Life in between buildings

A case study on the implementation of placemaking in Dutch cities

Master Thesis
Janthe Bührs
Master Cultural Economics and Entrepreneurship
Student Number: 510366jb

Supervisor: Y.G.D. Wijngaarden
Second reader: L. Carvalho Marques

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam
June 15th, 2020

LIFE IN BETWEEN BUILDINGS

ABSTRACT

Since the turn of the millennial urban regions have been growing exponentially which has put a large focus on the way cities are developing. Besides the hard factors of cities, its buildings, economy and demographics, are cities also places where people socially and culturally interact. In modernist urban planning, life in between buildings has been overlooked through rationalized processes. In order to put a greater emphasis on the co-creation of place and the needs of people, placemaking has been introduced as strategy to develop places in a more organic matter. Through a case study of five different cities in The Netherlands, this thesis studies how placemaking has been implemented as a method of urban development in The Netherlands. Through 11 qualitative in-depth interviews, visions of stakeholders involved in different placemaking processes have been brought together to gain greater insight into the way placemaking touches upon the struggles neighbourhoods and places nowadays face. The case study focusses on real life experiences through five themes: (1) area context, (2) goal setting, (3) perceived impacts, (4) challenges and (5) perceived success and results. It shows that through four overarching placemaking strategies different types of areas and issues can be tackled through placemaking. In the process of making places horizontal and vertical community relationships are strengthened and networks created. Moreover, placemaking exemplifies to be a great facilitator of areas in transition whereby it includes local stakeholders into new developments. Placemaking therefore can be a booster for the local economy, catalyst for innovation and lead to an increase in social cohesion. Notwithstanding, placemaking has opened the gates for a societal discussion as well. It has been criticized on the validity of community representation and pointed out to be a cause for gentrification. The way placemaking is implemented, for what causes and mainly for who, still needs larger attention and research. This study has justified that placemaking can be an accelerator of new developments leading to gentrification and that struggles in community representation are present. It also has shown that strategic process design can help softening the built up towards gentrification and that a focus on finding the right community representative instead of representing a whole community is a better way to build trust in a neighbourhood. Overall placemaking contributes to shaping higher quality places, not only on the hard factors of space but foremost through the soft factors.

KEYWORDS: placemaking, urban development, social capital, cultural value, co-creation

Acknowledgments

I would love to express some words of thanks to the people that guided me through the process of writing this Master thesis. First of all, I want to give my gratitude to my supervisor Yosha van Wijngaarden who was always available for burning questions and provided great feedback on each of my chapters, even when the theoretical framework alone was still almost 8000 words. Furthermore, I want to thank Leonie van der Laan, my thesis coach at Bureau Buhrs who always asked great critical questions and helped me steer this large project. Last but not least, thank you to my friends and family who stood by me during the process and provided a great listening ear during some stressful times. Enjoy the read!

Table of contents

1. Introduction

Cities are places that are in constant movement and change. When thinking about the city I think of high buildings, metro lines, flashing lights and characteristic architecture unique for that place in the world. Even more I think of the experiences a city gives me, the opportunity, the diverse group of people moving around and the exciting feeling you can get just walking around a place containing boundless stories and history. Just after the millennium, for the first time in history, the majority of the global population has become urban instead of rural (Gehl, 2010). As the world population is growing the number of people moving to cities increases. Due to this exponential growth of urban regions since the 1980s and 1990s, many cities have found themselves in transit of changing demographic and socio-economic trends (Hesse, 2019). Even though city life has to offer many positive opportunities, are cities also places of inequality and where people can feel unsafe and anonymous. In modernist urban planning life in between the tall buildings, where people engage and live, has often been forgotten. Cities have been expanding in numerous of houses, flats and parking lots, however social and cultural opportunities have been overlooked in the large demand of space (Gehl, 2010).

In order to return a focus on the social factors of cities, placemaking has been introduced as a method to create higher quality places. Placemaking can be explained as a philosophy, a process, a strategy or even a movement that has come up as a rather new field in urban development (Silberberg, Lorah, Disbrow, Muessig, & Naparstek, 2013). In placemaking an emphasis is put on the development of public space as this is where people socialize and engage in city life (Karacor, 2014). Placemaking finds its roots in the theories of city activists Jane Jacobs and William Whyte. They were forerunners in the opposition against rationalized spatial planning by top-down governors and pleaded for the rights of the city back to the citizens. Hereby, they stated that an understanding of the behaviour, needs and social structures of people in cities should be the starting point of urban development (Karacor, 2014). As Gehl (2010) states: "first life, then space, then buildings" (p.198). However, the concept of place is a fluid and contested term. Every place has its unique social and environmental dynamics which makes urban development a complex process. Eventually, it is the people who shape place through their values which are embedded in culture and history (Soja, 1996). Therefore, is placemaking as method for urban development difficult to compare and generalize.

Placemaking as a rather new and emerging concept has been the subject for academic research in a wide and interdisciplinary field. Since the concept of placemaking is not limited to just one discipline, formulating a general definition of the term is a difficult task. The disciplines in which placemaking is theorized vary from "Spatial and Design Disciplines, Social Science, Art, Education, Music, Tourism, and so forth." (Strydom, Puren, & Drewes, 2018, p. 1). This diverse nature of placemaking emphasizes the value of the concept not only in urban planning but in a multitude of disciplines. Placemaking is therefore often used as an umbrella term for multiple processes, such as place branding (Toolis, 2017), community development (PPS, 2007b) or as catalyst for innovation (Wyckoff, 2014). Due to the lack of unity and comparability in which placemaking is evaluated and

analysed, it is often difficult to grasp due to which factors placemaking contributes to urban development. Therefore, this research aims to get a better understanding in how placemaking can be framed in the academic discourse. It will be examined from an interdisciplinary standpoint of sociology, cultural economics and human geography whereby a special focus is laid on the social and cultural value placemaking has to offer. Moreover, through a case study on different cities in The Netherlands a better understanding in the practical implementation of placemaking will be obtained. This brings me to the societal relevance this study has to offer. As a result of the fact that every place has its own unique social dynamics and built environment, placemaking is difficult to operationalize through specific design rules (Karacor, 2014). For this reason, are placemaking projects sometimes vaguely evaluated or deemed as a success too early in the process (Silberberg et al., 2013). By exploring the impacts and usage of placemaking projects in The Netherlands a clearer understanding of its operationalization will be achieved. Through deeper insights in the process of placemaking, new awareness is gained about how neighbourhoods can be developed with a larger focus on cultural and societal aims. Furthermore, there is still a lot to be learned on placemaking as a community development tool. Placemaking has been the subject of critique in questions about how inclusive its community approach is and is even seen as an accelerator of gentrification (Bedoya, 2013; Lees & Melhuish, 2012; Zukin, 2009). Therefore, this study will be built upon existing knowledge of placemaking and accordingly will illustrate and refute through new obtained insights of a case study on five different cities in The Netherlands.

1.1.   Research questions

The above introduction to the topic provides a first insight in the dynamic nature of placemaking. Definitions about placemaking are still evolving and new ways of implementation are explored. This leads to a wide variety of strategies that are used which advantages or disadvantages multiple stakeholders connected to a place. Therefore, the interest in placemaking grows but its potential and challenges in practice remain undertheorized. This has led to the formulation of the following research question and sub-questions:

How is placemaking implemented as a method of urban development in The Netherlands?

1. *What are the goals of placemaking?*
2. *What are perceived impacts of the placemaking process?*
3. *How can placemaking influence the hard factors of place?*
4. *To what extent is placemaking perceived to be an inclusive process?*

These questions are aimed to discuss a wide range of topics regarding placemaking. In order to understand the concept of placemaking, first a theoretical exploration on the definition of place and the origin of its use in urban development will be reflected upon. Hereafter, a better understanding in the goals of placemaking can be formed which is needed to know why it is used as a method for urban

development. Placemaking is often described as a process, whereby the "making" is more important than the end-product (Silberberg et al., 2013). To gain a better understanding of what this process looks like and what its perceived impacts are on a place, the second sub-question is needed to explain placemaking as a strategy for urban development. Through the theoretical exploration on place will become clear that place is defined through hard and soft factors (Thomas, 2016). Placemaking is a process that builds mostly on the social and cultural structures of place also defined as the soft factors (Thomas, 2016). The third sub-question is therefore aimed to find out how placemaking relates to the hard measurable factors of place. This way an encompassing image on the way placemaking is implemented can be obtained. The last sub-question is proposed to address the challenges and critique outed towards placemaking and find out how Dutch placemaking projects deal with these challenges. Together these topics will provide a comprehensive answer on the main research question: How is placemaking implemented as a method of urban development in The Netherlands? The case study is examined through a qualitative method of 11 in-depth interviews with various stakeholders in different placemaking projects. Their views will provide insights on how to work towards a better way of shaping quality places in the urban environment.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter provides an overview of existing research regarding placemaking. Hereby, research from various academic fields are brought together to gain a deeper understanding in placemaking as a philosophy but also in its practical use as a method for urban development. The first part will dive deeper into the philosophical definition of place, bringing together insights from Sociology, Arts and Culture and Urban Development. This provides a framework wherein placemaking methods of today can be understood. The second sub-chapter addresses the multiple strategies in which placemaking is used in today's field of urban development. Lastly, a focus is put on critiques and challenges that have been written about towards these placemaking strategies.

2.1. From space to place

This chapter will dive deeper into what factors shape place and how the understanding of these factors can be put to use in shaping the urban fabric. Through these theories it will become clear what it means to make a place.

2.1.1. Defining place

Every human being is attached to a place in the world. A place where they feel at home and that fits their identity. Whether this place is the town someone grew up in, or a city they have gotten to know later in life, places construct our daily behaviour and interactions. Yet, what is it that makes just "space" into "place"? Gieryn (2000) divides place into three sufficient features which define place: (1) geographic location, (2) material form and (3) investment with meaning and value. Geographic location defines place as a "unique spot in the universe". We use place to define our location in the world and distinct "here and there" (Gieryn, 2000, p.465). A place in that sense could be anything, from your favourite spot at the kitchen table to a city or region. The second feature, the material form of place, is its physicality: "place is stuff" (Gieryn, 2000, p.465). It is the collection of objects and things that are brought together by people in one particular spot. A place is designed through material forms like buildings, benches, landmarks and so forth. Lastly, a place is shaped by the investment of people with their meanings and values. A place is not a place without the "naming, identification or representation by ordinary people" (Gieryn, 2000, p.465). These are the softer, invisible factors, such as the stories people tell about places, the interpretations, understanding and feelings people attribute to a particular spot. These narrations are responsive and embedded in culture and history. They are what eventually shape the identity of place (Gieryn, 2000). Therefore, Gieryn (2000) differentiates space as "abstract geometries such as distance, shape or size" and place as embedded in "material form and cultural interpretation" (p.465).

Places are mostly build by the professional design of people, like architects, urban planners, policymakers and developers. Hereby, the terms "hard" and "soft" spaces are often used in planning terminology to define characteristics of a place (Thomas, 2016, p.7). Hard spaces are the things that can be observed by the eyes like construction, streets, events and people. Soft spaces on the other hand

are the things we experience and cannot immediately be grasped or seen, for example emotional attachment, identity and personal affinity to a place (Thomas, 2016). Together these hard and soft spaces form a "sense of place" which can be explained as the extent to which the end-user of a place feels bonded to their environment (Thomas, 2016). When a person feels a strong sense of place, they feel attached to their environment like it is part of their identity. This can be explained by the fact that people are cultural beings. People form meaning through their historical background, social lives or more easily defined: the context in which they grew up and/or live in. From that perspective place offers a presence that is more than just physical, it is the sense of belonging somewhere (Thomas, 2016). This sense can be created by structures and experiences that help shaping the value attached to a place. For example, cultural value can be expressed through meaning. However, meanings are not unitary but diverse and contested. Therefore, Cresswell (1990) defines the creation of place as "the construction of subjective meaning, in an objective material spatial context" (p.329). Linking this back to Thomas (2016) and Gieryn (2000), it can be stated that the "objective material spatial context" is the hard space, material form and geographic location of place. Whereas, the "subjective meaning" can be explained as the soft space and the investment of people with their meanings and values. However, value and meaning are subjective as they are part of people's cultural background. Therefore, the way normative geographies are defined and maintained lies in the hands of the people who have the power to define them (Cresswell, 1990).

Political leaders, urban designers and users shape places according to the cultural values they want to identify with. That is why the planning and regulation of cities cannot just be seen as an objective field of construction, but rather as something that is shaped in historical and political context (Elden, 2004). As Henri Lefebvre notes: "Space and time in themselves may not change, but our perceptions of them do, they become more fine, more subtle, more profound, more differentiated" (Elden, 2004, p. 182). Places, whether in an urban context or elsewhere, are therefore always a work in progress as they adapt to the changing perspectives and needs of people. Therefore, there is work to be done in understanding how space is used and socially constructed (Elden, 2004). Edward Soja (1996) builds onto the ideas of Lefebvre stating that space cannot be seen apart from its history and society. He states that: "We are first and always historical-social-spatial beings, actively participating individually and collectively in the construction/production – the "becoming" – of histories, geographies, societies" (Soja, 1996, p.73). With this statement Soja (1996) explains that places are shaped around history, thus what people know, and the evolution of society, thus what people politically and socially aim for. Therefore, Soja (1996) pleads that the way that is thought about place should shift from thinking about what the world must be like in order for people to exist as social beings, to thinking about what we can learn from accurate and practicable knowledge of the way place exists now. As Lefebvre (2004) pointed out, the environment adapts to the needs of people. Accordingly, to create places that fit these needs, Soja (1996) argues that knowledge about place should be obtained from the social and historical perspectives of the people that participate in that

place. However, it was not until the 1970s that urban planners first started to see places as a social construct.

2.1.2. Shaping the urban fabric

Urban planning is often justified in measurable variables like demographics, structure, economics and behaviour (Gieryn, 2000). Through these variables planning professionals transform and plan space into lively places which can be used for living, working and/or leisure. What type of meaning users ascribe to a place is therefore often based on the intentions of its producers (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014). Top-down planning processes are always based on path-dependent objectives, usually set by the government. This implies that planning is bound to an end-product vision that set the premises for the way of working on a project (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Up and till then, planning of cities has often happened in a rational and straightforward manner. Hereby, cities have been arranged through concentric zones. These zones are efficient locations with a specific purpose such as residency, business, manufacturing or warehouse districts. These geographic patterns wherein production and consumption can flourish are seen as places that that can grow or decline economically. To construct a place of growth, political and economic incentives are put in line with the material form of a city. Eventually, this focus on growth is expressed in a national and global competition between cities to differentiate themselves from others. Hereby, path-dependent aims such as the attraction for investors, job opportunities, cultural treasures, tourism and spectacles are all incentives to purposefully plan a zone (Gieryn, 2000). However, as Gieryn (2000) states, strategies that are focussed on exchange-value and intensive land-use instead of use-value do not necessarily shape a great place. As was mentioned, place is also shaped through the soft meanings and values of its users which transcend the variables based on rational utility. Cities are just as much the environment for social engagement, interaction and community creation. Hereby, the presence of public places like parks, squares, libraries and plazas play an important role. Public places encourage social engagement and interaction (Gieryn, 2000). These interactions are important in creating a sense of place and to construct subjective meaning.

This idea that soft factors are important in shaping the urban fabric have its roots in the beginning of the 1960s. During this time critical voices such as Jane Jacobs, William Whyte and Jan Gehl began to point out that there was something going wrong in the planning and building of new districts in cities. As Gehl stated: "While architects and urban planners have been dealing with space, the other side of the coin, life, has often been forgotten" (Gehl & Svarre, 2013, p.2). Here it is pointed out that the "human dimension" in urban planning has been overlooked in modernist ideologies through large-scale thinking and overly rationalized and specialized processes (Gehl, 2010; Gehl & Svarre, 2013). Public space and the role of the city as a meeting place for urban dwellers has been undermined by architectural trends and market forces. Through high-rise introvert buildings in city centres and an increase in traffic facilities, space for urban life and pedestrians has been taken up. In doing so, the increase in limited space, transport, pollution and monofunctional use have turned many places into anonymous and lifeless cityscapes (Gehl, 2010). According to Gehl (2010), in order to

create lively cities a focus on the people who use cities and pedestrianism should be a key focus point. To enlarge the use-value instead of exchange-value in cities, the behaviour and activities of people should be observed and taken into consideration in urban planning (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). Urban thinkers Jane Jacobs and William Whyte started this trend by exploring "people-place relationships" which refer to the impact the natural and physical environment of places have on the behaviour of site-users (Strydom et al., 2018, p.175).

Public space and public life are where social engagement happens. These are all the places in between the buildings of the city. Whyte (1968) stated that: "If we are to seek a much more intensive and efficient use of land for development, we should apply an equally rigorous standard to open space" (p.348). Whyte (1968) hereby suggested to put a larger focus on public space to enhance accessibility and linkage. When structuring a city around open space, it links areas together and more interaction between a mixed group of people can be achieved. To regenerate areas is to weave together diverse elements of the city. If these elements, such as a local park or a cluster subdivision can be linked, everyone will have greater access and the city will function as a more effective whole. Accordingly, these open spaces should be designed on account of what the public wants and values. Planning from the perspective of people's values will create more "sense of place" and could therefore be more sustainable (Whyte, 1968). Eventually, the social life in public space contributes to the quality of life because it encourages citizen engagement and a sense of community. A greater experience of urban life by citizens would lead to an increase in social cohesion and a larger sense of belonging to that place (Karacor, 2014). Thus, strengthening the social function of city space where people can meet will contribute to social sustainability and a more open and democratic society (Gehl, 2010).

In order to create lively places focussed on the human dimension, people should feel invited to public space. Jacobs (1961) focussed on the creation of lively streets wherein citizens are encouraged to participate in public life. Hereby, she argued that a street oriented public life could contribute to safer cities by for example locating little shops and facilities in residential areas. Through this mixed use of space there is liveliness in the streets at all times and are there always "eyes on the street" (Jacobs, 1961, p.35). Furthermore, Jacobs (1961) focussed on the local environment of cities. She stated that "small-scale changes in an environment could change an entire neighbourhood" (Strydom et al., 2018, p.2). Jacobs (1961) criticized the rigid physical planning methods of the 1960s, stating that controlling a complicated society by "simply" focussing on building clean housing and parks will not create the attempted effect on regenerating areas (Jacobs, 1961, p.113). Gehl (2010) complements this by stating that: "The widespread practice of planning from above and outside must be replaced with new planning procedures from below and inside" (p.198). Thus, urban planning should focus on the inside of the city and its social "softer" structures. Jacobs (1961) therefore argued that neighbourhoods should be encouraged to self-govern. According to her self-governance starts in the streets which form minuscule neighbourhoods. Streets are small-scale networks of everyday public life. When a street is successful in social governance it contains a "sufficient frequency of commerce,

general liveliness and use and interest to cultivate continuity of public street life" (Jacobs, 1961, p.121). However, when it does not contain these features it needs top-down governance of the district to translate its problems into city policy. Thus, in order to develop on a large-scale city level, Jacobs (1961) argues that a bottom-up approach from street level is useful to decide upon what people need in their neighbourhood. When there is knowledge about the cultural and historical background of the people who use a place, new buildings and developments can contribute to the collective identity of that place (Jacobs, 1961). A collective identity is important as it encourages the creation of a community. A sense of community relates to having feelings of control over one's local environment which implies that someone feels a stronger bond to his or her surroundings (Toolis, 2017). Eventually, this community bond that people experience are the social and soft factors of place that contribute to the human dimension in urban planning.

2.1.3. Making places

The theories of Whyte, Jacobs, Gehl and other influential city activists were followed up by the "New Urbanist" planners of the 1980s. The New Urbanists predicated that planners should involve residents in the strategic decisions made about their environment (Gieryn, 2000). In their theories they specifically drew attention to the appropriate planning and placing of public space. One whereby people are stimulated to go out of there house and into public space (Talen, 1999). As a result of these theories a more communicative policy in planning came up around Europe and the United States. In these policies a more participatory aim to planning was implemented whereby collaboration with stakeholders was put as a central focus. Planners started to think more independently from their own agendas and institutions and dared to take in more informal initiatives (Boonstra, 2015). Up and till today, the complexity of cities has only increased whereas cities have become a melting pot of all sorts of different cultures from all over the world. This makes participatory planning often a complex puzzle (Boonstra, 2015). To cater the needs of the modern society, a co-creative approach to place whereby top-down and bottom-up initiative work together is found through placemaking. Hereby, the path-dependency of participatory planning is turned into a co-creative form of development whereby local stakeholders take ownership of developments in their neighbourhood. However, every place has its own unique social dynamics and built environment which makes the operationalization of placemaking hard to execute through specific design rules (Karacor, 2014).

A good starting point to define placemaking is the description of Strydom et al. (2018), who explain placemaking as: "A collective effort by individuals living within a specific setting to re-imagine their surrounding environments" (p.166). Hereby, the "collective effort" refers to an action being performed by multiple people. "Individuals" can include "a single person, communities or organizations", thus anyone that has affiliation with that place (Strydom et al., 2018, p.166). "Re-imagination" is described as "projects of renovation, upgrade and/or maintenance and activities that contribute to the uniqueness of a place" (Strydom et al., 2018, p.166). Together, the aim of placemaking in urban planning is to create and shape the identity of place by paying specific attention

to the feelings, meaning, fabric and activities that make a place (Strydom et al., 2018). This general definition can be put in light of the theories of Jacobs, Gehl and Whyte because it focuses on the direct environment of people and takes into account the needs of users as a collective effort to shape place. Moreover, a key note is the co-creation of place whereby not the planning or design made beforehand is leading, but the process in itself (Karacor, 2014). For that reason, placemaking can also be interpreted as a process. Silberberg et al. (2013) point out that "the most successful placemaking initiatives transcend the "place" to forefront the "making" and put the process over the product" (p.3). Placemaking therefore pays specific attention to the soft factors of creation instead of the path-dependent view on the end-product.

In practice there are four different types of placemaking defined which are useful for different types of areas (Wyckoff, 2014). Placemaking as a method for urban development is largely developed by Project for Public Spaces (PPS). PPS has developed multiple tools to facilitate and evaluate placemaking processes. PPS was found in 1975 and expands on the work of William Whyte. They have completed projects in more than 3500 communities in over 50 countries. PPS is considered to be the central hub of the global placemaking movement and facilitator in providing best practices, information and resources about placemaking (PPS, n.d.). Their methodology is described as the traditional or standard type of placemaking (Wyckoff, 2014). However, the methods of PPS are very United States centred, which is noticeable throughout their approach. Their experience is mostly embedded in United States theories and the way these cities and neighbourhoods are constructed. In the last decades more scholarly attention has been focusing on creative, temporary and informal entrepreneurial placemaking approaches. These strategies emerged from cities like Berlin, which had suffered from long periods of capital disinvestment (Wyckoff, 2014). To illustrate how placemaking is implemented as a method of urban development today, four main strategies will be explained in the next chapter.

2.2. Placemaking strategies

Through the first chapter a theoretical framework is given in which placemaking is embedded. To get a clearer insight into its practical use in urban development four main placemaking strategies will be portrayed. For each strategy will be dived into area characteristics, use and goals.

2.2.1. Project for Public Spaces

The aim of PPS is to make greater places of public space. In order to do so, PPS has found that a successful place usually shares four qualities: "accessibility, activities, comfort and sociability" (PPS, 2007a). These four qualities are visualized in "The Place Diagram" (see Figure 1).
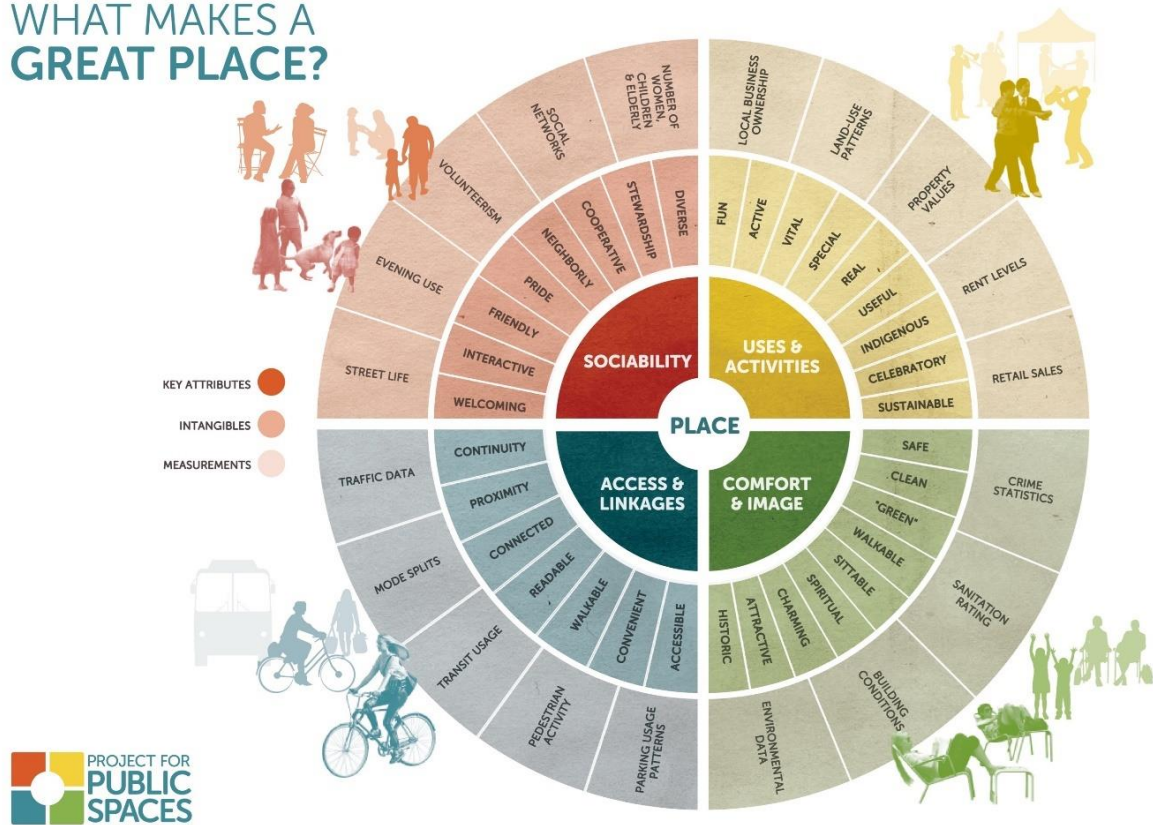
Figure 1 The Place Diagram (PPS, 2007a)

This diagram provides a clear and pragmatic overview of what a place should contain according to PPS (2007a). Hereby, the inner ring represents the four key attributes of a place: (1) access and linkages, (2) comfort and image, (3) sociability and (4) uses and activities. These four attributes will shortly be explained. Access and linkage represent how well a place is connected to its surroundings in terms of both visual and physical aspects. Public space should be easy to get to, but also easy to get through. The second attribute, comfort and image, implies that a place should feel safe, be clean and provide available places to sit and relax. Thirdly, uses and activities, refer to the willingness of people to go to a place. Public space should be inviting and give people reasons to return. It is what makes that place unique. The last one is sociability, which can be seen as the hardest attribute to achieve. Sociability is present when people are comfortable talking to strangers and meeting people. It is about interaction and attachment to the community. All in all, can The Place Diagram function as an evaluation tool for the strength and weaknesses of a place (PPS, 2007a).

Nevertheless, getting to this perfect diagram is not as easy as it looks. Places are complex and unique in character, therefore PPS (2007b) identified eleven key elements which are needed to transform a place into a vibrant community. The core of these eleven elements can be summarized into three focus points. The first one is that the "community is expert". This means that in the beginning of

the placemaking process, information should be obtained through the assets present within the community. This information should represent valuable insights in the historical perspective and values of the community. This community can be found through specific persons, but also for example through local schools, museums and other institutions. The second focus point is to "have a vision". This vision should be a motivator and an inspiration for people to contribute to the project and is therefore tailored to the characteristics and needs of a place. The third focus is "short term small improvements". This focus point is aimed to not concentrate on the long-term end-product but to experiment with short-term small improvements that can be tested and refined over the years. Examples of short-term improvements or also called "quick wins" are things such as: "seating, outdoor cafes, public art, striping of crosswalks and pedestrian havens, community gardens and murals" (PPS, 2007b). Eventually, these small improvements can be connected to the overall vision and will set in motion larger developments. PPS indicates that during this process it is important to be flexible and keep in mind that a place is an ongoing process that is never finished. The urban environment keeps on changing and therefore adjustments in management are inevitable (PPS, 2007b).

The core focus points of PPS are relatable to Whyte, Jacobs and Gehl as it is aimed to enhance social life in public space by making it more accessible and enjoyable for people to be at. Furthermore, there is a strong community focus in the placemaking strategy of PPS. Building social capital through community development has shown to be a key element in neighbourhood improvement (Grant, 2001). As citizen participation in urban governance has taken up an acknowledged role, the attention to develop effective communication channels between different actors has risen. Therefore, social capital theory has been used as a foundation to analyse relationships between stakeholders and community development (Grant, 2001). Grant (2001) states that "social capital can be seen as comprising both horizontal relationships of social support between members of a community, family or household, and vertical relationships between communities and institutions (such as government bodies)" (p.976). Horizontal relationships refer mostly to the creation of a bond within a group which increases social cohesion. Vertical relationships portray the extent to which a community as a whole has access to parties with more power and resources (Grant, 2001). Placemaking in this case is an effective strategy as it puts the community first. By creating a situation wherein both top-down and bottom-up individuals have to work together to create a place these vertical relationships are strengthened. Moreover, by improving public space and working on the city as a meeting place, horizontal community bonds will be tightened too. When there are strong networks, collective action and development can be put in motion more efficiently (Grant, 2001).

2.2.2. Tactical placemaking

Tactical placemaking is rooted in a tradition of actions referred to as "DIY urbanism", "self-help urban activism" and in spirit of "guerrilla tactics" (Talen, 2015, p.138). Tactical placemaking is aimed at executing small-scale improvements that can lead to more substantial investments. It allows for experiment whereby only small political and financial commitments have to be made. This provides a

short feedback loop. When an investment does not work the initiator learns from it, but will not lose a substantial amount of time and money. It has low risks and low costs (Wyckoff, 2014). PPS also mentions these tools in their "lighter, quicker, cheaper" method, hereby the focus is on "capitalizing on the creative energy of the community to efficiently generate new uses and revenue for places in transition" (PPS, n.d.a.). Tactical placemaking therefore functions as a catalyst to create energy in the community with short-term commitment projects that have realistic expectations and can start immediately. Mainly places in transition which are underused benefit from tactical placemaking because they can be turned into temporary exciting places with local partnerships (Wyckoff, 2014).

Tactical placemaking is also referred to as "informal urban placemaking", where the focus is laid on DIY activities, for example: "homemade seating, hand-lettered street signs, free book exchanges, "guerrilla gardens" planted in street medians and other signs" (Finn & Douglas, 2019, p. 21). However, they can also be larger activities such as: "self-guided historic walks, outdoor music events or new design options" (Wyckoff, 2014). In order to support these activities, it is important that planners, policymakers and other officials engage in- and understand the motivations of these actions. This way a collaboration can be pursued wherein initiatives that succeed will be encouraged. Through this approach a more flexible and local way of policy making can be developed wherein officials engage in the local knowledge, passion and ideas the community stands for. Accordingly, short-term initiatives can be turned into long-term success stories in neighbourhood development (Finn & Douglas, 2019).

2.2.3. Creative placemaking

Placemaking is picked up more and more by city policies as a way of economic development. Under the title of placemaking cities invest in amenities to attract and retain young and talented workers. From this perspective the definition of placemaking focuses more on the quality of a place instead of the outcome for the individuals in that place. The quality of a place is recognized as an important motivator for economic growth. High quality places will attract talent, entrepreneurs and encourage local businesses. To create such quality places, creative placemaking has been introduced as a strategy to enhance economic growth and innovation (Kelly, Ruther, Ehresman, & Nickerson, 2017).

Since the 1980s/1990s the arts and culture industries have been acknowledged as a tool for social and community engagement. Urban policy strategies regarding the creative industries were aimed at: "The creation of cultural districts, preservation and promotion of urban heritage and the use of arts projects and events to generate tourism" (Lees & Melhuish, 2012, p. 245). These cultural implementations were both to beautify cities as well as to stimulate new ways of community engagement and cohesion. Most of the problems cities faced regarding socioeconomic issues started with the decline of post-industrial city centres, causing land vacancy in cities all around the world (Colomb, 2012). These open spaces in cityscapes caused for social and material problems such as unemployment, crime, poor education and ill-health, which together provoked certain low-income groups to be excluded from mainstream society. Arts and culture are considered to be an inclusive

industry and can therefore function as a solution for neighbourhood renewal and contribute to the stimulation and encouragement of community groups (Lees & Melhuish, 2012).

Creative placemaking is a method which incorporates the cultural and creative industries as means of urban regeneration. The focus with creative placemaking is put on building a place around arts and cultural activities. Moreover, it is mentioned to "animate public and private spaces, rejuvenate structures and streetscapes, improve local business viability and public safety, and bring diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired" (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p.3). Creative placemaking is mostly implemented in the transformation of empty industrial spaces and old housing where artistic functionalities are opened due to low rents. On the other hand, collaboration with the community has also been a tool whereby public art is created with input of the locals (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Creative placemakers are often artists but more and more stakeholders hop on the bandwagon to benefit from the positive economic outcomes of creative placemaking. City and town leaders who search for a distinctive brand through amenities and unique character opt for "art-based revitalization" (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p. 19). To illustrate the impact of creative placemaking, Berlin is exemplified to have been successful in using creative placemaking.

After the Fall of the Wall in 1989, Berlin was left a city landscape full of so called "voids" which were "holes, wastelands, brownfield sites and vacant plots" (Colomb, 2012, p. 133). On the re-urbanization agenda of Berlin at the time, the need to fill these urban voids was highly stressed. These voids became the playground for numerous of bottom-up temporary usages such as "flea markets, car boot sales, beer gardens, sports ground, waterfront beaches, community gardens, open air theatres, alternative living projects" and many other creative interim initiatives (Colomb, 2012, p.135). This appropriation of unused urban spaces was done in a bottom-up "grass-root manner" with just a small amount of financial investment and minimal intervention. Hereby, recycling of the industrial infrastructure was a key feature. Research conducted in 2004-2005 found that in Berlin almost a hundred of vacant urban sites were used for temporary activities. These activities covered a diverse set of initiatives mostly artistic, cultural, entertainment, leisure, social and sports related (Colomb, 2012). Creative placemaking can therefore contribute to the cultural programming and re-imagining of use in cities.

2.2.4. Strategic placemaking

Besides short-term temporary improvements to public space, there is also a growing interest to connect events to policy in order to secure ongoing developments after these short-term impacts. This requires a strategic approach and long-term perspective (Richards, 2017). Strategic placemaking can therefore be defined as "targeted to achieving a particular goal in addition to creating quality places" (Wyckoff, 2014, p. 5). This means that strategic placemaking aims to embody multiple and various targeted projects and activities. Hereby, collaboration with public, private and non-profit sectors are carried out over a longer time period of approximately 5 to 15 years. This way projects tend to be larger and happen in far less locations than with the other types of placemaking. The aim is foremost

to create a place which attracts talented workers who want to live and settle in that place. In order to accomplish this a focus is put on creating circumstances for substantial job creation and income growth by attracting businesses (Wyckoff, 2014).

When organising events and activities, cities can think in much broader terms than just economic and image impacts. For placemaking to be effective in connection with an event, the event needs to add meaning to the location. Therefore, cities can take on a broader, place-based approach to their event programmes (Richards, 2017). Hereby, a focus is put on the resources of a particular place. One example is the city of Rotterdam, which had a conscious strategy of programming events that are in line with emerging scenes in the city, one of these scenes is for example gastronomy. By organising events that enhance these local resources focussed on food, a long-term establishment of the gastronomy scene could be established (Richards, 2017). On neighbourhood level strategic placemaking can be used to embrace the character of a neighbourhood and create a valuable framework that is flexible and sustainable during change. The implementation of such projects is mainly aimed at growing and evolving alongside the social surroundings (Reny, 2018). Reny (2018) states that when a strategic approach is used in placemaking, it will not transform but extend on the fabric already existing in the neighbourhood. Through this manner "the new development's "newness" is not what will stand out, but its character will instead reflect what already exists and the project will feel like an authentic extension of the original neighbourhood" (Reny, 2018, para.4). A strategic placemaking approach therefore goes hand in hand with a long-term commitment of stakeholders to a city. Conclusively, every type of placemaking has a particular goal and vision which is embedded in community values and characteristics of a place.

2.3. Critiques & challenges

The exemplified placemaking strategies form an ideal way in which placemaking can be used. Hereby, examples are given of its particular goals, area characteristics and activities. However, these strategies have also been criticized since every process faces its own challenges. The next chapter will therefore dive deeper into these critiques and challenges.

2.3.1. For whom are we making places?

As has become clear, there are numerous reasons to use placemaking and support its efforts. Foremost, places that experience social problems like unsafety, crime, deteriorated buildings and spaces, are cities that justify for placemaking reconstruction. However, some authors criticize placemaking, stating that it does not solve problems but only makes them more complicated (Karacor, 2014). Silberberg et al. (2013) for example point out that "too often, a placemaking project will be quickly deemed a "success" or a "failure" prematurely, and the long-term lessons will be unacknowledged" (p.14). There is a great pressure for placemaking projects to succeed, which is reinforced by the involvement of funders and political associates. Therefore, it can happen that project leaders are sometimes vague in their assessments and avoid metrics entirely to their own benefit. This has led to

an existing placemaking culture wherein is focussed on "fuzzy, unmeasurable goals as the norm" which in the end disadvantages the field as a whole (Silberberg et al., 2013, p.15).

Another major point on which placemaking projects have been criticized is community engagement. To actually create meaningful community engagement and to define who is part of that community can be a major challenge. Considering that the engagement process can be a time-consuming activity, it often leads to the fact that those most likely to volunteer and bring their input are not always representative of the larger community (Silberberg et al., 2013). Tensions can arise when placemakers have an idealistic and standardized sense of place and community. Especially when there are social policy-makers and funders involved. Together with a framed government rhetoric about economic and social renewal, tensions on community level can rise. This has led to a growing number of literatures that questions the validity of "community engaging" concepts in a multi-cultural context (Lees & Melhuish, 2012). Lees and Melhuish (2012) argue that there is no such thing as a "unified" or "place-based" community (p.251). Furthermore, the focus of community building is even addressed as a dangerous construct because its "inclusionary" rhetoric hides particular individuals and groups behind its idealistic façade. That is why many placemaking initiatives have been criticized as "apolitical" and "exclusive" (Toolis, 2017, p.186). The focus on commonality rather than on differences causes tensions and complicate the diverse and contested nature of communities even further (Toolis, 2017). In sum, the word "community" is often used to refer to the dominant group in a particular context. Accordingly, this may exclude minorities or vulnerable members of the population (Grant, 2001). Therefore, Grant (2001) states that "community participation" is frequently biased.

Especially creative placemaking has been criticized since its revitalization efforts mainly have been deemed to focus on "beautifying, cleaning and regenerating public spaces for promoting development and attracting investment while neglecting considerations of economic and racial inequality" (Toolis, 2017, p.186). Through this process only the elites and "creative class" are catered which contributes to the displacement and exclusion of marginalized citizens. Saitta (2013) questions who actually benefits from these "urban liveability trends". Arguing that the focus of placemaking efforts are too often on the group of cultural creatives with a disposable income, causing that initiatives are formed through middle class visions and values. In this process people of colour, immigrants and other urban underclasses may be left out (Saitta, 2013). Bedoya (2013) criticizes placemaking on the different evaluation visions about what an authentic place should be. Authenticity of place is portrayed as a sense of belonging. However, how to create this belonging and understand cultural differences in matters of civic participation lacks behind. Therefore, Bedoya (2013) argues that placemaking is focussed too strongly on leisure and consumption pursuits instead of enhancing the community's understanding of citizenship. Placemaking efforts therefore are stated to lack focus on helping citizens to achieve prosperity through equity and civil rights (Bedoya, 2013). Conclusively, when placemaking becomes too market driven it often leads to alienation of locals, which can provoke

fear for gentrification. Accordingly, this does not lead to community inclusion but rather to the experience of exclusion (PPS, 2015).

2.3.2. Gentrification

Placemaking projects in light of urban revitalization and its benefits for high- and middle-class income groups has led to the concern that outcomes of placemaking in the long-term will initiate or cause gentrification (Lees & Melhuish, 2012). Long-term residents can feel uncomfortable when the character of a place changes. Men and women who are used to be on the streets and have developed their own way of being may be pushed out of their space when local initiatives start to arise (Zukin, 2009). Zukin (2009) noticed that urban revitalization supported by placemakers has the risk of benefiting only certain residents, causing to attract new residents from a different income group than the one currently living there. Consequently, it enhances the quality of life of some people but further deepens economic and social polarization (Zukin, 2009). Montgomery (2016) points out that market-driven placemaking, in her terminology placemaking exemplified by PPS, appropriates culture by using its symbols and infrastructure which in the end could lead to a resettlement of real estate. This has led to the feeling of "gentrificationphobia", whereby residents oppose new developments not because it will make their neighbourhood worse, but better (Yglesias, 2012). Gentrification occurs when there is a rehabilitation of income groups. Therefore, it is most often seen as a problem in the housing market. Residential rehabilitation is however only one aspect of a more profound economic and social transformation. Gentrification is intrinsically linked to redevelopments of urban space into recreational and other functions. The restructuring of the industrial base of a city implies a shift in class culture, meaning that service employment becomes more viable and pushes out the working class. Gentrification is only the visible spatial outcome of this social transformation (Smith & Williams, 2010). Thus, what initially might seem as separate processes are in reality often broadly linked. Therefore, it could be disputed how viable placemaking is when its incentives are mostly economically beneficial.

2.4. Synthesis

This theoretical framework has presented a small historical overview in which placemaking is embedded. Hereby, the knowledge on what place encompasses is important to understand in order to grasp how soft factors play a large role in the "sense of place". People their attachment to a place is largely embedded in their cultural and historic values and how those relate to the atmosphere of a place. To build a place around these values city activists in the 1960s already pointed out the importance of understanding the needs and behaviour of site-users. Placemaking is considered as a process which can build on these values to create better quality places and liveability. However, cities are complex structures with many different stakeholders which shows in the different outcomes and implementations of placemaking. Four overarching strategies are exemplified and cater different usage and incentives. However, questions have been posed about how inclusive placemaking actually is. The

concept of community is often biased and market driven placemaking can be an initiator for gentrification. Since placemaking is a very site-specific practice, its impacts and operationalization methods are difficult to compare. As has become clear from the theoretical framework there is a large focus on the creation of social capital through engagement in cultural values of the community. Nonetheless, in practice placemaking faces the complex dynamics of cities and its use and impacts changes with them. The case study presented in chapter four will therefore provide better understanding in the tensions that arise during placemaking and provide new insights in the implementation of the four strategies.

3. Research design

3.1. Choice of method

For this research was chosen to do a case study. This choice was made because placemaking deals with human affairs and is therefore always context dependent. This means that the possibility to construct epistemic theory is not present (Flyvbjerg, 2006). However, as Flyvbjerg (2006) states, does context-dependent knowledge lies at the heart of case study research. As became clear from the theoretical framework is placemaking a context bound operation since every place contains its own social and environment structures that influence the process. By doing in-depth fieldwork on specific cases, information is drawn from experiences which will provide new insight that can be learned from. This way a contribution to the placemaking field can be made because expertise is either justified or falsified. Falsification is what characterizes a case study (Flyvbjerg, 2006). A case study is therefore used because it provides room for a critical and reflective analysis (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This is useful because, as Silberberg et al. (2013) stated, has placemaking been dealing with "fuzzy, unmeasurable goals as the norm" (p.15). In-depth case study research will provide experience-based knowledge which will lay bare processes and meanings that could not be obtained through generalized context-independent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

To operate the case study a qualitative research method was used because this allows to approach the subject matter in an interpretative and naturalistic way. Through a qualitative methodology an attempt is made to make sense of phenomena in the context of meanings that people bring to them. A focus is put on discovering the meaning through the eyes of those who are being researched and understand their view on the topic rather than that of the researcher (Jones, 1995). This fits a case study on placemaking best because it is experience and meanings I am searching for. The way a placemaking process has been implemented is dependent on the people who were involved and cannot be separated from the values that they attribute to it. Therefore, in order to answer the research question "how is placemaking implemented as a method of urban development in The Netherlands?" it is necessary to obtain place-based insights through the eyes of the respondent. A qualitative approach through in-depth interviews provides the necessary tools to gain detailed experience and viewpoints of the placemaker. The aim of this study is also not to gain objective information but to create a better understanding of placemaking. Through a qualitative method the emphasizes will be laid on a description through "meanings, interpretations, processes and contexts" which fits the operationalization of this case study best (Slevitch, 2011, p.77).

3.2. Data collection

Data was collected through 11 in-depth semi-structured interviews with 12 respondents. One interview was conducted with two people at the same time. A semi-structured interview can be described as: "a verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions" (Longhurst, 2016, p.103). Hereby, a topic list with predetermined

questions was made to structure and guide the interviews. Topic lists can be found under Appendix A. The interviews were conducted in a conversational manner whereby the participants were offered free space to explore certain issues more in-depth when considered necessary. This type of interviewing, where open response was allowed, was chosen for because it gives the respondents most opportunity to explore the concept from different perspectives (Longhurst, 2016). The interviews lasted between 50 to 70 minutes. All interviews were conducted through online platforms. Due to circumstances around the Covid-19 crisis interviews could not be conducted face-to-face. This could be considered a disadvantage in collecting data because face-to-face interviews are argued to be a moment where the researcher can observe "social cues". Social cues are interactions such as "voice, intonation and body language" (Opdenakker, 2006, p.3). However, for this study social cues were not of relevance for the data collection because the behaviour of the respondents was not a topic of research. Furthermore, does Sullivan (2012) state that the level of interaction in online interviews is more or less the same as with face-to-face interviews. While conducting the interviews this was noticed to be true because conversations happened almost identically as when speaking to someone face-to-face. Therefore, does the collection of data through online interviews not have to be considered an invalidity to the results.

A semi-structured way of interviewing was chosen because this is the most fundamental method in which an intimate understanding of the way of thinking of the interviewee can be gained (Hermanowicz, 2002). The interview was structured in a way that follow-up questions could easily be intertwined and examples about specific topics could be provided. As Hermanowicz (2002) states, it is important that an interview feels more or less like a conversation to get the most detailed personal perspectives. To create a natural conversation the interview guide was used in a flexible way. This means that follow-up questions, clarifications and examples were asked when they felt to be useful in order to gain deeper insights into the topic. Sometimes, new topics or information came up as an expansion on the questions which proved to be useful for the analysis. This made the interviews less general and more meaningful (Hermanowicz, 2002).

The data sample was collected through purposive sampling. This means that interviewees were approached based on their expertise. Data was collected for the purpose of answering the research question and did not happen spontaneously. As Payne (2006) states "samples are selected purposively when is believed they can contribute to the topic under investigation" (p.75). Considering placemaking is site specific, it was important that the interviewee had knowledge about the area under examination and the placemaking process that was carried out there. Therefore, respondents were selected based on their participation in the placemaking project and/or their expertise. The first two interviews were more general as the topic on placemaking was still in the exploring phase. These interviews were conducted with experts in the placemaking field and provided a deeper insight in placemaking. New insights were accordingly used in the interviews that followed up. The nine following case-related interviews were conducted with multiple stakeholders that participated in the placemaking of five different cases. The interview guide of the expert interviews can be found under topic list 1 and the

case-related interview guide can be found under topic list 2 in Appendix A.

Cases were selected through an information-oriented selection. Flyvbjerg (2006) explains information-oriented selection as: "In order to maximize the utility of information from small samples and single cases, cases are selected on the basis of expectations about their information content" (p.230). For the reason that for each case only two to three interviews could be conducted it was important that each case could provide enough expertise. Moreover, to make sure that the cases encompassed each of the four placemaking strategies it was useful to do a small investigation on the cases beforehand. This way the utility of the interviews could be maximized and sound comparisons could be made. Based on that orientation the following cases were selected: (1) *Doornakkers, Eindhoven,* (2) *Schalkwijk, Haarlem,* (3) *Zomerhofkwartier (ZOHO), Rotterdam,* (4) *Holendrecht/Bullewijk (HOBU), Amsterdam,* and (5) *City makers (two independent initiatives).*

The first three cases were chosen based on the time period the placemaking process had happened. For Doornakkers, Schalkwijk and Zomerhofkwartier placemaking was carried out in between 2010 and 2018. These cases were therefore valuable in order to be able to reflect on the placemaking process. Hereby, long-term impacts of placemaking could be pointed out and topics were addressed in an evaluative matter. This showed to be useful for the results because the placemaking process could be analysed from the beginning till the end. The other two cases of Holendrecht/Bullewijk and the City makers were selected on their relevance right now. These projects are still running and therefore give a relevant insight in the placemaking process while it is happening. Hereby, more direct impacts could be talked about and impressions of the process were still fresh in the mind. For every case two or more stakeholders were approached from different organizations to get multiple perspectives. A list of respondents can be seen in Table 1.

Name	Job description	Organization	Related case	Topic list
Respondent 1	Area coordinator Doornakkers	Gemeente Eindhoven	Doornakkers, Eindhoven	2
Respondent 2	Project assistant social neighbourhood renewal	Gemeente Eindhoven	Doornakkers, Eindhoven	2
Respondent 3	Social entrepreneur	Stichting Awesome Kledingatelier	Doornakkers, Eindhoven	2
Respondent 4	Founder and public developer	STIPO	ZOHO, Rotterdam	1
Respondent 5	Project leader and program manager	Havensteder	ZOHO, Rotterdam	2
Respondent 6	President and founder	Placemaking Plus	Schalkwijk, Haarlem	1
Respondent 7	Co-founder	Stichting Triple ThreaT	Schalkwijk, Haarlem	2
Respondent 8	President	Coöperatieve Vereniging van Eigenaren of the shopping center Schalkwijk	Schalkwijk, Haarlem	2

Respondent 9	Founder, city developer and creative consultancy	Wethecity Foundation	HOBU, Amsterdam	2
Respondent 10	Senior communication advisor	Gemeente Amsterdam	HOBU, Amsterdam	2
Respondent 11	Cultural entrepreneur in hospitality, creative organizations and concept development	Amsterdam Roest	City makers	2
Respondent 12	Co-founder	De Buurtcamping	City makers	2

Table 1 Overview interviewees

3.3. Operationalization

To gain a better insight into how placemaking is used in the Netherlands, two expert interviews were conducted with the founders of two different public development bureaus that are specified in placemaking. These interviews were more exploratory of nature and comprehend a wider set of concepts than the case-related interviews. Furthermore, because these interviews were conducted with experts in the field, I assumed that a general knowledge about theoretical concepts was present. The interviews were structured into four overall segments: (1) definition of placemaking, (2) strategies, (3) challenges, (4) long-term evaluation. Accordingly, these four concepts were presented through multiple divisions. Example questions for each overall concept and division can be found in Table 2. This structure was based on the sub-questions and will be explained more thoroughly in the next paragraph.

The first concept, definition of placemaking, was structured into five types of questions: what, when, where, how and who. This structure was used to get the most encompassing definition of placemaking through the perspective of the respondent. The second overall concept focussed on placemaking strategies. Through this concept a deeper insight was gained into what the respondent interpreted as the main strategy for placemaking. Wyckoff (2014) defines four types of placemaking, whereby the method of PPS is defined as the "standard type" of placemaking. To see if this vision was shared direct questions about PPS were asked. Both respondents had relations with PPS and were aware of their methodology. Hereafter, questions aimed to get new insights were asked in order to find out how they build upon- and add to the methodology of PPS. The third overall concept was challenges. In the past decades critique and challenges of placemaking have been an increasing topic in academic literature. Hereby, the main concerns are towards gentrification (Lees & Melhuish, 2012; Zukin, 2009) and the validity of community representation (Toolis, 2017; Saitta, 2013; Grant 2001). These topics were addressed through questions about the challenges that were encountered during placemaking. The word challenge was used to keep it more open-ended and unbiased. Hereafter, follow-up questions were aimed at the specific topics of gentrification and community representation. The last overall concept in the interview was long-term evaluation. The long-term evaluation about the impacts of placemaking is still an unexplored topic due to the fact that placemaking is a broad and rather new concept. Besides the goals that are mentioned to which placemaking can contribute, it is not clear whether these goals are always achieved and to what extent placemaking hereby has been the

leading factor. Silberberg et al. (2013) for example state that the evaluation of projects is often vague in its assessment and that placemaking projects are prematurely deemed as a success, leaving long-term lessons unacknowledged. Considering the expert interview was not specifically directed at one case, the focus was put on what they thought could be the long-term impact of placemaking.

Conclusively, these expert interviews were meaningful in steering and structuring the case-related interviews. By getting a deeper insight into the meaning and vision of the expert about placemaking a stronger grip on the concept was achieved which led to a clearer focus and direction on how to interpret the case studies. Through their experience on two cases those were chosen for further exploration and used in this study. Therefore, these interviews have contributed to two cases as well.

Concept	Concept division	Example questions
Definition placemaking	Meaning	- What does placemaking mean to you? - What makes placemaking different from traditional area development?
	Timeframe	- Do you think placemaking is mainly a short-term method? - What timeframe is appropriate for placemaking to flourish?
	Area	- Where is placemaking used? - What are the physical/social/economical characteristics of these areas?
	Goals	- How is defined what the goal setting of the placemaking will be?
	Stakeholders	- Who initiates placemaking? - Is it mainly a bottom-up or top-down initiative?
Strategies	PPS	- Do you think the method of PPS is what encompasses placemaking best? - Do you use the methods of PPS?
	New expertise	- Where do you draw inspiration from for placemaking projects?
Challenges	Community representation	- In the diverse society of today, do you think it is possible to represent everyone in the community?
	Gentrification	- Can placemaking lead to gentrification?

		- What is your opinion about gentrification?
Long-term evaluation	Success	- In your opinion, what is the success of placemaking?
	Scale	- Can placemaking also be implemented on a large-scale or does its outcomes stay on a small-scale level?
	Evaluation	- How can placemaking be evaluated? - Which factors define if it is successful or not?

Table 2 Overview concepts and operationalization expert interviews

The case-related interviews were more specific and detailed, asking the "why" and "how" questions. The overall structure of these interviews was be divided in three segments: (1) area characterization, (2) type of placemaking, (3) impact on the development of the area. Accordingly, these overall concepts were divided in multiple divisions. Example questions for each concept can be found in Table 3.

The first overall concept "area characterization" was aimed to get a better illustration of the area and its social, economic and physical challenges. By clearly defining why the particular area is in need for development a better understanding in the way placemaking was executed was achieved. The second concept of the interview was aimed to find out what type of placemaking was carried out, based on the four strategies exemplified in the theoretical framework. Hereby, I started out with introductory questions about the respondent and if he or she was familiar with the concept placemaking. Thereafter, I asked what placemaking means in their words. This way a first general definition was obtained first which led to a more fluid conversation into defining the type of placemaking. To define the placemaking strategy a focus was put on questions about characteristics like time, process design, goals, outcomes and motivations which could accordingly be compared to the theory. The last overall segment was impacts of placemaking on the development of the area. Developments were presented through the socio-economic and physical changes that were observed by the respondent. Hereafter, the challenges in the placemaking process were defined in order to gain insight into where placemaking might lack tools for sufficient change. Follow up questions about goal achievement were asked to find out to what extent the vision of the placemaking was fulfilled and if goals might have changed during the process. For the cases Doornakkers, Schalkwijk and Zomerhofkwartier evaluation was a topic to reflect on the success of the placemaking project.

Concept	Concept division	Example questions
Area characterization	Social	- Can you define the type of people living in the area? - What is the atmosphere in the area?
	Economic	- Are there many employment opportunities?

			-	What are the possibilities for leisure?
Type of placemaking	General definition		-	Are you known with the term placemaking?
			-	What does placemaking mean in your words?
	PPS		-	Why is public space of great importance in this area?
			-	To what extent was the community involved?
	Tactical placemaking		-	Was there a lot of experimentation during the process?
			-	Were the activities mostly carried out in a short timeframe?
	Strategic placemaking		-	Were there any long-term goals set before the project?
			-	Is there aimed to pursue the project for multiple years?
	Creative placemaking		-	Were there any cultural/creative activities organized?
			-	To what extent do you think creative initiatives are important in the process?
Impact on the development of the area	Socioeconomic changes		-	What changes have you observed up and till now in the area?
	Challenges		-	What were the main challenges in the placemaking project?
	Goal achievement		-	Was the intended vision for the area fulfilled?
			-	Did the goals change during the project?
	Evaluation		-	Do you think placemaking was a successful approach?
			-	Through which factors can do you evaluate its success?

Table 3 Overview concepts and operationalization case related interviews

3.4.   Methods of analysis

The analysis of the data was carried out through grounded theory. Grounded theory is a suitable method for exploratory and explanatory research. Hereby, the analysis goes beyond mere description and tries to develop theoretical explanations about how and why certain processes happen (Payne, 2007). This case study builds onto existing theory but is also aimed to explore new insights and critically compare the theory to the found results. Due to the fact that these cases have not been

examined before a grounded theory analysis fit best.

The data was coded through open, axial and selective coding using the program Atlas.ti. The process of open coding was started by using descriptive codes for meanings and phenomena. In this first stage of open coding 186 codes defined. Examples of descriptive open codes to define area characteristics were for example: "low income", "unsafe", "industrial", "empty space" and so forth. After the open coding process, the process of axial coding started whereby possible relationships between the codes were noted and codes were ordered in themes. Six overall themes were defined which are: (1) area context, (2) placemaking definition, (3) placemaking implementation, (4) challenges, (5) impacts and (6) results. The theme impacts were subdivided in perceived short- and long-term impacts. The theme results were subdivided in soft and hard factors. Lastly the process of selective coding whereby a selection of most important codes regarding the research question were defined within these themes. The results of the selective coding are accordingly processed in the Chapter 4 Results.

3.5.   Validity and reliability

A critique on the validity of case studies is mainly held on account of bias towards verification. As Flyvbjerg (2006) exemplifies: "a bias toward verification is understood as a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions, so that the study therefore becomes of doubtful scientific value" (p.234). However, a case study does not have to be considered less strict than quantitative methods because it is based on real-life experiences and situations. Therefore, they can directly be tested in relation to theoretical phenomena as how they reveal in practice (Flyvberg, 2006). Moreover, is a case study aimed to falsify not verify. For that reason, reliability of this study is achieved by using a negative case analysis research technique. This means that the results of the cases have been compared to existing research and examples. Emigh (1997) states that a negative case analysis is carried out under two conditions, first by acknowledging the gap between the outcome of the study and theoretical explanations; and second by expanding on the existing theory through a detailed examination of the empirical evidence. The analysis of the results was through grounded theory provided in the theoretical framework. This way results of the case study provided justifications or falsification according to reliable theory.

Due to the qualitative method used for this study the term "valid" cannot be seen in the context that that this study is reproducible. Validity in this study is therefore interpreted as the extent to which the examination is trustworthy, credible, consistent and rigorous. According to Slevitch (2011) "trust can be achieved to the extent that an inquirer's statements correspond to how people out there really interpret or construct their realities" (p.77). The interviews for this study were transcribed verbatim which means that the quotes used in the results were the exact words as spoken by the respondent. Through this transcribing process no valuable information was lost. The study can be defined credible to the extent that for each case two or more stakeholders were interviewed. Therefore, the results are

not written from a one-sided perspective but through multiple sides of the story. By comparing these perspectives, a more objective way of analysing could be pursued. However, there could be argued that the valuation of the impact placemaking has had on the development of the area still is contested. Due to the fact that only stakeholders in the placemaking project were interviewed and not residents can the impacts of placemaking only be examined through the view of the organizers. Lastly, this study can be considered consistent because for all the case-related interviews the same format of interview guide was used. Only for the first two expert interviews a different interview guide was used which is explained in the operationalization.

4. Results

This chapter presents the results of five different cases in The Netherlands. The results are structured according to the themes found during the selective coding process. The themes that are reflected upon are: (1) description of the area context; (2) goal setting of placemaking; (3) perceived immediate and long-term effects of placemaking on the area; (4) challenges that occurred during the placemaking process; (5) the perceived success and results of placemaking on the area. Interpretations of the results are grounded in the theoretical framework and will be related to theoretical concepts accordingly.

4.1.   Reclaiming public space: Doornakkers, Eindhoven

The neighbourhood Doornakkers in the city Eindhoven is what is described in Dutch as a "Vogelaarswijk" or "krachtwijk"[1]. In 2011 a new vision for the neighbourhood was created whereby Doornakkers was divided into two parts: the old "krachtwijk" part with a high number of social housing, unemployment and poverty; and the new part with recently built and more expensive owner-occupied housing. The aim was to connect these parts by increasing the accessibility to public space (Gemeente Eindhoven, 2011). Hereby, the main focus was on the St. Joseph zone, an old enclosed Catholic domain containing a school and a monastery surrounded by a lot of greenery and gardens. The St. Joseph zone is shared property by housing corporation Woonbedrijf and the municipality of Eindhoven. Together they envisioned turning this domain into a lively public space with multiple facilities for entrepreneurial, hospitality and cultural initiatives. Accordingly, in 2011 both partners joined in the placemaking project "Lively Cities (LiCi)" to redevelop the St. Joseph zone for the residents of Doornakkers. LiCi was a European funded project and took place in multiple cities throughout France, The Netherlands, Belgium and the United Kingdom. The common focus in these projects was reclaiming public space by turning unused space into public domain. The timeframe for this project was 4 years. At the start of LiCi all project leaders were educated through a workshop by PPS about the values of placemaking.

The placemaking process in Doornakkers indeed follows many of the principles of PPS. First of all, that "the community is expert" (PPS, 2007b). During the LiCi project, the project assistant of the time formed a working group with residents and local entrepreneurs to brainstorm about the reconstruction of the St. Joseph area. Through these working groups a couple of community representatives were assigned. According to PPS (2017) these community representatives need to be in direct connection with the area as well as having a shared interest in the place. Therefore, the municipality only rented out space in the St. Joseph buildings to local entrepreneurs who had a social aim and agreed to contribute something to the neighbourhood. However, in practice it showed that it

---

[1] In 2007 the Dutch government composed a list of problematic neighbourhoods with social, physical and economic issues. These neighbourhoods were assigned extra financial investment in order to boost development regarding these issues. This list was composed by minister Ella Vogelaar, which explains the name "Vogelaarswijk".

was difficult to evaluate how truthful these aims were. One of the community representatives for example expressed that:

"In a certain point in time it became clear that for some people eventually it was just about money and because people knew there was quite some investment from Europe, they saw LiCi as an opportunity to earn money. Eventually you saw that, because of this, the connection within the group was lost quite fast" (Respondent 3, Stichting Awesome).

This represents mostly the horizontal relationships within the community in which tension was found. In the vertical relationships of the community there were also strains. The vertical relationships are the extent to which a community as a whole is in contact with parties from top-down (Grant, 2001). Tensions occurred between residents and the municipality because as was stated: "The municipality is often not really understood here in the neighbourhood" and "people were annoyed that the municipality always has such a large involvement" (Respondent 3, Stichting Awesome).

Nonetheless, first quick wins were carried out to enthuse residents to partake in the project and to show that work was actually done. The first short-term small improvements were completed by placing bistro chairs and tables in the St. Joseph area and starting the project "social sofas" (concrete sofas that got decorated by kids, elderly and other residents in the neighbourhood). These quick wins made the St. Joseph zone more comfortable and inviting to visit. Furthermore, a "feel good" market was organized to connect people to the local entrepreneurs of the area. These activities energized people in the community to partake in LiCi because actual first changes were visibly noticed. These short-term impacts therefore are effective because they tick the boxes of three of the key attributes of place explained by PPS (2007a): sociability, comfort & image and uses & activities. By organizing activities and making first physical changes the public space already gives away a more inviting atmosphere. The social life in public space eventually contributes to the strengthening of the horizontal relationships in the community because it encourages citizens to engage in their neighbourhood (Karacor, 2014). As Karacor (2014) and Jacobs (1961) state are these experiences in urban life what eventually lead to an increase in social cohesion and a larger sense of belonging to that place.

However, in the case of Doornakkers it was difficult to maintain this first energy that came from the quick wins. To tackle the larger physical, economic and social problems in the neighbourhood these short-term activities only gave a small effect. Overall changes in urban development can sometimes take up 5 to 10 years which can make residents unmotivated as larger more impactful change is not quickly noticed. As was mentioned "urban development is a long-term effort and residents do not always have the energy to put that in" (Respondent 2, Gemeente Eindhoven). One of the solutions and feedback put forward by the municipality was to focus on expectation management:

"We have to do a lot more on expectation management and let people know that it can take a while for large adjustments to be made so that they don't get disappointed. Because, people really want to do something and make changes but when that does not happen fast, they get frustrated and drop out which is a shame" (Respondent 1, Gemeente Eindhoven).

This exemplifies that transparency and a co-creative partnership from both sides is needed to make a placemaking project successful. In the definition of placemaking of Strydom et al. (2018) an emphasis was put on the "collective effort" and Silberberg et al. (2013) pointed out the "making process" as the most important feature of placemaking. Both exemplify that the effort put in by top-down and bottom-up initiative to work together is what eventually creates the energy to make structural changes. In the case of Doornakkers the problem to make these structural changes was in making the St. Joseph zone physically more accessible. Due to the fact that the St. Joseph area was shared between the municipality and housing corporation Woonbedrijf difficulties were found in the decision who would eventually have responsibility over the new public space. Likewise, also residents were not willing to take up this responsibility. This led to the fact that the area is up and till today still not fully opened for the public.

The spaces in the St. Joseph zone that were rented out to local entrepreneurs did have a positive impact on the neighbourhood. The main outcome in Doornakkers is that some residents became very active and gained permanent space for their social venture. Accordingly, these ventures had a large contribution for the neighbourhood. One example of this is Stichting Awesome, a clothing swap atelier where people can swap or donate their clothes. It is mainly aimed to help people with a low income to have the opportunity to get "new" clothes. Moreover, there is a large volunteer base which has given people of the neighbourhood with no day job a reason to get out of the house and have a daily purpose. Through the LiCi project these social entrepreneurs established a good relationship with the municipality. As community representatives they now are a great bridge between residents and the municipality.

In sum, the St. Joseph area has a lot of potential but large adjustments to make it completely public remains an issue. However, the same topics of the area vision of 2011 are still built upon. This shows that the placemaking efforts from then are still of relevance. As was stated:

"We have quite a rough neighbourhood and the St. Joseph space is really a hidden gem which could be an inspiring and comforting place for troubled youth, unemployed and poor people. It is a place we could turn into a stimulating spot which is really necessary here" (Respondent 3, Stichting Awesome).

Therefore, the efforts to turn the St. Joseph area into public space are not forgotten and are again high up on the agenda of the municipality of Eindhoven. Through new collaborations with the established

entrepreneurs and new residents placemaking initiatives are taken up again and negotiations with Woonbedrijf about the physical changes are on the table.

4.2. Connect with the neighbourhood: Schalkwijk, Haarlem

Schalkwijk is the largest neighbourhood of the city Haarlem with more or less 35.000 residents. It is also one of the most troublesome neighbourhoods of Haarlem as it deals with a lot of social problems such as integration, backlog and unsafety. Moreover, the area is quite monofunctional with little activity for youth. In the centre of Schalkwijk is a large shopping centre which was built in the 1970s and now deals with vacancy and nuisance. The number of visitors has been decreasing over the past decades whereas the shopping centre deals with competition from the vibrant city centre of Haarlem. Therefore, visitors outside of Schalkwijk and Haarlem do not come to the shopping centre anymore. For that reason, the shopping centre has become more reliant on the customer base in its direct surroundings. However, people from Schalkwijk rather use the local facilities in the neighbourhood instead of going to the bleak shopping centre. New development plans were made to modernize this area and built new facilities to turn the shopping centre into an all-round multifunctional centre for the neighbourhood. Yet, before these plans were executed and the right investors were found a transition phase needed to be bridged. Therefore, the "Coöperatieve Vereniging van Eigenaren (CVvE)" (Cooperative Association of Owners) of the shopping centre Schalkwijk and bureau Placemaking Plus started working together to build a positive image around the centre and turn it into a vibrant place again before developments started.

Placemaking Plus works from the values of PPS as they state: "the community is expert and we as bureau are just the tools" (Respondent 6, Placemaking Plus). They closely work together with people and initiators from the neighbourhood and try to make deeper connections in order to create valuable activities. They connect with the neighbourhood through a "placegame" whereby different stakeholders from the area come together to talk about their vision of the place. Through this placegame valuable information about the place is obtained. As PPS (2007b) states this is necessary to create a vision for the place that fits with the community values. Furthermore, key values of Placemaking Plus are "to inspire", "practice what you preach" and "turning a place in not only more liveable but also loveable" (Respondent 6, Placemaking Plus). After the placegame a place management team is formed who together will work on the first quick wins for improvement of the place. The ideas for the quick wins are formed during the placegame by the local stakeholders.

In the case of the shopping centre in Schalkwijk that quick win was the project "DAK". A pop-up park on the roof of the parking garage next to the shopping centre. DAK was operationalized in only six months and lasted throughout the summer as a meeting place with numerous activities focussed on sports, music and culture. The aim of DAK was to reconnect with the neighbourhood and draw positive attention to the shopping centre. In order to reconnect it was of importance that this project was focussed on the right target group. However, as Lees and Melhuish (2012) stated,

community engagement can lead to tensions when placemakers have an idealistic and standardized sense of place and community. Moreover, in a multi-cultural environment, such as Schalkwijk, it can happen that particular groups are hidden behind an idealistic inclusionary façade (Toolis, 2017). In the case of Schalkwijk they overcame this by connecting with the local basketball club Triple ThreaT.

Triple ThreaT is besides a basketball club also a foundation aiming to create a community for youth who come from low-income groups and problematic areas. They have a large role in Schalkwijk whereas they organize many things for youngsters but also stimulate talent development through sports, cultural activity and school accompaniment. Triple ThreaT was motivated to partake in the organization of DAK as they saw it as an opportunity to create a bigger network but also "to create a place to welcome these young people instead of always banning them due to bad behaviour or image" (Respondent 7, Triple Threat). For the CVvE, who own the parking garage, DAK was mainly a great opportunity to shed some positive light on the shopping centre. As was mentioned it was mostly a "good-will offensive" (Respondent 8, CVvE). Moreover, there was stated:

> "We got a lot of positive publicity through DAK, the local media and politics really dove onto it. But for us it was just that. The shop owners did not really see the advantage because DAK was just outside the shopping centre and people only went there to enjoy music and have a drink not to go shopping" (Respondent 8, CVvE).

As becomes clear, there were no immediate hard effects of DAK such as raising profits for the shop owners. However, it did generate many soft effects in terms of creating a sense of place and establishing good vertical relationships. Thomas (2016) stated that soft spaces are places where people experience and find emotional attachment or local ownership. The creation of DAK happened through a tight collaboration between different stakeholders. Due to the fact that it had to be established in only six months everyone had to put in a large effort to make it successful and promote it to the right networks. Thereby, the placemaking established new relations and it shows how the "making" transcends the "place" (Silberberg et al., 2013). This shows in the following statement:

> "Placemaking causes that different people from different levels very quickly come in contact with each other. Because they have a common goal, they find out that they can learn from each other. I would normally never have talked to someone from the municipality or a shop owner and through this setting all of a sudden you have a lot of contact. So, it really connects people" (Respondent 7, Triple ThreaT).

DAK lasted for 8 weeks throughout the summer and was organized twice after the first time in 2016. By connecting an influential organization with a large network in the neighbourhood like Thriple ThreaT a more diverse group of people came to the centre. Moreover, it showed the importance of connecting a social or cultural organization to a place in order to make it a real centre for the neighbourhood. Therefore, Triple ThreaT got a permanent place for their foundation in the shopping

centre. This has proven to be beneficial for the shopping centre because there is more social control on the youngsters as leaders of Triple ThreaT keep an eye out on the nuisance. Moreover, did the community of Triple ThreaT grew because of DAK. Youth from Schalkwijk noticed the efforts of Triple ThreaT and therefore wanted to become part of the community which increases a sense of belonging in their neighbourhood. Overall, the social impact of DAK present to has been the largest.

Difficulties arose because these social "soft" factors are not things that can directly be measured. In a project with many stakeholders this can bring tensions between the people who finance the project and the organizers. As was stated: "because the shopping centre only saw DAK as a way to get a positive image and did not see any numbers, we constantly had to prove ourselves that it did have an impact" (Respondent 7, Triple ThreaT). However, that can be interpreted as the turning point when the placemaking had to be turned into a more permanent state which showed in the establishment of Triple ThreaT in the shopping centre. In that sense it is important to acknowledge that these short-term impacts cannot be repeated endlessly. As is stated: "the placemaking needs to be in line with what is going to happen in the future" (Respondent 8, CVvE). In this case it presented that by connecting social ventures to the shopping centre, people from the neighbourhood will feel more at home going to that place. Therefore, in the future development for the centre of Schalkwijk these aims are taken into account.

4.3.   Experiment with a vision: Zomerhofkwartier, Rotterdam

The area Zomerhofkwartier (ZOHO) is a manufacturing quarter neighbouring the city centre of Rotterdam. The area is owned by real estate corporation Havensteder, who invested in the buildings around the year of 2006/2007. At that time ZOHO was described as "an anonymous manufacturing estate" and "monofunctional" (Respondent 5, Havensteder). Moreover, it housed "unwanted" institutions such as a TBS clinic, a rehab centre and home care facilities. Since Havensteder has a long-term relation with the city of Rotterdam they saw potential to invest in and regenerate the area. However, during the economic crisis in 2010/2011, the social institutions in ZOHO had to deal with budget cuts which caused for more people on the streets. Moreover, many office and manufacturing spaces became vacant. This led to an unsafe atmosphere in the area and people avoiding this part of Rotterdam. Furthermore, due to the economic crisis almost 80% of the office space in the city centre of Rotterdam became vacant as well. This high supply of office spaces in a more favourable part of Rotterdam put ZOHO in a difficult position. Since, ZOHO was a very anonymous and unknown part of Rotterdam it was in need to differentiate from other areas in the city. Accordingly, in 2010, Havensteder made agreements with the municipality of Rotterdam that ZOHO could be repositioned as an "experimental area". Meaning that there was room for innovative urban plans and space for social- and creative start-ups to create their business. This led to a collaboration with STIPO, an urban development bureau focussed on the co-creation of places. STIPO saw an opportunity in ZOHO to bring two networks together. They had noticed that many young Rotterdam start-ups and social

ventures were frustrated in finding an affordable office space close to the centre of Rotterdam. ZOHO, still unknown and with an urgency to fill vacant spaces deemed to be the perfect base.

STIPO's urban development methods are mainly focussed on the co-creation of place and creating value in terms of softer factors such as experience, emotional value and engagement through ownership. With these principles they put themselves in the tradition of Whyte, whereby is looked at qualities of a place in which people want to be and live in. As is stated:

> "We want to co-create the quality of public space and look at what differentiates that area from others, what the soul is of that place. We look at the built environment and try to figure out how people can be engaged in that. When we talk about placemaking, it is not just about branding, we see that in The Netherlands it is often explained that way but we think that is a very limited form of placemaking" (Respondent 4, STIPO).

However, placemaking in the case of ZOHO has another aim than often exemplified by the strategies of PPS. The goals of PPS are mostly to create places together with the community, but ZOHO was a monofunctional and empty space, thus there was no established community to co-create with. This made it perfect for experimentation but in need of a clear vision. As was mentioned: "Even a blind horse could do no damage to the area, but through small efforts, engagement and professionalism put in a framework of conditions we managed to make the most of it" (Respondent 5, Havensteder).

The first aim in ZOHO was to create a community. The focus group was targeted mainly on young, creative, social and manufacturing entrepreneurs who would otherwise leave the city due to high rents. The focus on these social and crafts businesses was aimed to make a connection with the lower-income working class neighbourhood which surrounds ZOHO. Before entrepreneurs would get assigned to a space in ZOHO, they needed to pitch their ideas to STIPO and Havensteder. This way a clear profile for the community could be maintained. Temporary contracts of more or less 5 years were given out for low rents, but with the prerequisite that they made physical adjustments to their building and plinths. Most of the buildings in ZOHO were closed off, thus by opening up the plinths a livelier atmosphere in the streets was created. Within 4 months, most of the office spaces were occupied again with new users. This immediately brought more liveliness in the streets of ZOHO. These first physical impacts on street level and new users in the area can be clearly related to the theory of Jacobs (1961) which presents that "eyes on the streets" and a more open look of public space contributes to a safer and inviting sphere.

Furthermore, by positioning ZOHO as "the experimental crafts quarter" of Rotterdam a new network was established in the area. To strengthening this network activities, parties and welcome tours for new renters were organized. Network creation showed to have positive spill-overs between start-ups, as was stated: "Through a very soft way of networking unexpected initiatives were born and new things became possible" (Respondent 4, STIPO). Overall, the placemaking approach in ZOHO can best be compared to a strategic type of placemaking. It is targeted at achieving a particular goal

together with creating a quality place (Wyckoff, 2014). Moreover, strategic placemaking is described to aim at accomplishing job creation and income growth by attracting business (Wyckoff, 2014). Both these things happened in ZOHO whereas the start-up environment in the area was specifically curated on craft, social and manufacturing businesses that could connect with the neighbourhood. Hereby, the character of the neighbourhood as manufacturing estate was kept and a valuable framework to maintain this was followed. As Reny (2018) mentions, this is needed to make a place flexible and sustainable during change. This strategic approach is affirmed by the following statement:

> "Placemaking should be as a pearl necklace, every time you add something it has to be logical, it cannot be just separate things that have nothing to do with each other, everything you do has to be part of the narrative and strategy" (Respondent 5, Havensteder).

Important in this case is also that the start-ups played a large role in co-creating the area as they invested in the physical environment but also defined the programming and use of ZOHO. The establishment of an experimental framework made room for spontaneous initiatives but within a strategic vision and through the character of the network. This success of this way of doing was described as:

> "One of the biggest wins of placemaking I think is that it is doing and thinking mixed together and a lot more hands-on. You switch between what is necessary on the long-term and what can be done on the short-term and you vary between them" (Respondent 4, STIPO).

Hereby, close collaboration with not only top-down institutions like the municipality and Havensteder but also with the entrepreneurs who provided innovative ideas have shaped ZOHO as a vibrant quarter in quite a short timeframe of more or less 6 years.

The new programming, identity and networks in ZOHO also attracted new groups of people to the area. The overall valuation of ZOHO changed as it is now seen as part of the city-centre of Rotterdam instead of an anonymous manufacturing terrain. This has caused that real estate prices have gone up. This process can be identified as gentrification when new income groups are drawn to the area and push out the currently lower income groups (Smith & Williams, 2010). Moreover, as Zukin (2009) stated can long-term residents starting to feel uncomfortable when the character of a place changes. Thereby, Zukin (2009) points out the risk of urban revitalization to be only beneficial for a certain group of residents, which are according to Saitta (2013) usually the cultural creatives. In the case of ZOHO close consideration was taken to the fact that ZOHO did not just became, in the words of the respondent, "a hip island in the middle of a poor neighbourhood that would turn away from the current residents" (Respondent 4, STIPO). Therefore, an emphasis was put on the connection between the creative start-ups and the former social institutes. One example of this was a climate adaptive park designed by urbanists. It was positioned in between the high buildings of ZOHO to soften the hard edges of the area. The municipality of Rotterdam allowed this park by "turning a blind eye" to the

initiative, stating that as long as they did not have to take responsibility for the maintenance of the park it could be pursued. The urbanists therefore came in contact with the rehabilitation centre in ZOHO which were more than happy to be in charge of the gardening. This way, former addicts together with the urbanists took up the responsibility for the park which resulted in a fruitful collaboration. Through these connections self-governance was supported and the old and new users of ZOHO found value in the placemaking activity.

Eventually, the curation rules of the placemaking were taken up in the tender of the municipality. Meaning, that affordable office spaces for start-ups still have to be available for social start-ups and crafts businesses to maintain a place in ZOHO. Through this a connection with the surrounding area is preserved. It is therefore mentioned that during the placemaking process it is important that certain developments are put down contractually in order turn temporary initiative into something permanent. The vision to where developments are heading has to be kept in mind so that bottom-up initiative still can provide from new valuations also "when a brighter future comes a long" (Respondent 4, STIPO).

4.4.   Building a narrative: Holendrecht & Bullewijk (HOBU), Amsterdam

Amsterdam is expanding every year with more or less 11.000 new residents. This means that space for new housing in the city becomes scarce. One of the areas where still can be expanded is the Southeast part of Amsterdam. Southeast Amsterdam does not have a good image since it deals with socioeconomic issues and is presented in the media often through crime related incidents. Moreover, a large part of Southeast Amsterdam is zoned as work facility containing a large share of office space. Through the middle of the area runs a metro line that intersects the area in two parts. The western side is a strip of offices designed as work facility which is called Amstel III and is connected to the neighbourhood Bullewijk. The eastern side is the neighbourhood Holendrecht which functions as residential area. The municipality of Amsterdam has plans to redevelop Amstel III into a mixed-use area for work and living and connect it to Bullewijk and Holendrecht to make Southeast Amsterdam one unity. The aim is to soften the intersection of the metro line between office space and residential area and combine both neighbourhoods under the repositioning of HOBU. In the end, the vision is to connect Southeast Amsterdam to the city whereas right now it is considered to be a closed off part of Amsterdam. Due to its bad image developers have been hesitant to invest in Amstel III, which leaves HOBU in a transition phase. To bridge this transition and reposition the identity of HOBU, placemaking is used to create new value for the place. Hereby, the municipality and various city development partners work together to bring more liveliness to HOBU and connect the three lose parts Amstel III, Holendrecht and Bullewijk into a multifunctional zone. This transition phase gives residents from HOBU the opportunity to take part in the developments before large reconstruction in Amstel III starts.

The transition phase in HOBU is unique because it provides a lot of space for experimentation

and opportunity. However, one of the city makers in HOBU states to have "mixed feelings" with the term placemaking in the traditional form as presented by PPS (Respondent 9, Wethecity). In the case of HOBU they are dealing with a large-scale area and a lot of vacant office space in Amstel III where there are no residents. Therefore, in the case of HOBU is spoken of "tactical urbanism" as is stated that: "We are very much a catalyst in this area. We look at the networks and see who can do what now and based on that we just start things" (Respondent 9, Wethecity). This relates to how tactical placemaking is described by Wyckoff (2014). Hereby, the testing factor of initiatives play a large role. Moreover, tactical placemaking allows for experiment whereby only small political and financial commitments have to be made. These short-term impacts create energy and as was mentioned function as catalyst for projects that can start immediately. Furthermore, Finn and Douglas (2019) point out the importance of planners and policymakers to engage in the local knowledge, passion and ideas that come forward through tactical placemaking. This way temporary initiatives can be turned into having permanent value. In the case of HOBU, policymakers of the municipality work closely together with the city makers who have short ties with the residents, pioneers and entrepreneurs. In repositioning the area and creating a brand identity, the municipality aims to make HOBU a unique part of Amsterdam built on the DNA of what is already available in Southeast Amsterdam. As is stated:

> "We want that the current residents and entrepreneurs in Southeast profit from the new developments. Therefore, we want to optimize the use of social ties in the area which are already present. This way HOBU gets the Southeast feeling because there is already a lot of culture there. We want to take the stories from the bottom-up and find out what the residents interpret as the identity of Southeast Amsterdam." (Respondent 10, Gemeente Amsterdam).

This shows that the local knowledge of the area is taken as base for the repositioning of HOBU when branding it to outside investors and visitors. In this case the tactical placemaking does not just create energy but also has a clear vision, as is said:

> "It also has to do a lot with process design. We try to design the process of transition in such a way that local media take up what is happening, but moreover, that everything we do adds value for the current residents and strengthens what is already there" (Respondent 9, Wethecity).

Thus, by including the entrepreneurs and pioneers currently working in HOBU the placemaking is embedded in bottom-up values instead of creating a brand top-down. The process in redeveloping HOBU is designed in a way whereby the profits from new developments eventually will be shared with local entrepreneurs. By building onto the identity and needs from the current users, the sense of place and community will be strengthened because the old and new are connected.

To bring liveliness to the area of Amstel III empty office spaces are rented out to creative pioneers and small business owners of HOBU to boost the local economy. This way entrepreneurs get

the chance to grow and develop their business. Eventually the idea is that they will be able to bridge the large step to a larger space when the new developments are ready. By including local entrepreneurs in the growing process, they will hopefully be able to rent space in the plinths of the new apartment blocks, as is stated:

> "We have to build on an infrastructure that makes it possible for starting entrepreneurs to have place to grow. In that way the ventures of the people in HOBU will be the face of the new developments. However, developers do not want that so that gives a complex tension. Still, this transition phase is perfect to work on that" (Respondent 9, Wethecity).

Other ways through which the local economy is supported by placemaking is the initiative of the "Wisseltruck". This is a food truck in which a different food entrepreneur can run their own food truck every six months. Thus, every six months another start-up is presented in the food truck which makes the people currently working in the office spaces known with the local facilities. The idea behind it is that these entrepreneurs eventually can start their own food truck or get a space in the plinths that will open up in the new apartment blocks. By supporting these local initiatives through tactical activities and creating temporary spaces to grow, the identity of HOBU gets connected with the new developments.

However, all these new initiatives and branding propositions do bring up a certain type of hesitancy amongst the current residents in HOBU. As is mentioned:

> "There is some friction here and there because people think that on the other side of the tracks, in Amstel III, is only build for young professionals, people with money and white people and not for them. This makes sense because they never go to that side of the tracks, there is no connection. Through placemaking we try to invite these people to go there and show them that we do build for them too" (Respondent 10, Gemeente Amsterdam).

As Zukin (2009) stated there is a risk of further deepening economic and social polarization when urban revitalization is only aimed at a higher income group than the current one living there. The fear for this problem is also expressed as "gentrificationphobia" (Yglesias, 2012). When placemaking is mostly economically driven and aimed to attract investors, polarization can become a long-term effect of placemaking (Zukin, 2009). Furthermore, does Bedoya (2013) point out that there are often different evaluations about what an authentic place should be. Authenticity of place is stated to be having as a sense of belonging. However, Bedoya (2013) states that the understanding of cultural differences in matters of civic participation lack behind. In the case of HOBU is stressed that everything that is added from the outside in, needs to add value to what is already there. As is stated: "When we organize things it has to have added value for the local parties. Thus, we look at the networks available and on basis of that start things" (Respondent 9, Wethecity). This way, the local economy benefits instead of being pushed out. Moreover, is there a focus on making HOBU

"transcultural" instead of multi-cultural. Hereby, the focus is put on contributing to the identity of the area by creating a different form of valuation. This is explained as:

> "In a multi-cultural society, we rely on our differences, thus various cultural backgrounds living next to each other and tolerating each other. However, we want to build a story of transcultural whereby different cultural backgrounds live together and where there is a mash-up of cultures and collaborations" (Respondent 9, Wethecity).

In the end changes to the environment of HOBU and Southeast Amsterdam will happen. By using this transition phase to build a narrative around the values and cultures embedded in HOBU these changes are aimed to be beneficial for the current residents instead of pushing them out. The cultures present in HOBU are hereby acknowledged as a unique part of Amsterdam. By incorporating the creative and innovative ideas from the neighbourhood Holendrecht and Bullewijk in the new developing Amstel III, the new developments are aimed to be connected and embedded to the identity of Southeast. Placemaking hereby functions as a catalyst to invite people to these new changes instead of pushing them out.

4.5. City makers: Creating permanent value with temporary initiative

Placemaking is not always targeted on neighbourhood and residency level. Sometimes it happens through smaller temporary projects. This chapter shows two cases of city makers who have created cultural and social capital through innovative use of space.

4.5.1. Amsterdam Roest

Amsterdam Roest is a city beach and creative sanctuary located in an old industrial terrain near the city centre of Amsterdam. In 2010 cultural entrepreneurs rented the area for a temporary time period to develop this industrial terrain. At the time it was a vacant lot with a couple of warehouses in the midst of a new residential area. Housing corporation Stadsgenoot had plans to develop the terrain however was still awaiting investment. Therefore, they opened the space for cultural entrepreneurs to get a spotlight on the area. When Amsterdam Roest opened in 2010, it was during the economic crisis and not many entrepreneurs were willing to take the risk to open something on temporary basis. However, this timing gave a lot of freedom for development and the ability to experiment with different forms of activities. As was said: "When we started it wasn't with an incentive to go placemaking. Eventually it was called that and it became a more popular term, but we were just playing outside, there were few regulations in that time" (Respondent 12, Amsterdam Roest).

Amsterdam Roest is a creative sanctuary for a diverse public. Over the years they organized theatre plays, dance events, classical concerts, movie nights, corporate parties and many other events. Because of the wide range of activities, the area became known amongst many people. The redevelopment of the industrial terrain into Amsterdam Roest can be compared to a creative placemaking approach, as was said:

> "I associate placemaking with room for experiment because that is what you often lack in other places. That freedom is what enlightens creativity and innovation and also very clearly creates an own identity. I felt we were really an accelerator of ideas which we could accomplish there" (Respondent 12, Amsterdam Roest).

Creative placemaking is focussed on the cultural and creative industries as a means of urban regeneration. It is often implemented for the transformation of empty industrial spaces like Amsterdam Roest. Moreover, creative placemaking is used as a way of branding to create amenities with a unique character (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). These creative interim initiatives are carried out in a grass-root bottom-up manner whereby a small amount of financial investment and minimal intervention lead to new use of industrial infrastructure (Colomb, 2012). It is most often aimed to bring a diverse network of people together (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). In the case of Amsterdam Roest many new possibilities were accelerated for the cultural programming of Amsterdam with just small financial investments. Much of the program was free and accessible which attracted a diverse group of people. That way the area around Amsterdam Roest became more well-known in Amsterdam and a popular spot for creative experiment.

However, as Kelly et al. (2017) mentioned, is creative placemaking also a tool for economic growth and innovation. These economic incentives sometimes lead to the fact that creative placemaking is criticized to be too market-driven (Montgomery, 2016), or for being non-inclusive aimed at just one group of cultural creatives (Saitta, 2013). Toolis (2017) points out that creative placemaking is mainly focussed on beautifying and promoting a place for future investment. In the case of Amsterdam Roest, a clear tension between these different incentives is present. On the one hand, the aim of housing corporation Stadsgenoot was to draw spotlight on the area to attract possible investors in a time of economic crisis. On the other hand, the difficulty came when Amsterdam Roest became a great success and highly valued by many people. This led to the fact that the economic value of the place started to rise but the cultural contribution of the place was highly valued as well. As was said:

> "On the one hand, as cultural entrepreneurs we tried to do a lot of cool things for the city and be original and build onto the local values and character of the place. On the other hand, are we seen as the kick-starter of gentrification" (Respondent 11, Amsterdam Roest).

How this process from grass-root creative breading ground to kick-starter of gentrification went becomes clear when in 2016 the temporary contract of Amsterdam Roest came to an end. Due to the success of Amsterdam Roest the area was valuated more positively which led to a raise of land prices. Thus, when in 2016 new development plans came back on the table the entrepreneurs felt like they got kicked out, as was stated:

"We see nothing back from the hard values we create. That is the risk of temporary initiatives, when those land prices are raising we get kicked out and then something very monocultural comes for it in the place" (Respondent 11, Amsterdam Roest).

The risk in this process is that the cultural value of a place gets lost and economic incentives of developers are put first. Thus, the positive benefits of the place are capitalized, however the soft values the entrepreneurs created and the cultural value for Amsterdam the place has had, is put second. This is exemplified in the following statement:

"The cultural value we created and the contribution to the valuation of that place we established is not recognized by the large corporates. In the end, the real engagement in the area where the "big boys" are capitalizing is very limited. They have a very short commitment to the place with no long-term socioeconomic or cultural interests" (Respondent 11, Amsterdam Roest).

Conclusively, can be said that creative placemaking indeed is an accelerator of economic growth and revitalization of place. However, as has become clear through the literature and the case study, the critique on creative placemaking is mostly outed on the long-term impacts it has. Thus, the negative parts of gentrification when land prices start to raise and lower income groups get excluded from facilities aimed at higher income groups. What is missing in the literature and becomes clear through this case study is that the cultural value the place initially has brought for a lot of people is not acknowledged. Amsterdam Roest initially became a success due to its unique character which attracted a diverse range of people. There was room for experimentation and innovative creative output. However, due to the temporary character of the initiative entrepreneurs get kicked out of there place through the market driven incentives of developers. Still, in the case of Amsterdam Roest they have been able to negotiate on the area to buy the place so that Amsterdam Roest gets a permanent spot. However, as was said:

"Unfortunately, this is a special case because many people that start with placemaking also end there. You only get a chance on temporary basis, but when things really start to develop, suddenly there is no space for us anymore or we cannot afford it any longer" (Respondent 11, Amsterdam Roest).

Thus, in order to turn creative placemaking into something that provides permanent value on the soft factors of place, there needs to be acknowledged that the cultural and social value which cannot be measured in numbers, contributes to feeling and attachment people have for their city. More flexible policies towards temporary contracts could help stimulate more creative initiatives to be turned into having permanent value. Hereby, special attention needs to be put on the value an initiative contributes to the soft factors of place. As was mentioned:

"I think the laws of today do not connect to the needs of the modern people anymore. The mixed collaborations we create do not fit in the bureaucratic web. It is a very unnecessary limiting factor and there is no flexibility to create something unique" (Respondent 11, Amsterdam Roest).

It shows that the collaboration and shared vision for a place from both top-down and bottom-up is of high importance in order to create a place that has value for everyone.

4.5.2. De Buurtcamping

De Buurtcamping[2] is an initiative that started in 2013. It is a temporary camping of one weekend in the summer that is organized by residents in a public park in their city. Today, there are almost 50 campsites organized every year throughout the Netherlands. The aim of the concept is to create a deeper connection between different groups in a neighbourhood. Hereby, a clear rule is made that the camping should include one third volunteers, one third of paying people and one third with a reduced price to include minorities in the neighbourhood. This way the goal is to make people meet each other who would have otherwise not easily been in contact. A group of people in the neighbourhood take on the role of camping managers and organize the event with the help of the crew of De Buurtcamping. For almost 10 months these people work together to make a temporary meeting place in their park. Various local stakeholders are included to organize activities and together create a fun weekend for the neighbourhood. The case of De Buurtcamping greatly exemplifies how process is put over product and the making transcend the place. The goal of placemaking in this case is stated as:

"To me placemaking is feeling at home in your neighbourhood and knowing what there is around and available. De Buurtcamping hundred percent contributes to that. The idea is that people from different layers of society get to know each other which is very valuable in feeling more at home in your area" (Respondent 12, De Buurtcamping).

Hereby, a large emphasis is put on the co-creation of a temporary place.

Silberberg et al. (2013) stated that every place has its own social dynamics and environment and therefore cannot be operationalized through specific design rules. De Buurtcamping exemplifies how every place turns out differently through the input of other social dynamics and character of the environment. As is stated:

"We see that De Buurtcamping cannot be copied to another place because it is so locally organized. We only give guidelines on how to approach certain things and make sure everything is safe. However, the completion is always different" (Respondent 12, De Buurtcamping).

---

[2] De Buurtcamping can be literally translated as: The Neighbourhood Camping.

This shows that every process of placemaking is carried out through a different perspective and is dependent on the people involved. As PPS (2007b) mentioned in their strategies, a place is an ongoing process which is never finished, therefore flexibility in the management of the process is important. De Buurtcamping is a great example of how placemaking processes always vary and change over time. First of all, because De Buurtcamping is created through the local input and their own willingness to contribute to their neighbourhood, there naturally is a "collective effort" (Strydom et al., 2018). Together, these people work on the "re-imagination" of their surroundings, which is creating a public park into a temporary campsite. Strydom et al. (2018) point out that this re-imagining of space is found in the activities that contribute to the uniqueness of a place. De Buurtcamping creates opportunity for local entrepreneurs to organize things for example football clinics and cultural activities. Not only does this make people more familiar with the facilities in their surroundings but it also contributes to a growing network. Moreover, by putting the process over product, people get to know each through the organization of a collective cause. As is stated:

> "At a certain time the camping will just be there, but it is about the process towards and after it. The journey that the camping managers make and the struggles they face together is what really bonds people. That is what we try to create and is eventually our capital" (Respondent 12, De Buurtcamping).

Through this process, people feel ownership of what they created and therefore feel a bond to their place. As Strydom et al. (2018) state, the aim of placemaking is to create an identity of place by paying specific attention to the feelings, meaning, fabric and activities that make a place. When you think of De Buurtcamping as a small temporary town created in 10 months it perfectly exemplifies what these feelings and meanings are because the activities and shape of the campsite are made through the imagination of the local initiators. Furthermore, due to the clear framework De Buurtcamping persists, that one third is volunteers, one third paying visitors and one third reduced price, a very diverse mix of people comes together. The crew of De Buurtcamping monitors this process by checking how many tickets to each group is sold. When they for example notice there are less reduced tickets sold, they advise organizers to promote at the food bank or other social institutions. This way a large community of the neighbourhood gets represented.

Every year an examination through surveys is done on the impacts of De Buurtcamping and how it has contributed to the engagement in the neighbourhood. It shows that the social cohesion in a neighbourhood improves:

> "People say that they feel safer in their neighbourhood because they know more people in their surroundings or just recognize a face. This contributes to an overall safer feeling and people state to feel more at home in their neighbourhood. Moreover, there is also anecdotal prove that

new friendships are build and people keep seeing each other after the weekend is done" (Respondent 12, De Buurtcamping).

The camping has a large impact on the social capital being build. As Grant (2001) states is social capital build through community development a key element for neighbourhood improvement. Furthermore, spill-overs occur because the network of people grows through the new meetings they made during the camping weekend. As is stated:

"People come back to us and say that they find it very special their network has grown so much. Through this people have found jobs because they have been noticed by organizations from the neighbourhood. We see every year that people find jobs through De Buurtcamping which is a remarkable bycatch" (Respondent 12, De Buurtcamping).

In sum, can be stated that there is a large growth in social capital through the collaboration of a mixed group of people with a shared goal. Accordingly, this contributes to the overall sense of place people have in their neighbourhood and strengthens horizontal relationships in the community.

5. Conclusion & discussion

At the start I used Gieryn's (2000) explanation of place to define the multiple layers that place comprehends. To recall this explanation, the following three features were mentioned to order place: (1) geographic location, (2) material form and (3) investment with meaning and value. Soja (1996) and Lefebvre (2004) emphasized the importance of the last feature of place, the investment with meaning and value. They stated that we cannot regulate our environment just based on material form and geography. Eventually what shapes the soul and identity of a place are the social, historical and cultural dimensions that people embed their surroundings with. Space and time may be objective, as Creswell (1990) noted, but the people moving through places are what construct space into place. These abstract narrations of place such as emotion, attachment, sense of belonging and value are what make people feel having a sense of place. A sense of place is the extent to which people feel attached to their environment and feel like their surroundings are part of their identity (Thomas, 2016). This is eventually what makes people feel at home and what makes a place into a location where their meanings and cultural believes make sense. However, when looking at the urban environment the pace in which people move is fast since "the city never sleeps". Getting a hold on these soft senses that create meaningful places for people is no easy task. Therefore, the focus of professional planners has more often been on the "hard spaces" of the city, the things we can observe, construct and measure (Thomas, 2016). In the fast expanding pace wherein cities grow the built environment has been put first forgetting "the human dimension" of cities (Gehl, 2010). Whyte (1968) and Jacobs (1961) therefore pleaded that the spotlight should be moved back to the soft relations between people and place. To the life in between buildings, where the public can meet and experience. As a consequence, placemaking has been getting larger attention in city and neighbourhood development policies to not just create space for people to live but for people to feel at home. How placemaking is implemented as a method of urban development in The Netherlands will be answered in the following conclusion.

Through the theory and case studies is shown that placemaking can be implemented in different area types and through multiple strategies. The methodology of PPS is hereby seen as a forerunner of the development of placemaking as a strategy to create higher quality places (Wyckoff, 2014). PPS is mostly focussed on public space and community development to improve the liveability of neighbourhoods (PPS, 2007a; PPS, 2007b). As Grant (2001) stated, has building social capital through community development been proven to be effective in neighbourhood improvement. The implementation of this type of placemaking as PPS theorizes can be defined in the cases of Doornakkers, Schalkwijk and De Buurtcamping. In these three cases there was an aim to build social capital through the co-creation of place and make deeper connections between people on horizontal and vertical level. The common goals in these cases were to open up- or create public space where people can meet, be inspired and connect with others in their direct surroundings. These goals show through the fact that activities were organized whereby people from bottom-up and top-down level had to work together to create something. For Doornakkers this was for example quick wins through the

social sofas project; for Schalkwijk this was the creation of DAK; and for De Buurtcamping the creation of a temporary campsite. All respondents in these cases pointed out that the establishment of relationships between people from top-down and bottom-up who would have otherwise never met as one of the main positive impacts. Grant (2001) argued that the strengthening of these networks will eventually improve the efficiency of collective action and development. This is justified in all three cases. For Doornakkers and Schalkwijk this is shown through the fact that social entrepreneurs with a large community network got a permanent place in their neighbourhood to continue developments for their community. For De Buurtcamping this has shown through the increased social cohesion in neighbourhoods. With all these projects the social, soft factors, are perceived to have had the biggest impact.

The second placemaking strategy that has been discussed was tactical placemaking. The implementation of tactical placemaking was shown through the case of HOBU. Tactical placemaking is described as an effort whereby local stakeholders generate new use of space through creative energy and organization of activities (PPS, n.d.a.). Therefore, it is described as a catalyst of opportunity and well suited for places in transition (Wyckoff, 2014). In the case of HOBU the goal setting of placemaking was to generate liveliness in the transitioning area of Amstel III where there was a lot of unused office space and thereby connect the surrounding neighbourhoods Holendrecht and Bullewijk. This was done through the organization of many activities with local stakeholders to shine a positive light on the area. Therefore, the goal of tactical placemaking stated by Wyckoff (2014) to turn underused space into temporary exciting places is justified. However, in the case of HOBU there was an added dimension in the aim of placemaking. Placemaking was foremostly done to include local stakeholders in the upcoming developments of HOBU so that they could have permanent value in the newly built environment. Tactical placemaking was therefore aimed to boost the local economy and reinforce the local identity. Opportunities were provided through temporary activities that needed little investment and commitment and could start off right way, for example the Wisseltruck. Through these opportunities was made sure that not only the area was re-imagined through new activity but that the benefits of this re-imagination were for the local entrepreneurs as well. This could be done due to the flexible and hands-on policy of the municipality which Finn and Douglas (2019) also state as being an important role in tactical placemaking. The immediately perceived impacts where therefore mostly that the local identity and economy was encouraged so that the connection of the people in HOBU with new developments after the transition was strengthened.

The third placemaking strategy that has been discussed was creative placemaking which was implemented in the case of Amsterdam Roest. Despite the fact that the owners of Amsterdam Roest did not necessarily had the goal to go placemaking in Amsterdam Roest, its developments can clearly be related to creative placemaking theories. Creative placemaking is mainly aimed to revitalize space through arts and culture activities. It is most often implemented in empty industrial spaces just like Amsterdam Roest. It goes hand in hand with experimentation and freedom to organize a diverse

program of activities. However, in the theory about creative placemaking most of its goal setting is aimed at enhancing economic growth, animating public space, community engagement and creating a distinctive brand (Kelly et al., 2017; Lees & Melhuish, 2012; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Amsterdam Roest justified to have improved these things as it contributed to the cultural programming of Amsterdam and the re-evaluation of the area. On the other hand, have these goals and impacts been criticized of being too market driven and non-inclusive (Saitta, 2013; Toolis, 2017). However, what misses between both sides is the perspective of the entrepreneur behind the creative placemaking. As has become clear through the results, was felt that the created cultural value by the entrepreneur was not acknowledged by large corporates who were aiming to develop in the area. The economic success through the changed valuation for that land was capitalized instead of the cultural and social capital Amsterdam Roest had brought which led to large frustration by the entrepreneur. Conclusively, can be stated that the aims of the cultural entrepreneur were not too market driven because they opted to create a diverse programming for a mixed group of people which were often freely accessible. However, the positive valuation it got through that programming, which accordingly was planned on to capitalize for new developments, is a market driven outcome and eventually lies in the hands of the land owner. This shows that policies around this type of development should include valuation systems that are not just measured in economic and physical capital but also on the social and cultural capital.

The last placemaking strategy that was addressed is strategic placemaking which was implemented in ZOHO. However, many parts of the placemaking process in ZOHO were also embedded in theories of PPS and Whyte (1968). First of all, there was a focus on community creation and co-creation. Hereby, many local entrepreneurs and neighbourhood initiatives were included in the renewal of ZOHO. The activities organized and physical changes that were carried out fit the attributes of The Place Diagram of PPS (2007a). For example, by opening the plinths in the streets of ZOHO a contribution was done on comfort and image which creates a safer atmosphere. The level of uses and activities was increased by attracting start-ups and pioneers to rent space in ZOHO. Through the new liveliness that was achieved also the access and linkages to ZOHO improved because it felt more connected to the city centre of Rotterdam. Lastly, sociability was achieved by the overall more inviting character of ZOHO and the cooperative nature of the development of the area with local stakeholders. Thus, many focus points in the developments of ZOHO relate to PPS and Whyte (1968). However, what makes the approach of ZOHO more strategic is that the community and vision was clearly curated. An identity and framework were built which was embedded in the manufacturing character of what ZOHO already was. By only letting entrepreneurs rent space who fitted the vision for the neighbourhood an overall stronger network was created. For this reason, as Reny (2018) states, the newness of the developments is not what stood out but the character reflected on what already existed. Accordingly, that is what makes the project an authentic continuation of the original neighbourhood (Reny, 2018). This was beautifully exemplified in the results by stating that

placemaking has to be like a pearl necklace whereby every time you add something it has to be logical and be part of the narrative and strategy. The impacts of the strategic placemaking have also shown to be sustainable because the curating rules were taken up in the temper for further developments by the municipality.

The execution of these four strategies have given answer to the first two sub-questions and provided the first answer to how placemaking is implemented in The Netherlands. However, there are still things unsaid about the societal discussion that placemaking brings about. The answers to the last two sub-questions will address what the resulted influence of placemaking on the hard factors of space is and what its challenges regarding inclusivity are. It has become clear that placemaking as a process focusses on the creation of social capital through community development and builds onto the cultural structures and identity present in an area. Therefore, it can be seen as a very organic and soft way to approaching urban development and as a catalyst for larger impacts. However, when the valuation of an area positively changes it also has impacts on the hard factors of place, for example that real estate prices rise and new income groups are attracted to a place. This goes hand in hand with the physical and observable changes that an area undergoes. For example, when the general liveliness in a place increases because there are more people on the streets, or through beautification of a place by creative activities or restructuring of buildings. This study has shown that when people are more affiliated with their surroundings and feel more ownership of their living space, they are also more motivated to contribute to these physical changes. This was presented in for example ZOHO where entrepreneurs got ownership about their office to open up the façade and make it aesthetically more pleasing in their own taste. However, when these impacts on the hard factors are not immediately noticed it can also bring tensions between different stakeholders which showed in Schalkwijk. Due to the fact that people were not necessarily buying more in the shopping centre while the shop owners did invest in DAK, the organizers felt they had to prove themselves every year in order to continue the organization of DAK. This shows that the soft impacts are not always acknowledged when there is no observable change. While in the long-term when people feel more at home and connected to the shopping centre, they will also feel more invited to go there. In the end these truthful connections will create more sustainable places that will be able to change with the changing needs and perspectives of people. Therefore, soft factors mainly have an influence on the hard factors of space through changing valuation of that place.

A societal discussion high on the agenda of placemaking has been community representation and gentrification. Silberberg et al. (2013) stated that creating meaningful community engagement can be a major challenge because it is a time-consuming process which causes that the people most likely to volunteer are not always representative for the larger community. Lees and Melhuish (2012) even stated that there is no such thing as a unified community. The focus on commonalities could even work counterproductive due to idealistic notions whereby minorities are excluded. In all cases was stated that "finding the right people" indeed always is a challenge. It needs time and trust to get to know people and let them open their networks. Especially in areas where there is a lot of distrust

towards government bodies and top-down initiatives. This was presented in the case of Doornakkers where people were starting to distrust the municipality because of frustrations about changes to open up the St. Joseph zone that did not happen. In the case of Doornakkers it was therefore important that a social entrepreneur who could "speak both languages" stood in between the residents and the municipality as a mediator. In the cases of ZOHO and HOBU the entrepreneurs played a large part in the connection with the community as well. In ZOHO community engagement was created by focussing on start-ups with a social-, craft- or creative purpose. This way a better connection with the working-class neighbourhood could be made instead of pushing them out. In the case of HOBU placemaking was used as a catalyst to boost the local economy by providing unused space. This way the local businesses were aimed to eventually contribute to the new development and represent the identity of the area. Accordingly, that is how community values are represented into placemaking projects. Likewise, in Schalkwijk the community was reached through the local basketball club who had a wide reach in the neighbourhood. The cases therefore show that community engagement is not so much about connecting with as much people as possible, but by finding the right people with the right networks. Through the networks of community representatives, which for example can be entrepreneurs, more people will get engaged because these people are already trusted figures in the area. However, it cannot be denied that finding the right people with the right networks is not a challenge but the investment to do so will pay off. On this matter I suggest further research and fieldwork is done about the perception of residents in the neighbourhoods and to what extent they actually feel represented by entrepreneurs or other placemaking initiators because that could not be included in this study.

Gentrification has also been associated as a long-term outcome of placemaking. This is due to the fact that placemaking can lead to an increase of land and housing prices which can be a cause for the rehabilitation of income groups. Urban revitalization can therefore even lead to a fear of gentrification whereby residents oppose new developments for the fear of being pushed out of their environment. This fear showed to be present in the case of HOBU and also in the cases of ZOHO and Amsterdam Roest gentrification was mentioned. However, in the case of HOBU and ZOHO was stated that placemaking was used to connect people to the new developments instead of pushing them out. Close attention was put on the process to build onto the already existing characteristics and identity to create a framework wherein local stakeholders and residents could be included. Amsterdam Roest exemplified that indeed developments were accelerated through the turn in valuation of the area due to creative placemaking. For the reason that new income groups were attracted to the area it drew the attention of developers to capitalize on the economic benefits that Amsterdam Roest yielded. However, the fact that cultural and social benefits of the place were not acknowledged in this process led to great frustration of the entrepreneur who felt pushed out of there space too. Therefore, a suggestion was made about changing policies regarding this type of temporary ventures that support the soft factors of place as well. Conclusively, can be stated that through the change of valuation of a

neighbourhood housing prices will logically rise. A city is always in progress and developments in some cases cannot be stopped. Therefore, a balance needs to be found between when gentrification is still positive in terms of developments and when it becomes a negative long-term outcome for current residents. A suggestion for further research on this topic would be to examine if placemaking can actually be a viable method to help contribute to connect people to new developments. This way more inclusionary strategies could be made to soften the process of gentrification

Placemaking is a process that has an effect on many different people and stakeholders. Limitations of this study are therefore that not everyone's voice is heard on their perspective of placemaking processes. However, deeper understanding is gained in how placemaking is implemented by people who were actively engaged in the process. Placemaking is an intuitive process which is operated through the experience of people that are able to connect with a diverse public in different layers of society and have knowledge about their place or the way cities develop. With these qualities a more co-creative approach to urban development can be obtained which does not only focus on the hard factors of the built environment but foremost on the social and soft factors of what makes place. Network creation, community development and the organization of activities for people to meet and connect are hereby key factors. Furthermore, a focus on public space, the life in between buildings, is what shapes the soul and identity of place. Four overarching strategies have exemplified how placemaking can be implemented in urban development and what societal discussions and impacts they effect in The Netherlands. The common goals in all these strategies have been the great attention that is put on the social and cultural structures a place encompasses to bring live back into once anonymous or troublesome areas. The focus on the formation of connections between residents, entrepreneurs, creative pioneers, governors and every other person with a heart for his or her surroundings is what eventually makes a place not only more liveable but also more loveable.

Bibliography

Bedoya, R. (2013). *Placemaking and the politics of belonging and dis-belonging.* [online] GIA
     Reader, *24*(1). Available at: https://www.giarts.org/article/placemaking-and-politics-
     belonging-and-dis-belonging [Accessed on: 24/04/2020].

Boonstra, B. (2015). *Planning Strategies in an Age of Active Citizenship* (Doctoral Dissertation,
     Utrecht University). Retrieved from:
     https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/7257558/file/7257768.pdf. [Accessed on 08/04/2020].

Boonstra, B., & Boelens, L. (2011). "Self-organization in urban development: towards a new
     perspective on spatial planning". *Urban Research & Practice*, *4*(2), pp. 99-122.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). "Using thematic analysis in psychology". *Qualitative Research in
     Psychology, 3*(2), pp. 77-101.

Cilliers, E., & Timmermans, W. (2014). "The importance of creative participatory planning in the
     public place-making process". *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 41,* pp.
     413-429.

Colomb, C. (2012). "Pushing the urban frontier: Temporary uses of space, city marketing, and the
     creative city discourse in 2000s Berlin". *Journal of Urban Affairs, 34*(2), pp. 131-152.

Cresswell, T. (1992). "The crucial 'where' of graffiti: a geographical analysis of reactions to graffiti in
     New York". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Vol. 10,* pp. 329-344.

Douglas, G. (2014). "Do-It-Yourself Urban Design: the social practice of informal "improvement"
     through unauthorized alteration". *City & Community, 13*(1), pp. 5-25.

Elden, S. (2004). *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the possible*. New York: Continuum.

Emigh, R. (1997). "The power of negative thinking: The use of negative case methodology in the
     development of sociological theory". *Theory and Society, 26,* pp. 649-648.

Finn, D. (2014). "DIY urbanism: implications for cities". *Journal of Urbanism: International
     Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability, 7*(4), pp. 381-398.

Finn, D., & Douglas, G. (2019). "DIY Urbanism". In: Talen, E (Ed.). *A Research Agenda for New
     Urbanism.* (pp. 20-34). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). "Five misunderstandings about case-study research". *Qualitative Inquiry, 12*(2),
     pp. 219-245.

Gehl, J. (2010). *Cities for people.* Washington: Island Press.

Gehl, J., & Svarre, B. (2013). *How to study public life*. Washington: Island Press.

Gemeente Eindhoven. (2011). *Visie Doornakkers.* [pdf] Available at: http://docplayer.nl/17847007-
     Colofon-deze-visie-is-tot-stand-gekomen-in-samenwerking-tussen-gemeente-eindhoven-
     woonbedrijf-professionele-partners-en-bewoners-november-2011.html [Accessed on:
     08/05/2020].

Gieryn, T. (2000). "A Space for Place in Sociology". *Annual Reviews Sociology, 25,* pp.463-496.

Grant, E. (2001). "Social capital and community strategies: Neighbourhood development in
     Guatemala City". *Development and Change, 32,* pp. 975-997.

Hermanowicz, J. (2002). "The great interview: 25 strategies for studying people in bed". *Qualitative Sociology, 25*(4), pp. 479-499.

Hesse, M. (2019). "Emerging city regions: urban expansion, transformation and discursive construction". In: Schwanen, T. & Kempen, R. van (Ed.). *A Handbook of Urban Geography.* (pp. 164-179). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities.* New York: Random House.

Jones, R. (1995). "Why do qualitative research?". *British Medical Journal*, *311*(6996), pp. 2.

Karacor, E.K., (2014). "Placemaking approach to accomplish social sustainability". *European Journal of Sustainable Development, 3*(2), pp. 253-262.

Kelly, J., Ruther, M., Ehresman, S. & Nickerson, B. (2017). "Placemaking as an economic development strategy for small and midsized cities". *Urban Affairs Review, 53*(3), pp. 435-462.

Lees, L., & Melhuish, C. (2012). "Arts-led regeneration in the UK: The rhetoric and the evidence on urban social inclusion". *European Urban and Regional Studies, 22*(3), pp. 242-260.

Longhurst, R (2016). "Semi-structured interviews and focus groups". In: Clifford, N., Cope, M., Gillespie, T., & French, S. (Ed.). *Key Methods in Geography.* (pp. 103-115). London: Sage Publications.

Markusen, A., & Gadwa, A. (2010). *Creative placemaking.* [white paper] Markusen Economic Research Services and Metris Arts Consulting. Available at: https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/CreativePlacemaking-Paper.pdf [Accessed on: 22/04/2020].

Montgomery, A. (2016). "Reappearance of the public: Placemaking, minoritization and resistance in Detroit". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 40*(4), pp.776-799.

Opdenakker, R. (2006). "Advantages and disadvantages of four interview techniques in qualitative research". *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 7*(4), pp. 1-13.

Payne, S. (2007). "Grounded theory". In: Lyons, E., & Coyle, A. (Ed.). *Analysing Qualitative Data in Psychology.* (pp. 65-88). London: Sage Publications.

Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (n.d.). *About.* [online] Available at: https://www.pps.org/about [Accessed on 21/04/2020].

Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (n.d.a). *The Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper Transformation of Public Spaces.* [online] Available at: https://www.pps.org/article/lighter-quicker-cheaper#top [Accessed on: 24/05/2020].

Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (2007a). *What makes a successful place?.* [online] Available at: https://www.pps.org/article/grplacefeat [Accessed on: 21/04/2020].

Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (2007b). *Eleven principles for creating great community places.* [online] Available at: https://www.pps.org/article/11steps [Accessed on 21/04/2020].

Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (Nov. 12th, 2012). *Placemaking and the future of cities.* [pdf] Available at: https://www.pps.org/article/placemaking-and-the-future-of-cities [Accessed on: 20/04/2020].

Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (Jun. 19th, 2015). *Equitable placemaking: not the end, but the means.* [online] Available at: https://www.pps.org/article/equity-placemaking-gentrification [Accessed on: 24/04/2020]

Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (Dec. 21st, 2017). *The placemaking process.* [online] Available at: https://www.pps.org/article/5-steps-to-making-places [Accessed on 21/04/2020].

Reny, A. (Mar. 22nd, 2018). *Placemaking: The process behind creating an authentic destination.* [online] National Real Estate Investor. Available at: https://www.nreionline.com/development/placemaking-process-behind-creating-authentic-destination [Accessed on: 18/04/2020].

Richards, G. (2017). "From place branding to placemaking: The role of events". *International Journal of Event and Festival Management, Vol. 8*(1), pp. 8-23.

Saitta, D. (Nov. 12th, 2013). *Is 'sustainable' urban placemaking elitist?.* [online] Intercultural Urbanism. Available at: http://www.interculturalurbanism.com/?p=3126 [Accessed on: 24/04/2020].

Silberberg, S., Lorah, K., Disbrow, R., Muessig, A. & Naparstek, A. (2013). *Places in the making: How placemaking builds places and communities.* [white paper] Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Available at:https://dusp.mit.edu/sites/dusp.mit.edu/files/attachments/project/mit-dusp-places- in-the-making.pdf. [Accessed on: 19/04/2020].

Slevitch, L. (2011). "Qualitative and quantitative methodologies compared: Ontological and epistemological perspectives". *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism, 12*(1), pp. 78-81.

Smith, N., & Williams, P. (2010). "Alternatives to orthodoxy: invitation to a debate". In: Lees, L., Slater, T. & Wyly, E. (Ed.). *The Gentrification Reader.* (pp. 9-10). Abingdon: Routledge.

Soja, E. (1996). *Thirdspace.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Strydom, W. Puren & K., Drewes, E. (2018). "Exploring theoretical trends in placemaking: towards new perspectives in spatial planning". *Journal of Place Management and Development, 11*(2), pp. 165-180.

Sullivan, J. (2012). "Skype: An appropriate method of data collection for qualitative interviews?". *The Hilltop Review, Vol. 6*(1), pp. 54-60.

Talen, E. (1999). "Sense of community and neighbourhood form: an assessment of the social doctrine of new urbanism". *Urban Studies, 36*(8), pp. 1361-1379.

Talen, E. (2015). "Do-it-Yourself Urbanism: A History". *Journal of Planning History, 14*(2), pp. 135-148.

Thomas, D. (2016). *Placemaking: An urban design methodology.* New York: Routledge.

Toolis, E. (2017). "Theorizing critical placemaking as a tool for reclaiming public space". *American Journal of Community Psychology, 59*, pp. 184-199.

Whyte, W. (1968). *The Last Landscape.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wyckoff, A. (2014). *Definition of placemaking: Four different types.* [pdf] Planning & Zoning News. Available at: http://www.pznews.net/media/13f25a9fff4cf18ffff8419ffaf2815.pdf [Accessed on: 23/04/2020].

Yglesias, M. (Oct. 8th, 2012). *Gentrificationphobia.* [online] The Slate Group Available at: https://slate.com/business/2012/10/gentrificationphobia.html [Accessed on: 24/04/2020].

Zukin, S. (2009). "New retail capital and neighbourhood change: Boutiques and gentrification in New York City". *City & Community, 8*(1), pp. 47-64.

Appendices

Appendix A – Topic lists

Topic list 1 – Interview guide expert interview

Introduction respondent:

1. Occupation:
   Organization:
2. Wat is your background in urban development?
3. What is your role/job in the organization?
4. What projects were you involved in?

Definition placemaking:

5. Are you familiar with the term placemaking?
6. What does placemaking mean in your words?
7. What differentiates placemaking in your opinion from a traditional way of urban development?
   a. What are characteristics of places that are appropriate for the implementation of placemaking?
   b. What are physical characteristics? E.g. buildings/empty space/industrial/parks etc.
   c. What are social characteristics? E.g. target group/classes etc.
   d. Is it just public space or also other places? Can you give any examples?
8. In practice, who initiates placemaking? E.g. public or private?
   a. Is it usually bottom-up or top-down?
   b. Wat is the ideal situation?
9. What is the timeframe a placemaking project happens?
   a. Why is that amount of time useful?
   b. What activities take up most time?
10. What is in general the goal of placemaking?
    a. E.g. economic/cultural/social/engagement?
    b. Can you give an example of goals and projects?
11. Rewind. Thus, if I understand correctly you define placemaking as …?

Strategies

12. Do you use specific strategies with placemaking?
    a. Are you known with Project for Public Spaces? Do you use their methodology?
    b. On what do you base your strategies?
    c. Where do you find inspiration for your projects?
    d. Do you find inspiration in local stakeholders? How are their visions included?
    e. Are examples taken from foreign countries? If yes does this also work in The Netherlands?
13. Do you have certain pillars in mind that you focus on during the process?
    a. To what extent are these unique for each project?
14. How do you define how much time a project needs to really develop?
    a. Is placemaking more often short-term small adjustments or does it have a larger strategic plan as well?
    b. Is this depended on the intended goals? E.g. Creative/Tactical/Strategic placemaking.
15. To what extent is creativity an important factor in the placemaking process??

16. To what extent are plans made together with the neighbourhood?
17. Who are the most important stakeholders in a placemaking project?
    a. How does such a collaboration work?
    b. Are there any stakeholders with a larger influence/priority? If yes, how does this influence the project and can you give an example?
18. Is there a specific leader in the process or are tasks more horizontally divided?
19. Once there is a clear vision or plan how do you start?
    a. How is the project managed?

Influence of placemaking on the surrounding neighbourhood

20. How is the surrounding neighbourhood included in the placemaking?
21. What type of people participate in placemaking projects?
    a. How are they found?
    b. What are their motivations?
22. Wat is the role of the community in placemaking?
    a. What do you define as community?
23. How do you keep track of the developments that influence an area?
24. How do you define what developments are needed for the people?
25. How do you set goals in accordance of the needs of the surrounding neighbourhood?
    a. Mostly economic boost?
    b. Branding incentives?
    c. Increasing safety?
    d. Integration/social cohesion?

Challenges and risks

26. What are challenges that might be faced during placemaking?
    a. How are these tackled?
27. In the diverse society of today, to what extent do you think it is possible to represent everyone in a placemaking project?
    a. Is this even a goal at all?
28. Who do you think benefit most of placemaking?
    a. E.g. residents, entrepreneurs, municipality, landowners etc.
29. Do you think placemaking can cause gentrification?
    a. Is this taken into consideration?
    b. What is your opinion about gentrification?

Long-term impact and evaluation

30. How is placemaking evaluated?
    a. Which factors are included in the evaluation?
    b. Are the opted goals in the beginning always achieved or do these goals change during the project?
31. What is in your opinion the success of placemaking?
32. Can placemaking also be implemented on a large-scale city level or just public spaces?
33. Closing question. Is there anything about placemaking I have not asked but you think are important to take into consideration? Any final remarks?

Topic list 2 – Interview guide case-related interview

Introduction respondent

1. Occupation:
   Residency:
   Organization:
2. Can you tell me more about your occupation?
3. How were you involved in the placemaking project X?

Area context

4. Can you tell me more about your neighbourhood?
5. What type of people are living there? E.g. diversity, multi-cultural, income classes etc.
6. What is the general atmosphere in the neighbourhood?
7. What are issues the neighbourhood faces?
8. Is there a lot of business/job opportunity in the area?
9. Is there any entrepreneurial activity?
10. Is there opportunity for leisure?
11. Why is this area a focus point for development?
12. What do you see as desirable planning for this area?
13. How did the eventual plan for placemaking/urban development come together?
    a. Why does that fit this neighbourhood well?

Definition placemaking:

14. Have you heard of the term placemaking? If yes, what does it mean in your words?
15. How came ideas for this project together?
    a. With who?
    b. What are the aims?
16. Why is public space important in this area?
17. What type of activities have been organized? E.g. creative/entrepreneurial/local/cultural etc.
18. What was your motivation to participate in placemaking?
19. What was your experience with this process? How involved were you?
20. What was the most important aspect for you in the project?
21. Were there any long-term goals set beforehand?
22. What timeframe did you have in mind for the placemaking?
    a. Was this timeframe a realistic goal?
23. Were there any strategies that stood out to you? What did work, what did not?
24. Who were main initiators of the placemaking?
25. Was creativity important in the process?
26. How was your collaboration with other stakeholders?
    a. Who was a mediator?
27. To what extent were your expectations met in the process?
28. To what extent have you been able to carry out your own ideas?
29. How inclusive is the whole process in your opinion?

Impacts

30. What changes have you noticed already or during the project?
    a. Social/economic/cultural/physical
31. What do you hope to see happening in the future after the placemaking?
32. Were there any challenges during the placemaking process?
    a. If yes, can you give any examples?

      b.   How did you handle these challenges?

      c.   Could they be solved or did they remain challenging?

33. Was the intended vision for the area fulfilled?

34. Did the goals change during the project? Were there any goals added?

35. Do you think placemaking was a successful approach for development in this case?

36. How do you evaluate the project?

37. Through which factors do you evaluate the success?

38. Do you think placemaking can have a permanent influence on the area?

      a.   If yes, how and can you give an example?

39. Do you think placemaking has an influence on the value of the land and housing?

      a.   Are you familiar with gentrification?

      b.   Have you noticed any signs of gentrification in your neighbourhood?

40. What do you hope will still be established in the future?

41. Closing question. Is there anything about placemaking I have not asked but you think are important to take into consideration? Any final remarks?

Appendix B – Code trees

Liveable to loveable

Bring networks together

Curating the process

Placegame

Diversify facilities

City at eye level

Create meeting place

Quick wins

Build framework

Co-create public space

is a property of

is part of

is associated with

is part of

is part of

is part of

is part of

is part of

is part of

is part of

is part of

PPS methods

Strategic placemaking

is a   is part of

is a

is part of

Area cooperative

Create identity through loc...

Placemaking strategies

is part of

is a

is a

Tactical placemaking

Creative placemaking

Arts and culture

is part of

is part of

is part of

Low costs

is associated with

is part of

is part of

is a property of

is a property of

is part of

Diversify

Spontaneous

is part of

is part of

Creating a landmark

Creating entrepreneurial opportunity

Temporary initiative

Accessibility

Learn from the process

is part of

is part of

Repurposing empty space