

*Examining the effects of culture-led urban redevelopment strategies on local music scenes and live venues*



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## Abstract

The thesis attempts to examine the process of culture-led redevelopment strategies employed in Rotterdam, and in particular in Schiedblock area, that has been unraveling in these premises for the past ten years. For this purpose, a case study is developed in order to explore the development of the project, the role of culture in this development, its effects and sustainability, regarding the local music scenes and the live venues of the city. By examining the nature of the revitalization strategies, the relationship between the gentrification process and the commercialization of the venues in the area, and the peculiarities of the local music scenes, the thesis aims to investigate the sustainability of the redevelopment design itself and the implications on the local music scenes and venues, providing ground based evidence for the above mentioned issues. At first, the existing theory around the concept of culture-led regeneration strategies and the economic significance of local music scenes is applied in order to develop a framework and locate within this the city of Rotterdam and Schiedblock project. The data collection and analysis indicate the effects of these strategies on the local music settings and venues, demonstrating as a primary issue the uncertainty that the venues face operating in this precarious environment, and the stagnation of the development of the local talent and the local scenes as a direct outcome of the redevelopment strategies. These findings are based on three distinct samples, representing the municipality party, the party of venue owners and programmer and the local musicians' party, as well as on expert discussions regarding the issue of gentrification in Rotterdam.

*Keywords: culture-led strategies, urban redevelopment, music scenes, live music venues, sustainability*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION .....	6
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	8
2.1 THE RISE OF CULTURE IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES .....	8
<i>The evolution of cultural policies</i> .....	9
<i>Urban development policies and culture</i> .....	9
<i>Incorporating culture in urban redevelopment strategies</i> .....	11
<i>Creative City Thesis</i> .....	12
<i>The role of culture in urban redevelopment strategies</i> .....	18
<i>Models of culture/regeneration strategies and indicators for their success</i> .....	21
<i>(Un)Sustainable Creative Cities</i> .....	24
2.2 MUSIC SCENES.....	27
<i>Music venues</i> .....	28
<i>DIY music venues</i> .....	29
2.3 (UN)SUSTAINABLE MUSIC CITIES.....	30
<i>The case of Williamsburg</i> .....	30
<i>The case of Hamburg</i> .....	31
2.4 ROTTERDAM MAKE IT HAPPEN .....	32
2.5 CONCLUSION OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	34
3. METHODOLOGY.....	36
3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION.....	36
<i>Sub-questions:</i> .....	36
<i>Operationalization of terms</i> .....	37
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD.....	38
3.3 DATA COLLECTION.....	38
<i>Primary Data</i> .....	39
<i>Secondary Data</i> .....	43
<i>Data Analysis</i> .....	44
3.4 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY .....	44
3.5 LIMITATIONS.....	45
4. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS .....	47
4.1 FINDINGS .....	47
<i>Sub-question 1</i> .....	47
<i>Sub-question 2</i> .....	50

<i>Sub-question 3</i> .....	51
<i>Sub-question 4</i> .....	52
4.2 FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE .....	53
<i>Urban redevelopment strategies and culture</i> .....	53
<i>Sustainability</i> .....	54
<i>Evaluating a culture-led redevelopment strategy</i> .....	55
<i>Music scenes</i> .....	56
<i>Local, translocal, virtual scenes</i> .....	58
5. CONCLUSION .....	60
Limitations and Further Research .....	62
REFERENCES .....	64
APPENDIX A .....	67
CHECKLIST 1.....	67
CHECKLIST 2.....	67
CHECKLIST 3.....	68
APPENDIX B .....	69
APPENDIX C .....	73
APPENDIX D .....	74

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The research in hand examines the rapidly developing concept of culture-led regeneration strategies. Since the beginning of the post industrial economic period, the creative industries have attracted the attention of policy makers for their economic potential. Half a century later, the urban development strategies that employ culture as their key driver, have proliferated among cities across the globe. However, this proliferation has not been occurred without criticism. Taking an inward perspective on the key creative elements that the culture-led redevelopment strategies consist off, this thesis raises questions regarding the sustainability of these strategies. In order to do so, the case of Rotterdam is examined and in particular the effects of the culture-led policy that has been applied the past few years, on the local music scenes, emphasizing on the creative discipline of live music. In that fashion, an attempt is made to compare the economic impact that allegedly follows the culture-led redevelopment strategies with the increasing economic importance of local music scenes in the new value chain of the music industry after the effects of digitization.

Rotterdam represents a highly interesting case, where culture and urban redevelopment either incidentally or intentionally are combined to redevelop certain districts. The most intriguing feature is that these strategies despite their application in different areas of the city, aim towards the holistic transformation of the latter's environment and urban landscape. Being Netherlands' second city, Rotterdam has developed a strong and successful economy based on the city's harbor, and trade and commerce activities. However, the shifts in the global economy and the new sources of energy seem to threaten this economy making it necessary for the local government to seek development in other economic sectors, such as innovation and knowledge based economies. In addition, the characteristics of the local population as low skilled and low educated, have given rise to the shift towards a service, knowledge based economy. At the same time, the cultural renaissance that the city met in the past ten years, as well as the attraction of high skilled and educated creative people, indicated the positive externalities that culture can provide to the city and its economy. Hence, since 2015 culture-led regeneration strategies have been designed and implemented in various locations around the city, with the one regarding the Schiedblock area as the most interesting one, due to its central location and background.

Schiedblock project as we know it now, began in 2008, when the economic crisis reached the country, and led to the evacuation and abandonment of the buildings in the area. Under these circumstances, various cultural initiatives, underpinned by and large by the discipline of music and in particular live music, moved to the area. Throughout the years the area and the venues developed and grew, creating a cultural hotspot in the city's center, promoting and advancing the local music scenes. Since 2015, a more strategic top down approach has been implemented in the area, designed and driven by the city's council. Now in 2018, the future plans for the area and the project are beginning to crystallize, formulating a vision of a location where business meets music, in the name of innovation and growth. Which are the consequences though, for culture and the venues that developed in the area and served in its initial impetus? What are the effects of the culture-led redevelopment strategy that has been employed since 2015? Bottom line, how sustainable is this strategy when it comes to the cultural elements that sprout there for the past few years and created the cultural area of Schiedblock, for which Rotterdammers are so proud of?

The motivation behind this research lies in the personal interests of the researcher. On one hand, the peculiarities of the conditions under which creative entrepreneurs and venue owners operate, in terms of balancing the artistic freedom and contribution to the local music scenes with the commercial and financial sustainability of the venues is particularly fascinating, resembling the dual role of an artist herself. On the other hand, the responsibility and the role of the public sector, not as regulator of the cultural activities, but as an enabling factor for the promotion of the positive externalities of culture is a crucial element for the economic but most importantly social welfare. In particular, the socio political shifts that have been taking place in Europe and worldwide in the past few years, with the rise of far right politics, the threat of racism and the ambiguous issue of immigration, render culture as a catalyst player in this situation. Culture can function as a channel for educating people, cultivating mindsets and consciousnesses, promoting social values such as equality and generate collective identities. Therefore, local governments should acknowledge these attributes of culture, employing them towards the cities' welfare and sustainable development. The economic and social implications and impacts of culture, as they are now perceived by local governments can be enlarged and extended by providing a more safe, permanent and continuous place for the creative sector, in the city councils' impetus.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purposes of this research the theoretical framework is structured as follows; At first the rise and the proliferation of culture-led redevelopment strategies is described, including the role of culture in these policies, the various forms in which they are carried out, measurements for their evaluation and indicators of their application. Afterwards, the component of the local music scenes and their economic significance are examined, followed by a description of their key places of manifestation, the official and DIY venues. In order to amplify the argument of this thesis, but also to illustrate some of the effects that are examined in the research, several cases are stated regarding a number of cities that have undergone major effects because of the culture-led redevelopment process and the gentrification that commonly follows these. Last but not least, the theoretical framework focuses on the city of Rotterdam, exhibiting the changes that have occurred in the past few years and the current state of the revitalizing policies that take place in the city's center.

### 2.1 THE RISE OF CULTURE IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Since the beginning of the post Fordist economy in the early 1970s, cities throughout the world have invested in shedding their industrial character, transforming their economies in service oriented ones. This shift in the economy has been accompanied with a growing interest in the creative industries, employing "culture as a tool for urban regeneration", (Garcia, 2004, p. 312). Despite its first application in US cities, the notion of arts-led regeneration, spread quickly across the globe. The marginal and esoteric character of arts and culture has been disposed, transforming the latter into a driver of urban regeneration and economic growth, able to address issues of social exclusion and revitalization of post- industrial spaces (Griffiths, Bassett and Smith, 2003, Miles and Paddison, 2005,), whilst "the initiation of culture-driven urban (re)generation has come to occupy a pivotal position in the new urban entrepreneurialism", (Miles and Paddison, 2005, p. 833). Culture, creativity and innovation are now perceived as "capable of addressing the most pressing urban problems – economic development and job creation, social exclusion and community building, and the renewal of the urban landscape", (Griffiths, Bassett and Smith, 2003, Miles and Paddison, 2003, p. 154). In order to address the factors that led to the merge of cultural and urban policies, it is necessary to follow the development of these policies in the past 40 years.



### *The evolution of cultural policies*

Cultural policies, or initially, national policies for the cultural sector, have undergone a significant shift since the second half of the 20th century; the core characteristics of elitism and conservatism that accompanied arts and culture have been replaced by a “new philosophy marked by economic and social instrumentalism”, (Griffiths, Bassett and Smith, 2003, Miles and Paddison, 2003, p. 155). As Garcia (2004), illustrates, one can distinguish three phases regarding cultural policy in Europe, from 1940s to present. The first one regards the period of 1940-1960 and quoting Bianchini, Garcia (2004) refers to this era as the *the age of reconstruction*. In this period, the cultural sector was defined by politicians as a separate sphere from the one of economic activity and material production, affected by and large from World War I and II.

The disregard of the cultural sector’s economic potential is also evident in the second phase of 1970s and 1980s, *the age of participation*, as Garcia (2004) quotes Bianchini. In this phase arts and culture assume an increased social and political character, rather than an economic one, which led to the incorporation of culture in political agendas as a tool for community and identity development, (Kong, 2000). This period demonstrates the first attempt to integrate culture in public policies in order to address social issues. The 1980s initiated a new era for cultural policy, shifting its use and emphasis from the social issues above mentioned, towards its potential as an instrument for urban economic and physical rejuvenation, (Garcia, 2004).

The end of the 20th century finds culture closely accompanied by regional development, while initiatives such as European Capital of Culture indicate a shift towards more localized areas, (Garcia, 2004). Evans (2003) indicates such initiatives as an example “by which structural economic adjustment policies and funding have been diverted into arts-led regeneration...generally bypassing national and even city cultural and economic development policy”, (Evans, 2003, p. 426).

### *Urban development policies and culture*

Three theoretical concepts are applied in the case of urban development policies, highly related with the cultural sector, in order to illustrate the shifts in urban planning, since

the last half of the 20th century. The first one refers to Lefebvre's (1991) theory for the *spatial representation of the repressed*, and the way he perceives the usages of urban spaces. In particular Lefebvre (1991), distinguishes among three traits of urban spaces; the concrete (everyday) , the abstract (commodified) and the imaginative (liberative) traits. Concrete space refers to the physically perceived and used everyday space, the abstract one regards a commodified space, formulated by its economic profitability, while the latter refers to the socially liberating space, (Kirchberg and Kagan, 2013). This theory indicates the shift of urban policies towards more commodified representations of space and the need to be resisted by more abstract representations of space, placing artists as the main carriers of this need.

The second theoretical concept regards Molotch's (1987) theory of *the growth machine*, and is highly connected with the societal role of culture in the 1970s, as a means to stimulate and develop communities and shape identities. In particular, this theory highlights on one hand the priority of city promotion and urban economic development, camouflaged with a facade of unity and care for citizens, disregarding societal issues of race and class, and on the other hand the capitalization of culture. The ultimate objective of the growth machine as Molotch develops his theory, is the accumulation of capital by capitalizing on the use value of spaces, and turning it into exchange value and profit, (Kirchberg and Kagan, 2013).

Last but not least, the third theory refers to the *gentrification* theory, as described by Smith (1996) and as part of the new urban political economy. The gentrification theory regards urban redevelopment in the context of economic and in particular capitalist interests in urban spaces. Smith (1996) describes gentrification as a rational market reflex of capital revaluation and an outcome of investment in space production, highlighting the production side character of this policy, (Kirchberg and Kagan, 2013). Similarly to the growth theory, in the gentrification process arts and culture has been argued to have the role of the driver, by adding value and creating a certain atmosphere that revitalizes and rejuvenates urban spaces. "Such developments reflect not only the rise to prominence of the cultural sphere in the contemporary (urban) economy, but how the meaning of culture has been redefined to include new uses to which it can be put to meet social, economic and political objectives", (Miles and Paddison, 2005, p. 834).

### *Incorporating culture in urban redevelopment strategies*

As indicated above, the development of cultural and urban policies throughout the years initially followed different paths, which however started to merge in the second half of the 20th century. This shift and the increasing significance and potential of culture in urban development strategies can be attributed to a number of reasons. The latter refer to certain processes and shifts in the global order and can be classified in four categories; economic changes, political changes, socio-cultural shifts and technological developments which have led to certain structural trends, (Romein and Trip, 2012).

The economic shifts that occurred, refer to the substitution of the industrial economy by a service oriented, globalized one. In particular, the globalization of the economic life is manifested by the dominance of investment, production and distribution, by a limited number of firms, financial institutions and other parties, which hold a global impact. Consequently the competition among countries and cities has been steeper, in their attempts to attract “a larger share of mobile investment, skilled personnel and tourism revenues”, (Griffiths, Bassett, Smith, 2003, p. 154). Ultimately this competition of the high-cost urban economies depends by and large on their ability to establish a knowledge intensive, creative based structure in their economies, with increased added value and innovation. This ability often manifests itself in the form of flagship cultural buildings, high statues cultural events and arts and entertainment districts, (Griffiths, Bassett, Smith, 2003, Romein and Trip, 2012).

Moreover, the four categories of processes have also affected the production and consumption of goods and services. More specifically, the widely spread Fordist mass production model has been replaced by more flexible forms of production -which traditionally underpin the working conditions in the cultural sector-, whilst economic life tends to become more and more culturalized, (Griffiths, Bassett, Smith, 2003). Furthermore, the consumption of goods and services is now characterized by new norms of symbolic values, authenticity and spaces, and thus the former depends on the aesthetic and symbolic attributes of the product, rather than on their functional content, (Griffiths, Bassett, Smith, 2003, Romein and Trip, 2012). In addition to the shift of the economy towards demand-driven models of production and organization, the symbolic value of goods renders the economic success of companies dependable on the latter’s ability to capitalize on the

cultural added value and turn it into economic profit, (Griffiths, Bassett, Smith, 2003, Romein and Trip, 2012).

These changes in the production and consumption of goods and services are not independent of the changing patterns that have occurred in the social sphere. The traditional strong ties and social patterns amongst norms such as family, community and class have been torn down and replaced by modern, flexible and diverse social patterns. These patterns promote values of individualization and reflexivity (Griffiths, Bassett, Smith, 2003), affecting also the demand for goods towards principles of scope, diversity and flexibility, (Romein and Trip, 2012). These lifestyle choices that operate as catalysts for demand, have also affected the cultural processes, boosting the latter with greater prominence. This, in turn, has given greater social significance to the consumption of cultural goods and services – music, designer fashion, leisure activities and other markers of identity, (Griffiths, Bassett, Smith, 2003).

### *Creative City Thesis*

The economic, social, technological and political shifts that have occurred in the past 50 years, have given rise to the importance of culture and its inclusion in national and regional policies and agendas. However, the proliferation of culture-led development strategies might have not been the same, without the contribution of the scholarship that has developed around this subject, and in particular without Florida's (2002) thesis, regarding the Creative City and the Creative Class.

In its core the Creative City Thesis argues that cultural capital and resources are translated into social and economic outputs, involving the assertion of urban economic development based on creativity and carried out by either the creative class or the creative industries, (Romein and Trip, 2012, Miles and Paddison, 2005). In his thesis Florida (2002) advocates for the focus of cities on promoting culture and creativity, and attracting in their premises the creative class and the people involved in the creative industries. Furthermore, he identifies the concept of clustering of human capital as a catalyst for regional economic growth and successful revitalization of cities. The question of interest is what drives people in clustering. The main motivations behind this effect is the exploitation of the efficiencies

that the tight link among people generates, the advantages of co-location and the pool of talented people –the creative class- that is created, (Florida, 2003).

An additional crucial element in Florida's thesis is the application of the shifts in social capital<sup>1</sup> that have occurred as explained in the previous section. These shifts refer to the replacement of strong ties and collective norms by weak ties and values such as individualism. The past years, the social capital has undergone a long term decline, which has weakened the importance of and the participation in communities. Community members may be aware of the community's significance, but prioritize their individual goals and lifestyles against the communal ones. Florida (2003) uses the term *quasi-anonymity*, to describe this phenomenon, where individuals prefer to create and develop weak links with others rather than strong ones. Weak ties are considered now as more effective, while they have taken over the strong links among people, which are perceived as restrictive and invasive. In the gentrification process of economic development, these loose links are more useful as they are more effective in generating economic growth and innovation, (Florida, 2003).

The Creative City thesis is highly connected with the concept of gentrification, as a strategy for urban development policies. The creative class in this case, operates as the gentrifier of uninhabited or underdeveloped city quarters, which by occupying spaces in these areas, add value to the district by creating a certain buzz or atmosphere in the neighborhood. In particular, within the framework of the creative city, "specific iterations of culture and commodified cultural spaces are often strategically designed, preserved or artificially generated in order to attract not only private investment and tourist dollars [...], but also to attract a particular "class" of people- the creative class". (Ross, 2017, p. 120). Table 2.1.1 illustrates the key elements of the Creative City, grouped by Romein and Trip (2009) according to different authors.

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<sup>1</sup> "social capital comprises durable social contacts and network between actors that provide recognition and the benefits of groups resources", (Scott, 2012, p. 244).

**Table 2.1.1 Key elements of Creative Cities<sup>2</sup>**

	<b>Landry</b>	<b>Kotkin</b>	<b>Scott</b>	<b>Glesser et al</b>	<b>Florida</b>	<b>Clark, Clark et al</b>
<b>Social climate</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Diversity, tolerance</li> <li>◦ Openness to immigrants</li> <li>◦ Conflicts may stimulate creativity, diversity, tolerance</li> </ul>				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Individualism, meritocracy</li> <li>◦ Openness and tolerance, primus inter pares of quality and space</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Values and attitudes of residents</li> </ul>
<b>Buzz, atmosphere</b>	Third spaces	Inner cities: buzz; where creative workers 'sense that there is action'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Rich cultural life</li> <li>◦ Quality of social networks for success of the clusters</li> </ul>	Lively street scene	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Experience</li> <li>◦ Street life</li> <li>◦ Third places</li> </ul>	
<b>Employment</b>			Pool of specialized labor, rooted in specific place	Education, thick labor market	Thick labor market, many employment opportunities	

<sup>2</sup> Romein, A. & Trip, J. (2009, pp. 218-220).

<b>Built environment, living and residential environment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Public space in inner cities, urban subcenters and venues</li> <li>◦ Distinctiveness</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Inner cities: small scale, “village-like” atmosphere, non standard shops</li> <li>◦ Nerdistan: campus-like environment</li> </ul>	French allure: boulevards, palm trees, etc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Aesthetics, architecture</li> <li>◦ Urban density</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Authenticity: historic buildings, established neighborhoods</li> <li>◦ Pedestrian friendly areas</li> <li>◦ Mixed used new urbanist communities</li> <li>◦ Downtown revitalization</li> <li>◦ Affordable housing and commercial spaces</li> <li>◦ Suburbs as part of attractive metropolitan region</li> </ul>
<b>Amenities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Cultural life</li> <li>◦ Education and research facilities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Major universities</li> <li>◦ Inner cities :cultural institutions</li> <li>◦ Nerdistan: safety, quietness, outdoor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Theaters, literary and musical amenities</li> <li>◦ Technological research and training activities</li> <li>◦ Strategic</li> </ul>	Amenities are overriding importance: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Schools</li> <li>◦ Speed no congestion</li> <li>◦ Safety</li> <li>◦ International cultural</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Advanced technological capacity, universities as tolerant creative hubs</li> <li>◦ Efficient public transport</li> <li>◦ Festivals,</li> </ul> Constructed amenities: opera, research libraries, used and rare book stores

		recreation facilities	forums	offering	cutting-edge music scene	
					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Parks, bike trails</li> <li>◦ No commercialized standard</li> </ul>	
<b>Clusters, incubator spaces</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Creative milieu</li> <li>◦ Open-minded, cosmopolitan</li> <li>◦ F2F contacts, networks, associative structures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Old buildings as incubator zones</li> <li>◦ Old industrial and warehouse buildings</li> <li>◦ Clusters of specialized, art based creative industries</li> <li>◦ Place-specific qualities of thriving clusters</li> <li>◦ Privileged information via soft F2F networks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Traditions, collectives</li> <li>◦ Daily contact in workplace</li> <li>◦ Marshallian atmosphere</li> </ul>		Safety, affordable commercial spaces for creative and economic opportunities to take root	
<b>Policy and governance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Good governance is competitive tool</li> <li>◦ Importance of capacity to organize</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Reinforce production structures: provide amenities as public goods</li> </ul>	Reinforcement of amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ People climate: talent, tolerance, technology</li> <li>◦ Safety, downtown</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ From private to public goods</li> <li>◦ Focus on all subpopulations</li> <li>◦ Dramatic policy innovations, as not</li> </ul>



coalitions of actors, agents and interest groups

- Encourage cooperation between firms
- Prevent capitalistic race to the bottom

revitalization

- Low barriers to entry; focus on creative class values
- Prevent institutional sclerosis
- Social cohesion
- French positive attitude vs immigration

always realistic

- Complexity of policy should not be discouraging

In short, the Creative City thesis unravels around two key concepts, setting the component of people in the core of economic growth and urban redevelopment. Namely “innovation and the engagement of people in creative activities have become crucial [...] and constitute the main activity of a broad range of industries”, (Romein and Trip, 2012, p. 27). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Florida’s thesis, being deeply connected with the redevelopment policies and by examining the favorable conditions for generating urban economic growth, has had a great impact and influence on policymakers across the globe (Miles and Paddison, 2005).

The evolution of culture as a tool in national and regional policies has amplified the argument by numerous components of the creative industries, such as professionals and organizations, “that, in post-industrial situations, the cultural industries, and related knowledge sector of electronic communication and higher education, can provide a new economic base, a cultural turn in policies for urban renewal can deliver revitalization of post-industrial cities”, (Miles, 2005, p.889).

### *The role of culture in urban redevelopment strategies*

The structural changes in the production and consumption of goods and services, the social shifts that occurred as explained in the previous section, as well as Florida’s (2002) thesis regarding the Creative Cities and their economic potential, have set the cultural sector in the core of urban redevelopment strategies. “In the global era the role of culture has assumed unprecedented significance and that its redefinition as a resource has enabled it to be used as the means for resolving political as well as socioeconomic problems, including those of the city”, (Miles and Paddison, 2005, p. 834). As Miles and Paddison (2005) argue, the inclusion of culture in development strategies has developed through an attention cycle; “initial enthusiasm leading to widespread adoption, with the promise of being able to resolve an urban problem, is following by a growing appreciation of the limitations of the paradigm and its ability to tackle complex urban and regional problems”, (Miles and Paddison, 2005, p. 834). As the authors state, we are currently at the first phase of this cycle.

Garcia (2004) indicates as the threshold of the economic and redeveloping effects of culture, the key realization that despite the fact that cities were always accompanied by cultural functions, “the evolution of a global, service-oriented economy has placed culture at

the very centre of urban development, and has shifted traditional notions of culture as art and heritage to a view of culture as an economic asset, a commodity with market value and, as such, a valuable producer of marketable city spaces”, (Garcia, 2004, p. 314). The strategies which apply culture as a catalyst or a driver in the process of urban regeneration, constitute the culture-led redevelopment strategies, (Evans, 2005), and commonly include the following elements; “the insertion of a flagship cultural institution in a post-industrial zone, often a waterfront site, to lever private-sector investment in the surrounding area and attract tourism; the designation of a neighborhood as a cultural industries’ quarter for small- and mediumsize businesses in the arts, media and leisure”, (Miles, 2005, p. 893).

There are a number of indications, particularly in European countries, for the establishment of culture led redevelopment strategies and the rising significance of arts and culture. In particular, “the priority which organizations such as Eurocities have been giving to cultural matters; the inclusion of cultural indicators in the Urban Audit launched by the European Commission in 2000; and cross-national research initiatives such as the iCISS (Information for Cultural Industry Support Services)”, (Griffiths, Bassett and Smith, 2002, p. 167), highlight the spreading awareness of the role of culture within local and national policies of economic and social growth. Evans (2005) argues that culture-led regeneration is now a feature of cities in their attempt to revitalize their industrial and waterfront neighborhoods and city centers. Furthermore, Evans (2005) indicates the competitive advantage that these strategies bear for the cities that apply them, which constitutes the former as “one of the few remaining strategies for urban revitalization which can resist (or embrace) the effects of globalization”, (Evans, 2005, p. 960). In addition, the potential of the cultural input in an area can be extended to social and economic outcomes, such as the inhabitants’ quality of life and social cohesion, neighborhood revitalization, job creation, community enhancement and talent attraction, tackling in that way the dual goal of a city regarding its competitive advantage and social welfare, (Evans, 2005, Ross, 2017). “Leading strategists of ‘downtown rejuvenation’ have argued that arts-led investment is the most efficient way of beginning the process of raising morale and developing ‘atmosphere’ in ... low-status and moribund districts”, (Miles, 2005, p. 894). Consequently, one can classify the significance and role of culture within the new development strategies, into two interrelated categories; namely the economic aspect, and in particular in the city marketing and distinctiveness and the sociopolitical aspect.

The economic potential and benefits of employing culture in urban strategies, can be perceived through the boost of a city's marketing and its distinctiveness. As Miles and Paddison (2005) argue, culture in the context of flagship spaces, areas, buildings or events, contributes to the prosperity and the cosmopolitanism of a city. International events, cornerstones of excellence, inspiring elements of creativity and innovation as outcomes of culture, are drivers of high growth business sectors, enhancing commercial leisure and tourism and increasing the city's profile and global recognition, (Miles and Paddison, 2005). This use of culture is highly related to the shifts in cities' branding strategies that took place in the turn of the century, from city marketing towards an integrated city branding approach, (Garcia, 2004). According to this approach, culture is applied in order to "reconcile leisure, business and community demands and aspirations, in a competitive environment", (Evans, 2003, p. 428). In this context, business orientations and ambitions overrule leisure and community demands, (Garcia, 2004). Alongside the rhetoric of culture as a catalyst for city branding, the creative sector is also related to a city's identity and distinctiveness at a global but also a national level. "The arts have generated interest in regeneration through their symbolic potential, such as heritage and identity, assisting in change processes and cultural expression, and in reaching the parts which other regeneration activity does not reach" (Evans, 2005, p. 965). Scott (2000, p. 2) indicates the cities' ability to "generate culture in the form of art, ideas, styles and ways of life, and to induce high levels of economic innovation and growth", harnessing these capabilities to productive aspirations. The latter are in line with the city's goal of creating and establishing a distinct national and/or international identity, in order to adequately compete in the global economy. The symbolic potential generated by the cultural sector, and the distinct character that the city acquires by the latter, are further applied and utilized in order to attract the private sector as well as tourist investment, enhancing the local economy, (Garcia, 2004). "The idea that culture can be employed as a driver for urban economic growth has become part of the new orthodoxy by which cities seek to enhance their competitive position", (Miles and Paddison, 2005, p. 833).

Apart from its economic potential and benefits, culture also holds a key role in regenerative strategies because of its socio political capabilities. According to Miles and Paddison (2005), arts and culture have the capacity to enhance and stimulate social and human capital, improve the quality of life and affect the response to change, and thus can be applied as a means of diffusing the perks of prosperity to all citizens. Quoting Comedia

(2003) the authors argue that “culture is a means of defining a rich, shared identity and thus engenders pride of place and inter-communal understanding, contributing to people’s sense of anchoring and confidence” , (Miles and Paddison, 2005, p. 835). The sociopolitical impact of culture as driver of the urban redevelopment strategies in short, includes the creation of spaces for social interactions, shared experiences and feelings and a unified enhanced identity, and therefore attenuate the divergences among different social classes and status, establishing a homogenous environment for the inhabitants of the redeveloped area and improving their quality of life, (Belfore and Bennett, 2007, Hadida, 2015 Quinn, 2005), providing a means of control of the city for the local authorities (Zukin, 1995).

### *Models of culture/regeneration strategies and indicators for their success*

In order to distinguish the different models of culture/regeneration strategies, it is important to define at first the term of regeneration. Therefore, for the context of this thesis, the definition of Evans (2005, p.968) is employed, who defines regeneration “as the transformation of a place—residential, commercial or open space—that has displayed the symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline”. The author distinguishes three models of such strategies according to the way by which culture is utilized and incorporated in regeneration strategies. Namely Evans (2005), proposes three models; culture-led regeneration, cultural regeneration and culture and regeneration. Despite the distinct character and role of culture in each model, the latter are not exclusive and might merge with each other, especially over longer periods of time.

*Culture-led regeneration* refers to a model where culture is the catalyst in the process of an area’s revitalization. This process is characterized by a high-public profile and frequently to be cited as the sign or symbol of regeneration” (Evans, 2005, p. 969), and usually includes the reuse or the construction of a building for public or mixed use, the repossession of open spaces and rebranding of the area through specific initiatives, by introducing cultural and artistic events, schemes and public art. In this model of regeneration, culture is utilized in order to raise excitement for the project and enhance its distinctiveness and uniqueness. As Evans (2005) argues, the widespread establishment of these regeneration models has led to their misuse in cases “is a high-profile arts facility in area regeneration, but in most cases this is a visible but less significant element in a wider and longer-term development scheme and investment program, used to front, but not

necessarily, drive, property and other economic development”, (Evans, 2005, p. 969), which consequently has misplaced the role of culture in these strategies as well.

The model of *cultural regeneration* implies the integration of the cultural activity in a redevelopment policy, alongside with other aspects, such as various environmental, economic and social activities. The approach of cultural regeneration is commonly associated with Florida’s (2002) thesis of the Creative City, and examples of its application can be traced in a number of industrial and port cities such as Liverpool, Valencia and Rotterdam, in their attempt to cope with in the new global service economy. In this attempt however, there are a number of cases where cities replicate successful cultural regeneration initiatives, while in other cases the crucial component of local communities is not taken under consideration, making the cultural districts inaccessible to their inhabitants, resulting in the exclusion of the latter and in unreal and fragmented spaces, (Evans, 2005).

The third approach refers to *culture and regeneration*, and consists the most “unofficial” and bottom up approach to this subject. In particular culture is not fully integrated in the official redevelopment policies, but ascends spontaneously by individuals or businesses in the area under consideration, through various forms and disciplines, which constitutes them as a bottom up process. The reasons behind this type of cultural intervention, include the structure of the local authorities and departments which does not facilitate the collaboration among the parties responsible for the development policies and those responsible for the cultural sector, and the lack of experience and knowledge on the potential impact of culture in redevelopment strategies. Consequently, revitalization policies are frequently designed and implemented without consideration or inclusion of incumbent arts and the cultural sector, or a link with the traditional, heritage communities and groups, (Evans, 2005).

In order to measure or evaluate the contribution of culture and its significance to the regenerative strategies, the method of impact study is applied. In particular, the latter include the social, economic and environmental impact of culture during this process with specific indicators, as illustrated in table 2.1.2<sup>3</sup>. By and large, the indicators which are used in the evaluation process are quantitative, but in terms of behavioral effects, qualitative indicators are also applied, to capture aspects such as social capital, diversity, inclusion and

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<sup>3</sup> Evans, 2005, p.p. 971-972

exclusion and community welfare, (Evans, 2005). However, the element of the cultural impact of this process is absent, indicating the lack of consideration for the key components of this process, namely the artistic communities, the cultural entrepreneurs and the places that generate cultural capital, involved in these strategies.

**Table 1.** An overview of the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration

Physical regeneration	Economic regeneration	Social regeneration
<p><i>Policy imperatives:</i>  <b>Sustainable development</b>            Land use, brownfield sites            Compact city            Design quality (CABE, 2002)  <b>Quality of Life and Liveability</b>            Open space and amenity            Diversity (eco-, landscape)            Mixed-Use/Multi-Use            Heritage conservation            Access and Mobility            Town Centre revitalisation</p>	<p><i>Competitiveness and growth</i>            Un/Employment, Job quality            Inward investment            Regional development            Wealth Creation            SMEs/micro-enterprises            Innovation and Knowledge            Skills and Training            Clusters            Trade Invisibles            (e.g. tourism)            Evening Economy</p>	<p><i>Social inclusion</i>            Social cohesion            Neighbourhood Renewal            Health and Well-being            Identity            Social Capital            Governance            Localism/Governance            Diversity            Heritage ('Common')            Citizenship</p>
<p><i>Tests and measurements:</i>            Quality of Life indicators            Design Quality Indicators            Reduced car-use            Re-use of developed land            Land/building occupation            Higher densities            Reduced vandalism            Listed buildings            Conservation areas            Public transport/usage</p>	<p>Income/spending in an area            New and retained jobs            Employer (re)location            Public-private leverage/ROI            Cost benefit analysis            Input-Output/Leakage            Additionality and substitution            Willingness to pay for cultural amenities/            contingent valuation            Multipliers—jobs, spending</p>	<p>Attendance/Participation            Crime rates/fear of crime            Health, referrals            New community networks            Improved leisure options            Lessened social isolation            Reduced truancy and anti-social behaviour            Volunteering            Population growth</p>
<p><i>Examples of evidence of impacts:</i>            Reuse of redundant buildings—studios, museum/gallery, venues            Increased public use of space—reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety            Cultural facilities and workspace in mixed-use developments            High density (live/work), reduce environmental impacts, such as transport/traffic, pollution, health problems            The employment of artists on design and construction teams (Percent for Art)            Environmental improvements through public art and architecture</p>	<p>Increased property values/rents (residential and business)            Corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (leading to support in cash and in kind)            Higher resident and visitor spend arising from cultural activity (arts and cultural tourism)            Job creation (direct, indirect, induced); enterprise (new firms/start-ups, turnover/value added)            Employer location/retention; Retention of graduates in the area (including artists/creatives)            A more diverse workforce (skills, social, gender and ethnic profile)</p>	<p>A positive change in residents' perceptions of their area            Displacing crime and anti-social behaviour through cultural activity (for example, youth)            A clearer expression of individual and shared ideas and needs            Increase in volunteering and increased organisational capacity at a local level            A change in the image or reputation of a place or group of people            Stronger public—private—voluntary-sector partnerships</p>

(Table continued)

**Table 1. Continued**

Physical regeneration	Economic regeneration	Social regeneration
The incorporation of cultural considerations into local development plans (LPAC, 1990)	Creative clusters and quarters; Production chain, local economy and procurement; joint R&D	Increased appreciation of the value and opportunities to take part in arts projects
Accessibility (disability), public transport usage and safety	Public-private-voluntary-sector partnerships ('mixed economy')	Higher educational attainment (in arts and 'non-arts' subjects)
Heritage identity, stewardship, local distinctiveness/ vernacular	Investment (public-private sector leverage)	Greater individual confidence and aspiration

### *(Un)Sustainable Creative Cities*

The evolution of culture's significance in the new global, service oriented economy and Florida's (2002) thesis regarding Creative Cities have legitimized and facilitated the wide spread and adoption of cultural regeneration urban strategies. However, the speed and the way of the affirmation of these strategies have not been without criticism and drawbacks. In particular, there are a number of spatial issues, such as the risk of gentrification, economic and cultural ones, like the marketization and commercialization of culture, favoring the consumption over the production, and issues of ephemeral activity over long term initiatives, (Garcia, 2004), that question the sustainability of cultural regeneration strategies.

Kirchberg and Kagan (2013), indicate certain aspects in Florida's (2002) thesis, which constitute the idea and implementation of the Creative Cities unviable. The authors develop their arguments around four polarities that are created in the Creative Cities thesis, stating that "these polarities between, first, 'economic growth vs. social evolution', second, 'the winner-takes-it-all vs. solidarity with the weakest', third, 'weak ties vs. strong ties', and fourth, 'homogenized plug-and-play neighborhoods vs. urban diversity' are strong arguments for the statement that the concept of creativity as promoted by Florida can be regarded as unsustainable" (Kirchberg, Kagan, 2013, p. 138). Furthermore in order to highlight the unsustainability of the thesis, Kirchberg and Kagan (2013) describe the process of gentrification and distinguish among four phases in this process. The first phase, consists of the inhabitants of a neighborhood by a group of pioneers, of which artists are a part. The latter's precarious environment applies as a driver of this inhibition, as the artists seek for a cheap place to inhabit, while the artistic identity drives them towards areas with a certain character and grid. There they create new places, such as self organized clubs and other non



commercial projects. In the next phase, the situation becomes more complex as the valorization of the symbolic and cultural capital<sup>4</sup> has boosted the appeal and the esteem of the area, attracting new residents and city marketing officials. The artists employ this kind of promotion and marketing to upgrade their individual promotion. Then the economic valorization of the neighborhood follows, accompanied with now commercialized bourgeois projects and shops, leading to the skyrocket of rents and bringing along a new group of wealthy residents which gradually drive out the artistic subgroup of first inhabitants. The fourth stage, finds the member of the pioneer group relocated, while the alternative, authentic creative artistic scene has been replaced by commercial arts organizations and big corporations.

Kirchberg and Kagan (2013), assimilate the incorporation of culture in redevelopment strategies with the gentrification process. However, not all cases where culture led redevelopment strategies has been implemented are the same, and therefore this assimilation can be considered as an oversimplification of these strategies' unsustainability. Nevertheless despite the differences and the variety of the latter, certain drawbacks and issues can be considered as cornerstones for the questioning of their sustainability. "Cultural regeneration is more concerned with themes such as community self development and self-expression. Economic regeneration is more concerned with growth and property development and finds expression in prestige projects and place-marketing. The latter does not necessarily contribute to the former" (Bassett, 1993, p. 1785). Therefore, the cornerstone of the viability of culture-led regeneration strategies can be traced to the clash of the use value and exchange value that culture holds in these policies, which prioritize easy to control economic development strategies, superseding the cultural aspect, (Garcia, 2004). Ross (2017, p.121) operationalizes the term use value as the "values individuals assign to property", while the term exchange value is defined as "the utilization of property to generate profit".

The collision between the cultural and the economic sphere of culture led regeneration strategies is evident both in their practice and in their evaluation and measurement. The process of incorporating culture in urban strategies often "neglect both

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<sup>4</sup> "cultural capital includes dispositions or deportments- such as ways of speaking and acting that are manifestation of historically transmitted cultural knowledge", (Scott, 2012. P.245)  
"symbolic capital denotes distinctions such as accumulated prestige, reputation, honour and fame", (Scott, 2012, p.245)

the historical precedents and the symbolic importance and value of place and space” (Evans, 2004, p. 91), while “what is meaningful- or what carries great cultural community wealth, use value, or embodies a group's intangible cultural heritage - takes a back seat”, (Ross, 2017, p. 117), in the design of these policies. Therefore, the focus on promoting culture favors certain disciplines of culture, overcoming the utility that culture has to people, without supporting the generators of culture and inevitably leads to the marketization of culture, (Miles, 2005, Ross, 2017). The latter refers to the “comparative weight placed on culture that carries a high exchange value for redevelopment and tourism potential, and that which might have a comparatively lower exchange value but a high use value”, (Ross, 2017, p. 120), a process which eventually might lead to a manufactured culture, (Miles and Paddison, 2005).

The marketization of culture and the priority of its exchange value have further implications for the people of a locality. The homogenization as an effect of the marketization and as a key component to Florida's (2002) thesis can be translated in the social exclusion of vulnerable or subcultural, divergent groups of people whose characteristics don't align with the desired atmosphere or culture of the urban policies, (Ross, 2017). As illustrated in Kirchberg and Kagan's ( 2013) four phases of gentrification, the authorities that plan and implement the culture-led regeneration strategies, often neglect to take under consideration the implication of this process and the future of those components which actually created and served in the crystallization of the initial impetus. Consequently, the cultural individuals and the people who supported and populated the events and spaces, no longer fit in the schemes of urban redevelopment and are displaced, (Kirchberg and Kagan, 2013, Ross, 2017).

In addition, the focus on economic and by and large quantitative indicators for the measurement and evaluation of culture led development strategies, further implicates the long term sustainability of the latter, (Miles and Paddison, 2005, Garcia, 2004). The focus on these indicators underestimate the importance of social inclusion in such policies, by emphasizing on how the economy can benefit from the cultural sector, rather than examining the social and cultural developments and the use value of culture, promoting and utilizing the latter's' benefits within the schemes of urban regeneration, (Evans, 2005).

Ultimately the rhetoric of a panacea of economic growth by utilizing culture is created, which leads to copycat effects where cities replicate strategies. “To see culture, with its legacy in liberal reformism of a universal benefit, as a universal solution to present-day urban problems may, then, be romantic”, (Miles, 2005, p. 890).

## 2.2 MUSIC SCENES

“Live music and the arts became resources of growth management by serving as a symbol of the city’s unique culture in downtown redevelopment and as a defense against fears of homogenization and corporatization of the urban core”, as Ross (2017, p. 153) quotes Grodach. As the author argues, music subcultures and scenes in urban setting have captured the attention of policy planners for their exchange value potential, and the contribution of music scenes to the distinctiveness of an area or a city, (Cohen 2013, Ross, 2017, Tironi, 2012). Therefore, music is one of the most widely used cultural disciplines, in the design and implementation of culture-led regeneration strategies.

In particular, the term music scene refers to the geographical spaces of local music practice, where economic and social networks are developed among individuals with different connections to a specific genre, articulating a sense of collective identity, and constitute the meeting point for musical and business talent, (Kruse, 2010, Driver and Bennett, 2014, Florida and Jackson, 2010). The individuals that comprise a music scene vary; from musicians to cultural entrepreneurs, promoters, DJs, producers, critics and audiences, while the places that constitute the scene range from music venues, recording studios, rehearsal spaces and residential spaces, (Driver and Bennett, 2014, Bennet, 2004, Tironi, 2012).

The evolution and the economic significance of music scenes have not been impervious by the changes that occurred in the global economy and the effects of digitization and the Internet era. There are two shifts that have affected the local music scenes and increased their economic importance. The first one, refers to the significance of tacit knowledge as the catalyst for innovation and value creation in the service economy, (Gertler, 2003), while the second one includes the transformation of the music industry’s value chain, driven by the Internet and new technologies, (Lange and Burkner, 2002). Tacit knowledge is highly connected with the element of locality of music scenes. As Tironi (2012) argues the production of tacit knowledge is intrinsically spatial, since it requires interaction

and a common social context for its generation, while innovation is cultivated in a socially organized learning which operates in locally defined settings. Therefore, local music scenes where economic, social and geographical components overlap, constitute a fertile environment for knowledge spillovers and ultimately for innovation to sprout, (Florida and Jackson, 2010).

Complementary, Lange and Burkner (2002) refer to the new value chain of the music industry, which can be defined by three characteristics; the asymmetric integration of artistic and media production, the necessity for face to face interaction in the production of music, and the dominance of digital means in its distribution and shift of the focus towards demand driven production. Consequently, these characteristics have given rise to new interactive and co-creative value based models in the industry, restructuring the traditional value creation and chains based on interaction and consumer induced production. In this setting, local music scenes provide the places and the laboratories to generate tacit knowledge on one hand, while “local consumption patterns and local production conditions gain increasing relevance for urban-based local economies”, (Lange and Burkner, 2002, p. 152) on the other. In addition, the way that local music scenes organize themselves and function, can be perceived as a “ geographically delimited market in a microcosm rooted location”, (Florida and Jackson, 2010, p. 311), and therefore hold a significant role in the construction of economic networks in the industry, (Lange and Burkner, 2002). Furthermore the local music scenes have a strong cultural impact, as Kruse (2010) argues, affecting the quality of music and evoking a sense of place, cultivating and sustaining the authenticity of the music itself. In order to illustrate more clearly the economic, cultural and social embeddings of local music scenes and their relation to urban redevelopment policies, the key places of the latter’s manifestations are examined, the official music venues and the DIY ones.

### *Music venues*

Music venues exhibit a dual role in the constitution of music scenes. On one hand, venues function as meeting places of audiences and artists, as well as for the other parties involved in the music scene, and on the other hand the former are the channels for the production, distribution and consumption of live music. Music venues can either be designed for musical performances, or adapt to this purpose further in their years of operation, while

they may host live performances either on a regular base or more occasionally. They hold a strong social and symbolic significance, since music venues constitute a physical space for social groups with sharing identities to meet, and in many cases create a heritage for the musicians performing there and the attending audiences, (Cohen, 2012). The latter function operates as attraction for urban development strategies, since “live music is a consumed product of urban residents, but also creates a sense of ‘scene’ in particular spaces [...], colouring in one context of entertainment and inscribing meaning in landscape”, (Gibson and Homan, 2007, p. 69). Despite their symbolic, cultural, social and economic impact, music venues are extremely vulnerable to the displacement effects of urban redevelopment policies. In particular, as the process of redevelopment and gentrification proceeds, new noise and license laws are legislated, hindering the venues’ operation, while the rise of the area’s property value stymie the survival of the venues, (Gibson and Homan, 2007, Ross, 2017). Consequently, urban redevelopment strategies, even culture-led ones, jeopardize the ability of the venues to operate which has further significant implication for the local music scenes, because of the crucial contribution of the venues.

### *DIY music venues*

“DIY venues tend to be no-frills, off-beat, gritty spaces, free of signs indicating their entrance, feature sound systems and performance areas of varying quality [...] unlicensed, often not in compliance with the applicable zoning classification of the area they are found”, (Ross, 2017, p. 139). Despite their undesirable aesthetics, DIY venues bear a great significance, use-value and cultural community wealth. Like official venues, they offer a meeting place and a platform for local artists to perform and participants of the scene to meet, however they harbor a musical genre or environment which can be considered as an unconventional, marginal one, (Ross, 2017). Their unofficial, illegal character creates a precarious and vulnerable environment for the performers and attendees of these venues, in terms of payment issues and certainty. However, their marginal position offers a fertile ground for experimentation and creativity, while by cultivating active participation and focusing on local music culture, they generate significant use value for the participants and innovation, (Ross, 2017, Richards, 2016). These aspects constitute DIY venues as beacons of cultural authenticity and generators of use value, but their illegal approach and lack of exchange value generation increases their vulnerability in the context of urban redevelopment policies.

## 2.3 (UN)SUSTAINABLE MUSIC CITIES

The distinct political agendas that accompany urban redevelopment strategies and the different cultural disciplines utilized and promoted in different cities across the globe, hinder the generalization of the effects of culture-led redevelopment strategies on local music scenes. Therefore two cases are laid out in this section, in order to exemplify these effects and create indicators for the thesis. In particular, the case of Williamsburg in New York, and the city of Hamburg are applied to illustrate the effects of such policies on the local music scenes, music venues and artistic communities.

### *The case of Williamsburg*

The creative class is presented in some cases, as the main driver behind gentrification. The case of Williamsburg exemplifies this argument. Solomon (2013) describes the economic development that took place in the lower east side of New York and Williamsburg the past few years, as an effect of the relocation of the Creative Class in these areas, and their roles as gentrifiers. In particular the emerging local music scene and the music venues held a catalyst role in this process. The artists themselves had professionalized their status and their performances, commercializing the area. Numerous of famous bands started their careers in these locations, achieving national and international activity and reputation. This activity attracted the Creative Class, which had in its capacity both cultural and financial capital to invest, and happened to desire new “third” places, apart from work and home, to inhabit. Consequently this new inhabitation led to the skyrocket of rents in the area and the building of more expensive units, (Solomon, 2013).

Solomon’s (2013) publication illustrates the effects of gentrification up to the second stage of the process, as Kirchberg and Kagan (2013) describe it. A broader image of New York’s music scene contributes to a more holistic representation of the effect of gentrification that occurred the past years. In particular, Fabrian Holt (2014) undertakes an empirical study to examine how music venues have evolved and shaped the musical performance within the broader scenery of neighborhood transformation that followed the process of gentrification. The latter is associated with the commodification, standardization and popularization of luxury products, which in the case of music venues translates into bigger, more commercial character with standard and tested performances that attract big

audiences. However, the transition towards big music venues has significant effects for music production and experience. On one hand the big crowd can initiate powerful responses and a sense of greatness for the performing musicians. On the other hand though, the big crowd can also be less sensitive and unable to create personal encounters, extensive socializing and informal networking among the audience. In the same time the digitization of music that cultivates individual consumption and alters the sources of discovering music, highlights the importance of clubs as places that generate community experiences and connect different stakeholders such as the audience, producers, media and musicians. Therefore, those who recognize the significance and the role of live music venues advocate for DIY venues, that offer a higher level of community ownership and trust, (Holt, 2014).

### *The case of Hamburg*

The case of Hamburg offers a fertile setting for the manifestation of the stages and effects of gentrification as explained in previous sections, on the local music scenes. In addition, the empirical work of Kuchar (2014) in the city of Hamburg contributes to the discussion about local artistic communities and music scenes. In his work Kuchar associates the musicians, the community they constitute and the music scene with the notion of locality and space. In particular the former produce locality in two distinct ways; with physical and symbolic markings. The physical markings refer to the spatial clustering of musicians, music venues and organizations, while the symbolic ones regard the virtual links between space and images and symbolic values, which create a “mental representation of music” These two characteristics, define the notion of the local music scene. Furthermore, Kuchar refers to the significance of the community in the process of music making. The cooperation of a number of people, who hold the same thoughts and tastes, the social exchange and the availability of space, serve as essential elements of music making, (Kuchar, 2014).

In accordance to Florida's (2002) thesis regarding the creative cities and the creative class, cities often implement strategies of top down planning, followed by cases of privatization, eventisation and commodification, developed around the creative industries. In these cases, these strategies exploit the attractiveness that music images offer and thus affecting the current social and spatial formations of the area and the local contexts of music production, (Kuchar, 2014). A strategy like the former was implemented on the city of

Hamburg in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1990's the significance of the local artistic practice and local artistic scenes, attracted the attention of policy makers regarding the urban development and the city administration. However, a contradiction emerged among the top down policy of making, promoting and exploiting the production of music, and the bottom up initiatives as the key drivers of cultural production that have been neglected.

The commodification of space that usually follows the process of gentrification, affects the small venues on both collective and institutional scale. In the case of Hamburg, this occurred in the aspect of scarcity and higher rents of rehearsing and performing venues, which led to the closing or relocation of the venues. The standard economic approach assumes that musicians and space are related by rational oriented links. Nevertheless, Kuchar's empirical research on Hamburg presents contradictive with the theory findings. In particular, the interviews he conducted showed a significant high level of local identification and emotional links among musicians themselves, but also between the former and the local scenes and their spatial environment, highlighting the importance of authentic places. Furthermore, he identifies as important aspects of the relation between space and musicians, the "resources of locality, feelings of authenticity, the availability of social capital and network structures as well as social, economic and spatial dynamics of local urban environment", (Kuchar, 2014, pp. 553).

## **2.4 ROTTERDAM MAKE IT HAPPEN**

The city of Rotterdam, as one of the most important port cities worldwide, adopted and implemented the Creative City thesis in the beginning of the century. The incorporation of the cultural sector in urban policies, came in 2005, as a response to the stagnation of the economy that the city faced at that time, while the knowledge and R&D sectors were also falling behind when the scarcity for space for business activity was rising, (Romein, 2012). Nevertheless, the creative industries in Rotterdam, despite the small share on the country's cultural sector, only 4.4%, exhibited a growth of 32.5% in the period of 1996-2002. The beginning of the city's cultural sector and its marketing as a world city can be traced back to the 1970's, when a group of musicians, artists and architects moved to Rotterdam, drawn by the latter's industrial, open and dynamic environment. In accordance to Table 2.1.1, table 2.4.1 illustrates Rotterdam's characteristics in relation to the key elements of a creative city.



Table 2.4.1 Rotterdam's key elements of the creative city <sup>5</sup>	
Key elements	Rotterdam
Social climate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Strong focus on public safety puts openness and tolerance under strain</li> <li>◦ Encourage young people as initiators of creative activities</li> </ul>
Buzz, atmosphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Need to upgrade inner city, lacks liveliness, third places</li> <li>◦ Roughness, opportunities to experiment attract 'creatives'</li> </ul>
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Need to counteract decline in manufacturing industries, transportation and construction</li> <li>◦ Reinforce producer services</li> </ul>
Built environment, living and residential environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Modernist inner city generally considered unattractive</li> <li>◦ Despite large- scale construction still shortage of high-quality housing</li> <li>◦ Relatively low price level reflects poor image as a residential city</li> <li>◦ Redevelop former port areas</li> </ul>
Amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Upgrading of inner city for leisure, shopping, living</li> <li>◦ Subsidies focus on "old names"</li> <li>◦ Promoting as a festival city</li> <li>◦ Somewhat ambiguous stimulation of pop music</li> </ul>
Clusters, incubator spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Focus on strengthening creative production, particularly since 2005</li> <li>◦ Focus on architecture, design, innovation, audiovisual production and music</li> <li>◦ Provide affordable working space in old buildings, although on a limited scale</li> </ul>
Policy and governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Shift from government to governance</li> <li>◦ Increasing cooperation, coordination and co-financing</li> </ul>

The incorporation of culture in urban policies is manifested in Rotterdam's Economic Vision 2005-2020, which develops around three pillars; the Enterprising City, the Knowledge and Innovative City and the Attractive City, (Romein, 2012). In particular, the economic policy focuses on the establishment and development of three clusters, namely the port and port-related one, the medical one and the creative one. Despite its small size and relative invisibility, the latter is considered essential in the context of the competitive post industrial urban economy, (Romein, 2012), and crucial in attracting further cultural talent and knowledge. The cultural disciplines which are prioritized in the formation of the creative cluster for its economic potential are architecture and urban design, audiovisual production, design and product innovation and music.

<sup>5</sup> Romein and Trip, 2012, p. 35

Despite the incorporation of culture in Rotterdam's urban redevelopment schemes, cultural policy seems to stand one step behind. The primary role and responsibility of the city's cultural policy is the distribution of subsidies to cultural organizations and entrepreneurs, with a focus on high brow arts. However, the local musical sector is considered promising, with increasing potential for the creative industry itself and intercultural cohesion. "But in reality, the local pop scene has lost much of its previous elan, the once celebrated variety of small podiums has disappeared and several large clubs wrestle with financial and housing problems", (Romein, 2012, p. 43).

*"But it's interesting to know that it's never been like this before for Rotterdam, it's never been as high as it is now. Especially when it started a little bit after the crisis, the rents went way up and business also went way up, there are new restaurants every month. And that's something in the history of the city that has never happened before. And I'm not sure if they know how to deal with it, but it's definitely killing new initiatives, because there is no space left to do things in their way, in a cheap fashion. The only thing they can do is rent something from the city government and they better make sure that your plan is good enough for them, and it better fits their idea for that area. Because if it doesn't fit then you have no other place to go. "*

Respondent 6

## 2.5 CONCLUSION OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The literature regarding culture-led redevelopment strategies is quite ambiguous regarding the long term effects of these strategies. Despite the widespread adoption and development of such strategies, alongside the scholars' contribution of culture in urban development schemes, there is no straightforward successful pattern of culture-led redevelopment strategies. Policy makers and economists across the globe, dazzled by the short term economic impact and potential of culture in city branding, tend to support and adopt this concept, but neglect the long term effects, as well as the cultural component of them, jeopardizing the sustainability of such policies. The prevalence of economic indicators and evaluating measurements for such policies, fail to capture the cultural and social effects. Furthermore, the different experiences of various cases of implementation, illustrate the threat that these strategies pose to the cultural drivers of such strategies and to the

communities involved in the latter. Therefore the need for the inclusion of measurement and evaluation in accordance to the cultural and social impact of culture led strategies and an inward approach to such policies is more than crucial for their successful implementation and development.

To conclude with, the focus of this thesis hinges around the city of Rotterdam as an example of a Creative City. In particular, the thesis examines the music sector of the city, and the effects of culture led urban redevelopment strategies on the latter. Accordingly the research question of the thesis is formulated as follows:

*How does the culture-led urban redevelopment process in the city of Rotterdam affect the local music scenes and the artistic community, through the gentrification of music venues?*

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

The research conducted in the context of this thesis and in accordance to the theoretical framework developed in the previous section, attempts to answer the following question:

*How does the culture-led urban redevelopment process in the city of Rotterdam affect the local music scenes and the artistic community, through the gentrification of music venues?*

The literature review and the theoretical framework formulated in the previous section, provide certain indications for answering the research question. In particular, the theory regarding the culture-led urban redevelopment strategies and the various cases above mentioned, offer certain insights and expectations for the research undertaken, namely that:

- Culture led redevelopment strategies eventually dismantle, or fail to preserve the cultural elements that served in the initial schemes
- A market drive, exchange value centric approach underpins the culture led redevelopment strategies
- Culture led redevelopment strategies lead to the displacement of use value spaces and cultural initiatives
- Culture led redevelopment policies are conditioned by a disjunctive nature which eventually crowds out the desired cultural objectives and initiatives

#### ***Sub-questions:***

In order to provide results and make a statement regarding the research question in hand, the main question is divided into four sub-questions, specifically tailor made for the case of Rotterdam:

- To what extent is the culture led redevelopment strategy implemented in Sciedblock area, driven by a market oriented approach?

- To what extent has the culture led redevelopment strategy in Schiedblock area led to the gentrification and commercialization of the music venues?
- What is the role of DIY venues and initiatives in this process in terms of preserving the authenticity of local music scenes?
- Does the culture led redevelopment strategy in the case of Rotterdam, enhance the precarious environment of local musicians?

### *Operationalization of terms*

Based on the theoretical framework developed above, the terms used in the research question and sub- questions are defined and measured as follows:

*Market oriented culture led redevelopment strategy:* This type of strategy refers to a policy developed and implemented by prioritizing the exchange value of its components, over the use value that the latter generate. Furthermore, such policies focus on conditions and measures, beneficial for businesses as producers of jobs and money via the creative industries, instead of dealing with issues such as quality of life and talent attraction and allocation.

*Commercialization:* Likewise, commercialization refers to the focus on the exchange value over the use value of music venues and can be translated in terms of pricing and programming strategies.

*Gentrification of music venues:* These kinds of venues represent a status driven approach by the venues, where favored by the gentrified area in which they operate, alter their content, environment and values on the pretext of renewal and upgrade.

*Authenticity:* this term sets as a priority the use value that an area, a place, a venue generates, focusing on the local elements and surroundings, and is tightly linked with experimentation, innovation and “artistic” freedom.

## **3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD**

In order to answer the question in hand, the thesis employs a qualitative method to achieve a holistic and in depth approach to the subject. In particular, the case of Schiedblock is examined, an area which has undergone major redevelopment in the past few years, located in the city's center, where the creative industries, and notably the music sector, were crucial to this impetus. Therefore, the thesis develops a case study around this area, where the initial plans and strategies behind this impetus are examined, focusing on the effects of this process, to the music venues that operate in its premises, and on the local music scenes. The case study measures the economic, cultural and social changes through time, with a focus on local experiences and settings, providing evidence based evaluation for specific culture-led redevelopment strategies. This attempt is a first step in the lack of baseline information and evaluation question of the immediate affected individuals of culture-led regeneration strategies, evidently lacking in the literature, as the theoretical framework illustrates, but most importantly lacking in practice and in the realization of such policies and agendas. In short, the thesis through the development of the case study aims, to capture the perceptions of venues owners, the artistic community and the policy makers, the tensions among them, and the missing elements and possible improvements of the culture-led regeneration strategy in Rotterdam, aspects that a quantitative research would be unable to capture, (Bryman, 2012).

## **3.3 DATA COLLECTION**

The thesis employs a qualitative research method in order to reach to certain conclusions, regarding the research question. Towards this direction, the data collection is based on one hand on primary data, collected through interviews from the sample that was created, and on the other hand on secondary data collected through events and discussions that incidentally took place in the city of Rotterdam and were directly linked with the subject of the thesis.

## *Primary Data*

### *Sample*

The research unit of analysis in the case of this thesis concerns specific and distinct groups of individuals and thus can be classified into three categories. The first category refers to the information about the strategy that has implemented in the case of Schiedblock, and therefore includes individuals from the municipality and the cultural department of the city. The second group refers to venue owners and programmers, and in this case certain criteria were set for their choice: their contribution to the local music scene and their proximity and relation to the Schiedblock area. This sample includes venues (official and DIY ones) that operate not only in the strict premises of the area, but also on the surroundings and further away, in order to highlight the effects of the urban redevelopment strategies on venues and to reflect the inherent variability of the sample, (Bryman, 2012). The third group consists of local musicians, and again certain criteria were set, such as their involvement through performances, in the venues that were included in the previous sample, while the differences among the musicians interviewed in their career stages also increases the heterogeneity of the sample and its variability. The sampling method that was applied in all cases was purposive, snowball sampling, since the research regards a local music setting, and the valuable key players of the scene tend to be well known inside the scene, but not widely known to outsiders.

### *Data Collection*

In order to achieve a holistic approach to the thesis's subject, the data collection through semi-structured, in depth interviews was applied. The interviews were developed around certain topics, different for each sample, illustrated in Appendix A, while certain questions were formulated as exhibited in Appendix B, again with different questions for each kind of sample. All the interviewees were informed beforehand for the subject of the thesis and received a copy of the questions. However, the aim set by the researcher, but also as requested by most of the interviewees, was to conduct a loosely structured interview around the topics in order to reach an in depth and holistic discussion.

### *Composition of the Sample*

The final sample is composed by nine interviews, while the interviewees reflect all three categories of individuals, desired in the initial impetus of the thesis, namely municipality representatives, venue owners and programmers, and musicians. A brief description of each interviewee follows, while in respect to the ethics of the thesis their personal details are not given, protecting and respecting their anonymity. In appendix C, a table with the interviewees, dates of contact and interviews, and location summarizes the collection of the primary data.

Interviewee #1: The first respondent is the programmer of a venue in close proximity to the Schiedblock area. In particular, he is responsible for the booking of local musicians to the venue, and thus able to reflect the venue's contribution to the local music scene. The location of the venue offers significant insights to the research by not being directly in the developing area, but close enough to understand the specific circumstances and the effects of the process. The interviewee was approached after a personal contact, informed about the content of the interview and supplied with the relevant checklist and interview guide. The location of the interview was a choice made by the interviewee, a cafe next to the venue's location.

Interviewee #2: The second interviewee is not directly part of any of the three groups mentioned in the sample size. However, his function combines aspects of the venue owners and programmers, and musicians groups, since he operates as a musician (dj) himself, is the owner of a local record label, advisor to the programming of various festivals in the city and due to his experience, he can be described as an expert on the local music scenes. The first approach with him was made in a discussion regarding the nightlife of the city, and afterwards through direct contact with him for the particular subject of the thesis. Similar wise, the interviewee was informed beforehand for the topic in hand, and informed by the relevant checklist and interview guide, while the location was chosen by him as well. His contribution to the research is a significant one, since despite the insights he offered, he brought me in contact with the next three interviewees.

Interviewee #3: The third respondent belongs to the group of venue owners and programmers. The location of the venue, being in the heart of the Schiedblock area and project, as well as its contribution to the local music scenes, being focused on the local talent and mingling the various scenes than function in the city, are considered highly valuable to



the quality of the thesis. The interviewee was referred to the researcher by the second respondent, informed for the topic for the topic of the research and the checklist and interview questions were given to him prior to the interview. The location of the interview was chosen by the interviewee and took place at the venue.

Interviewee #4: The fourth respondent also belongs to the group of venue owners and programmers, while it refers to a venue located in a different area than the one in question, deeply rooted thought in the city's local music scene. The purpose of this interview is to draw comparisons among the circumstances under which the venues operate, and the effects of urban redevelopment, based on their location. The contact with the specific interviewee was made through the second respondent as well, the location, chosen by the interviewee was the venue and he was also beforehand informed for the subject of the research and given the checklist and the interview questions as well.

Interviewee #5: Respondent n.5 belongs as well in the group of venue owners and programmers. The particular venue is located in the heart of Schiedblock area, and offers an interesting insight since it phases a transition period from an unofficial, DIY venue to an official one. Interviewee 2 referred the researcher to the venue owner, who was informed for the subject, while the interview took place at the venue.

Interviewee #6: Interviewee n.6 reflects the DIY component of the research, since the group of people that were interviewed and summed up as interviewee 6, consist an organization of DIY event organizers. Interestingly enough, nor directly venue owners, but as they claim, they are the owner and programmer of each venue in which they organize an event at. The group was informed beforehand for the content of the interview and the research, provided with the relevant checklist and interview outline as well. The interview took place at a location of their choice, while five members of the organization participated at the same time.

Interviewee #7: Respondent 7 belongs to the group of venue owners and programmers as well. The interviewee himself is one of the owners of a venue operating in the center of the developing area from the beginning of the development up till now. The latter adds value to the contribution of the particular interview to the research, since it highlights the effects of urban redevelopment throughout the years. In addition, the plans of

relocation of the venue also add value to the findings of the research. The interviewee was informed beforehand about the subject of the research, given as well the checklist and the interview questions. The location was chosen by him as well, a cafe across the street of the venue.

Interviewee #8: The eighth respondent represents the municipality's point of view in the research undertaken. The interviewee is the person responsible for the development project of the Schiekadeblock area, in which Schiedblock is part of. The significance of the particular interview is crucial, since it provides insights for the development strategy employed in the area, the role of culture in this strategy and the future plans for the area. The interview took place at The Rotterdam building, where the offices of the municipal employees are, while the respondent was previously informed for the topic and the content of the research, supplied by the relevant checklist and interview outline as well. The specific interviewee was the most challenging one to include. It required a lot of time to find the right person responsible and mostly adequate to contribute to the research of the thesis. In the end, this party expressed particular interest in the findings of the research, and invited the researcher to discuss further the results and the future development in the area, after the thesis' completion.

Interviewee #9: The last interviewee represents the group of musicians. Being a musician operating in the local music scene for the past four years, the interviewee provided insights in terms of the environment under which musicians face, and the venues' role in the development of the local musicians and the local music scene. The interviewee performs at several of the venues of the sample, and his contacts were provided to the researcher by respondent #1. Similar wise, the interviewee was informed about the topic and provided with the checklist and interview outline designed for that group, prior to the interview, which took place at a location of his choice.

As indicated in each case, each one of the respondents was informed about the aim of the interviews, the content of the research and the contribution that each one had to the research. In particular, the distribution of the relevant documents (checklists and interview outlines) was deliberate, and assisted towards this direction. More specifically, after the first contact with the interviewees, the researcher provided them with the relevant information and documents, so that they would be completely aware of all the aspects of the research.

Regardless, in every interview, the researcher provided an introduction to the topic, in order to clarify any questions by the interviewees, regarding the research. These choices were consciously made to establish certain ethics to the qualitative research, and in particular to avoid the case of lack of informed consent. Furthermore, despite the fact that the interviews were developed around a number of topics and questions prior formulated, an in depth discussion was encouraged by the researcher and the interviewees themselves, enhanced by the fact that the location of the interviews was chosen by the respondents, in order to create a casual, welcoming and safe environment.

### *Secondary Data*

In order to enhance the validity and reliability of the research undertaken, the data collection and analysis includes also secondary data. The latter occurred through the participation of the researcher in expert meetings which happened to occur in the city, and were highly related to the topic of the research. Despite the fact that these data were collected by the researcher, they are characterized as secondary ones, because their actualization was not designed or initiated by the researcher. In particular, these secondary data originate from three different discussions that took place in Rotterdam in the past six months, with topics relevant to the one in hand. The first one refers to a meeting which took place in March, with the topic of sustainable nightlife, and in which two of the sample's interviewees were speakers. The discussion that evolved in this event, focused on the sustainability of the local venues under the conditions of the rapid urban development and gentrification that the city has met the past few years. The second meeting took place in May, and regarded the topic of inclusive gentrification in the city of Rotterdam, directly connected with the subject of the research. The last one, which also took place in May, was a lecture organized by the faculty of Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication, with the topic of Rotterdam: Harbor or cultural haven?, and as a guest lecturer Deirdre McCloskey, an expert in economic history of the Netherlands, and as both a fervent defender of free markets and an advocate of arts & culture. The latter meeting, although not directly connected with the topic of the research, adds value to the thesis by highlighting the shift of the city towards a service oriented knowledge economy, employing culture as a driver for this transition.

## Data Analysis

The primary and secondary data collected for the purpose of the research were recorded with the permission of the participants. Therefore for the analysis of the data, all the interviews were transcribed, while the audios of the expert meetings were partially transcribed, according to the most relevant parts of the discussions. The data analysis is based on predefined and emerging codes. The predefined codes were set accordingly to the theoretical framework and the literature review developed for the research, in regard to the research question and sub-questions. The emerging codes occurred because of the in depth character of the interviews. Table 3.1, summarizes the predefined and emerging codes applied in the coding process of the data collected.

CODES	
Predefined codes	Emerging codes
exchange value	talent development
use value	local-translocal-virtual scenes
commodification/commercialization	uncertainty
importance of live venues	future development
music scene	
Authenticity	
Sustainability	
urban redevelopment (+)	
urban redevelopment (-)	
live venues and local scenes	
collaboration and communication	
Location	
Suggestions	
effects of urban redevelopment	
gentrified live venues	

Table 3. 1

## 3.4 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Reliability, defined by Bryman (2016), refers to the capability of the results of a research to be repeatable. The difficulty of establishing a high level of reliability in qualitative studies is also evident in this particular research. However, in terms of external reliability, that is in terms of replicating the study, itself (Bryman, 2016), the research undertaken achieve that, taking under consideration that the research regards a case study,

specifically developed around the city of Rotterdam, and a particular cultural discipline, that of music. However, the method that was employed in order to conduct this case study, is in accordance to methods that have been used in similar researches, while the samples involve all the relevant to the subject parties. Therefore, if it was to repeat the research in the future, one should follow the same method, and involve the same participants. Hence, the external reliability of the research is established to a certain extent.

Similar wise, ensuring the validity, which is the integrity of the findings and the conclusion, (Bryman, 2016) of the research one should distinguish between internal and external validity. In order to establish internal validity for the research, meaning a strong link between the theoretical framework and the measurements and observations, the operationalization of the key terms is made, while the majority of the codes employed for the analysis of the data is based on the framework developed in the second section of the research. Regardless, the external validity, in terms of generalizing the findings across different settings, (Bryman, 2016), cannot be established, because of the particularities of the case study and the differences across cities and even across different areas within the same city.

However, in order to amplify and assure the validity of the research, the method of triangulation is attempted. In particular, triangulation is applied by distinguishing and involving three different parties in the sample, the municipality one, the venue owners and programmers one, and the musicians one. Furthermore, the inclusion and utilization of secondary data also assists towards this direction, since it provides findings and inputs that were not designed by the researcher for the specific context of the study, but validate the expectations of the latter and capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon.

### **3.5 LIMITATIONS**

The methodology applied for the research faces certain limitations. In particular, the size of the samples indicates specific drawbacks. Especially the sample regarding the musicians is an ambiguous one, because of its limited representatives. Ideally, the sample of the musicians would include various artists operating in the local music scene, at different genres and different stages in their career. The latter occurred because of the limited time of completion for the research.

For these types of researches that examine the effects of a process on certain elements, the best approach would be a longitudinal research. In that way, with observations and interviews with the parties involved at different stages of the process, the effects of the latter would be more obvious and easier to capture. In the case of this particular research, despite the fact that all interviewees were asked and referred to different events that occurred throughout the years, it would perhaps be more efficient to collect data in different times, when the events actually took place. Furthermore, the inclusion of all the live music venues of the city which would lead to a zoning of the city's music map would illustrate further the effects, according to the proximity of the venues to the developing area.

## 4. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

In order to understand and analyze the effects of the redevelopment strategy employed in the area of Sciedblock, Rotterdam on the local music scenes and the artistic community, it is necessary to approach the research question step by step. In this fashion, the concepts developed in the theoretical framework are thoroughly examined and transferred in the city of Rotterdam and the specific case study. Hence, in the first subsection of the empirical analysis, the sub-questions above formulated are applied and examined, in order to reach certain key points, thresholds for a valuable discussion. Therefore, for each sub-question, the codes that were used to analyze the data are mentioned, providing as well the relevant in each case findings. The second subsection regards the analysis of the collected data, according to the theoretical framework above developed, drawing a link and taking a step from theory towards practice.

### 4.1 FINDINGS

*Sub-question 1: To what extent is the culture led redevelopment strategy implemented in Sciedblock area, driven by a market oriented approach?*

For the first sub-question it is important to distinguish the urban development process of Schiedblock area and the role that culture holds in this process, among three phases in time. The first stage refers to the period of 2008 to 2015, where the initial plans of the area's redevelopment stopped because of the economic crisis and certain creative initiatives occupied the empty buildings and started operating in the area. This stage of development can be identified as a model of culture and regeneration, (Evans, 2005), consisting a bottom up approach to the revitalization of the neighborhood. As the municipality party of the research comments:

*"It was not the plan from the municipality. It just happened to us and we are thankful for that they made a great place. And before 2015 we didn't do much more than just rent the places to the venues there"*

Respondent 8

The second phase of urban redevelopment evolved in the years of 2015-2018, reflects a more strategic approach by the municipality of the city and the city council for the revitalization of the area. Acknowledging the value that culture added to the area and the city, in these three years, the strategy involved the preservation of the cultural environment and the initiatives in the area, without however providing clear indications and guidelines for its future plans. As the same respondent comments for that period,

*“We don't know what we want so only make contracts that can end really fast, but keep the environment that is there, keep the creative environment, don't put houses or anything”*

Respondent 8

The third phase of the revitalization process of Schiedblock area and its surroundings, starting from 2018, includes a clear vision for the area and the role of culture in it. In this plan, culture is incorporated as a tool for the creation of the desired environment for the central district, which refers to a meeting place for different economic sectors to meet, from innovation companies to creativity and music, with a greater focus on innovation and corporate development.

*“We try to make places where you can eat drink a coffee, and meet people who are wearing suits and others who wear sneakers, and that is kind of a meeting place and incubator for innovation. We try to make an environment where ideas can grow into businesses.”*

Respondent 8

Evidently enough, according to Evans (2015), the model of culture led redevelopment strategy employed in the last two phases of the process, refer to a cultural regeneration, where the cultural activity is integrated alongside with other economic, social and environmental aspects.

The distinction between the three stages contributes in giving an appropriate and accurate answer to the first sub-question. Since the first stage is underpinned by a bottom up approach, designed by the creative initiatives in the area themselves, the question of whether it is a market oriented approach or not is not accurate. However, for the second and third stage of the process, which reflect a top down approach, designed by an external to the area factor -the city council-, it is an accurate issue to be examined. The codes used in



this case regard the ones of *use value* and *exchange value*, while both the samples of venue owners and programmers, and the municipality provide a significant input to this question.

Regarding the sample of venue owners (official and unofficial) and programmers, all the respondents commented that the redevelopment process in the area is driven by financial profit, rather than cultural one. A number of them attribute this fact to the certain political orientation of the city's council, which in principle disregards the added value of culture to the city in social or economical terms. Furthermore, a significant factor that leads towards the market oriented approach as indicated by certain respondents is the financial losses that the project yielded in the past, and the pressure from different parties involved, towards an economically successful plan for the area. Therefore, despite the fact that the cultural value is recognized and appreciated by the designers of the process, a market approach prevails, utilizing culture and the creative environment for touristic, placemaking and city marketing purposes. In short as one of the respondents comment,

*"It's all about the money in this area, I mean everybody sees the value of places like the venues here, but there's a lot at stake here"*

Respondent 7

From the municipality's point of view, the same opinion was expressed, providing though further insights for the reasons. On one hand, the increasing importance of housing in the city functions as a cause for a profit oriented approach and the use of cultural initiatives towards revitalizing areas, with the final purpose of creating housing complexes. On the other hand, the indicators applied by the city council in order to evaluate the process are mainly economic ones, in the way that the theoretical framework indicates as well. Therefore, the exchange value which is easier and simpler to measure is prioritized in this process, neglecting to a certain extent, the use value that the creative places in the area generate. In particular the representative from the municipality sample, when asked for the evaluation process of the project replied:

*"I think usually the economic one [aspect], because it is easy to measure and it is the more objective one, and is kind of what we know. So yeah I think usually we go for the simplest one, the easiest to calculate and the one we know. So yeah we are very happy with*

*Schiedblock we try to keep it but is difficult because you have to compete with economic parties or points that are there. But I hope they can live next to each other.”*

Respondent 8

Therefore, to answer the first sub-question, the culture led redevelopment strategy applied in Schiedblock area, is a market oriented one, validating the second expectation as well.

**Sub-question 2:** *To what extent has the culture led redevelopment strategy in Schiedblock area led to the gentrification and commercialization of the music venues?*

In order to make a statement for the second sub-question, the analysis focuses on the data collected by the sample of venue owners and programmers. The codes that were applied include the *use value, exchange value, commodification/commercialization, and effects of urban redevelopment*. What is particularly difficult in the attempt to answer the specific question is to distinguish between the factors that led to the commercialization of the venues, in terms of content change, that on one hand originate from the natural growth of a venue through time, and on the other from the urban redevelopment process itself. However, as one of the respondents states, urban redevelopment strategies are directly connected with the commercialization of the venues in the area:

*“Venues have grown bigger, more intense, attract more people, and yes there is always the blame of commercialization, and I think that’s also part of the development. You can’t stay low profile, underground forever, at some point money has to be made”*

Respondent 5

Perhaps a more evident effect of commercialization of the venues in the area is their need to add certain live events in order to attract more people, and to respond to the demand that has been created through the years not only from the venue itself, but also from the developing area in which the venue operates.

*“Well it’s not about the area but we have to adapt to the audience here, and it’s impossible to be on your island and program whatever you want, for example we do Karaoke every*

*Thursday night but it's not something I would think of when you talk about a serious venue, but we do that because it brings us extra money"*

Respondent 7

Furthermore, the commercialization of the venues, apart from a natural process is also necessary in order to be economically able to support the more experimental, innovative local music, which by itself is unable to sustain the venue, but is desired and pursued by the latter. Therefore, no clear relationship between the urban redevelopment strategy and the commercialization of the venues can be drawn. However, it is evident that the more commercial venues are the ones who are more likely to be involved in the future plans of the development process. The future plans of the development process will alter the content of the venues, if not commercialize it, since they will need to adjust to the new environment that the project developers wish to establish. Hence, at a certain extent the first expectation is also validated.

***Sub-question 3:*** *What is the role of DIY venues and initiatives in this process in terms of preserving the authenticity of local music scenes?*

The risk of commercialization caused by the urban redevelopment strategies, raises questions regarding the preservation of the authenticity of local music scenes, and their ability to be expressed and manifested in the city's live venues. According to the theoretical framework, DIY venues, especially in the process of urban redevelopment, are the key players in preserving the use value and the authenticity of the local music scene, as uncensored venues for local artists to perform. The inclusion of two DIY respondents to the sample of venue owners and programmers provides evidence to examine this assumption. Therefore, the codes used to analyze the data in this case, are the ones of *use value* and *authenticity*. A logical and natural conclusion drawn from the analysis, is that since the commercialization of the venues derives from their need to respond to a certain demand, the authenticity of the venues should derive from their ability to operate outside of the market, focused on the content and the quality of the live music they provide. The following comment of a respondent when asked if the DIY character of his venue allows him to preserve the content of the venue, illustrates in a very simple way this conclusion:

*“Yes because we don’t have licenses and permits and we are not subjective to any rules and obligations which also cost a lot of money and therefore require a certain turnover, and a certain turnover requires a certain amount of people visiting your place every month or every week, and that inevitably would affect also our content”*

Respondent 5

**Sub-question 4:** *Does the culture led redevelopment strategy in the case of Rotterdam, enhance the precarious environment of local musicians?*

In order to examine the fourth sub-question, the focus falls upon the samples of venue owners and programmers and musicians. In particular during the coding process, the codes that were utilized are the following: *importance of live venues, live venues and local scenes, and talent development*. In the context of urban redevelopment, one can draw a line between the urban redevelopment strategies and the environment and new roles of musicians. The data analysis indicates certain ways in which the latter are affected by these strategies. In particular, the enhancement of the precarious environment of local musicians derives from the commercialization of venues, and their shift and need to host sold out live events. Under these conditions the modern musician needs to take a step back from the quality and the artistic components of her music, and focus on marketing and social media tactics, in order to become enough well known, and be able to create sold out live, and hence be able to perform to these venues. Ultimately this effect functions as an obstacle to the talent development of the local musicians, with economic extensions for the local music industry as well.

*“And this is something that is moving towards the wrong direction at the moment because a musician is forced to be a marketing expert a social media gurus, you have to have all these additional skills which have actually nothing to do with the music itself. And because the venue is driven by economic gain, because they need the money to survive, it’s a commercial business, those artists that are not able to fulfill this expectation will be left out or left behind.”*

Respondent 2

## 4.2 FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

The theoretical framework developed in the second chapter offers insights to the issues of culture-led redevelopment strategies, the role of culture in these processes, the sustainability of such strategies and the importance of the live music venues and the local music scenes. Hence, in order to achieve a holistic approach to the effects of urban redevelopment strategies in the city of Rotterdam on the local music scene, it is crucial to place Rotterdam and in particular the Schiedblock area, inside the framework of the theory. Therefore, the following subsection provides an application of the theory and the aspects above mentioned, to the Sciedblock project since its beginning, including the future plans for the area. Since the research employs an inductive method, additional theoretical concepts are applied for this purpose.

### *Urban redevelopment strategies and culture*

The first part of the theoretical framework indicates to a great extent, the economic and social shifts of the past decades, which led to the incorporation of culture in the urban redevelopment strategies. These changes can be compiled to the global shift for production to service oriented economies, and the attempt of the cities to shake off their industrial landscape and adjust to the social and economic, postindustrial era. The data collected for the purposes of the research, demonstrate that these conditions and shifts, underpin the current environment of the city of Rotterdam. The discussion questioning the role and character of the city as a harbor or as a “cultural haven”, as well as the comments from the municipal sample, indicate the need for a shift in the city, towards a knowledge and service economy, since the economic importance of the harbor, slowly fades away. Furthermore, the renaissance that the city met in the past ten years resulted in the attraction of a highly educated population, with an orientation towards the knowledge and cultural industries. As indicated by a number of interviewees, this renaissance and its effects are highly connected with the cultural redevelopment of the central district of the city and the cultural initiatives that developed in the Schiedblock area. The future plans for the area demonstrate the incorporation of culture in urban redevelopment strategies, which aim to create a mixed discipline environment, from music -production and management office, not live music- and creativity towards innovation and business development, alongside the creation of housing

properties. The latter is set as a priority from the city council, while innovation follows, placing aside creativity and culture.

According to the characteristics and models of urban redevelopment strategies and culture developed by Evans (2005), the Schiedblock project and the area's revitalization process can be distinguished in three phases, identifying two distinct models throughout the years. As above mentioned, the first phase of the process in the period of 2008-2015 can be characterized as culture and regeneration. The environment and the externalities created by the development of the creative spaces in the area and the live music venues, captured the attention of the city council, which having acknowledged the added value of these places, designed a model of cultural regeneration for the further development of the area.

### *Sustainability*

The cultural regeneration model, which has been unraveling since 2015, indicate certain ambiguities for the venues operating in the area, making the development project ultimately unsustainable for its creative components. However, the regeneration process can also affect positively the venues, since the owners benefit from the lower rental prices, and none of the respondents mentioned any threats from the municipality in terms of higher rents, or interferences with their content and their programming. Nevertheless, all the respondents from the sample of venue owners and programmers, indicated as a threat for their sustainability, the uncertainty under which they operate and originates from the redevelopment plans. In particular, the short term leases that the municipality provides, the lack of clarity regarding the time frame of the development and the vagueness of the final plan, are all elements that enhance the unsustainable and precarious environment for the venues operating in the area. As a result, the latter are unable to invest in their functions, in terms of physical renewals and upgrades, or in terms of establishing a specific character and a music scene in the city. In this fashion, ultimately the urban redevelopment strategy leads to the stagnation of the local music scenes, and the live venues.

*“There's a lack of prospect for the venues, because they don't know for how long they can stay there. And if they want to invest in the structure of the building, they need to know for what time they can stay there to know if they can get a return in their investment. But for*

*them there's always the possibility that they can be thrown out in one year in two years, they never know. So this prevents them from building the place in the way it should be built."*

Respondent 2

The result of this uncertainty is the relocation or termination of some local venues. Therefore, according to Kircberg's and Kagan's (2013) four stages of gentrification and urban development, Rotterdam and Schiedblock area are somewhere in between the second and third phase. For some of the respondents, this process can actually contribute to the development of culture in the city, and creates new possibilities for the creative entrepreneurs in general, and live venues in particular.

*"For the culture it provides new places. It moves culture to different places, and when the cultural thing is moving a lot of people get interested"*

Respondent 6

For others however, this outcome is considered as a negative one for a number of reasons. At first, throughout the process of relocation, the preservation of the cultural value and the success of a venue cannot be ensured, and is therefore jeopardized. In addition, there is no consideration for the particularities of the local community and the environment in which the venue is relocated. Consequently, these two factors enhance the economic and the cultural risk of the venues.

*"Well on the area it would have a positive effect, but for the venues it would definitely affect negatively their sustainability and their success. [...] You are bringing an existing recipe to a neighborhood that never asked for it. It looks like a board game and the municipality decides to take this part and put it there, just to see what happens. I don't know how it will end up."*

Respondent 3

### ***Evaluating a culture-led redevelopment strategy***

In order to overcome certain aspects and drawbacks of the culture-led redevelopment strategies, there are a number of aspects which could affect positively towards this direction. At first the communication between the parties involved in the Sciedblock area, namely the existing venues and the municipality, could be enhanced. This

step is something that both parties perceive as desirable, and to a certain extent already takes place. However, the mindset of the municipality in terms of recognizing the importance of the live music venues, but also the differences among them, functions as an obstacle for a healthy and productive communication channel. In short, the suggestions of the participants towards a more sustainable culture-led regeneration strategy, include the provision of space and opportunities for new cultural initiatives, the guidance for their development, the mix of different cultures and backgrounds in order to develop the local music scenes and the protection of small venues that operate as thresholds for young musicians to meet, perform, grow and develop.

These suggestions resemble the developing concept of *Just to the City*. The latter promotes a value based approach to urban revitalization, stabilization and development, based on certain values, namely; equity, in terms of material and nonmaterial goods, choice, access, connectivity, ownership, diversity, participation, inclusion and belonging, beauty and creative innovation. Based on these values, the concept suggests certain indicators in order to measure and evaluate the changes in the urban environment. Appendix D summarizes these indicators.

Hence, the inclusion of the Just to the City Index (appendix D), to the indicators that the municipality currently applies to measure the performance of the Schiedblock area, can be considered of significant importance. In that way, the market oriented approach that is employed at the moment can be altered, in order to preserve the creative atmosphere of the area and create a more sustainable environment for the cultural components that served in the development of the area at first place. Moreover, the addition of these indicators can contribute towards the development of the local music scenes, and therefore assist in the municipality's plans of incorporating the discipline of music in the future development. In that fashion, a more economically sustainable music industry is created, able to support the large number of local musicians, and provide continuity to the latter's career, and thus adding further value to the prestigious music conservatories that the city hosts.

### **Music scenes**



The theoretical framework indicates the economic significance of the local music scenes, in terms of tacit knowledge creation and their role in the new co-creative value chain of the music industry. The data collection and analysis support this argument, suggesting further insights for the economic significance of music scenes and live venues. As the respondents comment, the local music scenes of Rotterdam are numerous, with however limited audience and participants. Therefore, the live venues that host the scenes are rather small, in many cases insufficient to support professionally the local musicians, in terms of infrastructure, but numerous and spread throughout the city. Schiedblock area can be considered as a cluster of live venues, each one of them might support a different local music scene.

The large number of venues and their relative small size is demonstrated by the musicians' sample as one of the crucial elements for talent development and support. However, in comparison with the size of the local music scenes this number is also perceived as a threat to the latter.

*"There are definitely more places because of these areas. And of course the more places the better for the musicians. But of course if there are more options, then there is a downside, because the audience is not very big so it gets split among the places. There are goods and bads."*

Respondent 9

However, the live venues in the city are crucial for the creation of tacit knowledge, since the face to face interaction, the sharing of experience and the exchange of skills, provide inspiration for the local musicians and further assist their development.

*"I think for the local scene it is important as a place to play, and if there is no place to play they cannot develop themselves. Yeah for the local scene, live venues are place to meet other people as well, to connect with people I think so. That's always the good thing about cultural things, to get inspiration from, to get surprised by a band, and go out and think oh that's what it is about."*

Respondent 1

The importance of the live music scenes is also extended to the city's development. In particular, the live music setting of Rotterdam is a unique one, because of the DIY mentality that underpins the official and unofficial venues and the strong collaboration among them, elements that flourish in lack of one big venue in the city. Most of the city's venues, and notably the ones that operate in the Schiedblock area, manifest a grassroots orientation with a focus on the local music scenes, innovation and experimentation.

*"I think the scene and the different venues are so underground here. And people outside of Rotterdam start to come here because of these venues. Even though the overall image of Rotterdam nationwide is horrible. So Rotterdam is in a renaissance especially culturally and I hope and I do not dare to predict that that renaissance will translate in the wider area of the city which is still underdeveloped."*

Respondent 3

### ***Local, translocal, virtual scenes***

Tironi (2012) distinguishes among three types of music scenes in regard to their spatial characteristics. Local scenes are geographically and specific bounded localities, referring to a certain location or area, manifested in the places in which the components of the scene meet and express their identities. Translocal scenes have elements of the local scenes but are also connected and linked with similar groups in distant locations. Virtual scenes are the ones created, developed and manifested through online channels and platforms, while their participants are widely geographically separated. This distinction of music scenes resembles Castell's (1996) theory regarding the space of place and the space of flows concepts. The space of place refers to the localities that formulate people's daily actions, while the space of flows is defined as "the material arrangements that allow for simultaneity of social practices without territorial contiguity. It is not purely electronic space... First, it is made up of a technological infrastructure of information systems, telecommunications, and transportation lines", (Castell, 1999, p. 295). Hence, a clear comparison can be drawn between the local scenes and the space of place, and the virtual scenes and space of flows.

As Castell (1996) argues, the two different spaces are by definition separated, unless there are physical or cultural elements that bridge them. The data collection and analysis

indicates that the live venues can operate as a link between different spatial scenes and thus as links between the space of place and the space of flows. On one hand, the focus on local music scenes, the provision of platforms for local musicians to perform and the extensive jam sessions that take place in venues throughout the city, promotes and advances the local music scene, and attracts the attention of national and international audiences and booking agencies to the city and to the local scenes. On the other hand, the international and national networks of the local venues and their attempts to book musicians outside of the city's and the country's premises, further develops the local musicians and music scenes, by providing different stimulations, experiences and inspiration. Consequently, the local music venues operate as laboratories and meeting places not only for the local scenes, but mingle together the local, translocal and virtual scenes, bridging the gap between the space of place and the space of flows.

*“Because these people have international networks, with their own experience, there are a lot of links with other cities. And it is now easier for bands, but it’s now all on a very DIY level. [...] And I think that Rotterdam as an incubator for independent scenes and creative minds as well, is very important for that.”*

Respondent 3

The function of live venues as a strong link between different geographically defined scenes and spaces adds value to their importance and creates the necessity for their protection and preservation. Therefore, a sustainable culture-led redevelopment strategy, especially in an area and environment where the venues held a catalyst role in their development, would take into account their contribution and enable the venues to continue their operations in the area. In that way, not only the cultural but also the economic possibilities of these venues can prosper and create significant positive effects for the city as a whole.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The city of Rotterdam has faced rapid redevelopment processes in the past few years. Now it is situated in a transition period, making the decision to move from a harbor city, towards a knowledge and innovation economy. This transition underpins the city as a whole, but also the different urban redevelopment projects that take place around various locations in the city. The central district of the city represents a prime example of this transition. A strategically developed culture-led regeneration process is applied in the area, following the cultural renaissance that occurred in the same place, the past ten years. However, the effects of this strategy are ambiguous for its cultural components, and in particular for the live venues that operate there. Therefore the research question formulated for the thesis in hand is:

*How does the culture-led urban redevelopment process in the city of Rotterdam affect the local music scenes and the artistic community, through the gentrification of music venues?*

In order to make a statement regarding the main research question, the answers to the sub-questions are first summarized and discussed. The market oriented approach that the culture-led redevelopment strategy employs, leaves little space for the existing cultural initiatives in the area and for new ones, to operate and flourish under this process. In particular, the goal set by the municipality to create and establish a mixed environment where businesses meet the creative sector, towards the advancement of innovation, crowds out the cultural component and the use value of the area's live venues. Despite the fact that the future development of the area incorporates fragments of the music industry, in this new environment of businesses and housing, there is little if any at all room for the live venues to operate and develop. As demonstrated in the previous section, the culture-led redevelopment strategy affects and alters the content of the venues in the area, and to a certain extent leads to the commercialization and gentrification of the venues. In the end of the development process, only the spaces which meet the qualifications and criteria set by the municipality will be able to function in the area, dismantling in that fashion the cultural elements that so far served in the development of the neighborhood. The economic and cultural significance of the live venues, as illustrated in the previous section, in the development of the local music scenes, conveys the negative effects of the regeneration strategy to the local scenes as well. The commodification and the strict regulation of the

remaining venues, is highly possible to result in the stagnation of the local music scenes, and the talent development of the local musicians.

Under these circumstances of regulation and commercialization, the unofficial, DIY and grassroots organizations and venues in the city, bear the role of preserving the authenticity and advancement of the local music scenes. Their ability to operate outside the market and the strict regulations and terms that underpin the live music venues, and therefore the need to meet the existing demand, enables them to focus on the experimental, authentic and innovative aspects of the local scene.

The preservation of the local music scenes' authentic elements can also assist and resist the effects of the culture-led redevelopment strategy on the local musicians. In a setting where the exchange value is prioritized by the process, and applied as a necessity by the venues, the modern local musicians need to be more marketing and social media experts, rather than just musicians. Hence, the precarious environment of the musician is further enhanced, while it additionally results in the stagnation of the talent development and the local music scenes.

The answers to the sub-questions assist in answering the research question, stated for the thesis. In particular, the culture-led redevelopment strategy applied in the case of Rotterdam, specifically in Schiedblock area, leads to the stagnation of the local music scenes and the talent development, by influencing and regulating the content and operations of the live music venues in the area. This influence can be demonstrated either in the form of gentrified venues, in terms of content adjustment to the area's environment, or the relocation of the venues, in their attempt to preserve their content and environment.

The Dutch subsidizing system for culture can be of help to this "wrong direction" of talent development. In particular, the fact that the local government provides funds for the live venues to support the local music scenes and the talent development can be a first step towards creating a secure environment for local musicians to perform, and perhaps even towards paths of de commercialization. However, the fact that the funds are provided by the same party responsible for the areas redevelopment, may lead to misjudgments and favors towards which type of live venues ultimately receive the funding. Hence, certain objective criteria should be set for applying for subsidies, while the target of the latter should be the

small initiatives and venues which actively and decisively support the local music scenes. Moreover, the future plans for the development of the area would be advisable to preserve some space for creative initiatives to sprout and grow, decreasing the current regulation that smothers the operation of live venues.

*“Give more security to places like us, to actually say that yes you can stay here for five more years, to make it easier to organize incidental concerts, we are an over regulated country. Deregulate especially if you want things to happen in Rotterdam West or South. And create opportunities, provide micro subsidies, instead of structural subsidies where you need a number of qualifications to get. And especially give subsidies to smaller parties not bigger parties. Focus on the fertile soil of the city and then a couple of years later you will be able to see what has grown from that “*

Respondent 3

Last but not least, certain steps need to be made in order to make the future plans for the area sustainable. A significant one refers to the co-location of housing properties and live venues in the same area. Instead of altering the operation hours and permits of the venues, which would ultimately result in the alteration of their content and character, it would be wiser to invest in the infrastructures and sound isolation solutions. The city of London is a prime example of such actions, since recently in order to avoid the complaints for noise coming from the venues, took over the responsibility from the latter, and provided subsidies and funds in order to invest in the sound isolation. Examples like that can be found in a number of cities and cases, therefore it is highly possible for the city of Rotterdam to design a sustainable culture-led redevelopment strategy, preserving at the same time the cultural elements and components of this design.

## **Limitations and Further Research**

This research has presented a case study examining the effects of a culture-led redevelopment strategy in Rotterdam, focusing on the local music scenes, the live venues and the local musicians. However, the results of the research have to be seen in the light of the specific location of Sciedblock area, and the sample’s characteristics. The transferability of the results would be an inadequate approach to other cities, and even to different locations in the same city, and to a certain extent an irony, since the widespread adoption of

these types of strategies are strongly criticized for their replication in different settings without taking under consideration the particularities of the latter. As indicated in the methodology chapter, the method employed in this research is in the right direction. Nevertheless, in order to reach to more accurate results, the research should be extended and repeated at different points in time and stages of development. Furthermore, given the lack of time, the sample size regarding the local musicians is rather small, and should be expanded.

Based on the limitations that underpin the research, but also the findings that the latter provides, certain stimulations for further research are triggered. For example, it would be highly interesting to examine the different circumstances that venues face according to their location in the city, from north to south and east to west, creating a zoning of the live music scene and a mapping of the venues. Furthermore, Rotterdam's music scene is quite alluring and attractive, with local musicians achieving greater and greater recognition at a national and international level. Therefore, it would be valuable to examine and research the particular characteristics that contribute to this fact, tracking the development of the musicians' careers from the beginning till the "end". Last but not least, catching the string from the findings of the current research and taking into account its limitations and suggestions, the observation of the urban development strategy designed for the area of Marconiplein in Rotterdam West, which also includes cultural components as key drivers, offers a fertile opportunity to follow up the process from the beginning until the end.

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## APPENDIX A

### CHECKLIST 1

#### TOPIC LIST

- The new value chain of the music industry (after the decentralization effects of Internet and new technologies)
- The importance of live venues and local scenes in the new value chain
- The evolution of the local music scene in the past years in Rotterdam
- The effects of gentrification on the local music scene and the artistic community in the past years in Rotterdam
- Urban redevelopment in Rotterdam and its effects; an easy fix or a sustainable plan? (in relation to the music scene)
- Urban redevelopment and live music venues: threat or opportunity?
- Authenticity, live venues, local scenes
- Perception, thoughts, suggestions for a sustainable implementation of a culture-led redevelopment process

### CHECKLIST 2

#### Checklist For MUNICIPALITY INTERVIEW

- Historic approach of the involvement of culture in the urban redevelopment in Rotterdam
  - When did it start
  - Who initiated the process
  - Comparison with other cities
  - Motives and drivers
- The role of culture in urban redevelopment
  - Collaboration among the departments (Urban Development and Integration)
  - Alignment of plans and actions
- Who makes the decisions
- Stakeholders involved
- The Schieblock area plan
- Sustainability and stability of the plan
- Indicators comparison
- Primary and secondary goals of the redevelopment process
- Primary and secondary motives of the process
- Success factors
  - Use value/exchange value
- Future plans

- Responsibility and care for the relocated ones
- Possibilities for collaboration between the parties involved
- Communication with the parties involved

### CHECKLIST 3

#### Checklist for VENUES Interviews

- Location of the venue
- Years of operation
- Contribution to the music scene
  - Utilization and promotion of local artists
  - Contribution to inclusiveness and local cohesion
- Authenticity vs commercialization
- Measurement of performance
  - Social
  - Cultural
  - economic
  - use value and exchange value relationship
- Effects of urban redevelopment in their operations
  - Programming
  - Pricing strategy
  - Law and legislation
- Perception over gentrification
  - Pros (higher statue/ symbolic capital)
  - Cons
- Changes they have seen caused by the gentrification process
- Future plans and obstacles
- Suggestions for a more sustainable cultural policy
- Possibilities for collaboration with the other parties involved

## APPENDIX B

### INTERVIEW OUTLINE

1. To the **municipality**: The information I want to gather from this interview refer mainly to the process that has been followed in the development of Schieblock area (a creative cluster in Rotterdam, with a number of performing venues). I want to see who are the stakeholders involved in the process, was there a mix of public and private initiatives, which were the motives and what the future plans for the area are.
  - How was the process of revitalizing the area initiated?
  - How was the role of arts and culture introduced in the plan?
  - What were the motives for the municipal involvement with arts and culture in this process?
  - Which model of the integration of culture into regeneration as applied in this project?
  - Which were the stakeholders involved?
  - What is your relationship and level of interference with the venues operating in the area?
  - What was the expected results and time frame of the project?
  - Which indicators do you apply to evaluate the performance of the project?
  - How do you classify the use-value and the exchange-value that the venues yield?
  - Which are the future plans regarding the area?
  - How is the gentrification process of this particular area connected with the city of Rotterdam?
  - Is the sustainability and the long continuation of the effectiveness of the area jeopardized by the time-limited duration of the politician's service and their agenda?
- The table below summarizes some indicators for measuring the effectiveness of culture led regeneration processes.

**Table 1.** An overview of the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration

Physical regeneration	Economic regeneration	Social regeneration		
<i>Policy imperatives:</i>				
<i>Sustainable development</i>				
Land use, brownfield sites	<i>Competitiveness and growth</i> Un/Employment, Job quality Inward investment Regional development Wealth Creation SMEs/micro-enterprises Innovation and Knowledge Skills and Training Clusters Trade Invisibles (e.g. tourism) Evening Economy	<i>Social inclusion</i> Social cohesion Neighbourhood Renewal Health and Well-being Identity Social Capital Governance Localism/Governance Diversity Heritage ('Common') Citizenship		
Compact city				
Design quality (CABE, 2002)				
Quality of Life and Liveability				
Open space and amenity				
Diversity (eco-, landscape)				
Mixed-Use/Multi-Use				
Heritage conservation				
Access and Mobility				
Town Centre revitalisation				
<i>Tests and measurements:</i>				
Quality of Life indicators			Income/spending in an area	Attendance/Participation
Design Quality Indicators			New and retained jobs	Crime rates/fear of crime
Reduced car-use	Employer (re)location	Health, referrals		
Re-use of developed land	Public-private leverage/ROI	New community networks		
Land/building occupation	Cost benefit analysis	Improved leisure options		
Higher densities	Input-Output/Leakage	Lessened social isolation		
Reduced vandalism	Additionality and substitution	Reduced truancy and anti-social behaviour		
Listed buildings	Willingness to pay for cultural amenities/contingent valuation	Volunteering		
Conservation areas	Multipliers—jobs, spending	Population growth		
Public transport/usage				
<i>Examples of evidence of impacts:</i>				
Reuse of redundant buildings—studios, museum/gallery, venues	Increased property values/rents (residential and business)	A positive change in residents' perceptions of their area		
Increased public use of space—reduction in vandalism and an increased sense of safety	Corporate involvement in the local cultural sector (leading to support in cash and in kind)	Displacing crime and anti-social behaviour through cultural activity (for example, youth)		
Cultural facilities and workspace in mixed-use developments	Higher resident and visitor spend arising from cultural activity (arts and cultural tourism)	A clearer expression of individual and shared ideas and needs		
High density (live/work), reduce environmental impacts, such as transport/traffic, pollution, health problems	Job creation (direct, indirect, induced); enterprise (new firms/start-ups, turnover/value added)	Increase in volunteering and increased organisational capacity at a local level		
The employment of artists on design and construction teams (Percent for Art)	Employer location/retention; Retention of graduates in the area (including artists/creatives)	A change in the image or reputation of a place or group of people		
Environmental improvements through public art and architecture	A more diverse workforce (skills, social, gender and ethnic profile)	Stronger public–private–voluntary-sector partnerships		

*(Table continued)*

**Table 1.** *Continued*

Physical regeneration	Economic regeneration	Social regeneration
The incorporation of cultural considerations into local development plans (LPAC, 1990)	Creative clusters and quarters; Production chain, local economy and procurement; joint R&D	Increased appreciation of the value and opportunities to take part in arts projects
Accessibility (disability), public transport usage and safety	Public–private–voluntary-sector partnerships ('mixed economy')	Higher educational attainment (in arts and 'non-arts' subjects)
Heritage identity, stewardship, local distinctiveness/ vernacular	Investment (public–private sector leverage)	Greater individual confidence and aspiration

2. Interviews with the **venue owners**: the goal of these interviews is to gain the perspective of the interviewees regarding the process of gentrification, and how the latter affects their operation, their sustainability and their future. The questions will vary accordingly to the location of the venue, since the proximity to the gentrified areas may affect their responses, and their character –DIY or official-. For that reasons I haven't prepared fixed questions yet, since these will alter from venue to venue. However the main elements that should be included in each interview are the following
  - The effects of Rotterdam's urban redevelopment in their operations
  - Whether these effects translate and or interfere in their pricing policy, the targeted audience, the artists they employ
  - What are their values concerning pricing policy, accessibility, inclusiveness and cohesion, employment of local artists and other community related aspects.
  - How do they measure their performance in economic and cultural value
  - Whether they perceive the effects of gentrification as an opportunity for higher status (symbolic capital)
  - How do they perceive their role in the cultivation and the development of the local music scene
  - Is this role jeopardized by the gentrification process and how
  - Future plans, obstacles and suggestions for a better cultural policy
  
3. Interviews with **local artists**: the latter group refers to the most artistic or cultural aspect of the sample. The data in this case reflect the direct opinion of the cultural sector regarding the process of gentrification and its effects. Thus a topic list regarding the interviews with them is formulated as follows:
  - How long have you being actively performing?
  - Local/translocal/international origins
  - Target group
  - Their experience throughout the years of performing in the venues that are affected by the gentrification process
    - What changes have they perceived
    - Do they see this as a status upgrade and an opportunity for further development
    - Have the economic effects of gentrification (high rents) been translated in their payments
    - Does this process interferes with the authenticity of the venues and consequently of the artists who perform there
  - How do they distinct among DIY venues and official venues, regarding the artistic freedom that each one offers? And how this relates to the gentrification effects



## APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW	DATE OF CONTACT	DATE OF INTERVIEW	LOCATION	CHECKLIST USED	INFORMED	CONFIRMED	INTERVIEWD
#1	30/4/2018	7/5/2018	Lokaal	n.3	*	*	*
#2	23/3/2018	9/5/2018	interviewee's home	n.1	*	*	*
#3	8/5/2018	29/5/2018	venue's location	n.3	*	*	*
#4	8/5/2018	25/5/2018	venue's location	n.3	*	*	*
#5	13/5/2018	24/5/2018	venue's location	n.3	*	*	*
#6	2/5/2018	18/5/2018	their "office"	n.3	*	*	*
#7	30/4/2018	5/6/2018	starbucks	n.3	*	*	*
#8	30/4/2018	6/6/2018	the Rotterdam building	n.2	*	*	*
#9	20/5/2018	4/6/2018	café	interview guide 3	*	*	*

# APPENDIX D

**Belonging**  
To feel accepted and comfortable in a setting, despite age, gender, race, sexuality, or income.

**Empathy**  
Exercising the ability to recognize and understand the feeling and point of view of another.

**Inclusion**  
The acceptance of difference and the intention to involve diverse opinions, attitudes, and behaviors.

**Reconciliation**  
The process of finding a way to resolve two different ideas, facts, or points of view, casual or by force at the same time.

**Respect**  
A mutually earned and shared honoring of different voices, opinions, behaviors, and cultural expressions.

**Tolerance**  
The acceptance of difference.

**Trust**  
To promote a confidence earned through the demonstration of fulfilling commitments and promises made among people and institutions.

**Aspiration**  
Nurturing ingenuity in problem solving and intervention.

**Delight**  
Creating places, spaces, and processes that promote happiness and joy.

**Happiness**  
A state of well-being that brings about joy, contentment, or ease.

**Hope**  
The possibility of fulfillment of a desire, aspiration, outcome, or happiness.

**Inspiration**  
The result of creative thinking and collaboration that has the potential to produce new and innovative outcomes.

**Diversity**  
An intentional state of mixed people, institutions, and cultural norms.

**Spontaneity**  
The potential to allow for the unplanned, where individuals or groups can freely self-create processes, interventions, or activities.

**Conflict**  
The acceptance of disagreement or opposition in pursuit of necessary change or improvement.

**Debate**  
Accepting and providing forums for the discussion of different views and points of view in order to achieve greater inclusion in processes and decision-making.

**Protest**  
The act of objection or disapproval in the form of public demonstration.

**Voice**  
Allowing the articulation of different points of view and cultural norms to help shape decision-making.

**Community**  
A group of individuals or collective groups having shared or common interests.

**Cooperation**  
The process by which individuals or collective groups work together to do something.

**Participation**  
The active engagement of individuals and community members in formal and informal, affecting social and spatial well-being.

**Togetherness**  
A sense of solidarity within and across population.

**Equality**  
The provision of equal or equivalent distribution, status, rights, power, and amenity.

**Equity**  
The distribution of material and non-material goods in a manner that brings the greatest benefit required to any particular community.

**Merit**  
A good quality, feature, process, or outcome that deserves to be praised and assigned worth or value.

**Transparency**  
The openness of process, rules, rights, and procedures through the sharing of knowledge and information.

**Authenticity**  
The recognition of physical and social characteristics that are genuine to a particular place or culture, and promote this recognition within communities.

**Beauty**  
Everyone's right to well-made, well-designed environments.

**Character**  
Features or attributes used to separate distinguishable qualities of place.

**Pride**  
A respect and admiration arising from feeling good and confident about some act, space, place, or relationship.

**Access**  
The convenient proximity to quality of, or connectivity to, basic needs, amenities, choices, and decisions.

**Vitality**  
An energetic, integrated community with opportunities for and support of cultural, civic, and economic involvement.

**Adaptability**  
The ability to change or be changed in order to fit or work better in some situation or for some purpose.

**Accountability**  
The acceptance of responsibility by individuals or collective groups to contribute to the creation and maintenance of just conditions for all.

**Agency**  
Enabling the rights and status of individuals or groups to act on behalf of their own interests.

**Empowerment**  
To give formal authority or power to a person or collective group by providing action or influence necessary for social well-being.

**Representation**  
A balance of a community's desires, representative of its diversity, are present in the decision making process.

**Healthiness**  
A state of complete physical, mental and social well-being that is the absence of disease or infirmity.

**Prosperity**  
The condition of being successful or thriving in terms of social, economic, civic, cultural, and health indicators.

**Protection**  
The state of being kept from harm or loss in social or spatial conditions.

**Safety**  
An environment that minimizes physical and emotional vulnerability and respects well-being.

**Security**  
Social and spatial conditions that support the freedom from danger, exclusion, and harm.

**ACCEPTANCE**

**ASPIRATION**

**CHOICE**

**DEMOCRACY**

**ENGAGEMENT**

**FAIRNESS**

**IDENTITY**

**MOBILITY**

**POWER**

**RESILIENCE**

**RIGHTS**

**WELFARE**

**Belonging**

**Empathy**

**Inclusion**

**Reconciliation**

**Respect**

**Tolerance**

**Trust**

**Aspiration**

**Delight**

**Happiness**

**Hope**

**Inspiration**

**Diversity**

**Spontaneity**

**Conflict**

**Debate**

**Protest**

**Voice**

**Community**

**Cooperation**

**Participation**

**Togetherness**

**Equality**

**Equity**

**Merit**

**Transparency**

**Authenticity**

**Beauty**

**Character**

**Pride**

**Access**

**Vitality**

**Adaptability**

**Accountability**

**Agency**

**Empowerment**

**Representation**

**Healthiness**

**Prosperity**

**Protection**

**Safety**

**Security**

**THE JUST CITY INDEX**

Harvard Graduate School of Design  
The Just City Lab for Black in Design  
2 0 1 7

VALUES INDICATORS

Would we design better places if we put the values of equality, inclusion and agency first? If community well-being is what we're after, in what's agreed to be "a city" or a neighborhood, would it have better chances of creating the quality of life, healthy, vibrant places with positive economic, health, civic, cultural and environmental conditions? Imagine that the presence of race, income, education and unemployment inequality and the resulting segregation, isolation and fear, could be addressed by ensuring and designing for greater access, agency, ownership, security, identity or empowerment. How might the Just City? Public neighborhoods and public spaces that show only value-based aspects or open distribution, redistribution and transformation, imagine the Just City?

The Just City Lab investigates the definition of urban justice and the Just City, and it examines how design and planning contribute to the conditions of justice and injustice in diverse neighborhoods and the public realm. The Lab has been developing and testing a set of core principles, values and metrics to assess and evaluate design's role in achieving urban justice. The Lab also researches design practices that exemplify the achievement of the Just City and its values.

Toni L. Griffin, Director, The Just City Lab, Professor in Practice of Urban Planning  
www.designforthejustcity.org