# Temporary Urbanism

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## To what extent is it contributing to a more socially sustainable urban environment?

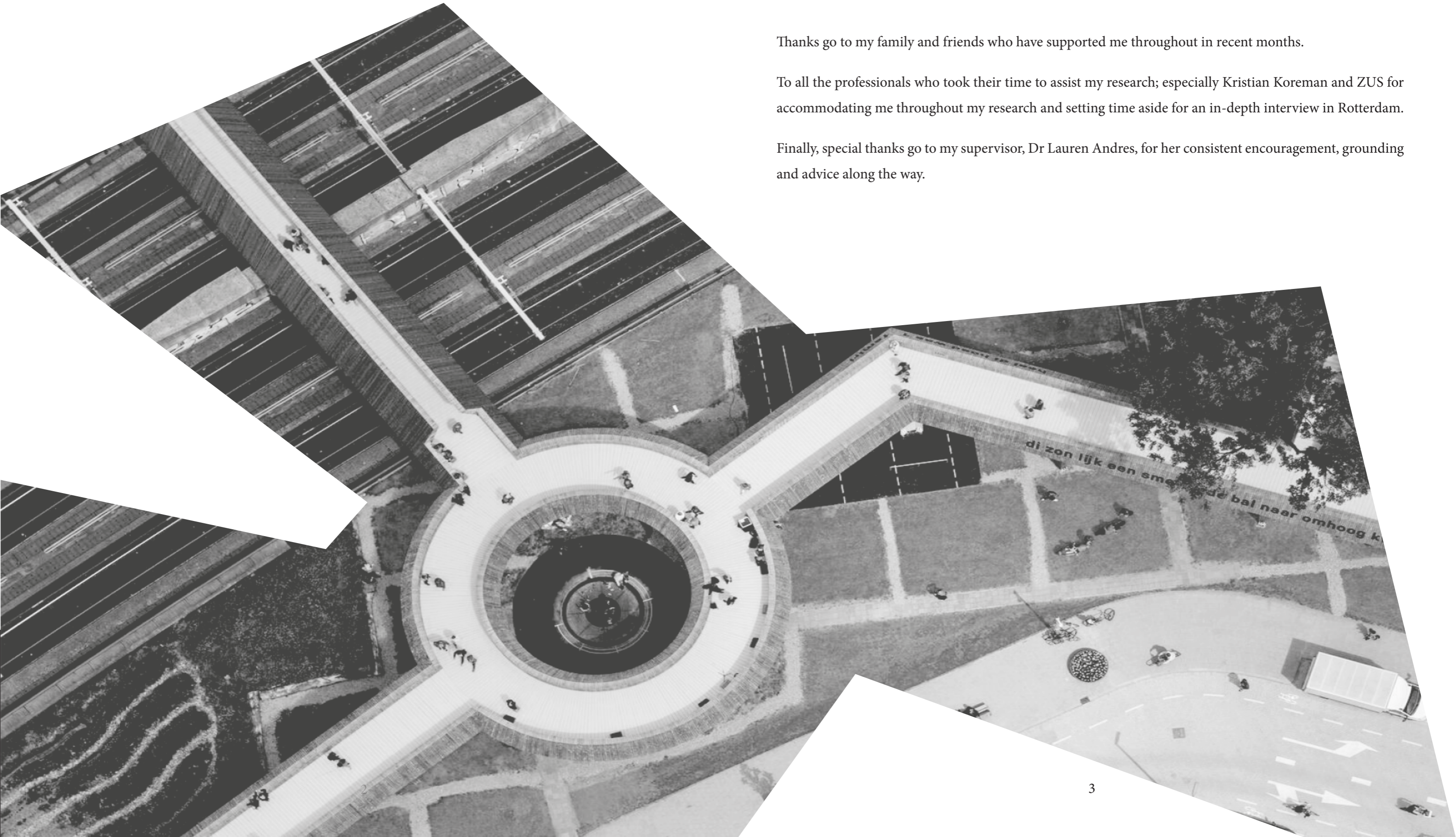Eliott Kelly

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Urban Planning

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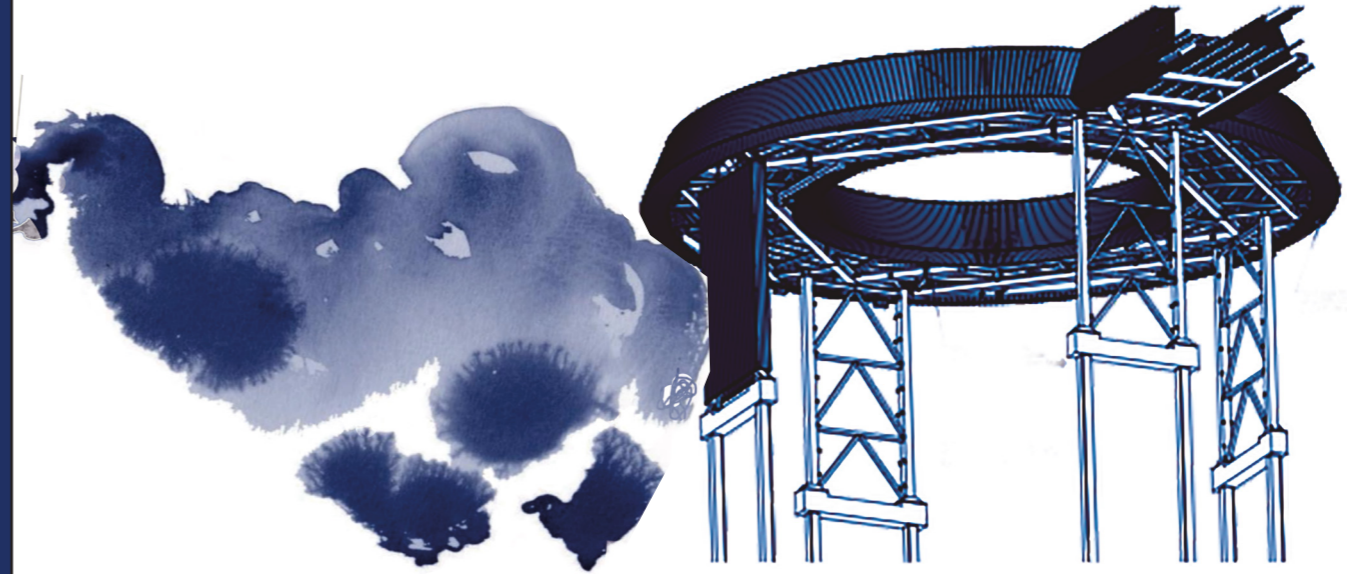
## [ABSTRACT]

Temporary urbanism is increasingly being recognised as good practice in a range of disciplines related to the built environment. As an approach, it has the potential to re-use the urban fabric that has been hollowed out by the widespread deindustrialisation in global north cities, as well as encouraging vibrancy in the underused public realm. This dissertation seeks to understand whether temporary urbanism is beneficial with respect to promoting a more socially sustainable urban environment.

Despite temporary urbanism's relatively recent proliferation, it hasn't been analysed in terms of its effects on social sustainability. This, in part, is due to the eclectic range of practices which fall under temporary use, as well as researching focusing on its environmental or economic impacts. This research proposes the dualism of offensive and defensive to apply to the concept temporary urbanism, condensing the range of practices under this approach. Moreover, it highlights key features of social sustainability to assess temporary uses such as inclusiveness, network-building and contribution to sense of place.

Through examining three case studies in Rotterdam, a city renowned for its temporary uses, as well as interviewing professionals directly related to the field, this dissertation attempts to understand the ideal form and conditions of temporary use for optimum social sustainability. Findings demonstrate that temporary uses must work in tandem with each other to fully address the needs of a diverse urban community, however, doing this requires drivers to involve other stakeholders who may warp the intentions of that project. A strong political will from community representatives is needed to ensure that temporary uses can benefit the community fully.

# [INTRODUCTION]

## BACKGROUND

In recent decades, urban planning has become more concerned with social sustainability. Public participation has become central to the conversation of good practice, most notably witnessed in the coalition government's push for 'big society' and the creation of the Localism Act (2011). However, the effectiveness of such rhetoric and policy has been widely debated and often criticised (Bedford et al, 2002; Bailey, 2010). Simultaneously, the inner-city is seeing swathes of formerly industrial land become vacant and undesirable to investment from developers, due to deindustrialisation in many cities. The economic restructuring of many of these cities towards the service sector is the main culprit for this. What's more, following the 2008 Financial Crisis, local government lacks the resources to exact regeneration in these areas, or any such large-scale development that the planning discipline has become accustomed to. The latter circumstance has been widely criticised as the cause for the coalition government to devolve their powers to local communities, with what many deem the inadequate means to do so (Bedford *et al*, 2002). Given this tumultuous time for cities, many practitioners have called for alternative planning tools to tackle these new challenges; one such tool is temporary urbanism (Haydn and Temel, 2006).

## THE CONCEPT OF TEMPORARY URBANISM

Temporary urbanism is a difficult movement to define, being linked to a variety of practices (Ferreri, 2015), which the literature review will address more directly. In short, temporary urbanism operates on a smaller-scale than traditional planning methods, usually on a plot or block basis, and encourages experimental land uses which are unlikely to have been developed by market forces (The Street Plans Collaborative, 2011). It aims to provide short-term interventions which inspire long-term change in the urban environment. It has been used to remedy many of the problems facing the city outlined previously. It seeks to re-use buildings and spaces, specifically those which may have importance to the local community, thus re-stitching the urban fabric that has been plagued by deindustrialisation (Jovis, 2007; Haydn and Temel, 2006). Moreover, temporary urbanism has been highlighted as an approach which can give the local community a greater control over their environment, as well as having a capacity for network building, necessary for socially sustainable urban development (The Street Plans Collaborative, 2011).

While deindustrialisation can be cited as providing the space for the emergence of temporary uses, there are other related factors which have led to this. Technological advancements, principally the proliferation of the internet, has meant successful temporary interventions are passed on at a greater speed and extent than would otherwise be possible, inspiring individuals to act on urban vacancy (The Street Plans Collaborative, 2011). Furthermore, an educated young workforce with poorer employment prospects than experienced by prior generations, combined with an increased demand for affordable spaces, has meant that fringe locations outside the formal economy are increasingly sought (Jovis, 2007).

Temporary urbanism is an approach predominantly practiced by architects in North America and Europe, but is increasingly influential worldwide in many disciplines. It's perhaps particularly important to urban planners because of the innovative and socially sustainable developments it is thought to create (Ferreri, 2015). The planning discipline has long sought-after more sustainable practices (NPPF, 2012; UN Habitat, 2009), as well as those which can help it develop more meaningful participation.

Certain cities, including San Francisco , Portland, Amsterdam, Barcelona and Berlin have strong reputations as the pioneers of temporary urbanism (Kallblad, 2015). However, this project highlights Rotterdam as an apt case study because temporary uses have shifted from an alternative practice, to a vital part of its strategic developmental framework, exerting a considerable influence over the urban fabric. The city's hollowing out by deindustrialisation offered up sizeable blank canvases for a new experimental series of practices, existing outside of formal control mechanisms. What began as almost a counter-cultural phenomenon soon shifted into mainstream consciousness, with the city government becoming aware of the potential of temporary uses. It's the growing influence of temporary uses which have sparked two optimistic, but usually contradictory visions: the urban planner's desire for development despite austerity, and the creative's desire to provide space for innovation (Ferreri, 2015; Lehtovuori and Ruoppila, 2015).

## THE PROBLEM

However, it is the shift of temporary urbanism from a counter-cultural practice in the margins of the city, to a mainstream strategy for the city government which has drawn increasing scepticism, with critics questioning whether  it's merely being exploited as a marketing ploy (Ferreri, 2015). Moreover, temporary urbanism has been disparaged for encompassing a "disturbingly eclectic" range of practices and the perception that it is the panacea for all urban problems (Ferreri, 2015; Brenner, 2015). Ferreri (2015) calls for a greater critical lens to the range of practices which fall under temporary urban use, and thus with this should come an analysis of its perceived benefits, such as resilience and social sustainability. In addition, given the failure of many planning movements to produce meaningful socially sustainable practices, an inspection of the effect temporary use has on producing different urban futures is necessary. These criticisms inform this project's aim and objectives.

## AIM:

To critically assess how temporary urbanism is influencing our urban environment and whether it is making our cities more socially sustainable.

## OBJECTIVES:

- Decipher what temporary urbanism is and what its impact can be on the urban environment.
- Assess the extent to which temporary uses impact spaces and communities and hence foster social sustainability.
- Understand how the city of Rotterdam has been embedding temporary interventions into its urban environment strategies.
- Understand the motivations of the different stakeholders and processes behind temporary interventions in a city in transition, like Rotterdam.

This project will deal with whether temporary urbanism's fast-paced urban change is promoting sustainability going forward. As Zeiger (2011) suggests, the real impact and longevity of temporary interventions can't be based on any one project's success, but will happen when the movement can be based on factors like community empowerment, entrepreneurship, design and sustainability.

The research design will follow a case study approach, focused on three projects in Rotterdam. This will also include a series of interviews relating to these projects or the wider temporary urbanism phenomenon.

## DISSERTATION OUTLINE

The subsequent chapter will reflect on literature surrounding temporary uses. It will highlight two possible variations of the practice that have emerged from the literature, before going on to outline how this relates to social sustainability. Furthermore, it will demonstrate the gaps in the literature and how this project can address these, before stating the research questions that have emerged from this. The following chapter is the methodology, which outlines and justifies the chosen data collection methods and case study design of this project. It will also reflect on the limitations of those methods as well as ethical considerations when undertaking this research.

The empirics of the project are divided over three chapters: the case study; findings and analysis; and discussion. The first will demonstrate the theoretical context behind and basic details of the three chosen case studies of Rotterdam, before assessing their social sustainability in the findings and analysis chapter. Lastly, the project will reflect more generally on temporary urbanism's relationship with social sustainability. These chapters will all inform the conclusion chapter, which will attempt to answer the research questions set out in the literature review, as well as the project's overarching aim.

*"In an era of increasing pressure on scarce resources, we cannot wait for long-term solutions to vacancy or dereliction. Instead, we need to view temporary uses as increasingly legitimate and important in their own right."*

-Peter Bishop and Lesley Williams
The Temporary City, 2012

# CHAPTER TWO

## LITERATURE REVIEW

# [LITERATURE REVIEW]

Temporary urban uses have traditionally defied definition, seemingly being related to a wide range of eclectic urban practices, bound by the notion of impermanence. This is evident in the plethora of terms synonymous with temporary urban use such as: pop-up shops, guerrilla urbanism, tactical urbanism and meanwhile spaces (Ferreri, 2013). Similarly, the variety of practices existing under temporary uses have made it difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of such an approach, with criticisms relating to some practices but not all.

Using Michel de Certeau's well-regarded theory of strategies and tactics as a basis, part one of this chapter attempts to suggest that temporary uses can be divided into two cohesive interpretations: offensive temporary urbanism and defensive temporary urbanism. The subsequent subsections will then explore both interpretations and highlight their value to this project, as well as the literature more widely.

Part two of the literature review will then attempt to condense the critical reflection of offensive and defensive temporary urbanisms into its effects on the social sustainability of the urban environment, rather than exploring the entirety of its impacts, given the limited scope of this project. Additionally, it will attempt to define social sustainability, a relatively under-explored term, by examining social equity and the sustainability of the community which are thought to comprise it (Dempsey *et al*, 2009). Throughout this section, social sustainability will be continually related to the two interpretations of temporary urbanism offered in the previous section. The chapter concludes by reflecting on the contribution of this project when considering the current gaps in the literature.

## PART ONE: DEFINING TEMPORARY URBANISM

It is perhaps necessary to reflect on the author's initial understanding of the key concepts like temporary, temporary urbanism and temporary use. When something is temporary, it's perceived to only last for a finite amount of time, or perhaps more appropriate to this project, an interim time (Oxford Dictionary, 2010); what it's an interim between is another matter to be explored later. Temporary use, in terms of practice, is separated from traditional methods because of the ephemeral intentions of those who drive the initiatives, rather than the length of time a project operates for (Bishop and Williams, 2012). However, this isn't to suggest that said project can't develop into a more permanent use or inspire long-term change (The Street Plan Collaborative, 2011). Urban Catalyst (2007) suggest that temporary use has almost become a magical term, offering blank canvases for creative minds to express their vision in a world otherwise ruled by profit, while simultaneously providing urban planners with the means for urban development. While the author's interpretation of temporary urbanism relates to the contributionof temporary uses to the planning of towns and cities.

## A Dual Interpretation of Temporary Urbanism

This project argues that de Certeau's (1984) theory of strategies and tactics can enhance our definition and understanding of temporary urbanism. De Certeau's work focuses on the everyday life practices and actions of the individual, suggesting that they are not random actions but logical outcomes. Strategies and tactics are two core concepts of his work and can perhaps shed some light on how informal or alternative practices are created and operate.

Strategies are the actions of the powerful, often dominating spaces in daily life and usually manifesting in structures of regulations. However, because strategies are very much based on their immediate context, the regulatory structures in place have their spatial limits (Yilmaz, 2013). A strategy seeks to capitalise on its advantages over space and grow more powerful based on relations with the competitors or the 'other' (de Certeau, 1984; Yilmaz, 2013). Whereas, tactics are not confined to spatial borders, and thus flow into various strategies, eroding away at power mechanisms. They don't seek to defeat strategies and assume control themselves, but rather combine as resistance acts against them, disrupting space for a time, but lacking permanent places (Yilmaz, 2013). Tactics must adapt to the spaces they are in, looking for opportunities to thrive. These opportunities usually come about due to the out-dated mechanisms of strategies, which are unable to keep up with the ever-changing and dynamic nature of the city, or the inability of the powerful to see outside their own structures (de Certeau, 1984).

A few academics have already suggested that temporary uses are tactics, being actions of the less powerful in response to the conditions posed by the powerful. They consider temporary use an informal and marginal practice, operating in an uncoordinated manner (Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003; Parris, undated). Conversely, Andres (2013) offers a differing narrative for temporary practice, one where it can be both a tactic and a strategy. Temporary uses can also be used in strategies of the powerful, who are looking at the long-term vision of an area as opposed to operating in a more coordinated manner. However, she also offers up the dichotomy of defensive and offensive which can further divide temporary practices beyond just that of strategies and tactics. The defensive interpretation refers to the coping, space-shaping strategies and tactics which emerge during periods of 'weak planning' or crisis, where the desired vision for an area can't be accomplished due to various factors such as an economic downturn or standstill in negotiations between stakeholders. Whereas, the offensive interpretation operates in a period of stability, usually where masterplanning can take place, which incorporate temporary uses into development-led placemaking strategies (Andres, 2013). The inclusivity of the collaborative process risks a decline as socio-economic conditions become more stable, making strategies manifest as the dominant form of offensive temporary urbanism. Figure 2.1 demonstrates the transition of temporary uses and the shifting power dynamics at work in different socio-economic periods.
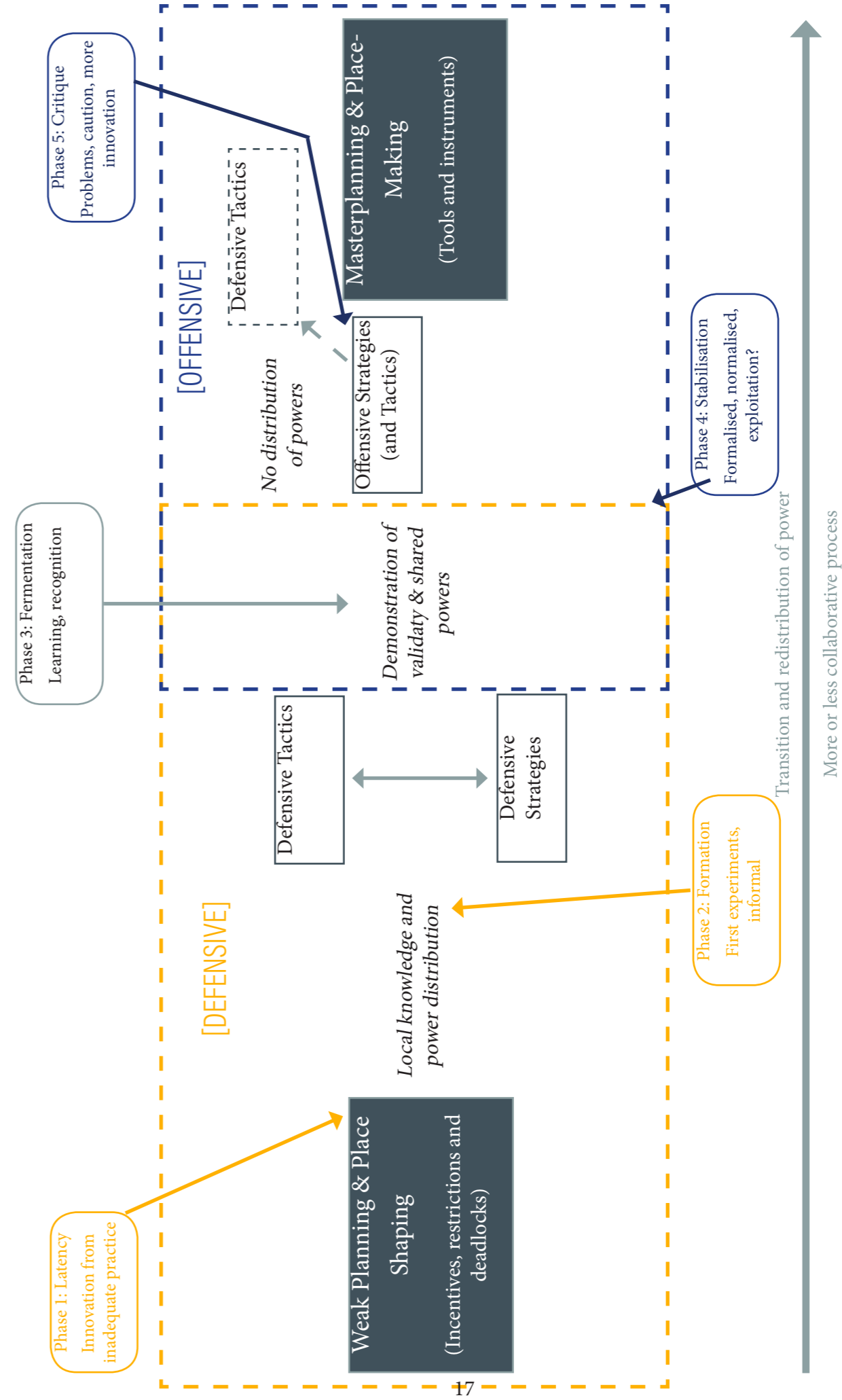
*Figure 2.1:* An adaptation of Andres' (2013) model on the transformation of temporary uses on differential spaces, with the inclusion of Honeck's (2015) insight into the phases which characterise temporary uses development

Figure 2.1. suggests that temporary use not only bridges the gap between two permanent uses in a space, but also acts as the interim between periods of stability in socio-economic terms. This understanding of the heterogenous nature of temporary urbanism offers a dual interpretation of it to explore: offensive temporary urbanism and defensive temporary urbanism. Perhaps this sub-division of temporary urbanism will allow clearer definitions and evaluations of it to emerge. Furthermore figure 2.1 offers a demonstration of the development of temporary use over time, including the traits associated at different stages, and whether these stages tend to fall under defensive or offensive temporary use.

| TACTICS: | STRATEGIES: |
|---|---|
| *Actions of the less powerful. In relation to temporary use, tactics seek to disrupt the status quo and offer inspiration for long-term urban change.* | *Actions of the powerful. In relation to temporary use, strategies attempt to use them in a more co-ordinated long-term vision to influence space.* |
| DEFENSIVE: | OFFENSIVE: |
| *Defensive temporary urbanism exists in a period of instability where few socio-economic resources are made available to influence the urban fabric. Due to these deadlocks, the interventions take the form of smaller scale experiments. This period tends to favour tactics and seeks to utilise local expertise.* | *Offensive temporary urbanism exists in a period of relative stability, where masterplanning is possible due to the social and economic resources available. Temporary interventions tend to be larger in scale and development-led. This period tends to favour strategies, utilising a wider-network of stakeholders (both public and private) to exact wider urban change.* |

*Table 2.1:* A summary of the concepts described so far, demonstrating their overlapping nature.

## Defensive Temporary Urbanism

As alluded to previously, the context of weak planning favours defensive strategies and tactics generally (Andres, 2013). Using Honeck's work (2015), we can also suggest that the first two phases of temporary urbanism's evolution described encapsulate this project's perception of defensive temporary urbanism. Phase one, latency, is the emergence of temporary uses in response to the inadequacy of existing planning tools. Honeck (2015) stresses a dissatisfaction with the top-down and tabula rasa approaches of the planning system, however, this project also highlights the deadlocks associated with the period of weak planning as acting as the impetus for the development of temporary uses. Additionally, this form of temporary urbanism includes phase two, formation, where small scale, localised experiments are conducted to remedy the problems perceived around the planning system and urban environment (Honeck, 2015).

Tactical urbanism, a specific form of temporary use, reflects the ethos around defensive tactics and strategies. In Tactical Urbanism vol. 1, The Street Plans Collaborative (2011) describe the instability facing the city as well as a series of deadlocks posed to planning, including a lack of the necessary fiscal and social capital to continue masterplanning in the manner we had done before, like the conditions outlined in figure 2.1 by Andres (2013). Tactical urbanism is an approach consisting of these five attributes:

- A phased approach to change
- Offering local solutions for local planning issues
- Short-term commitment and realistic expectations
- Low risks, with possibly high rewards
- The development of social capital between citizens and network building capacity between public-private institutions and non-profits

Once again this seems to reflect the process illustrated in figure 2.1, where a more inclusive collaborative process is encouraged, taking advantage of local knowledge. Furthermore, the phased interventions are seeking legitimacy and representativeness before transitioning to offensive strategies perhaps. The Street Plans Collaborative (2011) reiterate that its short-term projects seek to relate to longer term change, changing how places are perceived or operate, transitioning what starts as a temporary intervention, into a larger, more permanent initiative.

Contrastingly, defensive temporary urbanism can also occur in periods of stability and masterplanning in tactic form. The impetus for defensive tactics here could perhaps be a dissatisfaction with a diminished influence for citizens in a more elitist masterplanning operation; guerrilla urbanism is perhaps an example of this. Although guerrilla urbanism is often synonymous with tactical urbanism, the author seeks to make a few distinctions between the two. Firstly, it should be said that both are global phenomena concerned with interventions which seek to improve the urban environment and inspire further change in how cities are constructed. However, the discourse surrounding guerrilla urbanism seems to identify it as a more subversive practice than tactical urbanism, often carried out without permission from the local government, utilising a surprise element to generate discussion (City Space, 2013). Guerrilla urbanism perhaps reflects the spirit of Henri Lefebvre (1968), which in short, refers to what he believes should be our human right to "change ourselves, by changing the city", a process that is invariably dependent on a collective power to make and remake our city. Here, temporary uses offer the power to meet the needs of the citizens and to run counter to dominant discourses, thus resulting in an alternative urban future (Colomb, 2012). Lefebvre suggests that citizens should be allowed the opportunity to enjoy an urban environment that meets their demands through the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity and social justice (Lehtovuori and Ruoppila, 2015).

While guerrilla urbanism can give citizens the means to impact a city, City Space (2013) question the longevity of this. Many interventions are still being subject to censure by local governments, usually resulting in their removal. While it could be said they still generate discussion about the manner our urban spaces should operate and look, they are ultimately criminalised in this action, in a similar vein to that of graffiti. However, City Space (2013) also highlight that guerrilla urbanism is being increasingly recognised as a legitimate practice to improve the urban environment, gaining gradual acceptance with authorities. It could be said that in gaining governmental acceptance, there is little separating guerrilla urbanism from tactical urbanism.

## Offensive Temporary Urbanism

As previously suggested, often defensive strategies and tactics transition to offensive strategies in periods of stability where an approach has been proven successful. Due to this, perhaps offensive temporary urbanism offers less experimental or phased interventions than its temporary counterpart; rather they seek to scale up and often improve existing ideas (Pfeifer, 2013). However, while they can be less innovative, they offer a greater scope for permanence, perhaps necessary for the sustained success of a project (Andres, 2013). However, Simpson (2015) warns that interventions being 'scaled-up' to offensive temporary uses may result in a diminished role or influence from the community. Perhaps one can suggest that defensive temporary uses' transition to offensive is occurring more frequently because of the professionalisation of temporary uses, through influential publications like Urban Catalyst Project, or the proliferation of successful temporary interventions (Ferreri, 2013). A wider range of stakeholders, including the government, as well as the private sector are now being convinced of temporary urbanism's potential role in the redevelopment of urban areas, making the transition between defensive to offensive easier than it was, say fifteen years ago, perhaps.

Again, Honeck's work (2015) seems to reflect this project's conception of offensive temporary urbanism. Phase three, fermentation, highlights the possible transition of defensive interventions to offensive, where the interventions and the facilitators of them are being recognised for their successes. This then takes us to phase four, stabilisation, where the successful interventions are adopted in great numbers, then normalised and formalised into planning practice. Honeck (2015) hints at the risk of temporary interventions being exploited for their capacity to bring economic success to an area. Finally, the last phase of temporary use's evolution, critique, brings a recognition of its links to gentrification and other urban problems, urging for more care in implementation of temporary uses and in some instances attempting to innovate the interventions further.

## The Value of Dual Interpretations

The first part of this chapter has sought to highlight that temporary uses can be separated into defensive and offensive approaches. This project argues that thus far temporary use has been examined too generally, and should instead divide up the eclectic practice to better understand its impacts. This project offers more specific categories to explore the impacts of temporary urbanism with in the future. Part two of the literature review attempts to understand social sustainability and how the two approaches of temporary use relate

to the urban issues intertwined with this. Going forward, this project will attempt to understand whether either interpretation of temporary intervention translates to social sustainability more than the other.

## PART TWO: SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

Dempsey *et al* (2009) suggest that social sustainability is comprised of two facets: 'social equity' and the 'sustainability of community'. This project will seek to explore social sustainability in the urban environment through these two facets and how both defensive and offensive temporary urbanisms affect it.

### Social Equity

Equity, often confused with equality, relates to the distribution of resources being based on the need of the individual, through indicators like poverty, rather than being distributed evenly regardless of context (Talen, 1997). In terms of social sustainability, social equity then encompasses addressing inequality for both current and future generations, within an urban context this can be both social and environmental. A socially equitable city is devoid of exclusionary practices, and the disadvantaged have the access to the necessary infrastructure to participate economically, socially and politically in society (Dempsey *et al*, 2009).

Although social equity is well within the realms of possibility for temporary urbanism, whether it usually achieves it is debatable. Pfeifer (2013) is optimistic about much of temporary urbanism's ability to promote social equity, suggesting that many of the projects are completed with the intention to improve the environment and with that social equity, often pushing to rethink planning, making it a more transparent and inclusive process. However, noble intentions don't always transfer into practice. The author underlines two central criticisms related to social equity: representation; and gentrification. Moreover, this project examines representation as an issue more relevant to defensive temporary urbanisms, while gentrification is perhaps more commonly an impact related with offensive temporary urbanisms.

It is often argued that temporary interventions are modelled by and on the narratives of the middle-class and signal something very different to individuals of colour or immigrants. An example of this is the emergence of bike lanes, now a fashionable trend for the affluent, but one which triggers resentment from poorer citizens who were once only able to use bikes as transport because other means were out of their price range. Even urban parks and other public spaces can exude exclusivity depending on their signage, amenities or the events that are facilitated there (Agyeman, 2003, cited in Smart Cities Dive, undated). Moreover, Piiparinen (2012) suggests that temporary interventions often support the already present inequality in amenities between neighbourhoods. Similarly, Bedoya (2013, cited in Smart Cities Dive, undated) urges interventions like these to be more aware of the existing social dynamics of urban environments and

how they will enhance or exacerbate them. These criticisms perhaps relate more to defensive temporary urbanism because this is where many of the interventions are conceived on a local level, so it's here where their representativeness needs to be assessed. However, the criticism of representativeness does have some merit when located in the transition of defensive to offensive temporary urbanism perhaps. As previously alluded to, the scaling-up of interventions in this period relates to representativeness too, because it is often the interventions of the white, middle-class, male individuals, which are heralded by the municipality, then scaled-up to bigger, more permanent interventions. Meanwhile, the actions of the communities and individuals that better reflect the neighbourhood, or who are underrepresented, or who don't seek to gain attention from city officials may be ignored, rejected or even seen as vandalism (Simpson, 2015). Similarly, Simpson (2015) highlights that once the intervention is scaled-up it, local stakeholders may struggle to exert as strong an influence over it, possibly resulting in an intervention that is further divorced from the community's needs than the original intention. He suggests that temporary interventions must continue to be open to improvements and changes even once they have increased in scale, which perhaps would allow for greater influence of those who were originally excluded from the process.

Meanwhile, the criticism of gentrification is one that belongs more to offensive temporary urbanisms. It is far easier for offensive temporary urbanisms to be removed from the desires of the community when growing and expanding, possibly pursuing temporary uses as a tool for regeneration and catering for what is desired by the general population, not the community. Simpson (2015) reinforces this by suggesting that temporary uses throughout an area, like many urban design improvements, may result in an increase in property values in an area, and in turn intensify the gentrification process. Moreover, Simpson (2015) suggests that temporary uses may shift the limelight away from local businesses who are improving their communities, albeit in perhaps less trendy or visible ways, giving media representation instead to 'gentrifiers'.

Temporary urbanism does have the capacity to contribute to social equity in the urban environment however, as Smart City Dive (undated) note, there is simply a dearth in those properly reflecting on social equity when carrying out these interventions. There will be a tendency for defensive temporary urbanisms to be dominated by the middle-class given that they are more likely to have the time, resources and networks to be able to exact such interventions, but close attention should still be paid to the wider community's needs. Smart City Dive (undated) astutely suggest that increasing social equity requires a change to planning theory and practice that is transformative rather than reformist as it is currently, as well as paying attention to the power structures which exist around race. Without doing this, earlier forms of urban renewal and the consequences that come with it, like the marginalisation and displacement of the most vulnerable individuals, will prevail.

## Sustainability of the Community

Dempsey *et al* (2009) suggest that the sustainability of community is about the capacity of the local community (or wider society), to maintain its functionality. The sustainability of community also involves concepts like social capital and social cohesion which represent networks and social organisation. Furthermore, they suggest that sustainability of community is represented by five dimensions:

- Social interaction/networks in the community
- Participation of groups/networks
- Community Stability
- Sense of Place
- Safety and Security

Defensive temporary urbanism shows the greatest capacity to increase social capital between individuals and creation of networks through the inclusion of more people into place shaping (Lehtovuori and Ruoppila, 2015). In a similar vein to social equity, it's necessary to be mindful of who the networks are made up of and whether they are representative of the wider community needs. However, the ability of defensive interventions to combine local stakeholders into networks, gives these interventions a greater possibility of sustained success against the socio-economic deadlocks described by Andres (2013).

Likewise, defensive temporary urbanisms demonstrate a greater potential to gain the participation of individuals. Tactical Urbanism vol. 4 (2014) suggests that any potential downfalls of temporary urbanism are far outweighed by the risks posed by the current planning approaches, which don't effectively allow participation with the citizens, particularly in a society where people are becoming prosumers as opposed to consumers of their urban environment, seeking greater control. Despite this, offensive temporary urbanism strategies show the greater capacity to organise groups/networks to oversee the wider regeneration of an area, having interacted and proven themselves to the public and private sectors.

The role of temporary urbanism on the stability of the community is hard to assess given that any urban design changes threaten the status quo of the urban environment. Stability relates to the net movement of individuals into or out of a community (Dempsey *et al*, 2009). Given this, offensive temporary urbanism's role in exacerbating gentrification forces, as previously described by Simpson (2015), poses a serious threat. Many lower-income groups may be displaced outwards by rising property prices, while wealthier individuals may be attracted to such a community (Palen, 1984). Conversely, some defensive temporary urbanism initiatives can delay a changing urban fabric, thus securing its stability; these initiatives are usually focused toward the occupation of vacant space, which can prevent demolition of the existing urban fabric, therefore preventing permanent change to its character (Archdaily, 2015). Similarly, defensive temporary interventions show a greater capacity to reinforce an area's historic character (Jorg, 2008), thus preserving or enhancing its sense of place of

place for residents. Whereas, offensive temporary strategies can bring about wider change, potentially changing the image and sense of place of an area with a series of interventions if this is desired.

Lastly, The City at Eye Level (2012) suggests that temporary uses make an area feel more safe and secure by enlivening the urban fabric and replacing vacant spaces, giving the site of intervention a greater natural surveillance. While both defensive and offensive may do this, it's the latter that perhaps shows more potential for permanence (Andres, 2013), therefore reducing the possibility of a space falling back into vacancy and insecurity which could occur if a defensive temporary intervention didn't become successful.

| | Defensive Temporary Urbanism | Offensive Temporary Urbanism |
|---|---|---|
| Urban Issue | • Representativeness <br> • Community participation <br> • Sense of place <br> • Safety and vibrancy | • Gentrification <br> • Power relations and networks <br> • Stability of the community <br> • Longevity |

*Table 2.2:* The socially sustainable urban issues that each interpretation of temporary urbanism should be concerned with predominantly. This is not to say that this is an exhaustive list, or that the urban issues are exclusive to either interpretation, but immediately out of the literature these seem like their main priorities.

## Overview

Sustainability has been long accepted as an important conceptual frame to base urban development around and thus has generated academic discussion in related disciplined like planning, architecture and urban design. The growing general concern for environmental degradation in the 1960s crystallised the need to encourage 'sustainability' as a concept (McKenzie, 2004). Even with such a focus upon sustainability, there has been a remarkable negligence when it concerns defining social sustainability in relation to environmental considerations. It should be noted that many related concepts like social capital and social cohesion have been researched more widely, albeit within a physical context (Dempsey *et al*, 2009). What's perhaps more puzzling, is the recent focus and research of European policy on 'sustainable communities' far exceeding the research on social sustainability, a clear example of policy overtaking the research agenda. Although, given the urban nature of this project, it is perhaps necessary to note that the notion of the 'sustainable city' has gained significant political momentum, with many European cities like Barcelona, Amsterdam and Malmo being held up as strong examples. While the UK's renewed focus has been driven by the response to an increased social inequality since the 1970s and hollowing out of the city due to suburbanisation throughout the 20th century (Dempsey *et al,* 2009). This project brings greater attention to the impacts of 'new urbanism' approaches on social sustainability, such as temporary use, where it has previously been neglected for environmental or economic impacts.

## Chapter Conclusions

This chapter illustrates temporary urbanism's relationship with social sustainability, and its potential impacts on issues like displacement, inclusivity, social cohesion and sense of place. Furthermore, this project gives precedence to issues relating to social sustainability, which have possibly been marginalised in the past, in favour of economic and environmental indications of a temporary project's success. This project's contribution to the literature is exemplified by following research questions relating to social sustainability:

• Does temporary urbanism create high quality urban environments geared towards fostering the feeling of community?

• Are individuals acting like prosumers of their urban environment in relation to temporary urbanism?

• What role do cross-disciplinary networks and relationships amongst stakeholders play in the creation of socially sustainability temporary spaces?

Some of the issues highlighted may relate more to offensive temporary urbanism, while others more to defensive; this provides a condensed set of urban issues to explore when analysing each case study's success in relation to social sustainability.

The remainder of the project will translate this chapter's theoretical framework into real life case studies within Rotterdam, examining how they have influenced the social sustainability of the urban environment. By examining real life successful case studies, we can begin to understand what properties and approaches may exhibit the greatest capacity to deliver a socially sustainable urban environment. The next chapter outlines the approach and methods required to meet the project's aim.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review has informed the research questions

**RQ1:** Does temporary urbanism create high quality urban environments geared towards fostering the feeling of community?

**RQ2:** Are individuals acting like prosumers of their urban environment in relation to temporary urbanism?

**RQ3:** What role do cross-disciplinary networks and relationships amongst stakeholders play in the creation of socially sustainable temporary spaces?

Research questions are converted into related actions/objectives which can help meet the aim

**RO1:** Decipher what temporary urbanism is and what its impact can be on the urban environment

**RO2:** Assess the extent to which temporary uses impact spaces and communities and hence foster social sustainability

**RO3:** Understand how the city of Rotterdam has been embedding temporary interventions into its urban environment strategies

**RO4:** Understand the motivations of the different stakeholders and processes behind temporary interventions in a city in transition, like Rotterdam

## PROJECT AIM

*Figure 2.2:* The literature review has informed the project's research questions and objectives. It is thought that this is the best way to meet the project aim revolving around temporary use and its impact on the social sustainability of the urban environment.
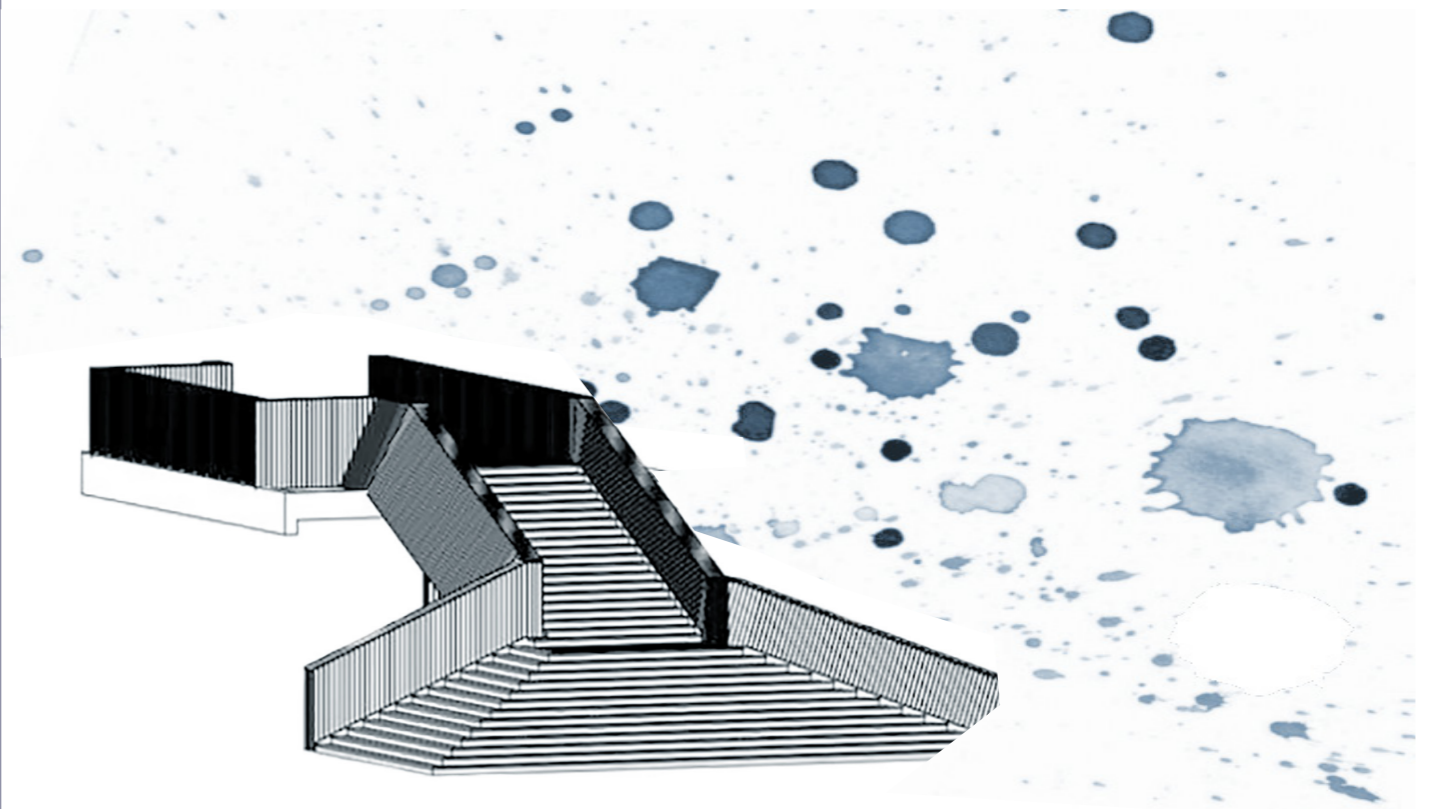
"The differing and at times highly incompatible genealogies are a central component of its allure: 'temporary reuse' appears to be a floating signifier capable of encompassing a wide variety of activities and of fitting a broad "spectrum of urban discursive frameworks."

-Mara Ferreri
The seductions of temporary urbanism, 2015

# CHAPTER THREE

## METHODOLOGY

# [METHODOLOGY]

## INTRODUCTION

As previously outlined, this project is seeking to assess temporary urbanism's effect on the urban environment, with a focus on social sustainability. This chapter will attempt to demonstrate the author's research approach, as well as justifying the case study and semi-structured interviews as the most appropriate methods to respond to the project's research questions. In addition, it will reflect on the possible limitations which may have hindered the pursuit of the project's aim.
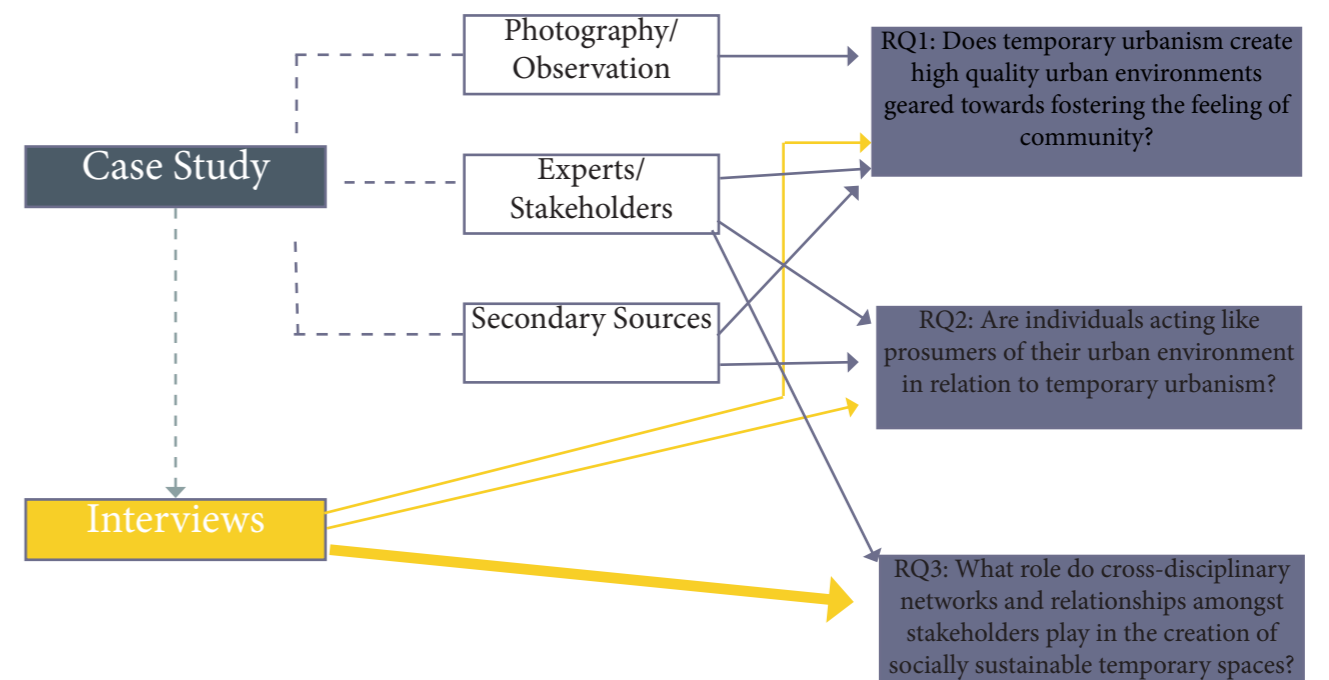


*Figure 3.1:* A diagram demonstrating how each method (left) relates to each research question (right). The case study has been further broken down into three more specific methods. The interviews predominantly helped the researcher answer question three surrounding networks in temporary interventions.

## APPROACH

This project is anchored by a qualitative set of methods, which are those centred around the analysis of language, including semi-structured interviews. Moreover, it will utilise the inductive approach, seeking to create new theories to add to the existing stock of literature, as opposed to a deductive approach, which seeks to test an existing theory (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative methods are generally linked with more variable results because of the gap between theory and practice (Bryman, 2012). This gap is only exacerbated by this study's anchoring in the planning discipline, which has a widely acknowledged theory to practice gap (Alexander, 1997). It is hoped the use of triangulation, where methodologies examining the same phenomenon are combined, will remedy the variability described, giving the research a better, more comprehensive understanding of the subject (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) reinforce this notion, suggesting that mixed methods allow the researcher to examine a wider range of research questions.

## EPISTEMOLOGY AND ONTOLOGY

Along with the methodology, the epistemology and ontology are considered a central feature of any social science research as they help shape and define an investigation. An epistemology poses questions around what should be deemed as acceptable knowledge within a discipline (Tuli, 2010). This dissertation's epistemological approach revolves around the viewpoint that a new strategy is needed to highlight the differences between people and objects; and thus, needs social scientists to understand the subject meaning of social action (Bryman, 2012).

An ontology in social science research debates the nature of reality. There are two diverging positions on the matter: objectivism, which suggests there is an independent reality, or constructionism, which suggests that reality is the result of social processes, and therefore not objective (Tuli, 2010, Bryman, 2012). This project takes the latter's position, highlighting the role of people in constructing reality; even suggesting the researchers themselves only present a very specific version of social reality (Bryman, 2012). Many researchers who follow this path utilise qualitative research methodologies to understand social realities (Tuli, 2010).

## DATA COLLECTION

### Case Study Design

This project's data collection is based around a case study design. The case study method allows the researcher to analyse a contemporary phenomenon, like temporary use, in a real-life context, as opposed to experiments which remove a phenomenon from it (Yin, 1984). It includes research from multiple perspectives into the complexity and uniqueness of a specific intervention, policy, institution or system (Simons, 2009, cited in Thomas, 2011). This project's case study is Rotterdam due to the plethora of successful temporary interventions there. Furthermore, it's perhaps necessary to reflect on 'cases', which in social sciences are defined by set temporal and geographical boundaries (Ragin, 1992). Given the dynamic nature of temporary interventions that has been highlighted throughout this project thus far,

case studies being defined by set geographical, and particularly temporal boundaries, should perhaps be challenged in this context. More specifically for this project, it allows the researcher to examine the social relations, and stakeholders involved in temporary interventions which can't be otherwise understood through generalised observations. However, the specific nature of case studies may also be their biggest flaw, limiting their capacity to be applied universally to a phenomenon like temporary uses (Yin, 2011).

### Primary Methods:

Simons (2009, cited in Thomas, 2011) suggests that case studies aren't necessarily a methodological choice, but a choice of what is to be studied, by whatever methods we deem appropriate to study the case; given this, its perhaps necessary to outline what the author's case study consists of. In terms of primary data collection methods, the case study design is comprised of semi-structured interviews; photographs and observations of the sites; and experts' speeches.

*Interviews*

As part of the case study design, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten professionals who have, worked with or researched temporary uses; the details of these interviewees and their expertise is highlighted in table 3.1. Interviews have the capacity to produce more comprehensive responses than most methods, which is necessary given the complexity and scope of the questions being asked of the interviewees (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, interviews are effective in exploring relationships and meanings, two aspects central to this project's focus (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Moreover, while questionnaires might have produced a larger number of outputs, they would've perhaps been answered by individuals who aren't as familiar with temporary practices as required; this became especially apparent to the researcher following conversations with his peers, who have a background in urban planning, but who admitted to struggling with the questions' scope.

| Participant: | Position: | Benefit to research: |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Kristian Koreman | Director of ZUS (Dutch Architecture Firm) | ZUS have staged a series of pop-up interventions. Koreman offers insight into the development of temporary uses in Rotterdam. |
| Emiel Arends | Urban Planner at Rotterdam City Council | Arends demonstrates the role of the local government and their relationship with temporary urbanism. |
| Jorn Wemmenhove | Urbanist | His involvement with government-led temporary projects offers insight into the power relations between stakeholders |
| Emily Berwyn | Director of Meanwhile Spaces | Berwyn's company only interact with temporary uses so she has a vast experience with this approach in all its forms |
| Tom Bridgman | Delivery Lead for the Regeneration Team, Lambeth Counncil | Similarly to Arends, Bridgman offers insight into the government's relationship with temporary uses but in the U.K. context |
| Anonymous | Urban Researcher | This participant's research has focused around more community-led temporary uses in Bristol and Birmingham |
| Yueming Zhang | Urban Researcher and Lecturer | Her work examines the relationship temporary uses in Chinese art districts and gentrification/displacement. |
| Thomas Honeck | Urban Geography/ Researcher | Honeck's work delves into the development of temporary urbanism |

Table 3.1: A table to show the interviewees and their expertise for this project

A semi-structured interview is a form of interviewing with some degree of predetermined order, but also some flexibility to allow for a more diverse response from the interviewee (Clifford *et al*, 2016). Semi-structured interviews were deemed to be more appropriate for this project as opposed to structured ones, because they would allow for the interviewee to provide new avenues for further research which weren't originally considered by the research (Bryman, 2012), which is especially important given the expertise of the interviewees and the diversity of temporary use practice (Ferreri, 2015; Clifford *et al*, 2016). Additionally, semi-structured interviews still had some semblance of focus to them to ensure that the interviewee was focused on matters related to social sustainability and temporary use, rather than temporary use in general (Clifford *et al*, 2016).

The way the semi-structured interviews were conducted also varied widely between the participants. Two were conducted in person, two were conducted by telephone, and four were conducted in email exchanges. In person and telephone exchanges tended to exceed forty minutes, meaning the level of detail procured from the planned questions was extensive and there was plenty of room for new lines of questioning which arose organically from the answers given. Bryman (2012) suggests that interviews conducted in person and telephone interviews tend to both gain comprehensive answers with little distinction between them. However, he does note that participants may find it easier to terminate interviews earlier over the telephone than in person, as well as it being harder for the researcher to determine their body language. All the telephone interviews lasted long enough to be terminated by the researcher, and given the project doesn't necessarily focus on emotive subjects, body language was thought to not add much to their answers. Furthermore, it must be said that telephone interviews allow for a greater geographical reach for the researcher, as well as minimising the time/cost of interviewing in person (Bryman, 2012). Both the person-to-person and telephone interviews were recorded with the participants' permission, partly to allow the researcher to fully engage in natural conversation with them, and partly so that our recollection of the interview is not led by the emphasis that might be placed on what individuals may say (Bryman, 2012). When these two forms of interview could not be attained from the sought experts, an online exchange of questions was done instead.

The full interview transcripts including the questions asked by the researcher can be found in the appendices of this project. The questions were all chosen to link to subjects related to the research questions in some form, whether it be power relations, the benefits of temporary use interventions, or the role of the community. In this case, the interviews were thought to strengthen the case study design, because they possibly offer more general lessons and reflections on temporary uses outside the specific realm of Rotterdam (Arksey and Knight, 1999).

*Photographs and Experts*

Like many forms of empirical data, photographs are no longer thought to give us unbiased 'windows of the world' like they once were, however they still provide characteristic attributes of spaces and those who use them. Moreover, they can demonstrate the relationships that may be subtle or overlooked at first, as well as providing a certain sense of tangible detail which would otherwise be uncommunicable with words (Prosser, 1998). In this project, they help highlight the design of temporary interventions, characteristics of their activity and their relationship with the surrounding urban fabric central to the themes of this project. This project also utilises knowledge derived from speeches given by experts to my University cohort. These experts include planners from the City Council, university lecturers from relevant disciplines, and architects behind some of the temporary interventions being researched. It was necessary to outline this in the case study design because it provided the researcher with the introduction to many of the projects being investigated.

## Secondary Methods

Secondary data is particularly advantageous due to its cost effectiveness and convenience for the researcher. Good sources of secondary data provide researchers with potentially high quality datasets/studies, conducted by funded studies or agencies that have substantial breadth beyond that of an individual researcher. More than this, because of the scale of these studies, their findings are perhaps more generalisable than other methods, especially important for a project like this one which follows case study design (Johnston, 2014). Temporary interventions by their very nature are elusive, constantly evolving and tending to only last for a finite time (Ferreri, 2013; Nemeth and Langhorst, 2013). The range of methods described in this section are thought to be better equipped to investigate the entirety of the span of the chosen temporary interventions.

## DATA ANALYSIS

The interviews were transcribed following the 'denaturalised' approach, where idiosyncratic portions of speech are eliminated to concentrate on the meanings and perceptions of what the interviewee was suggesting, as opposed to the naturalised, where every detail is recorded (Oliver *et al*, 2005). The subject matter at hand was perceived to not be particularly emotive for the researcher to read into any idiosyncratic elements of the interviewees responses. These interview transcripts were then analysed through coding, which involves subdividing and categorising the content collected. Categories for this project revolve around the subject matter of the research questions and the various elements which constitute social sustainability, as outlined in the literature review, including aspects such as networks and individual empowerment. Creating these categories generates the construction of a conceptual scheme relevant to the data collected. This then helps the researcher to compare, question, drop, change and to make a hierarchical order of the data. It has been suggested that phasing should be first done to focus on the meanings inside the research design, and then be converted to what would be meaningful to outside audiences (Basit, 2003). When referring to the findings of these interviews, the author will generally extract key quotes to reinforce arguments, as well as referring to the proportion of the participants that agree with certain sentiments.

## LIMITATIONS AND REFLECTIVE THOUGHTS

There are a huge number of possible research methodologies, with no one approach heralded above the others to be applied to all research problems. Rather, each method has its own weaknesses and strengths (Schulze, 2003). When reflecting on a method's appropriateness, it's perhaps helpful to examine whether it best answers the project's research question, this is alluded to in figure 3.1. The case study methods outlined demonstrated to the researcher how much activity the interventions attracted, the demographics who used them, who initiated them, and the networks set up to maintain/enhance them in line with the three research questions. The type of research questions posed couldn't be answered by quantitative methods and required a certain sense of specificity to investigate the nature of networks in temporary interventions.

The project has already highlighted specificity as a limitation to the case study design and so will not elaborate much further on this. However, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that this limitation is perhaps over-emphasised in the literature, and can be largely overcome with a well-chosen case study. Beyond this the main limitation, perhaps ironically, revolves around temporal factors. Given the distance and cost of getting to Rotterdam for the researcher, only five days were available to look at the case studies here, perhaps limiting the number explored and the depth they were explored in. Furthermore, while an attempt was made to visit each site at different times of the day to get a more complete sense of their use, it wasn't possible at all the sites due to the limited time available, let alone it being unviable for the researcher to revisit these sites at another time in the year. Although, it could be said that the limited time available to the researcher focused down the project's approach to identify more closely with the research questions. Additionally, although perhaps more participants could've been attained, the ones that were chosen had an extremely strong knowledge of the subject matter at hand. It was felt that the answers gained from these interviews were starting to overlap and therefore the saturation point was met (Mason, 2010).

Given that this project is using Rotterdam as its case study, it is perhaps necessary to briefly reflect on its planning context, as well as the limitations and benefits comparative planning studies can bring to wider planning debates. While it could be argued that globalisation has led to a convergence of the planning systems to a certain extent, there are still distinct differences from country to country, given their underlying contexts (Nadin, 2012, Sanyal, 2005). Sykes, Andres and Booth (2015) suggest that transferring the lessons from a specific case study without appreciating that place's context usually results in ineffective practice. The Dutch Planning system falls under the Rhineland model, which is characterised by regulated market economies, some government control, and legislation based on civic law, but has shown increasing signs of shifting further towards the Anglo-Saxon capitalist model, which underlines free market economies and a decreasing governmental control (Heurkens, 2012). Furthermore, when categorising planning systems much of the literature has highlighted the existence of four key models: land use management; comprehensive integrated; urbanism; and regional economic.
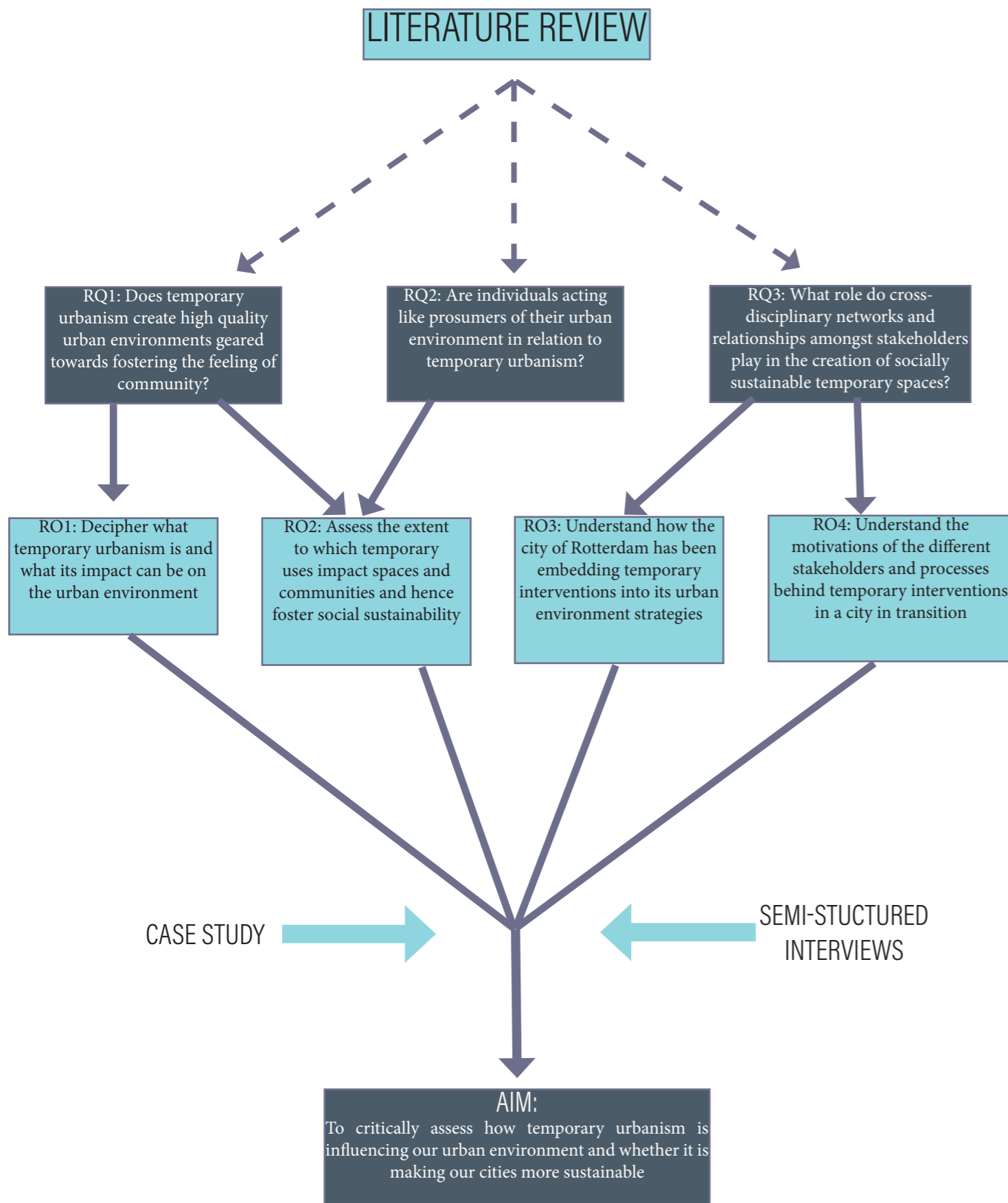
The Netherlands generally seems to fall under the comprehensive system, characterised by the coordination of any policies from various sectors that are related to land use, including housing and health. However, it could also be said to exhibit elements of the urbanism model, which stresses urban design and building control (Duhr *et al*, 2010). More than this, it's perhaps useful to highlight that the Dutch Planning System is relatively more deregulated than other planning systems, highlighting the importance of the roles at each of the three layers of governance (municipalities, provinces and the central state; International Manual of Planning Practice, 2015). This is by no means meant to be an exhaustive description of the Dutch Planning System, but offers perhaps a summary of it to reflect upon when considering the findings of this research. Attempting to expand the lessons from such a distinct case study as Rotterdam is not without its problems, however, the potential to learn from other places is necessary to overcome inertia of the planning system, with many successful examples of practice adaptation (Sykes, Andres and Booth, 2015).

## ETHICS

At its core, ethics are centred around treating participants well. Ritchie *et al* (2013) suggest its main principles haven't diverged considerably over the last fifty years, and the design of this research has tried to respect these as much as possible, as demonstrated by table 3.2 below. Researchers don't usually purposefully violate these principles. The most effective researchers will be able to anticipate the potential ethical issues that could arise within their research design and respond accordingly (Ritchie *et al*, 2013).

| Core Ethical Principles | Project Examples |
|---|---|
| Research shouldn't make excessive demands of participants | Participants were first contacted with the intention of a face to face or telephone interview, however given many of the participants' busy schedule, this wasn't always possible. In this case, the respondents were given a wide time-frame to answer a series of questions and potentially follow-up questions via email. |
| Participation should be based on informed consent | Participants were all made aware of the research's background and then their consent to take part in it was requested. |
| Participation should be free from coercion or pressure | Participants were all asked if they wanted to take part in the research through an initial email outlining the project purpose and subject area. The researcher tried to avoid leading questions, to not influence the answers of the participants (Leech, 2002). |
| Adverse consequences of participation avoided | There was little controversy or danger perceived to be related to the project or participants. |
| Confidentiality and anonymity should be respected | Participants were given the option to remain anonymous, one of the participants requested this and was granted anonymity. |

*Table 3.2:* The core principles of ethical research design as outlined by Ritchie *et al* (2013), and how the research attempted to meet these standards.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

RQ1: Does temporary urbanism create high quality urban environments geared towards fostering the feeling of community?

RQ2: Are individuals acting like prosumers of their urban environment in relation to temporary urbanism?

RQ3: What role do cross-disciplinary networks and relationships amongst stakeholders play in the creation of socially sustainable temporary spaces?

RO1: Decipher what temporary urbanism is and what its impact can be on the urban environment

RO2: Assess the extent to which temporary uses impact spaces and communities and hence foster social sustainability

RO3: Understand how the city of Rotterdam has been embedding temporary interventions into its urban environment strategies

RO4: Understand the motivations of the different stakeholders and processes behind temporary interventions in a city in transition

CASE STUDY

SEMI-STUCTURED INTERVIEWS

**AIM:**
To critically assess how temporary urbanism is influencing our urban environment and whether it is making our cities more sustainable

*Figure 3.2:* The research design for this project. The literature review informed the research questions and objectives, which were then investigated by the research methods to meet the project's aim.

*"Perhaps one of the most enriching features of comparative research is the challenge it can offer to the 'assumptions we make about planning'... on questions such as what is planning, what should it be aiming to achieve, how does it work, and is it effective?"*

- Lauren Andres, Phillip Booth and Olivier Sykes
The potential and perils of cross-national planning research, 2015

# CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDIES:
ZUS
FENIX FOOD FACTORY
MUNICIPALITY

## [CASE STUDIES]

### CONTEXT

Rotterdam is renowned for its landmark buildings and experimental constructions, acting as 'a city of the future' to Amsterdam's historical nature. This modernity is perhaps because of the devastation it faced from the Blitz in World War II, when most of the urban fabric was reduced to rubble. During this time, the city lost over 26,000 homes and 6,000 other buildings. So, unlike Amsterdam, there is very little heritage to preserve, instead providing the space to experiment with the urban fabric over the last fifty years; Piet Blom's Cube Houses built in 1977 are the perfect example of this (Dezeen, 2016). Given its innovative identity, it's perhaps unsurprising that Rotterdam is also renowned for experimenting through temporary uses (Patti, 2015; Yatzer, 2015; The City at Eye Level, 2012). Temporary use has been so embraced in Rotterdam that it even figures in the City Council's strategy for the city (The City Lounge, 2010). This project's scope could've gone beyond just one city, but in addition to the time constraints at play, Rotterdam was thought to provide many temporary sites, some of which perhaps are the largest in scale and most innovative in the field of temporary urbanism. However, the impacts of temporary urbanism on the urban fabric thus far are relatively limited given how recently it has emerged. This chapter will provide three examples from Rotterdam, of what are generally perceived as effective temporary practice, to better understand the capacity of this approach to better the social sustainability of the urban environment. These three case studies are:

- ZUS' Central Rotterdam District (mixture of offensive and defensive projects).
- Fenix Food Factory (defensive temporary urbanism).
- Temporary urban acupunctures carried out by the City Council (offensive temporary urbanism).

This project focuses predominantly on ZUS' Central Rotterdam District interventions, given its scale, high-profile and complexity in comparison to the other two case studies. The case studies were in part chosen because they represent the different interpretations of temporary urbanism outlined so far by this project. Moreover, this chapter will first explore the theoretical backgrounds of two of these case studies, before summarising and comparing their characteristics in tables.

# [ZUS' CENTRAL ROTTERDAM DISTRICT]

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Before examining the Central Rotterdam District, it is perhaps necessary to understand the approach of ZUS (Zones Urbaines Sensibles), the Rotterdam-based architecture firm who predominantly drove it. In 'Re-public' (2007), ZUS reconsider the role of architecture:

*"By seeing architecture as the ultimate public act, giving shape to spaces, private and public. By generating new spatial models which can provide answers to new political and ecological questions… and redefine the significance of location in a globalising world"*

– van Boxel & Koreman, p.122, 2007

Furthermore, ZUS suggest that the public sector has attempted to halt the private sector through legislation and regulation, but without a sufficient, long-term strategy, or ability to strike a necessary balance between private wishes and public interests. The consequences of this are a constant expansion of the urban core and an increasing privatisation and 'levelling out' of the public domain (van Boxel & Koreman, 2007).

In a similar manner to this project's exploration of offensive and defensive temporary urbanism, van Boxel and Koreman (2007) highlight the duality of places, being either 'mon-arch' or 'an-arch'. A mon-arch place could perhaps be characterised by the public-sector driving collaboration with the private in pursuit of public interest, this collective idea is then enforced by its spatial interventions. Conversely, they define an-arch spaces, as hyper-specific areas, which abstract logics cannot be applied to. These places take advantage of excess public realm and the idea of creating new spatial configurations divorced from the confines of any political framework of governmental intervention. Such spaces aren't bound to extensive plans or policy, but respond to local demands and sensitivities, seeking to restructure spatial planning. By being so place-specific, the creation of new a-generic locations in the urban environment becomes possible (van Boxel and Koreman, 2007). The parallels between mon-arch spaces and offensive temporary urbanism, as well as an-arch spaces and defensive temporary urbanism are clear.

Van Boxel and Koreman (2007) highlight the benefits of combining the two forms of space in producing a more sustainable urban environment, by creating a range of private, collective and public spaces, as well as giving a greater opportunity for individuals to influence

space. More than that, a fusion of these forms of space, may provide the mutual benefits of public responsibility and the promotion of individual freedom. The same could be said with the two forms of temporary urbanism highlighted in this project thus far; using a combination of the two in an approach could remedy the ailments associated with either.
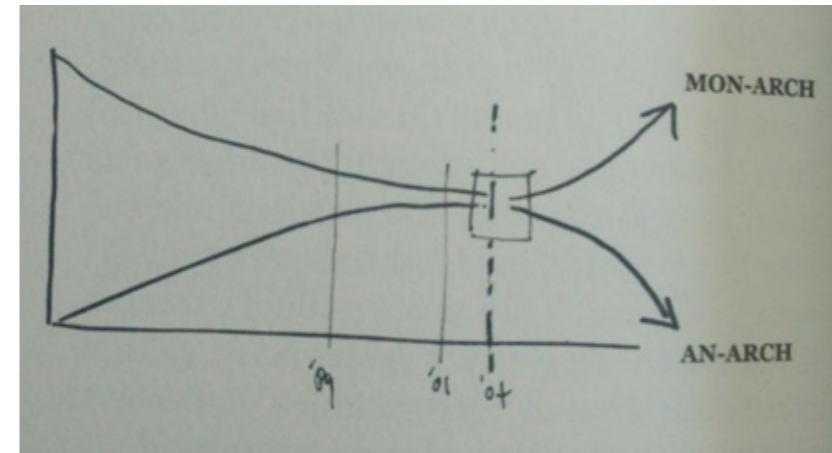


*Figure 4.1:* A diagram of the rise and fall of mon-arch and an-arch spaces over time. Van Boxel and Koreman suggest the central box offers the most beneficial trajectory for spaces (Van Boxel and Koreman, 2007).

*Permanent Temporality*

Traditionally, Rotterdam has carried out large-scale planning driven by developers or the municipality, but this is far less possible in recent years, due to the economic precariousness arising from the 2008 Financial Crisis. Previously, the city has often followed the notion of 'instant urbanism' where unsuccessful places are demolished, increasingly to become glittering tower blocks (DRIE, 2015). Instead ZUS advocate for the notion of permanent temporality, which utilises the city's evolutionary character and existing fabric as the starting point for development (Area, 2017). By experimenting on a 1:1 scale, project leaders can shift their ideas and respond to the needs of the local environment and citizens, creating an arguably more layered, diverse and flexible urban environment. Moreover, instead of waiting for the demolishment and re-construction process, which problematically creates yet another gap in the city, permanent temporality encourages immediately starting working, building and developing. This can be done through temporary structures, but these should have the ability to evolve, becoming more permanent in nature if successful (DRIE, 2015).

ZUS' approach of permanent temporality seems to reflect their desire to combine mon-arch and an-arch spaces. Moreover, due to the parallels outlined previously, it also exhibits elements of both offensive and defensive temporary urbanism. Their approach can coordinate several private and public-sector stakeholders to increase the scope of its impact associated with offensive temporary urbanism, as well as including land uses that respond sensitively to the context of the intervention space. In doing this, perhaps the operations of ZUS can empower local stakeholders as well as making the public and private sectors more concerned with public good.

## FROM INSTANT URBANISM...
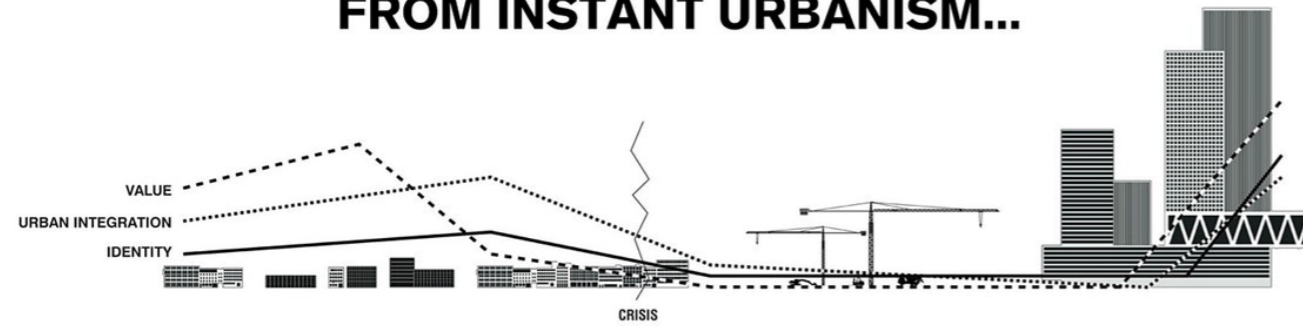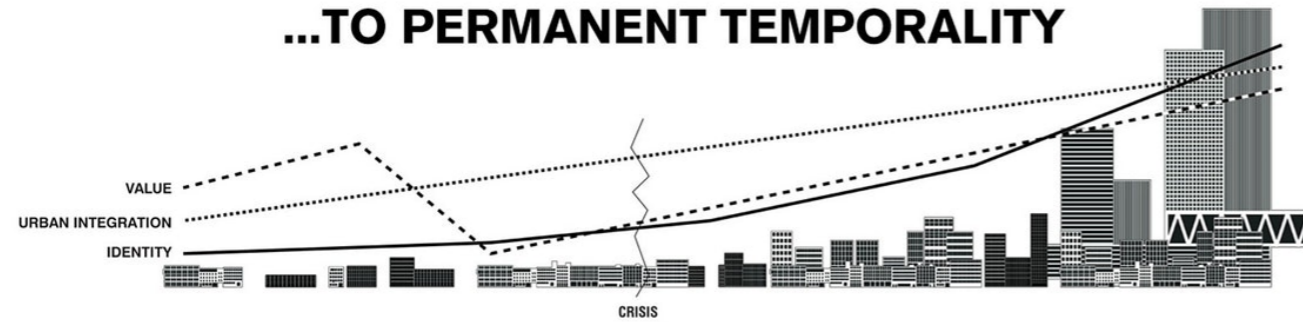


## ...TO PERMANENT TEMPORALITY



*Figure 4.2:* ZUS suggest that permanent temporality is a better model of urban evolution than instant urbanism that Rotterdam has carried out so often in the past. (ZUS, undated)

## CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVENTIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Project Summary | ZUS' work has centred around remedying a disconnected part of the Central Rotterdam District, plagued by vacancy and a lack of activity. Their interventions seek to create new public spaces and improve connections to this area of the city. |
| Key Urban Issues | • Vacancy<br>• Risk of demolition and erasure of sense of place<br>• Limited activity due to lack of public spaces<br>• Poor connectivity |
| Type of Temporary Use | The intervention area incorporates a series of mixed-use activities. This site also exhibits elements of both offensive and defensive temporary urbanism. |
| Land-uses | The area is extremely diverse in this respect, with a huge number of occupiers. Table 4.2 depicts the full range of land uses. |
| Impacts | • Increased economic activity in area with new, robust uses for formerly vacant buildings<br>• Made the area more connected with the surrounding fabric with the Luchtsingel (footbridge)<br>• Increased the city's stock of high-quality public spaces in a three-dimension manner (Archdaily, 2015). |
| Perceptions | • International attention, especially for Luchtsingel due to its scale and being predominantly crowd-funded (Archdaily, 2015; Dezeen, 2015; Domus, 2015)<br>• The Municipality approve of their work and have contracted ZUS to create the masterplan for the area. (Arends, 2017) |
| Future Impact/ Development | ZUS' work in Rotterdam's Central District isn't finished yet with pivotal projects to be completed soon:<br>• More public spaces: The rooftop of Hofplein Station<br>• Enhanced public spaces: continued introduction of pop-up uses and street furniture<br>• 24-hour vertical city: 24Hofpoort promises a range of uses for different demographics (elderly and children) usually forgotten in temporary uses (ZUS, undated). |

*Table 4.1:* A table to demonstrate the key characteristics of ZUS' interventions in Central Rotterdam.

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KEY POINTS:

• The diversity of ZUS' interventions in the urban fabric are beyond many examples of temporary interventions in the literature, and perhaps ensure the prolonged success of Central Rotterdam.

• Elma Van Boxel and Kristian Koreman have worked in this area for over a decade, giving them, as architects, the rare advantage of a deep local understanding of the area and its character.

| Intervention | What: | Why: | Where: | When: | Partners |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Delfse Passage | A passage from Central Station to the Lijnbaan and the Hofbogen | To establish new urban land use and activity | Establishes a path from Centraal Station to the Luchtsingel | 2012 | LSI, RCD, Municipality of Rotterdam, Michigan University, MaxOne Architects + Urbanists |
| Luchtsingel | A pedestrian footbridge | To overcome the urban barriers imposed by the main road and train line running through this area and promote urban activity here. | Rotterdam Central District East | 2011-14 | |
| Schieblock | An urban laboratory | To overcome vacancy and stimulate economic activity | Rotterdam Central District | 2005 | - |
| Delftsehof and Pomenberg Park | Public realm improvements and green space creation | To make the space more attractive to users | Delftsehof | 2012 | Municipality of Rotterdam, LSI |
| Dakkaker | Roof garden on top of Schieblock; café | Food production for the city, to reduce the eco-footprint of businesses in the area, to activate latent potentials of city roofs | Schieblock Roof | 2012 | RMC, volunteers |
| Community Garden | A community growing plot | To encourage social cohesion and food production | Rotterdam Central District, East | 2014 | Foundation of the Peace Garden and Area Committee |
| De Dependence | Space for city culture and debate | To cluster together the cultural and creative forces of Rotterdam | Schieblock | 2009-16 | - |
| Annabel Nightclub | Bar and nightcliub | Provide urban vitality throughout the 24-hour day | Delftsehof | 2014-24 | Client: Revolt |
| Pop-up Shops | Includes a beer garden, food stalls, and a mini-department shop | Generate activity, reasons to linger in the space rather than just pass through | Various | 2012-now | - |

*Table 4.2:* A table to detail the range of land uses curated by ZUS so far based off of site visits and ZUS' (undated) project binder.
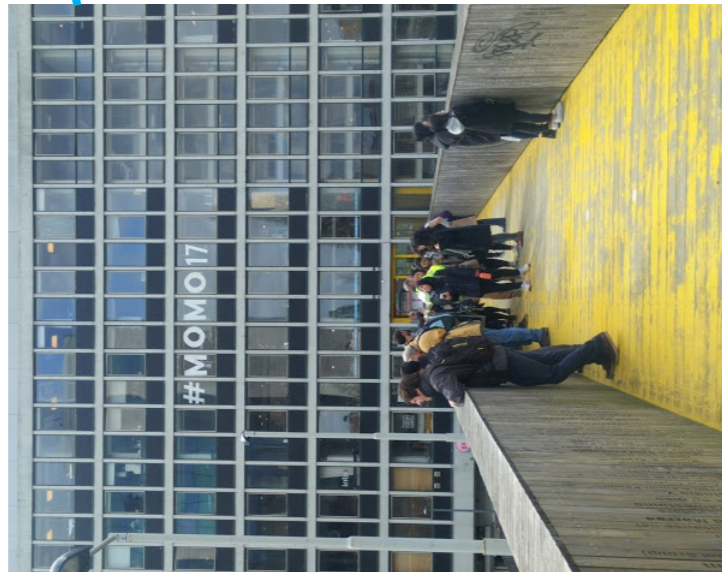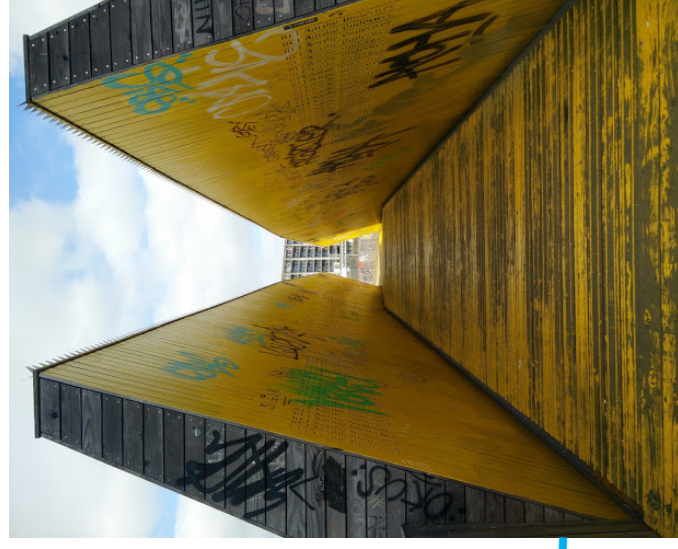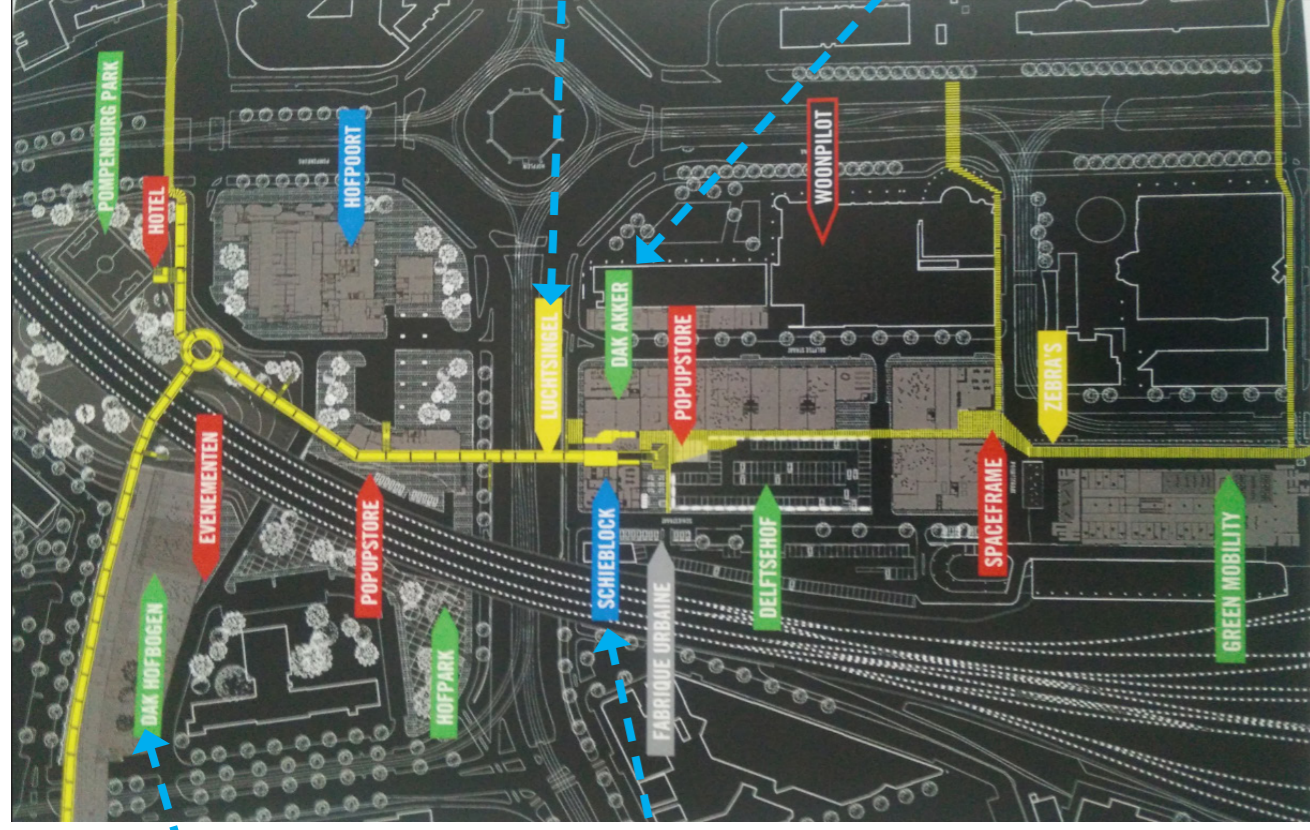
43

Figure 4.3: ZUS' (undated) pre-planned interventions for this area, combined with the author's (2017) photos of the site.
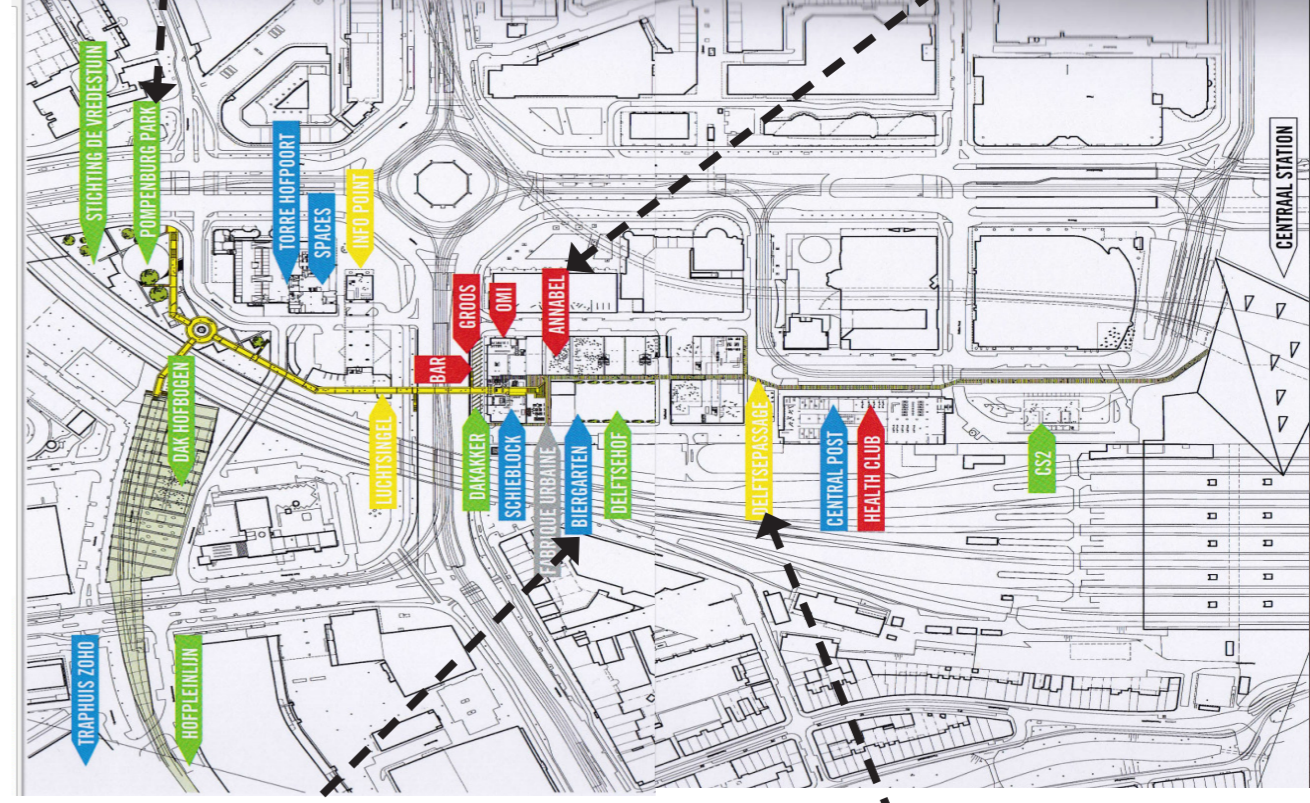


Figure 4.4: ZUS' (undated) realised projects, and their off-spins far exceed that of the initial plan for the area. The author's photos (2017) illustrate some of these additions.

# [FENIX FOOD FACTORY]

## CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVENTION

| Project Summary | Fenix Food Factory is a small-scale food hub, which has taken over a former warehouse in the Katendrecht peninsula. They sell artisanal food products from a range of established vendors, as well as start-ups who are testing their business model, this provides a level of certainty and stability in the venture (Osmos, 2016). |
|---|---|
| Key Urban Issue | • Lack of affordable urban spaces<br>• Underused existing urban fabric<br>• Vacancy<br>• Lack of activity |
| Type of Temporary Use | Food and drink cluster. Defensive temporary urbanism. |
| Land-uses | • Food and drink venue<br>• pop-up outside farmer's market<br>• event/festival/live music space. |
| Impacts | Katendrecht, a traditionally poor neighbourhood (unemployment, low educational attainment) was previously unattractive to investment (URBED and van Hoek, 2008). Fenix Food Factory has, with other key initiatives, helped uplift the area's image, and attracted visitors from all over the city. |
| Perceptions | The perception is once again positive, both locally and internationally. CNN Travel (2017) highlighted Rotterdam as one of Europe's 'coolest cities' with the Fenix Food Factory being especially highlighted for transforming what was long a run down, red light district into a popular, authentic food and events venue. |

*Table 4.3:* The key characteristics of Fenix Food Factory



*Figure 4.5:* The Fenix Food Factory makes use of a vacant factory building in the deindustrialised Katendrecht (Meanwhile in Rotterdam, 2017).

KEY POINTS:

• The redevelopment of Katendrecht started at the start of the century. It included the public realm improvements, like the installation of a promenade and greening; and necessary connectivity enhancements, like a pedestrian bridge and a landing area for water taxis. Several creative entrepreneurs, like Fenix Food Factory were also part of the overall regeneration.

• Seven entrepreneurs started Fenix Food Factory and it has organically developed and grown over the last two years.

# [MUNICIPALITY-LED INTERVENTIONS]

## POLICY BACKGROUND

Key policy documents like Inner City as City Lounge, the Urban Traffic Plan, the Parking Plan, and the Bicycle Plan, have shaped the action and ambitions of the Municipality over the last decade. The City Lounge (2010) focuses on creating an appealing and lively city centre, in environments where they meet and stay, rather than just passing through. While these goals have become increasingly visible over the past few years, with aspects like the growth in pedestrian and cyclist activity and recreation on improved blue and green space, there is still the need to accelerate the city's transition (Places for People, 2017).

Tactical urbanism has been highlighted by the Municipality as an inspirational approach to achieve such a rapid transition. They underline the behaviour changing capacity of small projects synonymous with tactical urbanism. Projects like 'Happy Streets', 'Dream Streets' and 'the flying grass carpet', are just a few ways that tactical urbanism has been implemented in Rotterdam with the help of the Municipality, linking more broadly to the aims of the key policy documents mentioned previously. Places for People (2017), a document formalising the Municipality's use of tactical urbanism, highlight 'the middle-up-down' process as key to their implementation of this approach. This argues against informal guerrilla actions by individuals, as well as plans imposed by the Municipality, instead hoping to unite active residents, entrepreneurs and the Municipality.
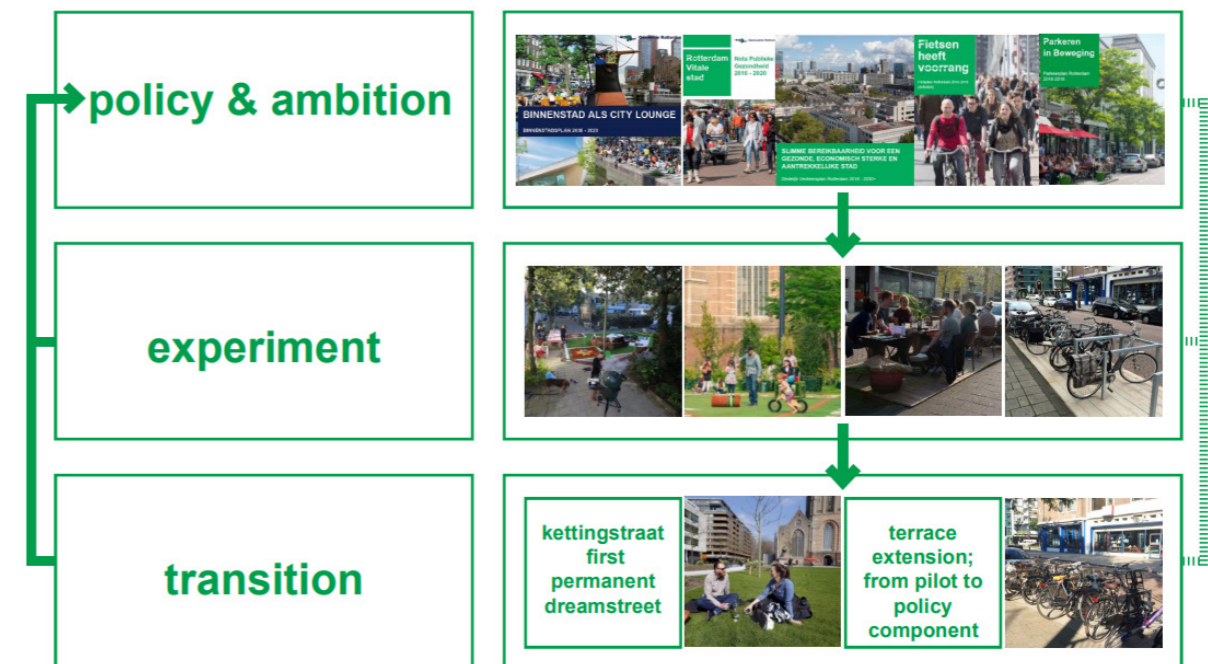


*Figure 4.6:* The Municipality attempt to ground the experiments they influence in the City's policy and ambitions; this short-term experiment is then hoped to create longer term change in the way individuals use public space. If this experiment is unsuccessful, it can be changed to create a transition for the better (Places for People, 2017)

Places for People (2017) indicates the development of the Municipality's interaction with the city's temporary interventions over the course of 2017 and 2018:

- More frequent, longer interventions.
- Not just temporary experiments, also temporary layouts.
- Larger plans.
- The Municipality assessing and editing plans.
- Maintaining a middle-up-down process.
- Identification of the most effective locations for interventions.
- Each location to be dealt with uniquely.
- Role of municipality must also vary (facilitating role; activating role; building-on interventions).

## CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVENTION

| Project Summary | Following a successful transformation of the inner-city of Rotterdam under plans like the City Lounge, the Municipality are seeking to further enhance the public realm of the city using temporary projects. |
|---|---|
| Key Urban Issues | • Unsustainable transport <br> • Low quality public realm <br> • Poor Legibility |
| Type of Temporary Use | Mixed-use. Offensive temporary urbanism. |
| Land-uses | • Public realm events <br> • Infrastructure <br> • Creation of green spaces and leisure spaces <br> • Art installations <br> • Layout experiments. |
| Impacts | The Municipality's temporary interventions are very much concerned with altering public behaviour to reach its policy ambitions. They have improved Rotterdam's connectivity, highlighting routes to forgotten neighbourhoods; created spaces which allow the inner city to become a place of leisure as well as work; and have challenged the dominance of the car, replacing it with surging cycling and pedestrian levels. However, these changes wouldn't have taken place had the public not enjoyed the experiments. |

*Table 4.4:* The key characterstics of the Municipality's temporary interventions.
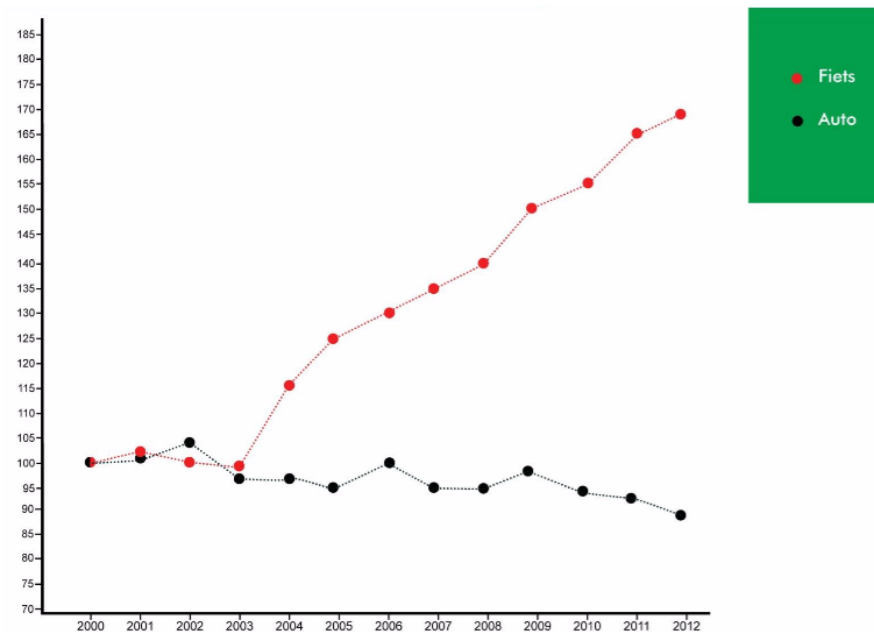


*Figure 4.7:* Arends (2017) depicts the exponential rise in cyclists in the city compared to declining car use. This is in part due to temporary use initiatives like the cycling racks that replaced car parking spaces altering behaviour patterns.

- Many of the interventions highlighted here have been carried out in a number of cities around the world, unlike the other two case studies which have generally responded to Rotterdam's existing fabric.

- The power of the Municipality exceeds that of the drivers of the other case studies e.g. the 'Happy Streets' project required them to eliminate car use on streets for a day.



*Figure 4.6:* The temporary interventions that have occurred around Rotterdam with the assistance of the Municipality (Places for People, 2017).

## COMPARATIVE SUMMARY

| Intervention | Type | Land-uses | Outcome |
|---|---|---|---|
| ZUS | Mixed | Public realm provision and connectivity | An enlivened public realm and new economic hub which better connected to the City Centre. |
| Fenix Food Factory | Defensive | Food cluster and event space | A space that attracts individuals from all over the city and contributes to the ongoing regeneration of Katendrecht. |
| Municipality | Offensive | Behavioural influencing uses | Contribution to the ongoing pursuit of a 'city lounge' with new public spaces, as well as altering where/how individuals move around the City. |

*Table 4.5:* A comparative summary of the case studies described in this chapter

As table 4.5 portrays, the interventions studied in this project vary greatly despite all being temporary uses, a characteristic that has been highlighted throughout this project. While arguably each of the interventions contribute to the social sustainability of Rotterdam, the manner they do this is completely different. While ZUS and the Fenix Food Factory work to enliven underused or vacant existing fabric generally, the Municipality's interventions are aiming to change the way citizens use the City Centre. The next chapter will explore the extent to which each of the interventions actually contribute to the social sustainability of the urban environment more specifically.

*"Rotterdam is undergoing a rapid transition towards a sustainable future. The city used to be a car paradise, especially within the Dutch context. Today it uses tactical urbanism to reach its strategic goals."*

-Street Art Today
Rotterdam Celebrates the Pedestrian with Creative Crosswalks, 2017

# CHAPTER FIVE

## FINDINGS & ANALYSIS
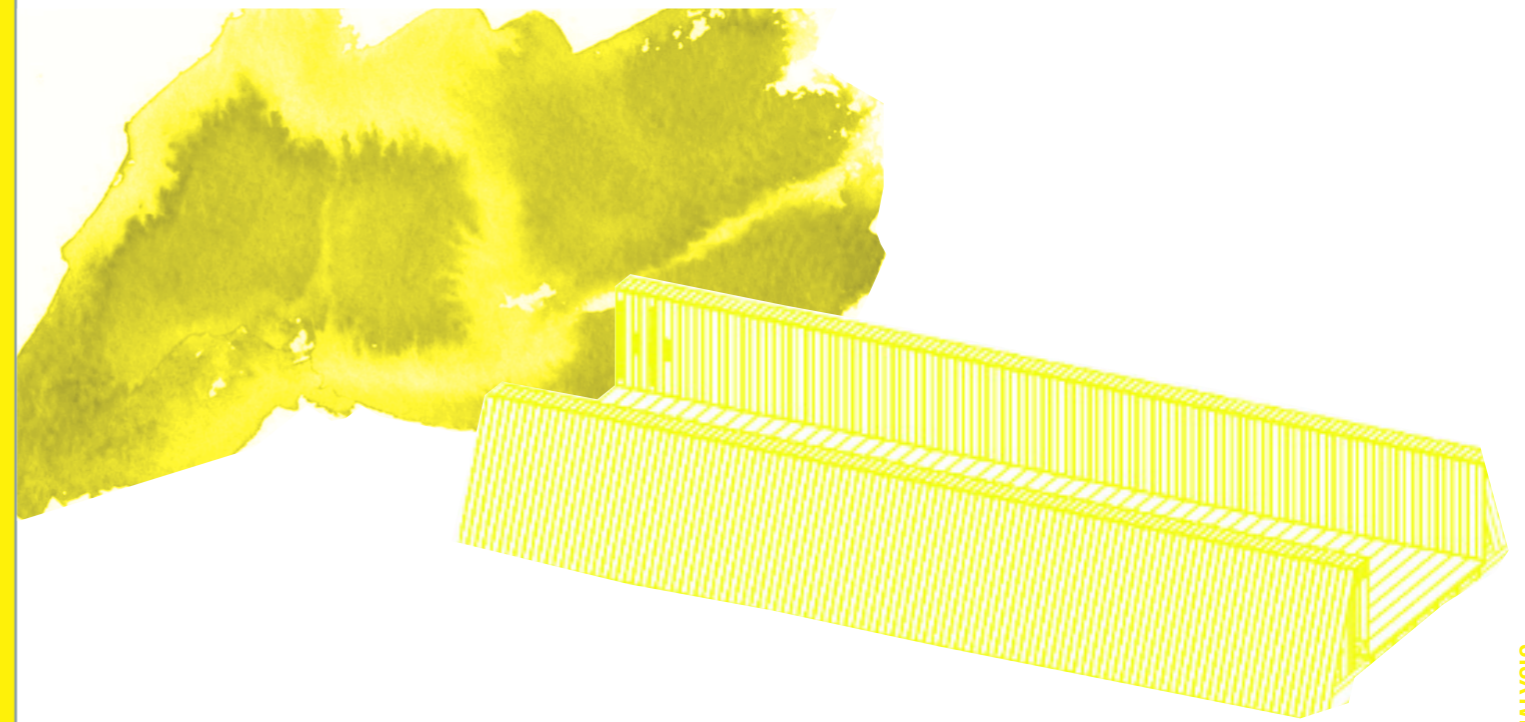
## [FINDINGS & ANALYSIS]

This chapter will begin by drawing on the findings around the three case studies outlined previously in terms of social sustainability. As highlighted in the Literature Review, social sustainability is comprised of 'social equity' and 'sustainability of the community', so each of the case studies will be examined through these two facets. However, it will also attempt to demonstrate more general lessons which have emerged in relation to the wider debate around temporary urbanism. Finally, it will analyse the relationship between the category of temporary urbanism (offensive, defensive and mixed) and the social sustainability of the urban environment to better orientate evaluation of the practice going forward.

### ZUS' CENTRAL ROTTERDAM DISTRICT

*Social Equity*

To reiterate the Literature Review, the main arguments associated with the social equity of temporary uses focus on inclusivity and gentrification. Kristian Koreman (architect) alluded to ZUS' attempts to address these problems frequently in the interview. He highlighted the need to reflect on which individuals use the temporary interventions carried out by ZUS. As portrayed previously by Smart Cities Dive (undated) many temporary interventions have been criticised for favouring white, middle-class narratives. Koreman admits that at first their interventions were used by a "*hipster*" crowd, but over time even the "*suits*" began to enjoy the space they created. This was certainly reinforced in the site visit carried out there, with hundreds of varied users gathered at the beer garden outside ZUS' office for what symbolised the start of summer to many of the city's residents as depicted in figure 5.1. Thomas Honeck (urban researcher) emphasises the damaging potential of the more normalised, hipster variant of temporary use, being inherently "*exclusive*" as well as "*socially reproductive*". Thus, despite the notion that temporary uses could challenge existing power structures, uses of this ilk could actually reinforce them.

Moreover, according to Koreman, ZUS intend to further diversify the demographics their interventions target:

> *"the next stage is really about stimulating different users for the area… families and also seniors… that's the sort of bigger approach we're working on with the Municipality to work on the ultimate mix"*
>
> - Kristian Koreman, 2017

This effectively demonstrates ZUS' self-awareness. However, in addition to diversifying the age-range of their interventions, as suggested in the Literature Review, perhaps more reflection is needed with respects to the inequalities existing in this area and how possible negative social dynamics at play can be overcome (Smart Cities Dive, undated). 'Hipsterfied' interventions which are unable to heed these warnings may still create high quality environments, but risk neglecting the community. To address the fully diverse demographic of a city Tom Bridgman (Delivery Lead for Regeneration at Lambeth Council) and Emily Berwyn's (Director of Meanwhile Spaces) experiences in London suggest that temporary use projects need to work in tandem with other initiatives across the 24-hour day cycle:

> *"I think the space (Pop-Brixton) is incredibly diverse and dynamic in how it responds to the need of local community, but you won't ever go there, or rarely, and see a demographic that's representative of the whole community at one time."*
>
> -Tom Bridgman, 2017



*Figure 5.1:* The pop-up Beer Garden's summer openning this year; the author's photos weren't able to capture the sheer number of visitors like Triphouse Rotterdam's (2017)

In the Literature Review, the author hypothesised that defensive temporary urbanism may be able to attract wider participation from the community because it's embedded within it. However, this project suggests that perhaps only offensive temporary strategies are able to interact with the whole community due to their scope and diverse capacity, as illustrated by ZUS' work as well as Bridgman and Berwyn's experiences.

ZUS' pursuit of inclusivity extends beyond those they envisaged to use their interventions. The Schieblock, an urban laboratory housing many start-up firms, once owned by ZUS, is now being outsourced to the Municipality under the condition that there is *"no rent increase in the next ten years"* according to Koreman. Both Yueming Zhang (Urban Researcher and Lecturer) and Bridgman point to the strong political will needed to resist negative outcomes of gentrification like rising property or workplace prices:

> *"I've (not) yet seen any successful case that avoided gentrification… However, some approach might work – zoning or rent control to maintain particular use of the space for the local community, but that requires strong political will and action as well as negotiations between community groups and government bodies (the same applies to whether citizens can continue influencing their environment)."*
>
> - Yueming Zhang, 2017

ZUS have managed to halt the urban fabric that they have control over, maintaining the Schieblock's affordability for start-up businesses. More than that, they have prevented displacement of occupiers who have had a role in regenerating the surrounding urban environment, for individuals who may be less conscious of their surrounding urban environment.

ZUS have attempted to move beyond architectural discourse to communicate and involve a range of stakeholders from outside the discipline. Koreman suggests that widening their communication methods has aided the legitimisation and valorisation of temporary uses in Rotterdam and, along with successful projects, have given other stakeholders and politicians more *"confidence"* to incorporate them in the future. Moreover, he indicates that it's perhaps less to do with the valorisation of temporary uses specifically and more to do with the valorisation of initiatives that embrace inclusivity, *"diversity, and… existing places"*. Ultimately, Koreman suggests that temporary uses can lead to more resilient and inclusive urban environments but are not the antidote alone.

> *"The only way is storytelling, the only way to break out of the limited architectural discourse… it's also a story of the life and death of cities, in that sense Jane Jacobs was so right."*
>
> - Kristian Koreman, 2017

This illustrates the cross-disciplinary dimension to embedding temporary uses in cities today. It's clear from ZUS' work that temporary drivers would benefit from diversifying their manner of communication, depending on the stakeholder's background, to more clearly communicate the benefits of their intervention.

When assessing whether temporary urbanism creates high quality environments geared towards the community, it's necessary to assess which demographics use the interventions, and perhaps more importantly which do not. As this subsection has demonstrated temporary projects are most successful addressing the needs of the whole community by operating in tandem with other temporary uses, which in turn requires large networks of stakeholders to organise. However, it also illustrates that strong bargaining power and political will is required to ensure projects continue to benefit communities in the long time and resist processes like displacement and price surges associated with gentrification.

*Sustainability of the Community:*

The sustainability of the community predominantly revolves around aspects such as networks, participation and the community's stability or sense of place. It could be said that temporary urbanism challenges traditional power structures and what would normally be accepted practice. Koreman reinforces this notion, highlighting that temporary use has been used as a "*political tool*" to bypass *"all of the permissions… so to not have these tough discussions"* between stakeholders. The tough discussions Koreman refers to could relate to the costs and maintenance around large scale projects such as the Luchtsingel in Rotterdam. Thus, the temporality of these projects appears to soften more experimental uses, synonymous with the approach, for a mainstream audience. A short-term end-point provides stakeholders with reassurance that the projects' impacts are reversible in the immediate future.

The network building capacity of temporary interventions is perhaps an aspect that comes out most strongly in ZUS' work. Koreman suggests that drivers of temporary interventions must be aware of their limitations; ZUS' *"weakness was being just the two of them, which was a strength as well",* so to rectify this they sought "*partners… very early*". Koreman goes on to highlight the important supporting role of networks:

"*the network is essential for all of the projects, the organisation behind it… we started with just forty parties that are now sixty… this is the sort of resilient alliance that are able to support… (projects) like… a beer garden… (which) starts another network*"

-Kristian Koreman, 2017

This highlights the capacity of the networks to exponentially expand a temporary use strategy, in contrast to an anonymised participant's suggestion that *"the best networks are still temporary"* (Anonymous urban researcher, 2017). One of the first platforms ZUS used was the Architecture Biennial, which used their test site, comprised of urban interventions in central Rotterdam, as the exhibition, introducing their vision and work to a much wider audience, this quickly led to their first rental contract. Given this mindset, it's perhaps unsurprising that the Central Rotterdam District has now become an economic hub, with over 80 businesses within the Schieblock, all growing and moving to other places in the city, as well as over 60 outside partners, creating a resilient alliance which ensures a continued impact on the urban environment. However, the networks themselves must be comprised by representatives across the community, otherwise you could end up with exclusive networks whose interventions are difficult to stop if they begin to move away from community benefit.
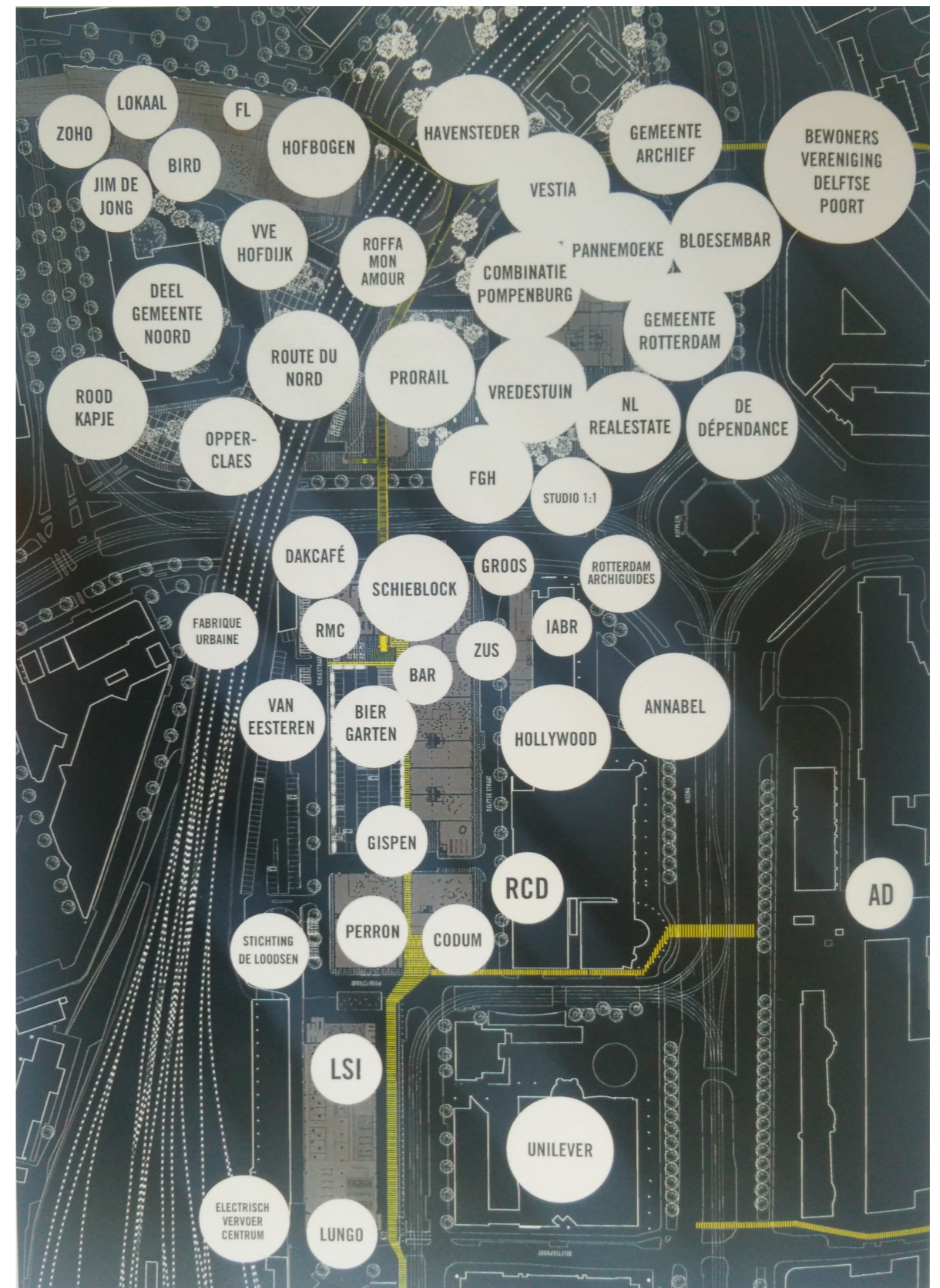
*Figure 5.2:* ZUS' partners associated with the Luchtsingel project (ZUS, undated).

Berwyn suggests that cross-disciplinary teams or networks are required in temporary uses because *"there's so many facets of what we do…(it's) such a combination of disciplines"*. Koreman supports this notion suggesting that different stakeholders think at different levels, some who are working *"1 to 1… on the daily basis"*, architects who think about the short-term future, *"1 to 200 brain(s)"*, and themselves who are attempting to think strategically and further into the future, *"1 to 1000"*. However, ZUS need people who are running things on a day-to-day basis, like the beer garden and roof, to *"have enough acupunctures to make it to the next year, five years, and ten years"*, demonstrating a co-dependent element to offensive temporary urbanism that enables stakeholders to execute their strategies to a larger scale.

Koreman suggests that the success of temporary interventions hinge on having *"local entrepreneurs… agents, agency"* to drive urban regeneration, as opposed to requiring a specific urban or socio-economic context necessarily. Moreover, he discusses their local knowledge as being instrumental in employing appropriate interventions for the area; himself and Van Boxel have lived and worked in the area for almost two decades meaning they know the area better than *"anybody else"*. However, while they indicate that there is some transferable *"knowledge that we can use abroad"* from what they've done over the years, their work can't simply be replicated elsewhere. It takes years of *"persistence and authenticity"* to achieve what they have in the Central Rotterdam District, echoing the author's reservations in the Methodology about adapting lessons from specific and differing urban contexts. Furthermore, Koreman challenges the authenticity of the temporary movement more generally, suggesting that these tactics may have been exploited as a marketing tool more recently, *"used by the wrong people for the wrong purposes"*. So, it is perhaps necessary to question who is driving the temporary intervention and what their aim is when analysing their contribution to social sustainability. Policy makers should be aware that temporary urbanism, as an approach, has been shaped by *"collective perceptions of local problems"*, as well as drawing inspiration from *"possible solutions available in other cities"* (Honeck, urban researcher, 2017). Consequently, interventions may have emerged from a demographic which only understands a small proportion of the problems which plague their city, much less comprehending the problems of another city with a completely different demography.

ZUS have utilised networks to expand their influence over the urban fabric both in scope, and in time. Networks should be considered an important part in the successful implementation of temporary use because they can both expand and diversify them. Networks appear to work best when they are cross-disciplinary due to the different skillsets possessed by each stakeholder as well as the way they think, whether it be day-to-day or much longer term, therefore supporting each other. Moreover, there should be greater scepticism given to the origins of best practice temporary uses, given that they could be from a completely different problem, and even worse based on the perception of drivers that may not understand their urban environment fully.

## FENIX FOOD FACTORY

*Social Equity*

Although Fenix Food Factory is a venture set-up by entrepreneurs within the local community, its representativeness and inclusivity is perhaps questionable. Its dominant use as an artisanal food venue perhaps caters mainly for the wealthier residents, while its presence contributes to the *"gentrified paradise"* that is Katendrecht (Dutch Review, 2017). This reinforces both Berwyn and Bridgman's view that local drivers aren't necessarily the *"a panacea"* for urban problems (Bridgman, 2017) and that drivers from elsewhere might have ideas which can benefit locals more.

> *"For us its more about viability and interest, people can come from elsewhere if they're delivering something that's needed by the community or wanted… They usually get judged by their impact and their benefits locally. So, while they might not always live around the corner, because they're not always the best ideas."*
>
> -Emily Berwyn, 2017

*Figure 5.3.* Fenix Food Factory is a more diverse place than just food, selling books and acting as an event space, however whether it's for a wide enough part of the community to contribute to the social sustainability of the urban environment is debatable (Author, 2017)

While gentrification generally helps improve the public realm of the area, it also runs the risk of displacing poorer residents who pre-existed these land uses. However, Fenix Food Factory perhaps remedies this to a certain extent by diversifying its uses with music events and its children's book stalls which hint at targeting a wider demographic. Given the area's historically poor demographic (Renders, 2017), its exclusivity is even more mystifying, perhaps this location was chosen due to its relatively low rent, further tying the Fenix Food Factory with criticisms of gentrification which have plagued temporary urbanism. However, Koreman, suggests that various stakeholders have been working for over a decade in Katendrecht to regenerate it with *"a lot of different tactics"*, so it is perhaps unfair to reflect on Fenix Food Factory's social sustainability based on out-dated conceptions of the area or demographic. Similarly, Bridgman criticises the manipulation of a complex academic term like gentrification *"being boiled back to negative change"*, while there are many positives too, including a *"safer, cleaner"* environment *"accessible to a wider group of people than before"*.

More than that, he highlights that gentrification has been a long process, outside of the influence of projects like Pop-Brixton, a temporary use cluster in London:

*"Brixton has never stopped changing… People are concerned about it, but they're also part of that gentrifying process, they moved in because it was cheap twenty years ago and they could afford it, and people moved in five years ago because it was cheaper than Islington"*

- Bridgman, 2017

This notion could also be applied to the regeneration of Katendrecht, being related to, but not because of Fenix Food Factory. Perhaps defensive temporary uses like Fenix Food Factory don't possess enough influence over the urban fabric to contribute to gentrification, reflecting the author's earlier hypothesis that gentrification relates more to the scale of offensive temporary urbanism. Moreover, it's very difficult for a defensive temporary use to balance viability and exert a positive influence over the social sustainability of the urban environment. However, it is a clear example of a group of individuals acting as prosumers of their urban environment.

*Sustainability of the Community*
This sub-section refers predominantly to the author's observations while visiting Rotterdam (see appendix 3). While Fenix Food Factory may be suspect when it comes to social equity, it perhaps fares much better when it comes to the sustainability of the community. Fenix Food Factory contributes to the sense of place in Katendrecht, having re-used existing urban fabric, emblematic of the area's industrial history. More than that, having such an appealing and successful draw like Fenix Food Factory aids the wider area's regeneration and attracts clientele for other businesses in the area. Once again, the Fenix Food Factory's ties to gentrification might suggest that it could disrupt the area's stability, however it's again a stretch to put too much blame on a recent intervention, in a neighbourhood which has long been in flux.

Fenix Food Factory is conducive to the development of networks. Most notably a local network of food vendors and businesses, both established and new, who provide each other with more security and appeal by clustering in one space, following the notions of economies of agglomeration (Brascoupe and Glaeser, 2010). Again, a network, this time on the smaller scale, demonstrates that they are necessary in maximising the impact of temporary uses on the urban environment. More widely, this intervention becomes part of Katendretch's network of regeneration and development, strengthening other initiatives and the diverse set of housing programmes which have emerged in the area in recent years, while also relying on the pre-existing network to ensure its establishment.

# MUNICIPALITY

As temporary urbanism has progressed to its offensive interpretation, its relationship with the government has changed. Honeck most prominently, but Berwyn, and Bridgman too, agree upon the *"normalisation"* (Honeck, 2017) of temporary urbanism over the last decade. They suggest the government has become increasingly involved in temporary uses. However, Bridgman suggests that it's always an approach that will show a greater capacity for community drivers, with the government more than likely to take an *"enabling"* role.

*Social Equity:*
As outlined in the previous chapter, the Municipality has attempted to weave inclusivity into the DNA of its temporary interventions. Emiel Arends, an urban planner at Rotterdam Council, suggests that temporary projects are distinctly unique from standard practice because of their involvement with *"communities, businesses and entrepreneurs"* (Arends, 2017). Similarly, Jorn Wemmenhove, an urban strategist who has worked with Municipality before in temporary interventions, suggests that they are seeking to share knowledge much *"more openly"* with the community than before, but to do so require a willing public. *"Rethinking the local democracy"* as he says, is an ongoing process. When considering the longevity or expanse of temporary interventions, the Municipality has appeared to take the public's acceptance into account. Take the bicycle racks implemented in place of car parking spaces; what started as a small urban acupuncture in a couple of places in the city eventually led to a wide-spread replacement following demand and behavioural change by the public. However, as Wemmenhove suggests that temporary uses follow *"general priorities shaped by cities… from the inner-city program team"*, so although the community is heavily involved in these projects, the extent to which they are representative of all Rotterdam's citizens is debatable. This leads to the conclusion that perhaps the Municipality's temporary interventions are very much blind to the 'have-nots' vision of the city.

*"Unfortunately, the gap between the haves and the have-nots is growing in almost any city around the world. Economic profit often is made in the city centre, and that is why the Municipality too often focusses on this area… it is a matter of pushing a society for inclusive change, and not only change for a minority."*

- Wemmenhove, 2017

So, while the Municipality's interventions tend to interact with the community and local stakeholders much more extensively than regular practice, their ideas for the city's development very much reflects what is wanted by the government rather than trying to upend the established power hierarchy. Similarly, Zhang (urban researcher, 2017) suggests that the community is *"constantly"* acting as a prosumer despite the governments growing role, but questions *"whose production is more recognised and acknowledged… and what kind of space(s)… are recognised or encouraged"*?

Scaling up of temporary uses often involves interaction with the government given their resources and interest in the public realm of the city. Examining the Municipality's temporary interventions demonstrates the difficulty of overcoming established power structures like the government's traditional

dominance over the community in urban planning processes. While the government may back some temporary uses, they usually do so because this matches up with their vision for the city. The tactics used in Rotterdam aren't especially unique to the city, reflecting global thinking around good urban practice, however, given that these ideas were probably conceived by the powerful, many of these uses will lead to social reproduction of the same inequalities currently facing a city like Rotterdam.

*Sustainability of the Community*

Coupled with the complete *"reconstruction… and densification"* of Rotterdam, Arends suggests that successful, pioneering temporary initiatives have been instrumental in the Municipality's recognition of them, as hinted at earlier in this chapter. He also suggests that given their instantaneous impact on the urban environment, they can bring *"good publicity"* for an alderman, who is elected every four years. These are all principles that reflect Honeck's (2017) notion that the temporary use that has been widely proliferated, the hipster version, is for *"prosperous cities"* once they have met other targets, or in this case built-up as much as possible. This is perhaps troubling because it hints that temporary uses could be thought of as a tool for development as opposed to altering the way cities work as intended.

Wemmenhove (2017) suggests that the City is extremely concerned with strengthening networks between citizens and policy makers, as evidenced by project 'Mobility Arena', which connects certain urban issues, like mobility, to different agendas connected to this topic to create a more diverse set of stakeholders to work on it. The aim of this project is to eliminate *"any differences between citizens and policy workers".* Furthermore, Wemmenhove (2017) suggests that the biggest challenge of networks when related to temporary urbanism is the scaling up of initiatives:

> *"Living in a city is not easy. Success in the constant tension between the top and the bottom. Tactical interventions have a great scale that both levels understand. The interventions themselves are the place where we accept this tension and communicate about it. It is an experiment, it creates this openness we need to co-create."*
>
> -Jorn Wemmenhove, 2017

Here the prime benefit of temporary use perhaps lies in the perception of them as reversible by both parties. Arends (2017) suggests that rather than necessarily creating networks, temporary projects are successful because the *"same creative people"* create *"new alliances"* with communities rather than traditional parties like developers or financial institutions. Zhang (2017) warns that networks can still operate in a hierarchical manner and aren't always collaborative. This *"gap"* in power between stakeholders could *"lead to gentrification"*, since the stakeholders with more power tend to include developers and financial institutions who seek to profit from an area's urban regeneration. This effect can be either created or slowed depending on *"how negotiations play out"* over the course of a temporary intervention.

The Municipality's temporary interventions appear to have enhanced the networks impacting the urban environment. Similarly, it's important to note that they have contributed to the city's pursuit

of creating a city lounge, and invariably enhanced the public realm to a certain extent. Again, these findings highlight that the social sustainability of, particularly offensive temporary uses, may come down to negotiations and power relations between stakeholders which varies form case to case. Moreover, it points to the shift in temporary use from a counter-cultural tool for experimentation to a mechanism to promote development for a city, once land has been fully utilised perhaps. This is significant when considering the motives behind drivers of some temporary uses in wealthy cities.

## TYPE OF TEMPORARY USE

It's perhaps necessary to reflect on the influence of the type of temporary use, given that each of the case studies outlined represent different interpretations. Something that emerged strongly from both the interviews and secondary research conducted, was that either interpretation required the other to remedy its weaknesses. Wemmenhove perfectly encapsulates this:

> "Each place has its own context and really listening to people – and connecting this to the bigger strategy focused on the greater good – is what makes our way of working important and sustainable."
>
> -Wemmenhove, 2017

These weaknesses are also exhibited in the project's case studies, with the Fenix Food Factory perhaps only becoming a successful venture because of the wider regeneration programme that preceded it in the area. Similarly, the biggest concern surrounding the Municipality's interventions is whether it addresses the needs of the whole community, especially groups which are traditionally underrepresented; their interventions are perceived to be too strategic and divorced from the needs of the community.

Moreover, Honeck implies that networks are the key to the institutionalisation of temporary uses, and this in turn is the key for the longevity of said project. Given that Honeck has portrayed institutionalised or offensive temporary uses as inherently less socially sustainable, this brings into question whether it is possible to achieve socially sustainable temporary uses over a long period of time.

ZUS' interventions in the Central Rotterdam District seem to exhibit the aspects of both defensive and offensive temporary urbanism. Instead of being a bottom-up or top-down process, Koreman considers their practice to operate *"straight through the middle"*:

> "…we were doing 24 other projects meanwhile and these are now popping out gradually and connected with this bridge, that makes it into a more resilient strategy."
>
> - Koreman, 2017

ZUS support top-down, strategic projects like the Luchtsingel, with other smaller, community driven interventions, to make it a more resilient approach overall. As a result, their interventions are both in keeping with the community's needs (defensive temporary urbanism), as well as having the scope and co-ordination to better the social sustainability of the urban environment (offensive temporary urbanism).

This dissertation began questioning which interpretation of temporary urbanism was more conducive to producing a socially sustainable urban environment, however this is an elusive goal, not to be achieved by any specific use, calculated number of partners or the role of governance. It's a goal to be achieved through the synergy of tactics, strategies, the offensive and defensive. Drivers need to operate *"blow-by-blow"* (de Certeau, 1984) but with a long-term vision. Moreover, perhaps despite temporary urbanism's promise of instant change, social sustainability accumulates and develops over time. In ZUS' case, they began as tacticians, improving the urban environment on a day-to-day scale, but slowly with growing recognition and the strength of local stakeholders behind them, transformed into strategists, but ones with a vested interest in the area's projection and expansive local knowledge. Many temporary uses are relatively young or short-lived in comparison, and haven't had the time to develop their power, vision or influence like ZUS' have. Therefore, while it appears that combining elements of the two interpretations has the best chance of producing a socially sustainable environment, there are too many factors to herald temporary urbanism as an approach that will bring about inclusive environments and overthrow established urban power hierarchies.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the three case studies of temporary urbanism in Rotterdam, drawing predominantly on the interviews conducted with professionals directly involved in temporary urbanism. Each case study has arguably enhanced the social sustainability of the immediate urban environment to a certain extent as portrayed by table 5.1. However, it's ZUS' work which seems to achieve social sustainability most securely under the parameters outlined in this project. However, this chapter has also attempted to look more widely at lessons emerging from these case studies as well as the interviewees experiences and knowledge. Networks, scale, power relations, the identity of the drivers and the type of temporary use are all thought to have considerable effects on whether a temporary use has the capacity to improve the urban environment around it, which be explored in more detail in relation to this project's research questions in the concluding chapter.

| Case Study | Social Equity | Sustainability of the Community |
|---|---|---|
| ZUS | • Various demographics attracted to interventions<br>• Inclusive process<br>• More attention needed on child/elderly uses<br>• Already plans to improve | • Huge, diverse networks associated with the area<br>• Authentic interventions that enhance the character of the area |
| Fenix Food Factory | • Perhaps caters for wealthier demographic<br>• Flexible use event space could attract wider demographic | • Enhances the area's character by re-using the building<br>• Creates robust, attractive and successful food cluster |
| Municipality | • Interventions based around vision of Municipality for Rotterdam's development<br>• Much public interaction, but after inception, perhaps too late | • Create more effective networks than traditional methods<br>• Working towards eliminating difference between policy makers and community in process |

*Table 5.1:* A table summarising the extent to which each case study met the two principles of social sustainability outlined in this project.

It is perhaps necessary to reflect of the context of Rotterdam and its impact on the success of temporary interventions, before considering the conclusions of this dissertation. As outlined in the methodology, the lessons derived from a specific context, must be examined with care. Both Koreman and Arends suggest that Rotterdam's middle-size has helped it tow the balance between community needs and the market. It's big enough to exact change, but not too big that interventions become too far removed from community influence and reflection. Moreover, when it comes to Municipality backing, there is a larger tax share available than the U.K., providing the potential financial support for experimental approaches. The transferability of approaches that have been outlined in this dissertation should therefore to be carefully considered along with the context they emerge from.

# CHAPTER SIX

## CONCLUSION
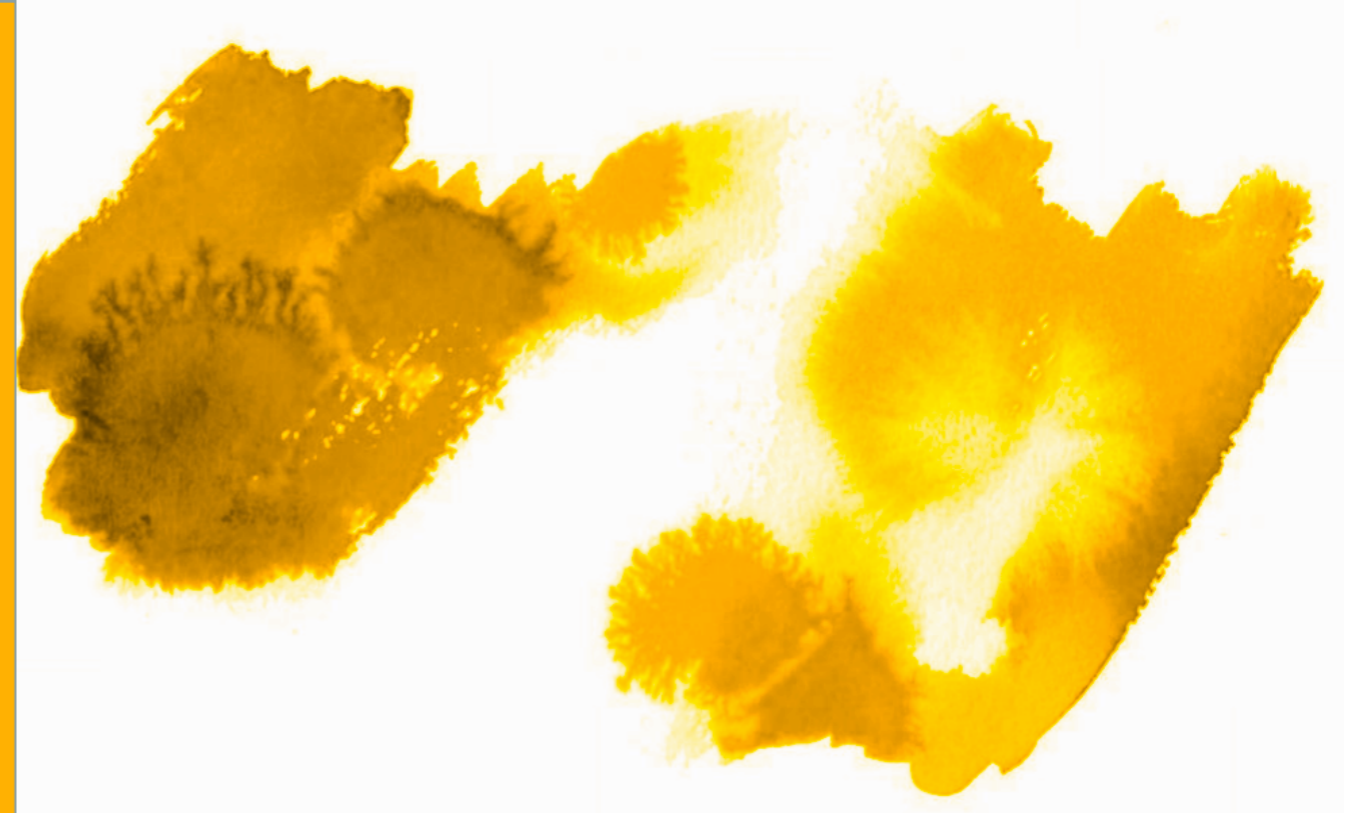
## [CONCLUSION]

This project has investigated the relationship between temporary uses and social sustainability. It seeks to understand whether it currently benefits communities and reflect on possible lessons or improvements required going forward. This chapter will begin by providing research answers, before concluding the project's overarching question. The chapter will close by pondering avenues for further research, building upon the lessons learned from this dissertation.

## RESEARCH ANSWERS

*R.Q.1: Does temporary urbanism create high quality urban environments geared towards fostering the feeling of community?*

The project's three case studies each seem to have improved Rotterdam's urban fabric in their own ways, with two of them making use of the existing fabric, while the Municipality's interventions have instead activated a previously underutilised public realm. While many of the interviewees have reported temporary uses' ability to, particularly, make use of vacant existing fabric. However, to answer this research question it's necessary to consider who these spaces have been designed for. This project has demonstrated that it is very difficult for a temporary use to be representative of the entire community's interests. Each of the case studies was limited to some respect. Bridgman and Berwyn both expressed the need for temporary programmes that include a diverse set of uses, able to cater for different parts of the community at different times if it can't be achieved at once. ZUS' initiatives in Rotterdam demonstrated the most capacity to do this, given the number and diversity of current projects, as well as incoming uses which will expand upon the currently catered for demographic. This perhaps demonstrates that to be truly inclusive, a web of temporary uses is needed due to the diverse nature of many urban communities; usually it is associated

with offensive temporary urbanism. Defensive temporary urbanisms usually act in relative isolation in comparison, and thus represent a smaller section of the community, although they arguably do so more authentically, with greater community involvement. Thus, this project suggests that temporary uses can create high quality urban environments geared towards the community, but to do so must be extremely layered, diverse and astute.

*R.Q.2: Are individuals acting like prosumers of their urban environment in relation to temporary urbanism?*

When answering this research question, we really must reflect on the changing roles of the government and the community, especially with the proliferation of offensive temporary urbanism. While this project has found that individuals very much have the capacity and are often acting like prosumers of their urban environment in relation to temporary urbanism. However, the impact of these actions is more questionable; as this project has highlighted, sometimes individuals' projects who don't share the vision of the government are often marginalised. Moreover, offensive temporary uses are often conceived by the government, and although extensively consult with the community, are not examples of individuals acting like consumers. This project has also found that without being grown into a network, temporary uses struggle to make a long-term impact on the environment, however they are instrumental in ensuring that interventions reflect the needs of the community, so lessons learned from them must at least be preserved in this scaling-up.

*R.Q.3: What role do cross-disciplinary networks and relationships amongst stakeholders play in the creation of socially sustainable temporary spaces?*

The previous research answer partly covers the power of networks in temporary use. This project has identified the need for strong cross-disciplinary networks in temporary uses due to their complexity. Moreover, it has highlighted that to truly enhance the urban fabric in a socially inclusive manner it requires a range of temporary uses beyond the capability of defensive temporary urbanism perhaps, and thus a strong supporting network to co-ordinate and deliver these. The uses can either be complementary, which help areas to cater for the diverse urban population as seen in Central Rotterdam by ZUS, or networks can create a specialised cluster which is more robust and beneficial to the urban fabric than a single use, as demonstrated by the Fenix Food Factory.

Contrastingly, it has portrayed the danger of power gaps between stakeholders in networks. If stakeholders representing the community don't possess enough power to shape negotiations or consensus, then the end intervention can be too removed from the public's needs, choosing instead to serve profitability or a homogenised vision of urban regeneration. Although, this isn't always the case, ZUS were able to create an extensive network around their work who shared a vision for the area's development, including various stakeholders from the local community. The synergy found in Rotterdam between stakeholders is understandably rare, more realistically this project has found that socially sustainable practices will have to operate in a place of tension between the bottom (community) and top (government). Temporary uses show a greater ability than mainstream planning practices at alleviating this tension, most probably deriving from their experimental nature, making stakeholders on either side feel that they will be able to continue to mould the intervention.

Thus, cross-disciplinary networks are important in strengthening and diversifying temporary uses, however the power relations between stakeholders must be considered when investigating that intervention.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Temporary use has changed dramatically, with the offensive variant now common place. The government is much more involved than before, however there are concerns this could hinder innovation or sensitivity around the practice. Contrastingly the community's role seems more uncertain than ever, most interviewees agree they are still key in the success of temporary use, but there are questions around representation, power relations and capability.

Networks are inevitably an important product and component of the approaches' longevity but can perhaps warp the original intention of a temporary use. Likewise, gentrification is a common consequence of the practice, but it can be limited with a strong negotiating position. However, generally the limited understandings of key concepts like gentrification, community, social sustainability and inclusivity hinder the analysis of temporary urbanism's effectiveness.

## OVERARCHING CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this project finds that temporary uses can contribute much to the social sustainability of the urban environment under the right conditions. Defensive temporary urbanism is perhaps too limited in breadth and extent to wholly deliver urban environments with as large a proportion of the community in mind as necessary. Conversely, offensive temporary urbanism possesses the capacity to support an expansive temporary use scheme, as well as ensuring its longevity, however it runs the risk of shifting the interests of the intervention away from the community toward more traditionally powerful stakeholders' visions. ZUS' work in Rotterdam perhaps most clearly demonstrates temporary uses' ability to deliver socially sustainable urban environments. It combines more defensive temporary uses with large projects and an overarching strategy with help from a synergetic and stable network, more akin to offensive temporary use, to deliver a space for as wide a portion of the community as possible. Temporary urbanism would be wise to learn from ZUS' interventions when considering how they can avoid processes like displacement and social exclusion associated with the movement currently.

## FURTHER AVENUES FOR RESEARCH

Most prominently this project has identified the development of temporary use and its implications, the necessity of networks and the danger of power relations within them when pursuing social sustainability. Further research should perhaps focus on offensive temporary urbanism, specifically examining the position and contribution of the individual stakeholders involved. This project has perhaps looked at interventions on the macro scale, and could be furthered by focusing on the development of specific interventions and lessons that can be gleaned from this. Moreover, given this project's limited timescale, scope and resources, future research could examine a wider variety of case studies from around the world.

*"Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody."*

-Jane Jacobs
The Death and Life of Great American Cities, 1961

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# APPENDICES

1: INTERVIEW EXCERPT
2: MAP OF CASE STUDIES
3: OBSERVATIONS FROM SITE VISITS

Kristian Koreman (ZUS) Interview:

Social Equity   Sustainability of the community   Category

*Initial introductions and off-topic conversation*

K: Our book is not quite out yet because we're thinking of a plot, so far we didn't feel really convinced that we really had a plot, we were just starting, this is now seven years of work. That's just the start, this is really just a glimpse of what the future will be like, also it's good to show that this is really the first sketch we made let's say ten years ago when we heard about the demolition of this block. We were living here actually for ten years, since 2000, and then we heard demolition plans for the block and we thought what's the whole point everything is vacant here, they were expecting to add another 240,000 sqm of office space whereas like at least 100,000 was already vacant in the area so what's the point?

E: I guess it goes back to the whole Jane Jacobs theory of the social layers building up and if you were to wipe this out I guess it would wipe out the pre-existing social layers

K: Exactly, exactly. But how do you value that, that's the key question. What we basically learned to do is not only to talk in autocad and photoshop but also to talk in excel sheets and word. So we merged those three softwares together in order to speak the language of the developer which is excel sheets, to speak the language of the politicians which is basically word. And that's what we've been trying to do to create a new hybrid approach, which is of course is always spatially, because we are architects in the end, but also considers the economic reality behind this, and has a sensitivity towards the political context. That's the hard part, because political context is fluid like water.

E: We were talking to Emiel who works for Rotterdam Council and he was talking a little bit about who you have in power at the moment and that's changing soon. So I don't know how that changes how you operate?

K: that's true, but I think so far now we are more adult, we've gone through this growing up, so we now are at least adolescence, and through the adolescence we learn to go to the next level because now new urgent questions are popping up because there used to be questions like how do we make this vacant space more productive, how do we activate public space. Well we succeeded. This is a full-blown economical hub now, the schieblock has 80 businesses and they're already growing and going to other places, so really its an incubator. So that's really now part of the larger strategy of the area now, this stays the incubator of the area.

E: That's what I did my undergrad dissertation on, creative incubators and florida's work and that's why this is such a nice extension for me

K: So far its like Florida, Jane Jacobs even Robert Moses, its like how to merge those, because there's not only jane Jacobs because I feel like she's really bottom up and Moses is really about top-down and what we really do here is straight through the middle. We managed to use a lot of hard-core infrastructure like a bridge to generate more than just a bottom-up initiative like the schieblock, because you could see that as kind of of a singular thing but as we were doing 24 other projects meanwhile and these are now popping out gradually and connected with this bridge, that makes it into a more resilient strategy. Bottom-up is really… Also I don't really like 'temporary urbanism', if its temporary first, we called it the city of permanence, permanent temporality, permanent first, it's not temporary-permanence its really permanent temporality because the permanent is really the key of the city because we can only consider cities as something that's evolving already for centuries and will continue to evolve for centuries.
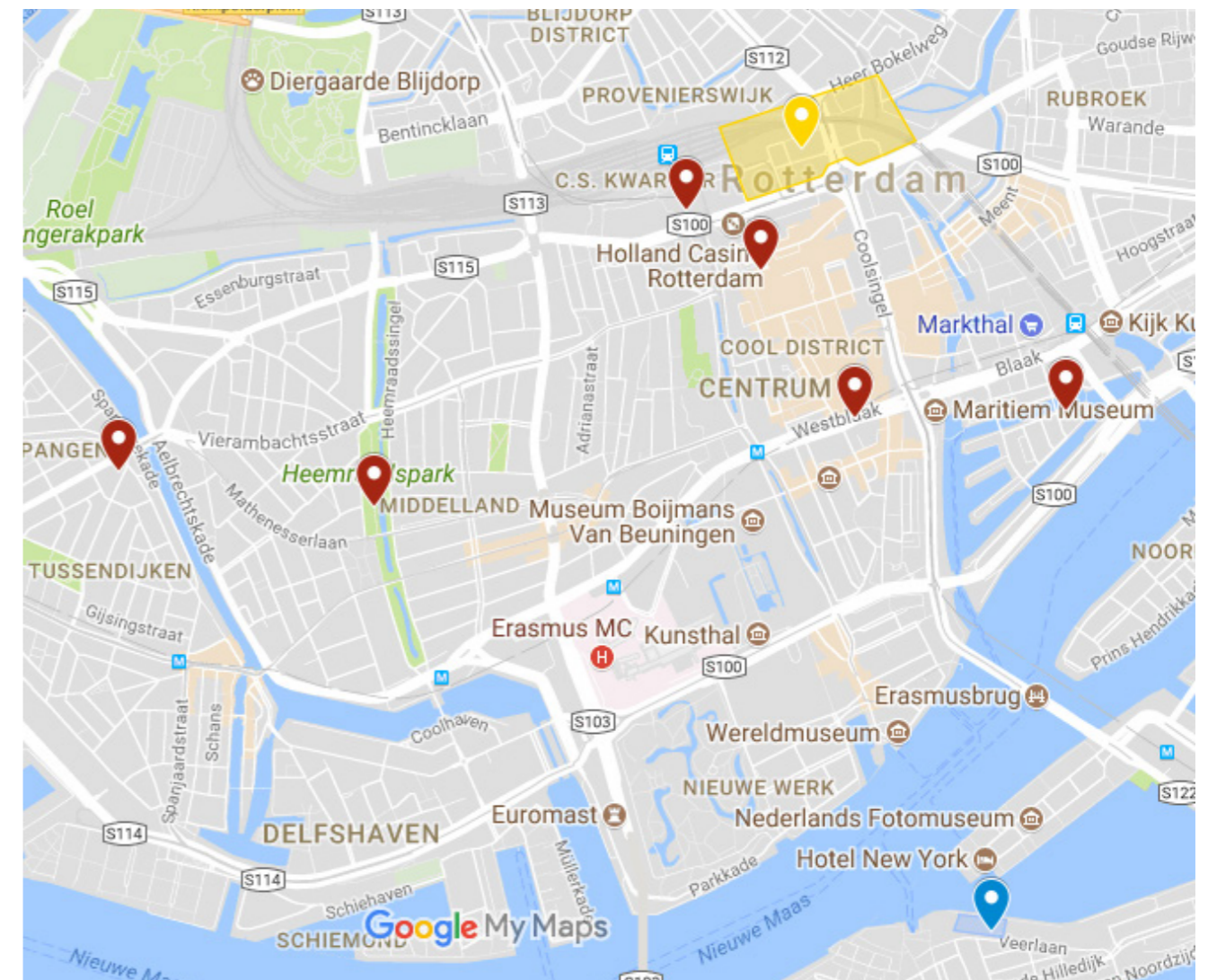


Interventions

📍 Individual styles

📍 ZUS

▱ Area of intervention

📍 Fenix Food Factory

▱ area of premises

📍 Municipality urban acupunct...

📍 Municipality crosswalk

📍 Municipality bike parking

📍 Municipality Stairwell

📍 Municipality Happy Streets

📍 Municipality Happy Streets

| ZUS | Fenix Food Factory | Municipality's Acupunctures |
|---|---|---|
| • Strong, unique urban design draws footfall from Rotterdam Centraal Station to the intervention area.<br>• Even in the middle of the day during the week the public realm is being used to a certain extent.<br>• The Luchtsingel bridge cuts right across main transport links (trainline, main roads) to link areas together that were formerly isolated.<br>• Green acupunctures help separate the area from its concrete surroundings<br>• The route of the Luchtsingel has almost created new hotspots of activity just beyond exits i.e. the old station being re-used for various retail purposes<br>• Again the community garden/ rooftop farming make the most out of an otherwise concrete urban fabric<br>• As the evening draws in, the Annabel club and beer garden stimulate different activity types | • Katendrecht feels quite distant from central Rotterdam which could have hindered its economic activity in its past perhaps<br>• Fenix Food Factory's river-side location makes the intervention space all the more attractive<br>• The aesthetics of the interior are true to the area's industrial history, while being welcoming for its current use<br>• People seem to visit throughout the day due to the range of cuisine options and quality, but its busiest during the evenings<br>• At the times visited by the author the use of the space wasn't especially diverse, but research shows that they also host events and markets<br>• It feels that if only a couple of these food uses were here that it wouldn't be that popular, but when clustered it becomes a unique draw for Katendrecht | • The Municipality seem far more open to and relaxed about the potential of temporary uses than other governments in my experience<br>• They are even going about exacting their own, they aren't just enablers<br>• Temporary uses appear to help fast track urban design improvements or behavioural changes in line with the vision for the city<br>• Rotterdam's quick development in recent years perhaps demonstrates why they are so open to new strategies<br>• Changes to city life i.e. people spending time in the centre and people cycling have come quickly in the last decade with the help from temporary urbanism<br>• They surprisingly seem smaller in nature than the others or shorter in duration e.g. one day events |