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Betreft:

Appendix 1: Cultural interventions and multi-disciplinary teams to enhance 'feeling at home' in 'Krachtwijken'

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This report serves as one of the two background documents for the HvA/UvA research proposal concerning cultural interventions in the process of urban regeneration in Krachtwijken in Amsterdam (see also Appendix 2). The report at hand, based on a review of the international literature on art and regeneration, and on international and Dutch practices, shows why the proposed research will be both valuable to the practice of Amsterdam and to international research. The report starts with a description of the role of the arts in urban regeneration (§2) and the objective of regeneration processes: 'feeling at home' (§3). Next, paragraph 4 further explores the role of the arts in urban regeneration by focussing on the forms and impacts of and critique on different cultural interventions. Finally, §5 summarises the preconditions for effective cultural interventions. This general overview of the functions of cultural interventions in the urban context provides the background against which our research agenda is presented.

1. Introduction

Urban regeneration is a highly complex process encompassing several different potential conflicts, for instance between social stakeholders and urban planners, between residents and urban planners, and among residents with different experiences of feeling at home. Conflicts that should not be avoided but properly studied and dealt with in order for all parties to be best served. To deal with such (potential) conflicts two developments can be discerned: a more explicitly residents-focused approach and a more distinct role of the arts in urban regeneration processes.

While the image and quality of the city or of individual neighbourhoods have thus long been, and to a certain degree still are, the main driving forces of many regeneration processes, in recent years, one can clearly distinguish a shift of attention towards the prioritisation of the 'quality of life', or, in other words, towards a more residents focused approach. This international tendency was translated into the "Wijkaanpak" (neighbourhood approach) in the Netherlands: it prioritises support and mobilises people living in deprived areas in order for them to obtain choices, social mobility and consequently these positive trends are expected to reflect upon their neighbourhoods which are to become better places to live. That is, places where one can feel at home. We consider

'feeling at home' an important element in urban regeneration practices, as it is both a prerequisite and an outcome of successful regeneration activities. Therefore, we need to take feelings of nostalgia and emotions related to 'feeling at home' seriously, as 'belonging' somewhere is an existential need for us all. For neighbourhoods to become more liveable, comfortable areas where people feel at ease in their home and with each other in the public sphere, one needs residents who 'feel at home', and vice versa. Additionally, without a certain attachment or sense of belonging to the home and surrounding area, we cannot expect citizens to become active and participating residents. The difficulty is, however, that people experience different feelings of home, in the own dwelling as well as in public spaces. These feelings are ever more so contested during physical regeneration practices when large rebuilding schemes rudely intervene in neighbourhoods and uproot residents.

The arts are highly suitable to guide such processes. The arts may be defined as 'a means through which we can examine our experience of ourselves, the world around us, and the relationship between the two, and share the results with other people in a form which gives free rein to our intellectual, physical, emotional and spiritual qualities' (Matarasso, 1999). Art has always been a significant part of what cities are and do. The visual culture expressed in architectural styles, monuments, and the designs of parks as well as the less formal culture offered by street musicians, neighbourhood festivals and other cultural events contribute to how cities feel and are experienced. But also, more recently, the arts as cultural interventions ('creative hotspots', community art projects, etc.) play an increasingly important part in cities and regeneration processes. Cultural interventions stimulate such processes because their point of departure is a 'fun' project rather than a problem; artists operate relatively independent from existing policy agendas and power structures, therefore art projects create new spaces (interstices) to come to unexpected conclusions and solutions; and art triggers 'peaceful deliberation processes' because everyone relates differently to a piece of art, therefore inherent to art projects is the exchange and management of differences in opinion (potential conflict). Landry & Matarasso (1996) sum up the characteristics inherent to the arts as follows:

- They engage people's creativity, and so lead to problem solving.
- They are about meanings, and enable dialogue and debate between residents, social groups, professionals and policy makers.
- They encourage questioning, and the imagination of possible futures.
- They offer self-expression, which is an essential characteristic of the active citizen.
- They are unpredictable, exiting and fun.

Arts programmes are therefore not an alternative to regeneration initiatives like environmental improvements, training schemes or youth development projects. They are a vital component, which, like yeast in dough, can transform a situation.

Considering the fundamental part art and culture are of everyday life and therefore of one's living environment, one would expect that those concepts be fully integrated into the field of urban research. Nevertheless, it was not until the 1980s that the study of culture and its importance to the urban form and change was recognised. Urban studies at that time were mainly preoccupied with demographic and political-economic changes that left little room for culture as a focus for urban theory and research. This changed with the decline of manufacturing-based economies of cities that took place in the 1970s and 1980s (Lin & Mele, 2005, p.279). As the trend of globalization was progressing, advanced capitalist countries entered into the stage of the new knowledge and informational economies. Several scholars, most prominently Richard Florida, claimed that the key driver of these new knowledge economies was creativity, especially artistic and technological creativity (Sasaki, 2004, p.1). Their claims resonated in urban politics and consequently, art became increasingly justified on the basis of its supposed contribution to what might broadly be termed 'urban regeneration'. The contributions of art, it was argued, could be economic, social, environmental and psychological. Such advocacy was in line with the broader shift towards 'cultural' means to address the deep-rooted problems in cities (Hall & Robertson, 2001, p. 5). Urban development strategies became strongly influenced by the beliefs of what makes cities desirable in an increasingly globalised economy, where knowledge, creativity and innovation are the driving forces for economic growth and prosperity.

Nevertheless, culture is often still just an "add-on" rather than an integral part of a regeneration scheme. This is partly caused by the fact that the local authorities and partnership bodies responsible for regeneration (see our analysis of interviews with housing corporations in Amsterdam)

are rarely structured to facilitate collaboration between those responsible for regeneration and those responsible for cultural activity and they often do not naturally think of themselves as collaborators (Evans, 2005, p. 970). Moreover, urban regeneration itself is usually quite a diffuse process through which different - and sometimes conflicting - interests and goals are combined. Since wider city (economic and policy) ideals are often contesting individual or neighbourhood needs and wishes. Moreover, as urban governance and the integral approach are popular nowadays, another potential struggle is at hand: Will all stakeholders and beneficiaries be invited around the planning table? Will their voices be evenly heard?

Our hypothesis is that cultural interventions are needed in urban regeneration schemes to create an enabling atmosphere and open up communication. Not just for residents to feel at home in their neighbourhood, but also to make positive, lasting contributions in line with the “Wijkaanpak” goals. An important prerequisite however, is that all different parties involved are working alongside in, what we call, multidisciplinary teams to prevent such interventions from being just another lose-ended, additional project among many other projects.

Therefore our primary intention with this research is two-folded:

1. To experiment with and analyse different cultural interventions that contribute to the sense of feeling at home in urban regeneration areas (Krachtwijken) in Amsterdam;
2. To experiment with and analyse multi-disciplinary teams in order to enable collaboration among different stakeholders - from physical, economic, social and cultural backgrounds - during the entire regeneration process (from planning phase till delivery).

2. The arts and urban regeneration

In 1965, Jane Jacobs formulated how she perceived a successful neighbourhood: “*A successful city neighbourhood is a place that keeps sufficiently abreast of its problems so it is not destroyed by them. An unsuccessful neighbourhood is a place that is overwhelmed by its defects and problems and is progressively more helpless before them*” (1965, p.122). Evans (2005) defined urban regeneration as the transformation of a place - residential, commercial or open space - that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline. Roberts and Sykes (2000, p.17) conceptualised regeneration more specifically as: ‘A comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change.’ Urban regeneration should therefore facilitate and contribute to the dynamic nature of places, through comprehensive and integrated vision and action. Such vision and action is especially needed because urban regeneration processes:

a) follow distinct phases: planning, demolition, realisation and, finally, the return of old and influx of new residents;

b) are characterised by the following aspects:

- it is location-specific because in each area the stakeholders differ
- it integrates different timeframes: it seeks solutions for current urban issues and it simultaneously aims for a design of a long-term sustainable living environment
- it is multidimensional: urban regeneration integrates not only the physical, social, cultural and economic aspects of the specific area, but also brings together public and private partners with diverging aims and values.

c) serve different objectives:

1. *Economic*: creation of employment, attracting businesses and tourists
2. *Social*: encouraging social interactions, meetings between different types of residents and enhancing positive coexistence, health and wellbeing.
3. *Environmental or physical*: improvement of the built environment and public places in order to improve the quality of life of local residents
4. *Cultural*: enhancing group identity, place identity or positive connotations to the neighbourhood; the image and self-image of an area and also the heritage, history, traditions and skills within a society, embracing diversity, pluralism.

In short, urban regeneration processes are complex and potentially highly conflict-ridden. Several scholars (e.g. Matarasso 1997; Landry 1999, 2004; Tornaghi 2007) present a strong claim that, within regeneration schemes, cultural interventions could be used as a vehicle to integrate the agendas of the stakeholders and the different objectives and that art is able to dynamically deal with the above-mentioned characteristics of urban regeneration. Thereby the arts become integrated as a

tool in all strategic actions that are part of urban regeneration processes. This can be done in different ways. That is, Evans (2005) identifies three regeneration models depending on the degree of influence attributed to the arts within the process. Within these models culture, depending on how cultural activities are incorporated, could either serve as:

- 1) a driver or catalyst leading the regeneration scheme (**culture-led regeneration**)
- 2) one of the main pillars integrated in a broader strategy (**cultural regeneration**)
- 3) at the very least a key player, but not fully integrated at the strategic development or master planning stage; the role often remains small, ad hoc and/or ornamental (**culture and regeneration**)

Although these models can be readily discerned in countries with a rich history of experience in incorporating the arts in regeneration schemes (mainly the Anglo-Saxon Western countries), insight and research findings on how the arts can play an effective role in urban regeneration remains tentative and dispersed. Recent developments in urban regeneration in the Dutch context point towards a stronger base for cultural interventions, but here too research and insight in both the conceptual and practical requirements of the arts as an integrated part of regeneration processes remains obscure. Therefore, it seems most relevant in the Dutch case to focus on ‘how’ cultural interventions can become integrated in urban regeneration, rather than remaining a single part (or ornament) in regeneration processes. The question ‘how’ to shape such cultural intervention processes is also distinctly heard among representatives of the Amsterdam housing corporations (see Appendix 2). Answering the ‘how to’ question is also to gain insight in the “effective implementation” or “*krachtige uitvoering*” central to the *Amsterdams Uitvoeringsprogramma Wijkaanpak 08-09* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2008). Hence, the first two research questions are:

RQ 1 - On the conceptual level: How are social, cultural and physical interventions to be integrated, whilst taking into account the location-specific and multidimensional character in time and disciplines of urban regeneration processes?

RQ 2 - On the practical level: How can cultural interventions be effectively embedded in the various phases of urban regeneration processes?

3. The objectives of regeneration: ‘feeling at home’

The previous section already mentioned several objectives of urban regeneration. Before we continue our exploration into the role of the arts in regeneration processes, it is important to first focus on the objectives set by the ‘*Amsterdamse Wijkaanpak*’-agenda. These objectives entail, amongst others, ‘Integration & Participation’, ‘Residing & Living’ and ‘Security’. In these themes, physical, social and cultural interventions clearly overlap, probably more so than e.g. is the case in the more pedagogical objective ‘Learning and Growing-up’ (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2008). Although we will focus on specific aspects of the first three themes mentioned above, our central aim in the proposed research is to transcend these themes and focus on the overarching concept of ‘feeling at home’ (*thuis voelen*). Because, as mentioned in the introduction, neighbourhoods are only liveable areas when most people feel at home there and only when people feel at home do they actively invest in their neighbourhood to keep it liveable and a comfortable place to be. Obviously also the physical state of the neighbourhood has a high stake in how at home people will feel. Therefore, feeling at home is both a prerequisite and an outcome of urban regeneration.

‘Home’ matters to everybody, but there are many meanings of home for various people.¹ This multiplicity is itself meaningful: to feel ‘at home’ is not a singular feeling but a multiple, plural and layered sentiment that travels from the individual household via the neighbourhood to the nation, and from the house to the workplace. What are these different feelings of home? The phenomenological perspective on home - representing familiarity, order, permanency, comfort and *place-bound* culture - has long been dominant. Home in this perspective was fixed and rooted, unreceptive to change - the last stronghold, in fact, against change. In our mobile era, this paradigm - ‘that one needs a particular place to feel at home’ - has not necessarily weakened, but has become more complex. To illustrate with a few experiences of feeling at home:

- More and more highly mobile people in this globalised world are able to feel at home ‘en route’. That is, at least for some, ‘feeling at home’ does not necessarily imply place

¹ This section is based on J.W. Duyvendak (2010).

attachment, but could also incorporate attachment to generic goods such as hotel chains instead. It also implies that 'homes' for the extremely mobile are more *socially* and less territorially defined.

- Migrants often develop feelings of home both for their new place as well as for their place of origin. Through their transnational way of living, they can perfectly combine senses of belonging to different places.

- For people who are rather immobile, the idea that feeling at home is strongly connected to a particular place seems obvious, for they can only feel at home in particular, historic and context-specific places.

It is in our local neighbourhoods where all these experiences of feeling at home come together, specifically after urban regeneration and the resultant increased variety in housing stock. Hence, in a rapidly changing world, 'feeling at home' increasingly comes to depend on the behaviour of others who move into what was until then - for the less mobile - a familiar neighbourhood. 'Home' these days is more and more the result of interactions with many others. In a more diverse context, people can, to a certain extent, 'familiarize' themselves with new neighbours and shops. But familiarity in a highly heterogeneous context will always be limited, and not enough to feel at home. People thus begin to view their own place in relation to other groups and their places, emphasizing its exclusive identity. In our chaotic days of globalization and immigration, a 'fortified' idea of 'home' is appealing to many people (cf. Giddens). Whereas cosmopolitans embrace 'nomadism' and consider the de-placement of home to be an attractive and promising development, many others struggle with not feeling at home in an increasingly pluriform and mobile social environment. They strongly deplore the loss of a familiar home.

The challenge for urban regeneration is to deal with these disparate senses of home, taking into account that home is important to all people - mobile and less mobile; and that home relates to concrete, *geographical and/or material* places as well as to *symbolic* places: does one belong and is one's feelings of home accepted by others? Additionally, there are a few preconditions for feeling at home shared by all people. For instance, towards the material end of the material-symbolic continuum of home one finds aspects that pertain to feelings of **safety**, **security** and privacy in feeling at home. In this category of emotions, feeling at home depends on the material quality of a place (as experienced by individuals). Towards the symbolic end of the material-symbolic continuum of home, feelings of home rather refer to the ambitions and characteristics of the individual: can she 'be', develop, and express herself thanks to a certain (material and/or symbolic) 'home place' that facilitates the development of an **exclusive identity** that helps orient the individual vis-à-vis the outside world? Besides safety, security, identity and exclusivity, the most important precondition for feeling of home is **familiarity**, "knowing the place" and a certain measure of **predictability**.

Within the process of urban regeneration it is of fundamental importance to better understand, acknowledge and appreciate these different sentiments and experiences of feeling at home in order for neighbourhoods to stay (or become) pleasant areas for their inhabitants and visitors. The question is how to solve the following paradox: if we try to create inclusive public spaces by respecting all differences, feeling at home will necessarily remain a 'thin' and rather superficial feeling. And, the other way around, if people develop 'thick' public feelings of home by forcefully celebrating their identities, they risk jeopardizing the home feelings of others. In other words, there can be zero-sum effects in terms of home feelings among the public. In the proposed empirical research, we will examine what it is that makes people feel at home (and how these indicators relate to the Wijkaanpak-objectives); to what extent their individual experience of home is strengthened by the cultural intervention; and to what extent the cultural intervention is able to accommodate the disparate feelings of home:

RQ 3 - What are the long-term effects of cultural interventions on feeling at home and how does this relate to the Wijkaanpak-objectives (liveability, cohesion, safety, etc.)?

4. Cultural interventions to improve ‘quality of the city’ and ‘quality of life’: forms, impacts, and prerequisites

Since the 1980s the arts are claimed to be a catalyst for regeneration (especially in the US and UK), a magnet for tourism and business, an enhancement to the visual quality of a city’s environment and a provider of focus for community and individual development (Miles, M., 2005, p. 989). They appear in different shapes, forms, roles and functions within the process of urban regeneration. Consequently, when searching for literature on the role of art or cultural interventions within urban regeneration, one quickly encounters numerous, diffuse and overlapping concepts and forms: public art, creative industry, community art, art spaces, flagship projects, city marketing, place making, cultural planning, and so on. Within such a broad spectrum it is necessary to group different cultural interventions and distil those art practices most suitable to the proposed research (§4a).

Also with regard to the impact of cultural interventions, a wide range of objectives and effects can be discerned in the literature. Where the focus (internationally) in 1980s was mainly directed towards economic benefits of the arts and urban regeneration, nowadays more attention is given to community arts programmes that are flexible and responsive to local needs (Carey & Sutton, 2004, p. 123). Regeneration using cultural events and flagship projects has widened the rationale for cultural investment to include social impacts, in particular, arts-based projects which address social exclusion, the well being of city residents and greater participation in community life. According to Evans, the arts have generated interest in regeneration through their symbolic potential, such as heritage and identity, assisting in cultural expressions and processes of change, and in reaching those local actors that other regeneration activity do not reach. Subsequently, the focus moved towards a combination of benefits of 1) social inclusion and liveability and 2) economic competitiveness and growth and their interrelationship through regeneration and related neighbourhood-based intervention, seeking better engagement and consultation with local communities to improve ownership of the cultural project and local benefits. The impact of the arts in urban regeneration will be further explored in §4b, but first we will look at the different forms of cultural interventions in urban regeneration.

4a Forms of cultural interventions

For the purpose of this study we distinguish between cultural interventions directed towards the ‘quality of the city’, and cultural interventions focused on the ‘quality of life’ including art practices originating from residents.

‘Quality of the city’ cultural interventions

As stated earlier, in the past two decades culture-driven urban strategies have emerged in many cities in economically advanced nations and transformed urban landscapes dramatically. These developments are based on the idea that cultural interventions can be employed as a catalyst for urban economic growth by which cities enhance their competitive position. ‘Quality of the city’-projects are **policy-initiated** and focused on the **supra-individual level**. Several forms are used, but generally include one of the following aspects:

1) *The insertion of a flagship cultural institution in a post-industrial zone, often a waterfront site, to lever private-sector investment and attract tourists.* This is what the British call “prestige (or flagship) regeneration projects” (Hall & Robertson, 2001, p. 7). Cultural institutions range from a national modern art museum (e.g. Tate Modern in London) to opera houses (Sydney) or libraries (OBA in Amsterdam) and so on. Often such iconic buildings and institutions are built to represent the ambitions of the future of a particular city.

2) *The designation of a neighbourhood as a cultural industries quarter for small- and medium sized businesses in the arts, media and leisure* (Miles, M., 2005, p. 893). Cultural and creative industry quarters are spatially limited and distinct areas that contain a high concentration of cultural and creative facilities and entrepreneurs. The cultural and creative facilities and entrepreneurs can also be confined to one location, i.e. one building, which would then be called a ‘creative hotspot’ rather than a ‘creative quarter’. Scott (in Miles, M. 2005, p. 893) takes the broadest approach and includes furniture manufacture, leather, perfume and other commodities alongside the arts and film in cities such as Los Angeles and Paris. Others focus, in the narrow definition, only on the visual and performing arts, and heritage. Landry and Bianchini (1995) understand the arts, media and cultural consumption as the main contributors to a creative city.

Another type of cultural intervention aimed at the quality of the city concerns ‘art objects in public spaces’ (or as attached to buildings) for decorative purposes contributing often primarily to the quality of the city rather than the quality of life of residents. That this, these objects are often chosen by housing corporations with a clear idea of what is “aesthetically correct” and enhances the value of property in an area, rather than the outcome of an extensive consultation process in which local residents have a decisive voice. Although a trend is discernible in which physical regeneration in small-scale art projects is concerned with the design of high-quality living environments; thus aimed at improving the quality of life in neighbourhoods (Evans, 2005, p. 966).

Roles of “quality of the city” cultural interventions

One role of cultural interventions directed towards the quality of the city is improving city legibility by acting as a simple landmark. Cultural interventions also signal and promote the desire of local authorities and other agents to regenerate defined areas, enhance vitality and vibrancy, and be transformative in pointing the way for new and innovative directions for the area (McCarthy, 2006, p. 245). Considering the iconic flagships, one key role is to radically rearticulate the meaning of a place or contribute to the image of a city: they make radical statements about where a city’s future might lay, and what it has to offer (Miles, 2005b, p.913). Additionally, cultural interventions are often applied to enhance place image and local identity. One of the main roles of cultural interventions, either flagships or cultural quarters, is thus **place branding** and **city marketing**. For the purpose of branding, cultural and aesthetic capital can be mobilized and orchestrated so as to promote a city or area with the primary aim of achieving economic benefits such as increased visitor numbers and investments. An underlying rationale behind such redevelopment projects is to generate new consumer demand by attracting new visitors and shoppers to the city and thus is rarely directed primarily at improving the quality of life of the residents already living in the areas concerned (Miles, 2005b, p. 916).

Roles contributed to ‘quality of life’ cultural interventions in the process of urban regeneration, can be summarised as follows (Hall and Robertson, 2001, p. 7):

1. Contributing to local distinctiveness; (re) defining place image (branding)
2. Attracting companies and investment (city marketing)
3. Having a role in cultural tourism (city marketing)
4. Adding to land and property values
5. Creating employment
6. Increasing the use of open (derelict, post-industrial) spaces
7. Reducing wear and tear on buildings and lowering levels of vandalism.

Critique on “quality of the city” interventions

Much literature appeals to the question whether or not arts or cultural strategies have contributed to the economy of cities or urban neighbourhoods. One critical issue concerns the uneven distribution of benefits of cultural redevelopment. For example, although the costs of such large flagship cultural institutions are considerable, they are only one of many platforms through which individuals access or participate in creative activity. Unfortunately, such access is often limited due to language, income or other social or economic barriers, and only a limited number of artists will ever have the opportunity to train for and participate in the performances and exhibitions sponsored by major cultural institutions. The result is a high extent of homogeneity. Furthermore, these institutions are often highly vulnerable to economic deprivation, much more so than small grassroots organisations working across many districts and disciplines on a much lower budget (Evans and Foord, 2006).

Several researchers have remarked that ‘quality of the city’-cultural interventions often neglect both historical precedents and the symbolic importance and value of place and space (Evans, 2004, p. 91). The creation of new place-images may run contrary to local identities if such strategies seek to re-shape identities without engaging local communities. This is related to the issue of homogeneity, since cultural regeneration strategies, and cultural quarters in particular, often seem to present a formulaic approach, resulting from serial replication, that ultimately leads to cultural quarters in different cities becoming more similar to each other.

The recoding of a district as a cultural quarter may lead to gentrification - a shift from multiple to single occupancy and from rent to owner-occupation of housing being a key aspect of this. And to marginalisation (or peripheralisation) of local residents who become constituted as a residual

public. A cultural zone can easily be read as a zone of affluence (Miles, M., 2005, p. 890). But a neighbourhood cannot be “given” a new image through flagship projects, public art or other cultural interventions without the residents giving meaning to it. Moreover, the extent to which cultural interventions in such contexts enhance or reflect local identities is often problematic, since they usually reflect hegemonic images of the city as a consequence of place branding priorities, which can lead to homogeneity and erosion of distinctiveness if applied as part of a process of serial replication rather than sensitive adaptation to context (McCarthy, 2006, p. 244). Sharp, Pollock and Paddison (2005) identified this issue as a repetitive theme within urban regeneration. *Which* culture (or the question ‘culture for whom?’) is employed as part of the process of revival? The imposition and the favouring of particular cultural interests over others are likely to engender reaction and resistance; it can turn out to be socially divisive leading to “cultural wars”. Urban (regeneration) politics are thus caught between the objectives of making the city more competitive in an increasingly globalised economy and of battling social inequalities. Sharp, Pollock and Paddison (2005) further suggest that in the deployment of cultural interventions it is the *processes and deliberation* that are vital in weaving culture into the urban fabric in an inclusive manner.

Issues of identity and the use of public art are also bound up with notions of authenticity and integrity, which may be seen to be eroded as a consequence of the process of commodification of art (McCarthy, 2006, p. 247). Furthermore, culture in these programs often does not include broad representation of cultural producers or communities. The outcome than is a growth of cultural infrastructure but neither does it support (local) cultural producers (such as artists, writers and performers) nor does it necessarily serve local cultural needs. Moreover, when local residents are not included in the planning phase of such interventions, their wishes and needs are often not included. This may lead to alienation rather than strengthening the sense of home and belonging in the neighbourhood. Subsequently, it may be that local cultures are both more politicised and under threat (Miles, M., 2005, p.895).

The role of artists and other creative people in the early stages of an area’s redevelopment is acknowledged by most scholars (Shaw & Evans, 2006). Artists and small creative businesses are recognized as agents of change and a help to kick-start property-led regeneration. But the creatives often have to move out when rents and property prices rise beyond their reach. Thus ‘successful’ regeneration can lead to the displacement of these artists, unless a specific policy measure or financial incentive enables them to stay.

‘Quality of life’ cultural interventions

Recently, more time, energy and resources are directed towards improving the “quality of life” in the Netherlands and the city of Amsterdam: a residents’ centred approach, as opposed to the policy, economy and symbolically driven regeneration approach of ‘quality of the city’ cultural interventions. This development is in line with an international trend which Betterton described as follows (in Evans, 2005, p.966): ‘the focus has now shifted towards more “soft edged” rationales for cultural investment: cultural activity as on key indicator of a city’s quality of life’.

When addressing forms of cultural interventions that aim at improving the quality of life in the city, we are talking primarily about community art. Community art projects are cultural interventions in which social as well as artful goals are incorporated, and in a way are always directed on improving a difficult social situation, conflict, exclusion, and so on. It concerns projects that are either permanent or temporary; object, event or process oriented; and are mostly employed in smaller-scale communal and neighbourhood regeneration projects. They originate within both the public and the voluntary sectors, as well as from a range of cultural and social activist groups committed to communal regeneration. Community art projects follow a broader advocacy of the cultural, rather than a purely property-led or economic approach to regeneration, and build on a strong tradition of community arts dating back to the 1960s. This is what the British refer to as ‘communal regeneration projects’ (Hall & Robertson, 2001, p.10). Unlike many social and developmental initiatives, such cultural interventions focus on community assets not problems. They deal with traditions, natural heritage, local landmarks, oral history, contemporary art, and other aspects identified and cherished by participants themselves. Where problems are part of the equation, they are identified internally and from experience, rather than by outside experts (Matarasso, 2003, p. 457).

As with the 'quality of the city' cultural interventions, the number of forms these interventions can acquire is infinite. Nonetheless, there are a few common features (Trienekens, 2006a, p.11):

- (professional) artists are involved in the processes and/or it concerns art
- a (large) number of actively participating residents are involved
- the objective of the intervention is both creative/artistic and social

Roles of "quality of life" cultural interventions

Effective community art projects produce a wide range of developmental outcomes, alongside their intrinsic cultural value. Hence they can play a wide range of roles. According to Newman, Curtis and Stephens (2003, p. 318) participation in arts (and sport) can aid neighbourhood renewal through improved performance on indicators of health, crime, employment and education. In more general terms, Matarasso (2003, p.457) formulates the role of (community) art interventions as follows: 'Culture is above all how humans create and articulate their values; it allows internal meanings to be externalized and shared with others (...) Cultural action enables people to place themselves as legitimate actors within the broader life of their society: it lays the foundations of empowerment. (...) The arts have the potential to define and symbolize alternative realities, while working through them can build people's capacity for and interest in shared enterprise. They can form a nucleus of self-determination, even of resistance.' The role of community art is thus expressed in both individual and collective empowerment processes, and those two processes are strongly intertwined.

Based on the research findings of Matarasso (1998a), the two types of empowerment contain the following roles:

1. **Personal empowerment:** development of competences and creativity (see also Matarasso, 2007, p.456); building of (personal) social networks and social integration; impulse to education, training and life-long learning; and to achieve a higher quality of life. These kinds of projects tend to build on the expertise of local people and demands skills and resources that are within their reach, with appropriate support, they therefore have a high chance of success. They require the development of generic and transferable practical, organizational, and cooperative skills that are resources for future action.
2. **Community or collective empowerment:** social inclusion; enhancement of local image and identity; and community self-determination. That is, some works go beyond personal effects, providing a common experience that draws people together and influences the way the community perceives itself, thereby creating intrinsic benefits that accrue to the public (McCarthy et al., 2004, p.37). Community art processes are also frequently seen as playing a role in strengthening pride and ownership within communities. Community art projects aim to build social capital - a process which establishes networks, mutual trust and cooperation within communities for the benefit of all- in the form of relationships of trust with others, including those outside people's normal networks, such as politicians and professionals in public services. These developments in turn support the creation of social enterprises, which give individuals the power to take collective action towards shared goals. In this respect, community art projects can be transformative in pointing the way for new and innovative directions for the area concerned (McCarthy, 2006, p. 245).

For the purpose of this study we add a third role to community art projects:

3. **Feeling at home:** Concerning the process of regeneration there is another important role that combines both individual and social gains to the physical local territory: it can contribute to the sense of belonging to a place. Arts advocates have argued that community art can intervene and help rejuvenate severed social connections, both by promoting community discovery and awareness and by directly enhancing social connections. Community art can contribute to or revitalise a shared public culture. Something that is thought to be lacking in deprived neighbourhoods. Thereby, the process of community art also contributes to increased awareness and respect for others and thus contributing to 'public familiarity' (Blokland, 2006), as we have seen: an important precondition for feeling at home.

Critique on "quality of life" cultural interventions

One critique on community art interventions refers to the fact that they are often too much locally contained and/or the isolated initiatives remain without a strong link to policy or planning. On the

other hand, where interventions are linked to policy and planning, they run the risk (that is not so much a critique) of being deployed as low-budget problem-solvers. Or they are being put in situations in which they have little chance to contribute - because allowed only short-term and peripatetic involvement - to structural problems; problems that, in any case, are likely to result from other social domains and government policies (Miles, M., 2005, p. 904). Artists and community art can never replace social work.

Another critique is that not all cultural interventions are as flexible and inclusive as can be in order for a broad range of residents to connect and identify with the project, for substantially diverse groups of people live within the same neighbourhood. On the flipside, such inclusiveness might turn the intervention into very general and abstract formats in which no one can relate to the project anymore. They would thereby run the risk of losing interest, ownership and consequently active involvement of the participants.

The two interventions are coming together

Both types of interventions are of fundamental importance in the process of urban regeneration. However, such divide between prestige and communal art is increasingly hard to keep up in reality: many cultural interventions could easily be both prestige and communal of nature simultaneously. Take for example, in the city of Amsterdam, cultural festivals such as the “Samen Indische Buurt Festival” that bring together local residents and focus on positive place branding by targeting people from outside the residential area. Also the Amsterdam housing corporations increasingly integrate their economic and social agendas (see also Appendix 2). For example, Beehives (Amsterdam West) is a “*bloeiplaats*” where all creative entrepreneurs spend two hours a week on neighbourhood improvement. Additionally, housing corporation Ymere (co-)initiated creative hotspots such as Garage Notweg (Amsterdam Osdorp) and Tolhuistuin (Amsterdam Noord), where, beside entrepreneurial and economic goals to boost the creative bustle in the neighbourhood, an increasingly outspoken social-neighbourhood focus is interwoven.

These sorts of creative locations function partly as, what Grodach refers to as, ‘community art spaces’ (2009). These community art spaces serve a variety of roles relating to community development as well as generating economic revitalization (Grodach, 2009, p. 16): First, by providing events and meeting spaces, they can serve as local gathering places catalyzing social interaction both within and between different groups of people. Cultural locations reinforce their role as facilitator through the wide variety of arts and educational programs and activities they offer. Second, community art spaces assume a leadership role by spearheading projects in their immediate community and often work in partnership with other local community organisations. Because residents and audiences are often involved in this activity, it likewise boosts community participation and capacity. Thirdly, each of these roles helps to create and reinforce a positive and often distinct community identity and creates a sense of belonging for participants. Hereby enhancing the potential of more residents feeling at home. Fourth, by attracting visitors from both within and outside the immediate surroundings, art spaces may generate local spending and tourism. Finally, many art spaces provide assistance directly to local artists; this further contributes to local economic development and individual betterment.

Since such kinds of cultural interventions have a clear orientation towards engagement in neighbourhood improvement, where local residents take part in innovative entrepreneurship and creativity, they will be included in our research. In specific: Garage Notweg and Tolhuistuin will function as two out of four case studies.

Although the two approaches are coming together in the context of the city of Amsterdam, these cultural interventions can be made more effective through a process of cultural planning as developed in countries such as the UK, US and Australia. Cultural planning is a process of inclusive community consultation and decision-making that helps local governments identify cultural resources and think strategically about how these resources can help a community to achieve its civic goals. It is also a strategic approach that directly and indirectly integrates the community’s cultural resources into a wide range of local government planning activities. Properly planned, it includes all arts forms on different levels (arts and culture, cultural clusters, community art projects, etc.), yields economic benefits, as well as enjoyment and inspiration for everyone (Evans & Foord, 2008, p. 71).

In cultural planning, the emphasis is generally on process and on a more inclusive and “territorial” approach to culture where a cultural assessment establishes the true involvement of the community in the planning process rather than simply understanding the community as an object of planning. It establishes an inventory of local culture and takes a hard look at resources, gaps and needs, enabling to plan better, liveable, socially just and responsive communities. Consequently, through cultural planning, culture is not only a strategic tool for city marketing, but also recognised as a component of local amenity and quality of life. It is symptomatic for the social turn identified in the urban cultural policy of the late 1990s, which aimed at obtaining a wide integration of art and cultural expression as well as cultural resources in revitalising cities and city life (Smidt-Jensen, 2007, p.10). Although cultural planning is not entirely new to the Dutch urban regeneration practice (see e.g. OC&W, 2003, p.21; Boomgaard 2005), it still is far from a widespread and fully integrated practice.

Therefore, while studying different types of cultural interventions, the proposed research also incorporates the study of two cultural planning processes: one is currently prepared in the Kolenkitbuurt (Amsterdam Bos en Lommer) and one in de Indische Buurt (Amsterdam Zeeburg).

4b Impact studies

As shown above, a substantial and varied amount of roles and claims has been attributed to the arts over the years. Consequently, several impact assessments and studies have been carried out in order to gain evidence for these claims. In this section we discuss several impact studies addressing the role of the arts within regeneration schemes. However, what our literature review also showed is that measuring the arts is no clear-cut business: a lack of adequate evaluations and satisfactory research models is identified as one of the reasons why it often remains unclear to what degree the arts (positively) influence regeneration processes (Kay, 2000, p. 422). Most articles on the impact of the arts have in common their quite critical stand on how the contribution of the arts is measured. Before describing the impact of ‘quality of the city’ and ‘quality of life’ urban interventions, we will briefly pay attention to the challenge the arts face in proving their effect and impact.

The need for proof, but how to deliver this?

When the arts started to play a fundamental role in urban development schemes in the United Kingdom and the United States, it was claimed to contribute to a great range of regeneration objectives such as improving social cohesion in neighbourhoods, boosting local economy through city marketing and identification (see e.g. Florida). However, starting from the early 1990s arguments for why the arts should be supported have undergone a dramatic shift. With growing scepticism on government expenditures, **accountability** became more important. In America arts supporters realized that they needed to build a case for the value of the arts that would effectively appeal to the American public and its legislative representatives. That case has since evolved into an argument that the arts produce benefits—economic growth, education, and pro-social behaviour—that all Americans (not just those involved in the arts) recognize as being of value. To support this argument, arts advocates have borrowed from the language of the social sciences and the broader policy debate to show how the arts benefit society (McCarthy et al. 2004). It is this phase of building a case for the arts that the Netherlands finds itself in.

However, claims demanded evidence. Consequently, in recent years several researchers reviewed literature, policies and programmes on the effects of the arts (see for example Newman, Curtis and Stephens 2003; McCarthy et al. 2004), in an attempt to clarify what contributions have been “correctly” attributed to the arts, and what fields of research have been neglected. This is not a straightforward exercise, there are three major challenges with regard to proving the impact of the arts: a) to overcome the lack of (consistent) conceptualisation and interpretation; b) to overcome the lack of comprehensive research methods and dealing with the necessity of combining tools to measure impact; and c) to deal both with the intrinsic and the instrumental (social) impact of the arts (Ramsey White & Rentschler, 2005, p. 6).

- a) Conceptualisation and interpretation: neither “the arts” nor social concepts, such as community development, social cohesion and social capital, are hardly ever conceptualised in research. Empirical studies often fail to delineate the specific types of arts participation, referring instead to “involvement in arts and culture” or “arts participation,” and

sometimes maintain that the social benefits a local community derived from the arts can also reach those not directly involved in the arts. The same holds true for the concept of urban regeneration, which has become a 'container definition' that should be more narrowly conceptualised in order to properly function within any kind of research or policy framework. As mentioned by Evans (2005, p.961), evaluating the impact of the arts coincides with a larger question of how regeneration itself is measured: 'how long should it take and what makes for successful interventions in meeting policy objectives and community needs - or more fundamentally, how choices over development are made and evaluated and effects are distributed and felt at a local level?' Moreover, studies into the impact of the arts lacks specifications on how the claimed benefits are produced; how they relate to different types of arts experiences; and under what circumstances and for which populations their effects are most likely to occur. Without such theoretical conceptualisations, it is difficult to judge how the findings should be interpreted and how to generalize from the empirical results.

- b) **Methodology:** Many studies are based on policy reviews, project evaluations, or, worse, anecdotal evidence, instead of more academically-sound impact research. Evans (2005) maintains that research on the arts and urban regeneration has featured in two main ways in academic studies. The first category contains descriptive and positive but uncritical case studies (based on claims rather than proof) and the second category is highly critical and pessimistic on the contribution ascribed to the arts, focussing on e.g. the gentrification effects of major flagship projects. But both types of studies lack robust empirical evidence: most case studies are limited to process evaluations and conclusions on the impact are derived from one-off questionnaires filled out by participants or stakeholders involved. Additionally, most case studies focussed on projects, long-term impact studies are exceptionally rare. A few researches have developed proper methods (e.g. Matarasso) by which cultural interventions can be measured; these consist of a combination of several research tools (questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus groups, observations etc.). Nonetheless, even if theoretically the relations are clear and the methodology is more advanced, there remains the risk that one finds correlations, but cannot prove that they are based on causal relations. Because the effect of the cultural intervention may as well have been caused by a different measure, not related to the cultural intervention and not accounted for in the research design. A similar risk is that the effect of the cultural intervention is as well or even better generated by another scheme or programme (e.g. cognitive benefits can be generated by the arts but also by better education, that is, by providing more effective reading and mathematics courses). Both risks may hamper the effectiveness of the case built for (the support for) the arts.
- c) **Intrinsic and instrumental values of the arts:** While several studies have promoted the importance of arts, culture and the creative sector, they do so in terms of instrumental value to the overall economic health of a city rather than in terms of the intrinsic value of creativity and how this is to be integrated in the life of a city (see Nowak, 2007, p.5). McCarthy et al. (2004) too identify the ignorance of the **intrinsic impact** of the arts and the subsequent overestimating of **instrumental impact** as a major obstacle in studying the arts and arts policies alike. Instrumental impact refers to the indirect benefits, meant to achieve outcomes in non-arts areas. Intrinsic impacts are inherent in the arts experience and of value in itself, not only as a means to something else; they refer to effects inherent in the arts experience that add value to people's lives. Hence, a holistic approach to studying the impact of the arts is necessary, i.e. studying the characteristics inherent to the arts that enable both the intrinsic and instrumental effects (see brief summary in the introduction). The holistic approach also recognizes not only the contribution that both intrinsic and instrumental benefits make to the public welfare, but also the central role intrinsic benefits play in generating all benefits deriving from the arts, and the importance of developing policies to ensure that the benefits of the arts are realized by greater numbers.
- The intrinsic impact of the arts cannot easily be measured by quantitative indicators only. A combination of theory and practice (measured qualitatively and when possible also quantitatively) seems required (cf. Evans & Foord, 2008 on how to measure the state of neighbourhoods).

In terms of the proposed research, the above account has the following consequences:

The plea for a stronger (theoretical) conceptualisation of the effect of the arts in urban regeneration (the relation between physical, social and cultural interventions) is taken into account in research question RQ 1 (see above).

The question ‘how can cultural interventions be effectively embedded in the various phases of urban regeneration processes?’ (RQ 2) and the question into the instrumental effects of the arts in urban regeneration (RQ 3) are simultaneously preceded and followed by the question to what extent the inherent characteristics of the arts in themselves carry the potential to trigger positive dynamics in urban regeneration processes:

RQ4 What are the inherent characteristics of the arts and to what extent do they in and by themselves stimulate regeneration processes and generate positive instrumental and intrinsic effects?

Additionally, the proposed research is based on a longitudinal research design.

Impact studies concerning contribution of art directed to ‘quality of the city’

The arts are a major contributor to productive employment and prosperity (Newman, Curtis & Stephens 2003). Much literature on the direct economic benefits of the arts focuses on the role the arts play in the operation of a local economy. From this perspective, the arts are important both as a source of demand for arts products and as a source of employment for local workers. Economic benefits also show up as secondary contributions to the local economy through the “multiplier effect,” which refers to induced, or spill over, benefits resulting from the additional (non-arts) economic activity (jobs and purchase) produced by economic activity in the arts sector.

A small number of successful cases tend to be advanced as evidence that a cultural turn in policies for urban renewal can deliver revitalisation of post-industrial cities. These cases often centre on a new flagship cultural institution. Examples include Tate Modern in London and the Guggenheim in Bilbao. In other cases, an entire district may be re-designated as a cultural quarter. Examples include the Rope Walks Quarter in Liverpool and El Raval in Barcelona (Miles, M., 2005, p. 889). Apart from drawing visitors into an area, such venues and recordings of a district tend to encourage a proliferation of small, broadly cultural businesses, from graphic design and architectural design firms to designer- bars and boutiques, all catering for a new cultural class. As McCarthy (2006) has shown in his study on cultural quarters, such cultural interventions indeed contribute to regeneration through the creation of a distinct environment in cultural quarters that allows and encourages a creative milieu as well as development and investment (see also Evans and Shaw, 2004, p. 17). Also in the Dutch context, studies point in the same directions: the Ministry of VROM found that creative clusters can have a function towards neighbourhood revitalisation (VROM 2006, p. 4); other studies proved that art and cultural interventions indeed raise property values and the attractiveness of neighbourhoods (Brouwer & Thomsen, 2007).

In ‘Our Tyne’: Iconic Regeneration and the Revitalisation of Identity in Newcastle Gateshead, Miles (2005b) addressed the impact of flagship regeneration projects and their role in radically rearticulating the meaning of place and space in a so-called post-industrial world. He found that the success of investment in iconic cultural projects, or flagship regeneration projects, depends above all upon people’s sense of belonging in a place and the degree to which (culture-led) regeneration can engage with that sense of belonging, whilst balancing achievements of the past with ambitions for the future. ***Hence, in the proposed research we explicitly take into account local residents and their experiences with the involvement (or non-involvement) in the cultural interventions.***

Impact studies concerning contribution of art directed at ‘quality of life’

When discussing the impact of the arts on individuals and communities, the first scholars that come to mind are François Matarasso and Charles Landry. They recognised the benefits of community art to urban development already in the early 1990s and have collected numerous evidence since (e.g. Matarasso & Landry, 1996; Matarasso, 1998a; Matarasso, 1998b). One of their key findings is that the

human potential of a community is its most important asset, which should be acknowledged by those working to renew urban neighbourhoods. Wealth creation, social cohesion and quality of life ultimately depend on confident, imaginative citizens who feel empowered and are able to fulfil their potential. Their studies show how cultural programmes, and community art in particular, indeed enable such individual and community empowerment.

With regard to **individual empowerment**, studies have shown for instance an increase in people's **creativity** (this concerns in addition to the enhancement of artistic skills, e.g. the ability to improvise, daring to take risks or the finding of creative solutions) (Ofsted 2006, 3); or in their **self-esteem** and **social skills** (CP 2007; Matarasso 1997).

With regard to **community empowerment**, McCarthy et al. (2005) emphasise the fact that most evidence was sought and (partly) found on the instrumental benefits of the arts, particularly with regard to two general categories: a) enhancement of **social interaction** among community members, creating a sense of **community identity** and helping to build social capital at the community level; and b) empowerment of communities to organize for **collective action**.

Other studies too have shown for festivals, community plays and other events, how such cultural activities can bring people together, and thereby enhancing aspects of social cohesion (for the Dutch context see e.g. Trienekens 2006b; 2008). In short, art projects help to develop a sense of community (Hall & Robertson, 2001) or a more positive attachment to their immediate living environment among participants of cultural interventions (Trienekens & Van Miltenburg, 2009).

5 Preconditions for cultural interventions

From the literature review several important lessons can be learned with regard to how cultural interventions have a higher chance to be effective and successful. These will be taken into account in the proposed research.

1. Necessity of an integrated approach - multi-disciplinary teams:

Many scholars conclude that, when part of an integrated programme, cultural interventions can make a substantial contribution to regeneration (e.g. Newman, Curtis and Stephens, 2003, p. 317; Cameron and Coaffee, 2005 p.55). Culture should therefore be seen as a hub among heterogeneous players rather than as a factor of homogenous spatial agglomeration. A multidisciplinary team in which an active role is played by a wide range of actors is necessary: these actors include local government; civil society; universities and educational institutions; the corporate, social and cultural sector (cf. Sacco & Blessi, 2008, p. 32 with regard to strategic coalescence in the knowledge society). Also, such teams should be inclusive of local residents (Sharp, Pollock and Paddison, 2005, p.1001). Carey and Sutton (2004) too found that successful cultural interventions offer a means by which people can explore and express their relationship with the physical and social environment. In keeping with this, projects must be delivered in a manner that involves and includes local people as partners in the process. This may result in sustainability in terms of an improved physical environment but also for the continuation of the use of the skills people have developed and the community building that has been an outcome of the cultural intervention. In a similar vein, Kay's study on the role of arts in regenerating communities recognises that the arts cannot operate independently in the regeneration of a declining area. They have to work hand-in-hand with a wider program of community development, or holistic approach to people-centred development (Kay 2000, p. 423).

In the proposed research multidisciplinary teams will be set up, monitored and the experiences will be translated in to training schemes: one for the co-ordinators of such teams and one for the team members.

RQ 5 - How can multidisciplinary teams support the integration between the social, cultural and physical interventions in an effective and sustainable manner? How are these teams to be set-up and facilitated in order to function effectively?

2. Local ownership and feeling at home

Related to the previous point, is the conclusion drawn by many scholars that cultural interventions are most effective when they are 'owned' by the local community. If arts projects are seen as a

tool of empowerment - controlled by the beneficiaries and belonging to the community - they can have a huge impact on regeneration. Indeed, for arts to work they need to have a high community participation potential. This way, the continuity of positive effects and activities, even after the programme has finished, is more likely and thus creates a more sustainable development. This conclusion makes a case for taking local residents into account and to develop sensitivity for their sense of belonging and feelings at home. Secondly this is also a plea for a deep rethinking of approaches and practices on the urban planners' side, for de-emphasizing aspects of instrumental rationality and driving attention toward an expressive notion of rationality.

Local residents will be represented in the multidisciplinary teams; as many local residents as possible will become part of the cultural intervention process; and the impact of the cultural intervention will be studied among both active and non-active local residents.

3. Measurement

The significance and role that the arts can play in regeneration has to be valued by policy makers and practitioners in community development and regeneration. The value placed on arts project will only be recognized when it is adequately demonstrated through appropriate and relevant evaluation (Kay, 2000, p. 423). Keeping in mind that neither the simple measurement of inputs and outputs, nor the reduction of outcomes to quantitative measurements of personal satisfaction or growth are always sufficient to capture the collective as well as the personal, of an artistic experience. One example of how such project could be measured is provided by the Sustainable Seattle report (Newman, Curtis and Stephens, 2003, p. 319), where quality of life factors are chosen and reviewed by the community itself. This approach, identifying what communities want and expect from the arts, rather than subordinating what community arts programmes formulated outside communities, offers a way forward that is more sensitive to the unique texture of artistic encounters. Integrating evaluation into project design would furthermore allow for constructive and ongoing feedback. Moreover, studies of cultural interventions need to consider not just the aggregated impact of arts projects on individuals, but also their (instrumental and intrinsic) effect and the extent to which it can be and is sustained on the communities in which individuals live.

In the proposed research we will apply a variety of research methods and the research design is longitudinal.

4. Applied science

Criteria and objectives for the (evaluation) research are to be set by those benefiting and participating in the cultural activity itself. According to Garcia (in Evans 2005, p.976) "*the emphasis must lie in providing a platform for the local communities... to express their views and expectations*". Often local community involvement and the sense they might have of their 'place' is the least evident in this process, as the professional regeneration and cultural intermediaries control the territory and the rhetoric required to maintain the credibility of the expectations of regeneration. It is, however, *the everyday lived cultural practices and experiences that better represent (cultural) regeneration occurring through primarily social and community-based projects* (Levebre in Evans, 2005, p. 976).

Therefore, in the proposed research, we will explicitly deal with cultural interventions where such a platform exists or can be created. Additionally, the proposed research will be academically sound, but conducted from a university of applied science, it is "praktijk-gericht" in nature (i.e. taking local needs for knowledge as the point of departure).

5. Creative clusters

There are also a few preconditions that specifically address creative clusters, as recognised on the basis of Dutch experiences (e.g. VROM 2006):

- The need for 'the right man at the right place' within the municipality and as coordinator of the creative hotspot, since cultural clusters/hotspots are highly complex in organisation and management;
- The need to combine different sets of rules and regulations under one section;
- When a corporation is involved it is highly important to properly organise the self-assignment of renters and other users in order to develop an identity (separate from the corporation);
- Not every function should be defined, in order to leave space for creativity and spontaneous projects to emerge;

- The need for transparency and clarity about activities and projects in order for local government and residents to know what is going on.

As mentioned, one of the 'products' of the proposed research is a training/coaching trajectory for the co-ordinators of the creative hotspots and community art processes as well as a teambuilding trajectory for the multidisciplinary team (that includes the renters in the case of the hotspots).

6. In general

Hall and Robertson (2001) identified a set of key questions on the basis of an extensive review on claims attributed to art projects. They formulated these questions in order for such projects to make valuable contributions to claims attributed to them. Not all apply to every creative intervention. Nonetheless, these questions are fundamental also for the proposed research:

- Empirical questions: What tangible, measurable impacts does a project have on its locality, landscape, economy, culture and society?
- Policy questions: What is the relationship between the art programme and the broader urban regeneration initiatives or policies affecting a locality and what are the impacts of these initiatives or policies?
- Structural questions: What limitations do deeper structural conditions impose on the potentials of cultural interventions to intervene in the regeneration of localities?
- In what ways, if at all, has art impacted on the deeper structural conditions that give rise to the problems experienced within specific localities?
- Civic questions: What impacts do art projects have beyond their immediate localities? What are the natures of these impacts?
- Ideological questions: What commentary do cultural interventions offer on the conditions that give rise to the problems it attempts to address? What are the tangible impacts of this commentary on key individuals and institutions, and upon these conditions?

As far as possible, these questions will be considered theoretically and practically in the proposed research; they will too be the starting point for seminars and public meetings to be organised as part of the long-term research commitment between Gemeente Amsterdam en HvA/UvA.

6 Summary: research questions, methodology and case studies

This final section sums up the conclusions with regard to the research questions, methodology, the selection of case studies and products that follow from the literature review on which this appendix is based (see *research proposal for a full account of the research design*).

Research questions:

RQ 1 - On the conceptual level: How are social, cultural and physical interventions to be integrated, whilst taking into account the location-specific and multidimensional character in time and disciplines of urban regeneration processes?

RQ 2 - On the practical level: How can cultural interventions be effectively embedded in the various phases of urban regeneration processes?

RQ 3 - What are the long-term effects of cultural interventions on feeling at home and how does this relate to the Wijk aanpak-objectives (liveability, cohesion, safety, etc.)?

RQ4 - What are the inherent characteristics of the arts and to what extent do they in and by themselves stimulate regeneration processes and generate positive instrumental and intrinsic effects?

RQ 5 - How can multidisciplinary teams support the integration between the social, cultural and physical interventions in an effective and sustainable manner? How are these teams to be set-up and facilitated in order to function effectively?

Methodology:

In the proposed research we will apply a variety of research methods and the research design is longitudinal. Additionally, the proposed research will be academically sound, but conducted from a university of applied science, it is “praktijk-gericht” in nature (i.e. taking local needs for knowledge as the point of departure).

In the proposed research we explicitly take into account local residents and their experiences with the cultural interventions: local residents will be represented in the multidisciplinary teams, as many local residents as possible will become part of the cultural intervention process and the impact of the cultural intervention will be studied among local residents, both those who are active and those non-active in their use of or involvement with the cultural intervention.

Case studies:

All cases concern locations in which ‘quality of the city’ and ‘quality of life’ objectives meet, i.e., cultural interventions that integrate a clear orientation towards engagement in neighbourhood improvement, where local residents take part in innovative entrepreneurship and creativity are included in the proposed research. Specifically: Garage Notweg and Tolhuistuin function as the two creative hotspot case studies. The other two cases concern cultural interventions (community art) in cultural planning processes: one is currently being prepared in the Kolenkitbuurt (Amsterdam Bos en Lommer) and one in the Indische Buurt (Amsterdam Zeeburg).

Products:

One of the ‘products’ of the proposed research is a training/coaching trajectory for the coordinators of the cultural interventions (creative hotspots and community art processes) as well as a teambuilding trajectory for the multidisciplinary team (that includes the renters in the case of the hotspots).

Other products are seminars and public meetings to be organised as part of the long-term research commitment between Gemeente Amsterdam en HvA/UvA as part of the Wijkaanpak. In these seminars and meetings also *related* questions, i.e. questions that are not the core of the proposed research can be explored.

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