Urban Design and the Consideration of Place Attachment in Promoting Creativity within the City

A Case Study of the Creative District Zurich West

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ABSTRACT

The city is experienced as a web of place and space, with the most diverse agents and activities. Attachment results from the interplay of the material environment, subjective perceptions and collective experiences. In an urban context and in the case of creative work, the cityscape is setting the framework conditions. Creativity is seen as a major catalyst for urban development. Diverse sectors and employment opportunities of the creative industries challenge spatial conditions of urban design. Thereby, attachment to place decisively influences the transformation of space over time. In the case of creative activities, the development of creative districts is found to be related to conducive and affordable spatial conditions paired with a lively exchange and social stimulation for creative communities. This study is concerned with the role of urban design in the promotion of creativity and to what extent place attachment is considered in those endeavours. As a case study, the urban area of Zurich West is studied in detail and complemented by insights from in-depth interviews of experts from the fields of urban design. As the discovery and thus meaning of place is already part of the creative process, the roles and responsibilities in urban design are manifold and understood to facilitate creative initiative rather than enabling it. Without neglecting issues of gentrification and commercialisation associated with creative districts, these valuable inputs are found to be first and foremost part of dynamic and unplannable developments. The co-existence of other economic branches has further implications on the urban spatial organisation and value adding intersections with the creative industries. With wide stakeholder inclusion and alignment of administrative responsibilities, urban design is considered an important structure not only with regards to the promotion of creativity within the city but also welfare in economic and socio-cultural terms.

Keywords: creative industries, urban design, place attachment, creative districts

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Introduction

For a long time now, the particularities of a city have interested city developers, designers and scholars alike. Central to this research is the investigation of the attracting or repelling facets of the city (Lynch, 1960). Attachment to any place is considered a key component for a place's development and unfolding in social and economic terms. This especially applies to the case of creative districts, being urban areas with high degrees of social interaction and a place for original, innovative creative work. Not seldom, these creative urban quarters help create an image of progressive cities with trendy neighbourhoods. They are considered urban areas showing a fascinating blend of social activity, professional exchange and stimulating diverse lifestyles which attract a wide range of visitors. Despite being particular in every single case, given policy support in one case and a rich industrial heritage for re-functioning in another, creative districts are increasingly relevant for the performance of creative industries in particular. Adding to their economic contribution and diverse employment opportunities, these places engage communities by reviving whole neighbourhoods, bringing together not only a diverse set of professional disciplines and interests but also a rich set of social backgrounds and cultural interests.

Creativity affects our daily lives and is on the steady advance on official policy agendas around the world. Economies of developed countries are increasingly oriented around service and knowledge industries with many entailing and building on creative input. Particularly with regards to the planning and realisation of urban development plans, the creative industries receive more attention than ever. Despite considerable improvements in terms of mobility and globalised interconnectedness, the city as a place for creative innovation and engagement is highly valued by city dwellers and tourists alike (Carrera & Pavlinovic, 2013). Correspondingly, urban design is challenged to respond to the particularities of these growing economic sectors. Moreover, it has become increasingly relevant to better understand the requirements and needs of fostering creativity within a city, often approximated by so-called creative districts. It is in those creative districts where essential creative inspiration and expertise is exchanged and stimulated, fostering a community of creative professionals and eventually attracting businesses from other fields and a wide range of interest groups.

Many research findings point to the relevance of the sustainable support of creative districts as well as cities and outline the far-reaching dimensions and implications of fostered creativity. International competition for productivity, efficiency, commercialisation as well as

technological advancements reshuffle the parameters for creative professions. An increasingly globalised world, implying a more and more mobile and place-independent and detached creative workforce, is challenging the urban spatial organisation and sustainable development of creative districts (Sepe, 2018). At the same time, the scope and conducive spill overs of creative districts' activities for wider societal and economic welfare are increasingly acknowledged and documented. Overall, the promotion and spatial organiation of the creative sectors have become common features in the development and assessment of many urban areas in recent years. Given the fast pace of our times and challenges linked to gentrification and globalisation, physical place and analogue togetherness becomes more important. Moreover, there is a growing popularity for occupation in the creative fields associated with hip lifestyles in the city (Gertler, 2004).

In this study, attachment to place is considered a vital component in the workings of a creative city and oriented along the parameters of 'physical setting', 'meaning' and 'activity' (Punter, 1991). With the creative city and attachment to place at its focal interest points, this research is concerned with the extent to which urban design considers attachment to place in the promotion of creativity in urban contexts, approximated by creative districts. On the basis of a qualitative research design with in-depth interviews, insights from those most likely in charge of urban co-design, namely urban designers, researchers and architects, are gathered. Comparing and confronting arguments with regards to the composition of creative cities and districts and the corresponding sense of attachment, this research aims to deepen the understanding of the crucial components in fostering creativity in the city, being informative for urban designers, policy makers and creatives alike. Zurich West is taken as a case example, complemented by secondary data and official reports. In order to not only reap as many benefits from the growing creative industries in economic terms but also to adequately support creatives within the city, a better understanding of urban design considerations concerning the spatial promotion of creativity is suggested insightful for future policy making and analysis.

The structure of this study is outlined in the following. The second chapter presents an overview of the theoretical background concerning the topic in question. The role of place with regards to the creative city is addressed. Thereby, the developments of the creative industries are discussed in particular as they are found to have implications for urban organisation and employment. For that matter, the characteristics of so-called creative districts are reviewed. Relating to the spatial conditions for creative activities, the various roles and fields of activity in urban design are considered. In chapter three the research

strategy and design of this study are introduced, and the context of the selected case study is given. In chapter four, the main findings of the expert interviews conducted are presented and discussed in detail whereby four areas are weighted in particular. To begin with, the city as a diverse interplay of various branches and spatial usage is addressed and the notion of creative districts is critically discussed. Secondly, the urban design approach to foster the creative industries is reviewed and analysed. In a third section, the selected case is evaluated whereby the relevance of place is focused on. Finally, areas for future discussion and research are suggested.

Literature Review

2.1 The Role of Place

Places constitute the basis for our daily lives at any time. Where we live, travel and commute through, where we work and where we like to spend our time. The design and thus perception of surroundings are subject to constant change, yet, it is a place's characteristics which co-determine its popularity and the frequency of visits are based on more or less conscious considerations and evaluations. As discussed by Cross (2001), there is no uniform understanding of place or 'sense of place' as such, as a myriad of socio-cultural aspects play into the appreciation or disapproval of particular spatial features. Those aspects are neither necessarily limited to one particular place nor constant over time (Cross, 2001). Beyond the purely physical dimension, there is a transactional element of people interacting with their environment. Psychologically and socially influenced dimensions further decisively influence how people relate and feel attached to places and consequently live and work in particular environments (Steele, 1981).

As summarised by Punter (1991), the 'physical setting', 'activity' and 'meaning' are associated with the sense of place and point to prominent dimensions of physicality next to the individual or collective experience of a place. Thus, attachment to place is understood not only in affective but also functional and practical terms (Marzano, 2015). Next to a diverse range of physical and socio-psychological dimensions of place, relating to leisure activities and interpersonal as well as professional exchange, the recognition of attachment to place further translates to the economic consideration of organizing spaces for the benefit of creativity, idea generation and productivity (Carmona et al., 2003; Drake, 2003). Thus, a growing area of research is concerned with the phenomenon of attachment to place in an urban context in order to better understand the spatial relevance in the production of creative works.

2.2 The Creative City

Creativity is a much-debated term in research and deserves taking a closer look. It is co-determining the scope and included in national policies, being associated with numerous economic benefits and creating social common denominators, e.g. community engagement, revitalisation of neighbourhoods and network building (Kusá, 2006). Being a key component in the sustainable development of European cities and policy making (Boix-Domènech &

Rausell-Köster, 2018), it is crucial to adequately account for the creative industries' needs and potential for growth (Cooke & De Propris, 2011) to effectively capitalise on the considerable increase in value added by those creative sectors (Boix-Domènech & Soler-Marco, 2017) which are found to grow faster than sectors in the service and production industries (Dronyuk et al., 2019). Even though the direct influence and magnitude is not always easily tracked, let alone measured, positive effects with regards to job opportunities, production output and technological advancements are recorded in the case of the European Union (Boix-Domènech & Rausell-Köster, 2018). As one of the fastest expanding economic sectors, the cultural and creative activities are increasingly associated with the revitalisation and -generation of neglected industrial heritage and disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Inter-American Development Bank, 2019; Kiroff, 2020; Liang & Wang, 2020).

Nowadays, the spatial manifestation of and emphasis on professional creative activities are often exemplified in the growth and expansion of creative cities and various Western capitals represent a multitude of creative industrial clusters (Williams & Currid-Halkett, 2011). Such cities are considered the forge of creative and cultural development and creative districts have grown to the symbolic representation thereof (Pen, 2008; Pourzakarya & Dadaei Nazhad Bahramjerdi, 2019). The creative city together with urban design as a subject for research have more and more come into the spotlight (Hannigan & Richards, 2017; Landry, 2008). Overall the diverse range of cultural and creative interests, backgrounds and inputs within the urban context are found to be conducive for the qualitative assertion of cities with regards to their creative engagement (Klaus, 2006).

2.3 Creativity as a Profession

With an increasing breadth of employment and lifestyle opportunities in metropolitan areas, there has been a constant flow of human capital and creative talent to urban areas (Evans, 2017), pointing to the advantages of the built and advanced infrastructure of those areas or the potential of rediscovering less popular areas, e.g. by the revitalisation of vacant industrial heritage. Thereby, next to their economic relevance, numerous (capital) cities have become the national reference point for creative and cultural production. A functioning labour market presents adequate and appealing employment and business opportunities for creatives. As these areas gain more and more attention from creative professionals, it becomes a place for professional inspiration with vital social and business networks and respective interpersonal exchange (Gertler, 2004). Being valued over economic

considerations, it is the diverse context in cities, living from the past history, evolving infrastructure and current residents that enable the promotion of artistic work and cultural productions - making every creative city unique (Comunian, 2009). The particular qualities and appreciated traits with regards to urban spatial organisation and the respective promotion of creative input and activities thus represent a growing focus of research.

Stemming from the multifaceted nature and diverse disciplinary outgrowths of the creative industries, there are numerous demarcations and interpretations of these sectors in academic research. In recent years, creative work is increasingly acknowledged as a main contributor to economic growth and social prosperity, seen in the growing number of creative businesses and burgeoning creative industry sectors. This research orients itself on the prominent model published by KEA European Affairs (2006) which groups the following disciplines under cultural and creative industries: visual arts, performing arts, heritage, film and video, television and radio, video games, music, books and press, design, architecture, and advertising. These groupings further show important particularities in terms of established commercial markets (KEA European Affairs, 2006). The exact demarcation of creative economic activities is still being debated and only hints to the multi-layered forms and formats that creativity spans to. Moreover, creative works are consumed by the private, public and business sector, undergo considerable developments regarding their marketability and due to their omnipresent character raise challenging questions in terms of spatial organisation in the urban context (Klaus, 2006).

2.4 Creative Districts

The demarcation of the creative district and what it makes has occupied researchers and policy makers alike and its ever-changing nature and parameters do not allow for a finite definition. Thus, the formation of creative districts is highly context-specific and there is no success formula let alone consensus on how to best approach the phenomenon from a policy perspective (Borggren, 2014). Moreover, creative districts are found to host one of the most adaptive industries in terms of infrastructural requirements, showing a high level of creativity already in the reinterpretation of building functionalities and spatial usage (Pieczara, 2016). Research on the effective planning tools for creative districts are scarce (Smit, 2011) and as it is highly context and policy-related, there is no consensus on whether it is appropriate to strategically plan creative districts or whether facilitation is opposed to the artistic logic and perceived authentic unfolding of creative communities. Overall, affordable housing and

relative (political) freedom of expression are important components. In order to sustain original creative output, those aspects are crucial for both organically developing as well as planned creative districts (Zukin & Braslow, 2011).

2.4.1 Creative Communities

According to the creative class phenomenon introduced by R. Florida (2002), creatives tend to be clustered in regions catering to their creative needs despite their high levels of mobility (Carrera & Pavlinovic, 2013). These clusters are specialised in creative production chain activities, effectively capitalizing on established professional networks, infrastructure, talent, creative interests and open mindsets (Florida, 2002). The creative value added is built on a professional and innovative knowhow found in creative milieus, leveraging the proximity and possibility for immediate exchange (Borggren, 2014). Moreover, similar preferences in terms of leisure time activities and cultural stimulation seem to unite the creative class (Bille, 2010; Florida, 2002).

For creatives, it is key to identify one's place for original contribution while profitability majorly determines that positioning. It is all about the creative rediscovery and reformulation of value creation processes and the optimisation thereof. Being a highly competitive sector in itself, increased global vying is adding to the challenge of asserting oneself as a creative professional. This comes parallel to shorter and optimised production cycles, increased time pressure and seemingly costless reproduction and dissemination, especially considering the numerous possibilities brought by the digital environment. It comes as no surprise that professionals in the creative field are struggling with a lost sense of purpose and disappearing attachment to place due to an increasingly globalised and mobile world (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). As discussed by Boix-Domènech & Rausell-Köster (2018), the motivations behind creative production and the confrontation with one's own vocation in the creative field go beyond rational and purely transactional considerations. A heightened sense of community, collaboration and co-creation as well a divergence from materialistic consumerism towards personal and social well-being are central in the creative spheres (Boix-Domènech & Rausell-Köster, 2018; Inglehart, 2018). Overall, engaging with creativity is becoming increasingly popular and comes hand in hand with the challenge of defining and distinguishing creative output in itself. However, the relevance and benefits brought by creative contributions and activities are undeniable in the development and evaluation of urban areas (Howkins, 2013; Jacobs, 1970).

2.4.2 Development Cycles of Creative Districts

The (historic) architecture is playing a crucial role in the development of creative districts. The original spatial area, building substance, infrastructure and facilities affordable and available for rental are not only decisive for the successful evolution of creative districts per se but also crucial for the professional production and original presentation of creative and cultural works. Moreover, the narratives of (industrial) heritage play an important part in shaping the reputation of and attachment to whole neighbourhoods, influence the interpretation and expectation of future developments (Sepe, 2018).

"(...) a cautionary tale of spatialization followed by re-commodification."

(Zukin & Braslow, 2011, p. 132)

Creative districts are found to entail helpful elements and show to be means to an end in the revival of neighbourhoods while at the same time staying competitive with the knowledge-intensive industries (Smit, 2011). Economic structural changes in European countries, in some cases even crises in the 1970ies and 1980ies often brought with them vacant and rundown industrial sites situated close to low-income workers' quarters. As in the case of Zurich, this gave space for squatting and alternative cultures challenging speculation, discrimination and exploitation of market-based principles (Klaus, 2006). Thereby, the status of spatial interim use allowed for interesting preconditions in the building of a vibrant nightlife and unconventional party spaces which caught the interest of all kinds of social classes. Premises are used and redefined along the spectrum of illegality and commercialisation. A formerly abandoned quarter is revived through the input and innovation of creatives, eventually involving the establishment of professional networks, restaurants, galleries and real estate of international dimension (Klaus, 2006).

Thereby, attachment to a certain place is discovered and developed, in close interplay with the residents' needs and possibilities, usage regulation of the place and the economic potential to co-create and generate value. In the case of many creative districts, industrial heritage is converted into functional spaces for creative production and presentation, e.g. garages become ateliers and production halls become showrooms. Over time, the industrial spaces are made into ideal meeting and creation places, feeding from the input and exchange of the creative community (Farhad et al., 2020). As found by Smit (2011), these urban areas are particular for their optic distinctiveness, differing from conventional cityscapes. The

'visual quality' of such districts is thus suggested to be conclusive for better understanding the location decision of creatives. Moreover, the importance of in person meetings is stressed and thus the respective meeting point is given special attention, pointing to the aspect of creative districts with industrial heritage buildings and architectonic designs with a character of their own (Smit, 2011). Moreover, the discussion of the architectural aspects of creative districts is divided into upcoming architectural projects as well as the integration and usage of existing infrastructure. As found by Pieczara (2016), important social, creative as well as economic logics prevail in the discussion of creative districts, mainly accommodating creative businesses in creative districts. As such, existing infrastructure as well as pending infrastructure projects aimed at the building of creative districts are taken into consideration. Furthermore, there is a growing interest in the strategic development of urban areas by revitalizing whole neighbourhoods in social as well as economic terms. The architectural and industrial design is found to lay the basis for the district's development and activity, e.g. building dimensions, proximity to city centre and industrial orientation (Pieczara, 2016).

Despite the many potentials for development and re-discovery, the cycle of creative districts does not seldom come along with gentrification and displacement of communities with fewer economic means. In that case, the creative district's unfolding is disturbed as the people who once discovered the quarter are displaced by well-heeled people with a particular appreciation for lively and cultural neighbourhoods and easily accessible cultural programme (Landry, 2008; Zukin & Braslow, 2011). Especially in smaller cities, this development can bear the risk of losing creative potential as only few alternative locations come into consideration (Klaus, 2006).

2.4.3 Location Characteristics and Organisation

Originally, creative districts are not seldom located in socially disadvantaged, poorer and less popular neighbourhoods with affordable housing. Over time, creative districts are found to become characteristic and fashionable for their diverse and engaging cultural productions. A varied culinary offer as well as commitment to environmental concerns, social inclusion, and multinationalism can be further features of creative districts. Moreover, the location decision of creative firms is often explained by a conducive environment, available human capital and affordable rents (Kiroff, 2020). From a macroeconomic perspective, the continuity of creative activity and spatial concentrations thereof is crucial for sustained city development and not seldom national competitiveness (Gertler, 2004). Available talent,

training opportunities, professional networks and amenities next to cultural productions make creative districts places for lively social interaction and form the basis for creative output (Bille, 2010; Luo et al. 2016). As summarised by Scott (2010), a "complex interweaving of relation of production, work, and social life in specific urban contexts" (Scott, 2010, p. 202) is characteristic for the gradual development of creative districts - in some cases found in an originally rather chaotic, edgy, however stimulating atmosphere.

The economic motives and positive social implications of creative districts are hardly deniable. Creative districts show a diverse range of stakeholders, each pursuing different interests and with varying standpoints with regards to the envisaged development of the neighbourhood. Most prominent among those stakeholders are cultural and creative producers, real estate managers, civil servants and local residents (Zukin & Braslow, 2011). Coming from a diversity of contributors, for profit and NGOs alike, the spatial distribution can entail various clusters, ranging from fashion, design, visual and performing arts spaces to museums, lifestyle products and lifetime entertainment. Oftentimes, the manifold culinary offer is representative for the multicultural- and ethnic contexts with liberal orientation and engagement for political and environmental issues (Evans, 2017).

Moreover, personal health and ecological sustainability are found to mark priorities in the workings of creative districts, linking creative work to growing attention to healthy lifestyles and emphasis on being in close touch with nature. Research has shown the impact and influence of the environment on the lifestyles of its residents and much is influenced and implemented on the neighbourhood level (Gadais et al., 2018). Creative districts can further show many attributes for family-friendly environments, compatible to trendy lifestyles and an overall high perceived life quality. As noted earlier, the popular attributes do not seldom lead to these areas being overrun and taken over by the economically stronger. It is not always clear to what extent it is a vicious or virtuous cycle of turning originally abandoned urban areas into highly popular areas for communities of creatives and culture enthusiasts. The original production of cultural and creative content, over time being taken over by affluent appreciators of the arts and financially strong urban dwellers and businesses is not infrequently the development of these very quarters (Gertler, 2004; Zukin & Braslow, 2011).

2.5 The Design of Creative Districts in Urban Space

Cityscapes entail a multitude of dimensions (Lynch, 1960) and must accommodate a number of requirements ranging from adequate housing and working infrastructure,

educational institutions, training and employment possibilities, attractions for tourists, social amenities while highlighting urban, cultural, and industrial heritage (Evans, 2017). Given the continuous changes in urban environments, logistic challenges, many stakeholder interests and various co-designers of cityscapes, it is impossible to always fully coordinate and harmonise design efforts in the broader context.

Urban design lies in the interface of theory, design and practice and is concerned with the task of improving and creating liveable environments for people (Carmona et al., 2003). The function of urban designers is found to be highly creative yet not completely free regarding the realisation of creative ideas and visions. Urban design is concerned with the organisation of lengthy and creative processes to develop cityscapes sustainably, yet responsive to changes in needs and structures. According to Kees Christiaanse, a well-known urban planner and architect with a long-standing position at the ETH Zurich, describes urban design as the moderation, curation and coordination of collective space, setting the grounds for the realisation of oftentimes more individual tastes and ideas in architecture (Bauwelt, 2019). It is the curated analysis and management of determined as well as undefined structures in urban space. Moreover, complex social processes, e.g. citizen participation, play into the adequate designing of spaces and are highly context specific. By accounting for the tangled parameters making socially inhabited spaces, robust theory making is nearly impossible (Cuthbert, 2006). Urban design is thus found to be an artistic task, requiring the constant revision and questioning of design ideals and principles. Moreover, the context is not only co-designed due to interpretative conclusions of a range of contributors but also marked by political interests (Biddulph, 2012). With increasing large-scale urban projects worldwide, urban design finds new meaning and, above all, relevance in the organisation of myriad priorities, prerequisites and conditions as well as aesthetic requirements within the city (Bauwelt, 2019).

Especially when it comes to the role of creativity within cities, urban design is challenged with a diversity of possibilities and potentials but also spatial framework conditions that need to be taken into account. As found by Landry (2008), the various sources of creativity need to be considered too, e.g. out of necessity, entrepreneurial opportunity, political tensions, spatial constraints and many more. The ambiguity of fostering creativity on an urban policy level is confirmed by the author, however, a growing number of documented cases and initiatives point to the valuable insights of addressing the issue on a policy level, e.g. the *Innovative and Sustainable Cities* report by Hall and Landry (1997). Furthermore, the formation of a design team with qualifications and experience in technical, visionary,

financial, socio-cultural as well as executive roles is suggested when approaching the task of urban design (Landry, 2008). Especially with respect to the provision of space and promotion of creative activity, urban design is considered a delicate balancing act of aligning technical and practical needs with future visionary ambitions for city development next to paying tribute to a range of stakeholders and complex framework conditions. Overall, attachment to place is found to be an important factor concerning the promotion of creativity through urban design. Evolving over time, not only does place accommodate social interaction, innovative ideas and creation but also develops along with its diverse communities and functions within the urban spheres (Landry, 2008).

2.5.1 A Range of Urban Co-Designers

As versatile as the fields of urban design activities can be, so many co-designers contribute to the leeway of cityscapes. The creative task of the urban designers, e.g. (landscape) architects, urban planners and designers, comprise the needs and demands of a multitude of stakeholders - improving transportation and traffic routes, housing situations, community life, setting building and business zones - all matching the visual appearance of the city (Klaus, 2006; Pieczara, 2016; Urban Design Group, 2021). With regards to the architects' involvement in the promotion of urban creativity, the competition not only within the architectural spheres but also for wider visibility and popularity of cities deserves mention. As approximated by the 'Bilbao effect', iconic architecture has shown to be conducive in terms of stimulating creative industries' activities in some cities. The respective level of development of an urban environment as well as social and cultural factors are found to play into the potential spill-over effects of impressive architecture to urban quarters (Patterson, 2020) and there is growing research interest concerning the relation of sociological attachment as well as the communication and design of places from the architectural perspective (Adam, 2013).

Overall, the objective of urban design is to enrich and support positive experiences and thus foster attachment to places throughout the city. Being a creative task on its own, urban design implies the assertion in a highly competitive environment for stylistic and technical expertise next to the alignment of political as well as social priorities and economic constraints. On the basis of bureaucratic and civic administration, the design of creative quarters is all the more challenged to present innovative, sustainable and socially adequate strategies (Landry, 2008).

2.6 Attachment to Place

Place attachment is concerned with the emotional tie that is attributed to certain places (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). The attachment to particular places is probably a feeling we have all experienced at one time or another, yet there are many diverse interpretations of what it actually amounts to. The understanding of place and place attachment is considered an important component for city development (Marzano, 2015). As positive attachment to place is found to be linked to lower neighbourhood crime rates (Brown et al., 2003), the further study thereof is found informative, e.g. concerning the management of urban public spaces (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). D. Lynch discusses the urban particularities in his book 'The Image of the City' (Lynch, 1960). The city's outward appearance is first and foremost subject to personal impressions and experiences, making the urban place an interplay of moving, human elements and it's built infrastructure. The ever-changing nature of urban atmospheres and the personal perception thereof make the design of urban space subject to temporality. In that sense, the urban place is ever changing, with various agents co-designing, at times driven by individual motivations and then again by collective efforts. How familiar one is with a place and what is marking the surrounding is impacting how every individual grows attached to a place over time. It's a multitude of associations, souvenirs and interpretations which form an ever-adapting feeling of attachment to a certain place and the physical observer of the place automatically makes part of it.

Scannell and Gifford (2010) present a *tripartite organizing framework* to outline the various dimensions of the concept of place attachment: "person-process-place". The meaning of places, either personally or collectively experienced, constitutes the first 'person' dimension. The 'process' dimension relates to the psychological and emotional processes explaining the attachment to place. Finally, the 'place' dimension sheds some light on the contextual parameters which tie into the building (and understanding) of place attachment, e.g. spatial elements and social features as well as the locality of places (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). As found in the context of two Turkish neighbourhoods, the high level of attachment to place is also to be translated into cultural as well as ecological sustainability, reinforced by the relevance and appreciation of social outdoor interaction and engagement. The sense of community and feeling at ease in the neighbourhood has positive effects on the joint efforts for the preservation of nearby recreational areas and the frequenting of social meeting places (Eren, 2012).

Especially in the design of urban space, the phenomenon of attachment to place is given special attention. As urban design is much concerned with social interaction and activity, co-designers are eager to establish connection and positive feelings so that a place becomes pleasant, increasingly associated with good memories and to be repeatedly visited. It comes as no surprise that a place is defined and perceived beyond its visual and physical characteristics (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). This links back to the complex task of urban co-designers, practically and aesthetically aligning their very own perception and understanding of a cityscape with the given context, requirements and expectation of their professional contribution - to be assessed in social, economic and technical terms. What makes a city, and in particular a creative district, is thus in close and complex interplay not only with the built environment, but also with the current social and political sentiment (Landry, 2008).

2.6.1 The Role of Attachment to Place in Creative Production

Attachment to place is seen as the starting point for the settlement of creative communities. Developments of quarters to higher concentrations of creatives can be related to the respective industrial and urban architecture as conducive spatial conditions offer themselves for creative occupation and interests (Florida, 2002). Extensive research is concerned with the organisation and settlement of creative firms on a larger scale while a better understanding regarding the locational decisions of individual creatives is found to be as informative, especially as they are considered to form the very foundation of any creative cluster. Research has pointed to the relevance of place for inspiration for creation and works within the creative industries. Many aspects seem to be tied to the traits of a location such as the access to materials as well as the physical surroundings and conditions. As stated by Drake (2003), there is an increasing need to deepen the research about the importance of place in the creative process (Drake, 2003).

Cities are more and more challenged to define and highlight their original identity, being perceived as an important indicator for social life and values (Lotfabadi, 2013). Moreover, the adequate and up-to-date promotion of creative activities is considered a vital source for economic and social development. One prominent tool in shaping these developments and setting the framework conditions within the urban context is the discipline of urban design, bearing considerable responsibilities and challenges in catering to as many (functional) needs as possible while at the same time granting free use and design possibilities (Landry, 2008). Given the value added by creative industries, the appropriate

placement and spatial accommodation of such activities is considered an important area of research. The growing popularity in creative professions points to the relevance of creative districts in the city. The economic and social relevance is only starting to increase which means a profound discussion of creative districts and their functioning is inevitable. The underlying architectural and urban design orientation are proposed to co-influence the capabilities and scope of creative districts and reveal insights affecting a district's unfolding. Furthermore, it is creativity, effectively and sustainably integrated into economic ambitions that drives the development of and engagement in cities. Last but not least, place attachment in the discussion of creative districts is linked to various sustainability concerns. First and foremost, social and environmental sustainability are concerned as people who are attached to certain places are also more likely to contribute to and work for a pleasant atmosphere while taking care of the environment (Uzzell et al., 2002).

Methodology

3.1 Research Strategy and Design

The creative industries are increasingly regarded as meaningful economic sectors and thus not only relevant to be taken into account in the design of urban areas and assessment of economic growth but also in evaluating socio-cultural trends (Kusá, 2006). Policy makers, urban planners and researchers alike assign pertinence to creative activities in urban areas. The creative industries further imply interesting new issues and challenges regarding the spatial accommodation of creative capital in the urban context (Landry, 2008).

This research is motivated by the contemporary debate on how to most effectively facilitate and spatially promote creativity within the city, approximated by creative districts. Given the versatile manifestations of creativity, this research is particularly interested in the role of urban design as a means to promote creativity and think creative districts. Moreover, as attachment to place is found to be a decisive factor in the creative process (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2008), this aspect is of specific interest in this study. Correspondingly, the roles in the promotion of urban creativity and perceived development cycles of creative districts from an urban designer's perspective are investigated. Concomitantly, the potential relevance of place attachment in promoting creativity or even creative districts is discussed.

For the research of creative activities and spatial organisation within cities, a qualitative approach is suggested as a reasonable choice in order to better understand the relevant underlying dimensions and considerations, oftentimes hardly measurable in distinct units (Chantelot et al., 2011). Along with the discussion of creative districts and central to this research is the issue of how creative activities and industries in urban areas are spatially organised and accommodated with regard to urban design. This further ties into another research focus concerning those in charge of designing and planning cityscapes: how do they put into practice, understand to realise and intend to capitalise on the relevance of creative work and activities within the city? Moreover, the question of how to best align urban priorities with diverse stakeholders' interests and the promotion of creative work must be considered.

By conducting semi-guided interviews with experts and professionals in the fields of urban design, planning and architecture, the role and perception of creative districts and activities in a city and their relation to attachment to place is further investigated. The dimensions playing into the development and planning of urban districts are not only highly

context-specific but also carry the imprint of many individual agents. The choice of a qualitative research design is argued to grant the means to go into detail, grasping nuances by investigating a concrete case and expert observations in detail (Bryman, 2012). This research design is deemed appropriate given the nature of the research question. By their work experience as key agents in the development and design of urban areas, architects and urban designers are considered to contribute to a differentiated understanding relating to the promotion and spatial organisation of creativity in the city.

3.2 Method and Data Collection

Applying a deductive approach, the existing theory and discussions from the fields in question form the foundation of analysis (Bryman, 2012). The theory of place attachment has shown to be an important consideration in the development and promotion of lively creative urban areas. A lot has been researched with regards to the workings and composition of creative districts and considered highly informative for urban development. Investigating urban designers' insights and standpoints concerning creative districts and the promotion of creativity within the city is suggested to further inform research and highlight major areas for discussion.

The narrative of attachment to place is considered rather interpretive and consequently related to a specific place (Drake, 2003). Investigating such a concept calls for the concise attention to the individual case and for that matter, the case of Zurich is chosen (s. 3.5 Introduction of Selected Case - Zurich West). To narrow down the insights and derive concrete points of action, this research dedicated itself to the role and observations of urban co-designers on this matter, particularly interested in the leading elements regarding the understanding and means of fostering creative districts and creativity within the city. Open questions allowed for detailed answers and unanticipated in-depth discussion (Bryman, 2012).

3.3 Operationalisation

By conducting semi-guided expert interviews, the existing literature is complemented by primary data sourcing from direct personal statements (Bewley, 2002). Linking to the main research interest, three key issues were formulated for the structure of the interview guide (s. Appendix A - Interview Guide):
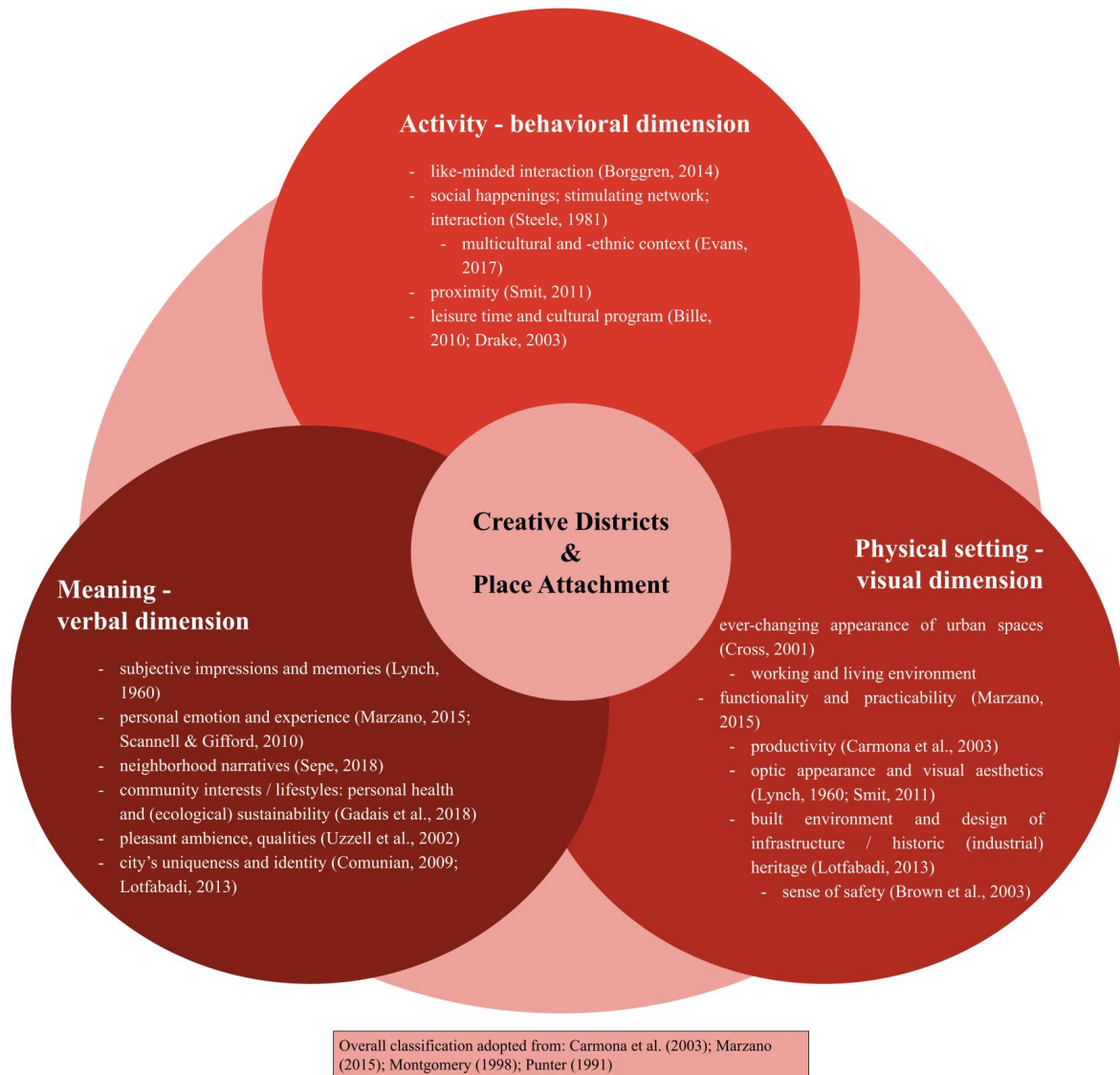
1. Creative Cities: Which qualities of a city are appreciated in particular and to what extent are they attributable to traits of creative districts as found in the literature?
2. Range of urban designers: How do they understand and describe their role in urban design and with regards to the promotion of creative activity?
3. Place attachment is found to be relevant to creatives and in the evolution of creative districts - to what extent is attachment to place explicitly considered by urban designers?

Explicit questions about the relevance of place and potential attachment to place are avoided as it is aimed to investigate whether or not the interviewees would mention this aspect without it being explicitly raised by the interviewer. Moreover, the role of the interviewer is understood above all as the one of a facilitator, taking the interview guide as a reference, leaving appropriate flexibility and room to the interviewees further explanations (Bryman, 2012; Ryan et al., 2009). Before the interviews, a general interest in the affair of urban design and architecture in relation to creativity and creative districts was communicated. The interview started with more general and went to more concrete questions, paying attention to a very open and critical discussion of urban design in relation to promoting and facilitating creativity.

A total of 15 interviews was conducted with a duration between 30 minutes and 2.5 hours. All the interviews were recorded after formal written and in a few cases oral consent for the recording was given (consent forms available upon request). The interviews were transcribed manually in the case of Swiss German as the interview language (4 cases) and with the help of the transcription function of Microsoft Word OneDrive. Except for one interview in English, all interviews were conducted in (Swiss) German and for the analysis translated to English by the researcher. The choice of sticking to the mother tongue of the interviewees as well as the interviewer is motivated to maximise thematic understanding and limit language barriers (Welch & Piekkari, 2006).

Based on the main takeaways from the literature review, through open coding, the interview transcripts have been analysed and interpreted by means of common concepts which were in turn summarised in categories (s. Appendix B - Concept Table from Literature Reviewed). The coding book was organised along the themes of 1) range and roles of urban co-designers, 2) attachment to place in creative contexts, 3) promotion of creative districts / creativity in urban design (s. Appendix C - Code Book). Thereby, similar as well as differing viewpoints across the interviews conducted can be identified (Bryman, 2012). By manually reviewing and summarizing the interviews in detail, statements concerning the central

research interests were highlighted and structured, oriented around the main categories of interest. Adopted from research by Marzano (2015), Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998), the concept of attachment to place was approximated on the basis of three areas and with regards to creative activity: physical setting and visual dimension, activity and behavioural dimension, meaning and verbal dimension.

Activity - behavioral dimension

- like-minded interaction (Borggren, 2014)
- social happenings; stimulating network; interaction (Steele, 1981)
  - multicultural and -ethnic context (Evans, 2017)
- proximity (Smit, 2011)
- leisure time and cultural program (Bille, 2010; Drake, 2003)

Creative Districts & Place Attachment

Meaning - verbal dimension

- subjective impressions and memories (Lynch, 1960)
- personal emotion and experience (Marzano, 2015; Scannell & Gifford, 2010)
- neighborhood narratives (Sepe, 2018)
- community interests / lifestyles: personal health and (ecological) sustainability (Gadais et al., 2018)
- pleasant ambience, qualities (Uzzell et al., 2002)
- city's uniqueness and identity (Comunian, 2009; Lotfabadi, 2013)

Physical setting - visual dimension

- ever-changing appearance of urban spaces (Cross, 2001)
  - working and living environment
- functionality and practicability (Marzano, 2015)
  - productivity (Carmona et al., 2003)
  - optic appearance and visual aesthetics (Lynch, 1960; Smit, 2011)
  - built environment and design of infrastructure / historic (industrial) heritage (Lotfabadi, 2013)
    - sense of safety (Brown et al., 2003)

Overall classification adopted from: Carmona et al. (2003); Marzano (2015); Montgomery (1998); Punter (1991)

3.4 Sample and Units of Analysis

For this research, a mixed sampling approach was followed consisting of mainly purposive and convenience sampling while the snowballing sampling technique applies to 3 interview partners of this study. In exchanging with experts in the field, further available experts would be recommended, and new contacts were made (Bryman, 2012).

Insights from theory point to the thin line of aligning economic logics next to administrative, political and social framework conditions in the design of urban space. Architects are considered to represent inter alia entrepreneurial considerations of the private economy which is contrasted by the social responsibilities and knowledge of the regulatory environment embodied by urban design officials. Overall, with their practical knowledge and creative expertise in various disciplines, architects and urban design officials are considered among the best informed to work towards and reflect on the development and design of vital creative parts of the city. After all, these co-designers shape the future promotion of creative capital and production in terms of spatial organisation, in a world where urban centres are repeatedly challenged by global developments and advancements in the mobile and digital spheres (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

For the scope of this research, professionals in the field of urban design and architecture and with experience and knowledge of the Zurich area were considered. The final interviewee selection was made so that diversity- in terms of gender, age and professional expertise was maximised. The aim is to account for a variety of viewpoints and extend the discussion and line of argumentation from various relevant professional fields and specialisations. Importantly, the differing standpoints and priorities, be it the more competitive character in architecture opposed to the more administrative function in urban design, were deliberately taken into consideration when deciding on the final sample. 13 interviews were analysed in detail whereas two interviews were seen as a more general discussion about the topic. All interviewees show official qualifications and working experience in architecture and/or urban design and planning. Out of 15 interviews, eight were conducted with architects. The remainder was conducted with urban planners, designers and one researcher from the field in question (s. Appendix D – Anonymised Interviewee Overview).

In order to ensure data privacy for the safety of the interviewees (Bryman, 2012), great importance is attached to the strict protection and anonymisation of the data as stated in the consent form. Anonymisation is neither standardised nor perfect and implies compromising along the research process (Saunders et al., 2015). Even though the overall subject of this research is considered unproblematic and reference to the individual expert could be informative to the reader, the data was anonymised to avoid any potential issue in referring to expert statements by name.

3.5 Introduction of Selected Case – Zurich West

To approximate the research interests introduced in the previous sections, the case of Zurich is chosen. As the biggest city of Switzerland, Zurich is considered a relevant location in the global economy. Zurich accommodates a diversity of international and industrial activity and employment opportunities which is remarkable given the overseeable population and spatial expansion by square kilometre (Klaus, 2006). The canton of Zurich records a GDP of over 140 billion CHF over the period 2008-2018 and is thus far above the figures of the other cantons (Federal Statistical Office, 2021). Next to internationally competitive financial and service sectors, Zurich grew to hold a leading national function with regards to the creative industries, e.g. Swiss media scene, graphic design, theatre, museums, galleries and concert venues (Klaus, 2006) and the status of a 'creative city' (Marques & Richards, 2014). These trends are also highlighted by the expansion of higher education institutes of the arts and talent factories such as the 'Zürcher Hochschule der Künste', finding accommodation in the Toni Areal in to co called neighbourhood Zurich West since 2014.

The city of Zurich looks back on a history of crisis, developing to the assertion as a meeting and reference point for creatives, multinationals and entrepreneurs alike. A period of economic structural distortions hit the city hard in the 1990ies and as a result experienced urban exodus and the loss of 40'000 jobs while maintaining a strong tradition of cooperative societies and social housing (Klaus, 2006). Troubled local authorities, indecision regarding urban development as well as lack of investment in real estate resulted in industrial sites to lie fallow. Rental prices were depressed and became attractive for creatives and the organisation of cultural gatherings. As discussed by Landry (2008), even times of crisis have shown to present opportunities for creative exploration. After all, these conditions showed to be fruitful for creative activity as interim usage facilitated diverse forms of engagement such as the building of nightlife entertainment and instalments of inexpensive ateliers and showrooms. This gradual upgrading and exploitation of spaces led to increased official planning and transformed Zurich West into a popular residential area (Stadt Zürich, 2009).

When it comes to creative districts, Zurich West (mainly district 5, to parts district 4) is known for its origin in industrial heritage sites. As the circumstances permitted, vacant spaces became interesting spots for creative exploration and stimulated social exchange. The moment that creatives settle in these areas in transition, a range of other stakeholders become attentive such as gallery and restaurant owners and real estate developers (Zukin, 1995). Moreover, the building of costly access to public transport is initiated, the sense of security is

improved and investment into real estate replaces interim usages and increases rental prices (Klaus, 2006). In 2014, around 33'000 people were working in Zurich West and between 2006 and 2016, the residential population rose from 3'000 to around 6'000 people (Federal Statistical Office, 2021). Due to its rich industrial heritage and proximity to the city centre, the area of Zurich West has been discovered by businesses and residents before the city announced the official development concept for the district in 2000. This concept highlighted the potential of effectively including the Technopark (promotion of smaller and medium-sized businesses) and high-tech innovation enterprises, the media and design scene, cultural institutions, urban housing, the gastronomy and hotel industry as well as handicraft and commercial businesses. Thus, the range of industries beyond the creative ones deserve consideration in the discussion of Zurich West as a creative district.

Zurich's zoning codes, political organisation and regulatory environment are not to be underestimated in terms of complex processes, provisions and a range of permits to be obtained. There are various levels of authority-binding policies for the usage rights of urban space. This not only challenges the activities of smaller businesses and single creative entrepreneurs but also the urban designers and architects concerned with lay outing cityscapes. Added to this comes the pronounced co-determination and participation from the sides of residents which also deserves appropriate consideration in the design processes.

Today, Zurich is found to offer interesting and challenging tasks to interdisciplinary property development and investment agencies such as EBP, SENN, Pensimo, denkstatt-sarl. The former Workshops of the Swiss Federal Railways (SBB), a 42,000 square meter site intended for the accommodation of industrial innovation and commercial business next to a lively space for leisure and culture, is one of the current urban design projects with a focus on urban production, innovation and creativity and in close proximity to Zurich West (Werkstadt Zürich, n.d.).

3.6 Limitations

Taking up the idea introduced by Bourke (2014), positionality needs to be addressed in this type of research. Thus, given the personal interaction in the interviews, 10 out of 15 were in person meetings, there remains bias and subjective interpretation not only on the part of the researcher but also interviewee. Following up on the in-person interviews, the thematic analysis of statements and specific context compromises in terms of objectivity and validity

compared to quantitative evaluations. Moreover, the research questions posed require a certain openness and caution as many complex organisational, socio-cultural and economic concepts and interdependencies are only approximated and simplified.

The limited regional context of Zurich implies a heavy focus on ETH graduates and is not representative nor does it allow for general conclusions. So despite many insights, this research should be understood as a snapshot, oriented on the basis of the individual lens of urban design experts and it has to be highlighted that the experts interviewed only represent a fraction of the numerous agents involved and concerned with the promotion of creative work and spatial placement thereof in the city. Many more play an essential role in the sustainable development and functioning of creative cities.

Finally, this research is concerned with the activities and work of creative professionals. It cannot be assumed that just because an urban district adheres to theoretical criteria of a creative district that it also makes one and sustains itself, let alone lives up to the ideals of a working and living environment of creatives. For that matter, further research with creatives in particular is deemed informative.

Findings and Discussion

4.1 The City as a Dynamic Interplay of Branches and Diverse Spatial Usage

> "The entire city has to be an area where creative people are welcome."
>
> M. Meyer[*]

In line with Landry (2008), the sources of creativity within a city are found to be diverse and distributed as an intersection of voluntary, public as well as private initiative. With regards to urban design, it becomes clear that creativity needs to be considered and capitalised on under the given circumstances. Thereby, no even distribution across space can be anticipated but rather a gradual formation of concentrated creative clusters is expected (Scott, 2010). A recurring issue is the definition of *creative*. Not only the architects but also the urban planners and developers interviewed for this research reflected on a wide range of definitions for the term - to be found in basically any job and mainly concerned with the process of finding solutions to a problem at hand. This notion of a creative job is closely linked to the knowledge industries, enlarging the idea of creative industries even more, spanning even into the traditional service industries. This is in line with Klaus (2006), pointing to the unfixed form of creativity and the growing number of formats of production, dissemination and consumption and should be considered in the discussion of spatial organisation of creativity within a city (Klaus, 2006).

In the 1990s, the creative industries were only informally acknowledged while in the noughties, these sectors gained economic attention. Their economic contribution and social relevance became undeniable as seen in the potential of creating employment and building an attractive market in the urban context (Dronyuk et al., 2019; Gertler, 2004). One interviewee goes as far as associating these industries a *nimbus* as many have realised the benefits and potential for spatial upgrading followed by their concentrated activities as also found by Chantelot et al. (2011). These activities are suggested to not only affect the working attitude of creatives but also their private lifestyles and confirm the findings by Scott (2010), often bringing with them a lively and varied nightlife and cultural programme. Thus, over the years, it became a priority to acknowledge these industries and their workings at the political level so that these sectors could thrive too by receiving official support and recognition.

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> "The city is also an economic place, where the laws of the economy are at work."
>
> T. Mustermann[*]

Highlighted by various interviewees, cities must also assert themselves as attractive locations, as far as possible detached from the limitation to specific quarters, in an international race to attract and retain creative minds (Gertler, 2004). This is suggested to be in close interplay with the development and dynamics of creative talent within cities. Resources are taken from the city and in turn, original re-usage and revitalisation can be a result and lead to extremely valuable follow up activities, catering to a range of other economic sectors (Landry, 2008).

4.2 Creative Districts Revisited

The majority of interviewees showed to be convinced that creative districts as such are not plannable. Moreover, creative minds are thought to be a highly valuable and flexible workforce and source of input across the different economic sectors that find place in a city. There ought to be no territorial strategy to organise and promote creative work. The concern of becoming one-sided and artificial, treating creative work as static and stable if strategically planned was raised by many interviewees. According to the majority of the interview statements, however, territorial concentration of creative production is often related to favourable spatial conditions and urban structures. This finding links to the functionality and practicality aspect of the physical and visual dimension of attachment to place (Marzano, 2015; Punter, 1991). Overall, urban spatial conditions are found to be intertwined with a weave of dynamic social and political interests, qualitative as well as material factors and resources as discussed by Landry (2008). Many interviewees acknowledged the conversion of industrial areas in particular, as for example the case of Zurich West, to be an interesting and stimulating ground for experimentation and thus branch for creatives. Furthermore, this is to be linked to a cross-generational memory of these areas and their industrial past shared by the community (Baum & Christiaanse, 2012). This touches upon the verbal dimension of meaning whereby attachment is built on personal experiences and shared narratives (Marzano, 2015; Punter; 1991). However, the longevity and permanence of these areas has been questioned by many, coupled with observations of constant development and spatial changes as a stimulus as well as a challenge for creative individuals.

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4.2.1 Marketing Tool and Buzzword

Raising explicit concerns, the majority of interviewees associate the entitling of an urban quarter as a creative district more with a means to brand the city and promote popular features of a hip quarter rather than living up to urban particularities appreciated by creatives in particular. In line with Zukin and Braslow (2011), those particularities were described as affordable and open undefined space to be creatively used and worked with. Moreover, a community interested in discovering new forms of living, working and exchanging ideas in a simple setting and far from commercial and mainstream interests was mentioned in the interviews. Thus, the creative district as an urban quarter was commonly understood as a buzzword - representative for a set of numerous city quarters in popular European cities that enjoyed great popularity and hype before becoming a living space and nightlife district for the more well-heeled (Zukin & Braslow, 2011).

Despite the danger and concern of seeing such quarters become overrun and -crowded, successful publicity that promotes the visit of tourists and dwellers from other parts of the city, implying a wide range of consumers, must also be considered. The discussion of any districts is ultimately only representative of snapshots in time. Dynamic circumstances and possibilities also stand in relation to the motivations behind creative activity, as well subject to change over time (Landry, 2008). As change is the common denominator for any neighborhood, the promotion of such districts should thus not be seen as counterproductive in itself but rather as a means to address various forms of repurposing and multifunctionality of urban quarters (Baum & Christiaanse, 2012). Successful marketing, going as far as attaining certain city awards, might also amplify positive trends of attracting international talent and spotlight not only for the city overall but also specifically for the creative community. These findings ask for the continuous observation of urban districts concerned, e.g. by means of studies relating to population demographics and contentment, the distribution of employment sectors as well as improving feasibility studies to better research the most appropriate approaches.

4.2.2 Various Spatial Needs across the Creative Industries' Activities

An important finding of this study is the emphasis and attention to the diverse needs and spatial requirements when it comes to productive activities within the creative industries. In that sense, every branch of the creative industries entails its very own spatial preferences,

which should not exclude certain activities but rather point to the multifaceted nature and diverse spatial conditions of these economic sectors. Adding to the complexity of urban design, it should be seen as a long-term potential and advantage to allow and account for these various requirements and work towards solutions in the spatial organisation. There is everything but a blueprint for these processes on the administrative level. However, research ambitions are growing, and it is the very courage and curiosity in urban design and architecture to creatively leave and create space for these various activities to sustain while at the same time enrich the unique urban image (Comunian, 2009).

4.3 The Urban Design Approach to Foster the Creative Industries

This research has only hinted at the many dimensions of urban design and the corresponding duties, setting the course for the development of our living and working space. As in the case of Zurich, the organisation of the public office departments of urban development and planning deserve mention. Being a relatively small department only few people are occupied with the many issues concerning the urban development of Zurich and challenged to do so with only moderate pecuniary resources. An important partner department is the business development section with vital overlaps and common priorities. Moreover, the housing policy of the city is prepared in this department, accounting for insights from population surveys and social-spatial development and monitoring. Current planning processes are revaluating the role of urban production, bringing traditional craft and business back to the urban region. Thereby, the department of urban development Zurich is co-initiator of the *Made in Zurich Initiative*. Overall, the department holds consulting functions, building on the researched preferences of various neighbourhoods and given spatial foundations.

> "It is vital to understand the processes to be able to work on the rulebook."
>
> K. Huber[*]

In other words, the regulatory processes determining the building and zoning codes, standards for noise, hygiene and scale provide important insights into the organisation and management of urban space. While these provisions are binding for the landowners, they oftentimes have to be brought through political processes and approval. As mentioned by

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several interview partners, the interdependence with the current political orientation further complicates the task of keeping the thread together.

Next to designing and regulating, administrative departments also have to represent economic consciousness (Gertler, 2004). In some cases, this implies having to be spoilsports, in others it is the provision of vital guidance and navigation in the administrative jungle as for individuals and smaller businesses this can represent a challenge. With the competence of supervising complex regulatory settings as one important field of activity, the effective involvement of urban initiative on the part of the administration constitutes another area of action.

4.3.1 Architectural Contribution

"I can't separate urban planning from architecture. Architecture is built. Cities are not built. Cities are created when architecture is built."

A. Preisigg[*]

Following the statements from this study, there is no consensus on whether architecture can be considered a pure service or creative solution to a spatial problem. Architects are in constant competition while, in the optimal case, they can rely on mutual exchange and collaboration for adequate solutions. This makes architecture one of the smaller entities in urban design and form the city as an assemblage of many small parts. Moreover, from a designer's and planners' perspective, the role of the architect must also be critically discussed and calls for reflection. Especially the architects born after 1980 showed to be conscious of their very own involvement in gentrification processes. Attracted by popular neighbourhoods, architects are often among those who can financially afford to live and rent offices in trendy quarters. As mentioned by a range of architects, they are increasingly required to attain skills and experience in the professional communication, exchange and research in order to account for the multi-layered needs, stakeholders and priorities of urban design (Landry, 2008).

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4.3.2 The Role of Administrative Departments

The municipal offices are at the interface to promote conducive conditions for creative work. This is based on many years of research of preferences of individuals as well as businesses of the various sectors. According to one administrative staff interviewed for this study, it is among one of the department's most important tasks to foster creative milieus that can organise themselves. It is further emphasised that it is the creative ambition that comes first and only gets into contact with planning offices and urban development at a later stage. Another aspect of the department is to promote initiatives, organisations and associations whereas managing transparent and continuous communication with the respective interest groups, e.g. landowners, cooperatives and educational institutions, forms a vital part of the process. These interactions are to large parts based on informal exchange and social contacts and point to the interpersonal component of the various phases of the design process. By representing the public hand, ensuring continuity is a vital responsibility and stands in contrast to private initiatives which vary considerably in visibility and longevity. According to the interviewees in charge, the role is associated with the one of an enabler and caretaker in the prevention and promotion of spatial uses. The overall guideline is to create conducive framework conditions for the development of society and a diverse set of economic branches. Given the challenges posed to the administrative departments, they are required to be highly interdisciplinary and source from interdepartmental insights. The fulfilment of the roles relies on creative teams to develop ideas and bring them into constructive discussion and agreement on the internal as well as external level. It comes as no surprise that the processes are lengthy (planning processes can span from 5-10 years) and it is a key responsibility to keep the ball rolling, leveraging ideas and conceptual work into practical decisions and action.

4.3.3 Space and Time Matter

"The issues always come from within space."

P. Klaus[*]

Despite the many socio-economic factors playing into spatial urban organisation and management, the trigger is always in space, as stated by one interviewee. As many

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interviewees recalled, open spaces for creative exploration and work as they are known from the 1990ies are disappearing, especially in Zurich. Moreover, the spatial and social conditions in a city like Zurich have considerably changed and for one interviewee, it was a matter of fact that the underground scene has drastically changed if not disappeared too. Three interviewees, who are now in their 50ies, early 60ies further pointed to the challenged relation of legality and illegality. An example in Zurich is the so-called 'Hallenwohnen' (Genossenschaft Kalkbreite), where community living forms from the squatter scene are translated into a legal official format - as a pioneering project. The former tollhouse further accommodates cultural and creative initiatives, a theatre and the Zurich Architecture Forum (Kalkbreite, n.d.). Especially for the establishment of creatives, these trends matter, require not only Zurich's political but also social acknowledgment and take time.

4.3.4 Visionary and Political Work

The implications of the respective building zones (industrial vs. residential) within the city were stressed by most of the urban designers and architects interviewed in this study. The decision over zoning codes not seldom entails political approval and accounts for the acknowledgement of social needs in the best case. Thus, visionary and creative ambitions in urban design have to find consensus with the political arena. Also in this respect, there is a vital social interpersonal dimension as one hand feeds the other - regular cluster meetings are held where various stakeholders, e.g. executives, business people, entrepreneurs and actors from the creative sectors come to socialise with administrative officials.

In the discussion of promoting the creative industries within the city, the conducive conditions are known to the majority which is first and foremost the availability and affordability of undefined free space. However, it is about being aware and committed to them without "*creating creative zoos*" (E. Gustavi*), as one of the interviewees warned. In terms of political outlook, many interviewees stressed the importance of maintaining diversity, e.g. enabling the living together of different income groups and multiple cultural backgrounds, fostering multi-usage buildings and functions accessible to a wide range of people. According to the interviewees, this is how creative activities are found to be most effectively and sustainably promoted within a city.

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4.4 Relevance of Free, Public and to some Extent Malleable Space

Public spaces are considered a prerequisite in order to have people, oftentimes with fewer financial means, however, no less creative engage in collectively inspired processes. In this context, the design and correspondingly built attachment to place has shown to be relevant for crucial matters of life as it is not only about the working environment but also about the living and leisure space of creative people (Bille, 2010; Klaus, 2006). This finding is linked to the behavioural dimension of activity and importance of a stimulating community (Marzano, 2015; Punter, 1991) and was confirmed several times in the interviews. As found by this research, recreational activities of creatives are often also those attaching them to certain places (Bille, 2010; Florida, 2002). These activities are found to manifest themselves in a vibrant nightlife and cultural establishments. Thereby, professional and private interests might become blurred, further pointing to the appreciation of local proximity of the working and living environment (Smit, 2011). The importance of lively public spaces is suggested to be a conducive ingredient for a creative climate and lively social exchange (Montgomery, 1998). In line with Inglehart (2018), the relevance of close communities, proximate not only for professional collaboration but also interpersonal contact was a key finding the interviews conducted.

4.4.1 Place Attachment and Creative Districts - The Case of Zurich West

Statements collected for this study have highlighted the particular organisation, functioning and spatial requirements that are to be linked with activities of the creative industries. They not only stand in contrast to but also imply complex and highly context-specific requirements as opposed to other more established and researched economic sectors (Vickery, 2015). The case of Zurich West showed how differently such quarters, once creatively discovered, are perceived and valued over time and from various perspectives. A clear majority of the interviewees does not consider Zurich West a success in terms of fostering available creative human capital and promoting creative work within the city.

> "The real estate industry was given too much free rein."
>
> K. Huber*

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* Name changed by the author

Many interviewees voiced similar concerns with regards to lucrative real estate projects as in their opinion a lot has disappeared that could have been attributed to creative activities. One interviewee highlighted the role of the 'Zürcher Hochschule der Künste' as a talent factory, however, completely inward looking given its architecture and not contributing to the supposedly public vibrant atmosphere.

According to the interviews, Zurich West is considered to offer attractive locations for enterprises and offices while potentially compromising on features and conditions important for less profitable creative work. Over the past years, Zurich West recorded a considerable influx of residents with a general tendency of higher earners yet younger residents (Stadt Zürich, 2021). Clearly, the rules of the game have changed and luckily there is an overall upward trend in the eyes of most. Despite having partially lost its original character and community, Zurich West features a variety of services, cultural productions, recreational activities, shopping opportunities and singular culinary offers which decisively source from creative initiative and input.

In the case of Zurich, the 'study of urban production and retail' (SUPR, 2021) has started the discourse on the implications and potential of bringing production back to the urban area. Urban manufacture and production, involving many creative industry disciplines, are found to sustainably co-contribute to urban development next to the traditional and predominantly service industries. Potential synergies and positive spill over effects are associated with reanimated 'urban production and retail' and are considered to not only affect the value-adding usage of urban space and real estate but also benefit the urban population in terms of employment, offers and proximate sales (SUPR, 2021). These aspects will be highly relevant in the future discussion and support of creative activities and their spatial requirements and entitlement within the city.

Overall, the necessity to address complexity, vulnerabilities, and potentials is decisive to drive research and find a common language and effectively advance urban design in the most diverse and challenging settings. As many interviewees of this study stated, there is no definite conclusion. It is rather the need to acknowledge the well-known urban issues and approximate the assessment of constantly developing and highly valuable industries - not only for the urban economy and future sustainability of the city but also in terms of social welfare (Marzano, 2015; SUPR, 2021).

4.4.2 Responsibility of the Scene – Virtuous and Vicious Cycles

As the phenomenon and commercial potential is well-known, the creative scene itself also has a responsibility according to one interviewee. The strategic labelling of certain areas as creative raises many questions of what and who exactly applies and the demarcation does not seem to not follow strict criteria.

> "Beautiful things are often also finite."
>
> P. Klaus[*]

As a matter of fact, the concise demarcation of creative activities and production in a territorial area is challenging and finite time spans, measurement issues, and vague support criteria further complicate the administration. Therefore and as was stressed during the interviews, the administration concerned with urban design does not enable creative activity as it should and will exist regardless. In the optimal case and as an outcome of effective administrative support, the urban population benefits from it. The assessment of these benefits naturally opens up whole new discussions about the evaluation of successful measures in urban design and lies outside the scope of this study.

However, the issue of gentrification requires discussion. As has been voiced by the majority of interviewees, rediscovered and successfully revitalised urban quarters tend to have as a consequence or turning point the moment renovation and commitment to building plans, e.g. for housing is initiated. These developments are often followed by a general rise in prices (Zukin & Braslow, 2011). Moreover, access to public transport networks as well as good traffic connections are considered important factors in the development of such areas (Baum & Christiaanse, 2012).

The cycles of gentrification are a familiar phenomenon to all interviewees and none of them stated that there should and could be any remedy let alone success formula for prevention as far as they are concerned. For many, gentrification has been acknowledged as a naturally inevitable and economically conditioned process - and responsibility does not lie in the prevention of it but rather in ensuring that it is not happening too rapidly and brutally. Thereby, the sustained provision of affordable working and living space for different strata of the population is essential. This approach might challenge the economic logic of maximizing profitability, however, it is assumed to pay back in the long run as the city maintains a degree

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[*] Name changed by the author

of diversity and dynamism which will produce social and cultural innovation in the most colourful and unimagined regards.

In the case of creatives, the ongoing discovery, engagement, and new design of empty spaces was commonly found to be characteristic of their work. This in itself implies the ever-changing nature and relevance of space and the design thereof - so often observed in temporarily dynamic and highly stimulating quarters, at times playing with the boundaries of legal and illegal, formal and informal and attracting diverse audiences.

> "If a city is not changing and the cycle is not maintained, the city dies."
>
> M. Meyer[*]

It is the overall finding that iterations of gentrification are the standard in urban evolution. Places that were once hardly known eventually become a hotspot and place of entertainment for the masses (Evans, 2017). What has been advocated by the majority of interviewees is the promotion and emphasis of a healthy mix within the city. This mix, however, can hardly ever be controlled let alone strategically initiated. It is also here that the relevant conditions, deemed appropriate and relevant, need to be explicitly communicated and brought into public discourse. There will always be some crowding out whereas the insurance of circularity and maintenance of city quarter identity raise numerous questions with regards to the unit of time and analysis.

What has stood out throughout the interviews is the impossibility to institutionalise nor regiment a course of events considered appropriate. One interviewee particularly emphasised the beauty of this unpredictable course and oftentimes finite charm of rediscovered quarters. This reality, however, does not diminish the importance of considerate housing and building policies, and becoming aware of one's responsibility and role in urban design, be it from the side of administrative authorities, the executive function of architects or even as a simple visitor. As conditions and orientations for urban design are increasingly studied and sourced from diverse, sometimes international studies, there are increasing efforts to account for and rethink the various spatial requirements and possibilities for creative activities in given urban settings.

The relation of attachment to place and time was not addressed in this study, it was highlighted, however, that over time the spatial requirements and priorities would develop in

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[*] Name changed by the author

parallel to the changing format and scope of creative works produced. Statements gathered in this research suggest that vacant industrial architecture will eventually be redefined in terms of purpose and ownership. And so does the spatial purpose of urban space with increasingly commercial activities. Just as places evolve over time, attachment to place is also subject to changing needs and conditions. Nonetheless, spatial developments are found to continuously bear potential for redefinition and assessment in terms of urban design and in the promotion of creativity. Thus, the adaptive and evolving character of these industries and respective spatial organisation is confirmed (Pieczara, 2016) and shows how these activities keep reinventing themselves, showing considerable tolerance and adaptability to varied spatial conditions.

4.5 Future Outlook

Creativity as associated with creative districts, its varied output and cross-sectoral involvement is found to have entitlement beyond territorial boundaries. The preservation of less economically attractive buildings and structures and a clear distinction of interim use status opposed to long-term raison d'être of spatial conditions and usages are suggested. This is found to often affect sites which are of particular interest to creatives, in financial terms as well as in a basis for creative production. Moreover, trust in the potential of undefined space, maybe even space for spontaneous initiative is advocated according to one interviewee.

In more concrete terms, the relevance of interdisciplinary problem-solving and exchange is highlighted. By including cross-branch stakeholders, it is worked towards transparent policy making. This is suggested to further benefit the sustainable promotion of creative work as inputs are sourced from various sectors and decisions are reviewed as time passes, also referred to as dynamic urban development (Baum & Christiaanse, 2012). To ensure diversity and visibility of a range of actors, caution is required with master plans, advocating the frog's eye view over the bird's eye view. Thereby, interests and needs are fragmented and learnt about in stages and over time. This also refers to an approach where demolition is only considered in cases where strictly necessary and existing structures and functionalities are saved and developed as much as possible.

4.5.1 Decisive Stakeholders

The consideration of all the relevant stakeholders at play is considered important in the discussion of attachment to place and the promotion of the creative industries. As was

pointed out by the majority of interviewees, urban evolution is still decisively in the hands of land and property owners as well as real estate developers. The real estate industry thus has an important say in how investments are directed and co-determine the direction of spatial uses. However, one interviewee clearly criticised the lack of creativity in this industry while acknowledging the pressure on the part of, e.g. pension funds and other investment plans. Experience has shown that the only way to reach a consensus is to promote, exchange and prevent ideas on the various levels discussed. This must be done in good and efficient cooperation with the political branch in order to steer the strongest levers in certain directions. Undoubtedly, these endeavours are challenged by various social issues, political defensiveness as well as mercantile profit behaviour. In the case of the city owning city parcels, the criteria for individual's qualifying, the duration settlement and diversity quota is far from set and in constant debate.

4.5.2 Qualities of the Creative City

This research found that it is a diverse and continuously changing mix of offers, leisure activities and people which are appreciated in several neighbourhoods around the city. In terms of promoting creativity within the city, it is time to think optimum over maximum and aim for an interesting mix - although this mix is impossible to pour into any regulations, according to one interviewee. The city is marked to a varying degree by creative input and an interplay of industries and contrasting cityscapes, e.g. the co-existence of finance (office spaces), internationality, tech hubs, start-up scene, recreational areas, educational institutions, residential zones and nightlife. When it comes to sustained (inter-)national competitiveness and attractiveness of a city, it is this diversity of sectors, services and people which make the race according to most of the interviewees.

By promoting the development and conversion of existing infrastructure, the former identity is preserved while new atmospheres are created. Thereby, the social interaction, important at most times of the day and night, is a key factor for the successful animation of creative engagement and attachment to these districts (Baum & Christiaanse, 2012).

4.6 Further Research

4.6.1 The Creatives Themselves

Linked to this study, it becomes clear that the city cannot be given enough voices. Especially when it comes to the verbal and emotional dimension of activity relating to the creation of meaning of a place as suggested by Marzano (2015) and Punter (1991), these facets could only be superficially addressed. Therefore, the perspective of creatives and residents in particular is considered important to deepen the understanding of the matter at hand. Further research is needed relating to residential trends and organisation. The types of creative businesses and concrete needs of individuals active in these sectors require better understanding to evaluate not only the priorities in designing but also promoting those activities in the future. Even though this study has shown to carefully deal with notions such as *creative districts*, the importance of systematically organizing and defining urban developments to advance research is more important than ever.

Moreover, attachment to a place is found to be tied to professional needs as well as private preferences for living conditions. Further research is suggested regarding the spatial implications of an increasing overlap of work and the private daily life of creatives. In the particular case of creatives settling in quarters with former industrial activities, the creative conversion of buildings and spaces that were formerly intended for completely different, industrial purposes point towards rethought organisation of not only working methods and lifestyles but also represent a source of inspiration and research interest concerning the future design and use of durable and to parts large-scale architecture.

4.6.2 Digital Era

One interviewee highlighted how cities are constantly framed, labelled and branded, from individuals as well as organisations and institutions. Thereby, star architecture has gained increasing attention, reshuffling the dynamics of supply and demand in architecture and urban sights. This also becomes visible in the increasing marketing efforts of cities, e.g. *creativezurich* (soon online). City images are constantly created, compared, shared and commented on. It is suggested that attachment to as well as the fascination of a place is also maintained from afar as digital connectedness allows people to have constant access to visual information of cities. Contrasted with the appreciation for physical place and gathering,

digital access and online exchange will show how urban design can assert itself in the future and raises another important research issue.

This trend is also having a considerable impact directly on the creative industries, which are redefining and optimising their spatial needs through digital alternatives and process innovation. The relevance of centrally located physical sites is being reconsidered, just as creative circles and institutions are collaborating more and more across national borders. Further investigating the working processes and various locations of creatives is suggested another important area for research, as in essence the individual actors play a decisive role in shaping future trends.

Conclusion

Existing research points to the growing interest in cities as reference points for the creative industries, hubs for creative professionals in respective districts and places of trendy lifestyles. As this research found, the notion of creative districts could be hyped and frantically kept alive, fuelled by the popularity of the creative industries and for the sake of commercial interests. Undoubtedly, there are side effects of hyped urban districts and implications for the long-term sustainability and affordability confronting the original creative communities. Moreover, the territorial demarcation of creativity is not as easily applied in practice as well as in the formulation of policy ambition. Various aspects of place seem to have influenced the locational decision of creatives, however, only seldom restricted to a district or urban quarter according to the interviewees of this study. The importance of open space for creativity, regardless of territorial boundaries was emphasised at various instances in this qualitative study - in the ideal case being a source of productivity, innovation and exchange throughout and to the benefit of the whole city. Importantly, a certain concentration and clustering is nonetheless often characteristic stemming from the appreciation for exchange and favourable spatial conditions (Florida, 2002).

A better understanding of creative districts and the promotion of creativity in the city motivated this study as in to further investigate the consideration of attachment to place in the respective urban design. By gathering statements from those experts most directly concerned and in charge with the design of urban areas, i.e. urban, planners, designers, researchers and architects the notion of creative districts was discussed and approaches to the promotion and evaluation of creative activities addressed. Even though creative districts seem to be temporal and transforming with time, attachment to place is considered a pertinent factor and decisive for the underlying trends in leisure and work of creatives. This study showed that in promoting creativity within the city, diverse socio-economic layers irrespective of territorial boundaries are among the leading factors for urban dynamics, liveliness and thus source for creative work.

Attachment to place is found to be an important component in the organisation of creative work in the city. Although this study did not aim to conclude final causal relations between the importance of place and the pursuit of a creative profession, the existing urban structures are suggested to inspire spatial exploration and co-determine the scope for creative activity. This finding is correlated with the dimension of the physical setting and visual dimension of attachment to place and relates to the degree of functionality and practicability

associated with a place. Moreover, municipal politics and organisation, industrial policy as well as the constant input of private individuals and professionals co-determine the scale of creative activities thriving in a city. These components link to the essential behavioural dimension of attachment to place whereby like-minded people shape and enable certain activities, creatively engaged and building cultural programmes (Marzano, 2015; Punter, 1991). On the whole, attachment to place is moderately if not only in retrospect considered as creative districts as such are barely worked with according to the urban development researchers, architects and urban planners interviewed. Nevertheless, dense quarters of creative people are instructive and an important point of reference in the respective translation to urban design tasks. Only by continuing to better understand creative work in urban contexts, also at the research level, can policymaking for individual businesses as well as organisational bodies develop. In that sense, attachment to place with regards to creative activities hints to a range of spatial and intangible qualities that are discovered and developed over time. Conducive starting positions are found to attract creative production and highlight particularities over time, e.g. engaged community and a diverse cultural programme. The uniqueness of every city not only determines the spatial conditions but also becomes visible in the orientation in socio-cultural and political terms. As these elements are found to be important factors in the assertion of the creative industries within the city, attachment to place is considered an insightful pillar to better understand potential creative production.

Urban design comes very close to a creative job. A myriad of tasks and responsibilities, roles and interdependencies have to be taken into account and increase the complexity of the processes - and oftentimes, the bigger vision is not as easily turned into reality as one would like it. Commercial, spatial and social interests need to be creatively aligned - making it a lengthy and rather creative task, continuously seeking for new solutions and developments. Overall, it is a balancing act of stipulating, preserving and letting the course of events take its fascinating turns, especially as attachment to place is considered most durable where not forced. In that sense, urban design and architecture in modern cities is found to be much aware of the economic, commercial and social forces associated with the creative industries in an urban context. Linking to the growing interest in bringing production and industrial businesses back to the urban sphere further highlights the relevance of urban space and its continuous re-modification for the benefit of creative work and society as a whole.

After all, the facilitation and promotion of creative activities are considered effective tools for the revitalisation and re-definition of urban space. However, and as emphasised in

this study, there are no concrete urban design approaches, action plans or blueprints for this matter which in turn confirms the complex and unplannable nature of creative activity. As much as place seems to matter, the attachment to it is observed to be influenced by the creative logic of constant movement and discovery of new space for creative experimentation and work. Yet, the distinction of core and more commercial creative activities was highlighted (KEA European Affairs, 2006) as they are found to differ considerably in their spatial needs and over time.

Urban design should have an interest to jointly work for the most suitable and fruitful spatial coordination, especially given the diverse range of stakeholders and priorities linked to the creative industries. After all, it is the diversity that makes a city! The spatial particularities of cities are considered a unique complex and dynamic web of units, undergoing structural changes which bear huge challenges and potentials for urban design. As this study found, the whole city is to be considered as a field for experimentation and learning, habitat and stage for creative work, competitiveness, political and social discourse. Therefore, urban design holds the responsibility to not only foster social life but also promote economic interests. This is seen in the growing international relevance of cities, such as Zurich, constantly proving its locational attractiveness.

Finding places for creative production is already part of the creative process and thus hardly plannable. Gradually rediscovered urban space by creatives, e.g. quarters with industrial heritage often comes along the vicious cycle of attracting outsiders and commercial interests the moment costly renovations are carried out (Chantelot et al., 2011). Not seldom, the creative interaction with a place and neighbourhood over time is found to be an upgrade, stimulation and attraction to the wider public.

Zurich West was considered an example of a creative district, appearing to meet many criteria derived from reviewing the literature on the matter. By gathering expert insights and statements from architects, urban developers, planners and researchers, urban creativity and the relevance of place has gained new weight. The existence and functioning of creative industries are understood to find entitlement beyond territorial borders while spatial conditions, e.g. vacant and thus more affordable ex-industry sites and buildings are playing an important role for creatives. The development of Zurich West has lived through the various development stages - deserted industrial sites that were rediscovered and reused, the revitalisation of whole quarters up to the point where big scale renovation and access to public transport drive the popularity of a hip quarter, eventually gentrifying an area that was once strongly neglected and scarcely noticed.

Since there are hardly any known remedies for these developments, urban planning also includes the task of observing these cycles, since intervention seems almost impossible and at times even counterproductive. With informed consideration and participation of as many stakeholders as possible, many are optimistic that while cityscapes must change and evolve, creative potential can find ongoing accommodation and open space. Understanding their role in creating the best possible conditions, without forcing creative activities, urban design remains in an ongoing exciting interplay with the most colourful forms and outputs of creativity, optimally adding value and spreading across the entire city.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Interview Guide

Explicit interest:

- To what extent does urban design consider attachment to place in the promotion of creativity, approximated by creative districts?
- Which aspects of / how is place attachment understood and worked with in the context of creative districts? – From the architect's / urban planner's perspective?

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1. Quick **introduction**; tell me a bit about yourself - professional career?
    - architecture, urban design, academia/research?

2. To what extent / why would you consider **yourself a creative (professional)**?
    - emphasis on **creative work?**

        - understanding / perception / relevance of CDs?
        - understanding of artists? how to best boost the arts, original creation!

3. How do you view your **role** as … in the design of urban space?

    Research about Creative Districts in Urban Areas -

    - popular creative districts, e.g. Zurich West, Prenzlauer Berg, London, Paris, NY, ...

4. Which **elements / aspects make creative districts** in your opinion?
    Are the dimensions of attachment to place confirmed? (Marzano, 2015; Punter, 1991)

    Case of Zurich: Area-specific? - element of creativity? - area of creation?
    - introduce, e.g. ZH West, what marks **quality**?

        - **(meaning; verbal dimension?)**
            - history
            - community attachment
        - **(physical setting; visual dimension?)**
            - material / infrastructure / heritage
        - **(activity; behavioral dimension?)**

- How would you describe the **social environment** of such districts? network?

- cultural programme / creative stimulation and input

5. What is the **relationship** between **creative districts** and **urban development**?

6. Growing interest and popularity → **Criteria**?
    - pro (contribution) CDs? - necessary? benefits? qualities?
        - true beneficiaries?
        - revitalisation
        - city's identity / branding
        - cultivation of creativity

    - contra CDs? **side effects**
        - hyped neighbourhoods
        - gentrification
        - artistic logic

7. Either past experiences or if you were to co-design (parts of) a creative district - what would be your **main point of reference**?
    - orientation regarding urban **priorities**?
    - organisation of communication and **joint efforts**?
    - Who is considered? future residents? Major **stakeholders**?
    - (More generally: regarding development of / contribution to urban areas?)
    - (How are a place's perceived **particularities investigated**?)

8. How would you describe the **cycle** / various **phases** / rhythm of CDs?
    - Saturation point - Vicious or virtuous cycle?
    - Who are the winners of the support of creative districts?
    - How can the decay be prevented? (is that even part of the strategy?)
    - Argument of gentrification?
    - Are creatives to be seen as forerunners?
        - Urban / shared communities & life models?

9. What are your considerations concerning the **sustainability** of such districts?

10. Relevance of **policy support**?
    - **strategic** planning / **regulation** / facilitation vs. **organic** development / bottom up
    - To what extent is it **plannable**? (Borggren, 2014)

11. How do you perceive the **particularities** of creative districts/areas (as a creative / co-designer yourself)?
    - personal experiences? (implicit: attached to place?)
    - Which features are **appreciated** in particular?

- city experience for professionals

12. Urban Design / CDs: built on **individual or rather collective vision**?
- How is it best coordinated?

13. Dreams for the **future**, in terms of
- urban design
- cultivation of creativity
- cultivation of creative districts

14. Anything you would like to add or ask?

→ Side note: effects of Corona on development of CDs?

Appendix B – Concept Table from Literature Reviewed

Concept	Description	Source
The Role of Place	- uniqueness of place - temporality of attachment - socio-cultural dimensions - 'physical setting; visual dimension' - 'activity; behavioural dimension' - 'meaning; verbal dimension'	- Cross (2001) - Steele (1981) - Marzano (2015 - Punter (1991)

Creativity within Cities	- social and economic stimulation
	  - cultural innovation
	  - employment
	  - revitalisation
	- hosting of creative industries
	- leisure and cultural program
	- international assertion and competitiveness
	- implications for various economic sectors
		- Kusá, 2006
		- Williams & Currid-Halkett, 2011
		- Gertler, 2004
		- Klaus, 2006

Creative Districts as Manifestation of Creativity within Cities	- creative and adaptive formation in context - Affordability - Importance of community - Illegality, Interim usages to commercial activities - rediscovery of industrial heritage	- Borggren, 2014 - Pieczara, 2016 - Zukin & Braslow, 2011 - Boix-Domènech & Rausell-Köster, 2018 - Klaus, 2006 - Farhad et al., 2020
Urban Design in Creative Discourse: Roles and Areas of Action / Responsibility in Urban Design	- multidisciplinary profession - administrative function: complex environment; multitude of stakeholders - understanding of creativity in urban context - political involvement	- Pieczara, 2016; - Urban Design Group, 2021 - Landry, 2008 - Biddulph, 2012

	- economic consciousness	
Attachment to Place	- management of public space - emotional, personal experiences - spatial features; visual and physical attributes - sustainability and temporality	- Scannell & Gifford, 2010 - Ujang & Zakariya, 2015 - Lynch, 1960 - Eren, 2012

Appendix C - Code Book

Theme	Category	Subcategory	Code
Range of urban co-designers	- roles - areas of responsibility - areas of action	- interface private / public - working methods - professional organisation	- interdisciplinary - interdepartmental - mediator in politics; social representation
Attachment to place in creative contexts	- meaning - physical setting - activity (Punter et al., 1991)	- historical context - economic situation - social atmosphere - work - private life / leisure	- price / affordability - nightlife - creative community - commercial upgrade / popularity
Promotion of Creative Districts / Creativity in Urban Design	- qualities of the (creative) city - future dreams / improvements	- diversity of branches and people - recreational areas	- multifunctionality in spatial use - access / proximity - movement / change

Appendix D - Anonymised Interviewee Overview

Respondent / Gender	Occupation	Professional Background	Place of Residence	International Background	Interview Duration
P. Klaus (G.A. / m)	urban development (administration)	ETH	Zurich	CH	1:07:57
K. Huber (F.A. / m)	urban planning (administration)	ETH	Zurich	CH	1:22:28
T. Mustermann (K.K. / m)	architect	ETH	Zurich	CH / BE	52:50
E. Gustavi (S.S. / f)	architect	ETH	Zurich	CH / SE / AU	53:48
H. Kings (C.H. / f)	architect	ETH	Zurich	CH	31:39
C. May (M.H. / f)	architect	ETH	Zurich	CH / NL	1:04:32
C. Jonas (L.V. / m)	architect	ETH	Zurich	CH	42:39
K. McDone (S.S. / m)	architect	SfG / BSA	Zurich	CH	39:46
N. Fröhlich (D.K. / m)	historian / architectural publicist; urban design	UZH / ETH	Zurich	CH	51:36
H. Müller (K.C. / m)	architect / urban planner	TU Delft; Berlin / ETH / SUTD / TUM	Zurich	CH / NL / D / SG	56:28
A. Preisigg (R.R. / m)	architect / urbanist / historic preservationist	ETH / AA	Zurich	CH / US / UK	2:15:33 (cut)
N. Hofman (R.T. / m)	architect / urban developer	ETH	Zurich	CH / I	2:20:07 (cut)
M. Meyer (A.T. / m)	urban development (research)	TUM / ETH / HSG	Munich / Zurich	CH / G	51:32
(E.S. / m)	architect	ETH	Zurich	CH	1:48:03
(G.C. / f)	designer / urban initiator	ECAL	Zurich	CH	1:15:39