Seeds for Urban

Metamorphosis

Alexandru Matei

Temporary use initiatives, their actors, relationships and influence on urban context. Experiences from Rotterdam (NL) and Bucharest (RO)

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Acknowledgements

Frequently, a master thesis represents the end of an academic experience. However, in my case it seems to be the start of a new professional process focusing on urban transformation. The development process of this current work, accrued naturally and transformed in a pleasant learning experience which opened numerous doors for future professional reflections.

For the pleasure of this experience I want to thank all interviewees, experts, colleagues and friends who shared their views on the topic and/ or offered valuable feedback on my work. Taking into account their considerable number and lack of space I cannot mention them all here, but they will always have my gratitude for their contribution. Moreover, I want to offer my special thanks to the following people for their crucial input in my research.

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The current (short) research didn't allow the valorization of all data collected and did not offer the space to explore and put on paper all the interesting perspectives, thus I express my interest to continue reflecting on this topic and I hope that the interaction with the above experts is the start of a lasting professional cooperation and involvement in positive urban transformation.

Alexandru Matei

Abstract:

After the 2008 crisis many European cities experienced a shift from large, controlled and bureaucratic master planning developments to small scale, flexible and result-oriented weak planning. This transition manifested in numerous places as temporary use initiatives emerged from the creative interaction of local urban actors. Drawing upon this concepts, this paper explores who these urban actors are and the relationship between them, how they envision the transformation of their TUI and how all this influences the local urban context. The research focuses on two initiatives from Rotterdam and Bucharest and makes use of a qualitative empirical methodology including an in-depth participant observation. The research shows that agents and tenants of TUIs develop overlapping tactics aimed at valorizing occurring opportunities. In contrast, owners are in a waiting phase. They accept TUIs as adaptation, but intend to come back to a context of master planning. The influence exercised by TUIs upon their surrounding urban context is predominantly benefic. They stimulate the economy and culture, reduced vacancy, improved buildings and contribute to public safety. On the other hand, inclusivity of social groups and the risk of gentrification are debatable aspects. This analysis contributes to a better understanding of the role of TUIs' influence on the city.

Keywords: temporary use initiatives, urban process, urban actors, relationship between urban actors, urban planning, master-planning, weak-planning, strategies, tactics, vacancy, urban regeneration, placemaking, citymaking, alternative transformation, urban metamorphoses, crisis.

List of Abbreviations

HF – Havensteder Foundation (Rotterdam)

INBU – Industria Bumbacului (Cotton Industry) (Bucharest)

PM – Place making

PO - participatory observation

SSI – semi-structured interviews

TU – Temporary use

TUI – Temporary use initiative

ZOHO - Zomerhofkwartier (Rotterdam)

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research context and problem

The financial crisis of 2008 and the economic and social crises that occurred subsequently changed profoundly the way European cities and EU overall function and are transforming. Firstly, "[t]he recession that began in 2008 has shown once again that planning, like economics, deals with the allocation of scarce resources." (Silberberg et al. 2013, p.3). The financial crash had almost immediately reduced and sometimes eliminated financial support for urban development, leaving many projects and plans unfinished (BBC, 2016). Secondly, both central and local administration had been forced to reduce expenses which frequently started from cutting investments in urban quality and in public good (Stevens & Ambler, 2010). In a very short period, both public and private resources used for urban investments and improvements had been reduced or eliminated (Sassen, 2014). Thirdly, the society experienced a complex global economic recession which included numerous losses of jobs, bankruptcy of companies, forced evictions and translated later in expulsions (Sassen, 2014) and thus in wicked social issues. On the other hand "the credit crunch has effectively halted speculator-led [development]" (Evans et al, 2009) or more clearly it stopped the profit oriented development leaving in this way a space that could be filled by urban explorations. Under these conditions, urban areas experienced new phenomena and trends.

Photo 1 - Georgios Michalogiorgakis 2009 Mary Crisis n' a Happy New Fear retrieved from Fliker, Creative Commons. Retrieved on June 8th, 2016 from https://www.flickr.com/photos/michalogiorgakis/3636171637/in/photolist-mPXWDG-nE6buh-nG8NAP-mPWn5D-nHVeGc-mPWoAr-nG8NVB-mzNTjB-nE6ck5-nFcuyA-nAvhzL-nBzeLh-kHh9gT-nyGeaU-mPWEEa-nH3Vwy-mzNzw4-mPYcVJ-nk5LSy-mPX9zg-kHiq93-mPXXrJ-nqKSnn-mPWaTc-mPXXg3-mPXDgX-mPXqct

Both mass media and scholars report an increase in inequality, segregation, decrease of welfare state (Sassen, 2014) and loss of quality of public spaces. Traditionally, such challenges had been tackled (to a certain extent) by public entities with the support of urban experts, but since they were also caught in the economic limits and depended on financial resources they could not tackle the issues in a traditional "master-planning" process. As a reaction to this spiral of challenges, "[t]he traditional role of 'making' the city is now being picked up by a new group with new ideas" (Schans, 2016). These phenomena which emerged isolated in 1970 and have increased considerably in the last eight years are local (generally bottom-up) initiatives identified as "temporary use", "place making" and "city making" (Urban Catalyst, 2007; Dezwijgernl, 2016). These represent a "proliferation of bottom-up, self-organized initiatives in urban areas, initiated by an increasingly more vocal and empowered civil society, where vital socially innovative development dynamics reside (Lofvers & Devos 2015)." Without a doubt, these phenomena have increased considerably during the last years all around Europe and seem to have a bigger and bigger influence on the city life. What type of influence they specifically generate is a matter to be observed, analyzed and understood in the decades to come. This paper is trying to contribute to this reflective process, before the urban values and opportunities will, from the perspective of Sassen, be once again corrupted in the interest of "brutal forms of private accumulation" (Sassen, 2014, p.128).

1.2 Thesis structure:

The paper is structured in seven chapters. The first one presents the general TUI context, highlights the knowledge gap generating the research and points out the research question and the related objectives. Chapter 2 offers an image of the seven concepts used in analysing the collected data. Here, a particular focus is offered to the concept of temporary (re)use, strategies, tactics, space of engagement and space of dependence. Chapter 3 indicates in detail the path followed in conducting the research from methods used to how the data interpretation was made. The fourth and fifth chapters offer a general image of the two cities (study cases) and the main urban actors involved in the two TUIs. Chapter 6 presents the interpretation of the collected data by analysing the relationship between urban actors, future perspectives, the balance between strategies and tactics, the influences on the local context and by presenting a general property diagram.The last chaper (no. 7) closes the paper by drawing several conclusions reflecting back at the limits of the research and pointing out possible future research.

"Changing a mindset – so that we grasp the need to address urban problems in an integrated way – can be worth a thousand persuasive reports so often seen gendering dust."

(Landry, 2012, p.5)

1.3 Research preparation

he identification, construction and focus of the topic and research question for this research started in autumn 2015 and involved readings but also numerous interviews with urban actors. Between TNovember 2015 and January 2016, I had discussed with various European experts[1] about what they consider key urban planning issues and priorities needing research. This exercise offered me a better understanding of the Romanian, Dutch and EU planning context. The subject selected for this thesis is also the result of this discussions. Another, key aspect on identifying and framing in details the research question(s) were initial discussions had with the agents of two TUIs: Zomerhofkwartier (ZOHO) and Industria Bumbacului (INBU) which allowed me to access from the start some critical detailed realities of the two transfromations. Lastly, the subject, research question(s) and research framework had been improved based on the knowledge accumulated during the City Makers Pre-Summit in February 2016. This event proved the importance and interest which the TUIs have in the current European planning context.

1.4 Societal relevance

This research hopes to contribute with relevant knowledge on how urban actors can benefit from cooperating within TUIs, supporting them and creating factors to generate positive impact. Moreover, it hopes to provide knowledge on what type of influences TUIs generate upon the urban context. The lesson learned from such a research can be used by policy makers, urban experts, TUI agents, property owners and citizens in starting or improving regeneration processes that aim at improving urban areas and the public space. Hopefully, the knowledge from this research will contribute to the transformation of run-down areas into vibrant places with a high quality of life.

More specifically, this paper may help the actors involved in the TUIs better understand each other and their multiple perspectives on the issue. Moreover, they can have a better grasp on the challenges and the opportunities they encounter. Actors engaged in the INBU case may derive lessons from the generally close cooperation (between municipality, owner and agents) which exists in the Zomerhofkwartier (ZOHO) case. For the actors involved in the ZOHO case relevant aspects may emerge from the particular character of the Nod Makerspace[2] social and professional network which generates tremendous energy and creativity. For both groups this paper offers indication on what key social, economic and urban values should be emphasized in the transformation process and what threats should be neutralized. Additionally, this paper can help the TUIs critically reflect on their future intentions, take decisions and prepare tactics or/ and strategy in this regard. Moreover, for the ZOHO actors this paper will represent the basis of a set of recommendations for a future transformation programme[3]. Likewise, this research produces relevant knowledge for several European TUI projects / platforms, of which we mention re:Kreators, New Europe City Makers[4], Refill the City (Urbanct III),

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[1] Predominantly from Romania but not only.
[2] Main agents of INBU
[3] The ZOHO progeamme for the next 2 years is not included in this document but it is developed base on the knowledge gproduced in this research.
[4] They represent the participant of the City-Makers (Pre-)Summit[4] which contrinuted to the emergence of the European City-Makers Agenda. This was developed in parallel with the preparation of the Urban Agenda promoted by The Netherlands EU Presidency 2016.

TUTOR (Urbact II), and to the Romanian policymakers who are currently working on improving the legal and administrative aspects in order to support these alternative urban transformation.

Last but not least, the European markets give signs of change (Saskia, 2014) which could result again in fierce neo-liberalism. Thus, could manifest in an increased interest for purchasing urban properties and therefore expel the TUIs for bigger and quicker material profits. In this context it is crucial to reflect on if and how can TUIs remain an active part of the transformation process and add value to its environment.

1.5 Scientific relevance

Although the subject of alternative urban transformations and, more specifically TUI, are not a completely new (Urban Catalyst, 2007) there is still a *gap of knowledge* on what is the relationship between the five main urban actors engaged in the process: the owner(s), the agent(s), the tenant(s), the municipality and the local inhabitants.

This paper intends to fill the gap on how urban actors see (perceive) each other and how they interact as part of the same initiative and/or area. Additionally, this work will contribute with knowledge about how these actors envision and support the future development of their TUI and how all this aspects influence the local urban context. Understanding these aspects can help urban actors and decision makers support the valuable processes which contribute to urban improvements and to diminish the potential negative impact (such as gentrification). Moreover, understanding this aspects can contribute to the improvement of urban planning procedures and approaches in an attempt to better (re)use the existing values and resources of our cities.

Photo 2 - Nagarjun Kandukuru 2015 Explorers and Pioneers not Caretakers, Flicker, Creative Commons.

More specifically, there seems to be very limited knowledge on the TUIs in Bucharest and Romania, since these alternative transformations have emerged as practices in the post-socialist European countries almost entirely after the 2008 crisis. On the other hand, several Dutch studies have focused on the ZOHO initiative in Rotterdam, but none of them made use of an extensive participatory observation method. Therefore, I bring into question if these previous analyses managed to include the less visible particularities and details of the process.

1.6 Research question(s) and objectives:

This research gives central attention to the concept of urban actors (Property owner(s), TUI agents, TUI tenants, municipality and local inhabitants; See page 34) and TUIs in order to expose their relationships, their views for the future and what are their influences upon the local urban context. The main research question was formulated as follows:

How do the main actors involved in temporary use initiatives (TUIs) see the future of their initiative and how does this influence the local urban context?

In order to answer this challenging research question five main objectives had been defined. First it is relevant to offer a general perspective on *(1) what are the current TUIs in Rotterdam and Bucharest*. Are the two study cases totally unique in their city or do they coexist with similar ones? Second objective is to identify and explain *(2) which the main urban actors of the two TUIs are.* Since TUIs are complex inter-actor processes, it is critical to understand who they are and what they do. The third objective is to describe and reflect on *(3) how the main TUIs actors see each other and the relationships between them*. This aspect will offer perspective on the quality and strength of their cooperation. The fourth objective makes a sketch of *(4) how the main TUIs actors see the future of their initiative?* Finally, all this knowledge will try to explain *(5) how the urban actors, their relationship and their views of the future influence the local urban context.* By doing so I tried to provide useful reflections and lessons for those taking urban decisions. Overall my research intends to add valuable and detailed knowledge to the under researched field of TUIs.

"In placemaking [TU], the important transformation happens in the minds of the participants, not simply in the space itself."

Silberberg et al. 2013, p.3
(Parenthesis by AlexandruMatei)

Chapter 2: Conceptual framework and literature review

In order to deeply understand the challenges at stake (presented above), I will make use of several concepts which I consider particularly helpful. These are: temporary (re)use, strategies, tactics, space of dependence, space of engagement and organic urban regeneration.

2.1 Temporary (re)use,

In the current debates on urban issues and particularly under-used or un-used (vacant) spaces, temporary use stands out as an important concept. A look at the current corpus of literature brings to light several key definitions and explanations.

Bishop and Williams define TU as "the *intention* [emphasis in original] of the user, developer, or planners that the use should be temporary." (2012, cited by Levitt). This is one of the simplest definitions and concentrates almost entirely on the aspect of (intended) temporality. Obviously, this perspective is the one from which the concept received its name. However, very frequently reality shows that deciding what in a city is temporary and/ or permanent is not in the power of one individual or actor (Haydn, 2006). Elma van Boxel & Kristian Koreman from the (landscape) architecture office Zones Urbaines Sensibles (ZUS) emphasize that TUs can became the main status of a place and thus a 'permanent temporality' (2015).

Lehtovuori and Ruoppila have a different approach. They explain that "any action that uses a place for other than its common use for a period of time is temporary use" (2012, p.30, cited by Gottdiener et al, 2015). As it can be seen here, the focus shifts from the time aspect to the uncommon functionality that can emerge in a certain space. Oswalt and his colleagues consider that TU "is urban development without financial means that is solely based on urban space." (2013, p.376) For them the critical aspects of the concept lay in bringing new life to a certain space even though the financial resources for this are very limited. It is also important the fact that TUI are strongly related to a place-based approach.

According to Urban Catalyst group[5], TU exhibit three main characteristics. Firstly, the people performing activities on the site are others then the owner of the site, secondly, the owner receives "no or no relevant financial income" for the use of the place and, thirdly, the use of the place is thought to be limited. (Urban Catalyst cited by Earst, 2011). To this we can add the over-arching characteristic underlined by Lehtovuori & Ruoppila that TU are "specific and place-based" (2012, p. 37).

To some extent, the way actors involve within TUI and, more specifically, their engagement with various members of the community reflect characteristics envisioned by Charles Fourier for the *phalanstère* / Phalanstery. Many TUI try to be self-contained, independent, to develop efforts for the common good, and to integrate urban and rural feature. Moreover, they experiment with alternative agriculture methods and multiple functions such as work, living, education, relaxation, production, socialization, and the elimination of gender role and difference.

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[5] Urban Catalyst is the name of a research group formed mainly by Philipp Misselwitz , Philipp Oswalt , Klaus Overmeyer , http://www.urbancatalyst.net/kontakt.php?lang=en

Photo 3 - Benefits of Temporary use presented by Ms. Charlot Schans during a debate. Photo retrieved on May 31, 2016 from https://twitter.com/refillthecity

Overall, the most frequently acclaimed and observed benefits of TUI are that they offer in-between solutions for a specific space, owner and economic entity, they can positively stimulate the economy and contribute to the regeneration of the urban environment (Andres, 2013, Urban Catalyst, 2003). Furthermore, the TU initiatives are associated with a process of appropriation (City Makers Summit, 2016), which can represent critical elements in the improvement of urban areas. The recognized benefits of TU cover both public (and societal) benefits and private (and commercial) benefits. Finally, a limited number of experts consider that "temporary uses are little more than a new tool in an entrepreneurial/ neoliberal vision of the city (Rosol, 2012 cited by Moore-Cherry, 2015)."

Temporary (re)use evolution
Since no object, space or function is permanent in the exact sense, we can expect that these processes we identify now as TU took place during history in various ways. For the purpose of this research we will refer just to the phenomenon described above and which has taken place in the western urban culture in the last decades.

The emergence of TU phenomena in Europe dates back to 1970s and is related to the de-industrialization (Andres, 2013), de-regulation and liberalization of the economies of the western countries. According to Patti and Polyak, the first structured studies of TU started in the 1990s determined by the general transformations accrued in the reunited Berlin (2015).

My literature review did not identify any authors reflecting on the starting point of the TU phenomena in ex-socialist countries of East Europe. Based on my urban planning knowledge and professional experience in Romania, the TU phenomena started to emerge in the Eastern Europe countries at the

beginning of 2000s and more predominantly after 2008 (crisis). As we can expect, the TU phenomena is predominantly the result of the economic, social and cultural metamorphoses which produced numerous unintended procedural deadlocks and vacancies. The recent professional debates (Citymaking Summit, 2016) had indicate that the diversity of urban concept is increasing. Concept such as place-making and city-making are used more and more but to a large extend they incorporate the characteristics of TU.

At the European level the TU phenomena was first studied in depth between 2001 and 2003 by the Urban Catalysts research group as part of a project financed by the European Commission. Several years later, when the impact of the 2008 crisis became clearer, several other similar studies developed. Under the URBACT programme two projects developed. The first one is called Temporary use as a tool for urban regeneration TUTUR (URBACT II) and developed between 2013 and 2015. The second one, is named Reuse of vacant spaces as driving Force for Innovation on Local level - Refill (URBACT III) and was launched at the end of 2015 and is currently under implementation. In parallel with this projects a third network of transformation initiatives emerged under the name re:Kreators and intends to develop in an member association with the aim to exchange knowledge and improve members initiatives. The interest for TU phenomena and its related implications seems to receive currently a larger attention. At the beginning of this year (2016) at the university of Milan was launched a first Post graduate program entitled Temporary Reuse - Strategies and tools for reuse of abandoned spaces.

Under this context, probably the most notable aspect is the fact that this phenomena overall was acknowledged by the EU by accepting in the text of the "Urban Agenda for EU (Pact of Amsterdam)", several articles related to this topic. This was achieved with the effort of international City Makers (actors involved in alternative transformation of spaces) who exchanged knowledge on the topic during the City Makers Summit (in May 2016) and during the City Makers Pre-summit (in February 2016) and as part of writing the City Makers Agenda. The importance of TU and city making had been acknowledge also by the president of the Committee of the Regions Mr. Markku Markkula, who during the City Makers Summit visited 4 initiatives including the ZOHO initiative.

"X Civil Society, Knowledge Institutions and Business

The Ministers agree:

52 To recognise the potential of civil society to co-create innovative solutions to urban challenges, which can contribute to public policy making at all levels of government and strengthen democracy in the EU.

53 To invite the EESC to contribute, within its competence, to the further development of the Urban Agenda for the EU.

54 To invite civil society organisations, knowledge institutions and businesses to provide informed advice on all actions within the framework of the Urban Agenda for the EU aimed at Better Regulation, Better Funding and Better Knowledge."

Chapter X, page 16 of the Urban Agenda for EU – Pact of Amsterdam signed on May 31st, 2016 in Amsterdam

Finally, it is important to firmly underline that for the purpose of this paper the concept of TU is strongly related to the wider processes involved and not just to the temporal aspect. For this paper I will understand TU "as activities outside the ordinary functioning of real estate markets, highlighting the 'intention of the user, developer or planners that the use should be temporary' (Bishop and Williams 2012, p.5), or 'that these distinctions assume that temporary use is secondary or provisional, a stand-in or substitute for the preferred permanent option' (Németh and Langhorst 2014, 144, cited by Patty & Polyak, 2015). As we can see the rational here combines three main aspects. First, the idea that the activities developed take shape in an unordinary context, second, that they are seen by some actors as temporary secondary solution but also that they are a "substitute" for a desired (Urban Catalyst, 2007) scenario which is not possible to accomplish under the current context.

2.2 Strategies and tactics

In his work, The Practice of Everyday Life (1984), Michel de Certeau tried to explain the ordinary way of living of the "ordinary man". To this end, he acknowledged the distinction between "strategies" and "tactics" as different power relationships processes.

He explains the concept of 'strategy' as the practice of an entity which by will and power (resources) manages to draw limits around itself (De Certeau, 1984, p.36). By doing so, this entity enforces control inside the established internal system and protects it from the unwanted interferences from the exterior system. The crucial first practices implemented are thus the establishment of boundaries around place and the declaration of ownership of the place. Building on this theory, Lauren Andres, considers "that strategies are a synonym for conformity, rationality and interventionism"(Andres, 2013, p.764).

> *"I call a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country sur-rounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be man-aged."* (De Certeau, 1984, p.36).

In contrast, De Certeau describes tactics as the practice of an entity which lacks "locus", the power and the ability to inforce it (De Certeau, 1984, p.37). Here, the cruxes lay on the use of key moments "to usurp, the place of another" (McGaw, 2010, p.4). In contrast to strategies, tactics are "temporary mobile and flexible" (Andres, 2013, p.764).

> *"A tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power."* (De Certeau, 1984, p.37).

Here a key distinction can be made between collective tactics and individual tactics. A collective tactic represents actions which are supported and enforced in cooperation by multiple actors (predominantly tenants). In contrast, an individual tactic is developed by one organization or individual.

This paper tries to build on these two related concepts and to explain the current relationships between the owner, municipality, agent(s) and tenant(s) and to understand if the process evolved towards inclusiveness or expulsions of actors.

2.3 Weak planning and Master planning

Urban planning was and will always be a complex profession strongly related to the time and place specific context(s). As regular practice, master planning is frequently used for urban development. Master planning is understood here as the regular procedural method of planning the transformation of a certain space, which is used when a desired future seems achievable. When this apparently achievable context does not exist, we face weak planning (WP). WP represents the opposite context (Andres, 2013) and emerges in relation to various crises or challenges. Lauren Andres explains the concept of weak planning as the context in which "a desired future of an area cannot be accomplished" (2013, p762). In his work, Andres identifies several reasons which make an investment unachievable. Firstly, a weak property market, second a financial non-viability of the redevelopment project, thirdly strong disagreements between stakeholders and, finally, planning restrictions (particularly towards land use modification). Overall, WP is a context strongly related to moments of crisis (economic, financial and/or social). WP periods are characterized by a complex, fluid, flexible and permissive character, but also by a lack of co-ordination, strategic guidelines, clear objectives and control from any higher authority;

2.4 Space of dependence and Space of engagement

"Spaces of dependences are defined by those more-or-less localized social relations upon which we depend for the realization of essential interests and for which there are no substitutes elsewhere; they define place-specific conditions for our material wellbeing and our sense of significance" (Cox, 1998 P.2). For Cox "a space of dependence [is] a space within which it is possible to substitute one socio (-spatial) relation for another but beyond which such substitution is difficult if not impossible" (Cox, 1998 P.5). In contrast to this, he also acknowledges the existence of "a space of engagement [which is] the space in which the politics of securing a space of dependence unfolds. This may be at a more global scale than the space of dependence" (Cox, 1998 P.2). The space of engagement can represent a network of actors and relationships and can be used as base for strategies or tactics. The "interest in influencing state agencies" is essential for TUI. This requires in practice the formation of a network of associations which is in fact the space of engagement.

The relevance of these two concepts arise from the debate between fixity (more specific for strategies) and mobility (more specific for tactics). The TUIs experience both of them in various proportion. Some have at their core a specific location, space or building and thus have a larger dependence on that particular space, others are less dependent on space and more dependent on engagement and networks.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

3.1 Considerations about knowledge

First of all, TUIs are processes where numerous human interactions, deliberations and decisions take place. By doing so, the perception of what we call "reality" is in fact a constructed product and thus will always show interpretation and differences between participants. Also, the processes taking place inside TUIs are generally un-institutionalized, therefore following pathways which can be best understood by developing an in depth process analysis. In researching this, I made use of several existing concepts which allowed me to decode the entangled urban "realities" of the two selected TUIs I observed. Thus, my research can be classified as a deductive approach (Bryman, 2012).

For this particular research, my approach is based on the understanding that "[p]eople and society are inherently different to the objects of study of the natural sciences. Therefore, I believe that, the "natural sciences are a poor model for studying human interpretations" (Lennon, 2015) and will not be helpful (enough) in deeply understanding the core of their particular social, economic and physical context. In order to understand how TUIs function, how involved actors relate to each other and define paths for their future, I also paid some attention to the local and planning cultures to recognize the main differences between the two study cases. For this purpose, I made use of methods that exposed me to the informal, day-to-day aspects of the process such as: participatory observation and semi-structured interviews. This allowed me to have a solid grasp on how urban actors involved in TUIs take part in various events, interact between them and influence their upcoming. This perspective on what is acceptable knowledge (epistemological considerations) is labeled as an "interpretivist approach" and I consider it the best perspective to make cross-national judgements. Moreover, I was aware and paid particular attention to my personal bias in order to stop it interfere with interpreting the collected data.

As stated above, for me the social world is influenced by how we construct our "image". Social phenomena and social categories are constructions. Thus, my perspective on the nature of reality (ontological considerations) is predominantly a "constructionism position" (Bryman, 2012). Alan Bryman underlines that "the social order is a constant state of change" (2012, p.33) and that agreements are constantly terminated, forgotten, established, renewed, reviewed, revoked and revised. As you will see later, these aspects had been identified in both study cases and represent an important part of the local reality. In the social world, nothing is "perfectly" objective and it features many "realities". This position is relevant for my research and is translated in the methodological approach and in the reflections made on collected data. Finally, it is valuable to emphasize that this research has also an exploratory character. Although this was not intentional and clear from the beginning, the research process experienced a constant spiral of development which involved the gradual understanding of concepts and the discovery of key empirical factors. These two build on each other and helped me to raise a new segment of the (exploratory) research spiral.

"The tactician is always on the move,

whereas the strategist sits at his desk,

observing through the window perhaps - and

from a distance – the place where he works.

The urban planner has to be right there

where the action is."

Peter Arlt (Flyvbjerg, 2004), p.46
(Bold marks by AlexandruMatei

3.2 Methodological approach and research methods

The methodology developed for this empirical research is based on two case studies of TUIs which had been investigated and on an almost entirely *qualitative research approach*. Using a qualitative approach is the best option for the current research because it involves an in depth understanding of *human behavior* and the *reasons* that govern them (Bryman, 2012). The two study cases are: "Industria Bumbacului"[6] (INBU) (EN: Cotton Industry) transformation process from Bucharest, Romania and "Zomerhofkwartier"[7] (ZOHO) transformation process from Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

The *reasons* for choosing a methodology based on case studies derives from the possibility to focus the inquiry and to understand their particular reality in considerable depth (fact which is harder to achieve with other methods). This can bring to surface relevant aspects which may not be understood from a more general investigation. It happens often in the case of other research methods. Furthermore, my research tries to have a solid grasp on the process of transformation which involves understanding the actors' actions, motivations and rational (process analysis). The reasons for selecting these particular two study cases are threefold: the existence of a structure of similarities which makes the two study cases comparable, of several key differences which makes the comparison relevant and of a unique opportunity which facilitates the research.

The *similarities* identified refer to a specific site and undergoing processes, the local area and the city overall. Both Rotterdam and Bucharest are medium to big size cities and represent key economic centers of their countries. Both cities experienced the "boom and bust" cycle (Saskia, 2014) in the 2000s, with considerable impact (although different) and are recently seeing some different approaches towards urban transformation. These cities are also experiencing emerging creative and entrepreneurial energies. With respect to the two sites, both are comparable in size, complexity and functions. Moreover, an interesting similarity is also that, during the end of 2000s, both site owners were preparing the plans and process for demolishing the existing buildings and building new units. Their hope was to obtain rapid profits by building new apartment and office spaces.

The relevant *differences* for this two study cases refer mainly to institutions and systems. Firstly, The Netherlands and Romania experienced contrasting European histories and cultures. The Netherlands experienced long, continued and stable democracy based on capitalism. Romania experienced some radical social, political and economic shifts, which created discontinuity and occasional instability. Secondly, the two countries and cities have very different administrative structures, resources and level of efficiency. The Dutch civil society appears very involved and strong. On the contrary, the Romanian civil society is unexperienced (after 1989) and unstructured. Overall, The Netherlands seems to have strong institutions and an experienced civil society whereas Romania has fragile institutions and an unexperienced civil society. Equally important, the two countries prove to have different planning systems and cultures. Finally, the two study cases have two typologies of owners. In the ZOHO case the owner is a (semi)public institution: the housing foundation and in the INBU case the owner is represented by a group of private individuals.

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[6] Industria Bumbacului (INBU) http://www.nodmakerspace.ro/
[7] Zomerhofkwartier (ZOHO) http://zohorotterdam.nl/

Selecting these two study cases also involve a unique *opportunity*. On one hand, I had the chance to make direct observation of the ZOHO initiative and Dutch planning culture for a period of 5 months. On the other hand, I had the possibility to make use of my preexisting knowledge of the local context and culture of Romania and Bucharest. Finally, by using my professional network I kept myself informed about the main urban planning aspects taking place in Bucharest.

Methods used

Three main methods had been used: participatory observation (just for ZOHO), a serious of semi-structured interviews with representatives from relevant urban actors and participation on relevant conferences. Additionally, data was collected documents related to the two TUIs such as development visions, reports and studies.

Participatory observation

The participatory observation (PO) process in ZOHO involved working from inside the Stipo office located in one of the most important buildings of the ZOHO transformation. As Arlt was saying "*the urban planner has to be right there where the action is" (*cited by Flyvbjerg, 2004, p.46*).* In practice this meant developing the research from inside this group for approximately 4 days per week (starting from March 1st, 2016). Overall, this involved approximately 400 hours (50 days) of direct and indirect observation and engagement. For this, I followed the "participatory research" logic explained by Flyvbjerg (2006) that involved several layers of observation and interactions.

The most frequent interaction accrued as informal discussions with people working in or visiting the area. These moments had been generally related to the daily lunch organized in common with all the entrepreneurs from that floor. This allowed for constant interaction which built acceptance and trust. These two aspects proved to be useful, allowing the people to express naturally in my presence. Once per month the ZOHO community organized a "ZOHO Lunch" to which all people considered part of the ZOHO were invited. During my period there I took part in two of them that turned out to be good moments to get me in contact with an extended group of local entrepreneurs.

A second important observation process took place during the regular "ZOHO entrepreneurial meetings". This volunteer working group emerged in March 2016 from the awareness that not everything functioned well in the area and that the future of ZOHO is uncertain. During my research I participated in 6 (from 8) meetings. The topics debated had reflected on questions such as: what is the ZOHO group, what are the ZOHO limits and what are the ZOHO intentions for the future? A third contact with the local reality occurred during the professional public events named 40,48%[8] predominantly coordinated by the Stipo team. This event takes place (almost) every week and focuses on urban topics and the local neighborhood. One particular advantage for attending this event was that it was predominantly in English and thus involved no linguistic barriers. Other relevant observations befell inside the Stipo team, during one of their official meetings, some public presentations and occasional

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[8] **40,48%** event receives its name from the moment of the week when it takes place. That is Wednesday at 19.00, moment when 40,48% of the week is already past.

discussions with their team members. These had also been complimented with regular walks in the area and around it at different moments of the day and occasional photographic documentation of the area.

Overall, the participant observation method offered me flexibility and space for exploration (Bryman, 2012), allowed me to be in permanent contact with daily activities, to find out quickly about the new changes happening in the group, to have access to informal activities and moments which offer a natural behavior and finally to deeply submerge in the local group and process.

Semi-structured interviews

The second research method used was a series of **semi-structured interviews (SSI).** This method was applied for both study cases in a similar manner. Overall I did 5 interviews for the ZOHO case and 7 for the INBU case. These are not including the preparatory discussions and interviews realized from November 2015 until January 2016 (See page 11). Unstructured interviews were not considered a proper method for this study because they were making the "cross-case comparability" (Bryman, 2012) very difficult. The SSI were developed with the intention to collect opinions from all relevant actors involved in or influenced by the transformation process and thus link the various perspective in a balance integrated interpretation. In practice, from the beginning it became clear that taking interviews to local inhabitants will involve considerable challenges for several objective reasons. First there is a language barrier. Second, finding inhabitants willingness to be interviewed requires preparations which take considerable amount of time. Thirdly, achieving an overall representative picture for all ethnic and cultural local groups entails a long time of engagement. Unfortunately, the context of this research is not offering this chance. Collecting the views of the inhabitants is intended to be made in a second research which will complement the current one. The actors interviewed for this research are representatives from the local administration, owners of spaces, agents (activators of the process) and local entrepreneurs (See Appendix 1 - page 64). For the INBU case an extra interview was realized with a representative from the central administration level (The Romanian Ministry for Regional Development and Public Administration). This was done in order to understand better the administrative and legal aspects relevant for the alternative transformation of problematic areas. In parallel this interview was also a method to reduce the foreseen risk that the main interview with the local administration could be annulated. In the end, both of them took place.

For these SSI an *interview guide* was developed and tested. This interview guide followed a chronological structure (the start of the transformation, the present situation and the future views) and tried to bring to light the interviewee perspective on the involved actors, their relationships, the transformation process and their intentions for future (See Appendix 2 – page 64). A key part of the interview guide was dedicated on how the interviewee evaluates the transformation of the area of the TUI since he started to be involved in it.

Overall this method helped me to obtain a clear and detailed perspective on the two TUIs. It allowed me to expend on the interviewee first answers and to ask for additional clarifications, which was not possible to achieve using other methods such as questionnaires. Moreover this method offered flexibility and lived space for discoveries of aspects which had not been assumed initially. For example, in the case of INBU at an initial phase it seemed that from the beginning the driver force of the

transformation had been agents from NOD Makerspace. At the end of one of the semi-structured interview the initial "seed" of transformation emerged. This element determined me to extend my work with another (unplanned) SSI (with B7G1 and B7G2) which proved of paramount relevance.

Conferences

In addition to PO and SSI, I attended a number of related conferences which added valuable knowledge about temporary use, alternative area transformation, and city-making. Under this category there are **3** main events that focus exactly on the research topic.

The first event was *New Europe City Makers Pre-summit*[9] that represented a preparation phase of the main summit which took place in May (see below). The Pre-Summit brought together experts and leaders of initiatives regarding area transformation from approximately 60 cities from all the 28 EU countries (dezwijger.nl, 2016). The questions acknowledged during the event had been: "What drives the transformation initiatives, and how can we make sure that the best practices flourish and accelerate? How can City Makers combine their societal impact with sustainable business models? What could new roles of government officials look like? And are there rules and regulations that should be adjusted in favor of the City Makers movement?" (dezwijger.nl, 2016). During this event the idea to develop a European City-Makers Agenda took shape between participants. The aim of this document is to show decision makers involved in the writing of the EU Urban Agenda the value of city-making initiatives (TUIs) and to recommend them some articles to be introduced in the final text of the EU Urban Agenda. Fact which materialized to a certain extent. Three months later, the *New Europe City-Makers Summit*[10] took place. The event extended for four days and included several debates, workshops and study visits. During the third day I was involved in two debates as part of the re:Kreators group and Eutropian team. One on how the relationship between top and bottom level could be improved[11] (which I moderated) and one on how TUIs can be co-financed. These events allowed me to improve my research by understanding what are the challenges TUIs from other European cities face, and thus reflect on my one study cases.

The third important event was the *National Conference on the Possibilities of Giving Value to the Abandoned Community Heritage*[12]. The event was organized by the Romanian Ministry for Public Consultation and Civic Dialogue and brought together urban experts, entrepreneurs, transformation leaders, NGOs, members of local administration and members of nine ministries. The event benefited also from the input offered by prime-minister Dacian Cioloș who expressed his support for improvements in the legislation. The conference succeded partialy to concentrate the discussions on three main topics: (1) the importance of transforming urban heritage in cooperation with local communties, (2) the problem faced in doing this and (3) the opportunity to develop a national public policy for this topic. This event was related to a short online census, which collected the most important

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[9] 4-5 February 2016, Amsterdam, https://dezwijger.nl/programma/new-europe-city-makers-pre-summit

[10] 27-30 May 2016, Amsterdam https://citiesintransition.eu/event/new-europe-city-makers-summit

[11] Rotterdam Re:Kreators; top-down meets bottom up in new forms of revitalization, https://dezwijger.nl/day-2-we-connect/rotterdam-2/ ;
Funding the Cooperative City https://www.facebook.com/events/491786921018519/

[12] (April 15th, 2016, Romanian Government, Bucharest) The exact full title in Romanian is "Revitalizare comunitară și impact de dezvoltare economică inovatoare prin valorificarea patrimoniului comunitar abandonat în marile aglomerări urbane"; A rough translation is: Community revitalization and impact of the innovative economic development by giving value to the abandoned community heritage from the large urban agglomerations. http://dialogcivic.gov.ro/2016/04/conferinta-nationala/

urban (alternative) transformation initiatives in Romania and an online questionnaire collecting opinions about the problems faced and solutions foreseen in urban (alternative) transformation initiatives. For this research I made use of these two documents, which helped me to better understand the local context in Bucharest and Romania.

The first methodology draft (December 2015) took in consideration also the possibility to organize a focus group in Bucharest[13] in which to debate the TUIs subject with local experts. This method was of interest but it was clear that involved several risks and considerable resources. There was the risk that key experts would not attend and that participants would avoid to express openly in public. Moreover, well organized event requires vast resources, logistics and communication. When the National Conference was confirmed (February), I decided to use this unique opportunity instead of making a focus group since the subject was almost identical. It was clear that being organized by a Ministry the event will guarantee the presence of the numerous key experts and decision makers. This decision proved to be wise because it provided the needed information. Overall, these events provided a large perspective on the Romanian, Dutch and European TUIs.

For a clear understanding of the methodology of this research a more extensive explanation is required on how the two study cases have been investigated and used. By making participatory research in ZOHO, Rotterdam (an unfamiliar context) I had the chance to observe and evaluate the local realities with a 'filter' un-framed by the local (Dutch) context, and thus have good premises to develop more critical reflections. In a similar manner observing INBU, Bucharest (a familiar context) from an outside environment allowed me to take some distance from my native 'framed' (Romanian) knowledge and thus creating better conditions for critical thinking. The direct involvement in a specific TUI from Rotterdam allowed me to closely observe the local processes of the organization and therefore to have an in depth understanding of the initiative. Furthermore, this experience offered the researcher new perspectives on the Bucharest context in which he developed professionally and therefore he is inevitably influenced by its specific (planning) culture.

Interpretation of data

Overall this methodology offers both complementary and balance to this research. The literature review offered a theoretical base, participation in conferences offered a general overview of the current situation of TUIs in Europe, the SSI and PO offered specific details of the two study cases. With this balance of knowledge, the collected data was used and interpreted as following. The first period of the PO helped me to identify key topics, main debates and current challenges. These data had been used to build the interview guide. Moreover, the interview guide was also tested formally and informally with people from within the TUI. Later, the recorded information from the SSIs had been listened several times. During the listening I selected the key information and identified contrasting views, general agreements, issues and values of the TUI. Later, I tried to verify the data received in SSIs by other interactions in my PO. By doing so I kept my focus on the key aspects of the TUIs. Additionally, I tried to use the PO in order to understand also the untold things happening between the local actors. Finally, although not clear from the beginning, this research proved to be to a certain level an exploratory

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[13] in cooperation with the Romanian Association of Professional Urban Planners APUR

exercise. This is because the main TUIs have no very clear limits, members and objectives. The fluidity of all this aspects make the research a dive into an ocean of information and processes.
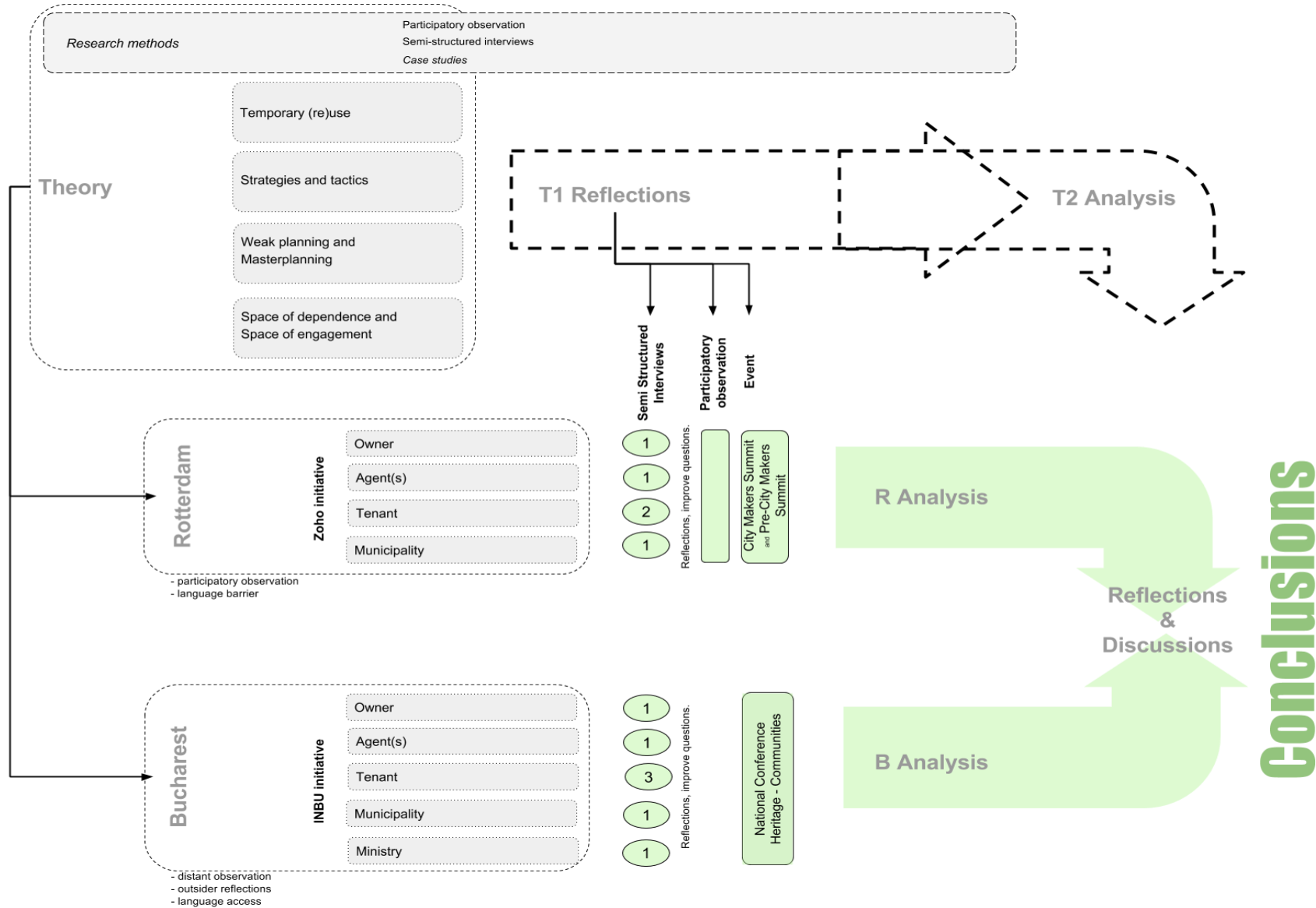
Figure 1 - The research methodology structure scheme in the final phase of the research. May 2016, Alexandru Matei

Chapter 4: Description of study cases

4.1 TUIs in Rotterdam and Bucharest

Both Rotterdam and Bucharest experience a dynamic and creative entrepreneurial, cultural and civic spirit. As part of this several TUI are established and influencing the environment around them. For Rotterdam had been identified six main TUI based on online documentation and discussion with local experts. One of the most renowned transformation initiative in Rotterdam is Het Schieblock[14]. It, represents the transformation of a group of generally office buildings intro a center for creative industries, entrepreneurs and terraces. The initiative became renowned also by its relation with a pedestrian wooden bridge which crosses the railway lines and which was financed predominantly by a crowdfunding action. A second initiative is entitled Merwe-vierhavens (M4H)[15] and deals with an integrated reutilization of an industrial harbor in the west of the Rotterdam city center. The Fenix Food Factory[16] emerged in May 2014 in a former industrial deposit locate in the Katendrecht neighborhood. Currently the space is transformed in a food center and leisure space. Its direct relation with the Mass river bank makes it a popular place for relaxation. City in the Making initiative, has already an experience of three years and deals especially with the transformation of vacant properties prom a programming perspective. A forth interesting initiative started in the last months of 2015 and is focused on transforming a former swimming pool and discotheque in a center for entrepreneurs and culture. In the case of Blue City 10 it is important to add that the building was/is in the process of being purchased by an investor interested in this alternative uses. Finally, the sixth initiative of temporary (re)use in its wide understanding is Zomerhofkwarijer – ZOHO (first study case) and involves the transformation of several buildings and more generally the environment of the area and the local networks. In general this initiatives are driven by enthusiast urban experts and entrepreneurs in cooperation with the local administration.

For Bucharest had been identified 5 main TUI. This initiatives are the ones highlighted in a short inventory developed between March and April 2016. The inventory collected the most interesting initiatives which brought value to abandoned "community heritage" (Wolfhouse productions, 2016).
The first initiative represents an independent culture and debate center named Make a Point and function in an underused (industrial building) but also in an unused industrial water tower which became an art gallery a platform for the observation of the city skyline. Carol 53, was in 2012 an abandoned, heavily degraded villa. Since then a group of young experts cleaned it and transformed it in an alternative cultural and educational center. Under this new context the house is gradually renovated. The Hatch Atelier represents a hacker and maker space and focuses technology and education. A forth initiative is Gradina Sticlarilor which gives value to a neglected heritage building by developing regular art initiatives. The fifth initiative identified is Industria Bumbacului (Cotton industry) which represent a former industrial site where several entrepreneurs established in the last years. This initiative represent the second case study of this research. In Bucharest this TUIs are predominantly small scale and driven by enthusiast people but with almost no support from the local administration.

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[14] Het Schieblock http://www.schieblock.com/
[15] Merwe-vierhavens (M4H) - www.inm4h.nl
[16] Fenix Food Factory - http://www.fenixfoodfactory.nl/

This research relay on two study cases which to a certain extent experience similar process. For the purpose of this paper, the study cases will be identified as Zomerhofkwartier (ZOHO) in Rotterdam and Cotton Industry (RO: "Industria Bumbacului") INBU in Bucharest.

4.2 Zomerhofkwartier (ZOHO) in Rotterdam

The ZOHO study case refers to the multiple transformations that took place and continue to do so in the south part of the Agniesebuurt neighborhood. The area is located in the north of the city center and in close vicinity to the Rotterdam Central Station. Agniesebuurt neighborhood overall incorporates predominantly housing buildings but the part of the neighborhood representing the study case contains other functions. Here the built environment is composed of several office buildings, several production (workshops and industrial) spaces and a large size high school building all developed in the 50s and 60s. As a unique characteristic the site is bounded by "de Hofbogen" a former elevated rail track built in the XIX century and currently unused. From a socio-economic perspective, the area was in the last decades seen as a poor and unsafe area, predominantly with inhabitants of migrant background, related to unemployment and antisocial incidents. In the 2000s the center of this area was strongly related to burglary, drug dealing and drug consumption.

The study case focuses on the area and the group(s) self-(i)defined as ZOHO, or related to it. This represents predominantly buildings owned by the Havensteder Fondation (HF). Some of these buildings had been acquired by the housing association in the middle of the 2000s with the intention to demolish the area and build an integrated business district. The financial crises of 2008 made such intentions unviable and resulted in a generalized vacancy of building which attracted in the area more illegal activities. The initiative known now under the name of ZOHO represents the sum of actions aimed at reactivating the office building, improving the public space, envisioning a new future for the area and had been developed in a more structured way by a group of experts as an (partial?) assignment from HF.

Photo 4 - Markings of the main locations which are considered to be part of the ZOHO transformation. 3D image extracted from Google Earth.

4.3 Industria Bumbacului (INBU) in Bucharest

The INBU study case refers to the multiple transformations that took place and continue to do so in the former industrial site of the company Industria Bumbacului (Cotton Industry) located at the Easter limit of the Tineretului Neighberhood, at the border of Sector 6. The site is located south-east of the city center and sits on the bank of the Dâmboviţa River. This site is formed by a complex of present and former industrial building, deposits and offices. Some of them date back to the early of the XX century but suffered multiple changes and adaptations especially between 1950s and 1980s. In contrast to the rest of the neighborhood which represents high density block of flats developed in the 1980s, this part of the neighborhood kept until now functions of small industrial production, workshops, deposits, garages and some small administrative offices related to them. Most of this buildings did not received proper maintains or renovation and are in a poor conditions.

The study case focuses mainly on a large building which experiences a shift from the usual typology of use and approach. This building as the entire site is a private property with several owners, which enter in possession after the privatization of industries that took place in the 1990s. In mid 2000s the entire site had been planned to be demolished and transformed in a housing complex. The financial crises of 2008 made, also here, this intentions unsuitable and resulted in an uncertain future. The transformations known now to take place inside the INBU represent the result of a serious of entrepreneurs actions which clustered together and envision a new life for this spaces and for the area more broadly, which seem to exemplify the ideas of, James Evans, Phil Jones, and Rob Krueger who highlited that the 2008 crisis created (for thouse who can see them) a space of opportunities (2009).
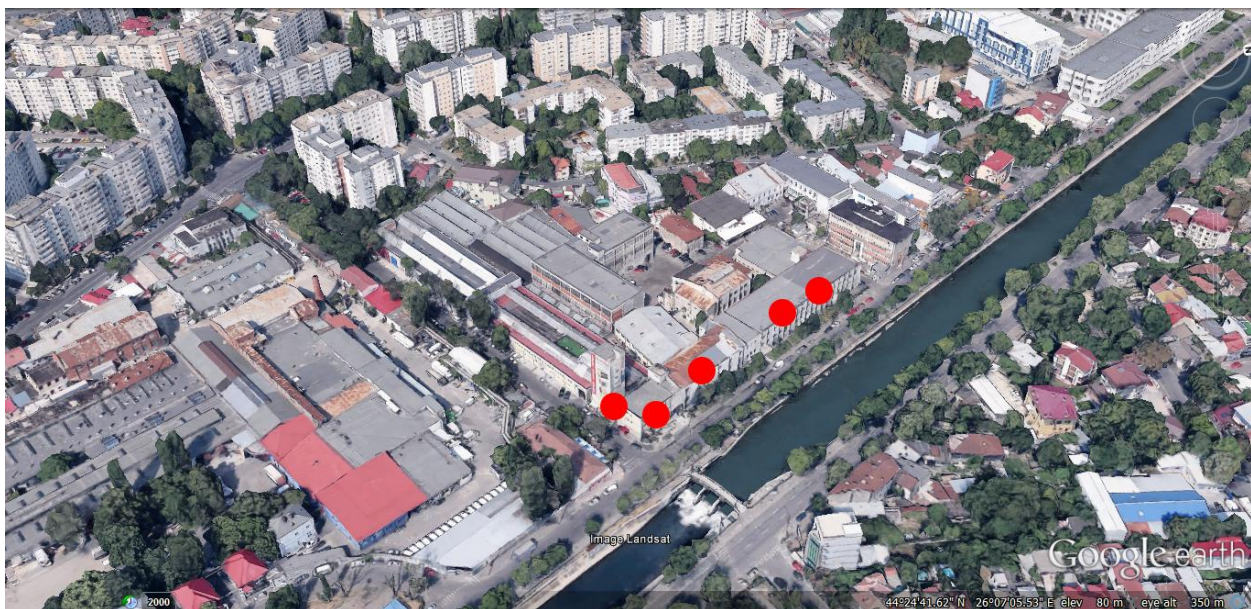

Photo 5 - Markings of the main locations which are considered to be part of the INBU transformations. 3D image extracted from Google Earth.

Photo 6 - One of the main interaction area in ZOHO. The living room of the 2 level of the Yellow Building where the Stipo team are located. Here several urban related quotes are decorating the walls. Here is one from Jane Jacobs. Photo: Alexandru Matei 03/03/2016

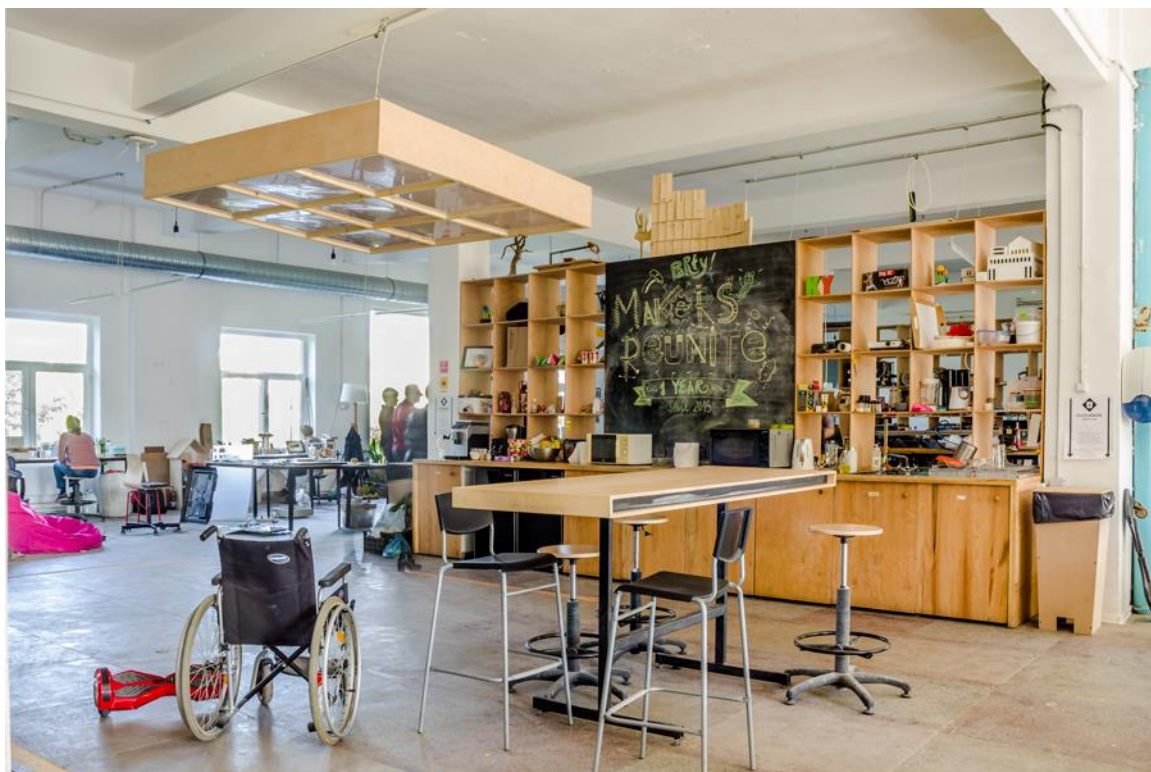*Photo 7 - One of the main interaction areas in INBU. The common space of Nod Makerspace where the main agents are also located. Here with a message of celebration of one year of existence. Photo: Alexandru Matei 21/04/2016.*

"These [TUIs] leaders are also salesmen,

generating enough enthusiasm and optimism

for a project to win over skeptical city

officials and community naysayers."

Silberberg et al. 2013, p.55)

Chapter 5: Description of urban actors involved in TUIs

Since at the core of TUIs stays the cooperation process between various urban actors, it is of paramount importance to understand who they are and what their particularities are. For both study cases six key actors had been identified: the owner(s) (of the property[17]), the tenant(s) (using the space), the municipality, the inhabitants (of the area), the central administration[18] and their agent(s). An 'agent' should be understood in this research as one or more organization(s), group(s) or individual(s) which act as the main driver for the transformation of an area. Their role is to "function as a bridge" (Levitt, 2014). They are the main entity drafting a new vision of a rundown area and the initiator projects for change. In TUIs this role can be fulfilled by one or several actors in parallel which can change during time. Moreover, for this research, the tenant will be considered any person or organization using a space not owned directly by them and which is associated to the TUI. It is important to distinguish the TUIs tenants from the rest of tenants uninvolved in the initiative In most TUIs, the agent is a tenant which assumed a larger role. A unique characteristic of TUIs compared to the regular retail market is that their agents and tenants are not renting a place but they are involved in improving it at multiple levels and they fulfil multiple roles: users, developers, designers, builders, managers and promoters.

5.1 Urban actors in Zomerhofkwartier ZOHO

Owner: Havensteder Foundation

Havensteder Foundation (HF)[19] is one of the social housing foundations existing in The Netherlands. HF is a semi-public organization which rents and administrates apartments in Rotterdam for approximately 45000 households (Havenstedernl, 2016). Most of them are social houses related to poorer areas. The housing associations in The Netherlands have a history of several decades and, during this time, experienced several public policies and roles. In the past (from 80s, until 2000s) it was considered better for them to act as profit oriented commercial entities and had been allowed to build and administrate for profit. During this period many of the housing foundations had created real estate development plans including other

Figure 2 - A (masterplan) schetch of a possible real estate development on the South of Agniesebuurt neighborhood Rotterdam. Schatch from the end of 2000s. Figure provided by: Stipo Office.

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[17] Here a property represents both the land and the buildings located on the land.
[18] National level.
[19] In Dutch: Havensteder Stichting https://www.havensteder.nl/#!content=&contentid1=&contentid2=&PageID=2

functions than housing. This period is now seen as controversial. After the economic 2008 crisis the political view changed[20]. As a result, in 2013 housing associations had been required to manage housing buildings only and sell all their properties which are not residential. Some sources of information suggest that the deadline for selling is December 2018, but others emphasize that the exact details are not yet fully clarified (interviewee Z5S, 2016).

The development of ZOHO in the current form is to a large extent generated by the unsuccessful intentions from the last decade of HF. During the second half of 2000s, the HF bought several buildings in the south of Agniesebuurt neighborhood with the intention to demolish them and transform the area into a modern high density business and apartment district (Interviewees Z2H, Z5S). In this perspective HF did not renew the renting contracts with the initially existing tenets. Soon after, their development plan was jeopardized by the 2008 crisis. Additionally, in 2007 a medium size music club[21] was totally destroyed by fire, leaving a vacant plot in the area. Soon after, HF experienced both financial challenges and vacancies in its poorly maintained buildings. Interviewee Z2H recalls that "before (2008) it was all rented out". This vicious circle triggered a general decay of the area which became known for vacancy, burglaries, drug dealing, and low quality of public space.

HF *space of dependence* is created by the properties owned. The dependence here are the properties in themselves and the difficulties to sell them to other parties. In this regard HF has a double objective: as mentioned before, they are forced to sell several properties in the near future, but they also want to obtain a good transaction price. *The space of engagement* for them represents various administrative structures of predominantly public organizations with which they collaborate. Considering their profile, their main interaction relates to their tenants in the area and is mainly an official contractual form. A second strong connection is developed directly with the municipality and again takes an official form.

Agents: Stipo team

Stipo is a private organization that offers consultancy in urban development. In the beginning of 2013, one of Stipo's key experts, was invited by HF to support the improvement of the south part of Agniesebuurt neighborhood. Thus, he received a payed assignment[22] (Interviewee Z1P, 2016) with the aim of filling in the vacant office spaces and increase the safety of the area. Some consider him an "ambassador" (van Dijk et al, 2011) of the ZOHO initiative. For this, Stipo cooperated closely with the HF and the municipality. They agreed that the area would accept a flexible transition period of ten years during which it could accept experimental uses and activities. To make it official, a symbolic (non-binding) ZOHO agreement was signed by Stipo, IHS[23], Erasmus University and HF which stipulates that ZOHO will be "an area for learning, creating and connecting"[24]. Based on this agreement, Stipo developed and implemented a plan with which they managed to fill in the vacant office spaces[25] in approximately 2 years (instead of 10). Stipo branded and promoted the area and the initiative under the name ZOHO, developed several events, improved several public spaces and structured a vision (See

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[20] As a result of huge financial losses in various risky projects and investments.
[21] Partycentrum Palace - http://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/41515/Brand-partycentrum-aangestoken
[22] One expert for one day of work per week.
[23] Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies
[24] In Dutch: "Gebied voor leren, creëren en verbinden."
[25] Representing 3 / 4 medium size buildings.

Figure 2) for the area. This vision laid down a set of principles and proposed a flexible framework of soft improvements which could be implemented with limited financial resources and focus on the quality of public space, not on new buildings.
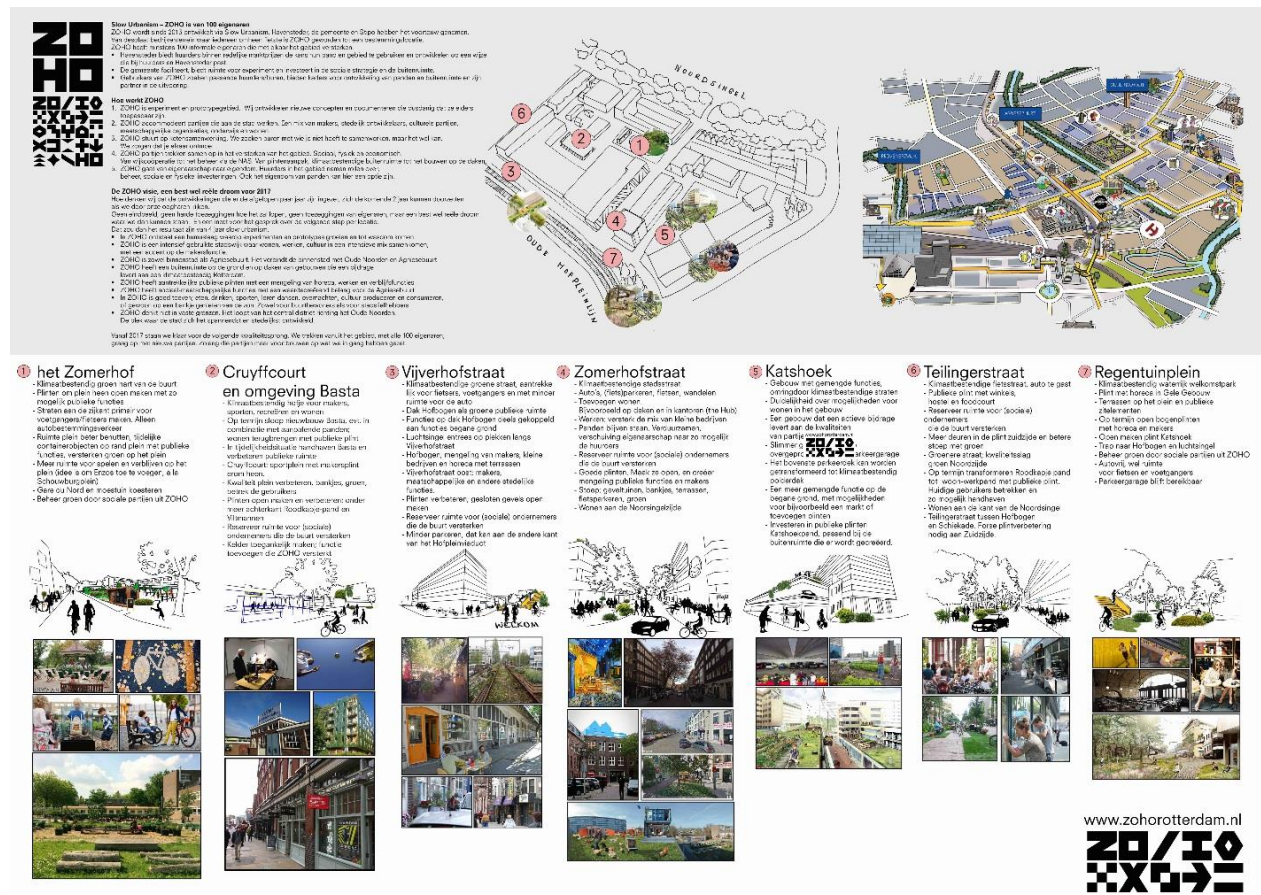

Figure 3 - The ZOHO Vision developed predominantly by Stipo. Source provided by: Stipo Office.

Interview Z4G expressed a mix and contradictory opinion about Stipo. On one hand he considers that Stipo is developing plans "from above" and that "they don't connect" with people from lower levels and knowledge. "You should be careful that people don't think you're arrogant. […] They [Stipo] come out like that: we are the ZOHO. We want to do this and this" (Interviewee Z4G, 2016). On the other hand Z4G interviewee considers that Stipo is doing "a good job" because they connect with people from outside, including international organizations. "They [Stipo] are a PR[26] machine!" (Interviewee Z4G, 2016). Furthermore the interviewee also highlights that: "[Stipo] are really trying to do this! [But] to connect to people you need to speak all the languages. If you don't connect with everybody, you miss a part of the group which is also here. […] But I'm not saying it's only their fold. Don't get me wrong. […] It's an ego thing with most people. I also have a big ego. I also need to learn to connect with them, because I like them. They do good things. And I see very positive things."

At first, the *space of dependence* for Stipo related to the assignment they took over from HF and, then, to the office space they rented inside the Yellow Building. The disappearance of this assignment transforms them almost entirely in regular tenants and reduces their dependence on the area. In terms

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[26] Public relations

of sace of engagement Stipo connects with a large network of urban professionals and also, as well observed by Z4G, with an international network of TUIs. This could translate in indirect promotion for ZOHO and an improved image of the area.

Tenants in ZOHO

In the ZOHO area three type of tenants can be distinguished. Firstly, there are tenants renting spaces from HF in the buildings which are directly related to the ZOHO transformation[27], secondly, there are tenants renting spaces in the building from HF which are not directly related to the ZOHO transformation[28] and thirdly, there are tenants which rent spaces from other actors than HF. In the ZOHO case the tenants represent a diverse group of people and organizations. Predominantly they represent small economic entities relating to: urban planning, architecture, design, fashion, small production, management and general consultancy. More unique functions are: a hostel, a restaurant, a bar, a bike repair (work)shop, a wool workshop, a (small) bee keeping area, an art center, an (social) info point, a shop selling reused scrap materials and several (social related) organizations. Other tenants in the area not considered related to ZOHO are a Horeca[29] school, several (less common) religious groups, a fitness center, several deposits and car repair workshops. Currently, a former metal parts workshop was emptied and this private space is in the process of being transformed in a food market and leisure facility.

The space of dependence experienced by the tenants is represented by the space they rent from the HF and by the conditions included in their renting contracts. This aspect determines some dependences on them as long as they want to be located here. On the other hand, these contractual collaboration can stop and thus the tenant's space of dependence will vanish. The most dependent actors are those for which moving in other parts implies considerable resources and uncertainty such as: the restaurant located in a train carriage, the hostel and the new bar. Furthermore, the space of engagement existing around these tenants is represented by their interrelationships. Most tenants here are part of professional networks which represent their strength. Therefore, they are frequently cooperating in work related projects, complimenting their skills.

Rotterdam Municipality

A fourth key actor in the ZOHO transformation is the Rotterdam municipality. The municipality was present and involved from the beginning in the process which is now recognized as ZOHO. The main representative of the municipality was the area manager[30] for the Agniesebuurt neighborhood. In Rotterdam the area manager is the grassroots level of contact with the local community. He is the direct contact with the local actors and inhabitants and functions as a communication channel between them. The area manager was directly involved in several actions which needed the administrative planning approval, support or budget. One of this actions was the transformation of two parking places from an underused parking in a "raingarden". The garden "collects rainwater from nearby buildings and public spaces" (Urbanistennl, 2016) and is part of the "Rotterdam Climate Adaptation Strategy".

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[27] Spaces rented in the 3/4 buildings which experienced vacancies and had been transformed.
[28] They are predominantly inhabitants renting apartments.
[29] Horeca comes from Hotel/ Restaurant/ Café
[30] In Dutch: *Gebiedsmanager.*

In the case of the municipality, the space of dependence refers to the fact that the ZOHO area is part of its administration, that is to say: the municipality has territorial competencies over it, and (without radical administrative changes) it will continue to do so. Therefore, the municipality should have a natural strong interest in how the area transforms. However, since the municipality administrates the entire city, the question is what level of priority the ZOHO area has compared to other challenges in the city overall. With regards to its space of engagement, the municipality relates mostly with public entities generally at a higher level of involvement. The area manager remains in this case the most direct connection with the inhabitants and users of the area.

Dutch central administration:

Although not directly involved, the central administration can also be mentioned as an actor because through its actions and decisions it had influenced the legal and administrative context at local level. In the case of ZOHO, the central administration's decisions seem to change strongly the ownership context. As mentioned already, since 2013 the government regulations decided that all housing associations in the Netherlands should sell all their properties which are not residential. As a result of this, the office building that is the core of the ZOHO initiative, and that drives the transformation will (most probably) be sold in the next two years. This legal enforcement will change the context of the transformation making it dependent of the intentions of the new owner. The central administration has a wide space of engagement including mainly public institutions, but has no dependence on the ZOHO area or initiative.

Inhabitants in ZOHO:

Last but not least, key urban actors in TUIs are also the local inhabitants. Generally, they have a strong space of dependence because they are physically forced to interact at a regular base with that particular area. Thus, they should have a direct interest and contribution in how their immediate space is transforming. Eliminating this dependency for them means changing their residency, but such a measure involves complex considerations. Since inhabitants represent a diverse group, it is not possible to generalize their space of engagement.

Both PO and some interviews indicate that the inhabitants of the area represent ethnic groups of migrant origins and that some of them experience social, cultural and economic challenges and a lower quality of life. The participatory observation concluded that their involvement in the ZOHO transformation is limited and that they are disconnected and unrepresented, but this perspective requires further research. They relate to some entrepreneurs and organizations which also have social components. For example, one of the restaurants in the area declares that they hire and involve teenagers from the neighborhood inside their business.

5.2 Urban actors in Industria Bumbacului INBU

Owner: Industria Bumbacului S.A.

The owner of the property where INBU emerged is Industria Bumbacului[31] Company. Industria Bumbacului is a joint stock company[32] which emerged during the 1990s from the privatization of a former industrial area that processed cotton. At this moment, the company has several owners that have in common a large part of the former industrial site. The transformation of the urban context and the economic transition experienced during 1990s (from a centralized economy to a capitalist free market system) made the initial production gradually uncompetitive and thus forced its shrinking. Steadily, the industrial space started to accommodatte other small industries, repair workshops and deposits.

During the economic and residential 'boom' of the 2000s the owners of the company acknowledged that the financial value (viability) of the land could be more profitable if they will develop new residential and office buildings. Interviewee B4I, explained that "in 2007-2008 there was a project to build a real estate development". This idea was pursued by owners and an investor was found. Soon after the economic crisis started, it became clear that the plan will not be feasible for the next years. Thus, like in numerous other places, the area experienced a partial *'responsive vacancy'*. A vacancy which "is produced by a specific event" and during which owners wait for new opportunities (Moore-Cherry, 2015).

The transformation that is currently observed has its origins somewhere in 2010 when a small group of young people started to use one of the empty industrial spaces as an "unconventional space" for art and culture (interviewee B4I2, 2016). One of the key people of this group was the daughter of one of the shareholders in the Industria Bumbacului Company who offered trust and facilitated the process. For several years a small part of the building accommodated this function, but because of its location, outside the perceived center of the city[33], it remained a niche. A new chapter started at the end of 2014 when a part of the initial group developed an open terrace on the roof of the industrial building. In the same time another area of the industrial building became vacant and was offered for renting. At this moment the existing group of artists selectively advertised this possibility inside their network. In this way a related group of architects, urban planners and designers who had been looking for a proper place to rent had been identified. This match between the two groups boosted the transformation and offered a more detailed path for future.

Similar to the ZOHO case, the space of dependence for the Industria Bumbacului owners represent the property in itself. They are dependent on this particular property (land and buildings). Selling or developing it in a real estate project are the two other options they have instead of renting it, but these options will be considered just if the profits archived in that way exceeds a certain desired value. With regards to their space of engagement, the owners are connected mostly to small production and logistic businesses and (possible) other property owners.

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[31] In English: Cotton Industry
[32] In Romania: Societate pe Actini.
[33] The area located just 20 minutes of walking space from the area considered the city center but is not exhibiting urban functions, activities or space qualities specific for the city center.

Agents: Nod Makerspace and Gastrobar

In INBU two groups can be distinguished as agents. The first agents had been the initial group of artist. They brought in the first changes of function and perspective for the space and later they facilitated the access of NOD Makerspace group. Consequently, the NOD Makerspace core team seem to also take a strong agent role in this transformation. The first group of agents developed a bar and a terrace entitled Gastrobar. The second group developed Nod Makerspace, an area for "making"[34] and prototyping. This predominantly relates to creative industries, design, bricolage, prototyping, small production and flexible office space. The Nod Makerspace organization rents directly from the owner and sub-rents service packages which include working space, the use of machineries and other services.

NOD Makerspace core team is actively involved in promoting the location, its potential and showing a possible vision for the entire industrial site. Furthermore, since their opening in 2015 they facilitated the access in the building of other creative industries groups. In April 2016 a renowned 3D rendering company relocated in the building. Moreover, a part of the Nod Makerspace group is in the process of creating the neighborhood debate space "La Firul Ierbii"[35] where according to one of the NOD Makerspace member (interviewee B6W2) the intention is to bring in discussion, social and urban problems of the neighborhood and thus engage with local inhabitants. The investment made by both Nod Makerspace and Gastrobar in renovating the space had been fully private. The owner of the building allowed transformations of the space[36] but did not invest in it. A unique character of Nod Makerspace is that it functions 24 hours a day, which gives the place a certain dynamic.

The INBU agents experience a larger dependence than the agents in ZOHO. This happens because both Nod Makerspace and Gastrobar invested intensely in the renovation of the space, both financially and personally. Taking the decision to leave this particular location involves finding a new proper space to relocate their business and, secondly, accepting that some investments made won't be recovered. In this context, the two agents have a general high level of dependency on this space. With regards to the space of engagement, both actors have a large network of young professionals and entrepreneurs with which they cooperate.

Tenants in INBU

The INBU transformation currently occurs just on a small part of the site involving one large former industrial building.

Similar to the context of ZOHO transformation, three type of tenants coexist in INBU. First, there are tenants who rent space from Industria Bumbacului and are related to the transformation of the place. Second, there are tenants who rent space from Industria Bumbacului but are not involved in the transformation of the place. These are predominantly renting spaces purely for economic reasons and cover functions of production, repair and logistic. A third group is represented by small organizations located in the former industrial site who are renting spaces for their economic activity from other

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[34] "Makerspaces, sometimes also referred to as hackerspaces, hackspaces, and fablabs are creative, DIY spaces where people can gather to create, invent, and learn. […] They often have 3D printers, software, electronics, craft and hardware supplies, tools, and more." (Kroski, 2013)
[35] In English Grassroots.
[36] Except the building resistance structure.

owners than Industria Bumbacului and are also not related to the INBU transformation. The new tenants brought in new functions and activities and currently developed a network of predominantly young professionals who identify as "creative industries" experts (interviewee B2P, 2016). The majority of the users are young adults with age between 25 and 35 years.

The tenants engaged in the INBU transformation are a diverse group of professionals and entrepreneurs and thus have diverse needs. The space of dependence is different for each case. For example, Eematico organization, provides interactive education methods for children. They are dependent in a small scale on some cutting tools offered by the Nod Makerspace in order to prepare their learning materials. For the rest, they have no other dependences to this space. Other organizations, involved in design and production are more dependent on the tools and machine and thus cannot relocate so easy. With regards to their space of engagement, most tenants express a strong interest in the values, energies and actions of the group overall and thus show a large space of engagement. The tenants overall are part of numerous professional networks that keeps them generally well informed.

Bucharest Municipality

In contrast to ZOHO, in the transformation process of INBU the municipality is almost totally absent. The only relation between the two of them is the indirect process of approving mandatory documents. The municipality is not aware of the transformation phenomena taking place in the former industrial site. The transformation process is almost entirely created by the existing entrepreneurs and agents. Moreover, it is relevant to mention that there is a general mistrust in the will and competences of the local administration and thus there are limited expectations from it. A representative of the Industria Bumbacului Company mentioned that: the approval processeses are very hard. Local administration looks strictly at bureaucracy. "There is no flexibility from the administrative side" (interviewee B4I1, 2016).

Romanian central administration

The Romanian central administration is not directly involved in the transformation process but can have an indirect influence on the INBU transformation. The NOD Makerspace and other transformation initiatives came to the attention of the Ministry for Public Participation and Civic Dialogue (MPPCD) during a public debate at the end of 2015. Starting from this, the subject of valorizing the existing local heritage was highlighted to the prime-minister[37] and his team as a process with potential multiple benefits. In this context, the prime minster Dacian Cioloş, the Culture Minister Vlad Alexandrescu and the minister for Public Participation and Civic Dialogue, Violeta Alexandru made in March 2016 an official visit and a press conferance at NOD Makerspace (Govro, 2016). Even though central administration is not dirctly involved in the transfromation process, this visit can be seen as a recognition of the added value of the transfromation process. Moreover, this visit attracted a considerable atention which acted as a possitive promotion for agents and tenants.

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[37] Dacian Cioloş (at the moment of writing this paper) is leading an tehnocrat intermediar government starting from November 2015 and planned until the parlimentaty election in autumn 2016.

A second way in which central authorities interacted with the INBU initiative is by organising a National Conferance on the valorisation of urban heritage[38] (See page 25). This was organised by MPPCD in cooperation with several TUIs including Nod Makerspace. During the conferance, participants tried to define what are the legislation aspects which should be improved in order to facilitate benefic urban transfoemations. This interest in improving the legal context could bring some simplification to the current procedures. At the moment of writing this paper, the legal changes were not finalised.

Obviously, the central administratian has no dependence in relation to INBU. Their interest in the INBU transformation is in the unique spatial-economic model which it's representing. However, the official visit and the national conferance prove that the space of engagement of the agents and tenants connected succesfully with high level representatives. If properly mentained, this relationship could function in the interest of the INBU transfromation.

Figure 4 - Prime minister Dacian Cioloș visiting the wood workshop inside Nod Makerspace on 23th of March, 2016.
http://gov.ro/ro/stiri/activarea-potentialului-economic-al-sectoarelor-culturale-i-creative-din-romania&page=15

Inhabitants in INBU:

The immediate surroundings of Industria Bumbacului includes predominantly non-residential functions. The closest inhabitants are those living in Tineretului and Mihai Bravu neighborhoods. At the moment, they are not involved in the INBU initiative, but some of the Nod Makerspace agents[39] are interested in involving them in the process. A first step in this regard is the development of the "La firul ierbii" debate space where representatives of local communities could come and discuss their local issues. Since this space recently opened in May 2016, the result of this intention remains to be seen.

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[38] National Conference on the Possibilities of Giving Value to the Abandoned Community Heritage
[39] Wolfhouse Productions – Urban planning and architecture office. http://www.wolfhouseproductions.ro/

"Urban planners need to recognize that this enthusiasm [regarding temporary use]is not incidental but represents an appreciation of experimentation and a willingness to 'see what happens' that is perhaps the spirit of our time. **When planners and policy makers start to experiment as well** *[as the initiators of temporary use]***, this could represent a powerful mechanism to retune our cities for whatever lies ahead.***"*

Bishop and Williams, 2012, p35
(Bold marks by AlexandruMatei)

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Relationships between urban actors.

The ZOHO initiative has experienced a complex system of relationships which includes multiple actors and multiple channels of communication and interaction. At the beginning the main relationship that triggered the transformation of the area had taken place between HF (owner), Stipo (agent) and Rotterdam municipality (See page 34). This took the shape of an informal partnership and a symbolic agreement aimed at reducing vacancy, its negative impact and, in a broader sense, improving the local public realm. For approximately three years these three actors, together with some of the new tenants, have co-operated, co-produced and co-managed this process.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this TUI presents a unique aspect because the organization exercising the agent role was invited to participate with expertise and received a payed assignment for it. Until now the municipality representative has been strongly involved in the transformation process and is aware of the municipality's role and interests. The current area manager is involved in the process and generally appreciated by the majority of the other actors. In addition to that, the ZOHO initiative seems to take place in a general context of transparency. These three actors are known by the majority of the tenants and interact directly with them. Both municipality and HF representatives (key actors in the top level of governance system, are seen every week in the area and at local events (both formal and informal) organized here. Also relevant is that the initial context has been changed by the HF decision to stop the assignment agreed with Stipo, decision which generated some tensions. These aspects will most probably (gradually) result in Stipo reevaluating its role as an agent. Stipo could (1) decide to continue unofficially its agent role, (2) remain a regular tenant or (3) not to be involved in the process anymore. This could also be influenced by the fact that some tenants felt that Stipo should not be the driver behind everything. Other critical voices also pointed out that "they are nice people but they misunderstand other people" (interviewee Z4G). Overall, the main value of the relationship observed between the urban actors in ZOHO is that the majority of the actors included in this research seem to be informed and involved in the actions taking place. The relationship between these actors predominantly benefits of a high level of trust. In general, the cooperation between HF, Stipo and the municipality is an added value and can function as a positive example. The positive cooperation and the feeling of trust could be aspects related to the particular Dutch planning culture, but such a hypothesis requires further research.

Another interesting aspect is that perception of what ZOHO is varies considerably. Some understand ZOHO as a brand. The sum of initiatives which are ideologically related to the transformation of this area. Others understand ZOHO as a network of entrepreneurs and artists active in a certain area who cooperate on several layers. A third group perceive ZOHO as a slow urbanism project (interviewee Z5S) which connects people and activates vacant spaces. Moreover, others see ZOHO as part of a neighborhood, or as an interviewee (Z3H) explained, simply a building. "They are a building and it is called ZOHO. ZOHO is the blue white building. They are the ones that made all the changes around the neighbourhood. […]They are an association [of] artists [and] architects. All the projects come from

them." This differences indicate that although people know about ZOHO, it is not perfectly clear for everyone who they are, what they do and what are the projects in which they are involved in.

Similarly, the perception of what temporary use is or is not exhibits considerable differences. HF representative (Interviewee Z2H) explained that: "We (HF) didn't want to be temporary use because temporary use implies that you have no right as a tenant… [Thus] the people are not going to invest because it's temporary. [Here] people invested because it was not temporary." In contrast, interviewee Z4G underlined several times that nobody should believe that this is not temporary. He highlights that everybody should know that this is temporary and that is indicated also by the fact that almost all tenants have short term renting contracts. These various interpretations of what TU is and what particularly ZOHO represents indicate clearly that the way 'reality' is perceived influences the relationship and the process inside TUIs.

For the moment the INBU initiative has resulted in a complex and apparently strong network of entrepreneurs related to the two agents: Nod Makerspace and Gastrobar. In contrast to the ZOHO case, their system of cooperation is less integrated. Until now the main cooperation has taken place between the owners of the property, the two agents and the rest of the tenants. This relationship took place predominantly as business negotiations between two entities and not in an integrated discussion. The most notable absence here is the municipality. The relationship with the municipality has been until now just a process of approving certain administrative documents. Also relevant is the observation that, except some of the agents (which are active urban planning professionals), no other actor considers that a dialogue with the municipality could be necessary, useful or possible. The high level representative of the Sector 4 City hall (interviewee B3P) did not seem to be aware of the importance, role and interests that the municipality should normally have. This interviewee B3P highlighting that "Local authority has no right to intervene in private areas" (B3P). Managers of Nod Makerspace tried to open the communication with the local administration by sending some emails in which they described their initiative, but this action remained unanswered. On the other hand, the unique character of the Nod Makerspace initiative was appreciated by some members of the central administration and resulted in an official visit of the prime minister at this location. Such an interaction between top level and bottom level is not very frequent for the Romanian planning context and can be perceived as positive. Although overall the cooperation between INBU actors takes place just as bilateral agreements, the situation has an opposing reality inside the agents - tenants group which seem to develop very strong interaction and cooperation. Moreover, the particular open and interrelated nature and function of the Nod Makerspace transforms it into a natural space of co-production. Between them the atmosphere indicates a high level of transparency.

Nevertheless, it is relevant to add that both INBU agents are private entrepreneurial initiatives which have no assignment or financial support in transforming the existing aforementioned industrial spaces. The decision to pursue and promote a transformation process is their vision and will, fact which seems to be developed both for natural entrepreneurial interest and from professional and personal interest. Improving the area where they located their makerspace startup would make them more visible and could also result in improved business and thus more profits. Moreover, it is relevant to say that since some of the agents and tenants are urban planners, architects and engineers they are more skilled in

identifying urban values and envisioning better urban spaces. Additionally, it is worth revealing that many of them seem to be simply passionate (for now) about being part of positive urban transformations.

For the moment, the transformation is strongly related to Nod Makerspace because they are at the core of their internal network of professionals and entrepreneurs, but since new spaces inside the building are rented and improved by new professionals, the INBU initiative could incorporate a larger area. Equally interesting is that the current success is also related to the existence of a previous social network[40], that offered a base of trust and support. The relationship between the two agents and also between some tenants, goes back to older personal connections. In contrast to the ZOHO case the INBU multi-actor involvement and cooperation is generally missing and experiences numerous challenges, from which trust seems to be the main barrier.

Finally, an interesting common aspect (between the two study cases) is that in both transformations the success aspects relate to stable and strong previous relationship. In the ZOHO case the representative of the agent organization had approximately ten years of experience inside local municipality and knew personally the representative of HF (Interviewee Z5S). In the INBU the core group of agents and tenants knew each other from before.

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[40] Many people in this network know each other from before. They been part of the Casa Batistei Group, Casa Lupu Group and Calup.

6.2 Strategies and tactics

Building on Michel De Certeau's distinction between strategies and tactics and on Lauren Andres' empirical remarks about TUIs, a critical decoding of the process taking place in ZOHO and INBU can be presented.

For ZOHO the start of the transformation process was triggered by the strategic decision of HF to eliminate some of the problems it faced in running several office buildings. This decision resulted in a partnership between HF, municipality and a payed agent (Stipo) which together defined a strategic framework[41] on how the initial objectives could be achieved. This was a strategic framework because it had been decided by the owner of the property and thus by the authority having the decision power and it involved a clear time perspective (10 years). HF made this "within a process of calculation and manipulation of power relationships" (Andres, 2013, p.764). This starting phase is the only clear period when a strategic framework was developed. The other phases of the transformation process predominately represent tactical approaches where urban actors reacted to emerging opportunities. As an illustration, the selection of tenants for the existing properties involved both a clear rationale and quick reactions to emerging opportunities. This was the case of accommodating in the area the train carriage restaurant, the hostel (in a former school) and the social cooperation (Wijkcoöperatie). These actions prove to be tactical because they involve flexibility and adaptation to opportunities.

As part of the ZOHO development both collective and individual tactics took place in parallel. The first successful collective tactic implemented was to convince HF to accept a certain percentage of the rents paid by the tenants (from Yellow Building) to be retained and used for the renovation of the building instead of being directly collected by HF. A second collective tactic aimed at developing a steering group (and/or an entrepreneurial club) in hope that it oversaw the common interest and promoted the actions of the community. This took a clear shape at the beginning of February 2016 and has developed gradually. More specifically, a collective tactic materialized during one of the entrepreneurial meetings when ZOHO tenants asked the HF representative for financial support in order to develop a public event. The group developed a particular context and arguments to justify this requirement. Similarly, the idea of the Yellow Building tenants buying their building, which springs up from time to time, seems also to take the form of a collective tactic. This aims at protecting them in the event of a possible expulsion. Simultaneously, several individual tactics developed inside ZOHO. Most frequently, tenants connect to emerging opportunities in the hope of promoting their products and services or, even better, receiving a financed assignment. One example relates to public furniture that can be developed by local designs. Others expressed interest for the ZOHO transformation and community in itself, beyond the advantage of a low rent, but moved to other locations immediately after other possibilities had emerged. Finally, the agent(s) developed individual tactics aimed at obtaining recognition and raising support for the TUI, by inviting key decision makers (e.g. Markku Markkula) to visit the site. It is relevant to mention that, although the interests of local actors are naturally different in some respects, no conflict between tactics have been observed.

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[41] I consider it a strategic framework because it is not a detailed strategy. On the other hand is not a tactic because it is developed by the actor having power – ownership of land and possibility of taking decisions.

INBU presents a notable difference in the strategies-tactics balance. Since the 2008 crisis when the owners of the property were in the preparatory process of implementing a masterplan, the owners have not developed another strategy. Both owners and agents seem to pursue their interests by reacting to opportunities. Even the arrival of the first agent here was the result of matching a need and an opportunity. Similarly in this case, a distinction between collective tactics and individual tactics can be made, but here more individual tactics seem to pop up.
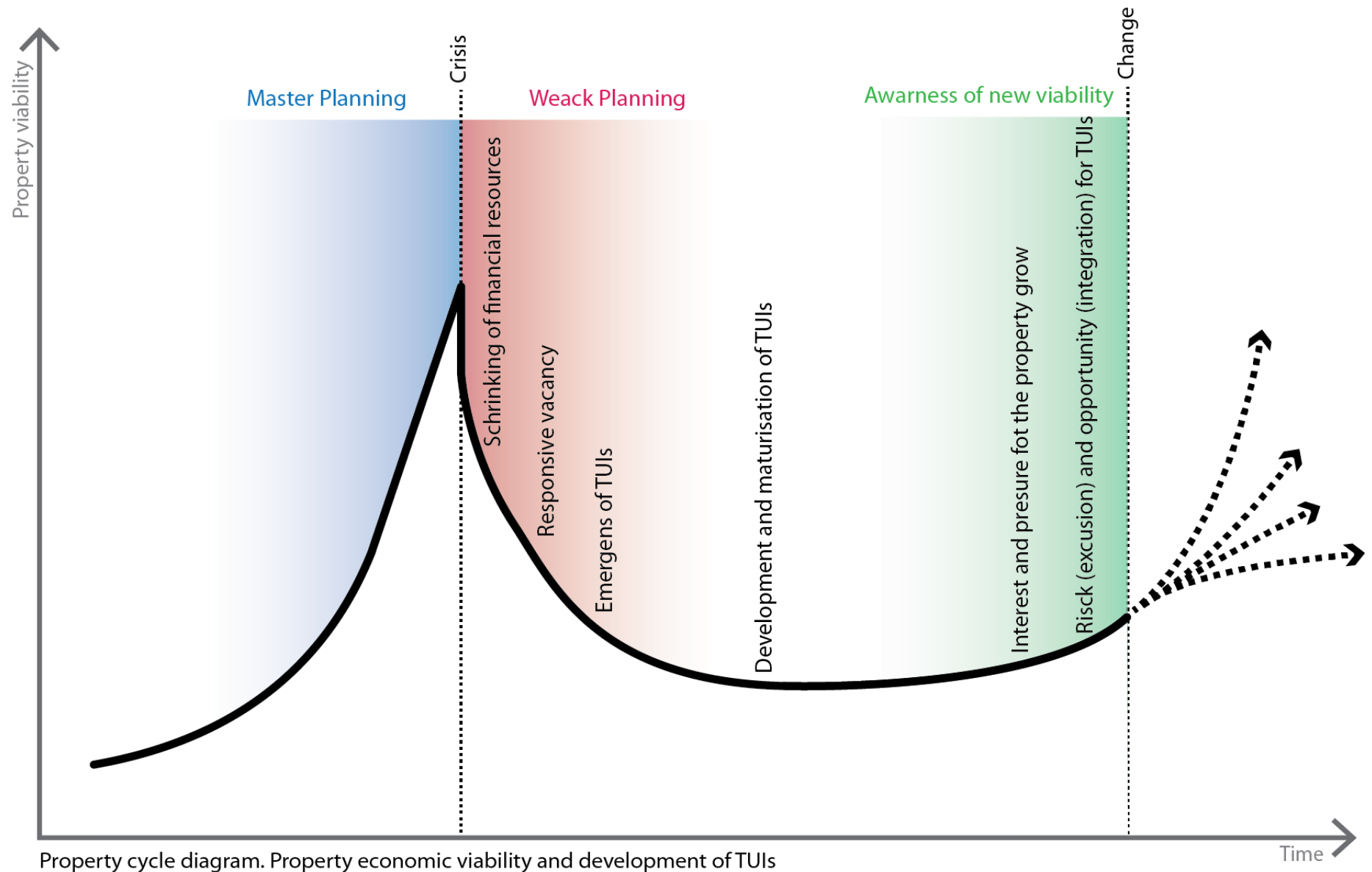
Both actors and some tenants use their personal engagement space to identify possible organizations and individuals interested to relocate in the building/site. As a result, two large organizations have already moved in the area. Since their arrival, the Nod Makerspace group have developed an individual tactic with the help of which they promote themselves as informal leaders of the TUI even though they are not the first arrived here. This attitude is explainable both by their particular development vision and their knowledge on urban development. Their individual tactics are visibly dominated by flexibility in regard to financial sources, space design, activities and events. When a new space is put up for rent by the owner the agents and tenants proactively look for the people they would like to have around. Another individual tactic identified refers to the intention of some of the tenants to transform another old building (power plant) in a center for neighborhood debates. When this proved to be too complicated, their approach was flexible and pragmatic. The group agreed on taking another space which was easier and cheaper to renovate. Similar to the approach in ZOHO, the INBU agents try to connect with relevant decision makers to attract attention and obtain support for their alternative transformation. During the spring of 2016 some of them had been involved in co-hosting a National Conference on unused heritage. During this process, using their space of engagement (network) they managed to obtain an official visit from the prime minister which attracted a large interest. Moreover, they organized an election debate between several candidates for Bucharest's Sector 4 mayor office, which could potentially result in making the future mayor aware of their initiative.

Finally, one of the most interesting tactics was directly explained by the agent. They are aware of their uncertain situation in front of a potential investor with financial power. Thus, the intention to develop a space where people from the neighborhood debate their local problems is also aimed at creating a group of supporters. Some of them consider that this group can support them in of the event of forced displacement. With the use of this tactics, they try to reorganize in their favor the power balance between them and the owner of the property.

6.3 Property cycle

The existing knowledge on TUIs indicate some patterns of economic and (urban) planning behavior for properties (building and/or site). A property intended to be developed for financial profit receives investments in the moment when there is an economic viability to sell, rent or use a certain property. This is generally related to moments of economic growth and determines the preparation of masterplans. When crises emerge (such as the one in 2008) the viability of obtaining the intended financial profit from a certain property investment shrinks. Thus, the former masterplans become unviable and the investment in a new one makes no financial logic for some time. This translates into a period of time dominated by vacancy or underuse. These are the moments when the big investors see no meaning to make investments and thus there is no pressure on the property. On the other hand, this is also the moment during which smaller individuals and organizations emerge. These generally have no possibility to compete with the regular investors during periods of economic growth. Suddenly, they can afford to negotiate the use of properties because rents are low or nonexistent. In contrast to regular developers, which use financing to add value to the existing property, the TU users invest in properties using their creativity, personal skills and space of engagement (networks). If groups manage to establish in vacant or underused spaces, gradually they have the possibility to develop in organized TUIs.

The paradox of TUIs is that as long as they add significance to their alternative transformation they increase the property value and (re)generate the interest for it. Gradually (and in relation to other economic, social and cultural phenomena) the viability of the property can increase and thus become once again interesting for financial investors (Sassen, 2014). This is the moment when TUIs enter an area of risk of being eliminated for a more concrete and quicker financial profit. Paradoxically, the speed with which a TUI is successful is proportional with the speed with which it will enter the area of risk. The way in which TUIs are becoming mature, and the way the rules of cooperation between owner, agent, tenants and (possible) municipality are established is key in avoiding or ameliorating changes which are not in the common interest of the owner and TUIs. The positive side of this is that the period of risk can also be a period of opportunities for integrated development. This can materialize only if the cooperation between the key urban actors is good and if there is a realistic alternative plan. If the TUIs end up being eliminated, there is large chance of tensions between the owner, agents and tenants of the TUIs. The explanation for this refers to the fact that, since TUIs invest their personal effort, knowledge, skills and networks of people, they appropriate the space they engage with, situations which occur much harder in distant, abstract financial developments.

Master Planning   Weack Planning   Awarness of new viability

Crisis

Change

Property viability

Schrinking of financial resources

Responsive vacancy

Emergens of TUIs

Development and maturisation of TUIs

Interest and presure fot the property grow

Risck (excusion) and opportunity (integration) for TUIs

Time

Property cycle diagram. Property economic viability and development of TUIs

Figure 5 - Property cycle diagram. Property economic viability and development of TUIs. Author: Alexandru Matei 201

6.4 Future Perspectives

Having in mind the property cycle, both ZOHO and INBU have passed through the TUI emergence phase. They are already well established as an initiative and brand, with a considerable space of engagement. Numerous entrepreneurs and individuals feel connected to them. They are now located in a development-maturation (coming of age) phase. From some perspective ZOHO (three years old) seems to be already mature, a fact which seems to reflect the perceived image of the area and its quality. INBU (one year old) seems to be some steps behind in terms of complexity and cooperation, but is still localized in the development phase. Also similar, both initiatives face an unclear future which can be an opportunity, but also a risk. The actors engaged currently have different perspectives which cluster around two directions. For the owners of the transformed properties building a large estate development or selling it are still available options. For the agents and tenants involved in the initiatives the hope is that the redevelopment of the property will build upon current achievements and the current community.

In ZOHO it seems very probable that the property owner will change in the next years, determined by recent interpretations of national regulations (See page 34). This would call into question the 10 years informal agreement signed by the current owner. The research methods used brought to light several views and ideas for the future. First, the representative of the HF explained that: his "organization is not clear [about the future] anymore" (interviewee Z2H) but one perspective was that HF could build social housing units on the site. He personally also thinks that it is important to maintain the current collaboration. In contrast, the representative of the municipality points out more details on how the future of the area should look like. In his view the area should integrate a mix of functions located both in old renovated buildings, but also in new ones and in an improved public space. Important, in his opinion, is also to maintain a certain balance. Having too many horeca[42] activities could transform the area into a "hipster's place" (interviewee Z1C). The way he expressed this shows it as a negative aspect. In his view, this balance should be maintained also with regard to the social and cultural aspects of the inhabitants. For this reason, he considers positively the development of the new food market because the business is launched by a local Moroccan guy from an ethnic group that represents an important part of the Agniesebuurt inhabitants. Lastly, the municipality and HF currently work at a vision for the area. They consider that ZOHO should become more "program-matic and project-matic" (interviewee Z1C).

However, not everybody believes that these ideas will materialize. Some tenants express strong opinions that this area will experience gentrification. Interviewee Z4G already observes that more and more "yuppies'[43] companies" locate in Hofebgen[44] and that at a certain moment this area will be a "high class place". A second strong opinion underlines that Havensteder will sell at the first opportunity because: "This place is a money maker! […] Even the impact that we put here now, will not win. In the end the money will win. Everybody knows. This is a temporary thing" (Interviewee Z4G). Nevertheless,

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[42] Horeca comes from Hotels, Restaurants and Cafés.
[43] Yuppies – young urban professionals.
[44] Hofebogen – former train line

others have more pragmatic approaches towards the future. Some members of the agents believe that a good solution to keep the added value and build on the current community is to buy the building(s) that they currently use. Although concrete steps in this direction seem not to be made, this stance was mentioned several times. Lastly, some opinions of the agents are in line with the one expressed by the representative of the municipality. "I would like to build on what is here. Instead of […] making the old mistakes of forcing initiatives to move out. Even forcing in a friendly way… People are here because they want to be part of the energy. So I just hope that in 10 years that energy will still be here." […] "I want people to be taken seriously. Let's get clear that ZOHO is a success because of the community" (Interviewee Z5S).

In INBU the future is unclear, but there are no indicators for radical changes in the near future. Some of the tenants using the Nod Makerspace services explain that INBU group can develop to a strong network of entrepreneurs. Some of the existing start-ups could grow and decide to rent a larger space in the building/ site, but they will probably remain connected to the core group (interviewee B2P). Representatives of the initial agents highlight strongly that they do not want the property to be taken by a large investor or demolished. Important for them is that the low rents will be maintained and that the creative potential will be kept. The more involved agents from Nod Makerspace explain that the future depends largely on how the relationship with the owner will continue. "If [the owner] will not become a partner involved in this transformation we can decide not to concentrate anymore on the transformation here"(Interviewee B6W1). "This [transformation] is nice to have but it is not vital for us."(Interviewee B6W2). The agents hope that other floors of the building could be rented by similar "open minded people" (Interviewee B6W2) with interesting projects which could be part of the community. Moreover, they also hope to develop a good relationship with the municipality and the inhabitants of the area and not just with the creative actors. In fact, the recently opened community space "La Firul Lierbii"[45] represents a first step. The idea of a "big investor" is acceptable for them as long as the investor understands the values of the initiative. In contrast, the owners who before the 2008 crises tried to develop a real estate project, express clearly that "I cannot say that we changed our way of thinking or our plan. Just that we needed to adapt to the current conditions. To try to transform these spaces with a minimum expense" (interviewee B4I1). The owner intends to develop and not to sell the property but recognizes that "this could change". These remarks underline that owner(s) are still interested in a solution that will potentially result in a quick and easy profit. Some interesting perspective for future development had been made by the representative of the Ministry who explained that the new EU funding mechanism Community-Lead Local Development (Europaeu, 2016) could represent a funding support for all transformations like this. To sum up, both TUIs find themselves in an uncertain situation in which the relation with the owner and the alignment of the tenants and owners view are key.

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[45] La firul Ierbii means in English Grassroot.

"The city is a space where the powerless can make history"

(Saskia Sassen, Huffingtonpostcom, 2011)

6.5 Influences on the local urban context

In both TUI the actors, their relationships, their actions and their views for future have a direct, indirect, intended and unintended influence on the natural and anthropic environment. Although a full integrated evaluation of the impact requires more careful assessment, a general discussion on the TUIs influences[46] is useful and will contribute to a better understanding of the TU overall. The influence created by the two observed TUIs seem to be positive, in general. Nevertheless, some questions regarding inclusiveness of all users and the (possible) appearance of economic and cultural gentrification (See page 49) should be carefully analyzed and answered. The main improvements created by the two TUIs relate to renovation of buildings, stimulation of the local economy, development of cultural events and improvements of safety.

In ZOHO the main improvements are the elimination of building vacancy, the emergence of a dynamic networks of entrepreneurs and an increased feeling of safety. The reuse of the building translates into renovation and a minimum income for the owner. Since the ZOHO initiative involves multiple buildings and actors it also brings a minimum of influence on its public space. Some benches, bicycle parking and gardens have been created. These public space improvements are evaluated by some as "ugly" (information from PO). More problematic, is that these objects are sometimes poorly maintained. Constant proper maintenance is lacking and is hard to provide with volunteers. From an environmental perspective, the initiative expresses the intention to contribute to the climate adaptation of the neighborhood (See page 37), but until now it produced just a small rain garden (See page 37). An important added value of ZOHO is its complex network of entrepreneurs which develop projects and support each other. This confirms the views of Andres that TUIs facilitate startups, create jobs and "stimulate [the] economy" (2013, p.760). Furthermore, ZOHO influenced considerably the image of the area by developing a strong brand and by promoting a positive story about local transformation. This branding helps the transition and attracts a lot of attention, but it also raises some questions. To some extent the promoted image of the initiative and amplitude are not fully recognized in the day-by-day reality. From a social perspective, ZOHO initiative relates to several organizations and projects involving vulnerable inhabitants which is seen as positive. ZOHO is open in integrating them but does not seem to have an active interest in developing this side. In like manner, ZOHO does not represent all inhabitants and user groups of the area (such as church membera, car workshops workers, deposit workers, schools pupils, Fit club users). To a large extent ZOHO is identified with entrepreneurs and urban professionals and thus it focuses on representing their views and interests. Overall, ZOHO adds value to the area but should not be considered as representative for all users in the south of Agniesebuurt neighborhood.

The main influences of INBU are the improvements of several spaces inside one former industrial building, the development of a professional network and of a local economy mainly centered on design. Also here the TUI invested in improving the space which offers the owner direct advantages in terms of income, administration cost and free promotion. Until now the initiative did not make changes in the quality of the public space but had pointed it out as key component of a regeneration process. The only perceived impact in the public space is that the pressure on the parking spaces and traffic is reduced

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[46] I use the term "influence" instead of impact in order to highlight that evaluating the impact is a complex process which cannot be fully incorporated in this research.

because the new group predominantly uses the bike as means of transport. Similarly to ZOHO, the INBU transformation developed a network of professionals and entrepreneurs who contribute to the city economy. The development of the professional network went in parallel with a large promotion of Nod Makerspace and Gastrobar which resulted in being considered very quickly a place to be for their target group. The agents of INBU had also promoted their developments but, because of their particular evolution, they did not present it as an integrated transformation but separate (terrace and makerspace). Since new spaces are rented to similar groups the promotion starts to be more integrated and presented as a general transformation. An interesting aspect here is the establishment of a "center for public debates and civic initiatives on city issues"[47] (La firul ierbii, 2016). For this a space was renovated at the ground floor of the building and launched in May 2016 with a public debate between three candidates for the Sector 4 mayor position. If managed properly, this space could promote good interaction between the local inhabitants and other urban actors, but this remains to be evaluated in the years to come. Overall the INBU initiative is, for the moment, largely a space for economic and professional creativity and engagement where some experts with urban planning and architecture knowledge bring into discussion the opportunities of a larger transformation of the area. This ideas remain unclear since the municipality is not participating or interested in supporting this pioneering metamorphosis.

To sum up, the users of the two initiatives, their actions and their projects influence the local urban context in several ways. To a large extent their influence is positive but some questions on representativeness, inclusion and gentrification remain open for discussion. In the case of ZOHO the influence upon the urban context is more complex, but their inclusiveness remains debatable. The influence of INBU remains more limited, but represents a unique development for the Bucharest context. Relevant to mention is also that the positive aspects of ZOHO are also the result of a good cooperation between several actors including the municipality, which is not the case for INBU. Finally, we should be aware that the influences of ZOHO cannot be fully isolated from other initiatives and projects in the area and thus the influence is the result of several processes.

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[47] Original text in Romanian: "La firul ierbii este centrul pentru întâlniri, dezbateri publice și inițiative civice pentru probleme ale orașului." (La firul ierbii, 2016)

"Both gentrification and neglect are symptoms of a crisis, which should be considered as an opportunity to critically examine and question the existing planning procedures and consider alternative models of development."

Urban Catalyst. 2003, p.3)

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Key findings

This research offers an answer to *how the main actors involved in temporary use initiatives (TUIs) see the future of their initiative and how this influences the local urban context*. For this, I made use of two comparable TUIs which I analyzed using a qualitative empirical method. In order to systematically arrive at a rational answer, I started by showing (1) what are the main TUIs in Rotterdam and Bucharest. Secondly, I identified and explained (2) who are the main urban actors of the two TUIs. Subsequently, I clarified (3) how the main TUIs actors see each other and the relationships between themselves. I continued by presenting (4) how the main TUIs actors see the future of their initiative. Last but not least, all these empirical data were corroborated in order to highlight how urban actors, their relationships and their views for future influence the local urban context. These data were filtered based on existing conceptual knowledge on 'temporary (re)use', 'space of dependence' and 'space of engagement', 'weak planning' and 'master planning' and 'strategies' and 'tactics'. In the end the research produced a property cycle diagram and a summary of main TUIs' influences upon local environment (both beneficial and challenging). Overall, my research provides useful reflections for urban decision makers and actors. Finally, the research add value and detailed knowledge to the under researched field of TUIs.

ZOHO represents a unique case inside TUIs because its birth and first phase had been developed by a partnership between owner (of the property), agent and municipality and because, at the start of the process, the agent's work was partially a paid assignment requested by the owner. ZOHO exhibits a multi-level integrated cooperation of actors with predominantly high levels of trust and transparency. INBU is a TUI with a predominant entrepreneurial focus driven by the emergence of an opportunity, a complex vision of some agents and their enthusiasm. INBU is a non-integrated, bilateral cooperation from which municipality is missing completely. Although between tenants of Nod Makerspace, trust, transparency and cooperation are strong, these aspects lack in relationships between the rest of the urban actors. Actors engaged in the INBU case may derive lessons from the generally close cooperation (between municipality, owner and agents) which exists in the ZOHO case. For the actors involved in the ZOHO case relevant aspects may emerge from the particular character of the Nod Makerspace (main part of INBU), social and professional network which generates tremendous energy and creativity.

Agents and tenants of both TUIs developed overlapping tactics aimed at valorizing occurring opportunities and thus improve their visibility and power of influence. Both initiatives are aware of their unchangeable space of dependence and thus try to become more powerful by expanding and improving their space of engagement (networks). They selectively bring inside new valuable tenants, develop events and spaces for public debate[48] and try to connect with key decision makers[49]. On the other hand, both INBU and ZOHO owners are in a waiting phase. They accept the current TUIs as adaptation to the new economic context, but still hope to come back to a context of master planning and strategy which will allow to pursue a relatively quick profit.

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[48] 40,48% in ZOHO, La Firul Ierbii in INBU

[49] The President of the European Committee of the Regions Markku Markkula for ZOHO and Prime-minister Dacian Cioloş for INBU.

At a wider theoretical debate, the clarifications of the property cycle could help urban actors understand the transformation of property viability and TUIs under a context of sinusoidal cycle of master planning and weak planning. The case study analysis indicates how TUIs emerge during weak planning contexts created by urban crises. Later they develop and, as a consequence, gradually increase the property value where they are located. If TUIs reach maturity they will finally enter a context which represents both a risk and an opportunity (See page 49). This is a moment when TUIs most probably face displacement or incorporation into a wider urban metamorphosis. In the case of ZOHO and INBU, both of them face an uncertain future path and open to any of these possibilities.

By looking at the relationships between involved urban actors, we can deduct that some of the key factors in obtaining successful TUIs are to: (1) bring together in the process the right people, (2) develop constant communication between urban actors involved and (3) building and maintain trust between them.

The crux of the research was to understand how the urban actors, their relationships and their views for future influence the local urban context. Overall, the influence created by TUIs upon their local environment can be considered predominantly beneficial, a fact which confirms existing research (Andres, 2013, Urban Catalyst, 2007, City Makers Summit, 2016). Both of them developed a complex network or entrepreneurs and professionals who contribute and stimulate the local economy and culture. Moreover, they reduced vacancy and improved the quality of private buildings. In ZOHO some improvements also took place in the public space, but maintaining them regularly proves challenging under limited resources. Even with poor maintenance the increased activity in the area offers considerably more safety. On the other hand, both ZOHO and INBU support more the interests and views of the entrepreneurs' network, an aspect which raises questions of representation and inclusiveness of other social groups of inhabitants and users. If these initiatives intend to be representative for the entire local community and/or trigger a complex urban regeneration process, they should find ways to incorporate more social groups and issues. In this regard, I consider that the existence of several entrepreneurial initiatives (in ZOHO) related to social organizations and projects and the development of the 'La Firul Ierbii' public debates space (in INBU) are a positive aspect. If inclusiveness will not be properly tackled, both TUIs might generate wide gentrification which could disadvantage some local inhabitants and users.

7.2 Reflections on research

The current research contributes to a better understanding of how TUIs function and what are their influences on their surrounding urban context. A key value of it comes from combining participant observation and semi-structured interviews as research method, aspect which allowed me to submerge inside the ZOHO initiative and thus understand in details the local actors, relationships and processes. By using this combination of methods my research managed to identify less visible aspects which had not been identified in previous research on ZOHO. These less visible aspects are: the debatable level of inclusiveness of the TUI, the risk of gentrification and differences between the promoted image of the TUI and the day-by-day perceived reality. Another key value of the research is that is offers one of the first evaluation of a TUI in Romania.

Naturally, the research has several unavoidable limitations, from which the majority can represent a starting point for future research. First of all, this research did not manage to collect the perspective of the local inhabitants using semi structured interviews and thus keeps away an important part of the users of the area. Secondly, having just one interview with each interviewee did not allow for an update of the perceived reality. Having a second interview could have been helpful in understanding also how the perception changed during the four months of the research. Moreover, the research could have won by integrating also quantitative data regarding the transformation of the initiative, tenants and space such as: square meters of vacancy, rented space, number of organizations, size of organizations, number of tenants living in the neighborhood, number of people with social vulnerabilities and so on. Finally, the conclusion of the current research has a medium level of generalization for other TUIs. Obviously, cultural differences, administrative systems and specific legislations put a mark on how TUIs function and influence their local context.

7.3 Future research:

All these observations bring to light at least six future research paths which are valuable to be examined. First of all, this research could be extended to include semi-structured interviews with local inhabitants (See page 23). Their perception about the TUIs, existing urban actors and their relationships could highlight other perspectives which are valuable in the urban transformation process. Secondly, using the same methodology, it is interesting to extend the research by conducting participative observation inside INBU initiative for a comparable amount of time (4 and a half months). Thirdly, developing a clear method to evaluate holistically, rigorously and objectively the impact created by TUIs could help urban professionals take wise urban decisions and capitalize on the existing values. Furthermore, it is important now, when TUIs seem to expand as practice, to understand if there are other negative unintended consequences created by TUIs (beyond general gentrification and lack of inclusiveness). Such knowledge could help urban professionals improve TU transformation processes before spreading a less perceivable unintended impact. A fifth useful research is to understand and explain what are the ingredients making the urban actors in some places (such as ZOHO) cooperate better than in others and how can this be improved in other cultural environments (such as Romania). Last but not least, a potential research path to examine is also under what conditions could TUIs be successfully integrated in master planning processes and still maintain their positive impact? As shown in the property diagram, TUIs seem to inevitably reach a moment of more radical change. If the values of the TUIs and the new context (owner, investor) could be integrated, then more chances for an integrated urban regeneration could appear.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1 Interview Guide

This is the main form of the IG. Depending on the expertise and information (about the particular study case) of the interviewee this IG suffered some changes without eroding the focus.

Structure and topics to be cover in the semi-structured interview:

Introduction:
- Aim of the research.
- Role of the interview.
- Do you have any **questions for me** before starting?
- Reconfirm the **interviewee agreement** - to make the interview & - to record the interview.
- Explain that he/she can decide not to answer certain questions and can take breaks and time to think.

Content:
1. The start:
    a. **How, when, who** started the X initiative transformation? Can you guide me to this process?
    b. What was the **problem or the opportunity** generating the need for change?
    c. What was the **initial objective**?
    d. Was there a **clear strategy** from the beginning?
        i. Was there a **time frame** established at the beginning?
        ii. **Who** was involved **at the beginning**?
2. The present:
    a. Is there a transformation **until this moment**?
        i. Can you **evaluate it**?
        ii. What is the **grates achievement**?
        iii. What was **NOT achieved**?
    b. Who is involved in this process?
        i. Is the **local inhabitants** involved? How?
        ii. Is the **owner** involved? How?
        iii. Is the **city hall** involved? How?
        iv. Are the **tenants** involved? How?
        v. Is this a **community**?
            - Can you describe it?
    c. Is there a **financial** investment initiative transformation?
        i. Is there **public funding** involved?
    d. **How are decisions taken**? Who?
3. **The future:**
    a. How do you **WANT to see** this place in **5 and 10 years** from now?
    b. What **would YOU NOT like to see** in this place?
    c. What are **YOUR organizations intentions** for the next 5 and 10 years?
    d. Does **YOUR organization** have a **strategy** for the next 5 and 10 years?
        i. How do you think should this be achieved?
    e. How do you see the **cooperation of the actors** involve in the next period?

The ending:
- **Summarize** the information received and **check** if you understood it well.
- Is there anything you will like **to add**?
- Do you have **any questions for me**?

Figure 2 – Types of probes. Printscreen. Fundamentals of Qualitative Research Methods: Interviews, Yale University, Retrieved on March 4, 2016 from   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6PhcgIOGFg8

Appendix 2 List of realized interviews

Int. No.	Code	Interview Date	Organization	City
1	Z1C	April 2016	Rotterdam Municipality	Rotterdamdam
2	Z2H	April 2016	Havensteder Foundation	Rotterdamdam
3	B1E	April 2016	Entreprenoure	București
4	B2P	April 2016	Entreprenoure	București
5	B3P	April 2016	City Hall Sector 4	București
6	B4I1	April 2016	"Industria Bumbacului" Company	București
	B4I2			
7	B5M	April 2016	Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration RO	București
8	B6W1	April 2016	Urban planning office	București
	B6W2			
9	B7G1	April 2016	Entreprenoure	București
	B7G2			
10	Z3H	May 2016	(Social) Entreprenoure	Rotterdamdam
11	Z4G	May 2016	Entreprenoure	Rotterdamdam
12	Z5S	May 2016	Entreprenore	Rotterdamdam

Table 1 - List of realized interviews.

Appendix 3 Evaluation form for the Master thesis

(Version January 2016)

Assessed by (names):
Student name:
has written a master-thesis entitled:

Elucidation of the assessment

	remarks	<4	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	List your remarks:			*Check the score:*					
Contents:									
Foundation of societal relevance:									
Foundation of scientific relevance:									
Clear formulation of problem, objectives and research questions:									
Critical discussion of relevant theories:									
Argumentation behind choice of theoretical framework:									
Critical discussion of relevant methodologies and research methods:									
Argumentation for choice of methodological approach and research methods:									
Collection of necessary data:									
Systematic interpretation of results in relation to research questions:									
Well underpinned conclusions in relation to research questions:									
Originality of contents:									
(Original) contribution to further development of theory:									
Recommendations for practice:									
Critical reflection on limits of own research, results and recommendations:									

	remarks	<4	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Formal:									
Logical structure:									
Clear (analytical and normative) line of argumentation:									
Correct use of references, quotes, and bibliography, etc.:									
Comprehensibility, lucidity, directedness, and conciseness:									
Correct use of language, style:									
Originality of form:									

Grade for master thesis itself	

* **Attention!** *If one or more scores fall in the gray shaded boxes, the thesis is not admissible*

** *Note that the final grade is not an arithmetic mean of the grades on specific aspects, since the weight given to the different aspects may vary from thesis to thesis, as they might be quite different in their aim and objectives.*