



**Temporary uses in the urban
context: Exploring the role of
breeding places in
Amsterdam's future
urbanization**

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Colophon

General information

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Heesterveld Creative Community, Amsterdam. Photo taken by the author. Editor of the photo: Poupak Pourbahador.

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Abstract

In the aftermath of big urban changes, temporary uses appeared as an effective tool of redevelopment, providing valuable solutions with low risk and cost. And while the concept has gained an important momentum, the ways it can contribute to future urbanization of cities is quite unexplored. This study aims to explore the terms in which the revised Breeding Grounds policy (BPA) of the Municipality of Amsterdam is capable to contribute to Amsterdam's future urbanization and also to give insights and suggestions for the policy-making agenda regarding the terms in which temporary uses can be further utilized. A qualitative case study was conducted, while data were obtained using document analysis and semi-structured interviews. The results indicate the intention to keep the creatives in the city of Amsterdam, shifting from temporary to more permanent arrangements, as breeding places are capable of providing multi-dimensional value, other than cultural. Based on the presented results, recommendations for future research were formulated along with recommendations for policy makers for the city of Amsterdam, focusing on enhancing the function of the breeding places in Amsterdam.

Key words: *temporary use, breeding places, BPA policy, future urbanization, Amsterdam.*

Summary

In our days, urban landscape has been facing a wide range of challenges that has an evident effect on the way it is structured. Landmark events that occurred over the last years, such as the global financial crisis, had an evident impact on cities, including vacant or underutilized sites within the urban fabric. At the same time, the need for efficient and effective urban tools, in order to deal with the vacancy was imperative. The concept of temporary use was proved, by that time, a relevant solution to tackle this problem, providing direct and safe, in terms of risk and money, alternatives for urban management. Temporariness has been thoroughly studied, in terms of its intrinsic characteristics of experimentation and flexibility, the typologies of uses but also users as well as its potential drawbacks, especially comparing with other more permanent or official uses.

However, even though the great scholarly attention given to the concept, its potential to contribute to future urbanization is quite unexplored. The same stands also for the users that are involved in the development of those uses along with their perceived importance. This research, focusing on temporary use, aims to investigate how the concept is involved with future urbanization. To do so, Amsterdam and the Breeding Grounds policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam was selected as the case study. The intention was to explore how the “mechanism” of this policy works, revealing the role it can have to the future urbanization of the city. Next to that, the study aims to give fruitful insights and recommendations for Amsterdam, but also other cities in the Netherlands and elsewhere, about the further utilization of the concept for the urban future. Therefore, the main research question that was posed with this research is: How does the revised BPA policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam contribute to the future urbanization of Amsterdam?

The research topic was explored in real-life setting, involving a wide range of involved actors in the BPA policy. The character of the research was interpretative, while different versions of the topic were revealed, indicating potential differences and points of convergence among the different actors’ positions. Data were collected performing document analysis on municipal policy documents, as well as other online sources that are -directly or indirectly- related with the BPA policy. Next to that, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with actors involved in the development of breeding places under the BPA policy. The interviews were based upon five core themes: Success, Temporariness, Added Value, Changes and Challenges. Data analysis was performed on the obtained material, using a combination of thematic and content analysis. The data were coded using two types of coding -open and focused- and the results were classified into sub-themes, under the aforementioned five umbrella themes.

The final results indicated that BPA policy intends to contribute to Amsterdam’s future urbanization, perpetuating the existence of the creatives in the city. To do so, the perception and management of the so far temporary character of breeding places, has been gradually changing, shifting to more permanent schemes. However, intrinsic characteristics of temporary uses are acknowledged and intended to be preserved. Next to that, BPA policy is capable to provide to Amsterdam a whole range of values, other than the apparent cultural, contributing to an overall enhancement of quality of life. Lastly, recommendations were formulated for the policy-making agenda, focusing on critical points that emerged through the discussed and presented results of the research.

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This period has been proved for me quite a challenge but also a blessing. I went through some hard times, finding dead-ends and questions with no answer, but most importantly there were times when I learned to celebrate every little victory, finding my way to the end of the thesis.

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“There is nothing more permanent than the temporary”

Ancient Greek adage

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFK:	Amsterdam Fund voor de Kunst
BB:	Bureau Broedplaatsen
BPA:	Broedplaatsenbeleid policy, Breeding Grounds policy
B&W:	College van burgemeester en wethouder
CAWA:	Commissie voor (Woon) Werkpanden Amsterdam
MRA:	Amsterdam Metropolitan Area

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research problem and relevance

In our days, more than ever, cities around the globe face a wide range of challenges and issues that seem able to influence their structure and function. Their evolutionary trends along with their intrinsic complexity indicate that those challenges are evident across different periods in time and have spatial implications. In the aftermath of major urban changes (economically, industrially and demographically) and the overall worldwide financial crisis, vacant land and empty buildings appeared throughout the urban fabric of cities (Charvat, Barvika, & Mildorf, 2016; Ganser & Williams, 2007).

Historically, those vacant sites have been considered by researchers and planners as an issue that “has to be resolved” (Frantál et al., 2015), as they can be characterized as unsafe areas with limited potential for economic activity (Weingaertner & Barber, 2010). Moss (2003) pointed out that once those areas stop being functional, they constitute a “hole”, both economically and socially. All in all, the existence of vacant and/or underutilized areas within a city is considered, by some commentators, as an obstacle for local-level development and an intensifying factor of urban sprawl (Frantál et al., 2015).

The rise of temporary uses, as a means of the reuse and redevelopment of abandoned and underutilized areas came at centre stage in scholarly discussion around twenty years ago, while it has been conceptually related with other urban movements, such as squatting in Europe and community garden movement in the United States. Since then, all the potential of temporary uses was significantly embraced, focusing on inherent characteristics that are able to give efficient solutions with low costs and risks, while fostering creativity and experimentation. Bishop and Williams (2012) highlighted that temporary uses might be considered as a demonstration of a dynamic and flexible urbanism, while cities -when using them- will be capable of responding to emerging needs and preferences of the end users (Bishop & Williams, 2012).

In the aftermath of the global crisis (2008) and under the regimes of austerity and recession, the concept of temporary use became attractive for the redevelopment of abandoned areas. Temporary uses had become a sort of panacea for the efficient regeneration of those sites (Ferreri, 2015; Peck, 2012). Recently, though, temporary use has gained a remarkable attention in scholarly discussion, particularly in the field of critical urban research (Matoga, 2019). Recent literature includes discussions of temporary uses in times of austerity in the broader critique of the notion of “austerity urbanism” (see Andres, 2013; Madanipour, 2018; Peck, 2012, Tonkiss, 2013).

While the importance of temporary uses has gained attention throughout the years in the literature, the way the concept can be integrated with or influence the future growth of cities has not been explored in detail (see Madanipour, 2017). Next to that, even though the power of temporary uses and the ways they are developed at city level were thoroughly explored by scholars, little attention has been given to the actors related with the development of temporary uses as well as the way they perceive their importance (see Madanipour, 2018; Moore-Cheery & McCarthy, 2016).

Given that, this study aims to contribute to the existing scholarly debates on temporary use by exploring the ways in which the concept is envisioned in the urban context. In addition, taking into consideration the importance of the integration of temporary uses in the urban development cycles (see Madanipour, 2018; Moore-Cheery & McCarthy, 2016), this research intends to shed light on the role of temporary uses along with the way they can contribute to future urbanization. The research is based on the Broedplaatsenbeleid policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam. The aforementioned policy has been

part of the municipal agenda for the last twenty years, creating the conditions for temporary uses, with particular focus on the creative ones (Tonkiss, 2013).

Having as main leading point the most recent (revised) BPA policy, this research seeks to gain insights regarding the role temporary uses can have in the future urbanization of a city, taking into consideration the ways those uses have developed up to date. The envisioned contribution of the BPA policy to the future urbanization of Amsterdam was explored, providing a broad overview of the policy's role for the future of the city, indicating its anticipated impact. Hence, this research aims to provide insights and suggestions for policy makers, regarding the terms in which temporary uses can be further utilized at city level, the value they are capable of adding as well as possible ways of making this policy more impactful for the future.

1.2. Contextualizing the research topic: the case of Amsterdam

Amsterdam has a long history regarding temporary uses. Acknowledging the function of temporary uses and under the broader context of austerity, Municipality of Amsterdam introduced the BPA policy, promoting temporary uses and linking them with the creative sector (Tonkiss, 2013). The policy started in 1999, providing affordable spaces (both office and living spaces) to artists and social entrepreneurs (Barba Lata & Duineveld, 2019). Under the regime of austerity urbanism, Municipality of Amsterdam intended to actively support social entrepreneurs for establishing new initiatives, offering space and subsidies (Barba Lata & Duineveld, 2019). By doing so, Municipality of Amsterdam rewarded the value of the creativity-related actors for the urban function, without, however, waning the threat of their eviction (Pruijt, 2004).

Up to date, more than sixty temporary projects (named as breeding places, breeding grounds or creative hubs) have been developed throughout the city under the BPA policy (see Figure 1 below). Each project differs in size, function, form and audience, while it maintains its own profile (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016, 2019). BPA policy supports the realization and development of those projects, mainly offering subsidies but also giving the opportunity to artists and creative entrepreneurs to find an affordable place for creation and experimentation. Lease contracts of maximum ten years are offered to those actors, which can be divided into five plus five years (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016, 2019)

Breeding grounds list

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. BOGOTÁ | 32. Westerdok |
| 2. Plantage Dok | 33. Studio OH3 |
| 3. BOUW | 34. Het Blok |
| 4. Contact | 35. Concertgemaal |
| 5. Pakhuis Wilhelmina | 36. De Vlucht |
| 6. OT301 | 37. Wijk 7 |
| 7. Costa Rica | 38. Vondelbunker |
| 8. Quarantainegebouw | 39. Tolhuistuin |
| 9. Flat Florijn | 40. Meesteropleiding
Coupeurs |
| 10. De Hoop | 41. Modestraat 2.0 |
| 11. Xpositron | 42. Muziekstraat |
| 12. P/////AKT | 43. Lely |
| 13. WOW | 44. Heesterveld |
| 14. Marci Panis | 45. A Lab |
| 15. De Wittenplaats | 46. ACTA |
| 16. Bonte Zwaan | 47. Old School |
| 17. De Heining | 48. De Honigfabriek |
| 18. Podium Mozaïek | 49. HW10 |
| 19. De Usbrand | 50. Tugela 85 |
| 20. De 1800 Roeden | 51. De Ceuvel |
| 21. Echtenstein | 52. Lizzy |
| 22. Petersburg | 53. Splendor |
| 23. Pakhuis de Zwijger | 54. Cinetol |
| 24. Oud Nico | 55. LTS |
| 25. De Kweekschool | 56. Maca |
| 26. Ateliers 74 | 57. Mediamatic |
| 27. Fort Knox | 58. SUP |
| 28. GinDS | 59. Het Domijn |
| 29. NDSM | 60. Remise |
| 30. VKG | 61. Rietwijker |
| 31. Lab111 | 62. Stuart |

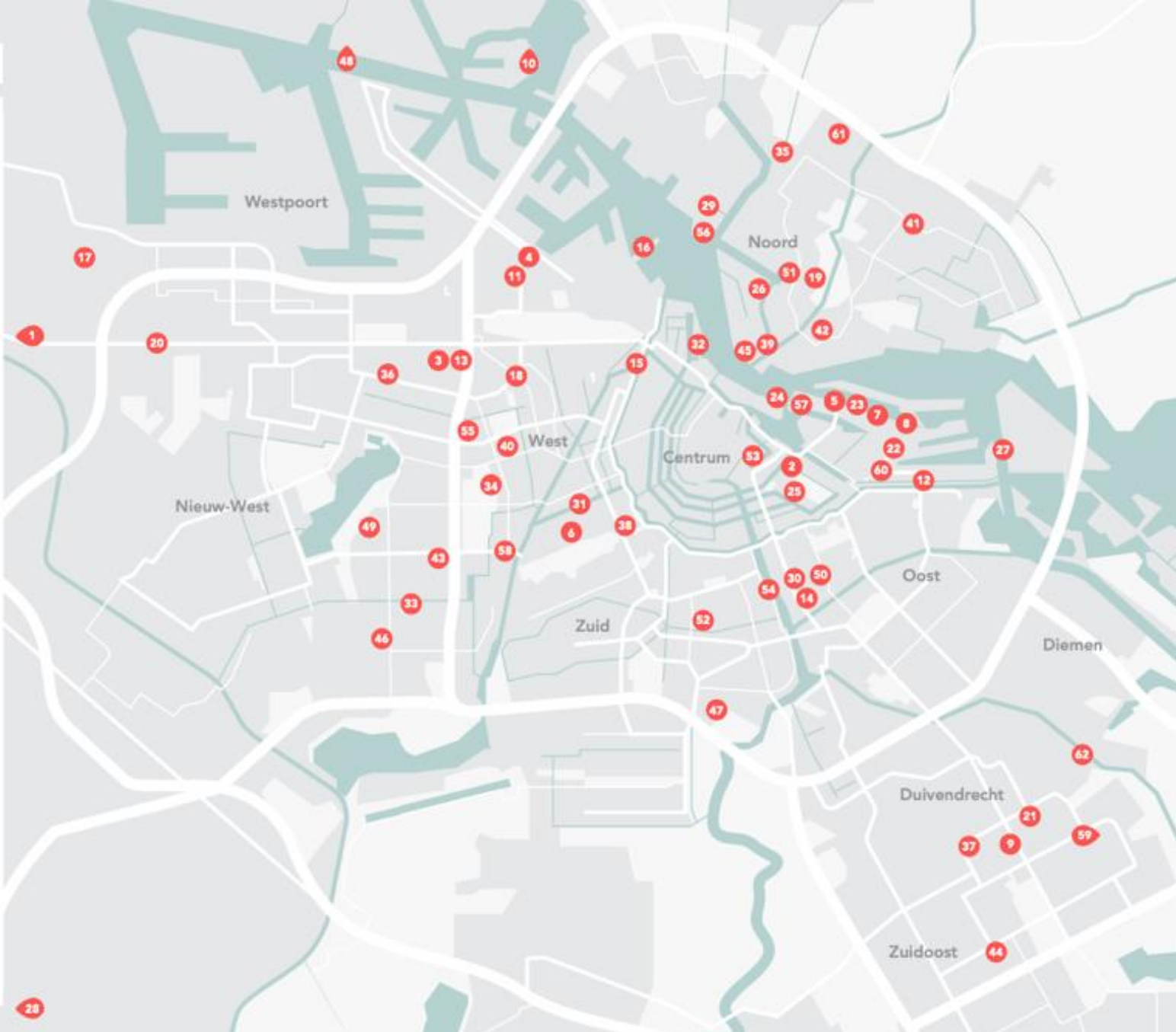


Figure 1: Overview map of the developed breeding grounds under the BPA policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam. Source:(Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

The significant growth of the city and the real estate market had an evident impact for the breeding places. Next to that, the need of artists, cultural and entrepreneurial actors to be accommodated in the city has been significantly increased. Municipality of Amsterdam, acknowledging this impact and the consequent pressure on the way breeding places are currently functioning, revised the policy (Amsterdams atelier –en broedplaatsenbeleid) in 2019. This revised version of the BPA policy includes the main goals and objectives along with the proposed changes in the way the breeding grounds have been developed and managed (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). The core goal of the policy is to ensure more connections with the city, more space for creativity, as well as to keep investing in space for breeding grounds. Up to date, the temporary nature of the projects was clear, attaching importance to the dynamic character that the city could get through those temporary projects. With the new proposed policy, the goal is to explore ways of stretching the deadlines of temporary projects, making these breeding grounds more permanent and giving them character (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016, 2019).

1.3. Research objective and research questions

The purpose of this study is to explore the terms in which the BPA policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam is capable of contributing to the future of urbanization in the city of Amsterdam. Adopting a focus on the policy itself, this research aims to explore how the “mechanism” of the BPA policy works in practice and responds to the future development of Amsterdam. The most recent BPA policy for the policy period 2019- 2022 was chosen as the starting point for this research, due to the aforementioned focal point on the nature of the breeding grounds in relation to their temporality and thus the changes that are proposed in relation to the future development and management of the breeding grounds in the city of Amsterdam.

Therefore, the main research question of this study is:

“How does the revised BPA policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam contribute to the future urbanization of Amsterdam?”

The future potential of the revised BPA policy and its contribution to the future urbanization of Amsterdam will be examined through three main aspects. Figure 2 below illustrates the conceptual model according to which the main research question is going to be explored and eventually answered

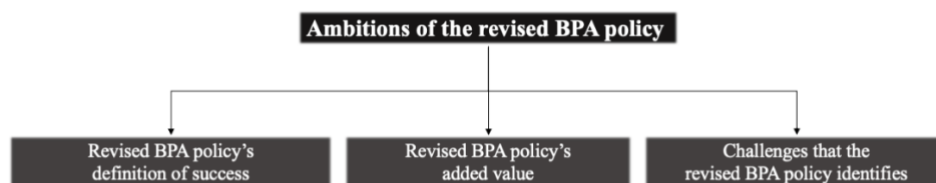


Figure 2: The delineation of the BPA policy's vision.

In order to operationalize the main research question, and based on the aforementioned aspects of the conceptual model, the following sub-questions were formulated:

- *What are the aspects that define the success of the BPA policy's temporary uses in Amsterdam?*
- *Towards which perspectives of Amsterdam's future urbanization do BPA policy's temporary uses intend to add value to?*
- *What are the challenges expected to be encountered by the revised BPA policy and its temporary uses?*

Beside the main research question of this study, an intervention question was also formulated, aiming to provide a set of recommendations for policy makers and thus a more “practical” outcome. Therefore, the intervention question of this study is:

“How can the exploration of BPA policy’s involvement to Amsterdam’s future urbanization contribute to policy agenda-setting?”

1.4. Reading guide

This report consists of six chapters overall. In the first chapter, Introduction, the research topic is presented along with the research problem and relevance of the study, both scientific and societal. In order to contextualize the research topic, the selected case study is shortly described also in this chapter, so as to clarify from the very beginning its characteristics and importance. Finally, the research objective is presented in this first chapter of the report, along with the formulated research questions and the conceptual model through which those questions were intended to be explored. In chapter 2, the Theoretical framework is outlined, presenting the concept of temporary use along with critical points derived from scientific literature that this research was based on. Chapter 3, Research methodology and design, provides an overview of the methodology that was chosen and applied within the context of this research, including the character of the study and its design as well as the description of data collection and data analysis processes. Next to that, the trustworthiness of the study is outlined in the last section of this chapter. The obtained data of the data collection phase are presented in chapter 4. In this chapter, the context of the research is outlined, illustrating with a rich description the material obtained from the document analysis (textual material) and the semi-structured interviews that were conducted (presentation of the interviewed parties). Following the presentation of the obtained material, chapter 5 presents the Results of the data analysis, being divided into the themes and sub-themes that emerged during this phase. The last chapter (6) consists of two core parts; in the first part, namely Discussion, the previously presented results are discussed, in light of the chosen theoretical framework, so as to answer the research questions of the study. The second part of this chapter, Concluding remarks, presents the overall conclusion of this research, including its scientific and societal contribution. Next to that, recommendations outlined for future scientific research but also policy makers are included in this part. Lastly, a reflection of the desired trustworthiness of the research along with the limitations that occurred while conducting the study are presented in the last section of this concluding part. The reference list along with the appendices consist the last part of this report.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Temporary use: the concept

The concept of temporary use has become a buzzword and an important urban trend over the last twenty years, gaining academic and policy attention (Madanipour, 2018). Temporary use cannot be considered a new phenomenon (Bishop & Williams, 2012), as over the years it has been conceptually related with various movements. For instance, the community garden movement appeared in American cities as a temporary practice (Drake & Lawson, 2014), while in European cities, such as Berlin and Amsterdam, squatting has been considered the origin of temporary use (Honeck, 2017; Pruijt, 2003). Since then, temporary use practices have gradually changed in character and nature, shifting from informal or even marginalized activities to a more formalized urban policy agenda (Bródy, 2016). In 2003, the Urban Catalyst project, founded by the European Union, refocused the critical points of the concept, presenting temporary uses as a “laboratory of economies and cultures” (Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003, p.5). Examining and analyzing the results of the research of five case studies of European cities –Berlin, Helsinki, Amsterdam, Vienna and Naples-, the project primarily focused on classifying the uses and their initiators, unpacking the concept’s potential to contribute to the development of urban underutilized areas (Bródy, 2016).

Since then, a large body of literature has focused on the potential of temporary uses for the reuse of abandoned vacant urban sites. Temporary use, as a concept, has been considered capable of restructuring those underutilized urban spaces and redefining the urban planning processes while it can offer direct results (Németh & Langhorst, 2014; Silva, 2016). Lydon and Garcia (2015) presented the concept of temporary use as a gradual strategy that is able to provide ideas for challenges at local level, while Lehtovuori and Ruoppila (2012) acknowledged the multiple economic and societal benefits of it. The temporary use of space was also embraced as a “catalyst for change” (Madanipour, 2018, p. 1094), and an opportunity for local communities and activists to be heard and actively engage with the urban transformation processes (Madanipour, 2018).

Although many scholars have been positive about the notion of temporary use, there has not been established a unique definition that accurately describes it. However, there have been many attempts to frame it, indicating different interpretations of the concept and thus verifying their multivalent character. Blumner (2006) defined temporary use as the activation of the vacant sites and buildings that do not have the expected demand for development. For Bishop and Williams (2012) temporary uses are an “interim” or “stop-gap” solution for a “finite period of time with a defined beginning and end” (p.5), giving the opportunity to planners to utilize this tool for long-term development. Given the difficulty of establishing a unique definition for temporary uses, Németh and Langhorst (2014) highlighted that all these temporary uses rely on a common characteristic; the fact that they are held in vacant sites or buildings. However, what actually makes it difficult to uniquely name all these uses as temporary is the fact that “all uses can be considered temporary, with some lasting longer than others” (p.143).

The characteristics of temporary uses were thoroughly explored, demonstrating their flexibility and experimental character. The finite time horizon of these uses was considered by Bishop and Williams (2012) as the most important inherent characteristic of them. These uses are by definition planned as non-permanent, aiming to gain the advantages of temporality (Haydn & Temel, 2006).

Those characteristics acted as a basis for their comparison with formal –or permanent- uses. They were considered more flexible, with more direct results (Shaw, 2015). For Haydn and Temel (2006), temporary uses were considered as an opportunity to question the conventional procedures of urban

planning, being able to question anything procedural. However, important disadvantages were also identified regarding their finite time horizon compared to more permanent and formal uses and thus more effective and long-term solutions. In that sense, temporary uses were considered a “waste of capacity” (Mell, Keskin, Inch, Malcolm, & Henneberry, 2013, p. 8).

Despite the fact that some drawbacks of the concept were acknowledged, the aforementioned increasing attention to the concept was in general positive, since temporary uses were seen as “an opportunity for regeneration and renewal” (Madanipour, 2018, p. 1094). Andres (Andres, 2013) highlighted that temporary uses can act as a catalyst for future transformation, especially in times of urban changes. Developing temporary uses in cities, the existing vacant urban stock could be activated, being able to act as “creative labs for the city” (Lehtovuori & Ruoppila, 2012, p. 33) and be “transformed from a ‘blight’ to an ‘opportunity’” (O’Callaghan & Lawton, 2016, p. 69). Shaw (2015), intending to emphasize on this potential of the concept, underlined that those uses could act as test beds for the future. In that respect, temporary uses may be considered as a fruitful ground for actors from “creative industries”, while administrative parties may recognize the importance of them, as an attractive pole for creativity-related actors (Honeck, 2017). According to Stevens (2018) creative actors, such as artists, are strategically considered as more suitable for utilizing vacant sites temporarily. Being able to sense all the characteristics of those sites -aesthetic, functional, historic- those actors could properly utilize those places, adding high “symbolic, social, and economic value to those sites” (Stevens, 2018, p. 93).

2.2. Temporary use under the regime of austerity and recession

The previous section presented the evolution of the concept of temporary use over the last twenty years along with its correlation with former movements, such as the squatting movement (see Honeck, 2017; Pruijt, 2003). Furthermore, in the aftermath of the global financial crisis (2008), and within the context of weakened property and land markets and austerity in North America, but also Europe, temporary uses gained an important momentum (Moore-Cherry & McCarthy, 2016). Developing temporary uses, the public property could be maintained with low cost, while new functional spaces on existing urban stock have been arising, contributing to the enhancement of the urban liveliness (Moore-Cherry & McCarthy, 2016).

Temporary uses were integrated with austerity measures, in order to fill the voids that originate from the low capital development or the absence of public or private investment (Tonkiss, 2013). Those vacant urban spaces, as a tangible effect of the global recession, turned temporary uses to a remedy, for their efficient redevelopment, “shifting from the margins to the very centre of cities” (Ferreri, 2015, p. 183; Peck, 2012). Temporary uses became then a “quick-fix” solution, contributing to the counterbalance of those negative perceptions and images of the cities post-crisis (Ferreri, 2015, p. 183). Bishop and Williams (2012) illustrated the integration of temporary uses into mainstream urban policy measures, highlighting the fact that authorities in both North America and Europe have turned to this concept due to their lack of power, control and resources to implement formal masterplans (Bishop & Williams, 2012; Ferreri, 2015).

Within the context of the normalization of austerity measures, Peck (2012), focusing on the United States of America, examined the emerged notion of “austerity urbanism”. Within the context of “austerity urbanism”, governments, particularly at city level, are exposed to the extreme economic measures that austerity imposes, while in some cases this leads to a “fiscal crisis of the urban state” (Peck, 2012, p. 628). Examining temporary use through the lens of this emergent notion, significant

attention has been attracted to the concept, since it has come into critical questioning, as part of the critique regarding “austerity urbanism” (Madanipour, 2018).

Harris (2015) put in question the role that temporary use may have in times of recession and austerity, but also gentrification within this context, acknowledging the fact that temporary uses are capable of providing power to actors that have been so far excluded from power structures. Moreover, embracing Harvie’s (2013) claim, she highlighted that temporary uses have also been identified as “vehicles of gentrification, which displace vulnerable populations (Harris, 2015, p. 593). The instrumentalization of temporary uses has also been part of their critique for hastening gentrification, since their instrumentalization can pose challenges regarding their role as a spontaneous means to use marginalized sites (Patti & Polyak, 2015).

In times of austerity, the flexible character of temporary uses has also become a point of the scholarly discussion (see Harris, 2015; Madanipour, 2018). As Harris (2015) highlighted, the intrinsic flexibility of temporary uses indicates an “ethical prerogative” regarding the management of both space and time as lacking resources (Harris, 2015, p. 594). However, due to the multivalent character of temporary uses, Madanipour (2018) emphasized that their intrinsic flexibility is intertwined with precarity. For Harris (2015) this dipole of flexibility-precariety is manifested through the precariety of place and precariety of labor. She highlighted that temporary uses normalize some space-related claims as provisional and also render temporariness into creativity. Hence, other (more) long-term solutions are weakened and not preferred, praising in this way more precarious solutions (Harris, 2015).

Overall, it seems clear that there are significant critical points regarding the development of temporary uses in cities, particularly in times of austerity and recession. However, power and drawbacks of the concept must be also acknowledged, since there is no unique way of seeing or characterizing the impact temporary uses may have in the contemporary urban context (Harris, 2015).

2.3. Temporary uses and experimentation

As cited above, some of the inherent characteristics of temporary uses can be seen as problematic in relation with their lasting effects (short-term comparing to long-term), as they may seem less suitable comparing to more permanent options. However, in many cases, temporary uses have already been integrated with long-term planning agendas, utilizing the experimentation that temporary uses are capable of providing. Within this context, temporary uses may not be considered marginal or “out-of-the-ordinary activities” (Patti & Polyak, 2015, p. 123). The advocates of the concept’s power have been seeing their assets, comparing to permanent uses, as temporary uses can be seen as more experimental, requiring lower budgets and having to deal with lower risks (Stevens, 2018).

The experimental form that temporary uses can take have been a subject of scholarly attention (see Oswalt, Overmeyer, & Misselwitz, 2014; Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003). The experimental character of temporary uses has been centre stage on their work, emphasizing on possible mechanisms for their establishment as well as their creative essential nature (Andres, 2013). Within this context, the new energy that temporary uses are able to bring to a former vacant site, along with the experimental and creative projects that they can be developed in those places, were acknowledged from American and European governments (Blumner, 2006). In cities, such as in Berlin, temporary uses were embraced as effective solutions (Blumner, 2006). The experimental character of temporary uses may be considered important also for the users, since new capacities can be explored with low cost, unfolding possibilities for a future career (or enterprise) (Madanipour, 2018).

It is noteworthy, though, that experimentation, as intrinsic characteristic of temporary use, also has come into questioning. Ferreri (2015) highlighted that the experimental aspect of temporary uses can be considered as a tempting quality. However, the same aspect of the concept was what the author calls as the “lure of the experimental and the pioneering” (Ferreri, 2015, p. 183). As the author claimed, the experimental and pioneering nature of temporary uses can be spatially visible, since vacant and/or underutilized areas are redeveloped through experimental and innovate practices. However, seduction arises, since the development of these poles of creative autonomy is believed to lie outside the market dynamics, without creating any kind of competition between property owners and practitioners (Ferreri, 2015).

3. Research methodology and design

The theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter consists of the basis of the later stages of the research, including the processes of data collection and data analysis. The latter process was conducted inductively, in order to detect the emerging patterns along with their relations. Next to that, further conclusions were developed, and the initial research questions were eventually answered. It is worth mentioning that sources discussed on the theoretical framework were used in the final stage of this research, in order to be compared with the emerged findings of the data analysis.

The aim of this research is to reveal the ways in which the revised BPA policy contributes to Amsterdam's future urbanization, exploring its ambitions. In order to be able to achieve the set purpose of this research, a holistic overview of the present situation regarding the development and implementation of the BPA policy is needed, so as to explore different perspectives upon the researched topic. As cited above, Bureau Broedplaatsen is the core actor for the implementation of the breeding places, cooperating with a range of key actors for the revision and further implementation of the policy. In particular, other municipal departments -directly or indirectly related with the BB-, housing corporations and project developers as well as project initiators are the actors involved with the policy. The sections that follow present the research methodology and design of the study, included the character of the study as well as a thick description of the steps and techniques that were used for the data collection and analysis processes.

3.1. Character of the study and research design

As it is already cited above, Bishop and Williams (2012) stated that temporary uses cannot be considered a new phenomenon. Despite that, their dynamic as an enabling feature of strategic urban planning, has been gaining particular attention only recently, mostly in the area of critical urban research (Matoga, 2019).

The study aims to contribute to the existing scholarly debates on temporary use, by investigating the ways in which the revised BPA policy contributes to Amsterdam's future urbanization. The main goal is to examine the ambitions of the revised policy in terms of the value the policy is adding to the future urbanization of Amsterdam (1), the outcomes that are envisioned by the policy as successful and impactful (2) as well as the challenges that can potentially obstruct the realization of the revised policy (3).

Exploring the ways in which the proposed BPA policy is envisioned to shape the future urbanization of Amsterdam requires a thorough investigation in a real-life setting. Therefore, a case study design was selected (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Verschuren, Doorewaard, Poper, & Mellion, 2010), while Amsterdam and the revised BPA policy are going to be used as the embedded case.

Engaging with actors that are directly involved with the realization of the revised BPA policy, a variety of potentially "intersubjective social realities" may arise, providing different versions of it (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012, p. 41). The revised BPA policy will be examined in-depth, while the potentially differentiated positions of the respondents will be investigated, indicating the critical points of what is considered significant for every respondent regarding the revised policy (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Lastly, it is important to notice that since the research took place on a natural setting and considering the multi-actor involvement, new data emerged throughout the process adjusting some of the initially set aspects or phases of the design (see Creswell, 2014, p. 186 for the "emergent design").

3.2. Collecting the data

3.2.1. Document Analysis

Document analysis is a procedure for data collection, where material related to the research topic is obtained, in order to be systematically reviewed (Bowen, 2009). Within the context of this research, document analysis was conducted prior to but also during the interviews. Firstly, important aspects of the BPA policy were identified, so as to act as leading points for the interviews. On a later stage, during the interviews, document analysis was also conducted to gain useful insights regarding the development of the policy.

For the document analysis, official documents published by the BB were reviewed, including the latest version of the policy but also the available document from the previous policy period (2015-2018). The latter was chosen to be included in this process in order to better review and analyze the background of the changes proposed by the latest version of the policy. It is worth mentioning that the typology of added value that was presented in the revised version of the BPA policy (see section 4.1.2.) acted as a leading point for the further exploration of the added value as a fundamental aspect of the future potential of the policy and its projects.

Moreover, visual materials, including websites and online articles were examined in order to obtain additional data regarding the BPA policy and the breeding grounds. It is worth noting that the latter ‘category’ of obtained data also included information regarding particular breeding places within Amsterdam, in order to gain a broad understanding on the current perception upon these types of projects, and thus upon the policy in general.

The majority of the examined material were originally in Dutch, except of the BPA policy document for the policy period 2015-2018, which was also published in English by the Bureau Broedplaatsen. Therefore, as the case of interviews, language barrier was evident. The documents were translated using Google Translate¹. Information extracted from the official website of the Municipality of Amsterdam was either already available in English or they were automatically translated by Google Chrome.

3.2.2. Interviews

Beside the aforementioned document analysis, semi-structured interviews were chosen to be conducted. In order to gain a holistic overview of the present situation regarding the development of the BPA policy and the breeding grounds, the whole range of the directly or indirectly involved actors was chosen to be approached. These categories of actors are: municipal departments, city districts, housing corporations/project developers, and project initiators/managing organizations. Therefore, focused and detailed insights could be gained from the respondents as well as the meaning they give to the contribution of the revised BPA to the future of urbanization in Amsterdam.

For the selection of the representatives from the aforementioned parties, purposive sampling was performed, in order to approach respondents based on their roles, knowledge and expertise about the topic, so as to obtain the most relevant information and achieve the objective of this study (Kumar, 2014). To do so, interview invitations were composed and sent via email. In order to reach the optimal saturation point for the data collection phase, thirty-eight actors were approached, sending forty-two email invitations in total. Figure 3 below presents an overview of the approached actors.

¹ <https://translate.google.com/>

Municipal Departments	City Districts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureau Broedplaatsen • CAWA Commission • Arts and Culture Department • Municipal Real Estate Department (2 contacts) • Land and Development Department • Space and Sustainability Department 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Centre • South • West • New-West
Housing corporations/Project Developers	Project Initiators/Managing Organizations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fortress • Amvest • Lingotto (2 contacts) • Meurkens and Meurkens • Rochdale • BMB ontwikkeling • De Aliante • Ymere • 123 Makelaar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • De School Amsterdam • Garage Notweg • Heesterveld Creative Community • Bonte Zwaan • LOLA • De 1800 Roeden • Westerdaok • Broedplaats Xpositron • Fenix • ISO Amsterdam • NDSM-werf (3 contacts) • Bogota
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • De Ceuvel • Parkhuis de Zwijger • Urban Resort • Cinetol • WOW Foundation • Parkhuis Wilhmenina • Bouw Foundation • A lab Foundation • Crealization Cooperative (De Hoop) • Smart Project Space • Cruquiusgilde

Figure 3: Overview of the invited actors, classified by broad categories of actors.

Overall, ten actors positively responded in order to participate in the research. Table 1 below shows an overview of the conducted interviews and the research participants, while Figure 4 that follows illustrates the spatial allocation of the approached breeding places (from the project initiators/managing organizations type of involved actors)². Every respondent will be further presented afterwards (see sections 4.3.1.-4.3.10.), while it is worth mentioning that from the housing corporations/project developers only one representative participated, being at the same time the actor that initiated the project (Meurkens & Meurkens for the BOGOTA breeding place).

Table 1: Overview of the conducted interviews.

INTERVIEWEE (REPRESENTATIVE OF)	DATE OF INTERVIEW	LOCATION OF INTERVIEW	DURATION OF INTERVIEW
Urban Resort	09.01.2020	Amsterdam	00:54:36
WOW foundation	15.01.2020	Amsterdam	00:56:28
Bureau Broedplaatsen	20.01.2020	Amsterdam	01:02:00
LOLA Sichting	23.01.2020	Utrecht	01:08:37
Heesterveld Creative Community	23.01.2020	Amsterdam	00:58:38
De Hoop	28.01.2020	Amsterdam	01:14:54
CAWA	28.01.2020	Amsterdam	00:39:32
Meurkens and Meurkens (BOGOTA)	05.02.2020	Amsterdam	01:32:39
Cinetol	20.02.2020	Amsterdam	00:31:50
ISO Amsterdam	20.02.2020	Amsterdam	01:19:59

² The figure presents six out of eight approached parties from the project initiators/managing organizations category. LOLA was not approached to a specific location in Amsterdam (interview conducted in Utrecht), since the foundation is not directly involved with the policy with a specific project, while ISO Amsterdam is not included in this overview map published by the Bureau Broedplaatsen.

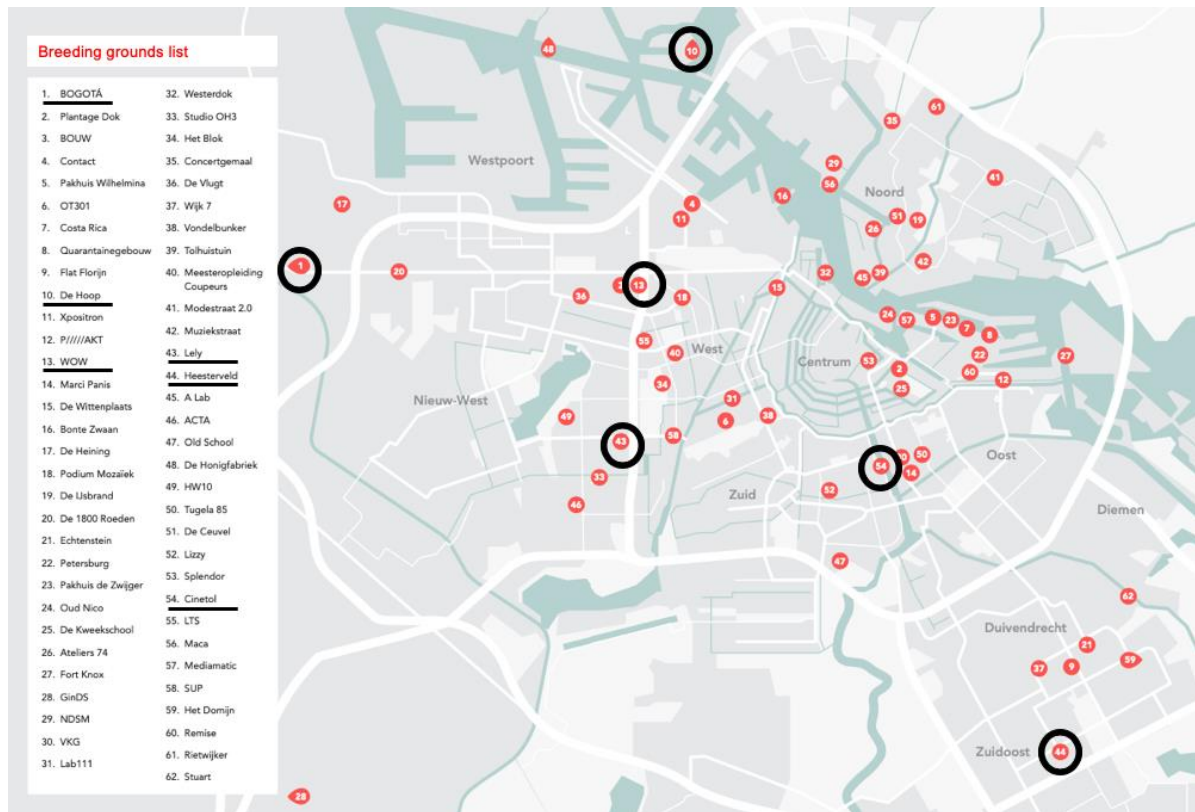


Figure 4: Spatial allocation of the approached parties from the project initiators/managing organizations type of involved actors.

The largest part of the analyzed obtained material originated from the conducted semi-structured interviews. All the interviews were conducted using the established interview guide (see Appendix 1), in order to ensure the optimal flow of the conversation during the interviews (Silverman, 2015). The interviews were based upon five core themes: *Success*, *Added Value*, *Challenges*, *Temporariness* and *Changes*. The first three of those themes are directly related with the conceptual model and the formulated research questions that are intended to be answered eventually. *Temporariness*, as a theme, was chosen to be explored through the interviews and later analyzed, as it is related with the research topic, due to the chosen concept of temporary use. The fifth theme of *Changes* is related directly with the revised version of the BPA policy and the changes that are proposed there. The aim here was to explore the position of the respondents in those changes, and the way(s) these changes, and the breeding grounds can influence the future urbanization of the city. Figure 5 below presents the overview of the explored topics.

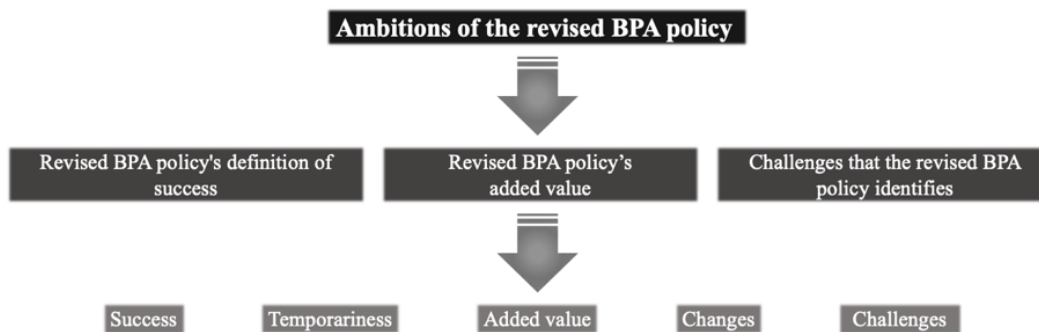


Figure 5: Overview of the topics explored via semi-structured interviews

It is of high importance to underline that the initially formulated interview guide was adjusted according to the profile of each respondent. Hence, the interview questions were adjusted in such a way, according to the role and expertise of each respondent, without, however, affecting the content of the information that was intended to be extracted from all the respondents³.

All the interviews were conducted at the location suggested by the respondent, while the average duration of the interviews was one hour. Interviews that lasted less, were shorter because of the tight schedule of the respondents. For those interviews, the interview guide was adjusted again accordingly, in order to ensure that questions from all the selected topics will be asked, and thus the optimal detailed insights will be gained.

It is noteworthy that not all the respondents, particularly from the project initiators/managing organizations category of actors, are directly involved with BB and the BPA policy. However, they were intentionally chosen to be included in the data collection process, in order to ensure a more holistic overview over the BPA policy.

All the interviews were recorded using a mobile phone device, after the consent of all the respondents, in order to be transcribed afterwards. One of the ten interviewed respondents agreed to be recorded, but not to be officially transcribed. Therefore, the audio file was used only for taking notes. Lastly, it is noteworthy that all the obtained data from the conducted interviews were used anonymously (the way the respondents are named and cited is explained in the next chapter).

3.3. Analyzing the data

In qualitative research, the analysis of the obtained data is an iterative process, involving constant re-examination of the data as well as a systematic process that includes tested techniques for the record, organization and analysis of the data (Silverman, 2015). For this research, data analysis was inductively conducted, in order to detect patterns (regularities), and finally develop general conclusions, aiming to answer the initial research question of the study.

To begin with, all the interviews were transcribed as literally as possible, in order to ensure that the obtained data will be unbiased. Totally irrelevant parts during the interview along with any kind of interruptions were chosen not to be transcribed and to be depicted with (...explanation of the interruption). By irrelevant parts it is meant: all kinds of interruptions (waiter, phones calls, completely irrelevant examples of projects that are not involved with the policy or are breeding places in any way etc.). All the rest parts of the interviews referring to the policy or any project related to it (directly or indirectly) were fully transcribed, maintaining the optimal level of literal transcription, so as to gain as much information as possible from the interview.

Language barrier was evident for the majority of the interviews, when the respondents mentioned names of other projects that were used as examples as well as other locations of breeding grounds, or areas/neighborhoods of the city of Amsterdam. Therefore, in the transcription texts Dutch words that were mentioned and thus not understood, were chosen to be depicted using XXX. For the interviewed parties that are presented below (see sections 4.3.1-4.3.10.), the information was extracted from their official websites. In cases when an English version of the website was not available, the websites were automatically translated by Google Chrome.

³ In Appendix 1, the initially formulated interview guide is available.

The obtained material, from both data collection methods, was coded, using two types of coding, namely open and focused coding (Silverman, 2015). The information derived from the open coding was classified into broader themes -focused codes. Hence, all the themes and their relations emerged. It is important to mention that the coding process that was conducted was a “constant comparative method”, as the emerged coding schemes were constantly re-vised during this phase in order to be properly refined (Silverman, 2015, p. 143). Lastly, in order to properly illustrate the themes and their relations, diagramming was also used to better visualize them (Silverman, 2015).

The ways the data were coded, along with the emerged themes and their analysis, are thoroughly presented in later in the report (see chapter 5).

3.4. Trustworthiness of the study

In interpretative research there are several evaluative standards that need to be fulfilled (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Trustworthiness is the first quality that is required. Triangulation of sources, as resulted from the aforementioned chosen methods for data collection, ensured the multiplicity of the sources, aiming to enhance the intertextuality of this research and consequently enhance its overall trustworthiness (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Next to that, debriefing sessions were conducted along the different phases of this research. Through those sessions, feedback was provided from the peers in order to help the author spot any possible vague points, over- or under-analyzed points as well as possible evident inconsistencies. In doing so, the trustworthiness of the overall research can be enhanced (Shenton, 2004). Lastly, the results of the research are presented in the following sections through a thick description, aiming to present the multi-perspective reality of the research topic, providing richer results (Creswell, 2014).

The research design, as initially presented in the research proposal and used afterwards, enhances the systematicity of the research, as it is an additional desired quality for an interpretative research (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Moreover, several steps were taken in order to ensure systematicity, including the use of a series of techniques that enabled the researcher to conduct such a research. Among those techniques, a research log was used throughout the different phases of this research, enabling the questioning of the selected choices and therefore possible adjustments on the selected methods and techniques (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012; Silverman, 2015).

The use of the research log also facilitated self-reflection regarding the researcher’s sense-making of this research. Together with field notes that were taken during the data collection phases, enacted the researcher’s positionality with regards to the research and its results, providing an overview of the researcher’s interpretations among the conducted conversations and the interactions with the respondents (Creswell, 2014; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Therefore, the reflexivity of the research was ensured, fulfilling the third evaluative standard of such research. Lastly, issues related to the aforementioned positionality, such as access to the case and language were also taken into consideration, in terms of both geographic and demographic positionality (Creswell, 2014; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012)

4. Situating the context

4.1. The Breeding Grounds Policy

4.1.1. The BPA Policy for the period 2000-2018

As it is already mentioned above, the BPA policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam has been offering affordable working and living spaces for creative initiatives and individuals over the last fifteen years. More than sixty projects have been developed in a total surface area of 170,000m², including studios, restaurants, dwellings, exhibition places, or stores (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). For the realization and development of the breeding grounds, BB collaborates with CAWA Commission. The total expenditure in 2015 was set to 48 million euros (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). The goal of BB is to realize at least 10,000 square meters per year, with a percentage of floor space covered by CAWA studios ranging from 40%-100% in total (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016)

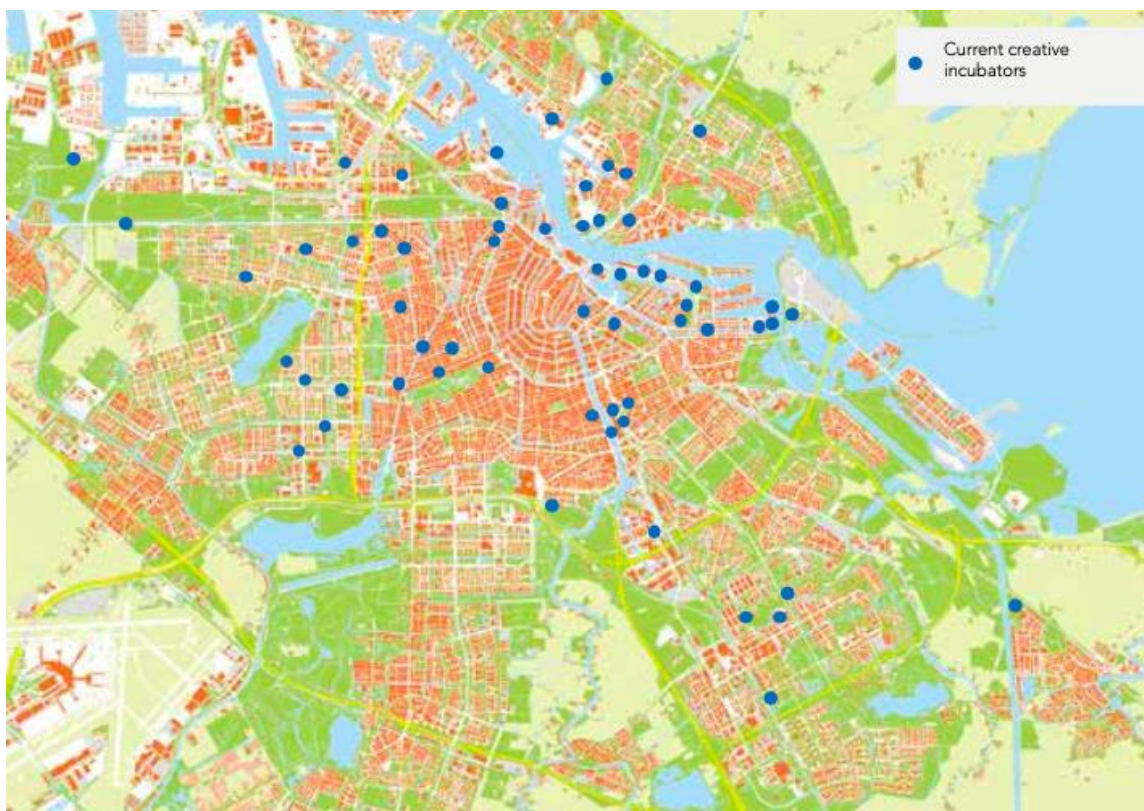


Figure 6: Developed and still existing breeding grounds in Amsterdam for the period 2000-2015. Source: (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

The duration of the results of the breeding grounds has been of great importance for the BPA policy since 2000. Temporary breeding grounds occurred as a “logical solution” for the development of the breeding grounds, as a way of maximizing opportunities in the pressurized real-estate market of the city of Amsterdam, while after this period the breeding grounds are often discontinued (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016, p. 6). According to BB, the breeding places are temporary with time horizon between three to ten years, contributing to make Amsterdam a dynamic city. Next to that, having this pre-defined time horizon for the breeding grounds, new incubators would be possible to be introduced throughout the city, without letting the total surface area of breeding places to shrink. Figure 7 below shows the projected decreased production of gross surface area of breeding grounds up to 2030 verifying the need for continuous introduction of new breeding places (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016)

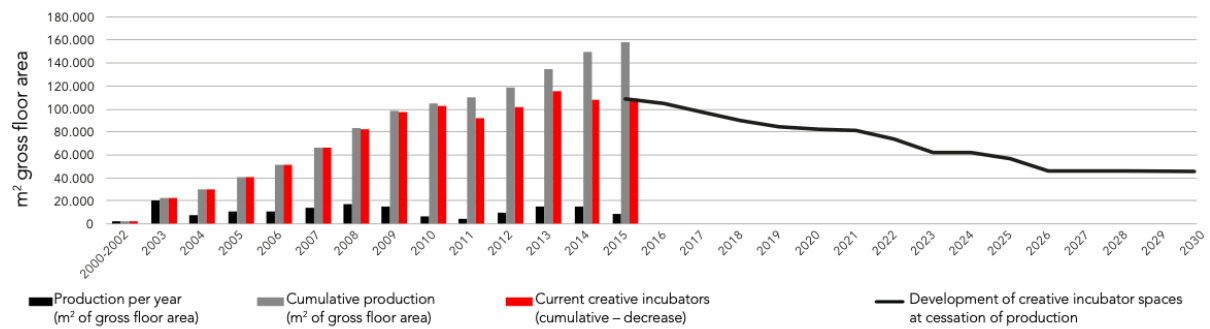


Figure 7: Production figures per year in gross surface area of breeding grounds for the period 2000-2015 and projected figures for the period 2016-2030. Source: (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

The development of a target group for the breeding grounds was also an important point of the BPA policy since its establishment. New creatives and artists consist of the main target group of the policy, including also professions related to entrepreneurship (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

Gentrification has been also taken into consideration since the previous policy period (2015-2018). The increasing demand of young or new creatives for affordable accommodation is evident. The same stands for the real-estate market, where the property prices are rising up, forcing the creatives to leave the city, without affording this increase (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). By that policy period, as stated by BB (2016), the rise of the property prices in Amsterdam followed a more gradual increase due to gentrification, comparing to other cities with similar development, such as London, Munich or Paris. In districts of Amsterdam, like New-West and North, the existence of social housing is smoothing down the rise in property prices, allowing them to be developed in balance in terms of the influx of medium-income residents and highly educated double-income households. Therefore, the allocation of breeding grounds within those neighborhoods help mitigate the effects of gentrification processes, by moderating the rate of the (increased) prices but also revitalizing and upgrading the attractiveness of the surrounding area where they are developed to (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

The previous revision of the BPA policy, for the period 2015-2018, had six points of revision, having as overall goals to maintain and improve the accessibility to breeding grounds and enhance the attractiveness of Amsterdam as an “attractive stopover for creative talent and entrepreneurship (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016, p. 10). Below, these six main points of the BPA policy for 2015-2018 policy period are shortly described, including also some changes comparing to the BPA policy from the past years.

1. More space for new creatives

As mentioned above, the main objective of the BPA policy for this policy period (2015-2018) was to maintain accessibility for new creatives looking for affordable working and/or living spaces, and thus increase the turnover of the studio stock. To do so, the BB suggested the change of the rental period of studios from the ‘basic stock’, which was by that time (2016) mostly unlimited, to five years for new tenants (starting from 10/02/2016) and maximum five plus five years to new tenants (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). On top of that, an assessment to creatives that were already accommodated was suggested to be performed. This measure was newly presented in that policy period, while the assessment of creatives was only performed in cases of coming contract termination and not to all

existing tenants. This assessment, was (and still is) performed by CAWA Committee to the creatives, including two types of assessment, ‘basic’ and ‘top’⁴ (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

2. Review of the subsidy framework

Before the revision for this policy period (2015-2018), the amount of subsidy per square meter of gross floor area realized for CAWA studios was 250€, for an operating period of ten years. The change proposed for this measure was the provision of one-off subsidy to the breeding places irrespectively, of their operating period. Next to that, the amount of rent for CAWA creatives was changed and was set as a fixed amount (minimum 150 € to maximum 300€), comparing to previous years when the rent was calculated based on the rentable floor space for CAWA creatives per year (59€) (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

3. Improvement of deployment of city-owned real estate

In 2015, a new system was developed within the city, named *Programma Transformaties*, in order to analyze the existing real estate and perform the appropriate match of it with different policy goals and target groups. The BPA policy for the period 2015-2018 was included in this system, offering to creatives the possibility to establish a breeding ground renting a municipal-owned property. However, this was possible only within the centre of the city and not in the city districts, which was the case in the past (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

4. Registration and control of the ‘base stock’ of studios

The term ‘base stock’ refers to the studios and studio dwellings that are jointly owned by the Municipality of Amsterdam and corporations. The intension of BB was to maintain its share to this stock to the maximum level possible, creating a database together with the corporations. The aim was to monitor and control the stock, giving, also, the possibility to corporations to retain or sell out their share (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

5. Retention of existing studio dwellings and creation of more

When a CAWA creative is discontinued of a studio dwelling, then corporations often sell the property. BB, intending to stop this, included this aspect in the corporation agreements. On top of that, it offers an additional budget of 1.1 million euros, giving project developers the incentive to include new studio dwelling in their housing plans (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

6. Seek common ground with other (related) policy areas of the Municipality of Amsterdam

The intention behind this objective of the BPA policy for the policy period 2015-2018 was to ensure the optimal added value of the breeding grounds. To do so, BB set as a requirement for new breeding grounds to include in their vision plans their projected added value to other policy areas of the Municipality of Amsterdam. These areas were: Arts and Culture Framework Memorandum for the period 2017-2020, city districts, crossovers, Course 2025, City in Balance and Amsterdam Metropolitan Area (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

The added value to the aforementioned policy areas was assessed by BB and CAWA on the basis of four core themes of added value. These ‘types’ of added value are presented in Table 2 below.

⁴ ‘Basic’ assessment includes criteria regarding the type of profession, educational background, portfolio and income, while ‘top’ assessment includes higher criteria, including demonstrable achievements and recommendations from art degree programs.

⁵ <https://www.amsterdam.nl/ondernemen/investeren/kantoren/transformatie/>

Table 2: Overview of the 'types' of added value based on which breeding places are assessed. Source: (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

TYPE OF ADDED VALUE	DESCRIPTION
Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Links with existing networks of institutions and schools • Conveyance of breeding place's cultural activities to municipal, national and international level • Sufficient workspace for creatives (more than 40% of the total surface area)
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement of mutual collaboration among the participants of the breeding grounds • Organization of neighborhood-oriented activities with local actors (such as residents) • Realization of optimal working environment
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Links between creatives and existing networks in the business community, knowledge institutes and education • Accommodation of creative activities related to crafts and encouragement of collaboration among the participants originating from related to crafts disciplines
Spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of visibility of breeding grounds for the surrounding area and local actors • Increase of attractiveness of the location of the breeding places for possible tenants • Organization of events to encourage the participants of the breeding places to be broader from the area designed for the breeding ground

4.1.2. The revised BPA policy for the current policy period 2019-2022

In the city of Amsterdam, the pressure on the space along with the rapid increase in the property prices has an evident impact on the city's development. Next to that, evident was also the pressure originated from the increasing demand of the creative sector to be accommodated in more permanent facilities. Therefore, the survival of the creatives was of high importance and was taken under consideration for the next revision (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Acknowledging all the aforementioned aspects, BB accordingly revised the BPA policy for the period 2019-2022. The revised BPA policy document focuses on two fundamental perspectives -spatial and social-, including amended aims and objectives based on the current situation of Amsterdam. Below, the visions, as formulated for perspectives are shortly presented.

Spatial Perspective

For this perspective, the goal is to contribute to make the city of Amsterdam a fair city, where creatives with medium or low incomes can still find a place to stay and/or live (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Therefore, the following visions are formulated as follows:

1. Retain existing breeding grounds and make new spaces available

By offering working and living spaces to creatives and talents, they can become a vital part of the neighborhood they are work/live, contributing to make the city more livable. Therefore, places for creative activities can be preserved for a wide range of artistic and cultural disciplines throughout the city of Amsterdam (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

2. Promote breeding grounds to be autonomous and independent in order to be maintained in the long run

Autonomy and independency of breeding grounds are important, in order to be maintained in the long run. Hence, the role of the managing initiators or managing organizations is of high importance, ensuring the optimal organization and development of the breeding grounds (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

3. Make breeding grounds sustainable, contributing to Amsterdam's vision to be the green leader in the Netherlands and Europe

Sustainability plays an important role for the BPA policy, following the ambitions of the Municipality of Amsterdam to be a green leader. Therefore, the plans of the breeding places, following the rest urban development in terms of sustainable neighborhoods, energy saving and air pollution, should keep sustainable standards during the build-up phase (e.g. insulations). However, due to the, up to date, temporary nature of the projects, such measures are considered by the BB as not feasible (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

Social Perspective

Openness, inclusiveness and diversity are core aspects of the social perspective for the revised BPA policy. It is important for people working and living in the city to be connected and respected from everyone (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Bureau Broedplaatsen aims to facilitate inclusiveness and connectedness through the developed breeding places, as they constitute a meeting point for all people, irrespectively of their background, nationality and/or interests. Segregation that is evident on spatial level and originates from differences among different social groups with different incomes is also taken under consideration by the Bureau. Hence, solidarity and social cohesion among individuals and groups as well as (sub) cultures are promoted in this revised BPA policy. Therefore, the amended visions of it are formulated as follows:

1. Find a balance between the open and approachable breeding places and those where creatives can work undisturbed

Sometimes, breeding places tend to be closed communities, focusing only on their objectives to create creative, artistic or cultural products. However, Bureau Broedplaatsen acknowledges that by staying closed and focusing on sharing the knowledge and work only internally (in the breeding grounds), the result cannot be communicated properly to the surrounding area and the rest of the city. It is important, though, to keep an optimal balance between focus and openness, in order to avoid unpleasant situations (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

2. Make breeding grounds more inclusive and diverse

It has been acknowledged by Bureau Broedplaatsen that the composition of the developed breeding grounds does not always reflect the composition of the city of Amsterdam, as a whole. Using the definition given to inclusiveness by the Amsterdam Arts Council⁶ - “counting and participating as many people as possible”-, Bureau Broedplaatsen highlights the importance for the Art institutions to be more inclusive, by including people from all genres and (sub)cultures (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019, p. 14). Following this direction, breeding places could also result in more diverse and inclusive environments, leading to new innovative and artistic projects and results (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). This is the

⁶ Amsterdam Art Council, exploration 2019 (verkenning 2019), <http://verkenning.kunstraad.nl/>

intention by the Bureau Broedplaatsen for the future of the breeding places, both existing and new, in order to be a better reflection of Amsterdam's population, which is not the case so far in an adequate level (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

Alongside the visions, specific policy objectives are also set in the revised BPA policy document, retaining the focus on the spatial and social perspective. Below, these policy objectives are shortly described.

Spatial Perspective

1. Perpetuate breeding grounds

From some breeding places, the lease contracts are about to expire within the current policy period (2019-2022). Bureau Broedplaatsen, intending to continue the operation of those breeding places, collaborates with the involved actors, developers, owners, initiators in order to achieve it (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). In cases of municipal properties, the contracts are going to be extended, stretching the deadlines of the ending date. In other cases, alternatives in terms of locations or buildings are going to be explored, in order to relocate the breeding places, without terminating their operation. Possibilities of realizing new studios and artists homes⁷ are also explored, along with the annual record of the existing stock of studios and homes (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

2. Look for development opportunities

Due to the increasing development of Amsterdam, the constant creation of new areas and neighborhood within the city is unavoidable. BB intends to make breeding grounds an essential part of the new developments. To do so, in cases of tender offers, space allocated for breeding grounds is increasingly included. Hence, BB is able to promote agreements with the developers to include CAWA creatives, or artists' homes within their future plans (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Next to that, breeding grounds, as a function, are included in the Strategic Plan for Arts and Culture of Municipality of Amsterdam, ensuring their realization in future urban development. As already cited above, municipal land and properties are also going to be examined for further utilization in order to accommodate new breeding grounds, while the possibility of developing more studios and artists' homes within the existing breeding places is going to be explored (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

3. Create breeding grounds in public space

For Bureau Broedplaatsen, expanding breeding places in public space consists of a means to enhance diversity among the developed artistic and cultural places within the city of Amsterdam. Temporary utilization of land is going to be explored, by organizing events related to talent development and experimental art. The conditions under which such events can be organized and take place are going to be explored, in terms of specific locations and time period (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

4. Help breeding ground initiatives with the development of a planning agenda

For all the breeding places, BB aims to ensure their success. To do so, the Bureau offers the possibility to existing and new breeding places for coaching and assistance in networking, enhancing, thus, the possibility to be eventually successful. Sharing of knowledge is also considered as crucial in the developing process of a breeding ground, consisting one additional point of attention for the Bureau

⁷ Artists' homes are defined by Bureau Broedplaatsen the spaces that creatives can rent and include both a living and a (separate) working space (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

(Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Next to that, the assistance regarding the finance of a breeding ground is still in power, as a collateral of 1 million euros can be offered by Triodos Bank, giving the possibility of affordable loans (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

5. Continue the rental period for the creative studios (5 plus 5 years)

This measure was firstly presented in the previous policy period (see section [4.1.1., point 1.](#)), in order to ensure the optimal turnover of the studio stock. Bureau Broedplaatsen, intending to make space available for the increasing artistic influx in Amsterdam, decided to maintain this measure, as a way of optimizing the opportunities for every potential tenant to develop -artistically and commercially- within the time span of 10 years (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). In cases of artists with not enough income, the ‘top’ assessment by CAWA will be performed (see section [4.3.2.](#)), deciding upon the eligibility of the artist to continue get subsidized after the end of the rental period of five plus five years (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

6. Work on knowledge sharing and expansion among breeding grounds in terms of governance and finance

For Bureau Broedplaatsen, it is high importance to assist breeding grounds to operate being financially healthy. Annual reports of existing breeding grounds along with annual accounts are analyzed by Bureau Broedplaatsen, in order to assess their progress (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Based on the results of this analysis, partly external coaches are offered by the Bureau Broedplaatsen, in order to help breeding grounds with their governance and finance procedures, increasing their livability on the long run (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

7. Encourage sustainability measures

Considering sustainability as a fundamental objective for the current policy period, BB intends to perform an assessment on existing breeding grounds, in order to explore the extent to which sustainability measures can be implemented, as an unprofitable part of the investment (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). For this assessment, a range of factors will be taken under consideration, such as profitability, while it is already acknowledged that the current situation of the existing breeding grounds is quite different, as sustainability differs in a great extend per incubator (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

Social Perspective

1. Stimulate connections between breeding grounds and connections between breeding grounds and the neighborhood/city

Programming has been acknowledged by the Bureau Broedplaatsen as an essential tool to establish connections between the existing breeding grounds and their surrounding areas/neighborhoods (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Programming is encouraged to be tailor-made to the profile of each breeding ground, enhancing their social value. Bureau Broedplaatsen supports programming by conducting a pilot, collaborating with the Amsterdam Fund of Arts^s (AFK), which subsidizes programming and inviting new breeding grounds to include a programming budget to their operation (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

^s <https://www.amsterdamsfondsvoordekunst.nl/>

2. Encourage connections between breeding grounds and cultural institutions

Establishing connections between breeding grounds and cultural institutions is promoted by Bureau Broedplaatsen. Realizing those connections, individual development of the creatives can be stimulated, while breeding places' programming can be more substantive, allowing them to act as a springboard⁹ (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

3. Promote inclusive and diverse breeding grounds

Breeding grounds, both existing and new, are encouraged by Bureau Broedplaatsen to be more inclusive and diverse, while it is expected for them to apply the Cultural Diversity Code¹⁰, regarding cultural diversity and embedding inclusiveness for all the aspects related to the operation of the breeding grounds (public, personnel, partners, program). In cases of breeding places that need help with achieving openness and inclusiveness, assistance is offered. Next to that, assistance is provided to breeding places in order to be more accessible to disabled people (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

4. Encourage a wide variety of breeding grounds initiatives

Over the last few years, an increasing number of breeding places have been realized by managing organizations who are able to establish and operate those places efficiently. However, the result for many of those cases is that they tend to get the same signature, resulting in an overall uniformity over the breeding places (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). In order to increase the variety among the developed breeding places, Bureau Broedplaatsen intends to organize competitions for potential locations for these places, so as to promote the development of different breeding places (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

5. Work on exchange of knowledge and the creation of breeding grounds in the Metropolitan Region of Amsterdam

One of the objectives of Bureau Broedplaatsen for the revised BPA policy is to share its experience and knowledge regarding the development of breeding places to other Municipalities of the MRA. The collaboration between Municipality of Amsterdam and MRA is supported by a MRA program, named "More than the Parts" ("Meer dan de delen") (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Intending to assist with that, and acknowledging the increasing pressure on the real estate market of the city, Bureau Broedplaatsen provides subsidies to breeding places which are (or going to be developed) outside the city (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Within the context of this objective, De Hoop project, has been developed, as its value has been acknowledged by BB, even though it is not administratively located within the Municipality of Amsterdam (further described in section 4.3.6). De Hoop, together with other breeding places, is mentioned as an example of breeding places that act as a driving force for the exchange of knowledge and creation outside the borders of the Municipality of Amsterdam, in the MRA (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). The importance of such breeding places is highlighted by the BPA policy, as places that connect Amsterdam with the creative and the environment, stimulating interaction and creating added value for all the parties involved (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

⁹ An example of the implementation of this measure is the 3 Package Deal, offered to creatives, when a workplace, a home and a work budget is offer in collaboration with cultural institutions and the AFK.

¹⁰ <https://codeculturelediversiteit.com/de-code/>

6. Support ‘fringes’ and free spaces when needed

‘Fringes’ (‘rafelranden’) and free spaces (vrijeplaatsen) are considered the places that are currently developed throughout Amsterdam, often originated from squatters. Recognizing the importance of these places for the city, support by Bureau Broedplaatsen is offered, in cases where the objectives of the initiatives match with the objectives set by the policy, in terms for consolidation or relocation (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). It is worth mentioning that the importance of those spaces has been acknowledged by the Municipality of Amsterdam, as a pilot is it going to be implemented this year (after the decision of the B&W and the City Council in April, 2020), in order to protect the existing places and create more. This pilot will include experiments with free spaces initiators, providing guidance, removing the rules and contracting specific forms for the development of those spaces; the further exploitation and possibility of a new action plan for those spaces will be explored , the following year (2021) (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-e).

7. Support vacancy management with a social interpretation

Social perspective is considered important by BB, when combined also with vacancy management. Therefore, collaboration with vacancy managers who have a creative focus, targeting social and cultural initiatives is highly recommended and promoted by the Bureau Broedplaatsen. LOLA is one of the well-known examples of such vacancy manager, offering an alternative to the usual form of real estate vacancy management (see further information in section 4.3.5) (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). It is worth noting that because the time horizon of the projects of LOLA is short (maximum two years), and thus uncertain, subsidies are not granted. Each project is assessed separately in order to evaluate the extent to which financial assistance can be offered (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

The value that breeding grounds should be able to add to the city remains a critical point also for the current policy period. Added value constitutes a condition that every breeding place, either new or existing, should meet, in order to be eligible for subsidy (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). The four aforementioned aspects of added value remain the same for the revised BPA policy document, highlighting the importance of the cultural, social, spatial and economic added value for all breeding places. Programming became an essential aspect of cultural but also social added value, while economic value was presented broader comparing with the previous BPA policy, in terms of the aspects that a breeding place can have or meet in order to achieve an overall economic added value (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Table 3 below presents the overview of the four ‘types’ of added value, as described in the revised BPA policy document. The bold points of each type of added value represent the additions/adjustments that were made in this typology, comparing to the previous policy period (2015-2018).

Table 3: Overview of the ‘types’ of added value based on which breeding places are assessed in the current policy period. Source: (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

TYPE OF ADDED VALUE	DESCRIPTION
Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Links with existing networks of institutions and art schools • Conveyance of breeding place’s cultural activities to municipal, national and international level • Visible programming of the breeding places
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement of mutual collaboration among the participants of the breeding grounds • Neighborhood programming with local actors (such as residents)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Realization of optimal working environment
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of accommodation to creatives with focus on growth and entrepreneurship • Links between creatives and existing networks in the business community, knowledge institutes and education • Accommodation of creative activities related to crafts and encouragement of collaboration among the participants originating from related to crafts disciplines • Job creation • Enhancement of the neighborhood economy
Spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of visibility of breeding grounds for the surrounding area and local actors • Increase of attractiveness of the location of the breeding places for users and users of the surroundings • Familiarization of people outside the area of the breeding ground and the neighborhood that is located with its activities

4.2. Online sources related to BPA policy

Along with the official policy documents that were published by Bureau Broedplaatsen, material was also obtained from online sources, mainly from online versions of newspapers. For the selection of the articles originated from these sources, search was conducted using the following key words, both Dutch and English:

‘Broedplaats’ AND ‘Amsterdam’

‘Broedplaatsen’ AND ‘Amsterdam’

‘Broedplaatsenbeleid’ AND ‘Amsterdam’

‘Breeding grounds’ AND ‘Amsterdam’

‘Breeding places’ AND ‘Amsterdam’

‘Cultural incubators’ AND ‘Amsterdam’

‘Breeding Ground Policy’ AND ‘Amsterdam’

Articles were chosen based on two criteria; Firstly, the aforementioned key words (either one of them or both) are included in the title of the article, in order to ensure their optimal relevance to the research topic. The articles that were finally selected to be further analyzed originated from the search based on the Dutch words, since all the sources were Dutch. The second criterion was based on the date the articles were published. Following the conducted document analysis on the official policy documents from Bureau Broedplaatsen, for the last two policy periods (2015-2020), the articles that were finally selected were published between 2016 and 2020 (up to date). In total, four articles were finally selected, as Table 4 below presents.

Table 4: List of selected articles from online sources, as obtained material to be further analyzed.

SOURCE	TYPE OF SOURCE	TITLE (ENGLISH AND DUTCH)	DATE OF PUBLISHING	LINK
Trouw	Dutch daily newspaper (online version)	Nesting grounds for artists make Amsterdam bustle <i>Broedplaatsen voor kunstenaars laten Amsterdam bruisen</i>	June 2017	https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/broedplaatsen-voor-kunstenaars-laten-amsterdam-bruisen~bed7b427/?referer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F
Het Parool	Amsterdam-based daily newspaper (online version)	Breeding places a permanent part for new construction <i>Broedplaatsen vast onderdeel bij nieuwbouw</i>	June 2017	https://www.parool.nl/nieuws/broedplaatsen-vast-onderdeel-bij-nieuwbouw-b6e262b7/?referer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F
		Former cinema Cinetol becomes a breeding ground <i>Voormalige bioscoop Cinetol wordt broedplaats</i>	January 2020	https://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/voormalige-bioscoop-cinetol-wordt-broedplaats-bf602eb2/
AT5	Amsterdam-based news channel (online version)	City invests in huge breeding ground for (Amsterdam) artists at Halfweg <i>Stad investeert in enorme broedplaats voor (Amsterdamse) kunstenaars bij Halfweg</i>	August 2017	https://www.at5.nl/artikelen/171675/stad-investeert-in-enorme-broedplaats-voor-amsterdamse-kunstenaars-bij-halfweg

4.3. Interviewed parties

In the following sections, all the interviewed parties are presented, in order to give a detailed overview over their role, the allocation and function of the breeding grounds as well as their relation with the BPA policy.

4.3.1. Bureau Broedplaatsen

In Amsterdam, many buildings were squatted, while many of the squatters demanded from the Municipality a constructive policy that would help them grow their cultural-economic activities. For this reason, in 2000, Municipality of Amsterdam established the Amsterdam Broedplaats project, which is now called Bureau Broedplaatsen (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-a). Next to that, by that time, there was a large shortage of affordable studios available for the artists of Amsterdam (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-a).

Since then, Bureau Broedplaatsen has been responsible for the realization of the BPA policy as well as the municipal department which first gets in contact with (potential) breeding places initiators. It provides a step by step assistance for the realization of a breeding ground. In cases of need for further assistance, the BB provides project management for the realization of the project. However, priority is given to the initiative's independency. Thus, initiators will have the opportunity to visualize their own project but also to find the means to realize it (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019; Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-a). Beside the assistance regarding the project management, BB also provides its expertise for groups of creatives and artists with regards to the way they can organize themselves, how to conduct the construction plan and also the ways the group of creatives can operate and manage the building where the breeding ground is developed. Guidance is also possible for those groups, with regards to permits and fire safety, which is very important in cases of old buildings (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-a).

Financing is also important for the development of a breeding ground. Bureau Broedplaatsen, when required, helps initiatives to be realized. Guarantee Fund Broedplaatsen from Triodos Bank is a possible finance assistance for new initiatives and the renovation of a building in order to become a breeding ground (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019; Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-a). Municipality of Amsterdam provides credit under certain conditions, in cases where project initiators have low chances to be eligible for a bank loan, due to lack of collateral. In cases when the loan cannot be fully financed, a municipal subsidy from Bureau Broedplaatsen is possible (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-a).

4.3.2. CAWA Commission

The CAWA Commission (Commissie voor (Woon)Werkpanden Amsterdam) was established in 2008 and consists of eight members, originating from different disciplines and, thus, having varied expertise and background (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-b). CAWA is responsible for the evaluation of the vision plans related to the transformation for a building into a breeding ground. Next to that, CAWA assesses artists, through a 'basic' and a 'top' test, for their eligibility to rent a studio in a breeding ground, in terms of their artistic skills (graduates from Art Academy), income level and suitability for renting a private studio (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019; Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-c). In addition, CAWA gives advice to the executive board of the Municipality of Amsterdam¹¹ (College van Burgemeester en Wethouders, B&W) regarding the allocation of workspaces along with the running policy for the creative sector (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-c).

In 2017, CAWA advised the participated parties in the municipal elections to include in their election program critical points of the preservation and further expansion of the studios and breeding places. Next that, the Commission asked for the strengthening of the positions of artists and creatives in the city of Amsterdam. Some of the suggested points by the CAWA were integrated with the municipal policy, while the budget for the studios and breeding grounds was, indeed, increased (CAWA Commission, 2018).

According to the Annual Report of CAWA for the year 2018, the importance of a higher budget for the realization of breeding grounds was highlighted, from 1 million euros to 4 million, safeguarding the continuation of them in the long run. For the ongoing policy period, 2019-2022, the budget is, indeed, set and guaranteed to 3.5 million euros, aiming to safeguard the existing number of breeding grounds

¹¹ <https://www.amsterdam.nl/bestuur-organisatie/college/>

as well as for new construction agreements with project developers for the development of new breeding grounds and studios (CAWA Commission, 2018).

In this Annual Report, it is also highlighted the acknowledged importance to expand the breeding grounds network to other Municipalities of the MRA. Therefore, the shortage of available properties inside or just outside the ring¹² and the need for more new breeding grounds due to increasing demand was also underlined (CAWA Commission, 2018). This advice was also taken into account by the revised BPA policy, since one of its objectives is to expand the network of breeding grounds, sharing the knowledge of the BB to other Municipalities of the MRA (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Lastly, one of the advices of CAWA that was also integrated in the revised version of the BPA policy was the realization of studios of CAWA artists to new developments on municipal land. With this suggestion, the importance between project developers and creatives for the establishment of successful breeding grounds in new developments was highlighted. This measure was proposed as an effective means to share the existing knowledge from both perspectives (sharing of knowledge about real-estate market from the perspective of project developers and sharing of knowledge about the steps need to be taken for the creation of a strong community in new breeding grounds from the perspective of creatives) (CAWA Commission, 2018).

4.3.3. Urban Resort

Urban Resort was formally established in 2006, as a professional non-profit organization (Urban Resort, nd). Since then, it has been developed into the largest breeding ground developer for the city of Amsterdam (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Urban Resort works in close collaboration with the Municipality of Amsterdam, in terms of development and management of new breeding grounds. The foundation supports the increasing demands of artists, entrepreneurs and other actors from the creative industry to find affordable working (and living) space, developing breeding places. Those projects are developed temporarily in buildings that are going to be demolished, such as former school buildings or care institutions. Those projects have a time horizon of three to five years. However, projects on a permanent basis have also been developed by Urban Resort in smaller school buildings or former industrial sites that have been given a leasehold (Urban Resort, nd). For both types of projects, either temporary or permanent, Urban Resort aims to offer to creatives an affordable working and/or living space, enhancing experimentation on artistic and social level. The foundation strives to offer places where people can work together, ensuring accessibility to the developed projects and enhancing diversity among the users (Urban Resort, 2018).



Figure 8: Facade of LELY Building of Urban Resort in Amsterdam. Source: Urban Resort, nd.

¹² The canal ring of Amsterdam (in Dutch: Grachtengordel).

Based on the foundation's Annual Report for 2018 that was published by the foundation, Urban Resort has developed seventeen breeding places, where the available working places are ranging from four to eighty-five, while the square meters are ranging from 286 to 7256 (Urban Resort, 2018). In 2018, Urban Resort had covered the 24% (33,900 m²) of the overall number of square meters of the BPA policy. It is important to highlight that this report was published before the revised version of the policy was available, informing the involved actors about the proposed changes for the time horizon of the breeding places. Hence, it was highlighted that given the policy, which was in use by the year 2018, with breeding places with lease contracts that are about to expire after their initial lease contract, an important percentage of the existing breeding places within Amsterdam will disappear. It was estimated that the total number of square meters covered by Urban Resort's projects would be shrunk from 143,000 to 109,000 square meter (Urban Resort, 2018).



Figure 9: The auditorium in LELY Building of Urban Resort in Amsterdam. Source: (Urban Resort, nd).

4.3.4. WOW foundation

WOW foundation runs a hostel in New-West district of Amsterdam, providing accommodation to travelers and explorers. Next to that, WOW offers temporary home to recently graduated artists, consisting of a platform for creative talents from all over the worlds giving them the opportunity to start their career (WOW Foundation, n.d.). The foundation offers to creatives affordable spaces to work but also to live, through the Artists Residences program. This special function of this breeding place was also acknowledged by the Bureau Broedplaatsen, since similar functions are promoted through the revised version of the BPA policy, and, hence, Artists Residencies of WOW foundation was included in the revised BPA policy document as a good example of this kind of functions (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Next to that, WOW foundation runs a contemporary art space, organizing a wide range of events, including exhibitions, fashion shows, talks, music events, workshops and performances (WOW Foundation, n.d.).



Figure 10: Interior section of WOW building in Amsterdam. Source: (WOW Foundation, n.d.).

Acknowledging the importance of the social impact that such a breeding place can have, WOW aims to be an active member of the neighborhood, providing a wide range of social programs, such as training programs and accommodation for homeless people and/or single mothers (WOW Foundation, n.d.). Next to that, for WOW foundation is important to enhance neighborhood engagement. Therefore, WOW organizes various culture-related activities, aiming to engage all the residents of the neighborhood, consisting also a link between the schools of the area and arts, organizing extra-curricular activities for children (WOW Foundation, n.d.).

Following WOW Amsterdam, the foundation also planned a new project that is going to be integrated in the project Lieven, of De Key Housing association, in Amsterdam New-West. It is a new living area that is projected to be delivered in 2021. WOW Liven, this new project, will be developed, in collaboration also with Bureau Broedplaatsen, creating a new creative hub, for temporary housing (with time horizon of maximum five years) for forty artists (WOW Foundation, n.d.).

4.3.5. LOLA

LOLA (Vacancy Solutions Amsterdam) is a vacancy manager which offers affordable spaces for actors of the creative industry, including starting entrepreneurs, artists and social initiatives (LOLA, n.d.). Up to date, LOLA has four developed locations in Amsterdam (Lolaland, LOLA Luid, LOLA Bae in Biljmer area and LOLA Mere), one location in Utrecht (Lou Oudenoord) and one in the Municipality of Amstelveen (LOLA crown) (LOLA, n.d.). The aim of LOLA is to provide responsible property management for both buildings and the environment, regenerating old buildings, bringing them back to life (LOLA, n.d.). Providing this responsible management for the buildings, LOLA aims to contribute to solve any potential issues that owners have to face in the short run, but also create added value for several aspects (LOLA, n.d.).



Figure 11: Event organized at Lolaland project of LOLA in Amsterdam. Source: (LOLA, n.d.).

Added value is very important for LOLA, as through its projects the organization aims to deliver value for the neighborhood, enhancing openness and stimulating connections between different groups but also improving quality of life and appearance of the neighborhoods. Next to that, LOLA supports starting artists and entrepreneurs, by offering the opportunity to become active members of the creative network of the city, but also benefit for the dynamics that the projects themselves can offer (LOLA, n.d.). Developers' perspective is also important for LOLA, in terms of the projects' added value, as through the projects hidden or even invisible values is possible to be revealed, enhancing the reputation of the buildings and thus creating new perspectives and possibilities for new developments. Lastly, LOLA also acknowledges the importance of the added value for the owner's perspective. Therefore, it focuses on providing a detailed property managing, preventing to the maximum level possible unsafe situations or energy waste (LOLA, n.d.).



Figure 12: Facade of LOLA Luid of LOLA in Amsterdam. Source: (LOLA, n.d.).

4.3.6. Crealization Cooperative (De Hoop)

Crealization Cooperative is an organization that acts as a facilitating platform, aiming to offer affordable studios and working spaces for artists and creative and cultural actors, in former industrial buildings, sheds and vacant sites (Crealization Cooperative, n.d.). Primary goal for Crealization Cooperative is to enhance participation, creating a community to its projects from different disciplines, where sharing of skills, knowledge and inspirations between the people is enhanced. Next to that, the organization strives to play a constructive role in areas that are in transition, ensuring the optimal quality of life, the (sub) culture, the engagement and openness to the surrounding area and the neighborhood and thus the overall well-being of people (Crealization Cooperative, n.d.).

De Hoop project is a breeding place developed from Crealization Cooperative, located in the Municipality of Zaandam, adjacent to the Municipality of Amsterdam, on the North. Same with the other projects of the organization, De Hoop is organized to the maximum level possible by its people, since every tenant contributes to matters related with the management, programming and communication regarding the project (Crealization Cooperative, n.d.). The site is located in a (light) industrial area, covering over 16,000 square meters and consisting of nine buildings in total. In this building, the initial set plan is to offer 186 studios for creatives (Crealization Cooperative, n.d.). Up to date, De Hoop is subsidized by BB and CAWA (Crealization Cooperative, n.d.)



Figure 13: Facade of the building of De Hoop of Crealization Cooperative in Zaandam. Source: (Crealization Cooperative, n.d.).

4.3.7. Meurkens and Meurkens (BOGOTA)

Meurkens and Meurkens is a project developer and landlord of breeding grounds and buildings that accommodate companies. Meurkens and Meurkens manages thirteen properties, up to date, where temporary or permanent working spaces or studios are offered to starters, artists, entrepreneurs and musicians (Breeding Place Bogota, n.d.). Great attention is given by Meurkens and Meurkens to real-

estate owners, providing socially responsible solutions for their buildings, but also offering to creatives and small businesses the opportunity to find a workspace, tailor-made to their needs (Meurkens and Meurkens, n.d.).



Figure 14: Interior section of the Workplace in Bogota. Source: (Breeding Place Bogota, n.d.).

The latter consists a new project of Meurkens and Meurkens, a breeding ground named Bogotá in Halfweg, between Haarlem and Amsterdam. In Bogotá area, different functions are developed, including workspaces for creative companies and start-ups (in Building A), workspaces for artists and creatives, including fashion designers, architects and painters (Building Blue), the so-called Workplace, where container music studios are located, offering room to creatives and also an exhibition hall, where exhibition, music and dance performances or other creative ideas are realized (Breeding Place Bogota, n.d.). There is also a café on the ground floor of the main building of Bogota, while there are plans for a catering warehouse to be accommodated to this breeding place. For the developer, who is also the breeding place initiator, it is of high importance to be able to deliver more than a permanent breeding ground (Breeding Place Bogota, n.d.).

Within the same context with De Hoop project of Crealization Cooperative in Zaandam and under the objective of working on the exchange of knowledge and development of breeding grounds in MRA, the revised BPA policy mentions also Bogotá as a good example of achieving this objective (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).



Figure 15: Facade of the Workplace in Bogota. Source: (Breeding Place Bogota, n.d.).

4.3.8. Heesterveld Creative Community

Heesterveld Creative Community (Heesterveld CC) was founded in 2012, as a collective of students, and cultural entrepreneurs, aiming to stimulate and facilitate creativity and cultural entrepreneurship for breeding grounds developed in Heesterveld and its surrounding area (Heesterveld Creative Community, n.d.). Heesterveld CC is located in Biljmer, in South-East Amsterdam. It offers working and living spaces to creatives, along with a communal space, named H75, and financial support (Heesterveld Creative Community, n.d.). The foundation consists of a group of creative residents, originating from different occupations, aiming to enhance the artistic power of Heesterveld and the

surrounding area. The professions cover a wide range, including visual and graphic art, singers, rappers, writers and poets, cultural talents and music producers (for a variety of music genres) (Heesterveld Creative Community, n.d.).

Together, those creatives aim to create an environment of growth and creation, in order to make Heesterveld an important pole in Bijlmermeer. To do so, all the community members, professionals from the cultural sector but also residents, are active, working together in groups. Their aim is to deliver the goal of the community for artistic programming, communication, management of indoor and outdoor spaces as well as green areas (Heesterveld Creative Community, n.d.). The foundation strives for the optimal composition for the residents of Heesterveld, giving attention to the identity of the neighborhood and the way its residents can maintain it (Heesterveld Creative Community, n.d.).



Figure 16: The outdoor area of Heesterveld CC in Amsterdam. Source: (Heesterveld Creative Community, n.d.).

4.3.9. Cinetol

Cinetol foundation was established in 2014 the homonymous breeding place in South Amsterdam, after receiving a positive advice for CAWA to implement the plans for the renovation of a former community centre (Cinetol, n.d.). The mission of Cinetol is to offer affordable space to creatives, making room for music and other arts, like film art and literature. Next to that, it gives space for collaboration among artists who work within one community (Cinetol, n.d.). The breeding place of Cinetol also has a music venue for live music concerts, as well as halls where daily events, conferences and meetings can be organized. Next to that, an eatery, named Tolbar, is locating in the ground floor of the building. Tolbar is of high importance for Cinetol, as it consists a meeting point for visitors from the neighborhood but also the rest of Amsterdam (Cinetol, n.d.).



Figure 17: Interior section of Cinetol in Amsterdam. Source: (Cinetol, n.d.).

Cinetol strives to maintain its non-commercial image, ensuring that entrepreneurship and professionalism are on high level. The same stands for technology, as Cinetol aims to provide to the creatives the highest possible quality, in order to let artists convey their work in the optimal way possible, but also offer to starting artists the opportunity to grow in the optimal environment possible (Cinetol, n.d.). Cinetol is also active in the surrounding area, as it is part of the Asscher Cultural Cluster¹³ (Cinetol, n.d.).

¹³ This cluster is a joint venue between CC Amstel(<https://ccamstel.nl/>), IVKO School (<https://www.ivko.nl/>), OBA CC Amstel (<https://www.oba.nl/vestigingen/oba-cc-amstel.html>) Combiwel (<https://www.combiwel.nl/>).



Figure 18: Outdoor area of Cinetol's eatery in Amsterdam. Source: (Tolbar, n.d.).

4.3.10. ISO Amsterdam

ISO Amsterdam is a collaborative working arena, located in Sloterdijk area, on the West of Amsterdam. It is a breeding ground that offers more than thirty working spaces -either private or shared- for (inter)national creatives (ISO Amsterdam, n.d.). ISO Amsterdam is supported by BB and the BPA policy, offering spaces also for exhibitions, workshops, screening, dance performances, fashion shows and music events. The professions that co-exist within ISO Amsterdam covers an extensive list, including industrial design, technology, architecture, furniture design, painting, sculpture, ceramics, product design, video filming, graphic design, music and fashion (ISO Amsterdam, n.d.).



Figure 19: Facade of ISO Amsterdam in Sloterdijk. Source: (ISO Amsterdam, n.d.).

5. Results

In the following chapter, the results of the analysis of the obtained material are presented. The presentation of the results is structured based on the five core themes explored during the interviews (Success, Added Value, Challenges, Temporariness and Changes). Each of the five core themes is divided into several sub-themes, depicting the relevant statements originated from the obtained data (see Figure 20 below). The results were intended to be presented in a comprehensive manner. Therefore, for the appellation of each section that follows, the exact name of focused codes was used, in order to present the results in a more structured way, facilitating their optimal correlation with the overview table of the codes given in Appendix 2.

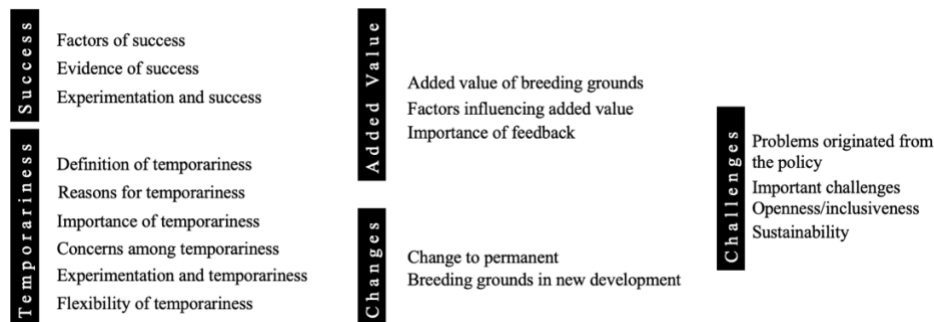


Figure 20: Overview of the explored themes and sub-themes.

The interviews were conducted in English, while the documents and visual materials that were coded are translated from Dutch. Hence, the quotes originated from latter, are translated by the author. For the proper reference of the codes, all the obtained data were named based on the source of the data and the number of lines of each code¹⁴.

Each section ends with a table summing up all the presented related perspectives and ideas as well as a figure illustrating the emerged associations among the sub-themes. With this figure every explored core theme is presented, giving an overview about what was previously described in the sections. The theme of each figure is depicted with bold font, establishing the starting point of the illustration. Moving outwards, the core theme is linked with solid line with the sub-themes explored, showing its division (those sub-themes are illustrated with the basic font). The same stands in cases when a sub-theme is further divided into smaller entities, showing different perspectives of the same topic. On top of that, following the presentation of the results in the sections, the figure also illustrates the emerged associations of the examined sub-themes with ‘external’ sub-themes (from a different umbrella theme). Those sub-themes are depicted with *italics*, moving again outwards in the figure. For instance, in the figure for the core theme **Success**, the associations that emerged between its sub-themes (Factors of Success, Evidence of Success and Experimentation and success) and some of the sub-themes of *Changes* and *Challenges*. These associations are illustrated using different types of arrows or lines, indicating the type of the association among the sub-themes. Unidirectional arrows represent the influential relationship among two sub-themes, while the direction of the arrow indicates which sub-theme has the power to influence the other. Next to that, bidirectional arrows are included in the illustration, showing the reciprocal interplay among the sub-themes. In cases where there is a

¹⁴ Quotes originated from document analysis are named s DA_n (n: 1= BPA policy document, 2i-iv: Visual materials). Quotes originated from the conducted interviews are named as I_n (n: number of the interview based on the date that is was conducted). For the interview (7), that was requested from the respondent not to be officially transcribed, the following reference was used: (personal communication, 28.01.2020).

contrasting relationship among two sub-themes, the symbol \sim is used. It is important to notice that uni- and bidirectional relationships were also identified among the examined sub-themes (for instance among the sub-themes of Success). Therefore, these relationships are also depicted in the overall figures.

Lastly, associations between the sub-themes and particular issues were also identified through the analysis. Those associations are illustrated using broken lines, while the title of those issues are also depicted in *italics*, as external themes. It is important to notice that those issues do not represent a particular sub-theme or answer from a specific interview question per se. They are rather issues that emerged from the research participants, being highlighted as important. Therefore, their association with the sub-themes was chosen to be included in the presentation of the results as well as in the overview illustration of them (see Figures 21-25). Lastly, it is worth noting that the figures include all the presented sub-themes and all the associations that occurred from the analysis -either from the same core theme or from a different one. For the sub-themes that do not have any association shown in the figure, no relationship occurred through the analysis of the obtained material. Therefore, those themes are only linked with their source (core) theme.

5.1. Success

5.1.1. Factors of success

By factors of success, the aspects that are currently considered as successful by the respondents are meant, given the present situation regarding the BPA policy and the development of breeding grounds. From the policy's side, it is stated by the BB that "Municipality of Amsterdam has been offering affordable working and living spaces for creative initiatives and individuals over the last fifteen years" (DA_1, 3-5). The representative of the BB clearly verified that, indeed, with the policy is intended to provide spaces to creatives and artists, for whom would be difficult to find otherwise. The key of success regarding the provision of spaces lies to their affordability, giving to creatives the opportunity to rent spaces with low rent. As the representative of BB highlighted: "I think it would be possible to have creativity in the city, but it would be hard to realize workspaces for creatives with low rent. I think we make a big difference with that" (I_3, 12-13).

This factor was also acknowledged from other related to the development of breeding grounds actors, namely project initiators/managing organizations. They also identified this strength of the Bureau, as a means for the breeding grounds to 'survive' in the bigger context of the market's high prices and the processes of gentrification. The latter is for the representative of Urban Resort, the main reason for which the BPA policy and the Broedplaatsen "are pretty much wanted" (I_1, 13), while BB itself also recognizes the negative impact of the phenomenon on the development of breeding grounds and, thus, intends to 'mitigate' it. In particular, as mentioned by the BB:

"The increasing demand of young or starting creatives for affordable accommodation is evident. The same stands for the real-estate market, where the property prices are rising up, forcing the creatives to leave the city, without affording this increase" (DA_1, 27-30).

Next to that, the provision of affordable places to creatives was also considered by the same party of project initiators/managing organizations as a way to safeguard their existence in the city of Amsterdam. The representative of Heesterveld CC underlined that "the fact that we even have an organization like this, that's stands up for keeping and creating spaces like this is quite great" (I_5, 337-338). Next to that, the representative of Cinetol sees this provision of affordable spaces to creatives as a factor of

success, as it is a way of providing to the city of Amsterdam uses that make it “interesting” (I_9, 117), considering the size of the city and the necessity for “niches” (I_9, 118) and “underground venues” (I_9, 120) to exist.

BPA policy’s success was also identified by the respondents with regards to the operation of the breeding grounds internally, as a community feeling can be established among the creatives who work and/or reside in breeding grounds (I_1). In addition, the representative of Urban Resort mentioned that the existence of such places as breeding grounds is an opportunity for people to work on what they really love. As she highlighted: “I think this is also part of the success that people keep doing this kind of projects are really passionate about it” (DA_1, 36-37).

The aforementioned passion regarding the work of the creatives was also depicted for the BB itself. In particular, as the representative of LOLA emphasized: “Passionate people working in the Broedplaatsen. They really are” (I_6, 687). One more aspect related with the operation of the BB was also highlighted by the same respondent, related with the members of the BB. He claims that their involvement in breeding grounds’ development has a more practical and substantial role, given their expertise as project managers and not as policy makers (I_6). As he emphasized for the people working in the BB: “they are really hands-on, they are really helpful in opening up to make things possible” (I_9, 301-302).

Lastly, the fact that this policy can act as an example for other cities with similar needs, being able to share the gained knowledge and experience in Amsterdam to other cities in the Netherlands and worldwide was also reported as a factor of success (I_9; I_10).

5.1.2. Evidence of success

Evidence of success is related with the outcomes for the future that would be considered by the respondents -and the obtained documents- as successful. The results for this particular sub-theme were further divided into *Evidence of success for policy* and *Evidence of success for Breeding grounds*. The reason for this further division was the fact that the majority of the respondents were representatives of project initiators/managing organizations and thus more detailed insights could be gained from them for the breeding grounds in particular. The overall intention was to explore whether the definition of success is aligned, when it comes to the BPA policy per se and the breeding grounds. Indeed, different responses were reported.

From the policy perspective, the integration of breeding grounds to future plans of areas throughout Amsterdam was stated by many respondents as an evidence of success. Therefore, a direct relation between evidence of success (for policy) and the change of *Breeding grounds in new development* (see section 5.4.2.) was emerged, showing the influence of the latter to the perception about the evidence of success. The conditions under which creatives can accommodate their work in a brand new area, along with the certainty that can be given to them for (at least) a certain period of time was considered by the representative of WOW foundation adequate, in order to define the policy successful (I_4). The representative of ISO Amsterdam highlighted that considering their own project, being developed in an area that has been gradually changing, it would be a loss for the area if projects like this (breeding grounds) would disappear, emphasizing the need from the policy perspective to allow to breeding grounds to be maintained in these new developments. In particular, he concluded:

“So, projects have to... they appear, and they disappear. But if it turns out that there is a whole new area being developed, and a project like this disappears. Wow! You think that within this new situation, a project like this can even be even more valuable within a new area...if the

policy can allow, can create a project like this can stay or transform within a new situation in this area, and if that happens in different areas, then I think the policy, you can call it a success” (I_10, 181-186).

From the BB’s side, this fact was also highlighted as an evidence of success of the BPA per se, as the intention for the future is to keep breeding grounds in the city for longer time (I_3). Therefore, it occurred that the proposed *Change to permanent* (see section 5.4.1.) influences the definition given to the evidence of success. It was acknowledged by some respondents, though, that it is quite difficult to measure the progress of the policy and evaluate how far the proposed measures can go, since the goals “are more or less abstract” (I_3, 24-25), and thus it is quite difficult to “say exactly when they are successful” (I_5, 381).

From the breeding grounds’ perspective, the need to keep creatives in the city was also highlighted, as they can enhance the local communities with their existence, being also able to be part of the future development (I_4). Therefore, the influence of the sub-theme *Change to permanent* as well as *Breeding grounds in new development* on the Evidence of Success is also verified from the breeding grounds’ perspective. However, as the representatives of De Hoop underlined, for the breeding grounds would be a proof of success if alternatives for relocation after the end of their contract as breeding grounds have been explored by their initiators, in order to be able to continue serving the needs of the creatives (I_6).

The contribution of breeding grounds in the overall well-being of people living in Amsterdam was also underlined by some respondents, verifying their positions regarding the importance of those projects for the city. The representative of ISO Amsterdam called it “essential for the quality of life” (I_10, 258), while Cinetol’s representative stated that it would be a “big success” (I_9, 194) for the breeding grounds if they constitute a place for people where they can feel welcome in a certain neighborhood, where otherwise – if the breeding grounds would not exist – this would not be the case (I_9).

Lastly, financial viability of the organization managing breeding grounds was also highlighted for both perspectives, as a measure to increase their livability on the long run (I_3; I_5). At the same time, this constitute an *Important challenge* (see section 5.5.2.) of the breeding places, showing the bidirectional relationship among the definition given to the evidence of success and what is considered as an important challenge for a breeding ground.

5.1.3. Experimentation and success

The intrinsic experimental character of temporary uses was chosen to be explored in relation with breeding grounds’ success. It is worth noticing that experimentation -as sub-theme- was also explored in relation with temporariness and will be presented as part of the following core theme (see section 5.2.5.).

Experimentation, according to the representative of BOGOTA/Meurkens & Meurkens, is a vital characteristic of those projects, since it allows creatives to be “inventive” (I_8, 136) and “innovated” (I_8, 136), and, thus, contribute to make Amsterdam’s atmosphere better and more alive. The importance and value of experimentation was also acknowledged by ISO Amsterdam’s representative, who also underlined that the demand for experimentation is high. However, as he highlighted, the affordability of the spaces within a breeding ground is what it actually allows for experimentation, as people are able to pay the rent and thus focus more on their objectives. The influential relation between financial responsibility -being one of the *Important challenges*- and experimentation was also evident from a representative of De Hoop, as he highlighted that “financial responsibility is sort of cutting off

of the freedom. That's how it works” (I_6, 549). As long as the rent can be paid, he continued, “there is no danger” (I_6, 551), and that is the intension from the initiator’s side to be able to continue offering affordable places to creatives, so as to safeguard experimentation.

For Cinetol’s representative, experimentation is possible to be still stimulated within a breeding ground, since more “experimental and avant-garde things” (I_9, 145-146) are able to be programmed, without being “forced or rushed into only doing commercial things” (I_9, 147). Hence, breeding places can maintain the optimal level of experimentation, attracting “certain groups of people” (I_9, 149) that find it “interesting” (I_9, 149).

Commercialization was also mentioned by the representative of ISO Amsterdam, when discussing on alternatives that could allow experimentation to be safeguarded. For him, the combination of commercial and cultural projects, in order to use the profit from the first so the latter can pay less, would be an effective way for the city to keep stimulating experimentation. As he concluded: “only in this way, you can keep on continuing places for experiment” (I_10, 279-280).

Table 5: Overview of perspectives/ideas for the theme Success.

SUB-THEME (FOCUSED CODE)	RELATED PERSPECTIVES/IDEAS
Factors of success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Provision of affordable spaces * Establishment of internal community * Passionate people work for BB * Example to other cities
Evidence of success	<p><u>For policy</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Integration of breeding grounds into future plans of developing areas * Breeding grounds in new development * Financial viability <p><u>For Breeding grounds</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Breeding grounds in new development * Financial viability * Continue existing as essential part of quality of life
Experimentation and success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Difficult due to financial issues * Enhancement of diversity among functions * Alternatives should be explored

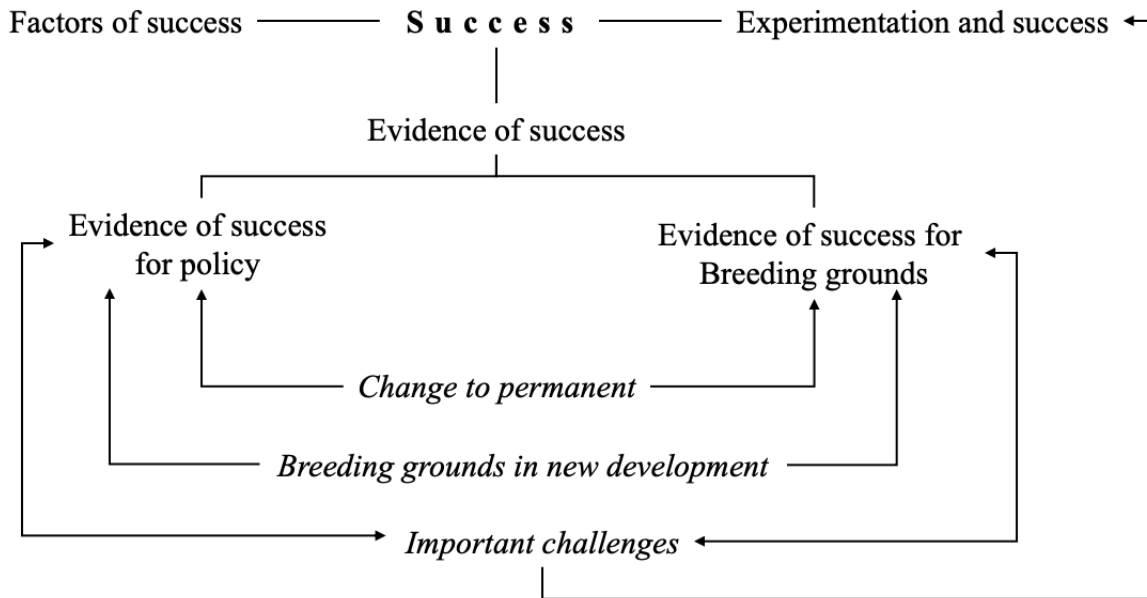


Figure 21: Emerged associations for the core theme Success.

5.2. Temporariness

5.2.1. Definition of temporariness

The definition given to temporariness by the respondents was an additional aspect that was chosen to be added in order to explore whether the definition given by the BPA policy aligns with the way other related actors define it and thus how everyone perceive the notion of temporariness. It is worth noting that the existence of differentiated perspectives among the definition of temporariness also resulted in differentiated perspectives for the rest sub-themes under Temporariness. Therefore, this particular sub-theme has a bidirectional relationship with the rest of Temporariness sub-themes that will be presented afterwards (see Figure 22 in the end of this section).

For the BB, temporariness for a breeding ground is meant a “time horizon three to ten years, contributing to make Amsterdam a dynamic city” (DA_1, 17-18). For many of the respondents, that were mainly representatives project initiators/managing organizations, a time span of five to ten years is defined as the optimal horizon for a breeding ground (I_4; I_5; I_5). “At least five” (I_1, 90) years was the minimum horizon stated by the representative of Urban Resort, while the representative of CAWA seemed to agree as she thinks that with a horizon shorter than five years the investment does not worth but also this short time interval is not beneficial for the creatives themselves in order to properly grow (personal communication, 28.01.2020).

However, there were also reported different perspectives among the definition of temporariness, implying that temporary projects can also be considered those who last between one to three years (I_10), and also “five years or less” (I_9, 98). In particular, as Cinetol’s representative underlined: “I sort of think that if you go past seven and a half years, you’re sort of reaching the permanent sort of thing” (I_9, 97). However, a representative of De Hoop, based on the time horizon of seven years of their own project, stated that this time horizon of seven years might seem adequate in the beginning of the development, but eventually, considering the effort, is not enough; “it’s very really short” (I_6, 154).

Lastly, ownership issues related to what can be defined as temporary were also reported from some respondents. The difference between owning and renting a building or property where a breeding ground can be developed is what defines whether a project is temporary or not. In other words, it was implied that ownership defines what can be considered as temporary being at the same time the reason for the temporary (or not) development of a breeding ground. (I_3; I_5; I_6).

5.2.2. Reasons for temporariness

The reasons behind the choice to develop breeding grounds on a temporary basis were chosen to be explored, aiming to explore them from both perspectives, policy's and breeding grounds'. As it is stated in the BPA policy:

“Temporary breeding grounds occurred as a ‘logical solution’ for the development of the breeding grounds, as a way of maximizing opportunities in the pressurized real-estate market of the city of Amsterdam, while after this period the breeding grounds are often discontinued” (DA_1, 13-15).

Moreover, BB sees this pre-defined time horizon, as an opportunity of the breeding grounds' stock to be renewed “without letting the total surface area as breeding places to shrink” (DA_1, 20).

External factors, such as the availability of building stock as well as *gentrification*, were also considered from the project initiators/managing organizations' side as the reasons for the short-term horizon of their breeding grounds. In particular, the representative of Urban Resort highlighted that gentrification rather than the beneficial characteristics of temporary uses as a concept is the reason why “everything is temporary” (I_1, 174).

It is noteworthy that even though BB stated in the policy document that having temporary projects is a “logical solution” (DA_1, 13), the representative of BB mentioned that the choice of temporariness is “more or less a coincidence” (I_3, 129), underlining that low rent is the reason why projects are temporarily developed. In order to justify that, he added:

“For example, I want to make a Broedplaats, and I want to make 20 rooms for creatives. We say that rent cannot be too high. So, you are restricted to the incomes that I will gain. The building I want to develop for these people is not from myself, but I also have to rent it from another party. So, for example she or he asks for the whole building 1000 euro, I need to earn these 1000 for my renters, from my creatives. But most of the time, they are able to pay more than that. So, most of the Broedplaatsen, you see it temporarily because the rent is quite low.” (I_3, 130-134).

Other reasons were also reported for the selection of a short-term timeline for the breeding grounds. In particular, Cinetol's representative considered this choice as a political issue, and claimed that given to its nature (as political), it is unavoidably short-term:

“So, they really... it's like for a certain period that a certain local government gets elected. And within that period, they want to achieve certain things. And, I think, that's why they.... that also reaches down to their goals and do what else, other things they do. I think that's one of the main reasons, yeah” (I_9, 105-107).

Lastly, BOGOTA/Meurkens & Meurkens' representative highlighted that the most essential reason behind this choice, was “frustration” (DA_8, 95) originated from the willingness to help creatives grow under difficult circumstances, such as an economic crisis (I_8).

5.2.3. Importance of temporariness

There were respondents that also highlighted the importance of breeding grounds that are temporarily developed, considering that the short-term horizon is actually an opportunity for people, motivating them to act fast and spontaneously (I_1). Therefore, as Urban Resort's representative mentioned this fact is "very stimulating for something to bloom" (I_1, 348), but then it can be also a "killer, when it has of course to end" (I_1, 348). For De Hoop's representative temporariness per se is a matter of perspective, depending on how people manage it, while they highlighted that the short-term horizon of a project is seen by them as "freedom" (I_6, 243), giving them the opportunity to "move around" (I_6, 242) in the area where they have developed their project.

5.2.4. Concerns among temporariness

This sub-theme is related with issues identified by the respondents and the obtained data from document analysis as important, when it comes to the temporary nature of the breeding places. Positions mainly regarding the side of project initiators/managing organizations occurred, as well as regarding owners' perspective.

With regards to the first aforementioned party, uncertainty that is intertwined with temporariness is a main concern of some respondents (I_1, I_5), as "most of the people working in this field are so worried that at some point this will come at an end and they were pushed at the corners of the city and they will be kept further further away" (I_1, 30-32). Furthermore, financial viability was also reported as a concern, being at risk when projects are temporarily developed, while, as mentioned by LOLA's representative the investment on a project with short-term horizon is hard, "so we just invest in a small part" he concluded (I_4, 95). Financial viability was also reported by the respondents when they were asked about the challenge that the BPA policy and the breeding places have to manage for the future. Therefore, a bidirectional relationship between the concerns among temporariness and *Important challenges* emerged.

An additional concern regarding the temporary nature of the projects is the fact that having projects that are dedicated to temporarily fill a gap in vacant urban stock, there is the risk for cultural-related projects not to be "taken seriously enough" (I_10, 624), in a way that the real value of such a project is not substantially acknowledged. Hence, as ISO Amsterdam's representative emphasized: "It's a bit strange, the cultural initiatives have often a temporary character. Should not be the case" (I_10, 374-375). Next to that, the same respondent underlined that the competition among different policy areas is evident, as other uses beside culture also need space within the city, such as schools or hospitals, acknowledging the increasing demand for space in Amsterdam. Being temporarily developed, breeding places can be 'in danger' since "artists are not of course the only ones" (I_10, 282). However, as he highlighted, it would be beneficial, at least for some breeding grounds, if they can stay longer.

Next to that, having a temporary horizon, is possible for a breeding ground not to be established in a proper manner and consequently it will be unable to deliver its objectives and values. Hence, it was proved that this particular concern regarding temporariness is able to influence the *Added Value of breeding grounds*. Regarding this issue, one representative of De Hoop mentioned that it takes time for a foundation or managing organization to start properly running a breeding place and unavoidably establishing connectivity with the surrounding comes afterwards. However, even in this case, time is not adequate in order to reach the optimal point of connectivity and therefore achieve one of the desirable added values (see section 5.3.1.):

“Community wise, they need 2 years, maybe 3 years to have a good group. So, yes, of course, you need to have time. And most of the time we take a part of the group and then we continue again... You have to connect your project around you, it takes a half year, a year, to get that going” (I_6, 160-163).

Pointing out the need for additional time, the aforementioned reported concerns among temporariness seem to be related with the proposed by the BB *Change to permanent*, since the current lacking characteristics seem to be fulfilled with this proposed change. Next to that, BB seems to be aware regarding the aforementioned concerns among temporariness, admitting that the pressure on breeding places is “evident” (DA_1, 5), while it also acknowledges the reported uncertainty regarding their temporary nature (DA_1). Therefore, the relation those two sub-themes is bidirectional, as it seems that the former (additional time needed) influenced the decision for latter (change to permanent), but also the latter is BB’s response to the former concern.

Regarding the owners’ position about this sub-theme, the representative of BOGOTA/Meurkens & Meurkens highlighted that, in his eyes, owners are afraid of temporariness, as they strive for more permanent developments; for those that are likely to stay there indefinitely and not (possibly) obstruct their future plans for the property (I_8). As he emphasized: “It’s what the old say, well not anymore but... it’s gonna get a mess, it’s going to be dangerous, because people don’t know what they do. You have to fight those fears” (I_8, 47-48). It is worth noting that this aspect comes in contrast with the aforementioned *Factors of success*, as the fact that breeding places are included in plans for future developments is considered one of those factors.

Lastly, it is important to notice that a reason for temporariness from the BB’s side constitutes also a concern, as “it is not always realistic” (DA_2iv, 28-29). The idea of renewing the breeding grounds’ stock, by giving space to new creatives is based on the idea that by the time they leave the breeding grounds, they earn enough in order to be able to afford a (more expensive) space elsewhere. However, this might not be the case, as most of the times artists have “little economic growth” (DA_2iv, 30). Therefore, a *difference between what is aimed and promoted by the policy and the reality is implied*.

5.2.5. Experimentation and temporariness

Exploring the ways in which experimentation is related with the temporary horizon of breeding places, two contrary opinions were mainly identified. On the one hand, it was claimed that experimentation is related with temporariness, since experiments are safer when they take place on a temporary basis. Under these circumstances, the risk of failure is also less, especially for large organizations (I_1). Moreover, along with the lower risk, the case of an experiment to turn to a success is possible, and, thus, benefits could be gained for the organization itself but also for the surrounding area of the project (I_1). Speaking of experimentation, the same respondent highlighted that in cases of experiments, one cannot plan beforehand, calling it an “illusion” (I_1, 103), while there should be always “room for failure” (I_1, 104), allowing “unexpected things to happen” (I_1, 104-105). The aforementioned illusion, when it comes to planning of experiments, can be seen as one more aspect that verifies the difference that can exist between what is aimed from policy’s perspective and what is really happening in the field when experiments are actually planned beforehand.

On the contrary, BB’s representative claimed that the fact that breeding grounds are temporary has nothing to do with their level of experimentation, claiming that experimentation can be evident in a project regardless of its time span, while he underlined that he does not see any association between experimentation and temporariness, but only in temporary projects outside the BPA policy:

“I see that in places which have a very short rental contract. So, we don't talk about Broedplaatsen anymore, but we talk about buildings which are temporarily empty, but only for a very short time...For example, I am the owner of a building, which I know in three years it will be demolished, so I will look for a party who can exploit it for the coming years with low rent. And in that case the rent will be so low that there are much more opportunity for experiment. Because the rent is way lower” (I_3, 108-113).

Comparing to those projects, that are even shorter than a regular breeding ground, BB's representative supported that the rent is higher, obstructing at some level all the experimentation, as people tend to focus more on paying the rent. “So, in that case there is less opportunity to experiment, but still there is. But not as much, as to the shorter projects” (I_3, 114-115).

5.2.6. Flexibility of temporariness

Flexibility was also identified as an intrinsic characteristic of temporary use (see section 2.1.). The intention was to explore respondents' position regarding this characteristic and the way it is involved in the development of breeding places.

Flexibility was interpreted by the respondents through two perspectives; in terms of the use/function that breeding grounds serve and in terms of the management of breeding grounds. When it comes to the first perspective, flexibility was reported as a prerequisite in order to ensure creativity. As Cinetol's representative emphasized: “You cannot be creative without being flexible, I think. So, yeah, I think that's important” (I_9, 157). Moreover, BOGOTA/Meurkens & Meurkens' representative underlined that for the creatives this flexibility of temporary use is “absolutely marvelous” (I_8, 159). Referring to flexible contracts that can be adjusted as the creative/renter wishes to, he sees this fact as an important advantage as creatives can any time grow, expand their work or even “get smaller” (I_8, 159), according to their needs, without the risk of financial loss. He underlined, however, that this is not the case for the majority of project developers, who tend to see this flexibility more as a “hassle” (I_8, 175), as it is not related with money, which is their primary concern.

In terms of breeding grounds' management, flexibility can be proved beneficial, as it allows to establish a plan that can be adjusted anytime, particularly in cases when specific measures or steps seem not to work well. The representative of Urban Resort sees this flexibility of those uses as a means to allow continuous experimentation. Embracing flexibility, the respondent highlighted the importance of an adaptable plan when developing a project, but also the influence of flexibility on the levels of Experimentation in relation to the success of the projects. Therefore, flexibility has an influence on *Experimentation and success*. In particular, she highlighted:

“...usually with these things there is not so a well-thought out plan to begin with, they just start and they just see where it goes and they're constantly experimenting, trying things out and going with what works and skipping what doesn't work and that's very good way I think to come up with something that's successful in that sense because you can do as much research as you want and come with a plan but in reality things usually work out differently and then if it is a million dollar project and you can't change it up anymore, yeah, it's gonna be dead” (I_1, 119-125).

Table 6: Overview of perspectives/ideas for the theme *Temporariness*.

SUB-THEME (FOCUSED CODE)	RELATED PERSPECTIVES/IDEAS
Definition of temporariness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 5-10 years' time horizon for temporary Breeding grounds * 1-5 years maximum can be defined as temporary * Rent (or ownership) defines temporariness
Reasons for temporariness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Pressurized real estate and gentrification processes * Political issues unavoidably short-term * Frustration
Importance of temporariness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * It is a matter of perspective * Makes people act quickly * It gives freedom
Concerns among temporariness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Uncertainty for the future * Breeding grounds are not 'taken seriously' * Proper establishment takes time
Experimentation and temporariness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Experimentation is related with temporariness, due to lower risk * Experimentation is not related with temporariness within the BPA policy
Flexibility of temporariness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Related with creativity * Allows experimentation * Allows for adaptable plans

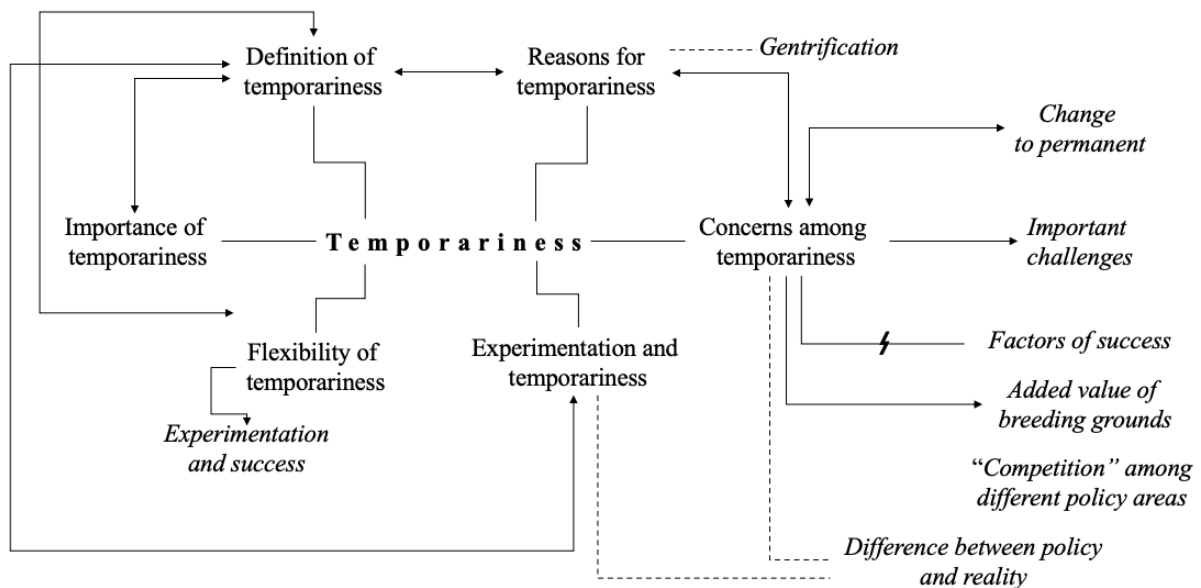


Figure 22: Emerged associations for the core theme *Temporariness*.

5.3. Added Value

5.3.1. Added Value of Breeding grounds

Regarding the added value of the breeding grounds, respondents were asked about their positions as well as the way they prioritize -if so- the values, as given by the BB and the revised version of the BPA policy (see section 4.1.2.).

For many respondents is highly important to achieve the optimal balance among the values that breeding grounds are capable of adding (I_1; I_2; I_3; I_9). Therefore, the importance of all the types of added values was highlighted. From the BB's perspective, there is also the intention to stimulate all the breeding grounds to be able to deliver all the added values, proposing a project plan that verifies the ways that this can be achieved (I_3). As the representative of BB concluded:

“So, when someone wants to develop a Broedplaats, they send a document to us, it's called the Vision Document, and then they state ok, this is the group of people that I want to rent my building to, these are the creatives I want. And this is the way I want to communicate with the neighborhood, with the people, this is the social impact I want to make” (I_3, 254-257).

Exceptions for giving priority to one of those added values, as Urban Resort's representative underlined, should be accepted only when there is “at that moment of time a need for that specific area or topic” (I_1, 222-223).

Regarding cultural value, it was reported by some respondents that is fundamental due to the nature of those projects and, hence, very important to be achieved through the breeding grounds (I_3; I_10). However, as Heesterveld CC's representative stated, this inherent nature of the breeding grounds, being culturally oriented, makes this particular value already evident within the breeding grounds. Speaking of their project, he underlined that they are already in contact with other cultural organizations and currently many artists are already living in the area and, thus, in his eyes, that is “less of the issue” (I_5, 220).

Social value was also mentioned by the same respondents as fundamental, equating its importance with the aforementioned cultural value (I_3; I_10). Speaking of this type of value, ISO Amsterdam's representative highlighted that internal social value is also important, when it comes to the development of a breeding ground, being able to create a community among the creatives, helping them to have “space, physically and mentally, to create” (I_10, 473-474).

Spatial value, in terms of connectivity with of the breeding grounds' surrounding areas and the establishment of relation with the neighborhoods was also reported as essential. The representative of Heesterveld CC, speaking of this particular breeding ground, underlined that it is extremely important for them to be able to establish those connections, having also an internal policy indicating that half of the creatives of the breeding grounds to have to come from this neighborhood. On top of that, as he stated, they target their event planning to “important target audiences from the surrounding area, neighbors” (I_5, 160-161). The importance of breeding grounds for the surrounding areas also pertains with the attraction of hospitality and other facilities, resulting in a neighborhood that is “attractive for a new kind of resident. That way an entire neighborhood can get a boost” (DA_2iv, 57-58).

For the last type of added value, namely economic, the positions of the respondents were dissenting, as for some economic value is fundamental and, hence, should come first, comparing with the rest of the values. In particular, it can be considered as a way to convince the developers for the importance of the project, in cases when it is questioned (I_1; I_5). On the contrary, for some of the respondents,

economic value should not be of high priority for the breeding grounds, since the overall aim of those projects “it's not about economics, it's about well-being” (I_8, 261-262). As ISO Amsterdam's representative emphasized:

“All these values are very important. Except economical, I mean everything is decide by economic reasons. So, I think that should be less focused, the other ones should be more focused, for sure... I think they should delete this one” (I_10, 442-447).

Lastly, it is interesting to mention that according to the BB's representative, innovation can be considered as an addition type of added value, on top of the other four values. For him, innovation is highly related with the experimentation that take place within the breeding places, highlighting its importance. As he mentioned: “...it's not only about art what happens in these places” (I_3, 242).

5.3.2. Factors influencing added value

Exploring the aspects that seem to influence the capability of breeding grounds to add value to the city of Amsterdam, a range of factors was reported. Therefore, there is a given relationship between this sub-theme and the previously presented sub-theme of *Added Value of breeding grounds*. The overall *context* of the breeding grounds was proved for some respondents as important. The context includes the target groups that are approached by each project as well as the location of it, especially in terms of the connectivity that can be established with the neighborhood (I_1; I_3). Urban Resort's representative emphasized on this claiming that “you have to be very aware of the exact location where you are, because every building is surrounded by something different...and then the neighborhood needs or wants something else (I_1, 204-206).

Next to that, the profile of every breeding ground was also considered as one aspect that defines the overall context of it and for Urban Resort “it's good if you have a very specific profile because it gives you a goal and it gives you the ability to attract the right people to do so. Also, to give a face to it for the rest of the city” (I_1, 215-216). On the contrary, for the Heesterveld CC's representative, it is essential to keep multiple target groups, in order to get an “interesting mix” (I_5, 178) of creatives, enhancing the diversity and *openness* (I_5). Hence, this particular factor of target group, as a factor that influence the added value of breeding ground, seem to influence also the *Openness*, which was considered as a particular challenge (see section 5.5.3.).

Moreover, from policy's side, cultural programming was introduced by the revised policy, as a means to enhance the added values. In particular, as stated by the BB's representative the spatial value can be enhanced, as programming constitutes “an essential tool to establish connections between the existing breeding grounds and their surrounding areas/neighborhoods” (DA_1, 229-231). In addition, programming is encouraged by the BB to be “tailor-made to the profile of each breeding ground” (DA_1, 231-232), in order to enhance its social value.

5.3.3. Importance of feedback

The importance of feedback was also explored during the conducted interviews, in order to examine the ways in which the discussion among the involved actors help breeding grounds to properly deliver their intended and desirable values. Similar with the previously presented section, this particular sub-theme of Importance of feedback has a given relationship with the *Added value of breeding grounds*, as the former seem to influence the latter.

According to ISO Amsterdam's representative, the importance of feedback has been now acknowledged, while a few years ago. As he stated: “They were not so active in that and it was a bit

neglected” (I_10, 489). He also suggested that BB should focus more on that, being able to learn more from the actors involved. It was also reported that feedback can be proved essential and helpful for both sides -BB and the rest of the involved actors- as all can understand and identify easier “what went well what didn't go well, how could we do things differently” (I_2, 251-252). Speaking of large organizations, constant feedback could be proved even more helpful, since external factors such as bureaucracy and laws that must be applied, easily can create “such a huge distance” between the involved parties (I_1, 262-264).

Moreover, good relationships among the involved actors along with frequent discussion regarding the progress of every breeding ground, can ensure that all the necessary information is shared among the parties in order to be able to move forwards “instead from blocking each other” (I-1, 275). From BB’s side, the representative also highlighted the importance of constant feedback. As he mentioned, in an “ideal world” (I_3, 286) the policy document will act as an instrument, giving some general indications; “a translation of the people in the field” (I_3, 286). However, he admits that this is ideal and *different from what is truly happening in reality*. Therefore, the need for constant feedback is evident and also the effort to achieve it during the current policy period is bigger:

“I think this time, we really tried to listen to the people in the field, but also to the people from the Municipality, who are working in another field in the Municipality. People who developed Broedplaatsen, people who rent a Broedplaatsen. All those actors are involved in making this new policy. Yeah, I think it worked out quite well” (I_3, 286-289).

This deviation between the ideal scenario and reality was also reported from ISO Amsterdam’s representative, who stated that “in practice is always different, indeed” (I_10, 496). Furthermore, he recognized the effort that BB applies to achieve the best result possible as well as the importance of context of every project, when trying to implement what was initially set by the policy:

“Bureau Broedplaatsen is really learning from that, from all these examples in the past. And they really.... but the difficulty is that every project is different again, you know. There is no one perfect example that can be applied to another project. Every project is different” (I_10, 497-499).

Lastly, as Heesterveld CC’s representative mentioned, in some cases BB could have a more active role, when the interests of the breeding grounds are compromised. Speaking of Heesterveld CC project, he underlined that in cases of funding and financing there is no clear picture and he concluded:

“So, it's like pointing at each other. And sometimes I feel like we are like a playing ball for them. Because we are just so tiny, and I have to call up against organizations like that, and it's very hard to get the right people on the table. But I think an organization like Bureau Broedplaatsen...they could also play an active role in kind of lobbying for our interests” (I_5, 121-125).

Table 7: Overview of perspectives/ideas for the theme Added Value.

SUB-THEME (FOCUSED CODE)	RELATED PERSPECTIVES/IDEAS
Added value of breeding grounds	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Balance among all the values is important * Cultural and social values are fundamental * Economic value is fundamental ≠ Economic value should be excluded

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Important to achieve connectivity with the surroundings
Factors influencing the added value	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Target group(s) * Location of breeding grounds * Profile of breeding grounds * Cultural programming
Importance of feedback	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Value of feedback has been acknowledged * Helps both sides (BB and involved actors) * Reality different than expectation, therefore feedback is vital * More active role of BB when needed to lobby for breeding grounds' interests

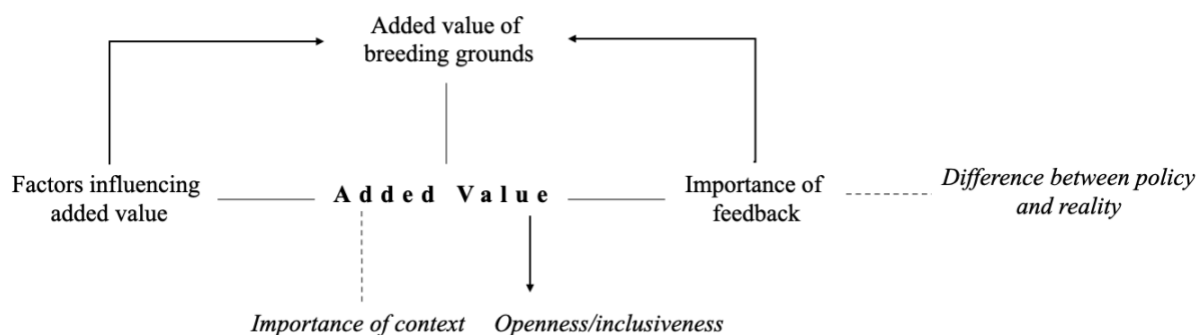


Figure 23: Emerged associations for the core theme Added Value.

5.4. Changes

5.4.1. Change to permanent

As cited earlier, making breeding grounds permanent is one of the major changes proposed in the revised BPA policy and the most related to the temporary nature of the projects. Therefore, it was intended to explore the positions of the respondents regarding this change, aiming to examine the way they evaluate it with regards to breeding grounds' future.

For the majority of the respondents this change seems beneficial. The arguments supporting this position coincide at some level with the aforementioned *Concerns among temporariness*, since what was mentioned as a concern over the short-term horizon of the projects, it was mentioned as an advantage regarding the proposed change to permanent. Therefore, a bidirectional relationship occurred among those two sub-themes. To begin with, the proper establishment of a breeding ground takes time and therefore it would be of their advantage to be able to stay for a longer time span, since their results cannot be evident immediately (I_3; I_10). Next to that, it was highlighted that the aforementioned desirable establishment of an internal community also takes time in order to be achieved. Speaking on this issue, Urban Resort's representative underlined:

“A community is based on people's interactions and bones and closeness and connectivity and it takes a while for that to emerge because you put a bunch of people in a building but that building was not built for that purpose and the people don't know each other yet. It still has to become something where people have to get to know each other” (I_1, 136-139).

Supporting this change, BB's representative underlined that in a logical sense, "the longer the projects last, the better the impact, and how big the impact would be" (I_3, 227-228), implying the importance of such change in the current development of breeding grounds. Next to that, it was reported that the aim of the breeding grounds is always to stay indefinitely, while the intention from policy's side is to make those places sustainable (I_6; I_10). In that sense, change to permanent seems to influence the level of *Sustainability* of the breeding places (see section 5.5.4.).

In terms of creativity, this change could be proved advantageous, since it can act a means to keep creatives in the city, being able to offer affordable working and/or living spaces to the creative sector for longer time. Hence, a "creative brain-drain" could be avoided (I_5, 196).

However, as underlined by some respondents, this shift to permanent could be seen as a two-fold argument (I_1; I_9). On the one hand, the aforementioned advantages of this change might be evident, safeguarding the existence of those places, but on the contrary, this change may have an effect on the way people within the breeding grounds work, affecting their flexibility, spontaneity and creativity (I_1; I_9). As Urban Resort's representative emphasized:

"Having that pressure of it might be over soon, also is a driver for people...And it takes out a bit of the flexibility, because you still want to have an exploitation for all those years. And a bit of this spontaneous goes out of it. So, it is really a double-sighted coin" (I_1, 155-158).

Regarding this ambiguity of this change, Cinetol's representative added:

"...one thing that's very interesting about all these temporary projects, you know, the projects that last not even 5 years, like 3 years, that it really brings up the most creative side of people...And, you know, you can create a sort of hype, a bus for everybody working for the same project. We are gonna create this for a limited amount of years, and we are gonna make most of it. And that like I said, this really brings out the most creative part of the people" (I_9, 49-55).

This issue of ambiguity regarding the proposed change to permanent unfolds the bidirectional relationship of it with the *Importance of temporariness*, since the aforementioned boost to people's creativity seems to be highlighted in comparison with the potential of breeding grounds' permanence.

Next to that, the same respondent, speaking for the other side of this argument, underlined that what is happening now is that more temporary projects are pushed out in the outskirts of the city and having this change to permanent on effect will eventually result in a 'homogenous' city centre, as "there will be no more niche, underground, exciting things" (I_9, 182). However, by making those temporary projects on the outskirts "more permanent, or permanent" (I_9, 184), then diversity among the projects in general can be ensured at some level.

Moreover, ownership related issues were also mentioned in this particular sub-theme, highlighting that many times it is on the owner's decision about the future of a breeding ground and its shift to permanent (I_6), while this proposal from the BB's side could act as a means to convince the developers to keep the projects in their properties. In particular, the shift of the breeding places into (more) permanent projects can offer a "backup" by the BB in order to lobby upon the issue of permanence (I_5). Heesterveld CC's representative, speaking on this topic, highlighted:

"When you are up against a big organization, and you want to lobby for something like this, you are gonna need means to do that. You're gonna need some influential people, who can

lobby for that with the housing corporation. And you need the help to make a plan to do this” (I_5, 74-77).

For the owners, profit is the main factor affecting their decisions about the future of those projects, aiming to make this profit “in the shortest amount of time” (I_6, 104), focusing only on their “returning investment” (I_10, 348).

5.4.2. Breeding grounds in new development

This particular change that was proposed by the revised BPA policy was a sub-theme that emerged from the conducted interviews as it was not initially included in the interview guide. Speaking of this change, respondents seemed divided at some extent, having ‘mixed feelings’ regarding this change and the inclusion of breeding grounds in new developments.

Some of the respondents reported that this change is positive in relation to the development of breeding grounds in the future. In particular, this change -policy wise- can be seen as the right step in order to ensure the existence of the creatives for the future (I_1; personal communication, 28.01.2020). This assurance of creatives’ existence within Amsterdam through this change was also seen as a means to enhance their *Sustainability*, due to their (future) long-term horizon (DA_2iii). Therefore, similarly with the Change to permanent, this sub-theme also seems to influence *Sustainability*. Moreover, it was stated that with this change livability can be enhanced, ensuring the optimal variety among the developed functions. As BOGOTA/Meurkens & Meurkens’ representative emphasized about this: “That’s the way to keep a good vibe in your new developments... You don't want to live in a neighborhood that's only living” (I_8, 226-227), while ISO Amsterdam’s representative, speaking of the importance of such uses in urban areas underlined: “...cultural programation is like water, otherwise it will dry out” (I_10, 222-223).

Next to that, this change indicated that this kind of culture related projects have been acknowledged - in terms of their value- and so as their future potential. LOLA’s representative, speaking of their developed projects, mentioned: “So, more and more we are like a partner in the future development” (I_4, 154-155). In addition to this, the same respondent highlighted that local governments and project developers must be educated in order to understand that it is in their interest to utilize those temporary projects, while he emphasized that this concern originates from the “*gentrification discussion*” (I_4, 160-161) that is most of the times “black-white” (I_4, 161), which must not be the case. Therefore, an ambiguity also occurred when it comes to gentrification, implying the potential beneficial perspective of it when speaking of breeding grounds in new developments.

On the other hand, for some respondents this proposed change seemed less positive or even complicated. The allocation of the creatives in completely new facilities, dedicated to them was seen from some respondents as a ‘strike’ in their experimentation but also the spontaneous and flexible inherent nature of their work, that is linked with their overall aim as artists and creatives in general and hence their overall success. Therefore, this particular change proposed by the BB seems to be in contrast with breeding places’ *Experimentation*, in relation with their *success*.

Placing breeding grounds in new buildings, according to Urban Resort’s representative, seem to ‘standardize’ their function. In particular, she mentioned:

“...that takes the way a bit of the feeling, because it was used to be a little rough and edgy and like experimentation and interesting people and something new. And now suddenly people almost be put on white boxes” (I_1, 146-147).

Similarly, BOGOTA/Meurkens & Meurkens' representative thinks that building something completely new for the creatives might be a problem, while he added that: "I'm very curious...actually think it's a lot easier to convince a project developer that is necessary, than to convince an artist to get in there" (I_8, 219-221).

Lastly, the power that an organization like BB can have in order to consolidate such a measure is questioned. In particular, according to ISO Amsterdam's representative, BB does not have the power to influence such a decision, since developments throughout Amsterdam are delineated by the market, by the developers; "...by the investors with the money" (I_8, 199). What he sees is that external factors determine the future of the developments and "that's where the city lost control" (I_8, 199-200). However, he sees potential if BB can lobby on this issue.

Table 8: Overview of perspectives/ideas for the theme Changes.

SUB-THEME (FOCUSED CODE)	RELATED PERSPECTIVES/IDEAS
Change to permanent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Beneficial, since the establishment of the project and internal community take time * Important to avoid creative brain-drain and to convince developers * It is a double-sighted coin as people in short time might be more creative, flexible and spontaneous * Owners decide upon the future of the project, mostly driven by profit related issues
Breeding grounds in new development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Livability is enhanced * Policy wise is a right step * The impact of the breeding grounds has been acknowledged * Breeding grounds may lose their identity * Easier to convince developers than creatives * BB may not have the power to establish this change

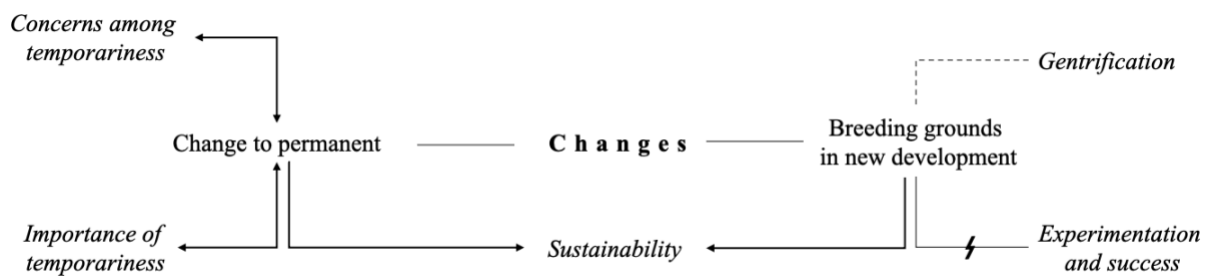


Figure 24: Emerged associations for the core theme Changes.

5.5. Challenges

5.5.1. Problems originated from policy

Regarding the challenges that need to be encountered, problems originating from the policy and the way BB structures the processes within it were reported by some respondents. It is noteworthy that this was also a sub-theme that emerged through the interviews.

Bureaucracy was one of the reported issues from the respondents. Even though BB in general was acknowledged by the respondents as particularly willing to help with all the steps and processes needed for the establishment of the breeding grounds, interdependency among the different municipal departments involved with the policy along with communication problems between them is sometimes unavoidable (I_1). Therefore, this is one more case where there is *difference between what is intended with or by the BPA policy and reality*. Next to that, the existence of other municipal agendas may obstruct the BPA policy, in terms of the allocation of the municipal property, highlighting the evident “*competition*” among different policy areas. As Urban Resort’s representative underlined: “So, for the gemeente they don't always have the means to make up for it and they really have to also make sure that the policy on property also corresponds with broedplaatsen policy” (I_1, 281-283).

LOLA’s representative also recognized the bureaucratic nature of the BB, which he found “on a strategic level...good” (I_4, 316), as the connections that have to be established with project developers require to be “really strict” (I_4, 317). However, as he concluded: “on the other hand, it's less flexible for them” (I_4, 318).

Beside BB’s flexibility, bureaucracy might be proved to obstruct also *experimentation*, when it comes to the breeding grounds per se, being related with the final outcome of the projects and therefore their *success*, revealing a contrasting relationship between bureaucracy and *Experimentation* in terms of breeding grounds’ *success*. As highlighted by Urban Resort’s representative:

“...it is really a constant like ping-pong battle, because we work by the policy and the policy also forms it for us in a way. But sometimes, is also clashing greatly because in the end bureaucracy and experiment are opposite with each other” (I_1, 260-262).

The rigidity of CAWA was also reported by some respondents. The regulations given by CAWA to creatives can be proved strict, even though CAWA, as a committee, is also willing to help the foundations, managing organizations and the creatives (I_4; I_10). Next to that, all the steps needed to be taken by the artists is time- and effort-consuming, as the steps artists have to take completing the compulsory test are many (I_1; I_4). WOW Foundation’s representative added on this that those steps are particularly difficult also for international artists, highlighting the language barrier. Therefore, she indicated that considering the desirable openness to a larger target group, then the administrative part of the policy needs to be able to support it (I_2). For her, identifying what does not work from the foundation’s side and communicate it with CAWA and BB, can only make their cooperation better. As she emphasized: “It's very important to me to be critical, I don't know there is nothing wrong with some criticism” (I_2, 271-272). Therefore, *difference between policy and reality* is also evident when it comes to CAWA’s rigidity, but also the *Importance of feedback* is highlighted, since it seems able to positively influence and tackle problems originated from the policy.

Having experienced that, the representative of ISO Amsterdam recognized that given the willingness of CAWA to help with the procedures, shifts in the policy might occur during the expectation period or the build-up phase, proving CAWA’s flexibility. However, as he highlighted: “they can also be a bit more flexible in advance already” (I_10, 338-339).

The same respondent, referring to the basic rule of CAWA that only ateliers or studio spaces -“closed boxes” -as he called them (I_10, 542)- are financially supported by the committee, underlined that CAWA’s regulations do not correspond with the current situation, in terms of work conditions, or easy travel. He concluded: “I think they don’t grow enough with the change of the actual situation” (I_10, 546).

5.5.2. Important challenges

In this sub-theme were included the challenges that currently need to be encountered, as reported by the respondents. In addition, respondents were asked regarding the biggest challenge that has to be faced, including both breeding grounds' and policy's perspective.

Finance related issues were considered by some respondents as important, or even the biggest challenge for the breeding grounds' side. Dependability of funding (I_5) and financial livability (I_8) were the most evident challenges related with breeding grounds' finance. It is noteworthy that financial viability was also reported by many respondents as an *Evidence of success*, for both policy's and breeding grounds' perspective, indicating the bidirectional relationship among these two sub-themes, as previously cited. Next to that, the obligation to pay the rent was also reported. For Cinetol's representative this is the biggest challenge that has to be encountered over the years of the project's operation, even though he mentioned that this is not their biggest challenge anymore. As he underlined:

“I think the biggest challenge is paying the rent, because you wanna pay the rent and make a living for yourself, because it's an expensive city in terms of the rent and the money you have to pay every month to pay the bills. And you're not in a commercial business, you cannot offer the commercial prices and do all the commercial things” (I_9, 246-249).

It is noteworthy that even though he sees this non-commercial direction as beneficial for the breeding grounds per se, he recognizes it at the same time as a challenge as the profits of such a project can be proved “really small” (I_9, 249). Therefore, as he highlighted: “if you have like a couple of bad months that really, you know, that you don't really have a buffer to, like, cover that” (I_9, 250).

The assurance of creatives' existence in the city was also reported as an important challenge that need to be faced (personal communication, 28.01.2020). The room for the creatives in the city has been continuously decreasing, particularly for large breeding grounds, while the pressure on the municipal real estate that can be transformed into breeding grounds is enormous (DA2_i; DA2_iii). It is important to notice that the assurance of the creative spaces throughout Amsterdam was also reported by the representative of BB who sees it as the biggest challenge from the policy's perspective. As he emphasized:

“...they have now all these plans and ideas on how they are going to make sure that we keep those meters and spaces in the city, but actually making sure that happens, I think it need the most focus. Because all the rest comes afterwards” (I_3, 311-313).

The substantial impact of the breeding grounds was highlighted as an important challenge by LOLA's representative, highlighting the importance for a breeding ground to be able to make impact “not only for the phase that you are there, but also afterwards. That you are part of the developments, that you are a serious partner” (I_4, 254-255). In terms of the *Added value of breeding grounds*, ISO Amsterdam's representative sees spatial value as an important challenge, acknowledging its importance and the need to be ensured (I_10). Thus, a bidirectional relationship occurred among those two sub-themes, since a perspective of the Added value of breeding grounds is considered at the same time as an important challenge.

For Urban Resort's representative, *gentrification* is also a challenge when it comes to the development of breeding grounds in Amsterdam, as it presses the property market. As she emphasized: “...the pressure on the market is so high that of course we feel it daily” (I_1, 284). Given this pressure on the property market and the scarcity of available places that can be transformed in breeding places, BB's

representative added that there is a high risk of failure for the projects that can possibly have an evident impact for the Municipality of Amsterdam, as it sometimes loses “a lot of money” (I_3, 444).

5.5.3. Openness/inclusiveness

Openness and inclusiveness was a sub-theme explored through the conducted interviews, as it was an important point that was highlighted in the revised BPA policy document. For the BB, openness/inclusiveness is related with the inclusion of more people; people with different backgrounds and/or cultures that are welcome to participate in a breeding ground. Within this context, openness/inclusiveness was also considered as a challenge that needs to be encountered for the majority of the respondents from the field (project initiators/managing organizations).

To begin with, according to BB the term inclusiveness is referring to “counting and participating as many people as possible” (DA_1, 155-156), while openness is related with the level at which the results of a breeding ground are communicated with the surrounding area (DA_1). Adding to the definition of inclusiveness, BB’s representative mentioned: “...by inclusiveness in that sense we mean to get in contact with other group of people who don’t regularly go to a Broedplaats” (I_3, 67-68). For CAWA openness/inclusiveness is also an important aspect that needs to be achieved, as the committee the need of more inclusive and opener breeding grounds and encourages them to have functions that embrace those aspects (personal communication, 28.01.2020).

It is noteworthy that this point of attention of the revised BPA policy originates from the fact that the way the breeding grounds are composed do not always reflect the composition of the city (DA_1). In other words, the representation of Amsterdam’s inhabitants in the breeding grounds is limited, with regards to the range of existing disciplines of the creative industry in the city (I_10).

For Urban Resort’s representative the challenge of openness/inclusiveness is not for the policy per se, but more for the organizations managing the breeding grounds and the artists. She sees that the reason behind the motivation to be open and inclusive is more related with the fact that those aspects gained the attention of the BB and the BPA policy. Hence, breeding grounds that are currently fighting for a place in the city are constantly trying to make themselves relevant for the topics that are important for the BPA policy (I_1).

Regarding the factors rendering openness/inclusiveness as a challenge, several aspects of the overall *context* of each breeding ground were reported by the respondents. The inherent nature of breeding grounds following the introverted nature of the artists is what can make openness/inclusiveness difficult to achieve. Artists tend to feel “vulnerable” (I_8, 298) and consider themselves as “the most critical viewer of their work” (I_8, 295-296). Therefore, they tend to focus on their work, eliminating the chances to represent a more open or inclusive breeding ground. For ISO Amsterdam’s representative this issue starts for the artists earlier, in the Art Academies, where issues of limited diversity and inclusiveness were already evident on a cultural but also social level (I_10).

Although openness/inclusiveness was acknowledged by all the respondents as highly important, there were positions reported that highlighted that the target group of a breeding place plays an important role, highlighting the importance of breeding grounds’ context. In particular, as WOW foundation’s representative mentioned: “although you try to be for everybody, it’s not always for everybody” (I_2, 185-186), highlighting also that sometimes art has “that kind of ivory tower” (I_2, 185). It is not worthy that openness was also reported as one of the *Factors influencing the added value* of the breeding places, implying the importance of this particular challenge when it comes to the overall importance of the breeding grounds and its bidirectional relationship with this sub-theme of Openness/inclusiveness.

Lastly, it is worth noticing that WOW foundation's representative, speaking of their project, stated that a certain level openness/inclusiveness is not considered as a challenge since those aspects already constitute part of overall aim of the project (I_2).

5.5.4 Sustainability

Sustainability was also an important point of attention for the revised version of the BPA policy document, that can be related with the future of breeding grounds in the city of Amsterdam. As mentioned in the BPA policy document, sustainability is related with the temporary nature of the breeding grounds (DA_1). Hence, this aspect was chosen to be explored in related with temporariness, exploring whether it contradicts (or not) with it. For that reason, this particular theme was further divided into two perspectives: *Sustainability contradicts temporariness* and *Sustainability does not contradict temporariness*.

To begin with, for BB is important that the breeding grounds should be able to meet sustainability related standards during the build-up phase related to air pollution or energy saving (DA_1). The contradiction between sustainability and temporariness is also evident for the BB's representative, when it comes to measures "on the building itself" (I_3, 404), as he sees that the recoup of the investment is not possible within the short time horizon of the projects (I_3).

Issues related with the investment on sustainability were also reported from the project initiators/managing organizations' side. As De Hoop's representative highlighted, given the circumstances and considering all the other costs that need to be covered (e.g. electricity for all the separated spaces) it does not worth the investment to make a breeding ground sustainable (I_6), while BOGOTA/Meurkens & Meurkens' representative also underlined that investment on sustainability for a short time does not also worth the effort. As he emphasized: "...please don't... don't put any effort for such a short period. That's not a good idea" (I_8, 437-438).

Next to that, speaking of the Heesterveld CC project, its representative underlined that given the condition of the buildings and their poor isolation, the investment on sustainability would cost a lot. Therefore, he doubts whether the housing corporation that owns those buildings would be willing to have this investment, considering the unclear future of the project (I_5). The aforementioned uncertainty for the future of the breeding grounds in relation to sustainability was also highlighted by the representative of ISO Amsterdam who stated that temporariness obstructs large investments for sustainability on the projects, while he underlined that "...it's a pity because you could have done these investments. So, then the impact is less that it could have been, and that's just a missed chance. It's a missed chance..." (I_10, 611-613). Therefore, uncertainty regarding the temporary nature of the projects, being one of the *Concerns among temporariness* (see section 5.2.4.), was proved to influence the perception regarding the contradiction between sustainability and temporariness

However, as stated by ISO Amsterdam's representative, sustainability, as a term, is quite broad; a "container expression" (I_10, 631) that has many angles, while he highlighted that sustainability may or may not contradict temporariness. As he highlighted:

"Sometimes, you can work with not sustainable materials, but if the design is good, then you can maybe reuse it in the end. And then again, in the end, less sustainable materials, it becomes more sustainable. Because you can really use it on and on and on. So, there is no waste...this expression of sustainability is difficult..." (I_10, 633-636).

On the other hand, considering the reuse of buildings that are going to be demolished in the near future for the accommodation of breeding grounds, sustainability can be achieved also on a temporarily based projects (I_3; I_6), even though that the demolition of a building per se is not sustainable (I_4). Next to that, in some cases sustainability is already invested in breeding grounds, in spite of the short time horizon of the project. As De Hoop’s representative added on this, sustainability was already taken under consideration from the beginning, as sustainable materials were used for fireproofing the building, which is an important requirement for the build-up phase (I_6).

Lastly, as highlighted by LOLA’s representative, ownership upon the buildings where breeding grounds are developed (or about to be developed to) plays an important role, when it comes to sustainability. The autonomy regarding the sustainability measures that are going to be taken would be higher, while the investment on them might be even cheaper (I_4). Therefore, he underlined that: “...in order to make it more sustainable, to make projects for the longer term...it has to get ownerships” (I_4, 248-249). Overall, it could be concluded that given the reported perspectives regarding sustainability, the stance regarding the contradiction -or not- between sustainability and temporariness is influenced by the *Definition of temporariness*, as interpreted from the different actors.

Table 9: Overview of perspectives/ideas for the theme Challenges.

SUB-THEME (FOCUSED CODE)	RELATED PERSPECTIVES/IDEAS
Problems originated from the policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Bureaucracy * Rigidity of CAWA
Important challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Financial viability * Dependability on funding * Paying the rent * Assurance for the existence of the creatives in the city * Make real impact during and after the operation of the breeding grounds
Openness/inclusiveness	<p><u>Openness/inclusiveness is a challenge</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Challenge for the breeding grounds not for the policy per se * Breeding grounds try to be open/inclusive to make themselves relevant * Introverted nature of artists influence breeding grounds’ openness/inclusiveness * Not everything is for everyone in the breeding grounds <p><u>Openness/inclusiveness is not a challenge</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Is not a challenge when it is already the overall aim of a breeding ground
Sustainability	<p><u>Sustainability contradicts temporariness</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * There is contradiction when it comes to construction * Temporary projects do not worth the effort nor the investment on sustainability

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Uncertainty for the future obstruct investment <p><u>Sustainability does not contradict temporariness</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Investment is possible with temporariness * At some cases, sustainability is already invested * Ownership is important when it comes to sustainability
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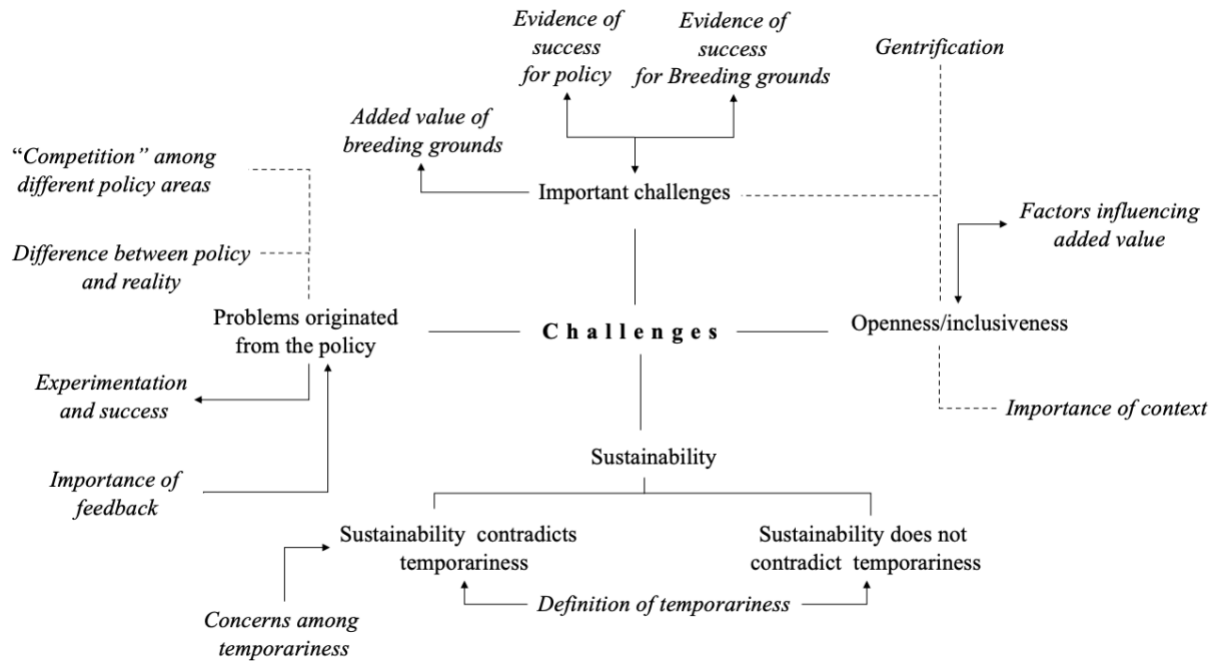


Figure 25: Emerged associations for the core theme Challenges.

6. Discussion and Concluding remarks

6.1. Discussion

6.1.1. Attributive aspects of the success of BPA policy's temporary uses

Success was one of the three core aspects through which the main research question would be answered. Through the obtained information originated from the Document Analysis but also the conducted interviews, the attributive aspects of the BPA policy's and breeding grounds' success were intended to be found, answering the first formulated sub-question: *“What are the aspects that define the success of the BPA policy's temporary uses in Amsterdam?”*

Speaking of future success, from both policy's and projects' side, the attributive aspects that can define success were proved similar, aligning the two sides. Issues reported in the BPA policy document, representing BB's side but also from the Municipality's representatives (both BB and CAWA) seemed to be in line with what was reported by the actors in the field (project initiators/managing organizations), indicating an alignment between policy's intention and policy's 'translation' in the field.

It was quite impressing the fact that the definition of success given from both sides was related with the duration of the breeding grounds in the city. Hence, this characteristic of the projects gained particular meaning. For Bishop and Williams (2012), the finite time horizon of a temporary use was recognized as the main and most important characteristic of the concept, while Haydn and Temel (2006) saw that as an opportunity to utilize the advantages of temporality. Those advantages were also acknowledged by the BB (at least in the beginning), as the pre-defined horizon of the breeding grounds could act as a means to renew the stock of breeding places throughout Amsterdam. Therefore, (new) creatives can be accommodated, without letting the total surface of them to be shrunk (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

However, as the research revealed, actors from the field, namely project initiators/managing organizations, saw this fixed and short-term horizon of the breeding grounds as obstructive to breeding grounds' development. The arguments used by the respondents to support this stance were related with the proposed by the BB changes regarding the nature of the projects. The changes concern their shift to a more permanent function as well as the establishment of breeding grounds in new development. Those changes also revealed that the stance of the BB and the BPA policy regarding the temporary nature of the projects was reviewed, offering now (more) long-term solutions and alternatives for the creatives. For the BB's representative, this temporary nature is “more or less a coincidence” (I_3, 129), highlighting that it is not the characteristics of a temporary use per se the reason of its selection, but rather the affordability of those places.

For the majority of the respondents the aforementioned proposed changes seemed beneficial for the development of the breeding grounds, since different steps and procedures that are needed for their proper establishment really take time. Next to that, the desirable connectivity with the neighborhood also takes time, rendering even more necessary the longer time horizon of the breeding grounds. That position originated from the field regarding the longer time needed to properly establish a breeding ground -and therefore have the desirable result- comes in opposition with the anticipating results of a temporary use. According to Silva (2016) a temporary use expected to have more direct results comparing to other (more) permanent uses. This opposition showed a different perspective of the development of a temporary use, when it comes to real-life conditions and unavoidable practicalities. For the actors from the field, it would be an important evidence of success if they could exist for longer time in the city,

even longer from what is initially agreed, in order to be able to properly manage the establishment of their project.

Therefore, it is important to highlight that, as this research showed, the time horizon of a breeding ground per se is an important aspect that can define the success (or not) of a project. The same stands for the concept of temporary use, since literature on the topic claimed that time horizon is considered a particularly important aspect of it (Bishop & Williams, 2012). However, a contradiction lies between those two sides, regarding the suitability of either a long-term (as the research showed) or a short-term (as the literature indicated) time horizon of such projects, when it comes to their anticipating future results. Regarding with the duration of the breeding places, an interesting result shown through this research is that ownership of the property where a breeding ground is developed can also influence its duration, since the either short-term or long-term development of a project is considered by some to be defined based on the ownership -or non- upon the property.

Concerning the establishment of breeding places in new developments, as a reported attributive factor of success of the policy, the research showed that this change might act as an effective means to ensure the existence of the creatives in Amsterdam, without however omitting the difficulty of such an approach. Policy wise, the inclusion of breeding places in new developments was considered by some respondents as beneficial, and an appropriate first step to enhance the footprint of the creatives in the city, while this change could act as a means for the actors related with the establishment and the management of such projects to be seen as more active partners of Amsterdam's future development.

However, problems might occur when artists and entrepreneurs are intended to fit in a 'predefined' and brand-new development. This concern, reported by some respondents, was related with the inherent nature of those actors (creatives), who prefer more 'rough' and 'edgy' places where they can experiment (I_1; I_8). This concern seems to be accordant to Stevens' view (2018), according to whom actors originated from the creative sector are more suitable for temporary uses developed in underutilized areas, since due to their nature is easier to grasp and further utilize their aesthetic, functional and historical characteristics.

Financial viability of the project initiators/managing organizations was also reported as an attributive aspect of success for the breeding places, and, therefore, for the BPA policy overall. The research showed that this aspect is of high importance for this specific party, but it is also acknowledged by the BB, which aims to actively support facilitate this achievement with the revised BPA policy . For both sides, this aspect was considered as an aspect of success, since it could help the projects to increase their livability on the long run. However, at the same time it was considered as an important challenge for them. This aspect, together with the reported challenge of dependability on funding indicated the willingness of this party for independency. It is noteworthy that this need for independency and self-regulation (at some extent) is of high importance, in order to help the initiatives to prevent their "falling into traps of the bureaucratic system" (Lehtovuori & Havik, 2009, p. 214)

Along with the attributive aspects of the future success of the BPA policy and the breeding grounds (presented in section 5.1.2. as *Evidence of Success*), defining aspects of their current success were also reported (previously presented in section 5.1.1. as *Factors of Success*). Therefore, a broader overview about the meaning of success of the BPA policy and its projects can be shown with this research.

Among the factors of current success, the provision of affordable spaces was one of the elements that can define the policy as successful, since the creatives have the chance to be accommodated with a relatively low rent. The reason behind this choice of this particular factor of policy's success lies on the

real estate development pressure in Amsterdam, which has an effect on the creatives and their accommodation. Therefore, the fact that affordable places can be available to creatives, in spite of this evident pressurized real estate market, was considered as an important success of the policy.

This reported aspect of the current success of the BPA policy was also reported by literature as an important contribution of the BPA policy, especially in times of austerity, when real estate development is usually early victimized (Barba Lata & Duineveld, 2019). Therefore, the contribution lies to the fact that subsidies and affordable spaces are offered to artists and entrepreneurs, under this difficult condition. The high importance of affordability is also reported for the creatives' way of working. Speaking of creative clusters (that can be compared with the network of breeding grounds under the BPA policy) Kong (2009) underlined that in cities, such as Singapore, artists seem to unavoidable prefer to work within creative clusters, having the chance to be accommodated with affordable rentals.

Together with the real estate market, gentrification processes were also reported together with affordability. Linking gentrification with factors of success, it was highlighted that is the provision of spaces to creatives that is considered as a success of the policy, even though gentrification has a negative effect on the projects. In particular, as reported by one representative of a managing organization, the skyrocketing market prices together with the processes of gentrification is the reason why breeding places are chosen by the creatives; the reason why they are "pretty much wanted" (I_1, 13), verifying their success. However, uses developed on a temporary basis, like the breeding grounds in Amsterdam, have been criticized for accelerating gentrification, due to the increase of the properties' and neighborhoods' values after the development of culture- and creativity- related projects (Patti & Polyak, 2015).

Lastly, the existence of this policy per se, was reported as a defining factor of success for the Municipality of Amsterdam in general, as it can exemplify for other Municipalities and cities with same characteristics and needs. The sharing of knowledge and experience was an important aspect also for the first projects with temporary uses that were implemented in European cities, such as Bremen and Rome, highlighting the importance of the transmission of Municipalities' know how to other cities (see TUTUR network¹⁵).

Figure 26 below illustrates the key findings as discussed in this section, while Table 10 afterwards gives a more descriptive overview of the findings.

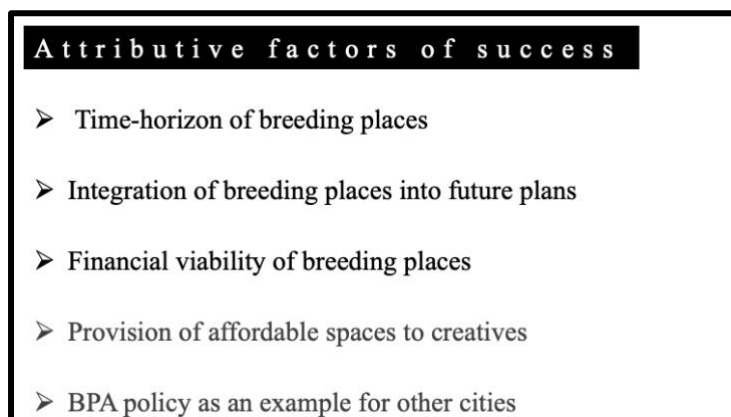


Figure 26: Key findings regarding the attributive factors of success of the BPA policy and its temporary uses.

¹⁵ <https://urbact.eu/tutur>

Table 10: Overview of the critical points discussed regarding the attributive actors of success of the BPA policy and its temporary uses.

RESEARCH TOPIC	DISCUSSED POINTS
Attributive factors of success	<p><u>Future success</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Time horizon of breeding places <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Pre-defined time horizon is considered beneficial but also obstructive ⇒ Ownership influences the time horizon of the breeding places * Integration of breeding places in future plans <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Related with the proposed changes for permanence and establishment in new developments ⇒ Direct results of temporary use may be preferred comparing with permanent uses ⇒ Existence of breeding places in the city for longer time * Financial viability <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Supported also by the BB ⇒ Could act as a means to increase breeding places' livability ⇒ Shows willingness for more independency <p><u>Current success</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Provision of affordable spaces to creatives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Pressurized real estate market and gentrification processes increase the popularity of the policy ⇒ Breeding places can also hasten gentrification * Example for other cities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Important to share the existing knowledge and experience to cities with similar needs

6.1.2. Added value of BPA policy's temporary uses to Amsterdam's future urbanization

The value the revised BPA policy and its breeding grounds intent to add to Amsterdam's future urbanization was also chosen to be explored through this research, depicting the overall contribution of the policy. For the exploration of this aspect, the typology formulated by the BB and the revised version of the BPA policy was used, including the four main types of added value given by the policy. Those types were: spatial, social, cultural and economic and were further explored through the selected data collection methods, in order to eventually answer the second formulated sub-question: *“Towards which perspectives of Amsterdam's future urbanization do BPA policy's temporary uses intend to add value to?”*

An important result derived from this research was the fact that many of the respondents highlighted the that the optimal way to develop and manage a breeding ground is by aiming to achieve the whole range of the aforementioned types of values. Hence, the optimal balance among the values should be achieved, without giving priority to any of those or without considering any of those types more essential than others. The focus on adding all the four perspectives of those values is also a priority for the BB and the revised BPA policy, since specific characteristics are provided in the policy document, defining each one of them (see section 4.1.2.).

Moreover, the general context of a breeding ground, in terms of location, target group and profile of the projects, was proved through this research as an important aspect that help the breeding places to add the optimal value to the city of Amsterdam. The importance of the context in relation with the value that such uses are able to add, acting as urban catalysts, was also highlighted by Hentila and Lindborg (2003), which claimed that the context should be taken into account before the overall value of a temporary use can be demonstrated. Next to that, the constant feedback between the BB and the rest involved actors was also proved as an important factor that can help the project to deliver the optimal set of values for the city.

Concerning the different types of values separately, this research showed that there are different interpretations regarding the importance -or not- of specific types of added value. It is important to mention that the results derived from the research regarding each type of added value was also compared with the characteristics given by the BB and the policy, in order to holistically discuss the issue of added value for the BPA and its projects.

To begin with, cultural value for the BPA policy is related with the connection of the breeding grounds with existing culture-related networks and institutions as well as with the proper programming and their link with cultural activities in different levels (municipal, national, international). The research revealed that there are different stances regarding added value, as for some respondents it is essential for such projects, due to their inherent nature, while for others this value is already evident and thus less effort should be given in order to achieve it. Hence, it is deduced that the same position was derived regarding the importance of the cultural value per se, but there are different perspectives regarding the effort needed in order to achieve it. It is important to highlight, that for both perspectives cultural programming was highlighted as particularly essential, verifying its importance as well as the importance of BB's provision of assistance regarding this issue.

Regarding the social value, it was proved that it is equally important with the aforementioned cultural value, yet not 'granted'. For the BB and BPA policy, this type of value refers to the engagement of the projects with the local residents of the surroundings, the mutual collaboration among the involved actors and the creation of an optimal working environment. Through this study, it became evident that those characteristics given by the BB were equally important for the actors originated from the field. The openness of the projects to people from the neighborhood that can increase their sense of belonging along with the important of the internal community of the artists and creatives were issues that were indirectly underlined, when discussing the potential social added value.

In terms of the economic added value, a controversy was emerged. The characteristics given by the BPA policy are related with the connection of the breeding grounds with existing business networks, the accommodation of entrepreneurship- and growth-related projects but also the enhancement of local community. For some respondents, the aforementioned characteristics were considered as highly important and essential to be achieved, and, thus, should be prioritized comparing with the rest of the values. Madanipour (2018), speaking of the potential creation of "future wealth creation" (p. 1100), he also referred to the symbolic value of temporary uses, which is highly related with branding and the image of creative energy that can be created together with the wealth.

As presented in the results' chapter earlier (see section 5.3.1.), it was underlined that giving priority to the economic added value, it is actually a way to better convince the project developers about the importance of a breeding ground. Therefore, profit-related functions should be promoted in order to ensure the future of the breeding grounds, in cases where the property or the building is not owned by the project initiator/managing organization itself. The controversy mentioned earlier regarding the

economic added value, lies to this characteristic of profit-related developed functions in a breeding ground. For some respondents, the economic aspect should be completely excluded, since it is at some point contradicting with the overall aim of the breeding grounds for well-being.

With regards to the spatial added value, the BPA policy translates it in terms of the visibility of the projects in the surrounding areas and the familiarization of the latter with the breeding grounds as well as the attractiveness of their location. The research showed that those characteristics given by the BB are equally important also for the actors from the field, as they highlighted the importance of connectivity with the neighborhood and the surroundings. It is noteworthy that the aforementioned connectivity was also mentioned in relation with other themes (such as the proposed by the BPA policy *Change to permanent* and the *Concerns among temporality*), verifying its importance from the actors' perspective.

An interesting point of attention derived here from the fact that even though this type of added value was linked with other themes -and hence seems to influence them- its prioritization, comparing with the other types of values was not preferred by the respondents. Therefore, the importance of the aforementioned balance among the values is verified. Lastly, an interesting outcome of this research regarding the spatial added value of the breeding grounds is related with the positive position regarding its importance and achievement in relation with the overall enhancement of the neighborhood. The establishment of breeding grounds that are capable of adding high spatial value to the neighborhoods was proved an effective way of enhancing the attractiveness of other facilities, such as hospitality, that may lead to the overall boost of the neighborhood. Therefore, this aspect is considered as beneficial for the breeding grounds.

However, the contribution of those uses to the overall upgrade of the neighborhood can also be considered as a catalyst for gentrification and displacement of vulnerable groups, even though it is "probably almost never artists' ambition" to contribute to it (Harris, 2015; Harvie, 2013, p. 111). As cited earlier, gentrification came into attention also in the aforementioned issue of success. Therefore, it seems that gentrification is unavoidable related with the development of the breeding places. However, it is important to highlight that the positions regarding gentrification were proved controversial, taking into account the (mostly) negative meaning that is given from the field's and involved actors' perspective and the opposite stand originated from the literature.

Moreover, it is important to mention that beside the aforementioned types of added values, innovation was also mentioned as an additional type of value. As the BB's representative underlined, this is also an important value that breeding grounds are capable of adding to the city of Amsterdam, being related with experimentation. This innovative aspect of the breeding places was also evident for Hentila and Lindborg (2003), who identified it as an "additional value connected with temporary uses" (Hentila & Lindborg, 2003, p. 19). According to the authors, this value that temporary uses can add, enhance the potential for the formulation of innovative milieus the creation of synergies and the overall improvement of the competitive capacity of a city (Hentila & Lindborg, 2003).

Lastly, regarding the added value of temporary use as a concept, the European program named Refill¹⁶ presented the state of the art of the concept in 2016, introduced a different set of values, including environmental instead of spatial added value. According to this program, environmental added value is related with the improvement of public spaces and greens, the potential depollution as well as the

¹⁶ <https://urbact.eu/Refill>

optimal management of existing sources, contributing to “the future of ‘smart’ or ‘compact’ cities” (Jégou, Bonneau, Tytgadt, Tabaku, & Descheemaeker, 2016, p. 13). It is worth mentioning that this perspective was not included by the BB in the optimal set of added values for the breeding places, nor highlighted as important from the respondents. However, sustainability was proved an important aspect for both sides -policy and actors in the field-, underlining its challenging management, when it comes to the development of breeding grounds. This issue is going to be further discussed in the following section.

Figure 27 below illustrates the key findings as discussed in this section, while Table 11 afterwards gives a more descriptive overview of the findings.

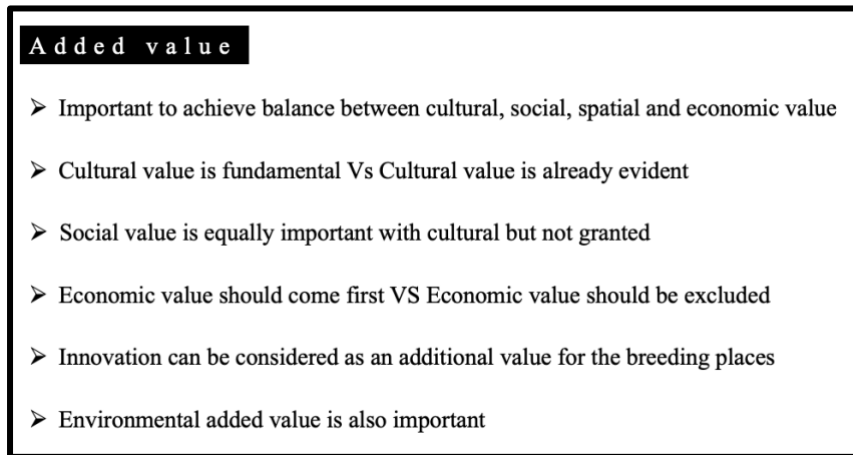


Figure 27: Key findings regarding the added value of the BPA policy and its temporary uses.

Table 11: Overview of the critical points discussed regarding the added value of the BPA policy and its temporary uses.

RESEARCH TOPIC	DISCUSSED POINTS
Added value	* Four types of added value ⇒ Cultural, social, spatial, economic
	* Important to achieve balance among the values ⇒ All values are equally important for the breeding grounds ⇒ All the values are priority for the BB and the BPA policy
	* Different interpretations for the importance -or not- of some types of added value ⇒ Cultural value: is fundamental due to the aim of the projects but also evident for the same reason, so less attention is needed for it Social value: equally important with cultural but not ‘granted’ ⇒ Economic value: should come first comparing to the others but also can be deleted as it does not correspond to the overall aim of well-being that the projects have ⇒ Spatial value: highly related with the connectivity with the neighborhood :it is a way to upgrade a neighborhood but at the same time can hasten gentrification
	* Innovation can be considered as an additional added value, contributive to the formulation of innovative milieus and synergies

6.1.3. Challenges expected to be addressed by the BPA policy and its temporary uses

Challenges that need to be addressed for the future of the BPA policy and its projects were also explored through this research. The challenges that were revealed through the study were varied, from problems originated from the policy to challenges that were already acknowledged and reported by the BB in the revised version of the BPA policy. It is important to underline that according to the results of the research regarding the challenges, the majority of them was related with the development and operation of the breeding grounds, varying from more ‘practical’ to more ‘substantial’ challenges. The whole range of the expected challenges, as arose from this research, are discussed in this section, aiming to answer the third formulated sub-question: *“What are the challenges expected to be encountered by the revised BPA policy and its temporary uses?”*

Bureaucracy and rigidity from the municipal side -from both BB and CAWA- were reported as an significant challenge that an actor in the field has to face, when it comes to the development of a breeding ground. Those challenges were related with the lack of flexibility but also with the strict requirements that need to be fulfilled by the project initiators/managing organizations or the creatives themselves. Therefore, more flexible operational and administration schemes are needed, as reported from the actors in the field, as the current procedures are quite time-consuming, distracting the creatives and the project initiators/managing organizations from their actual work, but also obstructing them from the actual experimentation they want to experience working within a breeding ground.

The complexity of bureaucratic structures and the inflexibility of regulations were also reported in literature as important obstacles when it comes to temporary use (Blumner, 2006; Lehtovuori & Ruoppila, 2012; Patti & Polyak, 2015). Patti and Polyak (2015), discussing the issues of bureaucracy and inflexibility, referred to the ZZZ project; a project developed with temporary use in Bremen, Germany. Using this example, the authors highlighted that the initiators were independent enough from the municipalities and therefore their work were not influenced or decelerated by “cumbersome bureaucracy”, acknowledging the benefits of such an independency (Patti & Polyak, 2015, p. 133). It is important to highlight, though, that as the research showed, the overall willingness of both municipal parties to actively help the project initiators/managing organizations and the creatives was acknowledged and reported from the majority of the respondents, highlighting at the same time the need for more substantial steps in order to bridge the gap between this intention and reality.

As already cited, financial viability of the project initiators/managing organizations was considered by the respondents as an attributive factors of future success for both the BPA policy and its projects (see section 6.1.). However, this aspect was also characterized as an important challenge for the breeding places. The need for independency, when it comes to finance and the dependency on funding were reported by the respondents as difficult points for their operation. Commercialization of uses, even though it is not preferred, was also proposed as an effective alternative that could help the projects to have some profit, and therefore stand more independent. This aspect could be characterized as the internal economic value that the breeding places aim to have and find important to achieve. The commercial value has been also reported in the literature. Colomb (2012), presenting the development of temporary uses in the case of 2000s Berlin, highlighted that the potential commercial value of a temporary use is evident, jousting with the “actual use value” (such as artistic or cultural) (p. 138).

Gentrification was reported also from the respondents as a challenge that need to be faced, interpreting it as a negative aspect that have an evident effect on the accommodation of the breeding places in the

city. As already mentioned earlier and reported by literature, gentrification can be also hastened by projects such as breeding places, as the surrounding area can be considerably updated due to their existence. Hence, vulnerable populations might be chased out for the same reason (Harris, 2015; Harvie, 2013; Patti & Polyak, 2015). Along with gentrification, connectivity was also considered as a challenge that need to be encountered, particularly the biggest challenge for some cases of breeding places. It is noteworthy that this particular aspect is at the same time an important spatial value that the breeding places want -and are required- to achieve, but also a reason for the acceptance and approbation of the proposed changes as it takes time to be established (see section 6.1.2.). Moreover, an interesting result derived from this research is that for the policy's side, the assurance of the creatives' existence in the city of Amsterdam is considered as the biggest challenge. This fact verified the choices for the proposed changes of the revised BPA policy, regarding the *Change to permanent* and the *Breeding grounds* in new development, which aim on this exact point.

Regarding the challenges that were already acknowledged by the BB and reported as important in the revised BPA policy, openness/inclusiveness and sustainability were highlighted and were further explored through this research. To begin with, openness/inclusiveness was reported as important from both sides -policy's and breeding grounds' - as it is a crucial point that every breeding ground should be capable of achieving. However, the context and the overall aim of every breeding ground separately were proved as important factors for rendering -or not- openness/inclusiveness as a challenge. Supporting this stance, Healey (2006) underlined that what can be considered as inclusive cannot be pre-determined, without considering the specific conditions and situations of every project.

The importance of the context, when it comes to the challenge of openness/inclusiveness was also reported in terms of projects' target groups of the projects, as it was highlighted that 'not everything is for everyone'. It is important to notice here that the importance of the (proper) target groups of the breeding places was also reported as a factor that influence the achievement of the desirable added value of the projects (see section 5.3.2.). Moreover, an interesting result that was shown was that the issue of openness/inclusiveness is not a challenge for the policy per se, but more for the breeding grounds, rendering the achievement of openness/inclusiveness as a matter of relevance; By relevance, it was meant that the interests of the breeding places should be aligned with the interests of the policy, as a way to 'ensure' their place in the city. Hence, as long as openness/inclusiveness is a matter of particular attention for the revised BPA policy, it should be also -unavoidably- an issue of attention for the breeding places.

Lastly, sustainability was also a challenge acknowledged and reported in the BPA revised policy. As mentioned earlier, it is considered very important but at the same time constitutes an important challenge for the breeding grounds, given, as mentioned by the BB, the temporary nature of the projects (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Upon this issue, two perspectives emerged regarding the dipole sustainability-temporariness. For some respondents, but also for the BB and the policy per se, sustainability seems to contradict temporariness, especially when it comes to construction for the further development of a breeding ground. As reported, neither the investment nor the effort worth, when the future of such a project is uncertain, without knowing whether or when it will end. Similarly with the case of attributive factors of success that discussed above (see section 6.1.1.), ownership was considered to be related also with sustainability, as a means that can facilitate -or even make cheaper- the investment on sustainability.

However, a large piece of literature seems opposed to this stance, as it has been reported that temporary uses stimulate a "manifold sustainability" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5). Temporarily developed

projects are capable of creating sustainable ecologies in urban context as well as promote sustainable development reducing the urban sprawl and reusing already developed urban land (Blumner, 2006; Till & McArdle, 2015).

The aforementioned reuse of already developed land or building represented the other perspective on the issue of sustainability, since some of the respondents did not see the any contradiction between sustainability and temporality. In particular, there were respondents underlined that sustainability is already invested in a way in the breeding places, when it comes to their operation in a former developed property and the use of reusable materials during the build-up phase. Furthermore, as Till and McArde (2015) underlined temporarily developed projects are capable of sharing “responsibility for place-caring and social sustainability”.

Lastly, it is important to consider that sustainability, as a term, is quite broad, being an ‘umbrella’ term that includes many angles. Therefore, different interpretations upon it, may lead to different positions and therefore different results, when an issue like this is included in a research.

Figure 28 below illustrates the key findings as discussed in this section, while Table 12 afterwards gives a more descriptive overview of the findings.

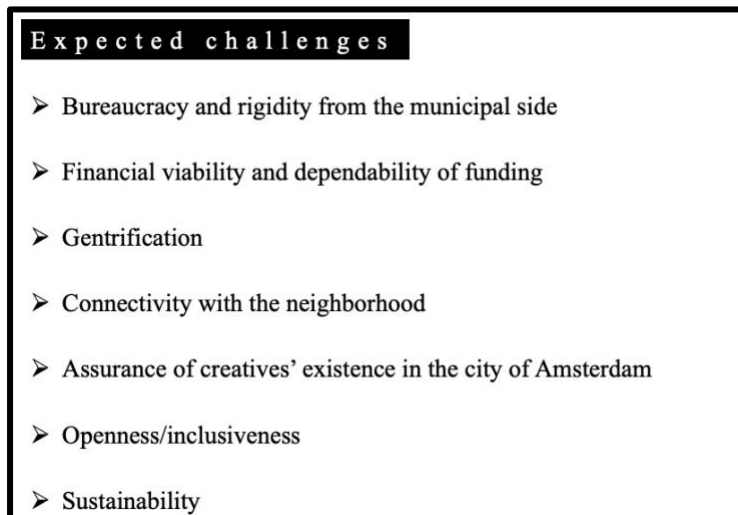


Figure 28: Key findings regarding the challenges that needed to be encountered by the BPA policy and its breeding grounds.

Table 12: Overview of the critical points discussed regarding the challenges that needed to be encountered by the BPA policy and its breeding grounds.

RESEARCH TOPIC	DISCUSSED POINTS
Challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Bureaucracy and rigidity from the municipal side <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Inflexibility and strict requirements ⇒ More flexibility is needed ⇒ Bureaucracy is an obstacle for temporary uses ⇒ Willingness of the municipal side to work on these issues is acknowledged from actors in the field
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Financial viability and dependability on funding <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Financial viability must be enhanced ⇒ Need for more independency (related to subsidies)

	⇒ Commercialization (at some extent) of uses within a breeding ground can help achieving independency and financial livability
* Gentrification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Negative aspect that effect breeding grounds and need to be managed from the actors' in the field side ⇒ Breeding places can also hasten gentrification
* Connectivity with the neighborhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ An important spatial added value but also important challenge ⇒ The biggest challenge for some breeding grounds
* Assurance of creatives' existence in the city of Amsterdam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ The biggest challenge from policy's side ⇒ The effort to encounter it is verified by the proposed changes in the revised BPA policy (change to permanent and breeding grounds in new development)
* Openness/inclusiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Important for both sides ⇒ Context -in terms of target group and location- and overall aim of every breeding ground determines if openness/inclusiveness is a challenge or not ⇒ It is a matter of relevance, as openness/inclusiveness is a focal point of the BPA policy and thus the breeding places should follow it to ensure their existence
* Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Sustainability does not worth the time nor the effort when a project is temporary ⇒ In the build-up face, temporariness contradicts sustainability ⇒ Temporary projects contribute to a manifold sustainability, when it comes to the reuse of already developed land and properties ⇒ Ownership influences the feasibility of sustainability in the breeding places

6.1.4. Contribution of BPA policy to Amsterdam's future urbanization

The overall contribution of the BPA policy in the future urbanization of Amsterdam is discussed in this section, aiming to answer the main research question of the research: *"How does the revised BPA policy contribute to the future urbanization of Amsterdam?"*. This contribution was explored through a three-fold conceptual model, according to which the future potential of the policy can be unraveled through the definitions of *success*, *added value* and expected *challenges* (see section 1.3.). On top of that, issues related to *temporariness* were decided to be investigated, in order to examine the potential of the concept, along with the proposed by the policy *changes* that aim to enhance the active contribution of the BPA policy in the future urbanization of the city. As shown through this research, the additional explored issues seem to considerably influence the potential contribution of the BPA policy, as they are particularly related with the three core aspects of the policy's future potential.

Considering all the themes that were investigated through this research and building upon the critical points that were discussed in the previous sections (6.1.1.-6.1.3.), the overall contribution of the BPA policy in the future urbanization of Amsterdam lies in the following aspects:

Continuation of creatives active presence in the city of Amsterdam

The creative sector of the Amsterdam city is a vital part of the city's overall identity. At the same time, the influx of the creatives in the city is constantly increasing, verifying the need to effectively cover this increasing demand. The provision of affordable spaces to creatives has already been acknowledged as an important contribution to cover this demand, since creatives can be accommodated in a city where the pressurized real estate market could act as an important threat for them.

Moreover, BPA policy seems that with the changes that were proposed, aims to actively support the accommodation of the creatives, acknowledging the evident need to do so. Exploring those changes and the involved actors' positions upon them, a shift from the so far temporary nature of the projects to (more) permanent formulas arose along with the acceptance of such a change by the involved actors. For the breeding places in Amsterdam, shifting to a more long-term development would mean that their proper establishment can be ensured while the desirable value production could be achieved.

However, despite the fact that permanence may act as a catalyst for the future of the breeding places, significant characteristics of the concept of temporary use has been acknowledged as important, even though they may be opposed to permanence. Flexibility and experimentation, as inherent characteristics of temporary uses, were considered as vital for the optimal operation of the breeding places and thus their ability to actively contribute to the future urbanization of the city.

Creation of value other than cultural for the city of Amsterdam

Even though the nature of the BPA policy's breeding places is culture-, art- and entrepreneurship-led, other perspectives were considered important to be delivered for the city, in order to be able to substantially contribute to its future development. Without underestimating the effort needed in order to be able to deliver the optimal cultural value, additional values have been produced in the breeding places. Those values are spatial, social and economic, and are already identified and requested by the BPA policy, as the optimal set of values that can be delivered through the breeding places. Next to that, they have been already acknowledged from the breeding places' side as vital, indicating their avid intension to produce them.

Spatial value, mainly translated to the connectivity with the neighborhood, had a significant role for the policy and the breeding places. This value would be able to be produced, when challenges, such as the achievement of openness/inclusiveness would be overcome. Next to the spatial value and the connectivity with the neighborhood, social value is intended to be produced for the city of Amsterdam, enhancing further the contribution of the policy to Amsterdam's future urbanization. This particular type of value aims for both internal and external social contribution of the breeding places, in terms of building of creatives' communities within the project, boosting the bonding among the actors and, therefore, helping them to actively engage the locals in the breeding places' environment.

When it comes to the economic value, the contribution of the breeding places through the production of this value came into question. Speaking of the economic value as part of this optimal set of values, points of controversy among respondents' perception arose, including profit-related issues as well as issues about the commercialization of the projects. Therefore, a proper management and coordination among those issues is needed.

Enhancement of the overall quality of life in the city of Amsterdam

Beside the aforementioned values that the BPA policy aims to deliver to the city, other aspects of the overall livability of a multi-cultural city, such as Amsterdam, can be also reinforced. As the research

showed, breeding places are capable to act as hypes, establishing deeper and better connections among the creative sector and the rest of the city. Next to that, social exclusion is intended to be weakened, while equality and diversity are intended to be enhanced, since the breeding places are shifting into more inclusive places. Therefore, more open spaces would be created, aiming to make people of Amsterdam feel welcome. Those aspects that BPA policy's breeding places can offer, positively contribute to the future of the city, by offering room to creatives to communicate their work.

Moreover, environmental issues can be also mitigated through the breeding places, contributing to the enhancement of Amsterdam's quality of life. Sustainability has been already considerably taken into consideration by the policy. At this point, temporariness also came into question, since it was considered that it can particularly obstruct the feasibility of sustainability-related measures. However, the research showed that within the temporary context of the projects, sustainability is already facilitated. Hence, environmental contribution is, at some extent, evident within the breeding places. Next to that, alternatives on this issue should be further explored, in order to make even more feasible the realization of sustainability-related measures within the breeding grounds.

It is important to notice that the overall contribution of the BPA policy is influenced by challenges that has to be faced in order to achieve the goals that have set both from the policy's but also the breeding places' side. The challenges that were emerged through this research showed that factors defining the future success of the policy -such as financial viability- but also important types of added value that are intended to be delivered -such as spatial- can be proved intellectually demanding. Therefore, the exploration of further ways that can help to manage those challenging parameters is required, in order to better unfold the overall contribution of the BPA policy in the future urbanization of Amsterdam.

6.2. Concluding remarks

6.2.1. Societal relevance and policy recommendations

Creative sector has an important position on the Amsterdam's urban agenda. The BPA policy aims to deliver to Amsterdam functions related with culture, arts and entrepreneurship, through the establishment of breeding grounds. These incubators are developed throughout the city, accommodating creatives and providing them the opportunity to actively enhance Amsterdam's livability. This research, focusing on those projects, aims to explore the ways in which temporary uses as such can add value to the future urbanization of Amsterdam. It presents an overview of interpretations of the involved actors to the establishment and further management of the breeding places, about the terms in which the policy is serving its overall aim. Next to that, the intended production of values for the city and along with the barriers that have to face when trying to achieve their goals are explored. Therefore, this research sheds light on a better understanding about actors' intentions and positions regarding the present development of the breeding places that influence the way the projects can further contribute to Amsterdam's future urbanization. Lastly, the findings of this research delineate how temporary uses are currently conceived and managed by the BPA policy and the other involved actors, outlining the ways the concept of temporary use is involved in Amsterdam's urban development.

Next to that, some recommendations regarding the policy-making agenda of Amsterdam are offered, aiming to provide also a more 'practical' outcome of this research. These recommendations occurred from the discussed points presented in the previous chapter (see section 6.1.), aiming to answer the intervention question that was formulated: "*How can the exploration of BPA policy's involvement to Amsterdam's future urbanization contribute to policy agenda-setting?*". The recommendations that

follow were formulated according critical points that were derived from the obtained and discussed results and explored themes:

Balanced commercialization of the breeding places

Commercialization of some of the uses developed in the breeding places could be proved beneficial for the projects. Developing uses within a breeding place that make profit for the initiator, it would enhance his financial viability. Therefore, this aspect, as an evidence of success, will be enhanced, while an important reported challenge will be tackled. Projects initiators and managing organizations should be properly informed and educated that commercial or semi-commercial uses might be of their own interest, without obstructing them from their own scope. Therefore, the current prejudice for profit-related uses within a breeding place could be eliminated. From the BB's side, incentives could be given to project initiators/managing organizations in order to promote those kinds of functions within the breeding places. By doing so, the exiting gap between the contradicting views on economic added value could be bridged, verifying the importance of an optimal balance among the types of added value.

Proper education and incentives to project developers

Besides making mandatory the existence of breeding places in new developments, project developers could be more actively engaged with the BPA policy and the development of the breeding places. Similarly, with the project initiators and commercialization, projects developers should also be adequately educated by the BB for the potential advantages of the development of such projects in their properties. Fears regarding possible failure and slow recoup of their investment should be sufficiently eliminated. A possible to balance this out, is the provision of incentives to project developers, so as to be open to such projects, even if they are going to be developed for shorter than desired time.

Establishment of a preliminary phase for the projects

Given the fact that, as reported, the proper establishment of a breeding place takes time, since various issues and practicalities need to be managed, it is proposed to set a preliminary phase of the overall time horizon of the project. This preliminary phase is proposed to include the built-up phase of the project, along with its 'establishment' phase. For the latter, a scale could be created, based on an average time that a project would need in order to be properly established (e.g. rent all the spaces to creatives, prepare the cultural programming etc.). During this phase, the first part of the subsidy is proposed to be given to the projects, while the rest of the amount could be deposited on a monthly basis, and not after the completion of a project. In this way, the impact of the projects could be maximized, as many resources would be available to boost their capacity.

More flexible contracts in terms of duration

As reported, the possibility of having very flexible contracts for the creatives, can substantially help them grow, according to their own capacity and dynamics. Therefore, it is proposed to encourage more flexible schemes, in terms of the types of contracts and their duration. This recommendation concerns the breeding grounds internally. In other words, is related with the contract that a creative can sign with the project initiator or the managing organization, irrespectively of the overall duration of the breeding place. Hence, intrinsic characteristics of temporariness could be utilized, even in (more) permanent schemes.

More coordinated feedback among the involved actors

While the importance of feedback was unanimously acknowledged by the different participated actors, there is a slightly differentiate perspective regarding its substantial utilization. The BB considered the

current feedback schemes are quite adequate, particularly comparing with the previous policy period, while for the actors originated from the field more active steps could be done in order to establish fruitful hypes of discussion and cooperation between the two sides. Therefore, it is proposed to enhance the current schemes of feedback. This enhancement could be achieved by intensifying the meeting among the actors, in terms of frequency, but also establishing a data base where real-time data could be collected regarding the progress of the projects, or possible problems that might occur. Therefore, the cooperation between the BB and the actors in the field could be more direct, helping both sides to the achievement of their goals.

More flexible administrative procedures

The nature of the BPA policy and every formulated policy around a specific aspect of the urban life should be directional in essence, providing some general guidelines regarding the direction(s) intended to be achieved. The overall aim of such a policy, irrespective of the theme of it, should be to give stimulus to the involved actors to implement it, without eliciting issues that might obstruct the implementation. Issues of bureaucracy should be gradually resolved by the BB, as they constitute a significant challenge for the breeding places. The aforementioned data base could also be used as a means to handle bureaucracy related issues. The more frequent provision of up to date information regarding the progress of the projects could enhance the communications channels between the two sides and also enact all the processes to run smoothly. This could also be applied for the tests and requirements that are requested from the municipal side (CAWA). A more frequent system of exchanging information, as stated before, would be less-time consuming for the project initiators/managing organizations, letting them focus more on the value creation that is intended to be delivered.

Tailor-made evaluation of the breeding places

It became clear through this research that the specific context of each project is particularly important, when it comes to the values it can deliver for the city, but also for the management of the anticipated challenges that need to be encountered. Therefore, the specific conditions under which a breeding place is developed, both internal and external should be highly taken under consideration, so as to ensure the feasibility of the previously set goals and objectives. Project initiators/managing organizations could then have the discretion to adjust those goals and objectives without the threat of failure that could risk their inclusion in the policy. Next to that, project developers could be more actively involved in the BPA policy, being properly informed and well educated upon the benefits of such projects in their properties, raising their interest and awareness regarding the BPA policy in general and the dynamic creative sector of the city. Lastly, this contextual evaluation of every project is proposed to be applied also to critical issues, such as openness/inclusiveness and sustainability. As shown, those issues are quite broad, while there are not interpreted in the same manner by and for all the breeding places. Hence, they need different management in each case as well as different expectations should be set beforehand.

Lastly, as shown through this research, political circumstances and choices might influence the direction the BPA policy has in every policy period. It would be interesting for the BB to critically evaluate the current measures, and carefully prioritize some of those, in order to keep them for the policy, irrespectively the elected party. In doing so, the substantial and realistic implementation/translation of the policy to the field could be achieved. Therefore, issues ‘relevance’ that often occur and lead the breeding places to achieve objectives that do not fully represent their work and scope could be eliminated.

6.2.2. Scientific contribution and recommendations for further research

The research focuses on the way that the BPA policy is capable of contributing to the future urbanization of Amsterdam, shedding light on the role of the developed temporary uses of the policy to this contribution. Temporary uses as a concept has gained an important momentum in scientific literature, with regards to its inherent characteristics and its benefits for the urban context (see Bishop & Williams, 2012; Blumner, 2006; Colomb, 2012; Lehtovuori & Ruoppila, 2012; Németh & Langhorst, 2014; Silva, 2016). Next to that, temporary use has been also a point of scientific discussion, particularly under the regime of austerity, being examined as a crisis management tool (see Madanipour, 2018; Matoga, 2019; Peck, 2012; Tonkiss, 2013).

However, little attention has been given to the involved actors in the development of those uses at a city level along with the perceived importance of the concept (see Madanipour, 2018; Moore-Cherry & McCarthy, 2016). Through the exploration of the BPA policy and the interpretations given by the involved actors that participated in the research, this study showed that temporary use as a concept is in a transition phase, moving from temporary to (more) permanent structures, as a way to ensure the presence of particular groups of actors in the city. Therefore, the importance of those actors has been considerably acknowledged. However, inherent characteristics of temporary use, such as experimental character and flexibility, were demonstrated particularly important, as they seem to substantially help the project to contribute to the future development of the city.

Next to that, the research showed that there is an evident gap between what is intended by the policy and what is actually realized in practice, since various issues and practicalities occur when the policy needs to be translated in practice. Hence, some of the occurred problems might have been avoided if there was a more substantial understanding upon the requirements and aspects that the BPA policy addresses for the breeding places.

In that context, a research with a broader sample in terms of the inclusion of more parties involved in the BPA policy and the development of breeding places in Amsterdam might be of high interest, in order to explore the ways which can enhance the bridging between the involved actors and thus fuel the identification of alternatives for a more constructive collaboration among them. Therefore, the future and continuation of the BPA policy could be further explored and enhanced by the recommendations that could be provided through such a research.

Next to that, as already mentioned earlier, the starting point of this research was the BPA policy per se, aiming to focus more on the ‘mechanism’ under which the breeding places are currently developed and can be further utilized in the future (see section 1.3.). Since future is quite multi-dimensional and can be interpreted to different perspectives, the opposite approach on the topic would be interesting to explore; having as a starting point a particular developed breeding ground, the in-depth exploration of the ways that such a project can contribute to particular aspects of the future urban development, such as the reuse of materials, can be achieved.

Lastly, the overall direction according to which a policy can have may be influenced by political choices, that follow the overall municipal agenda. Hence, it would be interesting to explore through research the ways in which politics may influence issues related with the temporariness and permanence of the uses.

6.2.3. Trustworthiness and limitations of the study

As already stated earlier, trustworthiness is a crucial quality of an interpretative study (see section 3.4.). Several steps were taken in order to ensure the trustworthiness of this research. To begin with, self-reflection on the researcher's positionality consists a proof of the overall trustworthiness of the study. Geographically wise, the research was conducted in the city of Amsterdam, where all the approached actors operate. Researcher's proximity to the city of Amsterdam had an important role on the initial selection of this city as the embedded case.

Within the context of this research, demographic positionality was determined by several actors. Firstly, access gained to conduct this research was an important factor that were taken under consideration. Online research for actors related with the BPA policy was conducted, focusing on potential contacts (representatives) that could be proved willing to participate to this research. Searching online databases of developed breeding places and their initiators was considered as the most productive way to stimulate the entry point of this research, given the circumstances under which this research was conducted - within the context of a master thesis, and the researcher's student identity. Next to that, contacts were also requested from the respondents during the interviews, in order to explore the possibility of broadening research's sample.

The aforementioned circumstances under which the research was conducted constituted a limitation related with access, particularly with regards to the time given for the research. In case of more time available, the participation of more actors could have been ensured, increasing the size of the sample. Next to that, the final sample of the research participants did not entirely represent all the actors involved in the BPA policy and the development of the breeding places. For instance, housing corporations or other municipal departments could have participated, representing their perspective in the results of the research. Hence, the range of the approached actors could be broader, in case of more available time.

It is worth noticing that actors' non willingness to participate in such research was also a limitation. Even though many invitations (42 in total) were sent to potential participants, ten respondents declared willing to participate to this research. Some of the rest sent invitations were not answered, while some of them were rejected. The most common reasons for the respondents' refusal were the lack of time or interest to participate, while some of the respondents stated that they do not find this research directly related to their project(s).

Linguistic issues were also taken into consideration and influenced researcher's demographic positionality. The contact with the respondents could only be possible to be established in English, due to language barrier of the researcher regarding the Dutch language. Beside the interviews, language barrier was also evident, while conducting Document Analysis. The obtained and analyzed material was translated as the original documents were in Dutch. If this barrier was absent, Document Analysis may be expanded also to other policy documents that are related -directly or indirectly- with the BPA policy but also to other electronic sources, such as blogs and other articles, in order to enrich the obtained data and possibly the results of the research. It is important to notice that the potential additional data mentioned above were not excluded from the data collection phase beforehand, but rather were chosen to be excluded afterwards, due to the aggravation of this language barrier but also the time constraint. This justifies the fact that a limited number of online sources were finally chosen to be analyzed.

It is important to highlight that even though the stated limitations occurred, while conducting this research, systematicity was prioritized in terms of the organization of the research. In order to ensure

systematicity, as already mentioned earlier (see section 3.4.), a range of techniques were used. In particular, a research log was used throughout the whole process, giving the opportunity to adjust prior choices according to the flow of the processes. Next to that, the use of the two selected types of codes -open and focused- helped to organize in a systematic way the data analysis of the research. Using what Silverman (2015) calls *constant comparative method*, the emerged coding schemes were constantly re-examined and refined, resulting in the final presented themes and codes and also consisting a means to proof the desirable systematicity.

In addition, memoing was also used as a technique in order to support the data analysis phase. Internal notes were taken by the researcher about the emerged codes and their associations, along with important events or insights that were eventually integrated in the presentation and discussion of the results. Moreover, together with memoing, diagramming was also used throughout data analysis process, in order to examine -and re-examine- the emerged associations among the sub-themes (focused codes). Diagramming was proved a productive exercise during data analysis that substantially supported the constant comparative method that was used as well as the final visualization of the results.

Lastly, it is important to mention the issue of transferability of the results. This particular issue does not constitute a limitation per se, but it is a point of attention. Even though many cities, both with in the Netherlands but also on an international level, may have similar to breeding grounds projects developed in their cities or municipalities may have similar policy that are running, the particular context of each case should be highly taken under consideration, assessing the needs, capacities and existing problems at stake.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview guide

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

- info/insights about the project and its aim:
- Approximate duration of the interview
- Topics that are going to be explored

PART 2: GROUND-TOUR QUESTIONS AND PROBES

1. In the revised BPA policy document it is stated that the policy intends to contribute to make Amsterdam a complete city by offering room to creativity, culture and innovation. What are the aspects you think that make this policy successful?

a. What are the key aspects that would make you consider this revised policy is serving its goals?

b. What are the outcomes of the policy that you would envision as successful?

c. How important do you think is the experimental nature of the breeding grounds in relation with their success?

2. From the very beginning, BPA policy was designed for projects related to entrepreneurship, culture and arts. According to your opinion, what is the reason for this choice?

a. What did motivate you to give room for those projects on a temporary basis?

b. In what ways do you think that the experimentation is related with the temporary nature of the projects? [Do you see any connections between those aspects?]

c. Beside experimentation, flexibility is also an intrinsic characteristic of temporary uses. How would you evaluate the importance of this characteristic in relation with the value the projects are capable of adding to Amsterdam's urban function?

3. In the revised BPA policy document it is mentioned that due to current conditions in Amsterdam regarding the scarcity and availability of space, there are major challenges that need to be faced. According to you, what is expected from the revised BPA policy to change in this new policy period in order to be adaptable to these challenges?

a. How did you arrive to the changes you have made in the BPA policy?

b. In the revised BPA policy it is mentioned that so far, the temporary nature of breeding places was clear, but now the goal is to explore ways of making them more permanent and giving them character. What triggered you to make this change and perpetuate the breeding places?

c. In what ways do you think this change can influence the impact the revised policy can have to Amsterdam's urban function?

d. Given the multivalent character of temporary uses, one can say that choosing this type of uses for their creativity and flexibility could end up with more precarious solutions that are selected over other, long-term solutions. What is your opinion about this? [Do you think that the BPA policy acknowledged this possibility of precarious solutions and even prevents it?]

4. In the revised BPA policy document, the value that the breeding grounds are capable of adding to Amsterdam's urban function is highlighted. What kind of values do you think the breeding grounds of the program and the policy in general are envisioned to deliver?

a. In the revised BPA policy document the importance of keeping the breeding places their own profile and target group is highlighted. In what ways do you think this fact can influence the added value of the projects?

b. The revised version of the BPA policy mentions a series of types of values that the projects can add to Amsterdam's urban function, namely social, economic, cultural and spatial. According to you and your involvement in the BPA, do you think there is any priority given or should be given in one or more 'types' of value?

c. Would you name any 'type' of value more essential than others?

d. In the revised BPA policy document it is stated that in order to shape this new version of the policy, many discussions were held with involved actors, such as artists, project developers, and municipal departments. How important do you think this feedback from the involved actors is in relation with the added value of the projects?

5. What do you recognize as challenges for the revised BPA policy and its implementation?

a. What do you think was difficult in the past with the implementation of the BPA policy?

b. In what ways do you think that changed with the revision of the policy, do you think that there are still the same challenges that need to be faced?

c. From your experience and your involvement in the policy, which of the measures of the BPA policy from the previous policy period do you think did not have the expected results and changed?

d. In the revised BPA policy document it is highlighted that making breeding grounds a more active part of the city has been recognized as an important challenge. What do you think make this ambition of openness and inclusiveness a challenge for the BPA policy?

e. What was, according to you, the change that was the biggest challenge to propose and later implement in the BPA policy?

f. According to the revised BPA policy document, sustainability plays an important role, but it is also a challenge when it comes to the temporary nature of the projects, since some of the proposed measures could not be implemented. How would you evaluate this 'contradiction' between sustainability and temporariness and how would you think this challenge could be aligned?

PART 3: CLOSING QUESTIONS/STATEMENT

1. Is there anything you think it is important to add?

2. Is there anything you were surprised I did not ask?

3. Is there anything I could have asked, and I did not?

-Thank you for agreeing to meet me.

-Thank you for your time

-Share contact information.

- Ask for permission to contact the respondent again (for checking their responses, for further clarifying questions that might occur)
- Inform the respondent about the way the results of the research will be disseminated.
- Ask about possible contacts that could be reached.

Appendix 2. Overview of focused and open codes

1. Success		
1.1. Factors of success		Source
1.1.1.	Provision of affordable spaces due to gentrification	I_1
1.1.2.	Importance of Bureau for provision of spaces	I_2
1.1.3.	Provision of spaces to creatives	I_3
1.1.4.	Provision of spaces	I_5
1.1.5.	Provision of affordable places in more than sixty projects	DA_1
1.1.6.	Provision of affordable places is still a goal	DA_1
1.1.7.	Gentrification has negative impact on creatives	DA_1
1.1.8.	Give space to uses that make the city interesting	I_9
1.1.9.	Breeding ground is a way to keep the creatives in the city	I_1
1.1.10.	Creation of community among creatives	I_1
1.1.11.	People can focus on what they really love to do	I_1
1.1.12.	Project managers running the policy helps making things possible	I_4

1.1.13.	Passionate people work for the Bureau	I_6
1.1.14.	Be an example for other cities	I_9
1.1.15.	Example for other cities	I_10
1.2. Evidence of success		
1.2.1. Evidence of success for policy		
1.2.1.1.	Breeding grounds in new development can be considered as a success	I_2
1.2.1.2.	Breeding grounds stay in a developing area	I_10
1.2.1.3.	Integration of breeding grounds to future plans allow them to stay longer	I_10
1.2.1.4.	Aim for all breeding grounds to exist longer	I_3
1.2.1.5.	Difficult to measure progress	I_3
1.2.1.6.	Difficult to measure progress	I_5
1.2.1.7.	Financial viability of breeding grounds is important from the policy perspective	DA_1
1.2.2. Evidence of success for Breeding grounds		
1.2.2.1.	Finacial viability	I_5
1.2.2.2.	Find alternatives when a breeding ground is about to end	I_6
1.2.2.3.	Be prepared to move if needed	I_6

1.2.2.4.	Be part of development	I_4
1.2.2.5.	Breeding grounds should remain an active part of the areas	I_10
1.2.2.6.	Make people feel welcome due to diversity	I_9
1.3. Experimentation and success		
1.3.1.	Experimentation is good for the city in general	I_8
1.3.2.	Financial responsibility cuts from experimentaion	I_6
1.3.3.	Experimentation can only happen in affordable places	I_10
1.3.4.	Alternatives on keep stimulating experimentation	I_10
2. Temporariness		
2.1. Definition of temporariness		
2.1.1.	Temporariness is defined from 3 to 10y	DA_1
2.1.2.	At least 5 years for the duration of a breeding ground	I_1
2.1.3.	10y are adequate for a breeding ground	I_4
2.1.4.	Important to have a 10y horizon	I_5
2.1.5.	1-10y for temporary projects	I_10
2.1.6.	Rent makes a breeding ground temporary	I_3

2.1.7.	There is permanence only when there is ownership	I_3
2.1.8.	Rent makes a breeding ground temporary	I_5
2.1.9.	It is different when you own the place	I_6
2.1.10.	Temporariness is max 5y	I_9
2.1.11.	7y are fine in the beginning but not enough	I_6
2.2. Reasons for temporariness		
2.2.1.	Temporariness is chosen due to lack of properties	I_1
2.2.2.	Gentrification is the reason of temporariness not its beneficial characteristics	I_1
2.2.3.	Temporariness is a coincidence	I_3
2.2.4.	Frustration is the best motivation to start	I_8
2.2.5.	Political choices for a certain period of time with certain goals	I_9
2.2.6.	Lower rent is the reason for temporariness	I_10
2.2.7.	Temporariness as a “logical” solution	DA_1
2.2.8.	Pre-defined horizon helps with the renewal of the breeding grounds stock	DA_1
2.3. Importance of temporariness		
2.3.1.	Temporariness make people act quickly	I_1

2.3.2.	Temporariness gives freedom	I_6
2.3.3.	Temporariness is a perspective	I_6
2.3.4.	Permanence is not all that matters	I_8
2.4. Concerns among temporariness		
2.4.1.	Temporariness raises uncertainty	I_1
2.4.2.	Temporariness is a risk for the viability of the foundations	I_1
2.4.3.	Investment is hard with temporariness	I_4
2.4.4.	Temporariness raises uncertainty	I_5
2.4.5.	Owners afraid that temporariness will replace the future use	I_8
2.4.6.	Breeding grounds have not been acknowledged as an added value for the properties	I_8
2.4.7.	Wrong to connect cultural initiatives (only) with temporariness	I_10
2.4.8.	Temporariness for renewal of the stock of breeding grounds is not realistic	DA_2iv
2.4.9.	Creatives are not taken seriously if they only temporarily fill gaps	I_10
2.5. Experimentation and temporariness		
2.5.1.	With experiments you cannot plan beforehand	I_1
2.5.2.	With experiments you have to leave room for failure	I_1

2.5.3.	Experiments are safer on temporary basis because the risk of failure is less	I_1
2.5.4.	Experimentation is not related with temporality	I_3
2.5.5.	Experimentation is related with temporality outside the BPA policy	I_3
2.5.6.	High rent obstructs experimentation	I_3
2.6. Flexibility of temporariness		
2.6.1.	With flexibility experimentation can be continuous	I_1
2.6.2.	Flexibility lets creatives grow without financial loss	I_8
2.6.3.	Initiators and developers have different perspectives regarding flexibility	I_8
2.6.4.	Flexibility is related with creativity	I_9
3. Added Value		
3.1. Added value of Breeding grounds		
3.1.1.	Balance is needed among the types of added values	I_1
3.1.2.	Importance of balance among values	I_1
3.1.3.	Balance among the added values is important	I_2
3.1.4.	Importance of balance among values	I_3
3.1.5.	Balance among the added values is important	I_9

3.1.6.	Cultural value is fundamental	I_3
3.1.7.	Cultural and social value are very important	I_10
3.1.8.	Internal social value is very important	I_10
3.1.9.	Cultural value is already evident and happens organically	I_5
3.1.10	Economic value should come first	I_5
3.1.11.	Economic value is important to convince the developers	I_1
3.1.12.	Economic value should not be a priority	I_8
3.1.13.	All values are important except economical	I_10
3.1.14.	Connectivity with the neighborhood is an added value	I_5
3.1.15.	Breeding grounds help the surroundings	DA_2iv
3.2. Factors influencing added value		
3.2.1.	Context is important for the added value of a project	I_1
3.2.2.	Specific profile helps to attract the right people	I_1
3.2.3.	Location defines whether connectivity with the neighborhood can be established or not	I_3
3.2.4.	Programming is important for the connectivity with the neighborhood (spatial value)	DA_1
3.2.5.	Programming enhances the social value of the breeding places	DA_1

3.2.6.	Important to keep multiple target groups in order to be inclusive and diverse	I_5
3.3. Importance of feedback		
3.3.1.	Importance of feedback has been acknowledged	I_1
3.3.2.	Feedback is essential especially for large organizations that manage breeding grounds	I_1
3.3.3.	Sharing information helps both sides	I_2
3.3.4.	It is important in order to evaluate what went well or wrong	I_3
3.3.5.	Feedback is essential to implement the policy	I_5
3.3.6.	More active role of the Bureau is needed	I_10
3.3.7.	Policy is always different than reality	I_10
4. Changes		
4.1. Change to permanent		
4.1.1.	Establishment of breeding grounds takes time	I_3
4.1.2.	Results cannot be evident immediately	I_10
4.1.3.	It helps because creation of community takes time for the breeding grounds	I_1
4.1.4.	Impact of breeding grounds is affected by their duration	I_3
4.1.5.	Always the goal is to stay indefinitely	I_6

4.1.6.	Important to convince housing corporations	I_5
4.1.7.	The owner decides the future of a breeding ground	I_6
4.1.8.	Profit is a reason for (or not) for the owner to allow for long-term development	I_6
4.1.9.	For the real-estate market is always for the long-term	I_10
4.1.10.	It is a double-sighted coin	I_1
4.1.11.	It is a double-sighted coin	I_9
4.1.12.	Temporary projects are pushed outside the city	I_9
4.1.13.	City centre will eventually be "homogenous"	I_9
4.2. Breeding grounds in new development		
4.2.1.	For the future it is going to be an added value	I_8
4.2.2.	Policy wise it is good	I_1
4.2.3.	Policy-wise it promotes livability	I_8
4.2.4.	Very important for the livability of an area	I_10
4.2.5.	Important to keep creatives in the city	I_7
4.2.6.	Actors must understand that temporary uses are in their interest	I_4
4.2.7.	Gentrification is not always black and white	I_4

4.2.8.	It is not good as breeding grounds lose their identity	I_1
4.2.9.	Built for the creatives might be a problem	I_8
4.2.10.	Easier to convince the owners than the creatives	I_8
4.2.11.	BPA policy is not enough to establish it	I_10
5. Challenges		
5.1. Problems originated from the policy		
5.1.1.	Bureaucracy creates problems even though the Bureau is willing to help	I_1
5.1.2.	Bureaucracy contradicts experimentation	I_1
5.1.3.	Bureaucracy results in less flexibility	I_4
5.1.4.	Artists' assessment requires a lot of effort and time	I_1
5.1.5.	Difficulties with CAWA assessment/complex to register	I_2
5.1.6.	Rigidity of CAWA	I_4
5.1.7.	Some rules are not relevant to current conditions	I_10
5.1.8.	CAWA restrictions	I_10
5.1.9.	It is good to raise criticism	I_2
5.1.10.	There is lack of property for breeding grounds because of other municipal agendas	I_1

5.2. Important challenges		
5.2.1.	Dependability on funding	I_5
5.2.2.	Be financially independent	I_8
5.2.3.	Pay the rent	I_9
5.2.4.	Other functions need also space	DA_2iii
5.2.5.	There is increasingly less space for creatives in the city	DA_2i
5.2.6.	Ensure the existence of breeding grounds in the city	I_1
5.2.7.	Make real impact	I_4
5.2.8.	Spatial value is a challenge	I_10
5.2.9.	There is no room for failure	I_3
5.2.10.	Gentrification presses the property market that influence the development of breeding grounds	I_1
5.3. Openness/Inclusiveness		
5.3.1. Openness/inclusiveness is a challenge		
5.3.1.1.	Definition of inclusiveness	I_3
5.3.1.2.	Inclusiveness is important but not everything is for everyone	I_2
5.3.1.3.	The inherent nature of the creatives makes them more introverted	I_8

5.3.1.4.	The challenge starts already from the Academies	I_10
5.3.1.5.	CAWA encourages breeding grounds to have functions that embrace openness	I_7
5.3.1.6.	Important to have open breeding grounds	I_7
5.3.1.7.	Inhabitants are not represented in the breeding grounds	I_10
5.3.1.8.	People of Amsterdam are misrepresented in the breeding grounds	DA_1
5.3.1.9.	Openness/inclusiveness is a challenge for the breeding grounds not the policy per se	I_1
5.3.2. Openness/inclusiveness is not a challenge		
5.3.2.1.	It is not a challenge because this is the overall aim of the project anyway	I_2
5.4. Sustainability		
5.4.1. Sustainability contradicts temporariness		
5.4.1.1.	Sustainability is important but not feasible	DA_1
5.4.1.2.	There is contradiction when it comes to construction	I_3
5.4.1.3.	Big investments do not worth on breeding grounds	I_6
5.4.1.4.	Large investment is not good when the future is unknown	I_5
5.4.1.5.	For temporary projects sustainability is not necessary	I_8
5.4.1.6.	Uncertainty of temporariness blocks long-term investments	I_10

5.4.2. Sustainability does not contradict temporariness		
5.4.2.1.	Sustainability is just too broad	I_10
5.4.2.2.	Temporary projects are sustainable in terms of reuse	I_6
5.4.2.3.	It is sustainable considering the reuse of a building that is about to be demolished	I_3
5.4.2.4.	Investment is possible with temporariness	I_4
5.4.2.5.	Investment is possible with temporariness	I_5
5.4.2.6.	Sustainability is already invested	I_6

1 Appendix 3. Coded material obtained from Documents Analysis

2 BPA Policy Document (DA_1)

3 As it is already mentioned above, the Breeding Ground policy of the Municipality of Amsterdam has
4 been offering affordable working and living spaces for creative initiatives and individuals over the last
5 fifteen years. Up to date, more than sixty projects have been developed in a total surface area of
6 170,000m², including studios, restaurants, dwellings, exhibition places, or stores (Bureau
7 Broedplaatsen, 2016). For the realization and development of the breeding grounds, Bureau
8 Broedplaatsen collaborates with CAWA Commission. The total expenditure in 2015 was set to 48
9 million euros (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). The goal of the Bureau Broedplaatsen is to realize at least
10 10,000 square meters per year, with a percentage of floor space covered by CAWA studios ranging
11 from 40%-100% in total (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016)

12 The duration of the results of the breeding grounds has been of great importance for the BPA policy
13 since 2000. Temporary breeding grounds occurred as a “logical solution” for the development of the
14 breeding grounds, as a way of maximizing opportunities in the pressurized real-estate market of the city
15 of Amsterdam, while after this period the breeding grounds are often discontinued (Bureau
16 Broedplaatsen, 2016, p. 6). According to Bureau Broedplaatsen and the revised BPA report for the
17 policy period 2015-2018 defines temporariness for developed breeding grounds with time horizon three
18 to ten years, contributing to make Amsterdam a dynamic city. Next to that, having this pre-defined time
19 horizon for the breeding grounds, new incubators would be possible to be introduced throughout the
20 city, without letting the total surface area as breeding places to shrink. The Figure below shows the
21 projected decreased production of gross surface area of breeding grounds up to 2030 verifying the need
22 for continuous introduction of new breeding places (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016)

23 The development of a target group for the breeding groups was also an important point of the BPA
24 policy since its establishment. Starting creatives and artists consist the main target group of the policy,
25 including also disciplines related to entrepreneurship (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

26 Gentrification is also taken into consideration since the previous policy period (2015-2018). The
27 increasing demand of young or starting creatives for affordable accommodation is evident. The same
28 stands for the real-estate market, where the property prices are rising up, forcing the creatives to leave
29 the city, without affording this increase (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). By that policy period, as stated
30 by Bureau Broedplaatsen (2016), the rise of the property prices in Amsterdam followed a more gradual
31 increase due to gentrification, comparing to other cities with similar development, such as London,
32 Munich or Paris. In districts of Amsterdam, like Amsterdam New-West and North, the existence of
33 social housing is smoothing down the rise in property prices, allowing them to be developed in balance
34 in terms of the influx of medium-income residents and highly educated double-income households.
35 Therefore, the allocation of breeding grounds within those neighborhood help mitigate the effects of
36 gentrification processes, by moderating the rate of the (increased) prices but also revitalizing and
37 upgrading the attractiveness of the surrounding area where they are developed to (Bureau
38 Broedplaatsen, 2016).

39 The previous revision of the BPA policy, for the policy period 2015-2018, had six points of revision,
40 having as overall goals to maintain and improve the accessibility to breeding grounds and enhance the
41 attractiveness of Amsterdam as an “attractive stopover for creative talent and entrepreneurship (Bureau
42 Broedplaatsen, 2016, p. 10). Below, these six main points of the BPA policy for 2015-2018 policy

43 period are shortly described, including also some changes comparing to the BPA policy from the past
44 years.

45 *1. More space for new creatives*

46 As mentioned above, a main objective of the BPA policy for this policy period is to maintain
47 accessibility for new creatives looking for affordable working and/or living spaces, and thus increase
48 the turnover of the studio stock. To do so, the Bureau Broedplaatsen suggested the change of the rental
49 period of studios from the ‘basic stock’, which was by that time (2016) mostly unlimited, to five years
50 for new tenants (starting from 10/02/2016) and maximum five plus five years to new tenants (Bureau
51 Broedplaatsen, 2016). On the top of that, an assessment to already accommodated creatives was
52 suggested to be performed. This measure was newly presented in that policy period, while the
53 assessment to the creatives were only performed in case of coming contract termination and not to all
54 existing tenants. This assessment, as already cited, is duty of CAWA, performing a ‘basic’ and a ‘top’
55 assessment. The first includes criteria regarding the type of profession, educational background,
56 portfolio and income, while the top assessment includes higher criteria, including demonstrable
57 achievements and recommendations from art degree programs (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

58 *2. Review of the subsidy framework*

59 Up to the revisions for the examined policy period (2015-2018), the amount of subsidy per square meter
60 of gross floor area realized for CAWA studios was 250€, for an operating period of ten years, resulting
61 in the reduction (proportionately) of the policy’s contribution to the realization of breeding spaces. The
62 change comparing to this measure was the contribution of the same amount of subsidy, irrespectively,
63 however, of the operating period. Next to that, the amount of rent for CAWA creatives was changes, as
64 for this policy period the new creatives will get a fixed amount of rent (minimum 150 € to maximum
65 300€), comparing to previous years when the rent was calculated based on the rentable floor space for
66 CAWA creatives per year (59€) (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

67 *3. Improvement of deployment of city-owned real estate*

68 In 2015, a new system was developed within the city, named Programma Transformaties¹⁷, in order to
69 analyze the existing real estate and perform the appropriate match of it with different policy goals and
70 target groups. The BPA policy for 2015-2018 was included in this system, offering the possibility to
71 creatives that want to establish a breeding ground to rent a municipal-owned property, however, only
72 within the centre of the city and not also in the city districts, which was the case in the past (Bureau
73 Broedplaatsen, 2016).

74 *4. Registration and control of the ‘base stock’ of studios*

75 The term ‘base stock’ refers to the studios and studio dwellings that are jointly owned by the
76 Municipality of Amsterdam and corporations. The intension of Bureau Broedplaatsen was to maintain
77 its share to this stock to the maximum level possible, creating a database together with the corporations,
78 in order to monitor and control the stock, giving, also, the possibility to corporations to retain or sell
79 out their share (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

80 *5. Retention of existing studio dwellings and creation of more*

¹⁷ <https://www.amsterdam.nl/ondernemen/investeren/kantoren/transformatie/>

81 When a CAWA creative is discontinued of a studio dwelling, then corporations often seel the property.
 82 Bureau Broedplaatsen, intending to stop this, including it in the corporation agreements. On the top of
 83 that, it offers an addition budget of 1.1 million euros, giving project developers the incentive to include
 84 new studio dwelling in their housing plans (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

85 *6. Seek common ground with other (related) policy areas of the Municipality of Amsterdam.*

86 The intension behind this objective of the BPA policy for 2015-2018 was to ensure the optimal added
 87 value of the breeding grounds. To do so, Bureau Broedplaatsen set as a requirement for the new
 88 breeding grounds to include in their vision plans, their projected added value to other policy areas of
 89 the Municipality of Amsterdam. These areas are: Arts and Culture Framework Memorandum for the
 90 period 2017-2020, city districts, crossovers, Course 2025, City in Balance and Amsterdam Metropolitan
 91 Area (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). These policy areas will be further presented in the following sub-
 92 chapter.

93 The added value to the aforementioned policy areas will be asses by Bureau Broedplaatsen and CAWA
 94 on the basis of four core themes of added value. These ‘types’ of added value are presented in table
 95 below.

96 *Overview of the 'types' of added value based on which breeding places are assessed. Source: (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).*

Type of added value	Description
Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Links with existing networks of institutions and art schools • Conveyance of breeding place’s cultural activities to municipal, national and international level • Sufficient workspace for creatives (more than 40% of the total surface area)
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement of mutual collaboration among the participants of the breeding grounds • Organization of neighborhood-oriented activities with local actors (such as residents) • Realization of optimal working environment
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Links between creatives and existing networks in the business community, knowledge institutes and education • Accommodation of creative activities related to crafts and encouragement of collaboration among the participants originating from related to crafts disciplines
Spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of visibility of breeding grounds for the surrounding area and local actors • Increase of attractiveness of the location of the breeding places for possible tenants • Organization of events to encourage the participants of the breeding places to be broader from the area designed for the breeding ground

97

98 The revised BPA policy for the current policy period 2019-2022

99 The changes that the city of Amsterdam has been undergone are evident, especially in terms of the
100 pressure on the space and the rapid increase in the property prices. Next to that, the need of the city for
101 artistic and cultural activities is has been increasing, while due to the fact that many of the already
102 developed cultural functions are developed on temporary basis and building, the pressure on them is
103 evident. Therefore, their survival is of high importance and should be taken under consideration (Bureau
104 Broedplaatsen, 2019). Acknowledging all the aforementioned aspects, Bureau Broedplaatsen revised
105 accordingly the BPA policy for the policy period 2019-2020. As already cited in previous chapter, the
106 revised BPA policy document focusing on two fundamental perspectives, formulating amended visions
107 based on the current situation of Amsterdam. Below, the visions formulated for both aforementioned
108 perspectives are presented.

109 **Spatial Perspective**

110 For this perspective, the goal is to contribute to make the city of Amsterdam a fair city, where creatives
111 with medium or low incomes can still find a place to stay and/or live (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).
112 Therefore, the following visions were formulated:

113 *1. Retain existing breeding grounds and make new spaces available*

114 By offering working and living spaces to creatives and talents, they can become a vital part of the
115 neighborhood they are work/live, contributing to make the city more livable. Therefore, places for
116 creative activities can be preserved for a wide range of artistic and cultural disciplines throughout the
117 city of Amsterdam (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

118 *2. Promote breeding grounds to be autonomous and independent in order to be maintained in the long 119 run*

120 Autonomy and independency of breeding grounds are important, in order to be maintained in the long
121 run. Therefore, the role of the managing initiator or managing organization is of high importance,
122 ensuring the optimal organization and development of the breeding grounds (Bureau Broedplaatsen,
123 2019)

124 *3. Make breeding grounds sustainable, contributing to Amsterdam's vision to be the green leader in the 125 Netherlands and Europe*

126 Sustainability plays an important role for the BPA policy, following the ambitions of the Municipality
127 to contribute to be a green leader. Therefore, the plans of the breeding places, following the rest urban
128 development in terms of sustainable neighborhoods, energy saving and air pollution, should keep
129 sustainable standards during the build-up phase of the buildings where they are accommodated. For
130 instance, insulations. However, due to the, up to date, temporary nature of the projects such measures
131 are not feasible (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

132 **Social Perspective**

133 Openness, inclusiveness and diversity are core aspects of the social perspective for the revised BPA
134 policy. It is important for people working and living in the city to be connected and respected from
135 everyone (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Bureau Broedplaatsen aim to facilitate inclusiveness and
136 connectedness through the developed breeding places, as they constitute a meeting point from all
137 people, irrespectively of their background, nationality and interests. Segregation evident on spatial level
138 and originated from differences among different social groups with different incomes is also taken under
139 consideration by Bureau Broedplaatsen. Therefore, solidarity and social cohesion among individuals

140 and groups as well as (sub) cultures is promoted by the revised BPA policy. Therefore, the amended
141 visions of the BPA policy were formulated as follows:

142 *1. Find a balance between the open and approachable breeding places and those where creatives can*
143 *work undisturbed*

144 Sometimes, breeding places tend to be closed communities, focusing only on their objectives to create
145 creative, artistic or cultural products. However, Bureau Broedplaatsen acknowledges that by staying
146 closed and focusing on sharing the knowledge (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019) and work only internally
147 (in the breeding grounds), the result cannot be communicated properly to the ing area and the rest of
148 the city. It is important, though, to keep an optimal balance between focus and openness, in order to
149 avoid unpleasant situations (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

150 *2. Make breeding grounds more inclusive and diverse*

151 It has been acknowledged by Bureau Broedplaatsen that the composition of the developed breeding
152 grounds does not always reflect the composition of the city of Amsterdam, as a whole. Using the
153 definition given to inclusiveness by the Amsterdam Arts Council -“counting and participating as many
154 people as possible”-, Bureau Broedplaatsen highlights the importance for Art institutions to be more
155 inclusive, by including people from all genres and (sub)cultures. Following this direction, breeding
156 places could also result in more diverse and inclusive environments, leading to new innovative and
157 artistic projects and results (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). This is the intention by the Bureau
158 Broedplaatsen for the future of the breeding places, both existing and new, in order to be a better
159 reflection of Amsterdam’s population, which is not the case so far in an adequate level (Bureau
160 Broedplaatsen, 2019)

161 Alongside the visions, specific policy objectives were also set in the revised BPA policy document,
162 retaining the focus on the spatial and social perspective. Below, these policy objectives are shortly
163 described.

164 **Spatial Perspective**

165 *1. Perpetuate breeding grounds*

166 From some breeding places, the lease contracts will be expired within the current policy period (2019-
167 2022). Bureau Broedplaatsen, intending to continue the operation of those breeding places, collaborates
168 with the involved actors, developers, owners, initiators in order to achieve it (Bureau Broedplaatsen,
169 2019). In cases of municipal properties, the contracts are going to be extended, stretching the deadlines
170 of the ending date. In other cases, alternatives in terms of locations or buildings will be explored, in
171 order to relocate the breeding places, without terminating their operation. Possibilities of realizing new
172 studios and artists homes¹⁸ are also explored, along with the annual record of the existing stock of
173 studios and homes (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

174 *2. Look for development opportunities*

175 Due to the increasing development of Amsterdam, the constant creation of new areas and neighborhood
176 within the city is unavoidable. Bureau Broedplaatsen intends to make breeding grounds an essential
177 part of the new developments. To do so, in cases of tenders, space allocated for breeding grounds is
178 increasingly included, providing a step to make agreements with project developers in order to include

¹⁸ Artists’ homes are defined by Bureau Broedplaatsen the spaces that creatives can rent and include both a living and a (separate) working space (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

179 CAWA creatives, or artists' homes within their future plans (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Next to that
180 Breeding grounds, as a function, are included in the Strategic Plan for Arts and Culture of Municipality
181 of Amsterdam, ensuring their realization in future urban development. As already cited above,
182 municipal land and properties are also going to be examined for further utilization in order to
183 accommodate new breeding grounds, while the possibility of creative more studios and artists' homes
184 within the existing breeding places is going to be explore (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

185 *3. Create breeding grounds in public space*

186 For Bureau Broedplaatsen, expanding breeding places in public space, consists a means to enhance
187 diversity among the developed artistic and cultural places within the city of Amsterdam. Temporary
188 utilization of land is going to be explored, by organizing events related with talent development and
189 experimental art. The conditions under which such events can be organized and take place are going to
190 be explored, in terms of specific locations and time period (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

191 *4. Help breeding ground initiatives with the development planning agenda*

192 For all the breeding places, Bureau Broedplaatsen aims to ensure their success. To do so, it offers the
193 possibility to existing and new breeding places for coaching and assistance in networking, enhancing,
194 thus, the possibility to be finally successful. Sharing of knowledge is also considered as crucial in the
195 developed process of a breeding grounds, consisting one addition point of attention for Bureau
196 Broedplaatsen (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Next to that, the assistance regarding the finance of a
197 breeding ground is still in power, as a collateral of 1million euros can he offered at Triodos Bank, giving
198 the possibility of affordable loans (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019)

199 *5. Continue the rental period for the creative studios (5 plus 5 years)*

200 This measure was firstly presented in the previous policy period in order to ensure the optimal turnover
201 of the studio stock. Bureau Broedplaatsen, intending to make space available for the increasing artistic
202 influx in the city of Amsterdam, decided to maintain this measure, as a way of optimizing the
203 opportunities for every potential tenant to develop -artistically and commercially- within the time span
204 of 10 years (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). In cases of artists with not enough income, the 'top'
205 assessment by CAWA will be performed (see chapter X.1.2.2.), deciding upon the eligibility of the
206 artist to continue get subsidized after the end of the rental period of five plus five years (Bureau
207 Broedplaatsen, 2019).

208 *6. Work on knowledge sharing and expansion among breeding grounds in terms of governance and* 209 *finance*

210 For Bureau Broedplaatsen, it is high importance to assist breeding grounds to operate being financially
211 healthy. Annual reports of existing breeding grounds along with annual accounts will be analyzed by
212 Bureau Broedplaatsen, in order to assess their progress (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Based on the
213 results of this analysis, at least partly external coaches are offered by the Bureau Broedplaatsen, in order
214 to help breeding grounds with their governance and finance procedures, increasing their livability on
215 the long run (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

216 *7. Encourage sustainability measures*

217 Considering sustainability as a fundamental objective for the current policy period, Bureau
218 Broedplaatsen intends to perform an assessment on existing breeding grounds, in order to explore the
219 extent to which sustainability measures can be implemented, as an unprofitable part of the investment
220 (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). For this assessment, a range of factors will be taken under consideration,

221 including profitability, result for operating costs and ownership ratio, while it is already acknowledged
222 that the current situation of the existing breeding grounds is quite different, as sustainability differs in
223 a great extend per incubator (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

224 **Social Perspective**

225 *1. Stimulate connections between breeding grounds and connections between breeding grounds and*
226 *the neighborhood/city*

227 Programming has been acknowledged by the Bureau Broedplaatsen as an essential tool to establish
228 connections between the existing breeding grounds and their surrounding areas/neighborhoods (Bureau
229 Broedplaatsen, 2019). Programming is encouraged to be tailor-made to the profile of each breeding
230 ground, enhancing their social value. Bureau Broedplaatsen supports programming by conducting a
231 pilot, collaborating with the Amsterdam Fund of Arts¹⁹ (AFK), which subsidies programming and
232 inviting new breeding grounds to include a programming budget to their operation (Bureau
233 Broedplaatsen, 2019).

234 *2. Encourage connections between breeding grounds and cultural institutions*

235 Establishing connections between breeding grounds and cultural institutions is promoted by Bureau
236 Broedplaatsen. Realizing those connections, individual development of the creatives can be stimulated,
237 while breeding places programming can be more substantive, allowing them to act as a springboard²⁰
238 (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

239 *3. Promote inclusive and diverse breeding grounds*

240 Breeding grounds, both existing and new, are encouraged by Bureau Broedplaatsen to be more inclusive
241 and diverse, while it is expected for them to apply the Cultural Diversity Code²¹, regarding cultural
242 diversity and embedding inclusiveness for all the aspects related to the operation of the breeding
243 grounds (public, personnel, partners, program). In cases of breeding places, both existing and new, that
244 need help with achieving openness and inclusiveness, assistance is offered. Next to that, assistance is
245 provided to breeding places in order to be more accessible to disabled people (Bureau Broedplaatsen,
246 2019).

247 *4. Encourage a wide variety of breeding grounds initiatives*

248 Over the last few years, an increasing number of breeding places have been realized from by breeding
249 ground managing organization, who are able to establish and operate efficiently those places. However,
250 the result for many of those cases is that they tend to get the same signature, resulting in overall
251 uniformity of the breeding places (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). In order to increase the variety among
252 the developed breeding places, Bureau Broedplaatsen intends to organize competitions for potential
253 locations for these places, in order to promote the development of different breeding places (Bureau
254 Broedplaatsen, 2019)

255 *5. Work on exchange of knowledge and the creation of breeding grounds in the Metropolitan Region of*
256 *Amsterdam*

¹⁹ <https://www.amsterdamsfondsvoordekunst.nl/>

²⁰ An example of the implementation of this measure is the 3 Package Deal, offered to creatives, when a workplace, a home and a work budget is offer in collaboration with cultural institutions and the AFK.

²¹ <https://codeculturelediversiteit.com/de-code/>

257 As it is already cited earlier for the cases of De Hoop (Crealization Cooperative) and Bogotá (see
258 chapters X.1.2.6, X.1.2.7.), one of the objectives of Bureau Broedplaatsen for the revised BPA policy
259 is to share its experience and knowledge regarding the development of breeding places to other
260 Municipalities of the MRA. The collaboration between Municipality of Amsterdam and MRA is
261 supported by a developed MRA program, named “More than the Parts” (“Meer dan de delen”) (Bureau
262 Broedplaatsen, 2019). Intending to assist with that, and acknowledging also the increasing pressure on
263 the real estate market of the city, Bureau Broedplaatsen provide subsidies to breeding places which are
264 (or going to be developed) outside the city (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). Within the context of this
265 objective, the previously described De Hoop project of the Crealization Cooperative, has been
266 developed, as its value has been acknowledged by Bureau Broedplaatsen, even though it is not
267 administratively located within the Municipality of Amsterdam. De Hoop, together with other breeding
268 places, is mentioned as an example of breeding places that act as a driving force for the exchange of
269 knowledge and creation outside the borders of the Municipality of Amsterdam, in the MRA (Bureau
270 Broedplaatsen, 2019). The importance of such breeding places, as De Hoop, is highlighted by the BPA
271 policy, as places that connect Amsterdam with the creative and the environment, stimulating interaction
272 and creating added value for all the parties involved (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019).

273 *6. Support ‘fringes’ and free spaces when needed*

274 By ‘fringes’ (‘rafelranden’) and free spaces (vrijeplaatsen) are meant the places that are currently
275 developed throughout Amsterdam, often originated from squatters. Recognizing the importance of these
276 places for the city, support by Bureau Broedplaatsen is offered, in cases where the objectives of the
277 initiatives match with the municipal objectives, in terms for consolidation or relocation (Bureau
278 Broedplaatsen, 2019). It is worth mentioning that the importance of those spaces has been
279 acknowledged by the Municipality of Amsterdam, as a pilot is it going to be implemented this year
280 (after the decision of the B&W and the City Council in April, 2020), in order to protect the existing
281 places and create more. This pilot will include experiments with free spaces initiators, with providing
282 guidance, removing the rules and contracting specific forms for the development of those spaces, in
283 order to explore their further exploitation and possibility of a new action plan for them, the following
284 year (2021) (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.-e).

285 *7. Support vacancy management with a social interpretation*

286 Social perspective is considered important by Bureau Broedplaatsen, when combined also with vacancy
287 management. Therefore, collaboration with vacancy managers who have a creative focus, targeting
288 social and cultural initiatives is highly recommended and promoted by the Bureau Broedplaatsen.
289 LOLA, as described before (see chapter X1.2.5.), is one of the well-known examples of such vacancy
290 manager, offering an alternative to the usual form of real estate vacancy management. (Bureau
291 Broedplaatsen, 2019). It is worth noting that due to the fact that the time horizon of the projects of
292 LOLA is short (maximum 2 years), and thus uncertain, subsidies are not granted. Each project is assed
293 separately in order to evaluate the extent to which financial assistance can be offered (Bureau
294 Broedplaatsen, 2019).

295 The value that the breeding grounds should be able to add to the city remains a critical point also for
296 the current policy period, constituting a condition that every breeding place, either new or existing,
297 should meet, in order to be eligible for subsidy (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2019). The four aforementioned
298 aspects of added value remain the same for the revised BPA policy document, highlighting the
299 importance of the cultural, social, spatial and economic of added value for all breeding places.
300 Programming became an essential aspect of cultural but also social added value, while economical

301 value was presented broader comparing with the previous BPA policy, in terms of the aspects that a
 302 breeding place can have or meet in order to achieve an overall economic added value (Bureau
 303 Broedplaatsen, 2019). The table below present the overview of the four ‘types’ of added value, as
 304 described in the revised BPA policy document.

305 *Amended overview of the ‘types’ of added value based on which breeding places are assessed, according to the revision of the*
 306 *BPA policy for the current policy period. Source: (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).*

Type of added value	Description
Cultural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Links with existing networks of institutions and art schools • Conveyance of breeding place’s cultural activities to municipal, national and international level and visible programming of the breeding places
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement of mutual collaboration among the participants of the breeding grounds • Neighborhood programming with local actors (such as residents) • Realization of optimal working environment
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of accommodation to creatives with focus on growth and entrepreneurship • Links between creatives and existing networks in the business community, knowledge institutes and education • Accommodation of creative activities related to crafts and encouragement of collaboration among the participants originating from related to crafts disciplines • Job creation • Enhancement of the neighborhood economy
Spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of visibility of breeding grounds for the surrounding area and local actors • Increase of attractiveness of the location of the breeding places for users and users of the surroundings • Familiarization of people outside the area of the breeding ground and the neighborhood that is located with its activities

307

1 Visual materials (DA_2)

2 Article 1 (DA_2i)

3 **City invests in huge breeding ground for (Amsterdam) artists at Halfweg**

4 **August 1, 2017, 3.24 pm**

5 12,000 square meters, that is the size of the former office complex of contractor BAM near Halfweg,
6 which is currently being transformed into the BOGOTá breeding ground. The various spaces will be
7 occupied by the first artists, musicians and other creatives in September. Although the site is a bit
8 outside the city, the municipality has decided to finance a large part of the renovation. The site was
9 purchased by a total of 12 investors, including the municipal Bureau Broedplaatsen Amsterdam last
10 month. The office buildings are currently being renovated and will soon become studios, rehearsal
11 studios or office spaces for around 250 artists, musicians and start-ups. The total costs for the purchase
12 and renovation of BOGOTá are around € 2.8 million.

13 Less and less space for large breeding grounds Via the Ateliers Commission and Amsterdam (Woon)
14 Werkpanden (CAWA) Commission, about 100 Amsterdam artists can get a place at the breeding ground
15 via a rental discount. "Amsterdam is an art city and that is how we want to continue to profile ourselves,"
16 says a spokesperson for CAWA. Yet there is less and less room in the city for large breeding grounds,
17 referring to the NDSM wharf where many homes are being built. A large complex at Halfweg is a good
18 alternative, he says. There are also two large sheds on the site that should accommodate artists who
19 need a lot of space, such as sculptors and woodworkers. There are exhibition rooms in two other sheds
20 and at the rear of the site, along the water, a terrace is made for a catering entrepreneur.

21 Not the first breeding ground outside the city Because the new breeding ground is located around 14
22 kilometers from the center, artists can use a free bicycle and there will also be a partial bus to transport
23 materials. Incidentally, it is not the first major breeding ground outside the city. Already in 1994 De
24 1800 Roeden was founded. Dozens of artists have a studio space there in former ammunition
25 depots. The 1800 Roeden is also located along the Haarlemmerweg in the direction of Halfweg.

26

1 *Article 2 (DA_2ii)*

2 **Former cinema Cinetol becomes a breeding ground**

3 **Tahrim Ramdjan January 8, 2020 , 11:02 am**

4 The former cinema Cinetol, in the Tolstraat, will become a breeding ground. The national monument
5 served as a library until the end of 2018. After a renovation, artists can rent a space here. The national
6 monument in De Pijp, which dates from the 1920s, is known because it housed a cinema from 1943
7 onwards. The name 'Cinetol' is therefore a contraction of 'cinema' and 'Tolstraat'. In 1979 the cinema
8 moved to the new Cinecenter on the Lijnbaansgracht. The building became a public library, until the
9 end of 2018, when it was located across the street, in the new CC Amstel theater. It is now known that
10 the old Cinetol building will become a cultural breeding ground. The municipality pursues a policy of
11 temporarily filling vacant buildings with Amsterdam residents from the creative sector. A breeding
12 ground has already appeared on the NDSM shipyard last year, just like the Kempenaerstudio near the
13 Westerpark. Four other buildings of the municipality may also become a breeding ground.

14 Small workshops

15 Developer Gerben Mienis (50), who has already established the Old School Amsterdam breeding
16 ground in the Rivierenbuurt, is responsible for the Cinetol building. He says that the municipality
17 initially wanted to accommodate status holders, refugees with a residence permit. But that plan never
18 got off the ground. "It's one big space, it's an ancient temple of the theosophists. There are no kitchens
19 in the building, no showers. " Mienis has already submitted his design for the breeding ground at the
20 end of 2018, and can now continue with it. He will submit a building application next month. The large
21 open space in the building must be divided into small studios and studios. That must of course be done
22 carefully, because it concerns a national monument, but is less radical than if you were to renovate for
23 habitation. When the building is finished, artists can rent workplaces. "We focus on experimental
24 artists," says Mienis. He will also program events where the neighborhood is welcome. "I am currently
25 working that out with a theater maker."

26 Community Center

27 Confusingly enough, the Cinetol cultural center with its bar has been located next to the old Cinetol
28 building since 2015. Previously this was a neighborhood center. Here too creative people can rent
29 workplaces. "We notice that there is a need for workplaces from the creative sector," says founder Quico
30 Touw (32). "We are already completely full ourselves." He is happy with the arrival of the creative
31 neighbor, especially in the Diamantbuurt. "Anyway I am very happy that there will not be another
32 luxury hotel."

1 *Article 3 (DA_2iii)*

2 **Breeding places a permanent part for new construction**

3 **Lorianne van Gelder 9 June 2017 , 10:30 am**

4 In the land allocation for new construction, breeding grounds in addition to shops and restaurants become
5 a fixed part. For example, alderman Kajsa Ollongren (Culture) hopes to halt the decline of premises for
6 studios and creatives. In recent years, the real estate market has attracted so much that not only residents
7 find it hard to find a home, but also artists and creative entrepreneurs find it increasingly difficult to
8 find an affordable workplace. Whereas until 2014 the office vacancy made many (temporary) breeding
9 places possible, the influx of possible buildings has dried up further and further. Jaap Draaisma, director
10 of the anniversary resort manager Urban Resort, says that he was previously offered dozens of buildings
11 a year and that he now has to deal with a few. According to Draaisma, the municipality must intervene
12 because otherwise the city becomes completely inaccessible for artists and creatives with a small
13 grant. "You must preserve subcultures in a vibrant city."

14 **De Lely breeding ground can stay for three years**

15 Alderman Kajsa Ollongren acknowledges that there is crowding out on the real estate market. "The city
16 is extremely popular. We have also had to make a move in housing status holders, and more schools
17 are needed. There is enormous pressure on municipal real estate and offices that can be transformed."
18 In addition, the municipality generally sells property that it owns, provided there is a different
19 purpose. But, Ollongren emphasizes, 16,500 square meters of breeding grounds were added in 2016
20 (including Lola Lik in the Bijlmer Bajes and Broedplaats de Lely). The municipal Broedplaatsen office
21 collects a total of around a million euros in subsidy per year for breeding grounds. With the plan to
22 allow breeding grounds to be a fixed part of land allocation, creatives also get a more sustainable

23 workplace. The new plan will allow workshops and workplaces to remain, while breeding grounds are
24 generally placed temporarily in old office buildings or school buildings. Broedplaats de Lely, where
25 artists and status holders live and work, is officially opened today and is an example of this. That may
26 last for three years in the old school building of Calvin with a junior college in Slotervaart

1 *Article 4 (DA_2iv)*

2 **Hanne Obbink 11 June 2017 , 8:14**

3 **Nesting grounds for artists make Amsterdam bustle**

4 So-called breeding grounds offer artists in Amsterdam a place where they can take their course. But
5 how long? "Neighborhoods where people only live do not live." In a dark room, sound sounds,
6 sharpening and throbbing. Scarce light is projected onto the walls and floor that responds to the sounds
7 - or vice versa? Light and sound artist Mariska de Groot is still working on cables, her installation is
8 almost finished. And then? "To Copenhagen for a project, with a fanfare of thirty girls." At the other
9 end of the corridor, Birna Björnsdóttir looks around in a room where artworks are hanging on the
10 ceiling; a few others are still lying on the floor. She painted the floor bright yellow. "I think it has
11 become beautiful." Mariska is staying in this building, Birna lives there. It is a former school building
12 from the 1960s in the Amsterdam New West district. Now, 'Lelyplaats Lely' is located here, a place
13 where artists live and work among others. Lely will officially open this weekend. With a festival, the
14 organization that manages these and thirteen other breeding grounds in the city, Urban Resort, is also
15 celebrating its tenth anniversary.

16 Creative city

17 Breeding places like these date from the aftermath of the squatters' movement in the late 1990s. A
18 number of large squats were evacuated and so did the many studios that were located there. This
19 threatened to lose something that is of vital importance to Amsterdam as a 'creative city'. The city
20 council therefore set up a 'breeding ground policy', with the intention of offering artists space in
21 temporarily vacant buildings. This has resulted in thousands of workshops in fifteen years. "Those
22 breeding grounds have proven their value," says Boukje Cnossen, who is researching these types of
23 places at Tilburg University. "They bring people from very different disciplines and backgrounds
24 together in one building: a Russian laser artist, a performance artist from Japan, but also people with
25 traditional work. They meet each other". These days, the municipality sets clear requirements. Artists
26 who want a place in a breeding ground must show their qualities with recent work. And after a few
27 years they have to leave to make room for new talent, based on the idea that by that time they will earn
28 enough from their art for a more expensive studio. It fits in with a trend, says Cnossen, but it is not
29 always realistic. "More and more entrepreneurship is expected from artists. But there is often little
30 economic growth in an artist's life. "

31 Large role in the artists community

32 Part of the Amsterdam breeding grounds is managed by Urban Resort, with a slightly different approach
33 than the municipality. For example, Urban Resort applies somewhat wider transfer rules. "Someone
34 who does not earn enough after ten years can be a good artist or play a major role in the artists
35 community," says director Jaap Draaisma. "Why would you send it away? The art climate in the city
36 will in any case benefit from networks that grow over time. You shouldn't disturb that by sending people

37 away too often. ". Ultimately, the Urban Resort is about doing more than the cultural climate. "We want
38 to enliven the city," says Draaisma. "Many community centers are closed and sometimes our breeding
39 grounds take over that function. We also always look for people who focus on the neighborhood around
40 them with their art. " Such as center for experimental art De Appel. At its previous location in the city
41 center, it mainly attracted an in-crowd, the center thought. The move to New West sees it as an
42 opportunity to attract new interested people, including immigrants from the neighborhood, for example
43 through projects at schools. In this way De Appel contributes to 'a bustling city', says Draaisma.

44 Is that still possible in the future? That is not certain. The municipal breeding ground policy expires in
45 2018 and in the meantime the city is booming. Culture alderman Kajsa Ollongren (D66) sees the
46 problem: she wants to reserve space in new construction. "Anyway, without targeted policy, breeding
47 grounds will disappear," says Draaisma. "Then you get a dead city. Because neighborhoods where
48 people only live do not live. ". Breeding ground Lely can remain in existence for three years. Birna
49 Björnsdottir lives there in a group of nine, most of them just from the art academy. Thanks to Lely, their
50 network remains intact. "We do a lot together. That helps us on our way as an artist. "

51 Neighborhoods of breeding grounds are also improving

52 *Artists have been helped with this, but neighborhoods are also recovering from breeding grounds,*
53 *director Ronald Mauer (D66) of the Nieuw-West district knows. His neighborhood does not have a*
54 *great image. Residents there are on average poorer and more often unemployed than elsewhere in the*
55 *city and some neighborhoods in the city district suffer a great deal from burglaries and car raids.*
56 *Nieuw-West now houses around fifteen breeding places and that benefits the image, says Mauer. "First*
57 *there will be artists and such. Their arrival attracts hospitality and other facilities. And that makes a*
58 *neighborhood attractive for a new kind of resident. That way an entire neighborhood can get a boost".*
59 *The district has the most part for artists who move into the neighborhood. "There are probably people*
60 *who think those artists are weird types, yes. But there are plenty of activities that involve residents. In*
61 *a neighborhood with many nationalities that do not mix automatically, that is worth a lot*

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