced by community-based *Creative Initiatives* as end-users. Two dimensions defining the outcome of *Place-making* are chosen in order to understand the importance of spatial

quality in a changing urban environment: 1. Identity Building, 2. Place Quality (Jacobs, 1961, Healey, 1998, Healey, 2010, Moulaert, Schreurs, et al., 2011, Boelens and Boonstra, 2011, Comunian, 2011, Madureira, 2013, Karacor, 2014). Thereby the improvement of the physical environment has an influence to the sense of belonging and the other way around. The definition of the concept of *Place-making* here builds on Comunian's approach of analysing artists networks in relation to their environment.

Linking Self-organization and Place-making concepts

The independent and open nature of the community-based initiative in the place-making process is analysed with the concept of *Self-organization in order to determine* to which degree the collaboration between the both sides could emerge to a new status of *Collaborative Governance*. In a next step it is analysed how the concept of *Self-organization* is impacting *Place-making* activities in terms of *Community Building* by assessing the social and physical outcome of the projects.

One important aspect of the concept of *Place-making* is, as the word implies, that the *making* is part of the process of collective interactions between actors and space. In the social outcome the involvement of the *Neighbourhood Community* is reviewed and compared with the shared use and meaning of a place as end-users of the urban environment.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework
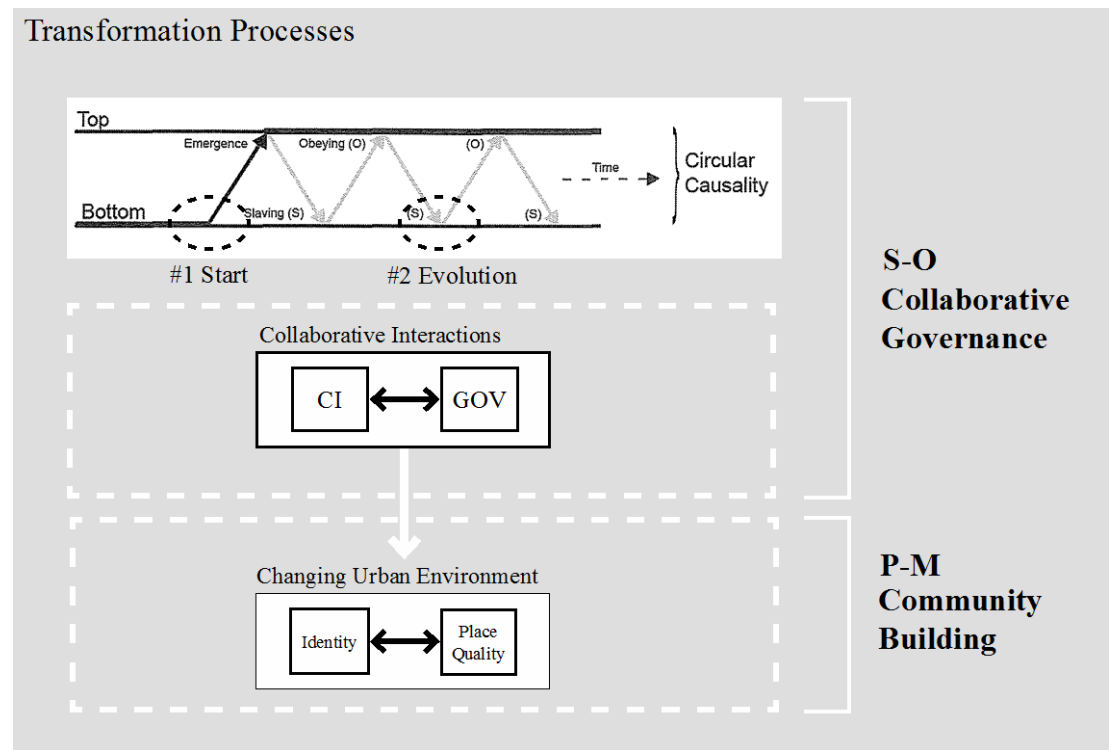
CI = Creative Initiative, GOV = Formal Side, S-O = Self-organization, P-M = Place-making

(Adjusted from: Portugali, 2012)

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

This chapter describes the research operationalization, strategy and methodology that were conducted for this study to answer the research question. The theoretical concepts of the literature review are first unbundled into sub-concepts, variables and measurable indicators. The right research strategy in combination with the data collection method was chosen and the main limitations and challenges discussed.

3.1 Research Question

This research includes an exploratory part that looks into the interaction patterns of two actor groups and as a descriptive part that describes the outcome of *Place-making* activities.

The main research question this study would like to answer is:

> How do self-organized **interactions** of the *Creative Initiatives* impact **Place-making** activities in the transformation processes of deprived neighbourhoods?

Three research sub-questions are used to guide the study and focus its scope. Following guiding questions are defined as follow:

1. What are the main conditions for *Creative Initiatives* in the transformation processes of deprived neighbourhoods?

First, the study wants to understand why the *Creative Class* is attracted to the two selected neighbourhoods in order to get knowledge about the relationship between the urban environment and the actors living.

2. What are the self-organized interaction patterns?

The collaborative interactions between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Formal Side* are examined in the beginning and the evolution phase in order to understand the self-organized nature of the two selected initiatives and if a new form of *Collaborative Governance* could be established.

3. What is the outcome of **Place-making** activities?

The *Place-making* activities of the two selected initiatives will be assessed under physical and social aspects of the projects outcome to identify the degree of *Community Building* between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Neighbourhood Community*.

3.2 Operationalization: Variables, Indicators

The theoretical concepts described in Chapter 2 are transformed into analytical components. The main concepts are unbundled first into sub-concepts and then defined into variables described with measurable indicators.

The following table collects a summary of the concept of *Self-organization* as discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 1: Definitions of Self-organization

Author	Self-organization
(Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012)	• the success of self-organized initiatives can be achieved by the change of formal and stable government structures, market and society • balanced process as *bounded instability at the edge of chaos*, where stable and unstable conditions are in a continues exchange and the right mix leads thereby to a system of evolving ideas and knowledge which emerges to a new advanced status and creates something new and innovative
(Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014)	Balanced process of self-organization is guaranteeing the accessibility to formal resources, for instance finance, knowledge, contacts, legal and budgetary
(Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014)	• "mutual adjustment of behavior resulting in the emergence of ordered structures". (Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014, p. 2) • definition as self-governance concept
(Portugali, 2012)	Evolving interaction patterns and interdependencies between the formal and stable top-down and flexible, creative bottom-up actors in urban development processes
(Comunian, 2011)	Social interactions as non-linear feedback rounds, valuable emergence out of dynamic interactions
(Hamdi, 2004)	Constant collaborative actions between the emergent structures and the formal designed structures become "a natural part of the effort at social reconstruction", the bottom-up community based structures provide novelty, creativity and flexibility and the top-down government-led structures create the necessary stability
(Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012)	• collective activities as "essentially self-organised • hybrids where citizens lead and collaborate with public authorities and formalized structures • *Self-organization* can be understood as a form of collaborative governance • lead by physical and social conditions, which let them get active in the urban environment • self-motivated without government encouragement or direct top-down assignment
(Boelens and Boonstra, 2011)	• new form of participation has to be free of government control • non-predefined relations from the $Formal\ Side$ are necessary at the beginning of self-organized processes • motivation of citizens for *Self-Organization* as end-users who want to benefit from the improved physical outcome in the context of spatial development
(Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012, p. 397),	• collective activities as "essentially self-organised" predominated by citizen decision and leadership

The following table identifies the indicators for the main variables for the concept of *Self-organization*. Thereby the concept of *Self-organization* is conceptualised as collaborative interaction patterns solely emerging between community-based initiatives independent from formal structures in the starting phase and open to flexible changes in the evolution phase. The study will look into the interactions between the two actor groups, *Creative Initiative* and *Formal Side*, and tries to understand these interaction patterns in terms of the self-organized nature of them.

Table 2: Operationalization of the Process of Self-organization

(Boelens and Boonstra, 2011, Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012, Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012, Portugali, 2012, Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014)

Sub-concept	Sub-concept in Phases	Variables	Indicators	Data Collection Method	Source
Collaborative interactions between Creative Initiative and Formal *Side*	**Independent starting phase** Q: How independent was the citizen initiative from formal structures in the starting phase?	Formal incentive	• Necessarity of formal trigger event, outside threat or financial incentive	• Qualitative Data: Interview Secondary Data: Websites, newspaper, scientific articles	• *Creative Initiative*, *Neighbourhood Community*, *Formal Side*, other researchers
		Citizen decision and leadership	Key persons internal in the initiative (*Creative Initiative* as initiator) Level and frequency of formal involvement, formal resources (Main partners outside the initiative)	• Qualitative Data: Interview	• *Creative Initiative*, *Neighbourhood Community*, *Formal Side*, other researchers
	Open evolution phase Q: How flexible and open was the citizen initiative in the process of the last years during the development of projects?	Boundary spanning	• Existense of key persons and partners who are linking resources (Frequency of exchange and accessibility of ideas, information and formal resources from different stakeholders) • Change of legal framework	• Qualitative Data: Interview • Secondary Data: Websites, newspaper, scientific articles	• *Creative Initiative*, *Neighbourhood Community*, *Formal Side*, other researchers
		Mutual adaptation of actor roles	• Change of tradidional role	• Qualitative Data: Interview	• *Creative Initiative*, *Neighbourhood Community*, *Formal Side*, other researchers

The following table collects a summary of the concepts of *Place-making* as discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 3: Definitions of the outcome of Place-making

Author	Place-making
(Healey, 2010)	*Place-making* is an approach with multiplicity of stakeholders and their own interest have to be integrated in a collective process.
(Healey, 1998, p. 5)	*"It is a complex task of collective social construction, often over a long time period, to create an enduring and widely-shared meaning of place."*
(Healey, 1998)	…the promotion of quality of places itself enhance a more sustainable – meaning an economic, environmental, social and cultural development of neighbourhoods.
(Jacobs, 1961)	• …citizen have a sense of belonging to their neighbourhood and therefore cannot avoid having a subjective instead of a generalized point of view of their environment. • The *Neighbourhood Community* can therefore play the complementary role of urban planners, knitting new urban forms in the neighbourhood environment from bottom-up.
(Boelens and Boonstra, 2011)	…citizens getting active in the urban environment as end-users who want to benefit from the improved physical outcome in the context of spatial development…
(Comunian, 2011)	• …the key to understand the development of *Creative Cities* is the analysis of the relationship between the community and the soft and hard infrastructure of local assets and space. • She defines the artists as agents co-evolving within a changing urban environment.
(Healey, 2010, p. 33)	"deeply social and political concepts and activities, in which meanings and values are created in interaction with lived experiences"
(Healey, 2010)	• Thereby the physical context cannot be separated from the social meaning of the place. • …the aim of contemporary planning is to increase an inclusive process for *human flourishing* in places in order to secure basic needs and an awareness of diverse values of different groups in cities.
(Healey, 2010, p. 32)	…where it is considered "what is broadly shared and where deep conflicts lie."
(Madureira, 2013)	The change of the urban environment is named as one of the main factors to improve social and economic conditions in cities.
(Madureira, 2013, p. 168)	"notion of a local or individual culture, or of the specific interests and requirements of particular groups"
(Karacor, 2014)	• …physical environment improvement, which enhances social inclusion. • Physical *Place-making* together with participation processes that takes local needs on a human scale into account can enhance quality of life and identity building.
(Moulaert, Schreurs, et al., 2011)	• …all approaches define the quality of spaces with physical and social aspects. • …the end outcome and the process itself have to be taken into account • A solely expert view has thereby to be avoided and the need of the end users has to be taken into account.
(Moulaert, Dyck, et al., 2013, p. 404)	…improvement of the relations "between space(s) and its (their) users of their spatial praxis."
(Moulaert, Dyck, et al., 2013, p. 404)	…identification of spatial features in context of the specific neighbourhood and how they change into a better quality of space for the users.

The following table identifies the indicators for the main variables for the concept of *Place-making*. Thereby the concept of *Place-making* is conceptualised as the outcome of *Community Building* within a continuous changing urban environment influenced by community-based *Creative Initiatives* as end-users. By assessing the outcome of *Place-making* on a social and physical dimension, identity building and place quality, the improvement of relations of the community and their place can be measured.

Table 4: Operationalization of the Outcome of Place-making

(Jacobs, 1961, Healey, 1998, Healey, 2010, Moulaert, Schreurs, et al., 2011, Boelens and Boonstra, 2011, Comunian, 2011, Madureira, 2013, Karacor, 2014)

Sub-concept	Sub-concept on Social and Physical Dimension	Variables	Indicators	Data Collection Method	Source
Community Building in a Changing Urban Environment	**Place Quality** Q: Are the place-making projects contributing to an improved change of the neighbourhood environment?	Transformation of neighborhood	• Qualitatively change of use of space	• Qualitative Data: Interview, spatial observation	• *Creative Initiative, Neighbourhood Community, Formal Side,* other researchers
	Identity Q: Are the place-making projects contributing to an advanced sense of identity for the neighborhood community?	Sense of belonging	• Ownership of space • Coverage of basic human needs	• Qualitative Data: Interview	• *Creative Initiative, Neighbourhood Community, Formal Side,* other researchers
		Shared meaning of a place	• Multiplicity of users • Awareness of diverse values of different groups	• Qualitative Data: Interview	• *Creative Initiative, Neighbourhood Community, Formal Side,* other researchers
		Involvement *Neighbourhood Community*	• Patterns of involvment of *Neighbourhood Community* – Invited consumer – Indirect consumer – Object	• Qualitative Data: Interview	*Creative Initiative, Neighbourhood Community, Formal Side,* other researchers

3.3   Research Strategy

Choice of the research strategy: Case study

This thesis constitutes a *case study* design, as the activities of *Creative Initiatives* in deprived neighbourhoods cannot be analysed in isolation from the specific context in which they interact. In addition, it is argued that when in-depth research is needed the *case study* approach is the most appropriate strategy to conduct the research. The strategy is especially suitable for studying contemporary events that the researcher has no control over (Yin, 2003). For this thesis, these two circumstances are relevant.

Due to the relative newness and undefined character of the concepts this research is an *explorative* one looking at the main conditions of self-organized and activities in the context of self-organizing processes and *Place-making* activities as contemporary phenomenon in urban environments. This research aims to add new knowledge and gain more understanding of the emergence of this phenomenon of the existing theory.

The *multiple holistic* case study design is adopted for this thesis. A comparative case study is chosen to enhance the possibility of direct replication and the external validity to be able to expand the theory to a higher degree.

The researcher is aware of the limitations of the comparison approach. The two selected neighbourhoods are influenced by a complexity of external factors, for instance, the different development status of the two cities. In addition, the researcher acknowledges the differences between the selected initiatives, which can influence the outcome of the findings. However, by comparing Berlin and Rotterdam the researcher expects interesting insights in the differences or similarities of the two cities, which can support findings of the explored conditions. Furthermore, Yin is arguing that the analytical benefit from a two case study in comparison to a single case study is significant (2003).

Introduction to the Case Studies

The two cases as units of analysis, selected as examples for frequently observed phenomena, are two neighbourhoods in Berlin and Rotterdam that are both challenged with economic and social disadvantages which are feasible in the spatial appearance and lack of public amenities and services in the areas. Further data to the two selected neighbourhoods is presented in section 4.1. Both neighbourhoods consist of a high proportion of artists and creative people who take use of available vacant spaces.

Both neighbourhoods were selected based on secondary data information after two following criteria:

1. Neighbourhoods with special development needs
2. A concentration of artists living in the area
3. The neighbourhoods are not officially labeled as gentrified (Gude, 2011)

The two selected initiatives are chosen by these main characteristics:

1. Initially self-organised by visual and performing artists, not appointed by *Formal Side*
2. Non-profit oriented
3. Engaged with projects in the neighbourhood they live in
4. Tolerant structure and social objectives for the *Neighbourhood Community*
5. Founding members live and work in the neighbourhood with an inside view
6. On-going activities in the neighbourhood over a longer period

Two *similar* cases are chosen since the conditions and factors influencing the outcome of the cases are not identified fully and the variables influencing the outcome of the phenomenon are not known. By choosing this research strategy, it is expected to discover common patterns or potential trends, taking into account different contextual settings, that improve the findings validity (Yin, 2003).

Construct Validity

Limitations and challenges

The broad concepts *Self-organization* and *Place-making* are stated to be fuzzy and ambiguous and do not allow a clear objective and one-dimensional definition.

Potential solutions

In order to capture the fuzziness of the studied concepts, precisely measurable variables and indicators are needed for the operationalization. In addition triangulation of resources including previous research is used as evidence to enhance the validity of measurable indicators.

Internal Validity

Limitations and challenges

The researcher is aware of possible external factors and influences that can play a role in exploring the relationship and interactions between the actor groups. Furthermore, it has to be taken into account that the nature of a qualitative research approach can lead to a subjective research result.

Potential solutions

The comparative case study approach is enabling to a certain degree *pattern matching* in order to connect the collected data to existing theory and research. Furthermore, this thesis will acknowledge that external factors are influencing the interaction patterns and outcomes between the studied actors.

External Validity

Limitations and challenges

Critics state one of the main weaknesses of the case study approach is the inability to generalize the findings (Yin, 2003). Although, two cases are being compared, the study is limited in conducting a generalization of the findings or applying them to other cases. The case study approach is used here to get a detailed understanding of a specific situation of the factors influencing the interactions of community-based self-organization processes. The result of the research will thereby only apply to the specific context of Rotterdam and Berlin, and, therefore, the external validity is limited (Thiel, 2014). Only by replicating the findings to other cases a possible generalization can be identified.

Potential solutions, theory-informed case study

In order to deal with the limitation of generalizing the result of this research, adequate theoretical frameworks are being used to make the research analytical generalizable.

Reliability

Limitations and challenges

In order to follow the steps of the research, a precise operation and documentation of the steps conducted is necessary. In the case study strategy the risk of selectivity in relation to the specific context and phenomenon being studied is especially high (Thiel, 2014). Thereby it has to be certified that every step in the research is comprehensible understood, and the same findings should be able to result at the end.

Potential solutions

In order to minimize potential errors and biases, this research attempts to document the operation as transparent as possible in a case study protocol. By providing the necessary documentation, gaps in the overall design of the research can be avoided. The research seeks to lay out a standardized design in a systematic way to be able to steer the findings in a controlled way.

Time limitations

The researcher is aware of the limited time frame given in this research and that the chosen strategy demands a time consuming investigation. However, an in-depth insight of the selected cases and the potential emergence of comparable findings with the background of the *Creative City* concept of Berlin and Rotterdam let the decision to conduct the comparative research manifest.

Conclusion

In this research resource from secondary data, other previous research conducted with the use of the same case studies, interviews and spatial observation will provide and improve the validity of the chosen research design. Despite the limitation of the external validity, a high internal validity through triangulation will, therefore, be adopted.

3.4   Data Collection Methods

Qualitative data collection

For the case study strategy, two data collection methods were chosen in order to conduct and meet the explorative nature of the research question: qualitative and secondary data collection. The following section describes how the selected methods fit the research question and operationalization of this study. An overview of the appropriate selection of the main sources of information will be given.

Qualitative data

The qualitative method is thereby the key getting more in-depth knowledge about the collaborative interaction patterns between the *Creative Initiative*s and the *Neighbourhood Community* in a specific context. In addition, qualitative data is used to understand the complexity of collaborative interactions and the urban environment. (Thiel, 2014, p. 139). A systematic approach for the qualitative data collection is adopted in order to make the evidence collected reliable and valid (Thiel, 2014, p. 138).

Semi-structured interviews

The main sources of information are representatives actively involved in the two selected initiatives per city from the creative and community group by conducting semi-structured interviews. The selected type of interview is argued to be the adequate method when limited knowledge about the phenomenon is known, and new insight knowledge wants to be collected from the informants about certain interaction patterns between actors.

The indicators used in the operationalization are demanding open-ended questions, which allow the respondents to answer with their personal opinions and perceptions in order to collect new knowledge about certain phenomena. In addition, closed questions are used to back-up already accessed information. A numerical response is not needed. Open-ended questions are used complementary to the structured question guideline in order to be able to react spontaneously to new insights given and ask supplementary questions to get a more detailed understanding of previous answers (Thiel, 2014, p. 93).

Interviews are time consuming, but because of the explorative nature of this research it is an adequate instrument to find the right information. Therefore, this research will concentrate on semi-structured interviews as the main source of information and takes the limited amount of interviews in the timeframe given into account without a general representation aim.

Reliability and Validity

The informants will be interviewed separately and, therefore, the different perceptions of the stakeholders will support a multi-perspective view of the information. In addition interviews with the municipality and other researchers will be conducted to triangulate the data information.

Secondary data collection

The secondary data collection supports the qualitative source information with an outside perspective of persons and not being actively part of the initiative and therefore enhances the internal validity of the results. Secondary data sources used in this research are newspaper articles, web pages, neighbourhood management reports, cultural development policies and interviews with the municipality, and other researchers are used triangulating the qualitative data collection. Secondary data from key participants can be collected parallel to the qualitative data collection.

Way of sampling

The sample used in this study does not aim to be representative for the creative network population or to find generalizable conclusions for interaction patterns between creative people and the neighbourhood they live in. It can only be representative of the creative class living in the context of the two selected neighbourhoods. The importance of the findings lies in the in-depth understanding of the selected case studies by conducting interviews with key stakeholders from two social groups, the *Creative Initiatives* and *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Formal Side* (Thiel, 2014, p. 96).

Therefore, a purposive sampling of key stakeholders is conducted to select the informants with the most relevant knowledge for the study from each group. Thereby the two different groups with different knowledge are targeted for the semi-structured interviews. The researcher is aware of the limitations to guarantee that an overall information provision is covered.

Due to time constraints the scope of the research is limited to two initiatives instead and a short selection of studied projects. Therefore, the initiatives per city are selected by similar characteristics. The comparative study enhances, although not aiming to be representative, the findings of the two cases.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the main findings based on the analysis of data collected by semi-structured interviews and secondary documents.

Structuring analysis

Descriptive Part

First a geographical overview of the two neighbourhoods and the description of the main characteristics of the initiatives are given. In Rotterdam two strongly linked initiatives will be reviewed together.

Furthermore, a chronological narrative of the process of artists moving into the two neighbourhoods and the key aspects in this process are described, focusing on the affect the artists and *Creative Initiatives* have on the transformation of the neighbourhood. Thereby the information given by the interviewees and secondary data is used.

Analysis Part

The analysis is structured by the concepts of *Self-organization* and *Place-making* and collects the main findings in relation to the variables of the concepts. In the concept of *Self-organization* the interaction patterns between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Formal Side* is analysed under aspect of *Collaborative Governance*, in the concept of *Place-making* an assessment of *Community Building* by social and physical aspects will be conducted.

Case comparison

For each concept the findings will be compared and discussed in to identify differences and similarities between the cases. The variables and indicators defined in Chapter 3 will be used to identify key aspects of the self-organised nature of the initiatives and advanced sense of *Community Building* by *Place-making* activities.

4.1 Description of cases – Context

4.1.1 Geographical overview and background information
Neighbourhood background information

Defining the border of the neighbourhood in Berlin was more difficult than expected. In Rotterdam the concentration of artists in the neighbourhood of Oud-Charlois was clear to identify and the scope of the *Creative Initiative* and their interventions were limited to a smaller scale. In Berlin the locations where artists and initiatives are located are more wide spread, mostly in the area of North Neukölln, clear borders and the scope of the *Creative Initiative* and its interventions created a challenge for the research strategy. Therefore the scope for the research in Berlin is not clearly concentrated on the area of the Schillerpromenade but partly also to the areas of North Neukölln. In the case of Rotterdam a more concentrated research area could be defined.

4.1.2 Oud-Charlois
Oud-Charlois is one of ten neighbourhoods in the district of Charlois, located in the South of Rotterdam close to the Maas Tunnel. In 2014, 13.094 people are living in Oud-Charlois of which approximately 200 are artists. From the municipality side it is

stated that the area is known in Rotterdam for its artistic activities (Municipality: senior beleidsmedewerker)

Oud-Charlois is a young and multi-cultural neighbourhood. In 2014, 46,9% people with a foreign migration background and 30% with an age below 24 years were living in the area (van Harskamp, 2014, Gemeente Rotterdam).

Oud-Charlois has an image as a disadvantaged former working class neighbourhood with a low-income level and a high unemployment rate(Gemeente Rotterdam). As one interview partner describes the neighbourhood as following:

> *"I think in general, you could say, that people who live here, live here because they can not live somewhere else… Poorness is not too much in the building, it is more in the behaviour of people. The large unemployment, a lot of immigrants, on the bottom of the social structure, a lot of huge schools, with I think in Rotterdam 70 % does low education and 60% of these people never graduate. And at the same time it is the youngest population of the Netherlands." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

The social housing cooperations play an important role in the development of the neighbourhood. 39% of the buildings in Oud-Charlois are owned by the two housing cooperations Woonstad and Vestia, 25% respectively 14%. 61% of the buildings belong to public and private owners (van Oosterhout).

Another main characteristic of the neighbourhood is the historical centre from the mid-fifteenth century of the district Charlois. The Kerksingel with the surrounding buildings are a main feature of the neighbourhood. The working class town houses from the beginning of the 20th century dominate the rest of the neighbourhood.

In the official municipality document *Gebiedsplan Charlois*, Oud-Charlois is recognised as an attractive area for starters and artists and seen as an economic drive for the area (van Harskamp, 2014).

In order to campaign and improve the image of the neighbourhood the sub-municipality *Deelgemeente Charlois* introduced the art district *Kunstenzone.* According to the municipality the *Kunstenzone* is regarded as a success in branding the neighbourhood positively in Rotterdam (Municipality: senior beleidsmedewerker). Zebracki and Smulders are referring to the *Kunstenzone* as part of the urban regeneration project in Oud-Charlois led by artists and cultural activities, which are supposed to attract more visitors to the area (2012).

According to the plans of the municipality Oud-Charlois is supposed to be gentrified in 2030. The attempt to achieve gentrification in this area is to collaborate together with the housing cooperation and the artists. One interview partner states that an active involvement of the municipality and the housing cooperation is needed for the further improvement of the neighbourhood. From the three neighbourhoods Carnisse, Tarwewjik and Oud-Charlois, the latter has the highest potential being gentrified. (Municipality: Project manager).

> *„The sort of projects that we are doing, have been around for years. We are trying to speed up gentrification by doing smaller projects. If we receive money, a substantial amount of money, then we might be able to work on projects of a larger scale. However, at the moment there are many small*

projects that once combined create a large gentrification." (Municipality: Project manager)[3]

The official strategy from the municipality for this area is a bottom-up approach and based on the engagement and investment of citizen initiatives. The municipality is currently not investing with a cultural budget in the area. One of the stated goals is to attract private investment from outside.

4.1.3 Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln

The neighbourhood is located in the South of Berlin next to the area of the former airport Tempelhof inside the S-Bahn circle and is one of eight *Quartiersmanagement* areas in the district of North Neukölln since 1999. The *Quartiersmanagement* plays an important role in the development of the area. It is a private neighbourhood management organization initiated by the municipality to support areas with special development needs. In 2014 the area had a population of 22.691 people.

The socio-economic structure of the Schillerpromenade is disadvantaged. The level of income is 20% lower than city average. In 2012, 49% of the residents with a migration background were living in the area (Quartiersbüro Schillerpromenade). As one research participant describes the neighbourhood:

„Neukölln has got a slightly dark and strange atmosphere. After all, this used to be a district where many poor people used to live - a district for the working class and many foreigners. This is reflected in the architecture, which you can't change a great deal. Back in the days poverty and the need to deal with all of this created this atmosphere. It was all about making-do with what you have got and enjoying life's little pleasures." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)[4]

One main characteristic of the area is the typical Berlin apartment block structure from the time period of 1910-1930.

Furthermore, the *Tempelhofer Feld* opened in 2010 is attracting local and international tourists. According to the *Quartiersmanagement* the socio-economic structure of the residents has not been affected by the opening of the space. However, more shops, restaurants and cafes are now located on the way to the field.

In the recent years an increased amount of artists and students are moving into the neighbourhood (Gude, 2011). These displays are transformation of the spatial

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[3] *"Die Projekte die wir machen, die gibt es schon viele Jahre. Wir probieren Gentrification schneller voran zutreiben, mit kleinen Projekten. Wenn da Geld von außen kommt, viel Geld, dann würden das vielleicht etwas größere Projekte sein, aber so wie wir das jetzt sehen sind das eher die kleinen Projekte, die das zusammen zu einer großen Gentrification machen." (Municipality: Project manager)*

[4] *"Damals war das hier ein arme Leute, Arbeiter Viertel, viele Ausländer. Neukölln ist ein bißchen dunkel. Ganz spezielle Atmosphäre. Die Architektur kann man jetzt nicht großartig verändern. Damals war die Atmosphäre getragen von der Not und Armut und sich darin zurecht finden können. Leben auf kleiner Flamme, mit kleinen Freuden."(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

environment and offers of urban amenities in the neighbourhood. A recently conducted research stresses that a gentrification process is not taking place yet in the area. Most interview partners from the public authorities support a *"little gentrification"* in order to release the ghetto building and establish a divers social structure in the area.

The *Quartiersmanagement* is planned to be active in the Schillerpromenade until 2020. Until then, one of the stated goals is to facilitate self-organization and to shift more responsibilities to the residents and local actors in the neighbourhood (Quartiersbüro Schillerpromenade).

4.2 Narrative – Process of artists moving into the neighbourhood

This section describes the process of artists moving into the two selected neighbourhoods. Thereby the focus of the narrative lies on the influence of the *Creative Initiatives* in the transformation processes of deprived neighbourhoods. The narrative is based on the information given by the main informants from the actor groups *Creative Initiative*, *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Formal Side* and secondary data.

4.2.1 Oud-Charlois

Local amateur artists

Before 1991, only local amateur artists were living in Oud-Charlois. One gallery space was located next to the historical centre in a former school building.

1991-2001

Spacemaking – Professional artists moving into the neighbourhood

In 1991, twelve first year spatial art students were looking for a place to work because their academy did not provide sufficient working spaces for all the students. After looking for affordable places in the North of the city they decided to squat an old school building in the South of Rotterdam in Oud-Charlois to be able to do their projects independently. They established the Foundation B.a.d. to facilitate squatting of commercial space. Through their residency program new artists were coming to the area and more space for them to live was needed. One artist of B.a.d. noted that the foundation was established by artists as end-users with a direct interest of an improved urban environment (*Creative Initiative*: board member, a).

Rotterdam is cultural capital of Europe

In 2001, Rotterdam was the cultural capital of Europe together with Porto. In this context one of the artists of the Foundation B.a.d. was invited to participate and to organize an art route in the Zuiderpark to create a connection between the surrounding areas. Instead, he decided to concentrate the art route in the area of Wolphaertstraat in Oud-Charlois and collaborated together with the local gallery and artists in the neighbourhood.

2002-2006

Street Plinths – Empty ground floor shops in Wolphaertstraat

At the same time the housing cooperation Woonstad were planning to demolish or renovate 45 empty houses in the Wolphaertstraat, which were in a bad condition and unattractive living area. The owner of the gallery space knew about the circumstances and connected the housing cooperation with the artists from the Foundation B.a.d.

The artist of the foundation had the idea to use the empty shop spaces as an exhibition space for an *Open Atelier Route* and made a proposal to the housing cooperation. At the same time the empty houses were squatted by artists from the residency program of the Foundation B.a.d. The foundation started to invite artists as guests living in their studio complex and more living space was soon needed.

In 2004, in order to legalize the agreement between the housing cooperation and the artists, the Foundation NAC *New Ateliers Charlois* was established with three board members as the head of the organization.

The negotiation of the contract between the initiative and the housing cooperation took a period of 2 years and in 2006 the housing agreement could be finalised. Thereby the housing cooperation agreed to renovate the outside of the houses and the initiative took over the responsibilities for the renovation and maintenance of the inside for the next 10 years. In exchange the artist can live in the houses for free. According to a member, the Foundation NAC represents the bigger idea beyond the direct interest of end-users and wants to contribute to the social and public processes of the neighbourhood.

2006-2016

International residency program

Since the establishment of both initiatives B.a.d. and NAC, international guests were coming and living in the neighbourhood and several activities, events and projects in social and urban processes were developed. One member of the NAC initiative noted:

> *"And that is why Rotterdam has an international art community at all. Without NAC there would not be any international art community at all."* *(Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

With a special agreement between the initiative, the housing cooperation and the municipality, it was enabled that international artists can move into the neighbourhood without fulfilling the Rotterdam housing regulations for the South, which demands a Dutch passport and a salary of 120% of the minimum income.

Consolidation of housing agreement to another level

According to the housing cooperation the collaboration between the actors was calming down in the recent years. Currently the municipality and the housing cooperation are trying to establish a creative area and to concentrate artists in 3 streets in the neighbourhood of Oud-Charlois. The activation of the ground floor level is the main goal to establish a diversity of the use of the spaces.

A special agreement is set up to facilitate that artists will rent the space and use it as a studio. The artists can not pay the standard commercial rent prices. The NAC foundation was contacted to collect information how much the artists would be willing to pay. If there is a new space available the housing cooperation is sending the offer to the NAC Foundation and they make the selection for potential renters, which have to be in the formal criteria of the housing cooperation. NAC Foundation works thereby as the connection between new tenants and the housing cooperation.

2017

Flagship Projects – Investment from outside

Until 2017 the *Speelstad* project in a former waste building complex is planned to be finished on the waterfront of Charlois. It is expected to give the area of Oud-Charlois an economic drive.

4.2.2 Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln

Spacemaking – International known artists moving in

Before 1989 the first artists moving into the area of North Neukölln were international known visual artists who were active on the world market and used abandoned and affordable former industrial spaces available in the area to live and work.

The artists were not organised in a group and had no interest in each other or in the neighbourhood. They wanted to live unrecognised and anonym in North Neukölln. At that time they were not visible or active in the area. Their main motivation was to come to Berlin, not to the neighbourhood itself. As one research participants notes:

> „*The artist ended up in Neukölln more or less by chance. They didn't have much money and they were drawn to Neukölln, because there were cheap, empty studios and flats available.*" *(Municipality: director cultural department)*[5]

> "*It's not very noticeable. Most of these studios and flats are in the back-buildings.*" *(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*[6]

At the end of the 1970ies cultural infrastructure in the neighbourhood did not exist in the neighbourhood. In 1981 Dorothea Kolland became the head of the cultural department of Neukölln. She started actively to identify the potential of art and culture in the neighbourhood. Her aim was to establish a cultural landscape with art institutions and to include local artists in the activities. All the interview partners state her as a main figure in the development of the neighbourhood in context of art and culture. One main goal was to establish a strong network of art in Neukölln.

1989-1999

Street Plinths – Empty ground floor shops in North Neukölln

With the beginning of the 90ies the commercial and industry sector moved from the inner neighbourhoods to the outskirts of the city. The economic infrastructure in North Neukölln disappeared and a lot of shops on the ground floor level were left empty. A return of the commercial users was not expected.

Trigger Event – Threatening event from the outside

In 1997, an article was published in the magazine *The Spiegel* about the difficult conditions and deprived circumstances in North Neukölln (Wensierski, 1997). As a reaction to the bad image of the neighbourhood described in the article, citizens and artists got active and established various festivals and activities in the district to demonstrate that there is creative potential in the area. They wanted to make existing art and culture activities more visible and present in the urban environment. *48h*

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[5] "*Die waren mehr oder weniger zufällig in Neukölln gelandet. Da war eine Etage frei wo man arbeiten konnte oder eine Wohnung oder sonst was, Neukölln war billig, Künstler waren arm, es hat sich mehr zufällig ergeben.*"*(Municipality: director cultural department)*

[6] "*Das kriegt man hier nicht so mit. Die haben ihre Ateliers und Wohnungen in den Hinterhöfen*" (Creative Initiative*: board member, b)*

Neukölln and *Nacht und Nebel* are the two main festivals, which developed at that time as a strategy to improve the image of the neighbourhood.

> „*Nowadays, they want to intervene and do something about the bad, chavy I'm-wearing-sweatpants-whilst-walking-my-Rottweiler reputation they've got. There was this famous article in the Spiegel magazine, which declared Neukölln was Berlin's Bronx. Sure, some elements of this might be true, but the writer of this article just didn't get it - didn't understand Neukölln's Culture and character. The artists aren't scream out loud. Things here go about in a much calmer and laid back way.*" (Municipality: director cultural department)[7]

New artists moving into the neighbourhood

In 1999 the *Social City* program from the senate level started and the first *Quartiersmanagemen*t area in the Reuterkiez was established. The team of the *Quartiersmanagement* office was open for culture and art and interested in working together with artists in the neighbourhood. The first gallery spaces opened in collaboration with local artists and cultural activities connected with social programs started to get visible in the neighbourhood.

2000-2009

Schillerpalais e.V.

In the context of making art more visible in the neighbourhood, a citizen group of artists and local residents established in 2001 an event every second week called *Schillernde Donnerstage*, Shimmering Thursdays at different locations in the neighbourhood in order to improve the image of the area and to show and demonstrate the art and culture of the neighbourhood and make it visible to the public. One of the events was the still existing festival *Nacht und Nebel,* Under Cover of Darkness:

> "*Write that Neukölln is on the way up!*" *one of the visitors told a journalist who had come to report on Under Cover of Darkness, a part of the cultural event Schillernde Donnerstage (Shimmering Thursdays). There can be no better illustration of how the fortnightly event has helped to improve the image of the quarter among the local residents.*" (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Bereich Kommunikation, 2004)*

Out of this series of events the foundation Schillerpalais e.V. was established in 2002. The already organised citizen group *Kulturinitiative im Kiez (KiK)* together with the *Förderband e.V.,* an organisation which supports artists finding the right funding for their art projects, thereby applied for funding at the *Quartiersmanagement*

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[7] „*Sie wollen jetzt mitmachen, sie wollen intervenieren. Nicht auf sich sitzen lassen, diesen ruf von Neukölln, dass das Kampfhund-Jogginghosen Schlafstadt war. Es gab ein ganz berühmten Artikel: Neukölln die Bronx von Berlin. Da waren sicher ein paar wahre Sachen und Beobachtungen dran. Der Typ der hat den geist von Neukölln nicht verstanden. Der hat den Charakter der Kulturlandschaft nicht kapiert. Das es nicht kein marktschreierischer Ansatz der Künstler war, sondern das es sich mit einer Ruhe und Gelassenheit vollzog*" (Municipality: director cultural department)

Schillerpromenade and at the *Agentur für Arbeit*, the Federal Employment Agency. After receiving the funding Schillerpalais moved into an empty shop space on the ground floor level.

The motivation for the citizen group to get active in the urban environment was thereby to establish a platform for a public discourse for art, to find a space to perform and display their art and to integrate the surrounding neighbourhood with their activities.

> *"You know each other slightly, and have got together, and at some point, now we do it! When a room is found, you need to get hold of little bit of money, do a bit of your own work, and at some point it becomes concrete, and runs on its own...The dancers want to dance and make an impact...and the painters want to see their paintings on the wall." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)[8]*

Spacemaking – Coordinated activation of the street plinth level

In 2005, 130 commercial spaces were abandoned in North Neukölln. The agency *Zwischennutzungsagentur* had the idea to reactivate the ground floor spaces and connected the private housing owners with residents from the neighbourhood who where looking for space to do social and creative activities. The private owners could be convinced not to ask for the commercial renting price and the lower costs were subsidies by public funding from the *Quartiersmanagement* Reuterkiez. In return the residents had to engage with the neighbourhood with social or cultural offers. The same procedure happened in the Körnerkiez at a later time.

2010-2015

The former airport opens as a public space for the neighbourhood.

Flagship Projects – Investment from outside

In 2014 the Centre for Contemporary Art *Kindl* was opened in a former brewery building by a Swiss investor. At the moment new apartments are build next to the art centre which all have been already sold. The apartment building is located in the direct proximity of the job centre of Neukölln.

End of initiative

The *Quartiersmanagement* is referring in their official strategy to the Schillerpalais as the key cultural actor in the neighbourhood and as the main partner in working together on projects in recent years. Since 2014 the regulations for funding changed and single art events cannot be supported anymore. The initiatives have to prove in their proposal that the projects are sustainable and integrating the *Neighbourhood Community*. Therefore the collaboration between the two actors has been less active in the last year.

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[8] *"Man kannte sich so ein bisschen und hat sich zusammen geschlossen und irgendwann ist dann der Punkt da so jetzt machen wir es. Wenn dann ein Raum gefunden ist, dann muss man ein bisschen Geld in die Hand nehmen, ein bisschen eigen Arbeit und irgendwann konkretisiert sich das, dann wird das ein Selbstläufer... Die Tänzer wollten tanzen und einladen, ...und die Bilder Maler wollten ihre Bilder an der Wand sehen."(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

According to the board member of the initiative the yearly festival *Nacht und Nebel* will not take place this year and the initiative will most likely stop by the end of 2015. Only one member of the initiative is in charge of the coordination of the initiative at the moment.

4.2.3 Findings comparison both cities

Rotterdam

In Rotterdam the *Creative Initiative* itself was the main force and reason why more artists moved into the neighbourhood. Hence, there is a strong connection between the initiative and the art-led development of the neighbourhood.

The start of the process of the first artists moving into the area was initially linked to the availability of free living and working space and the uniqueness of the historical centre. Through the residency program of the Foundation NAC artists from all over the world were attracted to the area. The established artist community and the freedom they have for their activities in the area played thereby a main role. The reputation of the city of Rotterdam itself or a tolerant atmosphere of the neighbourhood was not the main reason why artists moved into Oud-Charlois.

> *"A lot of artists want to live here too. Because there are many friends, there are a lot of contacts, there is freedom and it is cheap here... Here you can do what you want, because nobody cares anyway. You can do a bar, you can do anything you want as long as you keep certain responsibilities." (Creative Initiative: board member)*

Following three main factors could be identified from the narrative why the *Creative Class* was attracted to move into the area of Oud-Charlois:

1. Availability of vacant spaces to squat houses
2. High level of freedom
3. Established community of artists

Berlin

In Berlin the *Creative Initiative* was part of a wider process of attracting the *Creative Class*, which started already in other areas of the city before. Therefore, a strong connection between the existing infrastructure of Berlin and the art-led development of North Neukölln exists.

The first artists were moving to North Neukölln because of the affordable yet attractive space and the possibility to live and work unrecognised in the neighbourhood. The second generation of artists followed and used the infrastructure of vacant shop spaces on the ground floor level. The city of Berlin, its already existing art network and the affordable living and working space were mainly attracting the artists to move into North Neukölln.

Following two main factors could be identified why the *Creative Class* was attracted to move into the area of Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln:

1. Affordable yet attractive spaces
2. Possibility of anonymous living
3. Existing art network of the city of Berlin

In addition to the factors mentioned in the theory literature – tolerant, open and diverse environment with unique character – in the two studied cases an existing art network or community and an open environment in the sense of freedom to be able to what you want without formal interference and in the case of Berlin to be able to live unrecognisable, are important factors why specific neighbourhoods attract more artists and enhance an art-led development of a neighbourhood.

The art network attracted more artists directly to the neighbourhood of Oud-Charlois. In Berlin artists arrived by accident in North Neukölln attracted by the reputation of the city.

The study's findings show that a tolerant, open and diverse environment attracts the first generation of the *Creative Class* and an existing art community network attracts the second generation.

4.3 Analysis of Cases – Collaborative interactions between both sides

In this section the case studies are analysed with the focus on the self-organised nature of the *Creative Initiatives* of both cities in the starting and evolution phase. Thereby the relation between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Formal Side* is been investigated.

4.3.1 Analysing process Foundation NAC and B.a.d.

Starting phase

Formal incentive

– Trigger event

In Oud-Charlois a clear external triggering event for the start of the initiatives from the *Formal Side* could not be identified. Initially, the main motivation to establish the Foundation B.a.d was the direct interest of artists as end-users of their environment they live in. As one of the B.a.d. artists confirms:

> *"For me NAC was not so interesting, I mean I was not living in it."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

With the NAC Foundation the scope of the initiative was growing to an increased level than the own interest. However, the interest of the initiative to get active in the urban environment was still connected to the direct interest of the artists to invite more creative friends to the neighbourhood in order to build a community between them and improve and fill the gap of public services and urban amenity offers.

Citizen decision and leadership

– Key persons and citizens as initiator

As described in section 4.2.1, citizens established the initiatives in order to legalize housing agreements with the housing cooperation and the municipality. A legal body in form of a foundation was therefore necessary.

In the Foundation B.a.d., artists as newcomers to the neighbourhood first squatted a former school building and established the initiative in order to be able to legalise the contract with the housing cooperation. The NAC foundation was established in collaboration between artists and local residents. After agreeing on the housing and self-maintenance contract in 2006 over a period of 10 years, the idea to establish a cultural fund was developed in 2010 in order to contribute to social and urban processes in Rotterdam and Charlois. The citizen group initiated this idea by themselves.

– Main Partners and formal involvement

The citizens made the initial approach to the *Formal Side* and contacted the municipality and the housing cooperation to present their ideas and legalize the housing agreement. In the two-year process of negotiating the contract, all the actors were open and flexible in establishing the framework of the collaboration.

> *"At that time it was a quite strong network. Very approachable. They would come, we would meet and see them, we knew who they were and you could talk to them. There was a good collaboration between the housing cooperation*

and the municipality. They were very accessible. You could phone and meet them or they would come to visit here."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)

In addition, all actors involved provided financial resources in the beginning to enable the renovation project. The housing cooperation invested 100.000 Euros to maintain the outside of the buildings, the *Creative Initiative* took a loan over 150.000 and another citizen initiative added another 100.000 Euros. Despite there were formal resources from the housing cooperation involved, the majority of the financial resources were still coming from the citizen side.

Evolution phase

Boundary spanning

– Existence of key persons

One artist and board member of the *Creative Initiative* was mentioned by the majority of the interview partners from the *Formal Side* as a key contact person. He is mentioned as easy approachable and lives and works in the neighbourhood for 25 years. In addition he is one of the main idea giver for developing projects in Oud-Charlois. According to the artist himself he worked on *"80 projects in 1 km2 in the last 25 years"* (*Creative Initiative*: board member, a).

Being part of urban processes over the last decades he gained knowledge and experience and achieved an equal position to the actors of the *Formal Side*. Today, for the initiative, negotiation is possible on an advanced level. The relationship between the municipality and the initiative is described as mature and in an adult and independent phase of the collaboration (Municipality: Project manager, *Creative Initiative*: board member).

Furthermore, the artist appears to be the driving force for the projects in the neighbourhood. In the case he stops being part of a project, the success or strength of the project gets less sufficient. For instance, the official status and financial situation of 't-Otje are uncertain since one year, since the NAC Foundation is not the official organization in charge anymore. The artist himself describes his work in the initiative as following:

> *"It is not a self-maintenance business. For me it is an art work." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

– Linking resources by the Creative Initiative

In 2010 the NAC Foundation established the cultural fund MYA – Move your ass, mind your area – *"to finance artistic projects and cultural activities in the neighborhood"* (NAC Foundation).

> *"Through the culture fund of NAC we only fund public events not private art and even not maybe exhibitions unless we finance communication or outside communication. So that is encouraging projects to happen outside to integrate with people." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

The lack of a public cultural budget let the initiative get active to enable financial resources from different stakeholders in the area.

> *"All these projects done in this area, there was no cultural money. It is all done within projects like security, or safety, but there is no cultural budget. All this art projects were made using different kind of money, with different kind*

of profile and different kind of ambitions" (Creative Initiative: board member, a)

"You've got things that artists do themselves, and when it becomes expensive, then they're creative enough to go to Woonstad, or the municipality." (Municipality: Project manager)[9]

In the process the housing cooperation was open and flexibel for the ideas of the initiatives. The program manager of the housing cooperation is mentioned as a person you can easily talk to:

„I knew the directors of the cooperation for 15 years and we are doing so many projects in the neighbourhood. They understand the value of this kind of places. We don't have to lobby or anything. There is no explanation needed. So we went there and within 10 minutes it was ok." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)

– Change of legal framework

In the beginning of the process the municipality made the change of the legal conditions in the South of Rotterdam possible. In order to enable that international artists with a low income can move into the neighbourhood of Oud-Charlois the housing cooperation together with the municipality established an agreement for a change in the legal framework. This change made it possible for the initiative to continue with their activities in the area and to bring new artists to the neighbourhood. This framework also facilitated the cultural fund MYA.

Currently a new agreement between the stakeholders is on the way which limits the commercial rent price to 45 Euros per m2 and enables artists to rent studio spaces in Oud-Charlois.

According to the interviewees the collaboration between the initiatives and the sub-municipality was the most efficient before they disappeared in 2014 from the district Charlois due to the centralisation process of the municipality.

In addition, with the program of *Pact op Zuid*, 2001-2011, there was a strong support from the municipality for cultural activities for citizen-based cultural activities. The *Cultuurscout* was mentioned as an institution supported by the municipality to facilitate linkages between the creative people and the *Neighbourhood Community*. According to the *Creative Initiative* the *Cultuurscout* does not have the capacity to establish a network and connecting people on a professional level.

"They are the intermediary between the artists and the other people. But they have no budget so it is not so effective. I mean, it is effective for starters if you want to do something but if you are kind of professional it is not very interesting because you know more than they do." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)

Instead of the decentralised organisation of the municipality, the central municipality – Stadsontwikkeling – and the *Gebiedscommissie* are the contact points for the

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[9] *"Man hat Dinge die Künstler selber machen lassen, und wenn das teuer wird, sind sie auch kreativ genug, um zur Woonstad zu gehen oder zur Gemeinde" (Municipality: Project manager)*

citizens in the neighbourhood now. The change in the organisation of the municipality affected the collaboration between the two actor groups in the last year. Interview partners from the *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* stated that the fluctuation of municipality employees is high and today they are not as approachable anymore as they used to be in the beginning of the process.

> *"The municipality is gone as well. The whole social network is gone, too."* (Creative Initiative*: board member, a)*

All interviewees from the citizen side see the disappearing of the municipality as an important factor that the situation in Oud-Charlois is not improving anymore. The collaboration between the two stakeholders is decreasing since one year.

> *"The cultural sector is getting less important for the government. The cultural jar is getting smaller since a couple of years."* (Neighbourhood Community: resident in Oud-Charlois)

Mutual adaptation of actor roles

– Change of traditional role

The *Creative Initiative* is taking over main parts of the responsibilities from the housing cooperation and the municipality. For the agreement with the housing cooperation the foundations NAC and B.a.d are managing the houses and maintaining the interior of the buildings. Within their housing projects they also facilitate social programs for the neighbourhood, i.e. urban gardening lessons for school children in 't O-tje, which would lie in the responsibilities of the public hand.

In the process of being engaged in the neighbourhood the *Creative Initiative* took over the knowledge and expertise in urban planning and development and states to know more about the neighbourhood than the employees in the municipality. One member of the initiative is taking lessons in building regulations to gain more knowledge to be able to develop their projects in the neighbourhood.

Therefore, the *Creative Initiative* overtakes responsibilities from the housing cooperation, i.e. the renovation inside the houses, and the municipality, i.e. they provision of missing basic urban infrastructure and social programs to improve the urban environment of the neighbourhood.

> *"We are the most consistent people here. We are here the longest and we know more then anybody now. That makes a big difference."* (Creative Initiative: board member, a)

The *Creative Initiative* is identifying the lack of basic needs, as one member refers to as *gaps,* in the urban environment and is developing ideas to improve the situation in the neighbourhood. On the other hand the municipality is facilitating the ideas of the *Creative Initiative* with their knowledge and experience and are focusing on the managing part of citizen initiatives.

At the same time the municipality over takes the role of protecting the artistst in the initiative from the *Neighbourhood Community* in order to facilitate that they stay living in the neighborhood. Thereby they want to solve a conflict in the Wolphaertstraat between the residents of the Foundation NAC and the *Neighbourhood Community*.

On one hand, in the process of changing responsibilties from the formal to the citizen side, the fact that the citizens are mostly working for free has to be taken into account.

> *"I think I work 80 hours a week, but 70 hours are not paid, because you are always in a meeting with a cooperation or with a district and you are the only one at the table who doesn't get paid. Everybody is there in their paid time, so that is sometimes difficult…if I am sick nothing happens for example, it is very depending on our own energy and there is other things to do, to earn money somewhere else." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

The citizen-based initiatives are relying on key persons who are willing and engaged to spend their time on non-paid activities. In Oud-Charlois the question arises weather citizen engagement should be demanded naturally from new governance approaches or are the citizens self-exploiting themselves by taking over too many roles in the society. Thereby artists are shifting from art production in the classical sense to planning tasks as their new art form.

4.3.2 Findings collaborative Interactions between both sides in Oud-Charlois

Discussion starting phase

The *Creative Initiative* got active in the neighbourhood with the strong motivation to benefit from the outcome of the activities as end-users.

In the case of the *Creative Initiative* in Oud-Charlois the citizen side was leading the starting phase in terms of proposing the original ideas and making the first step approaching the *Formal Side* for the financial agreement. The intensive negotiation over two years at the beginning established a base for further fruitful collaborative interactions between the stakeholders over the next twenty years.

With an innovative way of arranging the agreement between the three actor groups in the beginning a long-term concept could be developed to use art and cultural activities to improve and transform the urban environment of the neighbourhood. The arranged agreement can be regarded as a win-win situation for all actors. The artists can live almost for free, the housing cooperation is not responsible for the interior renovation, contracts or administration of the apartments and the municipality has a more divers and lively neighbourhood through cultural activities.

Discussion evolution phase

During the process of the initiative all actors were open and flexible to changes and ideas of the other stakeholder. Long-term agreements were made possible and extended on a regular basis. Several projects could be developed and implemented in the neighbourhood. A diversity of linkage of resources of key actors made the initiative sustainable.

Between the stakeholders a mutual approch to each other and a mutual exchange of ideas, knowledge and provision of financial resources, not only from the *Formal Side*, could be identified in the evolution of the initiative activities. The diversity of resources linked by key persons of the initiative and the *Formal Side* gives the initiative independencies of only one formal resource. Hence, the existence of the initiative and their activities during the process is not only depending on one source and therefore more resilient to changes and restructurings of the *Formal Side*.

In the process of being part of the development of the neighbourhood area the members of the initiative are taking over the role as urban planner and housing manager with an inside view as local residents. The board member of the initiative developed from an outsider to a consistent key figure with an inside view in the process.

Discussion Collaborative Governance

With the gaining of expertise of the Creative Initiative in urban planning processes and linking a diversity of resources a new form of collaborative interactions between the actors could be established in the evolution phase of the initiative.

According to Hamdi and Portugali this process has to be balanced, spontaneous and open between the bottom-up citizen and the top-down Formal Side in order to emerge into a new advanced status *(Portugali, 2012, Hamdi, 2004)*. The interactions described by the interviewees resemble this process. The Creative

Initiative was able to propose new and creative ideas and the Formal Side provided stability to facilitate the projects. According to the theory a new form of collaborative interactions could be established in Oud-Charlois and therefore be defined as *Collaborative Governance* (Bakker, Denters, et al., 2012).

4.3.3 Analysing process Schillerpalais e.V.

Starting phase

Formal incentive

– Trigger event – Event threatening the reputation of the neighbourhood

In the area of Quartiersmanagement Schillerpromenade the magazine article had a direct effect on the local artist and resident group getting active in the area in order to improve the image of the neighbourhood they live and work in.

The article described the problematic circumstances but neglected the good sides and potentials of the neighbourhood. According to the information given, the *Creative Initiative* organised itself to an initiative because of the threat of the reputation of the neighbourhood.

> *"It was the expression of defiance. We are not the sleeping district, not the district where sweatpants-wearing-whilst-walking-my-Rottweiler people are walking their pit-bulls. We have big creative potential." (Municipality: director cultural department)[10]*

Citizen decision and leadership

– Key persons and citizens as initiator

As described in section 4.2.2, citizens initiated the official organization of the group in order to establish a permanent office and exhibition space. Thereby artists who were already working and living in the area and local residents were collaborating together.

– Main Partners and formal involvement

Triggered by the external event of the magazine article the citizens made the initial step to get active in the neighbourhood with a series of cultural events. In order to consolidate the events to a legal foundation the citizens applied together with Förderband e.V. at the *Quartiersmanagement* for financial support for the neighbourhood fund.

According to the board member of the Schillerpalais next to the *Quartiersmanagement* fund, several sources on city, state and European level have been used in the starting phase.

In the case of the initiative in Berlin the citizen side was developing the ideas for the events in the neighbourhood and organised the funding for the Schillerpalais to establish an official organisation.

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[10] *"Es war der Ausdruck des Trotzes. Wir sind nicht der Schlafbezirk. Nicht der Bezirk wo man Kampf Hunde von Jogging Hosen Trägern spazieren geführt werden. Wir haben groß kreatives Potential." (Municipality: director cultural department)*

Evolution phase

Boundary spanning

According to the information given by the research participants the projects initiated by creative groups in North Neukölln today depend on the availability of formal resources. If the initiative is not able to receive money from the formal organisations in the area the projects are not going to be developed. In the beginning phase of artists moving into the neighbourhood the involved artists in initiatives were more engaged in finding strategies to realise their projects.

One employee of a social initiative in the area of Schillerpromenade describes the development of *Creative Initiatives* in North Neukölln as following:

> *"I think there was voluntary work in the initial pioneer phase in this neighbourhood, where they lived art and consequently created permanent art in the social environment. But meanwhile so many people have arrived who try to live from it. They do it on receipt of funding for the projects they wish to initiate; if there is none, then they seldom bother. That's how it's become. Certainly there still are the others. But that's what I mainly experience. They're keen to do something, but we need money for it. Which you can understand." (Social Initiative: employee and resident North Neukölln)[11]*

– Existence of key persons

One board member of the initiative is involved in the Förderverein e.V. This internal connection in the initiative enabled the linkage of several resources and an internal exchange of knowledge in how to facilitate funding for artists.

The communication of the initiative works with a widely connected network within the city of Berlin. For instance, the initiative collaborated with the Förderverein e.V. in order to develop projects with the approach of social inclusion. This enabled the initiative to apply for financial resources with special criteria.

The *Quartiersmanagement* was from the beginning an important financial resource provider for the *Creative Initiative*. The group could be legalised in an official foundation because of the neighbourhood fund. In the process of developing the projects the *Quartiersmanagement* continued to be an important financial source and in addition the actors involved could exchange information and knowledge. For instance, the established festival in the neighbourhood *Nacht und Nebel* was developed in collaboration with the *Quartiersmanagement*. The *Quartiersmanagement* facilitated the use of taxis in order to bring visitors to the different locations of the festival. The support continued on a yearly basis until 2014.

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[11] *„Ich glaube das [ehrenamtliches Arbeiten] gab es in der Anfangspionierzeit bei diesem Stadtteil schon eher, wo die rein künstlerisch leben und dementsprechend permanent Kunst im Sozialraum realisieren. Aber mittlerweile sind hier so viele Leute angekommen, die versuchen ihren Lebensunterhalt damit zu sichern. Die machen das wenn sie Fördergelder bekommen für die Projekte die sie initiieren wollen, wenn nicht, dann machen sie es halt wohl kaum. Das ist mittlerweile so. Sicherlich gibt es die anderen auch noch. Aber das ist das was ich häufiger erlebe. Sie wollen gerne was machen aber wir brauchen schon Gelder dafür. Was man verstehen kann." (Social Initiative: employee and resident North Neukölln)*

In case the *Creative Initiative* wants to develop a project they contact the *Quartiersmanagement* to ask for support and advice how to facilitate the projects together with artists outside of the initiative. In general the initiative provides their volunteer work and own money resources from their foundation and applies for the rest of the budget at the *Formal Side*.

However, exchange or resources exist between both sides in the evolution of the process, the collaboration between the actors started focus mainly on the financial provision from the *Formal Side*.

The criteria to receive funding from the Quartiersmanagement changed in 2014 from the senate level. Since 2015 the initiatives have to fulfil sustainability and long-term goal criteria in order to apply for the budget. As a consequence the initiative could end this year. Due to the change in the regulations of the funding system, it will be the fist year the festival is not going to take place. In the process, the initiative got more dependent on the resources of the *Quartiersmanagement*, which made it less resilient to external changes. According to the project manager of the *Quartiersmanagement* in the last year less people are approachable at the *Creative Initiative*, which affects the communication between the actors (Quartiersmanagement: project manager).

In the process the *Creative Initiative* contacted the cultural department of Neukölln in order to get access to financial resources. An information exchange or use of the experience from the *Formal Side* was not taking place. According to the municipality, despite the aim of the initiative was to include the neighbourhood in their art activities, the initiative did not engage in the development of the neighbourhood. Their main interest is to display the artwork of artists. The municipality is claiming that formal resources were provided but the contribution from the *Creative Initiative* to the neighbourhood was insufficient.

According to the cultural department a contribution from the initiative side to the neighbourhood was missing. The director describes them as a self-help artist organization, which aims to present art in the public and to create their own exhibition space (Municipality: director cultural department). In addition, she states that in the process of developing projects between the *Quartiersmanagement* and the *Creative Initiative* collaborative interactions did not exist.

> *"We've already worked with them, they came specifically to me and wanted money; this was the main relationship.… They saw me as the Cultural Affairs Department, a source of money: that wasn't so gratifying for me; they received money for support, a not inconsiderable sum, from the Schillerpromenade Quartiersmanagement, and actually hardly became integrated in the Quartier, as I see it; they saw themselves as an artists' self-help initiative, which doesn't participate in the discourse of the district or the neighborhood." (Municipality: director cultural department)[12]*

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[12] *"Wir haben schon mit denen Zusammengearbeitet, die sind vor allem zu mir gekommen und wollten Geld, das war die primäre Beziehung… Die haben mich auch als Kulturamt, als Geldquelle betrachtete, das war nicht so erfreulich, die haben Unterstützungsgeld bekommen, und zwar nicht unerheblich, vom Quartiersmanagement Schillerpromenade, und haben aber eigentlich sehr wenig, so habe ich das wahrgenommen, in das quartier reingearbeitet, die haben sich als*

Furthermore, the initiative was in contact with the employment agency. According to the initiative this period from 2007-2012 was the most stable phase of the initiative (*Creative Initiative*: board member, b). Thereby unemployed people were incorporated in the initiative as work support and in exchange the initiative provided social services and took over the responsibilities and organisation of administrative issues. From the money they received from the employment agency they could finance the promotion of projects.

> *"The period when the Schillerpalais was part of the unemployment program was relatively stable, given that the Jobcenter required the Schillerpalais to keep accounts, showing that everyone was present, that when they were ill, doctors' certificates were given in. The entire administration of these people was reimbursed and from this they could pay rent, print flyers, and in this way get things going." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)*[13]

The level of exchange between the two sides stayed as well on the financial provision or resources from the *Formal Side*. Ideas and further information were not mutually exchanged.

According to the *Creative Initiative* the focus and support from the *Formal Side* is changing currently in the neighbourhood and local initiatives are not the main topic of the official development strategy anymore. They feel abandoned by the formal structures, which used to support them in the past:

> *"Meanwhile the focus points for Neukölln have altered. Neukölln has changed. There are other guidelines. There are fewer funded art spaces or neighbourhood projects. That's all happened, Neukölln is no longer seen as a crisis area, but as a young, vibrant scene district... there are architects plans for beautification, so that parks and pathways are better surfaced." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)*[14]

– Change of legal framework

In the context of the initiative in Berlin changes in the legal framework could not be identified.

Künstlerselbsthilfe verstanden die sich aber nicht an dem Diskurs des Bezirkes oder des Quartiers beteiligten."(Municipality: director cultural department)

[13] *"Relative stabil war die Zeit wo das Schillerpalais selber Maßnahmen Träger war, das heißt das Jobcenter vergab an das Schillerpalais die Aufgabe... darüber Buch zu führen, dass die alle an ihrem Einsatzort sind, das sie wenn sie krank sind ihren Krankenschein abgeben, diese ganze Verwaltung von diesen Leuten wurde dem Schillerpalais mit Geld vergütet und davon konnte es Miete zahlen, Flyer drucken, und so einiges bewegen."(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

[14] *„Inzwischen sind die Schwerpunkte für Neukölln wieder anders gesetzt. Neukölln hat sich geändert. Es gibt andere Förderrichtlinien. Es werden weniger Kunsträume oder Nachbarschaftsprojekte gefördert. Das ist jetzt alles durch, man empfindet Neukölln nicht mehr als ein Krisenbezirk sondern als einen jungen aufstrebenden Szene Bezirk... Es gibt jetzt Verschönerungspläne für Architekten. Das man die Parks und Wege besser pflastert." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

In Berlin the spaces in ground floor shops are not protected from the *Formal Side*. If the private owner decides to cancel the contract, the *Creative Initiative* has to move out and most likely the initiative has to stop since affordable space is not available anymore. An agreement between the two actors has not been made which would have protected the citizen side.

Mutual adaptation of actor roles

– Change of traditional role

In the process the *Creative Initiative* has overtaken tasks from the social welfare system by supporting job seekers in their program. In addition, they were developing ideas for projects to work with people in social inclusion programs in order to get access to funding sources.

According to several interviewees in Berlin it was emphasized that the artists in initiatives have to have the right to practise their artwork and should not be used or exploited to overtake other responsibilities in urban or social development in cities.

> *"Artists must have the right to work as artists." (Planning-office: owner)[15]*

> *"You just can't manage that. You've got to do your work, you can't continually perform on the pavements." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)[16]*

At the same time several interview participants stated that art and culture in urban development is an important instrument to create a communication platform where you can meet your neighbours and get to know each other.

In addition, the municipality is staying in its field of work in planning and developing of ideas and projects. A complete shift to facilitating and managing did not happen. The *Quartiersmanagement* took over the role of facilitating the citizen initiatives in the neighbourhood and motivate them to take part in the development of the neighbourhood. The *Formal Side* is divided in planning and facilitating part.

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[15] *"Künstler müssen auch das Recht haben künstlerisch zu arbeiten" (Planning-office: owner)*

[16] *"Das kann man ja auch gar nicht schaffen. Man muss ja seine Arbeit machen, man kann ja nicht ständig performieren auf den Bürgersteigen."(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

4.3.4 Findings collaborative interactions between both sides Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln

Discussion starting phase

The *Creative Initiative* got active in the neighbourhood with the strong motivation initiated by the threatening event of the magazine article. The *Quartiersmanagement* provided the main financial resource. However the decision and leading of the start of the initiative remained on the citizen side. The formal institution *Quartiersmanagement* established in the neighbourhood enabled the foundation of the initiative. A negotiation with different stakeholders in the area was therefore not necessary. During the process the initiative got more dependent on the resources of the *Quartiersmanagement*.

Discussion evolution phase

The municipality and especially the *Quartiersmanagement* play a large part in the development of the neighbourhood and as a financial resource provider. The *Creative Initiative* uses this offer for realising their projects. The application for financial resources was easy to access and less innovation or creative ideas how to get the funding for the initiative was needed.

Although the actors of the *Formal Side* were easy to approach during the process, less exchange of ideas and information happened between the actors in the end of the evolution phase. The focus shifted to financial provision of resources from the formal to the citizen side.

Between the stakeholders a mutual approach to each other could be identified in the beginning of the initiative and the starting phase of developing the projects. In the evolution financial resources were facilitated, not only from the *Formal Side*.

In the process the exchange of resources was limited to the financial provision from the *Formal Side*. Further ideas or information were less exchanged. A limited diversity of linking resources made the initiative in Berlin more dependent of the financial support from the *Formal Side*. Hence, the initiative will most likely stop by the end of this year.

In the process the members of the initiative were reluctant in taking over other responsibilities or changing their traditional role.

In order to support their work as a non-profit art space they took over additional work to support their actual art activities. A change of role in the sense that different responsibilities were taken over did not happen. They were successful in linking resources to support their artwork, which was their main goal. A concrete shift of taking over planning tasks in the neighbourhood did not happen. The contribution to social and urban processes remained marginal.

Discussion Collaborative Governance

A new form of collaborative interactions between the stakeholders in the area could not be established during the evolution phase. The citizen and *Formal Side* hold their traditional roles during the development of the projects. The exchange of new ideas and knowledge was decreasing during the process and limited to financial resource provision. The situation of the initiative remains unstable in the current year.

4.3.5   Findings comparison both cities

Both *Creative Initiative*s were self-organized groups based on the definition of the concept in this research. The initiative in Berlin was able to maintain the collaborative interactions over decades and established a new form of *Collaborative Governance*. In Berlin the initiative was not able to maintain the collaboration with the *Formal Side* over a longer period, a new form of *Collaborative Governance* did not emerge.

Discussion starting phase

In comparison to the Rotterdam case, in Berlin the external event was the main motivation for the citizen group to get active as an initiative. According to Meerkerk and Nederhand the reaction of citizen-based initiatives to identity threatening developments is one important condition for vital relationship between stakeholders involved in the process (2012, 2014). In the two analysed cases, the motivation as end-users in Rotterdam ended in collaborative interactions throughout the evolution period with an emergent of a new form of governance. In the case of the motivation by an external event, only in the beginning phase collaborative interactions could be identified.

In Rotterdam the motivation to improve the urban environment as end-users was the main trigger to form an initiative. This refers back to the theory of Boonstra and Boelens who see the end-user motivation as one of the main factors for citizen-based initiatives to get active in shaping the city. The authors are emphasizing that citizens get engaged in the urban environment because they want to benefit from the improved physical outcome of their neighbourhood (2011).

In both cities incentives in form of official assignments, invitations or competitions from the formal to the citizen side was not necessary. Both motivations stimulated the start of self-organized activities.

In the Berlin case an innovative way of collaborations out of this triggering event could not be established in the evolution phase of the process. In Rotterdam a new ordered structure between the stakeholders emerged after the negotiation period (Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014).

In the starting phase the decision and leading of the beginning of the initiative and their first ideas remained on the citizen side. Both initiatives were making the initial contact to the *Formal Side* for funding. Significant influence from the *Formal Side* in the development of the initiative or in the content of their projects could not be identified. Both initiatives were leading the start of the process with the creative input of their organisation. According to Hamdi the citizen side is thereby providing the novelty and creativity to urban development and the *Formal Side* the needed stability (Hamdi, 2004).

In the Rotterdam case the long-term negotiation between the three main stakeholders was important to establish the initiation for collaborative interactions. In Berlin the foundation of the initiative took less effort and had therefore less triggering influence on the further process of interactions between the actors.

Discussion evolution phase

In both cities linking key persons in the initiatives could be identified. In Rotterdam a diversity of resources could be linked and legal frameworks changed which stimulated collaborative interactions between the stakeholders. Nederhand refers to

the open exchange of resources as a protected environment where self-organised activities can take place (2014). In Berlin only the linkage of financial resources played the main role in the later evolution phase.

In the analysis of the two selected cases collaborative interaction patterns can be set in relation to the diversity of the resources, which have been exchanged. In Berlin less resources were exchanged and less collaborative interactions emerged between the stakeholders.

In conclusion, not only the exchange of financial resources for boundary spanning activities, also the exchange of ideas, knowledge and contacts of people are important. Hence, the exchange and openness of a diversity of resources plays a main role in establishing collaborative interactions between actors.

In Berlin the willingness to change their existing roles and taking over other responsibilities from the *Creative Initiative* and from the *Formal Side* is less than in Rotterdam. In Rotterdam the *Creative Initiative* is gaining experience and expertise in the urban development field and achieved an insider position in the neighbourhood. Jacobs' refers in her theory to *informal experts for urban transformation processes*, which are able to identify the local needs of the residents (Jacobs, 1961). Therefore, openness for collaborative interactions in terms of changing traditional responsibilities between the stakeholders could be only identified in the Rotterdam case. The needed freedom to develop new roles was given in Oud-Charlois.

In the case of Berlin the adaptation of actor roles did not stimulate the process of collaborative interactions. The strong position of the municipality in the development of the neighbourhood limited the space needed for actors to change their roles. (Nederhand, Bekkers, et al., 2014). In addition, the evolution phase did not create any challenges for existing formal structures. In Rotterdam it created a challenge for formal structures, which emerged into something new. (Meerkerk, Boonstra, et al., 2012).

In Rotterdam the motivation as end-user and the long-term negotiation between multiplicities of stakeholders provided a fruitful base for collaborative interactions in the evolution phase. Thereby the decisive leadership stayed on the citizen side. The freedom given in the evolution phase in Oud-Charlois gave the initiative the space needed to creatively exchange resources and their traditional roles, which was received mutually on the *Formal Side*. With these activities the stakeholders involved created an environment for the necessary openness for further collaborative interactions. Furthermore with the change of roles and responsibility, actors need to collaborate with actors from the original field to exchange the existing knowledge. This exchange of information stimulates collaborative interactions between stakeholders.

Discussion Collaborative Governance

In Rotterdam with the evolution of the process a new level of collaboration on a more enhanced and elaborated level could be achieved. The evolution of collaborative interactions between the citizen initiative and the *Formal Side* emerged to a new way of working together, in other words, to a new form of collaborative governance where the involved partners are in continuous exchange of ideas, knowledge, information and financial resources.

The exchange of a diversity of resources was maintained over the evolution phase. Through the advanced position of the citizen side, from an outsider position becoming an inside expert in the neighbourhood during the years, the exchange of resources was mutual between both sides.

In Berlin the external threat provided first collaborative interactions between the initiative and the *Formal Side*. The decision-making and leadership remained on the citizen side, mainly financial resources were provided by the formal structures. A lack of freedom to link resources and change traditional roles stopped the collaborative interactions between both sides in the evolution phase. Each side remained their traditional roles until today. Since fewer dependencies between the two sides existed, collaborative interactions were less needed. An open environment between the stakeholders could not be established.

Therefore, the exchange of ideas, knowledge and information stopped after the starting phase of the initiative and the accessibility to formal resources in the evolution phase was mostly limited to the financial resource provision from the *Formal Side*.

Role of citizen initiatives in the neighbourhood

According to the municipality the residents of Oud-Charlois are less active involved with their environment than in other areas in Rotterdam. Therefore, the role of the artists plays an important part. The skills of the artist are thereby used to get the residents engaged in transformation processes in the are they live in.

In Berlin on the other hand the resident initiatives are very active and engaged in participating and organising themselves in the neighbourhood. Artist initiatives are therefore playing a less important role in North Neukölln.

Therefore, the *Creative Initiative* plays a more important role in Rotterdam because other citizen initiatives were less active in the development of the neighbourhood than in the case of Berlin. The citizen initiatives have established their position and influence in the neighbourhood. The input and contribution from the *Creative Initiative* was less needed in the development of the Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln

Exploitation of citizens

In addition, the question arises if the *Formal Side* is exploiting the artists in Rotterdam and the change of traditional roles is not taking place on a mutual level between the actors. In the case of Oud-Charlois the members of the *Creative Initiative* are taking over more responsibilities than the other actors.

Role public hand

In North Neukölln most of the initiatives are collaborating with the *Quartiersmanagement* teams on a very strong basis. *Quartiersmanagements* with a strong focus on culture facilitated an art-led development of the neighbourhood. A similar facilitating infrastructure was given in Rotterdam with the sub-municipality in Charlois until 2014. However the resource provision by the *Formal Side* was stronger connected and co-dependent to the initiative in Berlin than in Rotterdam.

Need of collaborative governance in deprived neighbourhoods

In Rotterdam, a bigger lack of public support and resources existed during the evolution phase and more collaboration between the two sides were needed.

It appears that sufficient space to change roles and linking resources and less public involvement defines the conditions for *Collaborative Governance* in deprived neighbourhoods. In Berlin, the cultural department and *Quartiersmanagement* played a significant role in developing the neighbourhood. This support was less existing in Rotterdam.

4.4 Analysis of cases – Community Building in a changing urban environment

Figure 3: Strategy for Assessment Outcome Place-Making
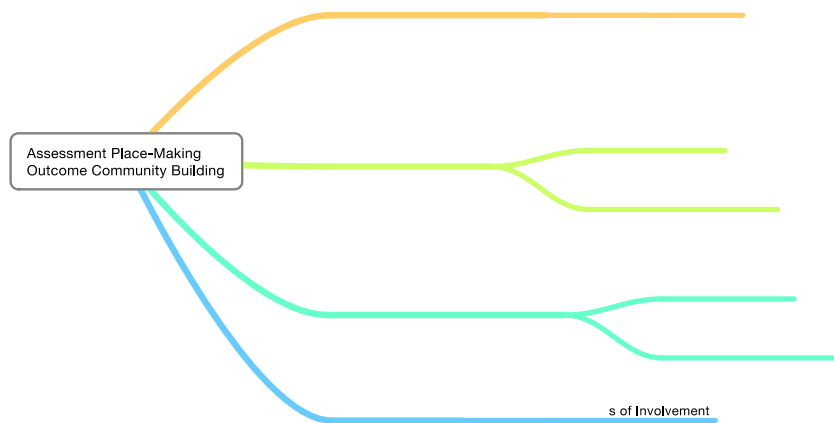
In this section, the social and physical outcome of the projects in both cities is analysed. First, examples of projects from the *Creative Initiatives* will be presented in a table with a more detailed assessment of the outcome of the projects and the contribution to an advanced sense of a community in the neighbourhood. Following four variables are thereby used:

1. Improved: Change of use
2. Used: Sense of belonging
3. Shared: Meaning of a place
4. Involved: *Neighbourhood Community*

Secondly, the overall influence of artists living in the two neighbourhoods on transformation processes will be described based on the information given by the interviewees.

Due to time constraints, this study is only looking in detail into an example of four respectively three projects and activities of the *Creative Initiative* in Rotterdam and Berlin. The overall information given by the interview partners gives additional inside to the outcome of *Community Building* in the neighbourhood. The projects were chosen by the importance of the activity for the neighbourhood based on the information given by the research participants.

In Berlin, the assessment of the projects influencing the transformation of the neighbourhood was less clear to identify than in Rotterdam. Especially the opening of the *Tempelhofer Feld* influenced the change of the environment. However, this research tries to filter the outcome back to the influence of the *Creative Initiative's* activities and projects.

Figure 4: Overview geographical area with the *Creative Initiative* and projects in Oud-Charlois

(Adjusted from: Gemeente Rotterdam, M 1:8000)

Studio Complex Foundation B.a.d., since 1991

Hang-Out, Replica of the entrance, 2001-2003

Housing Project Wolphaertstraat, 48 addresses, since 2004

Housing block 't-Otje, 36 addresses, since ca. 2004

4.4.1 Analysing Outcome Foundation NAC/B.a.d

In table 9 an overview of the analysed projects from the *Creative Initiative* in Oud-Charlois is given. The table provides a short introduction to the project activities and an assessment of the main characteristics of the physical and social outcome of the projects by using the variables and indicators defined in Chapter 3.

Table 5: Overview Assessment of Outcome Projects, Oud-Charlois

Project	Description of project activities	Improved Place Quality and advanced sense of Identity • **Improved by CI?** • **Used by NC?** • **Shared by NC and CI?** • **NC Involved by CI?**	Community Building – Places as meeting point and communication space • **Places where Neighbourhood Community and *Creative Initiative* get to know each?**
Studio Complex Foundation B.a.d., since 1991	• Redevelopment of former school building and inner garden area • *Neighbourhood Community* is invited to join the inner garden space together with the *Creative Initiative*; according to *Neighbourhood Community* they are not using the space, the *Creative Initiative* is using the space among them and is starting to claim for the space for a more private use: *"But also people in B.a.d. now renting it so people start to become more focused on their house and then they become protective like it is my garden. They don't want to deal with trouble. So most people are not so social in fact. Even artists are not."* (*Creative Initiative*: board member, a)	**Improved** • Improvement and activation of inner garden area, use as playground area, urban gardening activities, social and cultural activities **Used** • Improved use for *Creative Initiative* but not for *Neighbourhood Community* • Lack of advanced sense of ownership and coverage of basic human need **Shared** • A shared space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could not be established, lack of multiplicity of users and awareness of diverse values **Involved** • *Creative Initiative* as initiator, *Neighbourhood Community* as invited consumer	• *Neighbourhood Community* feels excluded by *Creative Initiative* and are not sharing the improved garden space with the artists. An advanced sense of belonging or a shared use of the space could not be identified. • A new meeting and communication space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could not be established • Lack of an advanced sense of community in the neighborhood, only *Community Building* for *Creative Initiative*

Figure 5: Photo inner garden area, Studio Complex Foundation B.a.d

(Source: author)

Hang-Out, Replica of the entrance, 2001-2003	• Replication of the entrance of the former school building in the open space • The *Creative Initiative* built an art project in the open space, children from the neighbour school use it to sit there. *Neighbourhood Community* uses the product of *Creative Initiative* without knowledge of each other *"Maybe it does make a difference, there is not much feedback on that. And people don't recognise it also. We made a replica of our façade and we put it in the street... This is our entrance, and this is all the kids from the school which are always hanging from the other side. It is a little replica of our façade and now they are hanging over there. But they don't know that this is art. They have a place now. And we moved the fence further back. They have the square, they can hang out there and nobody bothers them because they have been pushed away all the time. And now they are welcome. We have a clean façade, they have a happy place, it is solved. We could do it on squatted ground..."* (*Creative Initiative*: board member, a)	**Improved** • Improvement of open space, additional urban furniture: use as sitting space **Used** • Improved meeting and communication space for *Neighbourhood Community* • Advanced sense of ownership and coverage of basic human need **Shared** • Lack of multiplicity of users and awareness of diverse values • A new meeting and communication space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could not be established **Involved** • *Creative Initiative* as initiator, *Neighbourhood Community* as indirect consumer	• Children from the neighbour school use the replica as a meeting point, they are not aware that it is an art project of the *Creative Initiative*. • A direct communication between *Neighbourhood Community* and *Creative Initiative* is not happening, only indirect communication over art project between the citizen groups • An advanced sense of belonging could be established for the *Neighbourhood Community*. A shared meaning and use of the space could not be identified. • Lack of an advanced sense of community in the neighborhood but improved sense of belonging for *Neighbourhood Community*

Figure 6: Photo Hang-Out, next to Studio Complex Foundation B.a.d (Source: author)

(Source: author)

Housing Project Wolphaertstraat, 48 addresses, since 2004	• Artists accommodation in Wolphaertstraat • *Creative Initiative* improved the street plinth level • *Neighbourhood Community* living in the same street are threatening the artists • *Neighbourhood Community* is using the improved street space and feels more save walking through Wolpaertstraat. *"It is looking nicer now. It is definitely nicer to walk there, I didn't walk there in the past because I knew there was a group of people, just a particular group, they were doing drugs and calling people and that kind of stuff. No one came there for that reason. And now you can walk there, it is fun, and it is looking nicer and it is also nicer to live there now." (Neighbourhood Community: resident in Oud-Charlois, referring to Gouwstraat and Wolphaertstraat)*	**Improved** • Improvement of façade and interventions on street level, i.e. street furniture: activation of street plinths and public space • Improved atmosphere and improved use of street space **Used** • Improved use of public space for *Neighbourhood Community* • Advanced sense of ownership and coverage of basic human need **Shared** • A new meeting and communication space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could not be established, lack of multiplicity of users and awareness of diverse values **Involved** • *Creative Initiative* as initiator, *Neighbourhood Community* as indirect consumer	• An advanced sense of belonging could be established for the *Neighbourhood Community*. On the other hand is the transformation of the street threatening the *Neighbourhood Community* in the street. A shared meaning and use of the space could not be identified. • Lack of an advanced sense of community in the neighborhood but improved sense of belonging for *Neighbourhood Community*

Figure 7: Photo project Wolphaertstraat, NAC Foundation

(Source: author)

Housing block 't-Otje, 36 adresses, since ca. 2004	• Redevelopment of housing block and garden area • *Creative Initiative* is inviting the *Neighbourhood Community* to share the improved inner garden area and urban gardening activities, the *Neighbourhood Community* is integrated in the activities. • Surrounding school is coming on a regular basis for urban gardening activities, other neighbors are renting a garden plot and one neighbor is opening and closing the fence for the school children *"We were trying to test the publicness and privateness. There is a school now here working with kids, but also parents can use the key to be there in the summer when the school is closed. People also do their parties, for example some Halloween parties from the neighbourhood, already for many years. Whatever, there is a big number on it."* (Creative Initiative: board member, a)	**Improved** • Improvement and activation of inner garden area, urban gardening activities with green house, social and cultural activities **Used** • Improved meeting and communication space for *Neighbourhood Community* • Advanced sense of ownership and coverage of basic human need **Shared** • A new meeting and communication space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could be established by a multiplicity of users and an awareness of diverse values **Involved** • *Creative Initiative* as initiator, *Neighbourhood Community* as invited consumer	• The *Neighbourhood Community* is using the transformed space of the housing block. An advanced sense of belonging could be established for the *Neighbourhood Community*. • A shared meaning and use of the space between *Neighbourhood Community* and *Creative Initiative* could be identified. It is thereby depending on the invitation of the *Creative Initiative* • Advanced sense of community in the neighborhood where *Neighbourhood Community* and *Creative Initiative* can get to know each other

Figure 8: Photo project 't O-tje, NAC Foundation

(Source: author)

Place Quality

Transformation of neighbourhood

– Change of use of space

According to all interview partners in Rotterdam the presents and activities of the artists are improving the atmosphere and living quality in the neighbourhood.

> *„They did a good job. It is a different atmosphere here in the neighbourhood"* *(Municipality: Project manager)[17]*

The *Creative Initiative* states that their activities in the area are changing the spatial environment and are improving the use of the public space. The *Neighbourhood Community* recognises the improved environment and uses spaces after the transformation, which they have avoided before.

> *"It is not necessarily community art or something. But it is improving public space, its making people more curious."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

In addition, the improvement of the economic situation and an improved offer of food quality in the neighbourhood is mentioned. Furthermore, the teaching methods at local schools are changing to a more divers offer of art and culture lessons by involving artists in the programme.

> *"The hardware store got four times as big in this time. It was a small store and now it is a big store. All the pizza shops and Shaorma places run perfectly, there is a change in food in the supermarket a little bit more fresh a little bit more biological, …and the schools, it does change if you have five, six artists going to the same school they will be involved in teaching, kids are changing."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

Identity Building

Sense of belonging

– Ownership of space

The interviewees from the *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* stated that the activities of the initiatives make the residents more aware and proud of the environment they live in. The fact that people are coming from outside the country to work and live in Oud-Charlois and who show interest in the area, enhances the awareness of the quality of the neighbourhood they live in. Different activities, for instance paintings from children on the wall of the houses make children proud of being part of the process of changing the environment. Several activities of the initiatives are happening without the knowledge of the *Neighbourhood Community*, however it is stated that the overlap of producing – *Creative Initiative* – and consuming – *Neighbourhood Community* – also improves the environment for the residents without the knowledge of each other.

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[17] *"Die haben das gut gemacht. Es gibt eine andere Atmosphäre in dem Gebiet". (Municipality: Project manager)*

– Coverage of basic human needs

According to the *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Creative Initiative* there is a big lack of public services in the South of Rotterdam and in Oud-Charlois in terms of cultural institutions and social infrastructure. According to the municipality the biggest challenge was the lack of infrastructure in the South of Rotterdam. The program *Pact op Zuid* was established in 2001 to improve the situation. One strategy was to use the existing *Creative Initiatives* in the area of Oud-Charlois to facilitate more services in the area and to link the *Creative Initiatives* with the *Neighbourhood Community*.

According to the board member of the *Creative Initiative* he identifies the gaps in public services and wants to improve the living environment by getting active in the neighbourhood. As the research participants note:

> *"There is nothing. There is a church. Around the church there is the only things with a little bit of art. But there is nothing."(Neighbourhood Community: resident in Oud-Charlois)*

> *"There is no terrace here, no cinema, no restaurant, nothing here. You are talking about real big city, if you go to a city in the middle east of Holland, it is 30.00 people, they have cinemas, terraces, cafes, restaurants and a museum. Rotterdam South is like almost six times bigger and it has nothing. So anything is good."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

According to *Neighbourhood Community* a community centre or a place where people could meet is missing in Oud-Charlois. With the social and cultural activities of the *Creative Initiative* the lack of offer in the neighbourhood could be enhanced and was substituting the lack of a community centre.

Shared meaning of a place

– Multiplicity of users

With the two examples of the studio complex of the Foundation B.a.d. and the housing block 't O-tje the *Neighbourhood Community* is invited to use the space together with the artists. According to the *Creative Initiative* both projects are small communities in an area where no community exists. (*Creative Initiative*: board member, a).

According to the *Neighbourhood Community* the spaces are not used enough from the surrounding neighbours and serve mostly as a meeting point between the artists themselves. The perception of the *Neighbourhood Community* is that the artists do they own activities and the neighbourhood is not included enough or have to be invited from the artists more actively so they feel more welcome.

The *Creative Initiative* regards the accessibility of the common space as more open than in the perception of the *Neighbourhood Community*. The *Creative Initiative* is inviting the *Neighbourhood Community* but fails in establishing a notion that *Neighbourhood Community* feels welcome and interested in the activities of the initiative.

– Awareness of diverse values

After the opinion of the municipality places were people with different backgrounds share the same space at the same time are still missing in Oud-Charlois and will need more years to develop.

According to the *Creative Initiative* shared space exists in their projects and the different needs of the neighbours are taking into account by providing flexibility in the use of space.

> *"And in fact all people us, neighbours and Javier are all separated by fences. What we are now trying to do is one big fence. So we are all in the fence why would we be separated from each other. We are not scared from each other. We like each other... This place has the opportunity to really involve everybody because it is such a great place on the waterfront. Everybody wants to be on the waterfront on a terrace. Everybody wants to have a coffee and have a look at the skyline" (Creative Initiative: board member, a, referring to the project 'Aan het water')*

– *Involvement of Neighbourhood Community*

    1. Lack of acknowledgement of *Creative Initiative* from *Neighbourhood Community*

From the information given by the interviewees the existence of artists living in Oud-Charlois is more acknowledged in the city of Rotterdam than by the *Neighbourhood Community* in the neighbourhood itself.

> *"...if you ask someone across the street if he knows an artist: they don't know. I think that is a shame. Because there is a lot going on here. People need to know that. I think it is a job from the artist to work on that." (Neighbourhood Community: resident in Oud-Charlois)*

    2. *Creative Initiative as producer and Neighbourhood Community as consumer*

The *Neighbourhood Community* is demanding that the *Creative Initiative* has to introduce themselves to the community and be more open and transparent about their work and activities. According to several interview partners the artists in the *Creative Initiative* should mobilize the participation of the *Neighbourhood Community*. In addition, the *Creative Initiative* themselves is aware of the need for more active involvement of the *Neighbourhood Community* in their projects.

> *"I have been working so long here, and it is very difficult to get people inside, so you have to go outside with art, public art or activism. But this can be a place that can be a portal to invite all the people, because it is the only place on the waterfront where you can actually enjoy the skyline somehow." (Creative Initiative: board member, a, referring to project 'Aan het water')*

Both sides, the *Creative Initiative* and the *Neighbourhood Community,* are aware that the communication between the two groups in Oud-Charlois is difficult and that it needs a lot of effort and time investment to approach each other.

> *"The artist have to work too much, they have to. But it has to come from both sides I think. It would be a nicer way of collaboration." (Neighbourhood Community: resident in Oud-Charlois)*

> *"But most people here have enough with themselves. They have no time for anything else. They have nothing. And they have so much trouble, that they have no time for anything existing. That is difficult. You have to put it in their*

face if you want to make contact, so public art is a good way."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)

3. *Tension between community groups: pro and con transformation of the neighbourhood*

In the process of the development of projects in the neighbourhood tension between the two actor groups are appearing.

"In Wolphaertstraat they have till 2018 to come up with a plan to keep it. But I think nobody wants to live there anymore because there is the Antillean group of people. And they are very territorial about this street. They are attacking us with baseball bates. I think nobody wants to buy a house there."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)

"Last weekend we did a festival here in the south. The artists were kicked out of the square aggressively by kids from 14-16 years old. It was a festival for kids but the other kids were not happy. They were territorial. They didn't understand it and were scared and so they started to hit and steal cars and kick and fight. They got arrested and again it happened, it was a complete mess." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)

4.4.2 Findings Community Building in Changing Urban Environment in Oud-Charlois

There is communication between the *Creative Initiatives* and the *Neighbourhood Community* in Oud-Charlois. In general there are uncertainties about the actual affect of each other in both community groups.

Discussion outcome assessment four projects

Three of the four projects analysed achieved that the *Neighbourhood Community* could use and benefit from the improved transformation of the environment. Hence, the ownership of space and coverage of basic human needs could be improved by the activities of the *Creative Initiative* for the *Neighbourhood Community*.

One of the projects also achieved that the *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Creative Initiative* is sharing a common space at the same time. In all the projects the *Creative Initiative* is the initiator of the projects and ideas and the *Neighbourhood Community* is invited to take part in the activities.

Three of the projects were resulting in an enhanced communication between each of the groups but not between the *Neighbourhood Community* and *Creative Initiative*. An advanced sense of *Community Building* according to the four chosen indicators could not be identified in one of the projects.

Discussion outcome assessment whole neighbourhood

The influence of the *Creative Initiative* in the transformation process of Oud-Charlois is improving the urban environment for the *Neighbourhood Community*. In addition, the activities of the *Creative Initiative* are influencing the sense of belonging to the *Neighbourhood Community*. By the improved use of the space the *Neighbourhood Community* has developed an advanced sense of identity with their neighbourhood they live in.

In all the projects mentioned by the interview participants the *Creative Initiative* was the initiator and invited the *Neighbourhood Community* to participate or use the space together with the *Creative Initiative*. A shared meaning of a space as outcome could only be identified in one of the analysed projects.

The *Creative Initiative* is assuming that the *Neighbourhood Community* is interested in the same ideas and activities. A common ground for a shared meaning of a place is thereby difficult to establish, when the interest and values of the *Neighbourhood Community* are not taken into account. The end-user perspective of the *Creative Initiative* is in the forefront of the project ideas.

The fact that the Neighbourhood Community is invited to the activities of the Creative Initiative and not part of a collaborative development of the projects creates tensions and difficulties in getting the Neighbourhood Community actively involved in the projects. The Neighbourhood Community and municipality side demands a more actively approach from the Creative Initiative side.

Because of not being actively invited or included in the process of the projects and a lack of understanding the activities of the Creative Initiative, the Neighbourhood Community feels threatened by them and reacts with aggression towards the Creative Initiative. In that case a shared meaning of a place could not be established.

Overall, artists tend to have their own creative ideas first in the development of projects and ask the community if they want to participate in a second step. In this case they assume their product is also interesting for the *Neighbourhood Community* without including the *Neighbourhood Community* interest from the beginning.

The *Neighbourhood Community* is invited to the activities and projects the artists develop for the neighbourhood. Thereby the artists are aware of the difficulties to motivate people to share common space and participate together in activities and events. According to *Neighbourhood Community* the artists are in the position to activate people.

Discussion Community Building

In the last 25 years since the artists moved into the neighbourhood the exchange between the community groups could be enhanced and shared meeting places be established. However, by contributing of the transformation processes in the neighbourhood the *Creative Initiative* was mainly improving the *Community Building* between the artists and the *Creative Initiative*.

In the process of *Spacemaking* in Oud-Charlois the artists created their own small communities and creative clusters in the neighbourhood. The integration with other communities in the area remains difficult.

> *"It is all Oud-Charlois but there are also different communities between it."*
> *(Neighbourhood Community: resident in Oud-Charlois)*

However, new artist communities on a small scale with a strong network between them could be established in Oud-Charlois and an improved sense of belonging to a neighbourhood for the *Neighbourhood Community* could be identified. The awareness of diverse values and interest of different groups remains the most difficult.

Figure 9: Overview geographical area with the *Creative Initiative* and projects in the northern part of Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln

(Adjusted from: Quartiersmanagement Schillerpromenade, M 1:8000)

■ 48h Neukölln, since 1999, Nacht und Nebel, since 2001

■ Schillerpalais exhibition space, since 2002

Project Family Portrait Rose and Gül

■ Street performances on Schillerpromenade

4.4.3 Analysing Outcome Schillerpalais e.V.

In table 10 an overview of the analysed projects from the *Creative Initiative* in Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln is given. The table provides a short introduction to the project activities and an assessment of the main characteristics of the physical and social outcome of the projects by using the indicators defined in Chapter 3. Due to the less physical outcome of the projects identified in the neighbourhood in Berlin a map like in Rotterdam was not conducted.

Table 6: Overview Assessment of Outcome Place-Making, Schillerpromenade

Project	Description of project activities	Improved Place Quality and advanced sense of Identity • **Improved by CI?** • **Used by NC?** • **Shared by NC and CI?** • **NC Involved by CI?**	Community Building – Places as meeting point and communication space • **Places where** *Neighbourhood Community* **and** *Creative Initiative* **get to know each?**
48h Neukölln, since 1999 Nacht und Nebel, since 2001	• Yearly festivals for one weekend where the cultural activities of the neighborhood are presented in the area of North Neukölln • The *Neighbourhood Community* is invited to vistit the festivals and to contribute to the activities, *Neighbourhood Community* gets in contact with art. • The focus from local to international art changed since the festivals started *"Everyone opens their doors for a day; you can go into the production areas, that is the studios, and see how they work. We found when we went round ourselves that others who weren't even registered had opened up. You can assume that those hangers-on had their fun." (Creative Initiative: board member, b, referring to Nacht und Nebel)[18]*	**Improved** • Improvement and activation of public and private space in the neighborhood **Used** • Improved use for *Neighbourhood Community* • Advanced sense of ownership and coverage of basic human need **Shared** • A shared space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could be established for one weekend, multiplicity of users **Involved** • *Creative Initiative* as initiator, *Neighbourhood Community* as invited consumer	• By presenting art in the neighborhood, residents get to know each other • A new meeting and communication space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could be established • Advanced sense of community in the neighborhood for one weekend, focus on Community Building for *Creative Initiative*

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[18] *"Alle machen für einen Tag ihre Türen auf, man kann in die Produktionsstätten gehen, sprich die Ateliers und man kann sehen wie die arbeiten... Wir haben festgestellt wenn wir dann mal selber rumliefen, dass noch andere aufgemacht hatten, die sich gar nicht angemeldet hatten. Man konnte annehmen, dass die, die sich mit dran gehängt haben schon ihren Spaß dabei hatten." (Creative Initiative: board member, b, referring to Nacht und Nebel)*

Figure 10: Photo 48h Neukölln, activated ground floor shop

(Source: author)

Schillerpalais exhibition space, since 2002 Project Family Portrait, *Rose and Gül*	• Former ground floor shop is used as non-profit gallery space, one time exhibition event of portraits of families in Neukölln with the name Rose or Gül • The *Creative Initiative* was visiting the *Neighbourhood Community* to make an art project. The portrayed families came to the exibition and were curious and proud to be part of the project. *Neighbourhood Community* came in contact with art prodcution of *Creative Initiative* • The *Neighbourhood Community* is attacking the space of the *Creative Initiative* with colour bombs to demonstrate that the *Creative Initiative* is not welcome anymore in the neighborhood *"There was once an artist here who walked through the streets and visited every family whose name had something to do with rose. For example rose in Turkish is gül. The Gül families were also portrayed. The family would sit on a sofa and were portrayed together with their furnishings in the background. You could see how the people lived. That was a kind of milieu study, arbitrarily confined to the surnames Rose or Gül. You go to the people and have to talk to them and win their trust. A lot of them actually came here. They wanted to see how they had been captured and what it looked like at other places."[19]*	**Improved** • Improvement and activation of abandoned gound floor shop, activation of street plinth and public space **Used** • Improved use for *Neighbourhood Community*, advanced sense of ownership and coverage of basic human need **Shared** • A shared space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could be established, multiplicity of users and awareness of diverse values **Involved** • *Creative Initiative* as initiator, *Neighbourhood Community* as invited object	• An advanced sense of belonging could be established for the *Neighbourhood Community*. On the other hand is the transformation of the neighborhood threatening another *Neighbourhood Community*. • Exibition space as meeting point for neighbours, space for exchange and communication • *Creative Initiative* gets to know how *Neighbourhood Community* is living • A new meeting and communication space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could be established • Advanced sense of community in the neighbourhood at the same time agression from *Neighbourhood Community* to *Creative Initiative* • Lack of sense of community in the neighbourhood

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[19] *"Es gab hier mal eine Künstlerin, die ist durch die Straßen gelaufen und hat alle Familien besucht deren Familienname irgendwas mit Rose zu tun hatte. Zum Beispiel heißt Rose auf Türkisch gül. Die Familien Gül wurden auch porträtiert. Die Familie setzte sich aufs Sofa und wurde porträtiert zusammen mit der Einrichtung im Hintergrund. Man konnte sehen wie die Leute leben. Das war eine Art Milieu Studie, zufällig eingegrenzt durch die Nachnamen die Rose oder Gül hießen. Man geht zu den Leuten hin, muss mit denen reden und*

Figure 11: Schillerpalais, exhibition space (Source: Google Bilder)

(Source: Google Bilder)

vertrauen erwerben. Viele kamen dann auch tatsächlich hier rein. Sie wollten gucken wie sie getroffen waren und wie es bei den anderen so aussieht." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)

Street performances on Schillerpromenade	• The public space next to the exhibition space is used to perform and make cultural activities • The *Neighbourhood Community* is either invited to join the activity or indirect observer of the activities of the *Creative Initiative* *"Once there was an exhibition here, a boulevard of sculptures where people were encouraged to climb onto a plinth, to be a sculpture, and to pretend to be somebody for a while... Sometimes there were also projects where we went onto the streets, and the people who were coincidentally passing by, noticed and stopped. That's also rather a consumer attitude."* (Creative Initiative*: board member, b)*[20]	**Improved** • Improvement and activation of public space in the neighborhood **Used** • Improved use for *Neighbourhood Community* Lack of advanced sense of ownership and coverage of basic human need **Shared** • A shared space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could not be established, lack of multiplicity of users and awareness of diverse values **Involved** • *Creative Initiative* as initiator, *Neighbourhood Community* as invited object and indirect consumer	• The activities are more parallel than integrative, if residents pass by they indirectly get affected by the performance • Public space as indirect meeting point, a new coomunication space between *Creative Initiative* and *Neighbourhood Community* could not be established • Lack of advanced sense of community in the neighborhood

[20] *„Es gab hier eine Ausstellung, ein Skulpturen Boulevard wo man die Leute animiert hat auch auf den Sockel zu steigen, eine Skulptur zu machen, zu imitieren jemand zu sein für eine Zeit... Manchmal gab es auch Projekte wo wir dann auf die Strasse gegangen sind, dann haben die Leute das als Passanten beiläufig war genommen und sind stehen geblieben, Das ist eigentlich auch eher eine konsumierende Haltung." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

Place Quality

Transformation of neighbourhood

– Change of use of space

Between the research participants there is different opinions about how the artists living and working in the area affect or influence the transformation of the neighbourhood or if there is even a significant influence existing.

In general the projects mentioned by the initiative were less spatial and more social related to the communication outcome between the different resident groups. As one research participant notes:

> *"Then artists didn't just want to be active as neighbours, rather they wanted to change the neighbourhood. They also wanted to change the communication structure and to enable other people to have a different view of the neighbourhood. And then apply for shares in the neighbourhood, for projects, generally not large projects. It thus makes it possible for the artists to really do neighbourhood related work." (Municipality: director cultural department)[21]*

According to all interviewees the festivals *48h Neukölln* und *Nacht und Nebel* are the most visible and influencing activities in the neighbourhood and are creating communication spaces, which enhances that different community groups get to know each other. The festival provides a platform to meet and exchange with people you would not meet otherwise in the context of the daily live. Original intended to showcase the local art scene in the neighbourhood the festivals also developed to a communication space between the *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Creative Initiative*.

> *„By the example of 48h Neukölln it becomes most visible. There are more and less dense phases of artwork, which activates the urban space. In art working people are often invited to use the urban space." (Planning-office: owner)[22]*

In addition the activation of the abandoned ground floor shops by citizens in the area by *Creative Initiatives* and artists are mentioned. Several citizens living in the area used the empty space to compensate the lack of urban amenities of cultural and social offers.

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[21] *"Dann wollten Künstler tatsächlich auch nicht nur als Nachbarn aktiv werden, sondern sie wollten auch die Nachbarschaft verändern. Sie wollten auch die Kommunikationsstrukturen verändern und den anderen Menschen andere Blicke in die Quartiere ermöglichen. Und da stellen sie auch Anträge für die Quartiers Fonds. Für Projekte, im Regelfall nicht große Projekte. Es ermöglichte dann den Künstlern wirklich sehr Quartiersgemeinwesen bezogene Arbeit zu machen."(Municipality: director cultural department)*

[22] *„48h Neukölln, da ist es am Sichtbarsten. Es gibt dichtere und weniger dichtere Zeiten in dem künstlerisches Arbeiten den Stadtraum aktiviert. Künstlerisch arbeitende Menschen werden auch ganz viel dazu eingeladen den Stadtraum zu nutzen." (Planning-office: owner)*

Today the image of the neighbourhood is improved. The influence of the *Creative Initiatives* to the development of the neighbourhood is mainly going back to the improved communication between the neighbours. The festivals gave the first impulses to the area.

However, the opening of the Tempelhofer Feld also influenced the fast development and outcome of the neighbourhood. According to the interviewees from the *Formal Side* the opening of the *Tempelhofer Feld was a* trigger for the fast development in the last years. The development already existed before the opening, but in a slower speed.

> *"It was a really abrupt change which raised the attractiveness of the district as an residential district and as a space for commerce. From one moment to the other... This long-term process, which usually grows slowly, was shortened by the opening of the Tempelhofer Feld." (Quartiersmanagement: project manager).*[23]

The improved infrastructure of restaurants and shops, especially on the main pathway to the *Tempelhofer Feld* is leading back to the new open space as a tourist attraction.

Identity Building

Sense of belonging

– Ownership of space

According to the board member of the *Creative Initiative* their projects in the neighbourhood are not affecting the sense of belonging of the *Neighbourhood Community* of the area they live in. They already feel home and supported by their families and friends.

> *„They feel quite well here. They have families, circles of friends by whom they feel supported. That we exist they certainly noticed. They sporadically got to know us better, but that was not sustainable. That also faded away." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)*[24]

On the contrary, he mentions that the *Neighbourhood Community* feels less at home because the environment is improving and people with higher income and different lifestyle are moving into the neighbourhood. On the other hand the project family portrait enhanced the awareness of the *Neighbourhood Community* of the environment they live in.

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[23] *„Das war eine sehr sprunghafte Veränderung und hat die Attraktivität dieses Quartiers als Wohnquartier und als Ort für Ansiedelung für Gewerbe quasi schlagartig verändert... Dieser längere Prozeß der sich normalweiser entwickelt, der wurde hier ein bißchen abgekürzt durch die Öffnung des Tempelhofer Felds." (Quartiersmanagement: project manager).*

[24] *"Die fühlen sich hier schon wohl. Die haben ihre Familien, Bekanntenkreise, von denen sie sich gestützt fühlen. Das es uns gibt haben sie sicherlich wahr genommen. Sie haben uns mal sporadisch ein bißchen besser kennengelernt, aber das ist ja nicht nachhaltig. Das verplempert sich auch wieder."(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

– Coverage of basic human needs

In the early period when artists started to move into the neighbourhood the offer of urban infrastructure did almost not exist and the ground floor shops were empty. People who were already living in North Neukölln started to use the empty spaces to create cultural and social offer in the area and to create a neighbourhood life with their own social and cultural program.

> *„Firstly it is about developing quality of life. The location and the offer of the district were more than poorly." (Litschko, 2012)[25]*

According to the municipality two community centres or a place where people could meet was missing in the Schillerpromenade. With the social and cultural activities of the *Creative Initiative* the lack of offer in the neighbourhood could be enhanced and was substituting the lack of a community centre. At the moment community centres are established in the area.

Shared meaning of a place

– Multiplicity of users

According to the board member of the *Creative Initiative* the places in the neighbourhood were shared more before the transformation of the area started. With new people moving into the neighbourhood people tend to stay among their own community.

> *„People were very simple but also very openly. And today this is changing. Now they are more middle-class and stay by themselves. They have private talks at the tables. In the working-class bars was talked in big rounds, every body was involved." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)[26]*

On the other hand, the festivals *48h Neukölln* and *Nacht und Nebel* are enhancing that the *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Creative Initiative* share spaces together. In the starting phase of the festivals the focus was on linking the different community groups in the neighbourhood. Today the program is less local oriented and attracting more tourists to the area. The activities of the festivals bring something new and a change of use of the urban environment into the neighbourhood.

– Awareness of diverse values

All interviewees are noting that the district of North Neukölln has an increased sense of community.

In addition, with the *Creative Initiative* moving into the neighbourhood the clustering of communities as *ghetto building* of the past could be reduced in the neighbourhood.

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[25] *"Hier ging es überhaupt erst mal darum, Lebensqualität zu entwickeln. Die Örtlichkeiten und das Angebot im Viertel waren ja mehr als mau." (Litschko, 2012)*

[26] *"Leute waren sehr einfach aber auch sehr offen. Und heute ändert sich das. Die sind ein bisschen bürgerlicher und schließen sich mehr ab. Sie halten privat Gespräche an den Tischen. In diesen Arbeiterkneippen wurde in der großen Runde geredet, da war jeder miteinbezogen." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

The income of artists to the neighbourhood helped to disperse community groups and brought a more divers population to the area. According to a research participant the communication between the communities is enhancing and they are living next to each in a tolerant environment. Communication and exchange between the different groups is happening for instance in the backyards of the neighbourhood or on the plinth level in the former ground floor shops.

Involvement of Neighbourhood Community

1. Lack of acknowledgement of *Creative Initiative* from *Neighbourhood Community*

Based on the collected data, part of the *Neighbourhood Community* is not aware of the activities of the *Creative Initiative* and they could be more active in the transformation of the area.

> *"I don't know, if we as artist have so much influence. A lot of us have just their studios, they are not very visible. Plenty of our neighbours didn`t even noticed, that we are artist. When we arrive with a van for an exhibition, they think, that there takes place another relocation"(Litschko, 2012)[27]*

2. *Creative Initiative* as Producer and *Neighbourhood Community* as Consumer

One board member of the Schillerpalais doubts the ambitions of his colleagues in the early stage of their activities. According to him the initiative failed in including the *Neighbourhood Community* in the projects and describes it as a naive idea.

> *"I personally criticized that always, but the others had really innocent ideas, that you can have contacts with the neighbours. There is quickly the image of a Turkish woman with the scarf. I think these are phantasy images which we make of ours neighbours as strangers." (Creative Initiative: board member, b)[28]*

In addition, he is critical reviewing the approach of the *Creative Initiative*. The interest oft the *Neighbourhood Community* should be taken into account before the idea from the *Creative Initiative* is developed and offered as a product to the residents as consumers. A more integrated approach would be necessary to get involved with the *Neighbourhood Community*.

> *„Maybe the approaches failed in total. Maybe they were wrong. Maybe you should first ask what they want to have and what they need. You can´t stay at*

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[27] *"Ich weiß gar nicht, ob wir Künstler so viel Einfluß haben. Viele haben hier ja nur ihre Ateliers, sie sind nicht sonderlich präsent. Viele unserer Nachbarn haben noch nicht mal gecheckt, dass wir Künstler sind. Wenn wir für eine Ausstellung mit einem Mietwagen anrücken, denken sie, hier wurde schon wieder ein- und ausgezogen." (Litschko, 2012)*

[28] *"Ich persönlich habe das immer kritisiert, aber die anderen hatten wirklich die naive Vorstellung, das man Kontakte mit den Nachbarn hat. Da kommt gleich das Bild mit der türkischen Hausfrau mit dem Kopftuch. Ich glaube das sind alles Phantasiebilder die man sich von den fremden Nachbarn macht."(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

your own work and mention that the others only need to be interested in it. That maybe doesn`t work." (Creative Initiative*: board member, b)*[29]

3. Tension between community groups: pro and con transformation of neighbourhood

At the moment the *Creative Initiative* is confronted with attacks from a left wing community group who are claiming that the Schillerpalais is the reason for the gentrification processes in the neighbourhood. They see art and culture present in the neighbourhood as an attractor for residents with a high-income level.

4. Object

Another pattern of involvement between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Neighbourhood Community* could be identified: By using the neighbours as content for the art project of the artist the two groups get to know each other and a certain level of trust could be developed in the cooperation of doing the art project. The *Creative Initiative* thereby got an insight about the living conditions of the *Neighbourhood Community*.

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[29] *"Vielleicht waren die Ansätze insgesamt alle mißlungen. Vielleicht waren die ja falsch. Vielleicht muss man die Bewohner erst mal fragen was die haben wollen und brauchen. Man kann nicht von seiner eigenen Produktion ausgehen und sagen die anderen brauchen doch nur mal sich dafür interessieren."(Creative Initiative: board member, b)*

4.4.4 Findings Community Building in Changing Urban Environment in Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln

There is communication and exchange between the *Creative Initiatives* and the *Neighbourhood Community* in the Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln. Overall the presents and influence of the initiatives in the daily live remains unrecognised for part of the *Neighbourhood Community*. The community groups, *Formal Side* and *Creative Initiative* confirmed the influence of *Creative Initiative* for special events and exhibitions.

Overall, the projects from the initiative and in the whole of North Neukölln are more related to workshops and in the social investment of people than to spatial interventions. Spatial interventions are mostly initiated from the cultural department.

In Berlin artists are getting invited by the *Formal Side* to contribute to the transformation of the neighbourhood in order to make it more attractive.

Discussion outcome assessment three projects

All the projects analysed achieved that the *Neighbourhood Community* could use and benefit from the improved transformation of the environment. Hence, the ownership of space and coverage of basic human needs could be improved by the activities of the *Creative Initiative* for the *Neighbourhood Community*.

Two of the projects also achieved that the *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Creative Initiative* is sharing a common space at the same time. In all the projects the *Creative Initiative* is the initiator of the projects and ideas and the *Neighbourhood Community* is invited to take part in the activities. The two projects were also resulting in an enhanced communication between *Neighbourhood Community* and *Creative Initiative*. An advanced sense of *Community Building* according to the four chosen indicators could be identified in the two of the projects.

Discussion outcome assessment whole neighbourhood

The two main festivals in the area, where the *Creative Initiative* is part and initiator of, are influencing the transformation process of the neighbourhood and improving the urban environment for the *Neighbourhood Community* for a temporary timeframe.

An improvement of the urban environment in terms of physical change could only be identified by the activation of the street plinth level by giving a new use to the abandoned ground floor shops. Overall, the direct influence of the *Creative Initiative* to the improved environment is not clearly identifiable because of the opening of the *Tempelhofer Feld*.

The activities of the *Creative Initiative* are influencing the sense of belonging of the *Neighbourhood Community* by making art projects about the *Neighbourhood Community*. An improved offer of social and cultural program was given in the early stage of the transformation of the neighbourhood. That the *Neighbourhood Community* took use of the cultural offer could not be identified by the information given.

With the moving in of the *Creative Initiative* and artists in the neighbourhood a diverse population established in the neighbourhood and the communication between the different communities is enhancing. With the moving in of higher-income residents due to the improvement of the neighbourhood environment the communication between the *Neighbourhood Communities* is decreasing again. With

the focus of the festival to a more international audience to local view of the activities is disappearing.

In the perception of the *Neighbourhood Community* the *Creative Initiative* and artists in the area could be more actively involved in the neighbourhood development. At the same time the *Neighbourhood Community* is claiming the impact of the *Creative Initiative* to the transformation of the area as one factor for gentrification processes in the area. The *Creative Initiative* is aware that their activities in the neighbourhood are most of the time not able to integrate the interests of the *Neighbourhood Community*. The interests of the two groups are stated to be too different in order to share common activities.

Discussion Community Building

Several interview partners stated that the sense of community in the neighbourhood of North Neukölln is more advanced than in other neighbourhoods in Berlin. On the other hand one interviewee stated that the sense of community is changing from sharing spaces to staying more under themselves.

On the other hand one research participant is stating that with the moving in of the *Creative Initiative* and artists into the neighbourhood the segregation of community groups could be decreased.

In the process of image-building in the Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln the *Creative Initiative* established several platforms for communication and meeting places between the *Neighbourhood Community* and *Creative Initiative*. An advanced exchange between the communities could be identified.

4.4.5 Findings comparison both cities

Discussion outcome assessment seven projects

This study took an example of seven different projects in two different neighbourhoods to get more insight in how they influence transformation processes. A representative analysis of all projects realised by the initiatives in each neighbourhood has not be conducted.

Based on the analysed projects in each city all the activities by the *Creative Initiative* could achieve an improved outcome for the neighbourhood. Only one of the projects in Rotterdam failed to invite the *Neighbourhood Community* to use the space. Three of the seven projects achieved that the *Neighbourhood Community* and the *Creative Initiative* are using the improved space together. In Rotterdam one of the housing projects could achieve that neighbours from the two communities share and communicate in a place together on a long-term basis.

In Berlin the art project connected with the life of the *Neighbourhood Community* in the area shows that *Neighbourhood Community* can appreciate the art production from the *Creative Initiative* if the content is linked to the life of the neighbourhood.

In Rotterdam the project connected to urban gardening achieved to invite the *Neighbourhood Community* and to share the improved space from the *Creative Initiative*. The end-user driven transformation could thereby be combined with the interest of the *Neighbourhood Community*. However, the amount of people participating from the *Neighbourhood Community* could be higher in order to establish a sustainable and mutual *Community Building* between the groups.

The Project Studio Complex Foundation B.a.d. has the highest motivation as an end-user development. At the same time is also the project with the highest sustainability of duration, but has the lowest level of *Neighbourhood Community* involvement and *Community Building* of the analysed projects.

Discussion outcome assessment whole neighbourhoods

Both neighbourhoods have undergone a process of a changing urban environment with actors as end-users involved. The *Creative Initiative* in both cities improved the urban environment of the neighbourhood.

In addition, using the improved space could enhance the awareness of the area the *Neighbourhood Community* lives in. The *Creative Initiative* was able to create an advanced identification potential for the *Neighbourhood Community*. The *Creative Initiative* was able to create a link between the *Neighbourhood Community* and the urban environment they live in by *Place-making* activities.

A shared meaning of a place between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Neighbourhood Community* could be established in both cities. However, to establish the awareness of diverse values between the two groups remains the largest challenge for *Place-making* activities in the two areas. Thereby the understanding of the notion of the particular needs and interests of other community groups is important (Madureira, 2013, p. 168). In both cities tension between the two groups emerged by the transformation processes influenced by the *Creative Initiative*.

Community-based positions: pro and con transformation processes

The different community groups have different interests in the change of the urban environment. The *Neighbourhood Community* group sees a threat in the new transformation of the neighbourhood and in the people who are influencing this process. The improvement and change of the places do not find acceptance by all of the communities in the neighbourhood.

In both cases, the initiatives are able to involve the *Neighbourhood Community* in their activities. The *Neighbourhood Community* plays mainly the role as the consumer of the projects the *Creative Initiative* is developing. The relation between the groups stays on a participation mode of involvement.

In Rotterdam, the own interest of the initiatives at the forefront behind their projects in the neighbourhood hinders the integration of the *Neighbourhood Community*. The *Creative Initiative* has the advantage of the inside view but acts along their interest.

According to Boelens and Boonstra, citizen involvement empowers weak groups and minorities in inclusionary processes (2011). In Rotterdam, the inclusion of the *Creative Initiative* as a citizen group and informal experts of transformation processes lead to exclusionary outcomes of projects for the *Neighbourhood Community* by a powerful elite. According to Healy, this is a process of an exclusionary outcome of *Place-making* activities (2010).

Collaborative interactions between the community groups needed?

In order to achieve a collective shaping of the environment as end-users for a multiplicity of stakeholders and different values, the *Creative Initiative*s did not achieve to establish collaborative interactions with the *Neighbourhood Community*. The acceptance of projects in the neighbourhood in the *Neighbourhood Community* remains difficult.

Discussion Community Building

In Rotterdam, the artists of the *Creative Initiative* living in the area are part of the everyday neighbourhood life and are therefore able to identify local needs and gaps in the social and urban infrastructure. Thereby the *Creative Initiative* has the inside view of an informal expert (Jacobs, 1961) and the inside out approach of Self-organization (Boelens and Boonstra, 2011) and achieved to involve the *Neighbourhood Community* in their activities.

In Berlin the local view of the *Creative Initiative* was less important, the local art production for an improved image of the neighbourhood was the main drive of the initiative. Thereby, as in the case of Rotterdam, they achieved to build an advanced sense of community according to the definition of this research.

The *Creative Initiatives* in both cities are not only locally oriented. They are also connected to an international art network. The interest and focus of the *Creative Initiative* are therefore not only concentrated on the local needs of the *Neighbourhood Community*. The *Creative Initiative* in Rotterdam mainly built their own community and created an international link to the art scene. Jakob refers to the concentration of artists to an *elite socio-spatial enclave* in her case research of *Kolonie Wedding* in Berlin (Jakob, 2010).

One research participant summarises:

> *"If you want to make a community you need a shared interest... It [*Creative Initiative*] is not so locally orientated, and it is much more bigger I think."* *(Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

Other factors influencing the nature of the initiatives

In Berlin, a special agreement between housing owners and *Creative Initiative* was not necessary since space was available and the owner asked almost for no rent. In Rotterdam a higher pressure on the market forced the *Creative Initiative* to get in negotiation with the formal stakeholders. The negotiation created a fruitful base for later collaborations in the development of the initiative.

Role municipality

On the contrary to Rotterdam, cultural institutions were parallel developed, facilitated by the cultural department, to the moving in process of the artists. The strategy of the municipality was to create a cultural landscape in order to improve the situation and image of the neighbourhood.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

This thesis explores the effect of self-organised interactions on *Place-making* activities in two neighbourhoods in Berlin and Rotterdam South. The process of self-organised activities of the selected initiatives was investigated in two interaction points. The assessment of the outcome of the *Place-making* concept was then adopted to explain the linkage between the self-organised nature of the initiative to the outcome of the transformation of the neighbourhood in terms of *Community Building*.

5.1   Impact process of Self-organization on outcome of Place-Making

Concept S-O: Process collaborative interactions, Creative Initiative – *Formal Side*

Both *Creative Initiative*s are self-organized based on the definition used in this research. The *Creative Initiative* in Rotterdam achieved to establish a new form of *Collaborative Governance*. The collaborative interactions at the beginning of the *Creative Initiative* in Berlin did not establish a new form of working together with the *Formal Side* in the process of the evolution.

Concept P-M: Outcome Community Building, Creative Initiative – Neighbourhood Community

Both *Creative Initiative*s achieved to invite and involve the *Neighbourhood Community* in their activities. When a specific overlap of interest could be established between the two community groups, the communication could be enhanced and a common meeting ground could be established. An advanced sense of belonging and shared meaning of a place for the *Neighbourhood Community* could be achieved.

However, the involvement of the *Neighbourhood Community* lacks sustainability and degree of involvement and is connected to a high investment of energy and mobilisation from the *Creative Initiative* side.

Collaboration versus involvement

In the concept of *Self-organization,* the relation of the *Formal Side* and the *Creative Initiative*, in the concept of *Place-making* the relation between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Neighbourhood Community* was analysed. Thereby, collaborative interactions are emerging between the citizen and the *Formal Side*, between the citizen community groups only participatory processes could be identified.

The self-organised initiatives with an inside view and knowledge of local needs were able to invite and include the *Neighbourhood Community* to their activities. However, the relation between the community groups remains difficult. Instead of a collective shaping of the city and creating a vital and lively neighbourhood from the bottom-up the *Creative Initiative* proposes their ideas from a citizen-based top-down approach to the *Neighbourhood Community*. Mutual or collaborative interactions between the citizen communities could not be identified.

With the example of the two cases, it could be shown that the inside view of the *Creative Initiative* as part of the neighbourhood and everyday life results in involvement of the *Neighbourhood Community*. Three different patterns of involvement could be identified:

1. Indirect consumer
2. Invited consumer
3. Object

Conditions end-user and sustainability

In Rotterdam, the strong motivation as end-users leads into a new from of governance with the *Formal Side*. Thereby the *Creative Initiative* created a strong position for them and was able to establish its interest in the change of the urban environment. The self-interest of the group was thereby on the forefront, the interest of the *Neighbourhood Community* were mainly not taken into account.

The project, which resembles the most the self-interest of the *Creative Initiative*, is thereby the most sustainable one, which will continue in the next 30 years. The projects or the initiative were the interest as an end-user is not on the forefront of the concept and an increased *Community Building* is the most enhanced, will most likely not continue.

> *"B.a.d. is stabilised for the next 30 years, we are the only ones organised in Rotterdam I think in that way. In the way that we decide what happens and not the other way around." (Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

Condition image-building and public hand

In addition, the image-building and art presentation in Berlin were the main motivation for the *Creative Initiative* and their activities, the motivation as end-user was less relevant in their activities. In comparison to Rotterdam, a powerful position and influence of the *Creative Initiative* in the transformation processes did not occur. In the case in Rotterdam the public side was less successful to limit the power and influence of the *Creative Initiative* and to include the interest of the *Neighbourhood Community*.

Conclusion: Impact Collaborative Governance on Community Building

With the research results of the two analysed case studies, a direct connection between a new form of *Collaborative Governance* and an advanced sense of *Community Building* could not be identified. The two case studies show that the *Creative Initiatives'* interests as end-users of the improved environment are the main factors hindering inclusionary processes between the *Creative Initiatives* and *Neighbourhood Community*.

In Rotterdam, the emergence of new *Collaborative Governance* could be established between the *Creative Initiatives* and the *Formal Side* and *Community Building* between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Neighbourhood Community* could be enhanced. Despite the lack of a new form of collaborative interactions in Berlin, *Community Building* by *Place-making activities* in the form of an advanced sense of exchange and communication between the two citizen groups could be established.

The *Creative Initiatives* were able to enhance *Community Building* by *Place-Making* activities in the transformation process of the two selected neighbourhoods. In Rotterdam and Berlin, the interest as end-users of the *Creative Initiatives* as a powerful elite remains at the forefront.

The outcome of the projects is thereby connected to tensions between the community groups and are not achieving a collective and just shaping process of a city. The *Creative Initiative* in Rotterdam as informal experts took over the position of the *Formal Side* and is planning and implementing its ideas as end-user form a citizen top-down approach to the *Neighbourhood Community*.

In Rotterdam the outcome of the projects are therefore more difficult for inclusive processes of the *Neighbourhood Community* because the interest of the *Creative Initiative* is at the forefront and the *Formal Side* is less involved than in Berlin to safeguard public interest.

In Berlin, the members of the *Creative Initiative* did not take over the inside perspective of an urban planner and stayed more to their traditional roles. Hence, their influence was less important. In addition, the *Formal Side* could remain a strong position in the transformation processes of the neighbourhood.

Overall, it can be concluded that an art-led development of a neighbourhood has a positive influence on the physical improvement in transformation processes of deprived neighbourhoods in the two analysed cases and both self-organised *Creative Initiative*s could achieve the involvement of the *Neighbourhood Community*. An inclusionary processes which take the local needs, interests and values of the *Neighbourhood Community* sufficiently into account could not be achieved.

5.2   Creative City concept

Inclusionary processes: collaborative interactions or participation processes between community groups

The *Creative City* approach proposes that the involvement and participation of the *Neighbourhood Community* are needed to develop a progressive urban development. The artists or the *Creative Class* is thereby in the position to motivate the *Neighbourhood Community* and enhance the relationship between space and people.

According to the theory, in the context of the *Creative City* concept, government-led initiatives are not achieving to interact with the *Neighbourhood Community*. This research was interested if self-organised initiatives in a changing urban environment can improve the relation between the community groups and enhances *Community Building* by *Place-Making* activities. Thereby, the two selected initiatives achieved to invite and involve the *Neighbourhood Community* in their activities.

However, the *Creative City* concept claims to be able to enhance not only economic but also social inclusion processes in urban development. Therefore, the interest and engagement of the *Neighbourhood Community* has to be included in the transformation processes of cities. Thereby Self-organization theory is emphasising that a collaborative process of shaping the city is needed to establish a progressive development.

This research argues that with the passive involvement of citizen-based groups are more progressive urban development can not be achieved without exclusionary processes from a powerful elite and lack of sustainability of *Creative Initiatives*. The freedom of exchange of new ideas among the community groups has to be facilitated by an environment where the community groups can meet on a mutual level.

The role of public hand – Mutual exchange between community groups needed?

The empowerment and mobilisation of disadvantaged groups should be provided from the public hand and the energy of the *Creative Class* and the *Neighbourhood Community* should be able to focus on the collective process of changing the urban environment.

Visionary key persons have to come from both sides of the community groups. The creativity emerging among the community groups have to lead to an innovative approach to transformation process in the urban environment. Vital collaboration with a mutual exchange of ideas and knowledge between elite and less powerful citizen groups is thereby needed.

The theory is stating that creative *Place-making* activities in combination with the participation of the *Neighbourhood Community* can enhance vital neighbourhoods and quality of life. According to the findings of the two case studies of this research, an advanced collective approach between the community groups is needed.

Creative City concept – economic driven

In addition, the theory states that top-down approaches of creative development can not enhance inclusion processes when the initiatives are profit oriented.

In the context of non-profit *Creative Initiative*s investigated in this research, the transformation of the neighbourhood is end-user driven in Rotterdam and image-building driven in Berlin. *Creative Initiatives* without profit orientation avoid being part of the art market. They have to be creative how to support their life. To be able to find their way to make art and live from it, artists get involved in urban planning processes and community projects.

> *"If I would not have had the chance to do what I want to do then I would miss that part. In fact, I don't work in museums or galleries, but I can do, you have to organise yourself then. If you are not getting invited then you have to invite yourself... This is the new artist. He is not just making objects and trying to be in the art market. New artist is profiling society by questioning ideas and trying things out."(Creative Initiative: board member, a)*

5.3   Reliability and validity

This study is acknowledging that only two cases in two specific cities were analysed and therefore generalised conclusions cannot be provided by this research. In addition, the different context and the complexity of external influences of the two cities chosen has impacted the interpretation of the collected data.

In addition the findings are influenced by imperfect information and selection of research participants. Furthermore, information given by interviewees with a stronger voice could have influenced the research analysis direction.

A main challenge during the research was the limited availability of working space in the city of Rotterdam and at the Erasmus University. A vital and inspirational place is not only important for urban but also for research environments.

5.4   Recommendations for further research

This study has added to the growing research of the linkage between the two concepts of *Self-organization* and *Place-making*. It provides more insight into the relationship of collaborative interactions and an advanced sense of Community Building.

In order to apply a *Creative City* approach, the community-based initiatives including the *Creative Class,* play an important role. For a more inclusive approach for the concept, further research is needed to understand if collaborative interactions between citizen groups can enhance Community Building and what conditions favour them. Portugali states that a connection between creative bottom-up actors is needed (2012). Thereby a lack of knowledge exists on how this connection should look like to enhance *Community Building*. According to the theory, novelty comes from the citizen side. Therefore, an equal exchange of ideas between the citizen groups can only enhance the novelty of the outcome of the projects.

In the context of the *Creative City* and *Place-making* concept further research is needed to understand more about the interaction patterns between the two community groups. Thereby the concept of collaborative interactions can be applied to investigate the relation between the two community groups and get more insight about *Place-making* activities. In addition, further research in how different kind of projects and activities of *Creative Initiatives* is impacting the outcome of transformation processes is needed. It is recommended that further

application of the concept of *Self-Organization* be conducted to compare methods and findings.

This research concludes with following quote about the relationship between the *Creative Initiative* and the *Neighbourhood Community* in the Schillerpromenade, North Neukölln:

> *"The both worlds are way to different. That is the point where you have to build bridges. As an artist most likely. He or she hast to catch them. If he is able to engage and mobilize them then they will participate. But this happens almost never." (Social Initiative: employee and resident North Neukölln)[30]*

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[30] *„Die beiden Welten sind viel zu unterschiedlich, viel zu weit voneinander weg. Das ist der Punkt wo man Brücken schlagen muss. Als Künstler höchst wahrscheinlich. Der muss sie kriegen. Wenn er es hinkriegt die zu gewinnen, die irgendwo packt, dann schafft er das. Dann machen die auch mit, aber das passiert selten." (Social Initiative: employee and resident North Neukölln)*

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Annex 1 – Research Time Scheduling

MONTHS		May		June				July				August				September	
ACTIVITIES	WEEKS	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
	DAYS																	
1 **IHS Events**																		
1.1 Submission RMT																		
1.2 RMT			RMT II Data		Ext. RMT 3 Works						RMT 3		RMT 3	RMT 3				
2 **Prepatory Work**																		
2.1 Selection case study. Contact persons email, secondary data research		Elena	Linda, Forbes, Andriena Lushtaku, Maartje	Find cases														
2.2 Interview Design		First Draft		Scheduling Interviews		Adjustments												
3 **Field work, Interview Meetings**																		
3.1 Rotterdam					R'dam													
3.2 Berlin						Berlin												
4 **Information Collection**																		
4.1 Primary Data																		
4.2 Secondary Data																		
5 **Information Elaboration**																		
					Interview Transcription													
6 **Data Analysis**																		
								Qualitatative Data Coding										
7 **Thesis Writing**																		
4.1 Adjustments Chapter 2																		
5 Chapter 3																		
Chapter 4												Chapter 4						

Annex 2 – Interview List Oud-Charlois

	Name	Position, Organization, Initiative	Date and place of interview
1	Andriena Lushtaku-Smedts	Municipality Rotterdam, Stadsontwikkeling	17.06. De Rotterdam-Wilhelminakade 179-Floor 11 3.00-4.00pm
2	Soma Sirini	De Gebiedscommissie Charlois	22.06. 1.30-3.00pm
3	Kamiel Verschuren	B.a.d/NAC	22.06. Talingstraat 5 17.00-19.30
4	Danielle Bazen	DOCK	24.06 Clemensstraat 111 14.00-15.30
5	Fense Berkhof	Woonstad Rotterdam	24.06 Ooltgensplaathof 1 16.00-17.00
6	Jitka Andréa	NAC/'t O-tje	24.06 Nieuwenhoornstraat 135a 20.00-21.30
7	Anjana Koedan	DOCK, resident	25.06 Clemensstraat 111 Field trip 10.00-12.00
8	Chris Oskam, Els	Werkgroep Oud Charlois	25.06 Clemensstraat 111 12.30-14.00
9	Tineke Teunen	NAC/Stichting Kick	26.06 Grondherendijk 46 14.30-16.00
10	Herman van Wamelen	Gemeente Rotterdam Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling Afdeling Cultuur	14.08 15.00-16.00

Annex 3 – Interview List Neukölln

	Name	Position, Organization, Initiative	Date and place of interview
1	Arnold Mengelkoch	Migrationsbeauftragter Bezirksamt Neukölln	01.07. Rathaus Neukölln 10.00-11.30pm
2	Martin Steffens	Kulturnetzwerk Neukölln 48h Neukölln	01.07. Bottega 6, Richardstr. 2.00-3.30pm
3	Oliver Heimes	Quartiersmanagement Schillerpromenade	02.07. Schillerpromenade 10 10.00-11.30pm
4	Steffanie Raab	Coopolis zwischennutzungsagentur	02.07 Hobrechtstr. Biospähre 12.00am-1.00pm
5	Bettina Busse	Bezirksamt Neukölln Fachbereich Kultur	03.07 11.00-12.30 Karl-Marx Str. 141 Field trip "Es ist eine Wand" Isarstr.
6	Dr. Beate Kolland	Former director Bezirksamt Neukölln Fachbereich Kultur	08.07 17.00-18.00 and 10.07 17.00-19.00 Windscheidstr. 2
7	Lovric	Nachbarschaftsheim	08.07. 15.00-15.30
8	Christian Schoon	Nachbarschaftstreff	09.07 14.00-15.30
9	Axel Daniel Reinert	Schillerpalais	14.07 14.00-15.00
10	Christian Hasucha	Künstler	15.07 11.30-13.00
11	Beate Storni, Tobias Deicke	Kiez in Aktion	15.07 15.15-17.00
12	Thomas Helfen	Quartiersmanagement Flughafenstrasse	16.07 10.00-11.15

Annex 4 – Interview Guide

1. Introduction of interview participants
2. Brief outline of research topic and objective
3. Explanation of the use of the interview: thesis for Master course in Urban Management and Development
4. Clarification if the recording of the interview is possible
5. All interviewee will be asked: Name, name of initiative/community organization, position, areas of responsibilities, and duration of time they have been part of it
6. Closing the interview by asking if the interviewee wants to add a final comment or question
7. Ask for further contacts or secondary data that may be useful for the research
8. Interviewee will be informed that a review before the submission of the thesis is possible
9. Interviewee will be asked if member check will be possible
10. Interviewee will be informed how to access the final thesis

Annex 5 – Interview Questions

Name of initiative:

Name and surname of interviewee:

Role within the initiative/community organization:

Date and place of the interview:

Conditions and general questions:

- How did you get involved in the initiative/project?
- How many people are part of the initiative/project?
- What backgrounds do they have?
- Since when are you living in this neighbourhood? Is everyone from the initiative/project living in the neighbourhood?
- Are there people engaged in the initiative/project not living in the neighbourhood/not living in the neighbourhood anymore?

S-O: Starting phase

Citizen decision and leadership

- What happened at the beginning of the initiative? Can you explain to me how your initiative was started?

  Supplement questions:

- Who made the decisions at the beginning of the initiative?
- Can you explain to me further how the initiative was established and who was contributing or were the key persons?

External incentive

- Was there a specific event or circumstance, which lead to the initiative?
- How did you get engaged in the initiative?

Independence

- Can you explain to me if and how you received external support?

  Supplement questions:

- Who are your partners in the initiative/project? Who is involved in the initiative?
- Have you collaborated with the local government or private companies in any activity?

S-O: Evolution phase

Boundary spanning

- Can you tell me more about your organization or structure of the initiative, especially in relation to the external communication?

Supplement questions:

- Can you explain to me if there are persons in charge for the external communication of the initiative?
- How many meetings does the person/s attend?
- In general who is involved in these kinds of meetings?

Adaptation of actor roles

- Can you explain to me how new ideas for projects in general develop and who plays a role in initiating them?

Supplement questions:

- Who is the idea giver or initiator of a project?
- What was your position or task in the beginning of the initiative?
- What is your task today? How does a day active in the initiative looks like today for you?
- In your opinion, what has changed in the organization or structure of your initiative?
- Where are resources, ideas and information to realize projects are coming from?

Quality of collaborative interactions

- Who is actively contributing in the initiative?

Supplement questions:

- Is the community actively involved?
- In your opinion did you engage people who would have normally not taken part in this kind of initiative out of their own motivation?
- Is/was the community joining the activity?
- How do they contribute?
- Did you learn something new from other participants you worked with?

P-M Identity

Sense of belonging

- Can you tell me how you feel about the place? Do you feel home/well?

Supplement questions:

- Is something you were actively involved visible here in the public space/in a building?
- Can you tell me if you would miss something if you would move?
- If you would have 1 million euros, how would you use it to improve the place?

Shared meaning of a place

- Can you explain to me who uses the place? Can you explain to me with who you are meeting on the place?

Supplement questions:

- Do you think that people who use the place now would have normally not used it without the project? Would you have used the place without the project?
- After your opinion is the place well shared by participants with different background (gender, ethnic, age, income, new/old residents)? Are they using the space at the same time?

P-M Place Quality

Spatial features

- If you would move what would you take with you what reflects the neighbourhood the best?

Supplement questions:

- In your opinion do you see a special or unique connection between the place and the neighbourhood? And if yes which one?

Transformation of space

- What was the property value 5/10 years ago?
- What is the property value today?

- Can you tell me something about the transformation of the space?

Supplement questions:

- What happened after the project started?
- How did the place change or improve after the project started?
- How was the place used 5/10 years ago?
- How is the place used today?

Annex 6 – Spatial Observation Guide

By first conducting semi-structured interviews the focus of the observed area will be identified. Several site visits at different times and a combination of unstructured and structured spatial observations will be made in order to map the area of *Place-making* activities and to asses the outcome of the project complementary to the conducted interviews.

A list for main aspects to be analysed is prepared:

1. Mapping *Place-making* projects in two neighbourhoods (enclosed or open space)

2. Space characteristics:

    *   Use of space
    *   Objects, furniture and tools used to modify the space
    *   Form and function of space
    *   Scale of space
    *   Flexibility of space
    *   Uniqueness of space
    *   Accessibility

Annex 7 – Research Diary Field Work

12.6. - 16.7 Scheduling Interviews by applying snowball method

Rotterdam 12.6 - 26.6

Through the cooperation in the research with Elena Ostanel it was fast to find the key informants for Rotterdam Oud-Charlois and to schedule the first interviews with them. By asking the first informants for further suitable interview partners, more appointments could be made over a period of two weeks. A challenge was thereby the upcoming summer holidays, which made it for some of the preferred interview partners impossible to arrange an interview meeting with me while finishing their work for the summer break. On the 21 June I visited the South Explorer, an open day for galleries, artist studios with divers locations and program in Rotterdam South. The occasion was used to conduct a first spatial observation of interventions in the urban environment by local artists. Two preferred projects could already be identified and one further interview with a participant of one of the projects be arranged.

Berlin 28.6 - 16.7

In Berlin it was more difficult to find the first interview partners. Through desk research mainly in local newspapers the neighbourhood area *Schillerkiez* and the initiative *Schillerpalais* in North Neukölln were selected which suited the defined categories to have comparability between the two cities as much as possible. The scope of the predefined area changed in the first week because the different informants of this area were hard to reach and first appointments for interviews could be made only for the last week of the fieldwork period. In addition, while talking to the first interview partners at the *Bezirksamt Neukölln* new key actors were mentioned and recommended to talk to which lead to a broader perspective to the North area of Neukölln instead of only the *Schillerkiez* area. Other areas in the neighbourhood were included and the role of artists in the development of North Neukölln viewed in a broader scale. Through the informants, which were available in the first week, the scope of the research in Berlin also focused more on the history and the beginning of the development of the neighbourhood to an art and cultural attraction point.

Another challenge in Berlin was the identification of projects in the urban environment of North Neukölln. North Neukölln is an area where the block structure of the apartment houses is very dominant and more or less fixed in its spatial form. Furthermore, projects in the open space where artist might have been the initiator are lying way back in the past and it was not possible for me to identify projects which have happened years ago and to find the right informants which most of them are not living in the neighbourhood anymore. On the 28 June I visited the art festival *48h Neukölln* which was used as well as a first spatial observation of urban interventions from artists. Thereby I discovered several galleries spaces, which are part of the organisation *Freie Projekträume und –initiativen*. Through to the upcoming summer holidays in Berlin it was again difficult to get hold of important informants. To the contrary in Rotterdam, in Berlin I ended up receiving the main information from third parties, which have been involved in the process or had a high knowledge of it but were not involved as direct actors of the initiatives.

After the field work period through the availability of suitable informants and their knowledge I decided to consider the cases as the two neighbourhoods Oud-Charlois and North Neukölln and the initiatives active in these two areas. Thereby the selection

of the sampling is followed by the snowball method and doesn't represent all initiatives in the two neighbourhoods.

I also recognized that the different level of development of the two selected areas has also affected the nature of the spatial analysis and the sampling of suitable informants.

A further unexpected challenge was the time, which was necessary to set up the interviews, to find the right persons to talk to, especially in Berlin, and to communicate with potential interview partners. In order to get hold of people several emails and phone calls had to be made. The intensive communication let almost no time to start with the transcription of the collected data in the fieldwork period.