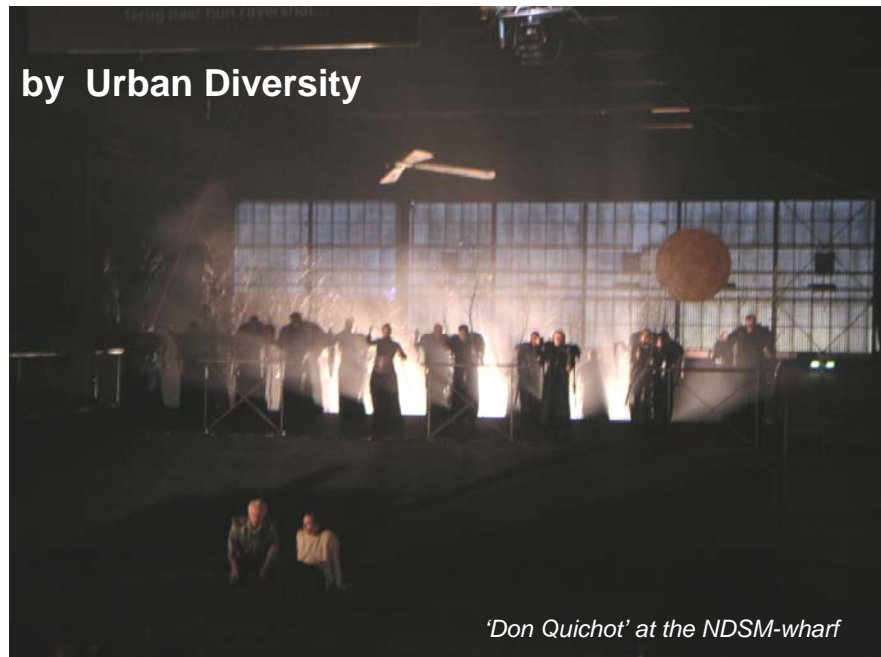# Creative Hot-spots by Urban Diversity

'Don Quichot' at the NDSM-wharf

photo: S. van den Busken, 2005

Introduction

According to Richard Florida the Amsterdam region scores high on the creativity index that is based on the three T's: talent, tolerance and technology. These conditions are needed for a successful urban economy based on the creative class. (1) Accepting his assumption, it would be useful to extract from the Amsterdam example conditions that count in general.

Florida also distinguishes technological, economic and cultural creativity. All three types of creativity are needed for urban economic growth, but the first two types are more related with economy whereas the last is related with urban quality. Culture provides the ambience and must not be measured by its direct economic result. But places of cultural creativity make the city attractive and boost the urban economy.

These are the so-called <u>creative hot-spots</u>: <u>Intersections in the cultural network where creative people come together and where inspiration occurs as a result of interaction between them</u>.

Within the subject of urban conditions for the creative class, this article focuses on the development and conditions of creative hot-spots, taking Amsterdam as case study. Two different types of urban places with different scales and pace, but with a comparable 'success-story', form the basic reference in this article: De Pijp area as a popular *neighbour-hood* for the creative class and the former NDSM-wharf, a currently booming *site* of creative *work.*

To avoid conclusions that are already made, the <u>objective</u> is to discover what can be learned from the specific Amsterdam case and not complete coverage on the subject of creative places. After an observation of the development of De Pijp and NDSM-wharf, emerge the following <u>themes</u>:
- Reclassification of the creative class in various scenes to give insight into the stages of the development process.
- Physical conditions for creative places,
- Diversity of urbatopes (biotopes of the city) on the scale of the city.
- A possible strategy for the creative places

Development of creative hot-spots

The creative class is looking for spots where they can be together and have face-to-face contact. Working places can be distinguished from places to live, although there are places with a double function. Single ateliers, offices and galleries that are attached to individual homes are to be considered as part of living places. These functions can be found anywhere in the city, but especially in the inner city residential areas that enjoy popularity by the creative class. In the working-places a real interaction between the creative people exists during their work. In some cases this is combined with living, particularly in the squatted 'free places'. But this is subordinate to the working function. De Pijp and NDSM-wharf are examples of both types of places. Both went through a process of upgrading in which the creative class played an important role. They are considered as 'success-story', but this success might be relative, as we will see.

De Pijp
"Like any higher organism, Amsterdam has his intestinal system: De Pijp" writes A.F.Th. van der Heijden, well-known novelist and resident of De Pijp, in 1981. Further on he compares De Pijp with Quartieri in Naples: *"…where the garbage is dumped directly from the window on the street"*. His mockery continues, including the squatters with their misplaced optimism and the multi-ethnicity: *"De Pijp as an horizontal tower of Babel"*. (2) Would he have known that these were two ingredients that made De Pijp in a few years into the 'Quartier Latin of Amsterdam'?

The process of gentrification of De Pijp took place in about twenty years. It is not an exceptional case but a very distinctive example of the development of 19th century neighbourhoods around the old city centres of Amsterdam or other larger Dutch cities. The area was built in haste by real estate speculators at the end of the 19th century. It has narrow monotonous streets, little public space and serial-built housing-blocks. It had been a neighbourhood for the working class from the beginning until the 1970's. In that decennium the middle class started to flee away to the new towns around Amsterdam and buildings stayed empty. Meanwhile still large groups of, mostly young, people were looking for low-cost housing.

These were the germs for a pioneering phase. A squatters-scene arose at this point. It took over a significant part of the 19th-century-housing stock. The cheap housing and the ambience of a free zone with little social control offered opportunities for experimental creatives. The squatted buildings were not only restored but they also became central nodes in a network of subcultural services. The pioneer scene developed or attracted an interactive scene. Artists, craftsmen, small-scaled social organisations and other non-profit institutions appeared in the neighbourhood. Some actual famous sculptors began their career in the squatted studios. During this stage several interactive initiatives on neighbourhood-level were undertaken. Small shops, galleries, ateliers, (children's-) theatres, kindergartens, bars, restaurants and enterprises were started. Together with the increasing multi-ethnicity, this scene contributed a lot to the cosmopolitan character of the neighbourhood. (3)

During the 1990's, when the city regained popularity as a place to live, a trendier scene arose. Location and housing market surely played a part, but the cultural image gave De Pijp an advantage in relation to other 19th-century neighbourhoods. De Pijp became a neighbourhood of allure, which was demonstrated in the establishment of a large amount of trendy bars and restaurants. The appearance of restaurants that are held in high regard by fashionable groups is not only a symptom of the trendy scene but can also accelerate the gentrification process. In short time De Pijp became attractive for a broader and wealthier public. At the end of the 1990's De Pijp had become a place were every young urban professional wanted to live. With their arrival and the intervening commercial housing developers market prices kept rising and reached their climax around 2001. The housing rent

was far more than the material value of the housing. But in the meanwhile the 'hot' image was set and people were willing to pay for "the place to be'. The neighbourhood had also attracted other classes, like settled households with a more controlling attitude towards the surroundings. (4)

With the rising of the housing prices in this period, the economically less powerful groups shifted from De Pijp. The social network got weaker and the neighbourhood-facilities turned away. Groups with more financial resources stayed. The professional class was attracting itself and its dominant presence put the other creative scenes in the shade. Their presence will decrease because of the housing prices and because of the change from a scene of interactive creativity to an ambience of consumption. So, the pioneering creatives contributed to the attractiveness of De Pijp and indirectly pushed the urban economy upwards. But at the same time their success had a disadvantage for themselves. As the revitalization of the neighbourhood succeeded, they had to find a new neighbourhood to develop their initiatives.

This development-process is not a typical Amsterdam phenomenon. The multicultural neighbourhood Lombok in Utrecht and some harbour districts around the centre of Rotterdam went through a similar process. Renewal of these neighbourhoods might be a final objective but it means an ending for the pioneering and interactive creative scenes. When the up-grading is accelerating, it will be necessary to find new places elsewhere that fulfil the conditions for these scenes. (5 and 6)

De Pijp before in 1940's
photo: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam

The Albert Cuypmarket in 1975
photo: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam

Antique-shop 2004
photo: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam

NDSM-wharf

In the 1980's a Dutch pop-song called: *"I'm bored in Amsterdam- north"* appeared. (Drukwerk) At the moment of writing the hippest centre of multimedia is arising at the former NDSM-wharf at the northern shore of Amsterdam's river-IJ.

From the end of the 19th century the wharf offered place to the NDSM (Dutch Docking and Shipbuilding Company). It was split up in the 1970's in the NSM and the ADM (Amsterdam Dock Company). It flourished the first decade after the Second World War but from the 1960's the decline in the shipbuilding industry began and finally in the mid-1980's, both companies closed down. They left an impressive industrial heritage; a handful of docks, two giant slopes (the biggest measures some 10.000 m2) a collection of storage- and machine-halls (some 20.000 m2), a few cranes and a vast empty terrain.

After the closure in 1984, squatters occupied the spaces under the slopes of the slipways and some artists and small enterprises hired the remaining sheds. This was the start of a small <u>pioneering</u> community. After all the forced evacuations of squatted places elsewhere in the city, this was one of the places where creative experiments still were allowed. While the government or real-estate developers took no initiative to tear everything down to develop housing or offices, the community carried on with their creative work on a introvert way.

In 1999 the city of Amsterdam called out a competition for cultural plans for the NDSM-terrain. From some 130 plans the group Kinetisch Noord was selected. It was specially founded for this competition by group of enterprising artists and ex-squatters. From this point on <u>interactive</u> development started. The former creative pioneers became cultural entrepreneurs. In a few years time the foundation obtained various subsidies from different government institutions, from local to national level. In every step of the development they had to present an action programme, a budget or any other plan to demonstrate the feasibility of the next phase. In all this government had no more than a stimulating and controlling role.

The idea was to offer possibilities to (sub)cultural experimentation or activities that barely find access to the regular circuit. In the first period the main objective was to build affordable ateliers, workspaces and rehearsal studios. This was made possible by mixing artists and art-supporting enterprises, new and old crafts and no-budget and low-budget initiatives. The project was divided in separate sub-projects with their own characteristics, in order to develop at their appropriate pace. The plan tried to maintain the typical industrial ambiance as much as possible. A building team formed by the users designed a basic plan for the terrain during some interactive workshops. A construction team provided help to the individual artists and enterprises to realise their plans. (7)

The NDSM terrain and his buildings seem still rough and untouched at the moment, but the wharf is going into the next stage of development. The east part of the site is destined to become an important <u>trendy</u> multimedia centre of Amsterdam. A media consortium is founded to manage it. Dance-company ID&T has the intention to move their head-office to the location. As we speak, MTV-networks is negotiating with the consortium as well. ID&T even planned a music hall for a broad range of music, besides merely 'dance'. This will be accompanied by bars en maybe a nightclub. One of the hangars will have to offer place to thousands of visitors who will arrive by a new high frequent ferry-line from the central station. The consortium that now owns the place expects that more creative professional enterprises will follow these big companies. (8)

In the meanwhile the Lloyds-quarter, an old harbour area of Rotterdam, where audio and video enterprises are established, is developing from a pioneering stage into a professional stage too. This place is destined by Rotterdam-city to become a media-centre as well.

Already a lot of smaller enterprises in the audio-visual sector were settled, but a big name is still missing and evidently they also aimed at MTV as potential client. (9)

Until now the development of the NDSM-wharf can be called a success. The clue to this was a bottom-up plan, a good interaction between government and initiators. Once the government took the decision to stimulate a dynamic creative process in this place, they left room for ideas, and provided the subsidies and advise. The working-group provided the ideas, the network, the labour and the energy. After the first phase all initiative came from the creative people itself. The builders of the plan were the future users themselves. The government from that point on only played a passive role. Consequently the dedication of the involved people was maximum.

Surely when the big companies from the trendy scene are established at the NDSM-wharf, more will follow. The creative production is supposed to get a more professional character. The actual users are afraid to be dominated by the big media industry and don't consider them as a positive addition because of their commercial aspirations. The place will attract an enormous amount of people as well. The new companies aim to do so. Although the individual experimental artists still will have their own space on the terrain, it is out of doubt that the function and the ambience of the place will change from merely cultural production on a small interactive base to mass consumption of culture.

Next to this relative success-story another aspect can be learned from the NDSM-case. A less successful point was shown about the legal regulation. The renovation of the buildings was progressing very problematically due to the license procedures. While the subsidy was waiting to be used, one particular minor part of the project, destined to theatre workplaces, was stranded for two years because of fire-regulation. The opening of the skate-park was delayed some months for the same permission. The reason was not it's own fire-safety but the unusual combination with living cabins under one roof. (10) It was a typical situation in which regulation was not equipped for new occurred circumstances. On this last occasion however, local government demonstrated flexibility by giving a temporary events-permission until the definitive permission was set.

In general, mixed-use of working and living is a problem that comes across in other places of creative production. The combination is often conflicting with the current zoning-plan (Dutch: 'bestemmingsplan'). The combination of different functions in one space and the use of buildings in nonconforming ways are intrinsic to these places. This means that a flexible attitude from the government towards construction- and utilization permits, safety- and environmental rules is demanded.

*Inauguration of the M.S. Christiaan
Huygens in 1927
photo: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam*

*The empty slipway nowadays
photo: S.van den Busken, 2004*

Creative scenes

Florida also divides the creative class into a 'Super Creative Core' and 'Creative Professionals'. The cases of creative hot-spots in Amsterdam demonstrate that his definition in unparsed form is not usable to explain the development process. A reclassification of the creative class is necessary. Not only there is a large difference in life-style, economic level and leisure spending within the creative class, but various groups also play different roles in the development. The stages of this process run by some means parallel with a gradation of the scenes within the creative class, from pioneering to professional.

Various subdivisions are possible, for example by profession or by living situation. (11) But for the existence of hot-spots, the attitude from a certain creative group towards environment and people, as well as the motive for creative production explains more about the role of a scene. The reclassification must be based on a combination of these factors.

The subdivision is not meant to stigmatise individuals. Mostly people don't fit exactly in one definition. Possibly one the same person takes part in more than one group, or he moves from one class to the other during his career. To comprehend the process of development of creative places it is better to talk about scenes. The 'Creative Core' can be divided in three creative scenes. The group of 'Creative Professionals need no further subdivision in the context of this article. I will just mention it as 'professional scene'.

The fairly small bohemian, subcultural "pioneer scene" generally operates outside the mainstream society and economy. However it is formed by a small amount of people, this scene is very diverse. The scene is related to experimental living communities, squatters and etcetera. They often combine working and living at one place in the informal zones of the city, the *"terrains vagues".* Their direct economic contribution might be almost zero but their importance to the creative city is bigger than statistics can show. The experimental and informal subculture feeds the consumable and formal culture. Besides the creative city subject must go beyond economic terms. The pioneer scene explores leftover places and opens them up. By showing the possibilities that the location offers, the pioneers unintentionally put these places back on the mental map of politicians, planners and citizens. Such happened with the NDSM-wharf. Mostly pioneer scenes are introvert but sometimes they are able or willing to share their discoveries and inventions with more people outside their group. At that point this scene transforms into the next scene

The "interactive scene", is a more organized artistic scene. It exists in cultural people, who besides to their creative production, can make their creation of use for others by their interactive attitude. They can make their creative work accessible to people or start interactive creative projects, like the neighbourhood network in De Pijp. They involve people in their projects. Although they might run small businesses with income and expenses as cultural entrepreneurs, they don't have commercial targets. Creating according to their own inspiration prevails above maximizing profits. To organise creative projects they conform more to mainstream culture than the pioneer scene does. However, these scenes share the same interest in experimentation and therefore are connected. One could see the interactive scene as the catalyst of the creative city because it plays an accelerating role in the creative culture.

The "trendy scene" is forms a bridge to a more commercial and popular phase**.** The production from this scene has measurable economic value. It is meant for a broader market. Characteristic professions are found in audio-visual arts, publicity and fashion. This group enjoys some admiration by the culture-consumers through the combination of a creative image, a fashionable life-style and commercial success. Taken as an example, this scene influences life-style and leisure spending. This is the last group that also coincides with Florida's 'Super Creative Core'. The function of this scene in the development process is that

of *confirmation*. The establishment of this scene confirms the 'hot' image of a place. In De Pijp it happened with the settlement of fancy restaurants and bars and at the NDSM-wharf by the arrival of media enterprises.

This is followed by a bigger scene. Florida calls it 'Creative Professionals' but it could better be described as just "professional scene". From the economic point of view it might be the most powerful group because it has the largest commercial production, the highest wages and consumption spending. But their creativity is relative. In their profession creativity is a mean to reach commercial targets and not a result of inspiration. Their leisure activities are generally mostly programmed by copied ideas and not by experimentation. Culture is more consumed than produced. So the professional scene contributes less to the creative culture of the city than often is thought. (12) In fact the dominant presence of this scene in the public domain can even be suffocating for the creative ambience, as is feared by the actual users of the NDSM-wharf. De Pijp shows that such ambiance can transform in a dominant culture of consumption.

Richard Florida: The Creative Class	*Creative scenes*
Creative Core:	- Pioneer creative scene
	- Interactive creative scene
	- Trendy creative scene
Creative Professionals:	- Professional scene

Physical conditions of creative places

Much is written already about the social conditions of hot-spots. The creative cultural hot-spots grow by the effort of creative people, by the social circumstances and freedom society gives them. But it is more difficult to define physical conditions for creative places. However we can draw some general conclusions about urban space and built environment from the cases of De Pijp and NDSM-wharf.

First of all, the cases confirm Florida's observation of authenticity and identity. He puts authentic as opposite of generic and concludes that (creative) people want to experience the uniqueness of a place. Therefore instant places like shopping malls or streets with a lot of chain stores are no hot-spots of creativity. (1) Authenticity has also to do with history. At the NDSM-wharf and in De Pijp one can feel history through the buildings. The NDSM-wharf particularly, is unique by its industrial heritage. The historical ambience and the remembrance of the rough labour that once took place, give it an urban dynamic image. De Pijp has a particular urban environment because of the small scale of public space, which makes it a very intimate place. The coincidental urban pattern with curved streets and strange corners contribute to its spontaneous image. Also exclusive facilities like the famous Albert Cuyp-market, the Heineken brewery and even a small red-light district make it a unique place. Add to this its position between three expensive neighbourhoods (Centre, Museum-area and Berlage's South). If we remember that De Pijp wasn't always a nice place to live in, we can conclude that authenticity can come with the years even in places that didn't seem to have good conditions.

The second factor to be extracted from these cases is that a sort of state of decay appeals the pioneering and interactive scenes. Places must be incomplete. Materials (buildings, objects) have to be present but there must be something left to be done. Compare it with biotopes; neither in complete deserted nor in saturated grounds, original vegetation will grow. The ideal soil for eccentric plants is rough and rugged. It is much the same in 'urbatopes'.

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A finished place leaves no space for changes. The run-down state of De Pijp in the seventies gave the pioneer scene this possibility. Creative people want to create their own setting to have maximum opportunity to arrange it according their exigencies. But the place also causes inspiration as object of creativity itself. The environment is not only the coincidental place where they make their foot-loose cultural products. The accidental present objects are in fact involved in the projects. The NDSM example shows this. The upgrading of the buildings was the main motivation of the interactive development from the start.

Thirdly; tolerance is not only a social condition but also a physical one, especially in working-places for the creative scenes. It is about freedom to do what they want; make the sounds, movements or objects without disturbing and being disturbed. It doesn't mean necessarily big measures, but size matters. Therefore, it counts that the physical state of the location must be robust. (13) It has to withstand some probable rough treatment, whether the result is noise, smell, trembling, waste or motion. Places like the NDSM-wharf can absorb these activities by their robustness. This legitimises that regulation (environmental, safety etc.) in these places is to be explained in a tolerant way, as already said in the previous paragraph.

I want to use this opportunity to point out two things. The combination of the factors mentioned above make the old industrial zones ideal creative places nowadays. But it does not mean that a creative hot-spot is only to be found in industrial heritage. It will better be not, because the reserve of these terrains is not infinite. All places could once become a creative hot-spot if they fulfil these conditions at that time. The modernist office estates might be the next up-coming places.

The location in the city is undoubtedly an important factor in the development of the creative hot-spots. I will point it out briefly, but it is a subject that deserves more investigation. A site near the city centre has more chances for interaction with outsiders. De Pijp's position next to the centre of the city played an important role in the gentrification. During the 1990's a lot of people chose the neighbourhood as 'next best option' after the expensive centre. If you could not live *in* there, at least you would live *next* to it. The subcultural functions have a relation with cultural functions in the city. So for working places you would expect the same. For the NDSM-wharf though, the distance to the centre formed by the water barrier was not an obstruction for successful development. Besides, peripheral locations offer mostly more freedom.

What must be done with this information? Certainly not try to plan and establish these places. The description can be used to discover and identify these creative places, as I will explain later on.

Diversity on the scale of the city

In order to keep up to the demands of the entire creative class the city must offer diversity in "urbatopes". Both the centre as places like NDSM-wharf are needed in the network of the creative city. Amsterdam's' housing market forms a bottleneck for many persons to find suitable housing. (14) But, due to a long history and a fairly steady growth, Amsterdam still offers diversity in built environment and social structure to which a large range of people.

Urban professionals who can afford the high standard choose for the unique environment of the centre, just as small representative businesses. The dense small-sized urban network and inspiring ambience of the centre and districts such as De Pijp also attract trendy businesses. The 19th century ring around the centre still exists in majority in up-coming multicultural neighbourhoods, but some of them, including De Pijp, are socially developing as an extension of the centre. Big business is found at the fringes of the peripheral highway. Few pioneering working places still are to be found around the IJ-river in remaining

warehouses and former harbour terrains, but the development of luxury offices and housing at the riverbanks leaves little space for the pioneering creatives.

Although the urban diversity seems now a natural fact, it needs an effort to maintain it. In fact, city policy needs to be tailored on every specific situation. The old centre for example provides an authentic place with historic buildings in combination with unique social and cultural experiences that are greatly valued by the creative class. It is the very heart of cultural live. To maintain this, a specific policy for the city centre is adapted that can basically be described as 'strict on buildings and flexible on functions'. For creative excesses like the NDSM-wharf obviously a more liberal or almost abstinent policy will be more profitable.

Nevertheless cases of De Pijp and NDSM-wharf showed that 'successful' development of creative hot-spots is driven on other forces than top-down policy. Paradoxically the consequence, of the revival of these places generated by the pioneering and interactive scene, is that these scenes will need to search for a new place to develop their creative initiatives. For the involved people it might be tragic, but for the city it does not have to be problematic as long as there are sufficient other places in the early stages. On the contrary; the city is profiting from their catalysing function. It is socially not acceptable that policy is directed to this, but if a successful neighbourhood runs to the last stages, other places that satisfy the demands of these scenes must be spared.

Beside the sporadic places within the peripheral highway offered by the 'Breeding-place policy' (Dutch: Broedplaatsenbeleid) of the Amsterdam council, these new sites are to be found in the outskirts. The inexpensive living places nowadays are to be found in the post-war neighbourhoods, but few of them have a real inspiring environment for the creative class. The future will show if the pioneer and dynamic scene will explore and exploit new creative places in these neighbourhoods, for example in the Bijlmer, a degraded modern residential area from the 1960's, which is currently in redevelopment. (3)

The former ADM terrain for example might have a chance. Although located in the western harbour, quite far away from the city, it could be an alternative for creative development to the NDSM-wharf. The squatters already settled in 1987. From that moment, creative pioneers, mostly sculpture-artists, built up an existence. Now they form a community of around hundred people. They are living in a big industrial shed or on the surrounding terrains. The community is somewhat introvert, but all people are actively creative. There are photographers, actors and 'kinetic inventors' (making vehicles driven on wood). The theatre groups perform for a broad public. Once a year an international festival with spectacle-theatre, multimedia-shows, industrial installations and special effects is organised, for insiders and outsiders. Thousands of people visit it. (15) It shows that the intention to achieve more interactivity exists and the transition to an interactive phase could take place. This could be stimulated, if government takes an initiative comparable with the competition for the NDSM-terrain.

Instead of considering the possibilities of this place the city is regarding it as a wasted place. It is used as a dump for anyone and anything that does not fit in the city: homeless, city-nomads, illegals, junkies and alcoholics, but also materials like shipwrecks and caravans. The only similarity between the former inhabitants and the new is the nonconformist attitude towards mainstream society. The creative environment changed into a tense ambience and already the new situation has lead to some conflicts between the squatters and the new inhabitants. So while the NDSM-wharf was upgrading rapidly after just a little top-down encouragement, the ADM-terrain went in the opposite direction because of complete negligence. Complete abstinence of top-down intervention would have been more profitable.

Foresee and reserve creative places

The Amsterdam city council though, is not neglecting that the urban restructuring of the city is decreasing creative places and understands the urge to offer affordable places for an alternative work- and lifestyle. That's why the breeding-place policy is set up. It provides locations to those artists and cultural entrepreneurs who are not (yet) able to obtain a place in the regular market. Basically it implies that the government acquires empty buildings, transforms them if necessary, selects the users to whom they will be assigned and subsidizes the rent. The buildings can be acquired in own property or by stimulating real estate developers to destine their property for breeding-places. In that case, government intermediates between the developers and future users. The transformation of the building is sometimes executed by government and sometimes by the users with assistance of the government. (16,17)

The policy is meant to offer possibilities for starting creative people. Nevertheless the policy is not yet, and will not be the key, to places with cultural creative interaction. The basic problem is that it is ambiguous. At the one hand it is striving for small-scaled autarchic development, at the other hand it is based on a vision of a controlled society. A typical contradiction that in many urban planning ideologies exists. (18) Disagreement with the policy goes beyond the squatters-scene. The selection rules, the imposition that enterprises have to shift to if they become commercial successful, the forced mix of budget and non-budget artists and other rules are restricting a spontaneous development. This is the paradox of creating creativity. Freedom, spontaneity, irregularity and tolerance are at odds with top-down development. Planned creative sites are unlikely to fit the requirements of the creatives.

Consequently, once again, the creative pioneers will look for alternatives in the informal zones of the city. For planners this means that they have to overview the city as whole and understand the demands and indicate future hot-spots. An overview by planners could prevent negative interventions like happened with the ADM example. A location plan of the various creative places in the entire city can help government to develop a creative-places strategy for the city. This plan is not a real active plan but a passive analytical plan. It must be an effort to map the creative sites based on the description of physical conditions and if possible with the stage they go through. The strategy based upon this map can be just the decision of non-intervention or unpretentious stimulation. A subject that deserves more investigation is how to recognize the regarding phases.

This means that government's role is one of more abstinence, as the Mayor of Amsterdam himself said at the conference Creativity and the City in2003. (19) The stimulating role of government can be restricted to reserving places were signs of creative pioneering scene emerge. If necessary, it must invite these people to initiate plans for more creative interaction. So the active role only extends to the Initiative-phase. During this phase, government gives over to people with plans and from this moment the action has to come from bottom up. The passive role extends further into the process. During the entire process government can help by giving advice (legal, financial) and by being flexible in applying the (construction-, permission, environmental) regulation.

Conclusions

To summarize, I consider the following conclusions, drawn from the situation of Amsterdam, appropriate for creative hot-spots in general:

About the development of creative hot-spots:
- Pioneering and interactive creative scenes play a catalysing role in the up-grading process of actual creative hot-spots.
- The phases of this process run parallel with scenes within the creative class:
  o The Pioneer scene explores locations and demonstrates the possibilities that they have and undeliberately draw the attention of to the sites.
  o The Interactive scene catalyses the process by initiating interactive projects on these locations.
  o The Trendy scene establishes the hot image of place and attracts a broader public.
  o The Professional scene changes the character of place into a more commercial and consumptive one.
- As urban renewal of decayed areas is aspired, it must be recognized that it often means an ending for the pioneering creative scenes.

About the physical conditions of creative hot-spots:
- Authenticity of place, visible in the physical conditions, contributes to identity. Authenticity can come with the years.
- The pioneering and interactive scenes are attracted to places in a state of decay because these places offer a cause of inspiration themselves.
- The places must be robust to absorb the exceptional activities that take place.
- Creative places are not only to be found in industrial heritage.
- A peripheral location is not necessarily an obstacle.

About a strategy for creative hot-spots:
- Urban policy needs to be tailored to maintain diversity in "urbatopes".
- For creative places it implies a more abstinent policy.
- An interactive process could be stimulated if government triggers bottom-up plans.
- A top-down policy (like the breeding-places) will not lead to places that satisfy the all demands of the creative class.
- A location plan, overviewing existing and new creative places in the city, is needed to develop a strategy on the scale of the agglomeration.
- Legal regulation forms an obstacle for a successful development. Especially concerning the mixed-use of working and living a flexible attitude from the government is required.

Subjects for further investigation:
- Indicators of the different stages of a creative hot-spot.
- Influence location: advantages of central or peripheral settings

To recapitulate what makes Amsterdam attractive for the "Creative Class", I would say that It still offers variation in urbatopes; places with different physical appearance, social structure and different ambiences. A broad range of people finds their inspiration living and working in Amsterdam. The conclusions above have to be used to maintain this. As long the city offers diversity, it will contain hot-spots of creativity.

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