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The impact of the European Capital of Culture on downtown regenerati- on in Leeuwarden

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Photo first page: Big giant entering the Wilhemminnasquare (square of the Fries Musuem) this is considered to the biggest event of the ECoC 2018 in Leeuwarden.

Abstract

The European Capital of Culture is the most ambitious cultural mega event in Europe. In 2018, Leeuwarden, a medium-sized city, was among others to host it. For this research the influence of the ECoC 2018 and its flagships was explored on urban regeneration in downtown Leeuwarden. This was firstly done by discovering how various stakeholders have perceived the mega-event to understand its legacy through semi-structured interviews. Secondly observations were undertaken to find out how a catalytic effect could have worked on buildings, which were made and used for the event. Sub-questions are asked about urban regeneration and how culture can lead it and how ECoC and flagships are theoretically framed. Furthermore sub-questions are asked on how the physical transformation has been provided by various stakeholders in the city centre. These are positively perceived by all of the interviewees. Then the sub-question of how the catalytic effect worked at flagships were observed and analysed. It was concluded that after the ECoC a strong catalytic effect in the Fries Museum, and a weaker catalytic effect in the Lân fan taal pavilion were observed. The sub-question about the influence of the ECoC on new and existing local entrepreneurs showed that the event has brought more jobs and innovation in the catering and creative sector. The result of the sub-question about the collaboration between stakeholders during the ECoC showed an increase in positive self-esteem and pride that may benefit future collaboration.

keywords: ECoC, Mega events, legacy, catalytic effect, culture-led regeneration

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Background

This century the world passed a tipping point of a higher population living in urban areas, the same applies for Europe and in particular the Netherlands. Due to de-industrialization as well as changing human needs, urban regeneration is an important topic in urban planning. The current times of globalisation and the free movement in Europe have resulted in more interaction between European states and regions. A tool for strengthening this interaction is noticing the cultural similarities and differences.

Therefore culture has been reimagined as an evoking instrument within urban regeneration policies and programmes. Culture has physical, economic and social dimensions that can be an important focus for effective urban regeneration.

Some research has already been done on the outcomes of ECoC as mega events for medium to large cities (Liu, 2019)(Booth 1996 in Garcia, 2007). However the research of ECoC as mega events on small to medium cities is still limited (Hudec et al., 2019)(Garcia, 2004). Additionally catalytic influence on buildings has not yet been studied in combination with ECoC. This research is an evaluating study of the European Capital of Culture 2018, conducted about one year after the event. Due to the time constraints of the research it could not have been done earlier or later.

1.2 Research problem and aim

The aim of this study is to discover what the influence is of the European Capital of Culture 2018 and Cultural Flagships made for the event on urban regeneration in downtown Leeuwarden. This is firstly done by asking how various stakeholders have perceived the mega-event to understand its social-cultural, economic and physical legacy. Secondly observations using checklists have been carried out to study the catalytic effect on buildings and objects, which were made for the event.

The following main and sub-questions are central in this research.

Main question: What is the influence of the European Capital of Culture 2018 (ECoC) and its related flagships on urban regeneration in the city centre of Leeuwarden?

Sub-question 1 : What is urban regeneration and how culture leads it?

Sub-question 2 How can the concept of mega events as ECoC and flagships be theoretically framed?

Sub-question 3: How are the physical transformations after the ECoC perceived by certain stakeholders (Public, Private and Civil) in the city centre of Leeuwarden?

Sub-question 4: How does the catalytic effect work on flagships in Leeuwarden?

Sub-question 5: How did the ECoC influence new and existing local entrepreneurs in the inner city of Leeuwarden?

Sub-question 6: How did the ECoC influence the collaboration between stakeholders in the city of Leeuwarden?

1.3 Research location



Figure 1: This is the city centre of Leeuwarden. Interviews were focused on places inside the red border. Alongside on the following five locations observations have been made: 1. Stationsquare/Trainstation; 2. Whilheminnasquare/FriesMuseum; 3. MataHari square/Neushoorn; 4. Oldehoofsterkerkhof/ Lân fan taal; 5. Blokhuisquare/Blokhuispoort

In 2018 Leeuwarden, a town of around 108.000 residents was a one year long mega event of the European Cultural Capital. Also events were held outside of the city and in the province of Friesland. Preparations of the required infrastructure and other cultural project were done from the nomination in 2016 until the beginning of the mega-event in 2018. Figure 1 shows the border for this research.

1.4 Structure of this thesis

Results of a literature research will be presented in the second section of this thesis, in accordance with the goals and questions of this research. The concept of urban regeneration is explored from its definition and related themes such as sustainability, quality of life and participation. Next the effect of culture on urban regeneration is analysed by characterizing it and by distinguishing certain models of urban regeneration in relationship to the role of culture. Subsequently the European Capital of Culture is explored as a catalyst for urban regeneration. Afterwards a distinction is made between the mere physical and social, economic impacts of the ECoC. The flagship projects, specifically constructed for the ECoC, play an important role in the urban regeneration. These projects are defined and their catalytic working is explored in previous studies. These concepts will come together in a conceptual model, which is the basis for this research.

Afterwards the used methods of semi-structured interviews and observation is discussed and the possible biases are noted. Additionally the thematically coding and further analysing will be explained. Ethical and philosophical considerations will be covered as well.

The impact of culture on urban regeneration is tested in a local context in a case of a culture-led regeneration event in downtown Leeuwarden, the Netherlands. In the conclusion section of this thesis the main theoretical inputs and main arguments of the case study are compiled to find out what the influence is of the ECoC in Leeuwarden is after one year has passed. Further recommendations will be given for future studies for this or similar cases.

Chapter two: Theoretical framework

2.1 Urban regeneration

Urban regeneration is a concept that can be defined in various ways, most of which have major similarities. The idea is widely regarded as the transformation of a residential, commercial or open space that has shown signs of physical, economic and social decline (Evans, 2005). Another way to approach the idea is to describe it as bringing vitality into a community and/or industry. Bringing vitality is short term, but the long term aim is to improve the quality of life, thereby accommodating to economic, social and environmental needs (Akcakaya, 2008). As it is a response to decline, regeneration is a catch all term for revitalization, revival, transformation or renewal of a physical space or community (IFACCA, 2006, in Akcakaya, 2008). The concept of regeneration can be seen as both process and outcome and is best subdivided in physical, economic, and social/cultural dimensions.

Recently the concept of sustainability has become one of the main points of attention in the urban planning discipline. In Akcakaya (2008) the following definition is used in relation with urban regeneration:

"a sustainable city is a city that works so that all its citizens are able to meet their own needs without endangering the well-being of the natural world or the living conditions of other people now or in the future" (Akcakaya, 2008)

The concept of sustainable regeneration is important in relation to urban regeneration programs because communities and other parties have big expectations of it. Such programs focus on problems such as deindustrialisation, poverty and underemployment, to name a few. So in this research the assumption will be made that all urban regeneration has the aim to be sustained and/or to be successful. Furthermore a distinction has to be made between "regeneration" which refers to industrial physical redevelopment, whereby "urban regeneration" has a broader scope of development and encompasses also social-cultural infrastructure (Vickery, 2007, in Akcakaya, 2008).

Next besides sustainability, "quality of life" plays an important role in urban regeneration. In the sense of how the physical infrastructure in the urban environment has an impact on communities and human lives. The desired quality of life is therefore achieved by improving the physical, economic and social well-being of an area and inhabitants. Therefore the quality of the public realm in combination of the actual buildings are important for urban regeneration (ODPM, 2004 in Parés, Bonet-Martí and Martí-Costa, 2011).

Participation is another important driving force in urban regeneration projects (Parés, Bonet-Martí and Martí-Costa, 2011). It has the potential to not only shape the social but also other aspects of the planning agenda conforming to the local needs. Leading to a further institutionalization of participation in urban regeneration policies.

2.2 Culture used in regeneration

The concept of culture is a vast concept. Therefore one definition by the Department of Culture, Media and Sports is chosen for this study (DCMS, 1998). This definition embraces culture as a mix of places, values, beliefs and activities that result in a sense of identity and well-being in a community. Such places of culture or activities are to name a few visual and performing arts, audio-visual, architecture and museums.

For this urban regeneration context, culture is seen as a resource, such as the arts and visitor attractions to change the pattern of behaviour. But also to create potential to achieve social, economic and environmental goals (Akçakaya, 2008).

There is a varying regenerative effect where culture is a driver, catalyst or a key player in the process of urban regeneration. The most widely accepted and cited model is made in Evans (2005) whereby three types of regeneration are distinguished:

1. Culture- led regeneration: this type of cultural activity is seen as a catalyst and driver for regeneration. The activity goes hand in hand with a cultural flagship project. These interventions have a claim for uniqueness which "non-cultural" regeneration projects do not have.
2. Cultural regeneration: this type of cultural activity is more integrated alongside strategies for other activities in the social, economic and environmental sphere.
3. Culture and regeneration: this type of cultural activity is not fully integrated, because the ones responsible for regeneration and cultural activity are divided in different departments. According to Evans (2005) this is the model by default.

In the last couple of decades the link with cultural events and urban regeneration in the city that hosts the event has been seen as unavoidable. This is because of the environmental, economic and social benefits it can bring (Papanikolaou, 2012). According to McCarthy (2006), a successful culture-led regeneration relies on the distinct character of a district, resulting in a well-defined public realm. It is also noted that there has to be a critical mass for the cultural facilities alongside a mix of land uses and building types.

A commonly used example of successful culture-led urban regeneration has been practiced in Barcelona, resulting in a much cited "Barcelona model" of city planning (Garcia, 2004). This model has been replicated worldwide after since. The main characteristics of this model are the use of multiple major events as catalysts for city regeneration. This approach combines physical restructuring of waterfronts and roads with a symbolic representation in promoting the Catalan/Mediterranean identity. The developments took place in a polycentric manner, creating multiple hubs for business and cultural activity rooted in strongly defined communities spread around the metropolis.

Furthermore, the conditions to appease the needs of investors can have a negative impact on the wider objectives, resulting in merely symbolic physical improvements (Papanikolaou, 2012). This adds to what Landry et al. (1996) argues

that culture driven regeneration may be only aimed at high spending residents and visitors, leading to an exclusion of residents and visitors that are less well-off for new (cultural) facilities. In cases this has also led to public funds being diverted from disadvantaged places towards high-profile city centre cultural projects (Papanikolaou, 2012). Lastly, even in the places that got improved negatives effects may arise such as the displacement of lower-value users (Evans and Dawson, 1994 in Papanikolaou, 2012)

2.3 ECOC as mega event and urban regeneration

Conducting the literature review several definitions have been found describing the idea of mega-events and in particular the European Capital of Culture (ECoC). It is apparent that hallmark events, festival events and mega- events are used to describe the same phenomena (Papanikolaou, 2012) (Greene, 2003). These hallmark events are one of the four possible cultural planning objectives that Landry (2000) talks about. Other objectives concern place marketing, branded concepts and a statement of intend to improve the cultural sector in a city. All these objectives may lead to an improvement for the creative milieu in a city. Alongside cultural events like the ECoC, sporting events, carnivals, festivals, major international and world exhebitions and fairs are seen by Landry (2000) as mega events.

Concerning the content of the ECoC, the arts, including music, drama, dance, visual arts and cinema alongside other forms of cultural heritage have a prominent position (Wang, 2009). This event was first held in Athens in 1985. Such a venue is supported by the European Union and is meant to highlight local culture. A notable ECoC was Glasgow that changed the nature of the event for the future, because it shifted from traditional high arts into popular and community arts (Garcia, 2004). That was not the only change it brought along, Glasgow 1990 altered the objectives towards urban regeneration. This also made it more interesting to host different events seen as the second round such as titles given by the UNESCO creative cities network (UCCN)(Gold and Gold, 2005). Furthermore the city transformed through construction of new buildings, capitalization of the existing ones and the renovation of old buildings (Papanikolaou, 2012)

The importance of cultural activities and events are that they improve the quality of life in a city and making the leisure in it more enjoyable. Same counts for people who come to visit the city that partake in leisure but also in hedonistic consumerism (Deffner en Labrianidis, 2005). The use of cultural events and flagship projects have also widened the regeneration rationale. Resulting in the inclusion of social impacts such as art-based projects that improve the well-being of the city residents, adres social exclusion and greater participation in community life (Garcia, 2004).

Mega-events can be an opportunity to develop a city, but cultural policy does not only result in economic benefits. Aspects of culture, space and economy are all interconnected, so are mega-events that are an example of this interrelationship. According to Hall (1997) a mega-event can be a catalyst of change if it is properly integrated into a redevelopment strategy. The change made *"by persuading people to work together around a common objective and as a fast track for obtaining extra*

finance and get building projects off the drawing board" (Law, 1993, in Deffner en Labrianidis, 2005). Roche (2000) adds that such mega-events can be seen as important cultural networks.

2.4 Mega events and flagship projects

Flagship projects are the most direct physical outcomes of the ECoC alongside upgrading of infrastructure and public spaces such as squares and waterfronts. According to Roche (2000) mega-events give elites with flagships the power to promote their vision of the future, but also the opportunity for ordinary people to connect with the collective identities. For the definition of flagship projects I will use the definition of Bianchini et al. (1993):

"significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property developments which play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration. In the final analysis such projects will only justify their flagship status if they succeed in attracting a "flotilla" of other developments in their wake" (Bianchini et al. 1993)

Furthermore flagship projects have some distinctive characteristics. They can be seen as an opposition to the local and community needs (Bianchini et al, 1993). Another characteristic is that it may be monumentalist and a display of elite culture to attract international tourists (Deffner en Labrianidis, 2005). For flagship projects to be successful they have to be part of long term cultural planning that promotes urban regeneration.

2.5 Cultural Flagships as Catalysts

Jane Jacobs (1961) was the first to make an important description of the catalytic process. She argued that such happens when primary uses stimulate a demand for secondary uses. Primary uses are places of economic or with a significant human activity. This will contribute for a demand in secondary uses such as restaurants, retail and art galleries (Jacobs, 1961, p. 167).

Next important definitions was that of Wayne Attoe and Donn Longa *Catalysts in the Design of Cities* (1989 in Grodach, 2008). A valuable lesson the book gave was that in urban areas that suffer from stagnation and decline, high priority has to be set on catalytic developments to spark more development. To start the discussion the book defined the term catalysts very broadly. The meaning of the word was derived from built facilities and street and walkway improvements to public policies like financial incentives. This means temporary mega-events can also act as catalysts. However for this section 3 ways of how flagships can lead to further development are identified by Grodach (2008):

1. Draw people throughout the urban environment into the facility and then releasing the people back into the environment. Creating opportunities for the visitors to visit other buildings.
2. Buildings serve as an attraction and complements the streetscape
3. Change perception investors, increase trust replacing ill planned landscape

Lastly to be noted is that a catalyst is an activity generator, but that does not always leads to nearby development. Neither is a structure or building more catalytic when it generates more activity because the cumulative presence of persons and traffic can discourage people going to the surrounding environment (Sternberg, 2002). Therefore for designing a building the surrounding streets should be considered to enhance the catalytic effect.

There has already been a series of studies that take physical design and context into account. However these studies tend to look at larger cultural districts instead of the relationship between the flagship and its surroundings (Wansborough & Mageean, 2000; Montgomery, 2003; Van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2003; McCarthy, 2006 in Grodach, 2008).

2.6 Conceptual model

The described and discussed concepts come together in the conceptual model and form the basis of this research (Figure 2).

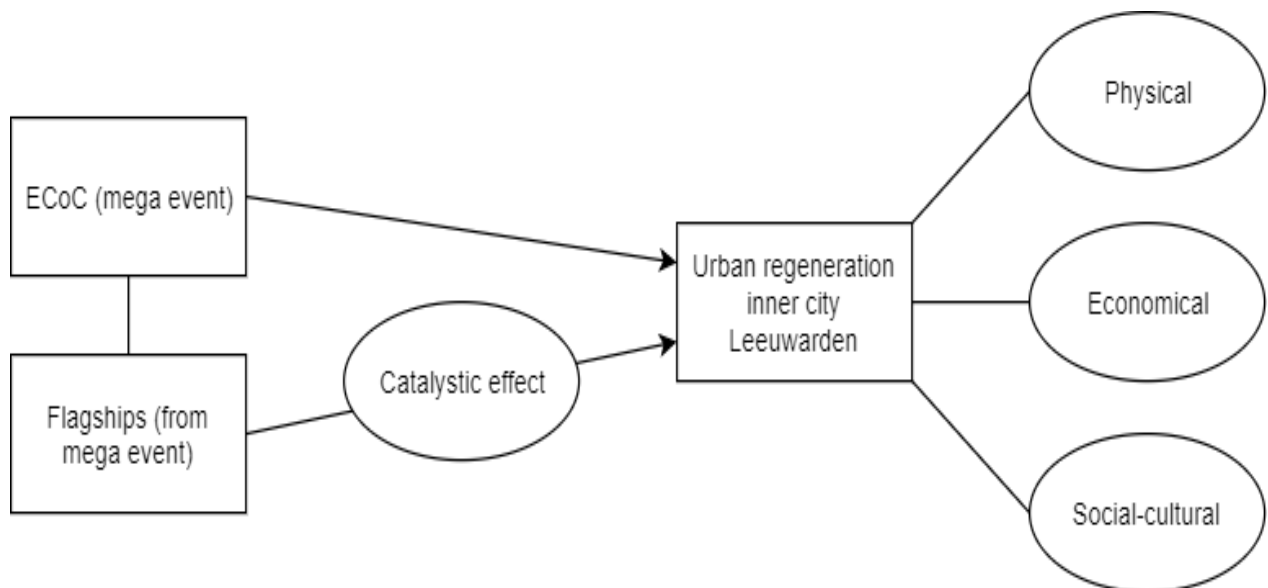


Figure 2: Diagram of the Conceptual model that encompasses all the concepts used for this research

Chapter three: Methodology

The main research problem was to explore what effects mega-events and flagship projects, specifically made for the ECoC, had on urban regeneration in the city centre of Leeuwarden.

The focus lies predominantly on the physical and social-economical outcomes of the mega event. To explore the main problem and answer the sub-questions, two methods were chosen for this research. First of all interviews were conducted with key stakeholders in the inner city. Secondly observations were carried out at the places which had changed the most after the event. Both methods are therefore qualitative of nature.

3.1 Data collection

The first method was semi-structured interviews, in this case the most suitable method. This was used to get a deeper understanding of how certain stakeholders have experienced the event. Also this method was used to seek out what the respondents valued the most with regard to urban regeneration in the inner city. Besides in-depth interviews or structured interviews is that semi-structured interviews are more flexible on how topics are presented during the interview (Clifford et al., 2010). Also this method has biases that can be found in the interviewer and interviewee. As this can affect the quality of the data therefore the following steps can be taken to limit it according to Saunders et al. (2009):

- Preparation and readiness for the interview
- Level of information supplied to the interviewee
- Demonstration of attentive listening skills

Considering this research a literature review was done before starting the interviews and during the interviews different techniques like probing were used. One point of attention could be that the level of information supplied to the interviewee was only limited to a short introduction to the topic.

The second method used is the observation method in selected places that underwent physical transformation due to the mega-event. This method is chosen because it can give a valuable contribution to understand urban regeneration and how to catalysis effect works of flagship project. Furthermore, this method is chosen to avoid errors or "biases" that can occur in the respondents during the interview (Dunckel, 2001). However this method also has certain drawbacks such incomplete information if observation can only be done one time (Dunckel, 2001).

For this research 7 interviews were held with 8 participants. For the semi-structured interviews four groups of stakeholders were identified. They have experienced the event and know more about the topic. Namely citizens, shop

owners, creative entrepreneurs and municipality for more detailed information see appendix I. The participants are partly recruited with the snowball method. This way certain gatekeepers were contacted for additional participants. On average the interviews were 35 minutes long and an iPhone was used to record the interviews.

3.2 Data analysis

For this research the methods of analysis were thematically analysed. Considering the aim and the research questions this is a suitable and commonly used method for analysis. Themes are patterns that are important for the description of mega events and phenomena around it. Results from the interviews, observation notes and photos were thematically coded. The thematic analysis is done to establish meaningful patterns and is done with the following 6 steps identified by Braun & Clarke (2006):

- Step 1: Become familiar with the data
- Step 2: Generate initial codes
- Step 3: Search for themes
- Step 4: Review themes
- Step 5: Define themes
- Step 6: Write-up.

These steps are non-linear and during the research steps were made forward and backward. During this process special coding software was used named Atlas.ti.

3.3 Philosophical and ethical considerations

The methods used in this research are in line with the interpretivist approach. This approach makes assumptions about multiple realities. Alongside it views knowledge as socially constructed opposed to created. Therefore the knowledge that is generated are meanings and relative so bound to time, context, culture and value (Dudovskiy, 2009). Lastly concerning this research subject the focus of interest has been what makes the case in Leeuwarden unique and to get a greater understanding of mega events on culture-led regeneration.

The ethical issues of confidentiality and anonymity were handled with care. At the beginning of the interviews papers of consent were signed. One of the options for the interviewees was to remain anonymous or under a pseudonym but no one opted for this. Many interviewees did ask for the final result to look at the results of the study. Lastly the interview data was secured with a password and was not be given to third parties.

Chapter four: Results

4.1 Physical dimensions

The reuse of redundant buildings because of the ECoC has been a topic that is discussed in most of the interviews after observations this has been confirmed. Some locations were asked in specific especially the area near the central station has had a lot of reuse of redundant building space. The reason for this big change was because the municipality under supervision of Ynze Heitsma (Appendix I) made a big refurbishment of public space. This resulted in more opportunities for private parties. Especially a squatters building on the opposite side of the train station had to be refurbished. Bernhard Bijma (Appendix I) said the following about the transformation:

"There was a building at the railway station square that was squatted, you probably know it. The property was hard to develop because it was squatted. The surroundings also did not invite for further development. So we (municipality) decided to refurbish the surrounding public space. And so the local politics also demanded that something had to be done with the building. Especially because of the ECoC and its expected visitors. Luckily we found a Dutch restaurant chain "Loetje", which wanted to move into the premises. This way we solved the problem"

Another place that was transformed by the municipality because of the ECoC was the Blokhuis square. During observations it was noticed that no other buildings besides the former prison complex of Blokhuispoort was refurbished around that place. In the interviews and observation it was seen and told that the Blokhuispoort has undergone a transformation towards a mixed use development.

In more than one place in the city mixed use developments have taken place as a result of the ECoC. The Blokhuispoort with new workspaces, cafes, restaurants, hostel and cultural facilities is a prime example of it. Another example is the former Aegon building near the station square that indirectly has undergone a transformation. This building has workspaces, student housing and social facilities. After the interview with Ynze Heitsma, he added that the Aegon building will get the possibility for catering businesses as well.

There has been an increase in the use of public space at the flagship projects of the ECoC 2018. In the interview with Ynze Heitsma and quarter panel it was brought up that this is the case at the station square. Same is true at the Oldehoofsterkerkhof square where a more diverse usage of the space after observation. These developments are attributed to a change in the redesign of the public space. Most notable in the transformation is the addition of a fountain by a renowned artist Plensa at the station square (see figure 3). At the

Oldehoofsterkerkhof a cultural pavilion named Lân fan taal is added at the Oldehoofsterkerkhof square. None of the interviewees talked about the cultural pavilion at the Olderhoofsterkerhof but the change into living space is applicable in both places. Ynze Heitsma said the following about the transformation of the station square:

"The location was more of a traffic area before where the pedestrian was subjected to the cars and bikes. But now with its redesign it has become more of a living space. So you see more people standing still or sitting and taking pictures. The atmosphere has become more laid back."



Figure 3: Redesigned station square with the two headed fountain in the back of the picture. Alongside pedestrians and bicyclists have more space compared to cars with more greenery and opportunities to sit. Therefore more living space is created (Boers, 2018)

Not only for the main public the public space has changed. Appropriate measures have been taken for people with a disability such as special strips for blind persons and raised bus stops. Resulting in an inclusive design for almost all groups of people who want to visit the public library or want to go safely with public transport.

4.2 Catalytic effect of Flagships

There is a strong presence of a catalytic effect in the Fries Museum, but the "flagship projects" of the ECoC have a weaker catalytic effect after the ECoC. The Fries Museum can be seen as one of the main attractions of ECoC and also after, resulting in more pedestrian flow around that place. Even if the people would not visit the Museum there is a high chance they did visit buildings alongside the Wilhelminaplein or Ruiterskwartier as argued by Brown (1994, in Grodach (2008)). When interviewing the quarter panel it was noticed that the Fries museum had a typical character and with its magnitude it complements the streetscape. The link was also made that this building has generated surrounding development. Maaïke Venema (Appendix I) of the quarter panel said the following about it:

"More coffee places, but not only catering businesses. The square in front of the Fries Museum has a very lively ambience. With all the cafes and restaurants and their paved terraces, especially if you come from the train station. But also if you just look at the museum with its facade from glass, hard to not look at it. A real eye-catcher."

Furthermore, in the article of (Sternberg, 2002) the catalytic effect on its surroundings occurs through pedestrian flows. According to the studies of (Elkington, McGlynn, and Roberts, 1976; Pushkarev and Zupan, 1975 in (Sternberg, 2002)) people walk about 200 meters. In this radius there are indeed new developments such as a grand cafe Z and La Place a restaurant. Compared to the flagships made for the ECoC the Fountain has some qualities of a catalyst such as it is an attraction however it cannot draw people into the facility because it is an object. The Pavilion Lân fan taal has more potential to be a catalyst, although the capacity of the building is limited (around 150). This building does strengthen the place because of the proximity to the Prinsessenhof museum into a cultural quarter (see figure 4). However after observation it is noted that there is not much room for further development in a radius of 200 meter for new buildings because of the location. There is a big square in front of the pavilion but this should be used for events and to keep the line of sight for the Oldehove tower. However in an interview with Menno Bakker (Appendix I) there was a street De Bagijnestraat in the 200 meter radius that had the potential to become developed, he said the following about it:

"De Bagijnestraat is a very beautiful street. A nice addition would be to find antique stores there with cafes. That should be a nice way to make a circle walk from the Nieuwstad, Bagijnestraat and Kleine Kerkstraat. Because now the street is very quiet compared to the other streets. "



Figure 4: The Lân fan taal pavilion. Placed at the edge of the Ouderhoofsterkerkhof. From the city centre people come through the Kleine Kerkstraat to visit the square and pavilion. The Prinsessenhof museum is on the Grote Kerkstraat just behind the pavilion in the white building. (Bijlstra, 2019)

4.3 Economic dimensions

The ECoC did create new jobs, enterprises and cultural start-ups according to the interviewees. Especially more cafes and restaurants have been established just before and during the event. A reason is that these entrepreneurs saw an opportunity because the mega event would generate more visitors to Leeuwarden and so more potential clients. This reason was used by Ciska Blaauwbroek and Baukje de Vries (Appendix I) in the interviews. In the interview especially with Baukje de Vries she talked about new “cultural breeding grounds” these are start-ups places for mostly cultural entrepreneurs. These start-ups developed in places that were vacant before such as the former Fries Museum building and one of an outdoor retail store.

After the ECoC a circular quarter has been made in the Oosterstraat researching new possibilities for the local economy and production chains. Baukje de Vries is one of the founders of the circular quarter and wants to make her business more sustainable. A living lab located in the street is now working on that case together with helping new students to write a marketing strategy for the circular quarter. Baukje de Vries explained that alongside the ECoC 2018 a platform emerged which is concerned about global sustainability. With this new platform the new circular quarter in the Oosterstraat emerged. The main reason for this development can be contributed to the Iepen Mienskip goal for a more sustainable society explained by the municipality of Leeuwarden (Gemeente Leeuwarden, 2018)

There are signs that employers change their location towards the city centre and that a retention of graduates in the area takes place. While not directly linked to the ECoC Menno Bakker mentioned that companies in the creative sector are moving towards the city centre. This process was already before the ECoC and he said the following about it:

“Yes, I think that there has been a boost in the development which was already ongoing.... The collaboration between media companies and the community colleges already moved towards the city centre. I am an example of someone who moved from the industrial site near the city centre. To sit closer (to other companies) and yes to be more interesting for interns. My new location is a nice building with shops nearby”

Together with Wytse Dijkstra, Menno Bakker (Appendix I) agrees that the ECoC did contribute to the retention of creative talent. So, according to them, the

event has shown the possibilities and the attractiveness of the city. This is in line with aims in the bid book for the ECoC 2018 (LWD2018, 2013).

Lastly the city also became more attractive for cultural tourists that spend on cultural activities (see figure 5). These visitors are very important for local retail and catering and some retail is even dependable on it according to Baukje de Vries. She explains the process as follows:

"The cultural tourist is very important for this city. So if we are dependent on something it is the Fries Museum and Prinsessenhof. This is also the tourist who spends the most. Especially last year it was remarkable because we had 3 big blockbusters. People not only came for the museum. People also visited the city afterwards. You could see people with a bag of Plankga or a bag of Zwaan. So people also went shopping. Funshopping."



Figure 5: Cultural tourists and other visitors standing in line in front of the Fries Museum for the "blockbuster" exposition Escher during the ECoC2018 (vanVliet, 2019).

This process described by Baukje de Vries is confirmed by Ciska Blaauwbroek. Additionally she adds that after a visit to the Fries Museum tourists can now find more easily the shopping mall. According to her this is an important development because the Fries Museum has blocked the shopping mall from the square.

4.4 Social-cultural dimensions

In almost all of the interviews the interviewees noted that there is more collaboration between public-private-voluntary-sectors thanks to the ECoC 2018. Residents and other people had to work together because of a common objective, resulting in more easily obtaining finance for building projects (Law, 1993, in Deffner en Labrianidis,2005). Such an example is the Beestreets project explained by Ciska Blaauwbroek. This is a project initiated by entrepreneurs in collaboration with the municipality and designers to make the streets more green and attractive. This project started in the Oosterstraat but now also will be done in other parts of the city centre.

In more cases artists are employed on design and construction teams. A reason for this is that the municipality has become more open to ideas and wishes of the residents. So when the quarter panel of the inner city came with an idea the municipality was ready to cooperate. The quarter panel had brought up artists who wanted to design a public space that had to be refurbished (see figure 6). Bernhard Bijma had the following to say how this collaboration started:

"We (the municipality) wanted something special but we did not know what. Thus after the draft, temporary design we did not specify our final design into detail. We only drew a triangular square with a demand that the primary material should be concrete. We (the municipality) wanted something specials but we did not know how or what. And so by initiative of the quarter panel, they came with ideas from the artists that we could put in practice. This has worked very well in this project to not specify the design."

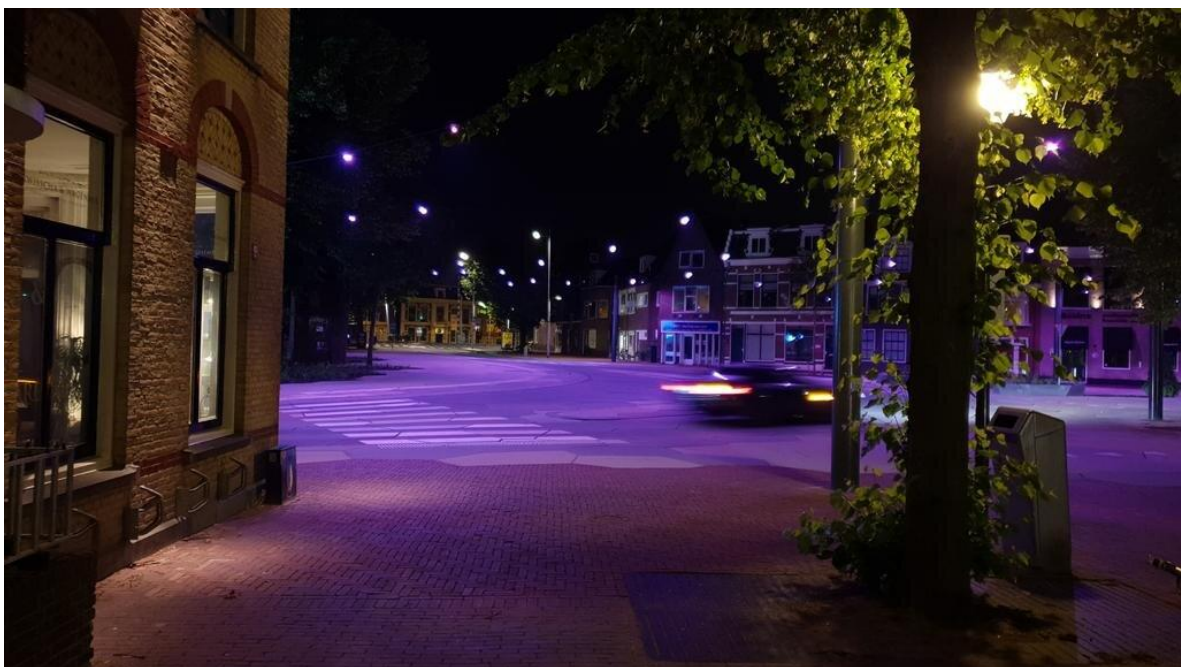


Figure 6: The refurbished Blokhuispoortplein during night-time. The purple lights change according to a pre-set colour scheme. (Jentsch, 2018)

The quarter panel is now initiating new projects where artists are employed in the design of an approach route to a new cinema in the city centre. This shows that is isn't a singular project but also after the ECoC artists are employed for the design and improvement of the public realm.

Public art also has other effects in the city centre by displacing crime, antisocial behaviour and improving the safety in places. Two places are notably for this development as result of the ECoC. The first one is in the Doelenstraat, a street where many cafes are and violence occurred during night time. So lengthwise the street lanterns are hung up with changing colour schemes to increase the safety. This changes the perception of the street and advances the quality of the place (Ross, 2016). While no exact data is yet available it does seem to have changed the place for the better according to the quarter panel. The second case was of the same public space near the Blokhuispoort that was radically changed by artists. This place has displaced illegal prostitution with the use of new lights which were made by the artists. These two cases show how public art has improved the safety in public space for the nearby residents.

Lastly the ECoC has led to a positive change in the perceptions of the area by its residents and a greater individual confidence is noticed among all interviewees. In other studies the reinforcement of self-esteem are also observed (Hudec et al., 2019) (Evans, 2005). Wytze Dijkstra says that people even take more pride into the city instead of being ashamed of it. While also noticing that the inner city still has many empty and unfinished places, nevertheless the ECoC has reinforced confidence under the youth. The same is true under the older inhabitants of the city: their perception has also changed for the better. This is a way how Baukje de Vries sees the change caused by the ECoC:

"The biggest spinoff of the ECoC 2018 is an increase of collaboration between the residents. And a changed mind-set, that we, the residents of Leeuwarden, can do it. The old phrase, "it is nothing and it never will be anything", is over!"

Chapter five: Conclusions

5.1 Conclusions

In this research it is found that the European Capital of Culture 2018 in Leeuwarden has had a big impact on urban regeneration in the downtown of Leeuwarden. Following the research questions the following results can be emphasized:

During the literature research an answer was given to the first to sub-questions related to the main question. A suitable explanation for the ECoC cost is given what urban regeneration is and how culture can lead it. It is widely regarded as the transformation of a residential, commercial or open space that has shown signs of physical, economic and social decline (Evans, 2005). The main aim is to bring back vitality back to a place in the short term and improve the quality of life in the long term. Culture is therefore seen as a resource such as the arts and visitors attraction to change existing patterns of behaviour and to achieve social, economic and environmental goals. The next sub-question has tried to theoretically frame the ECoC and corresponding flagships. It is found that mega events are part of a strategy of culture-led regeneration trying to improve the creative milieu in a city (Landry, 2000). This is done in the form of cultural events that include various arts (Wang, 2009). Lastly the flagships are defined by the description made by scholars from Bianchini et al., (1992). They see these projects as significant land and property developments that are influential and have a catalytic role in urban regeneration.

The physical transformations are positively perceived by all of the interviewees. The reuse of redundant buildings around the station square and Blokhuispoort square are seen as valuable improvements. The addition of more pedestrian space and for instance accommodations of benches and strips for blind people has increased the quality of the public space. Furthermore the ECoC has also accelerated big physical transformations according to multiple interviewees.

After observation and analysis there is concluded that there is a strong catalytic effect in the Fries Museum and a weaker catalytic effect in the Lân fan taal pavilion present after the ECoC. This is concluded with use of characteristics found in Grodach (2008). So while the Fries museum was not a flagship it did generate a strong catalytic effect with as a result more cafes and restaurants around the Wilhelmina square. It is found out that the Lân fan taal flagship has weaker catalytic effect due to the size and location of the building. However there are some possible places for development such as the Bagijnestraat. Therefore it is still possible according to Bianchini et al. (1992) that it gets a flagship status.

Evidence has been presented that the ECoC has brought more jobs and innovation in the catering and creative sector. Alongside there is a retention of

youth that has more trust in the future. More catering businesses have opened and more start-ups in creative breeding grounds have established themselves around the city. Besides that in the Oosterstraat a circular quarter has started on developing sustainable solutions for the local catering businesses. This has implications for the current and new entrepreneurs in the city.

The ECoC has brought more collaboration between public-private-voluntary-sectors. This is achieved because of the collaboration of the sectors in projects for the ECoC. The result is that different parties can find each other more easily due to the former collaboration. An increase in positive self-esteem and pride has also benefit for future collaboration between the parties such as the municipality, artist, quarter panel and entrepreneurs.

5.2 Discussion

Compared to other studies done on European Cultural Capitals most results have socio-economic dimensions (Hudec et al. 2019)(Lui, 2019) (Garcia and Cox, 2014). Same accounts for the perception residents have of Leeuwarden about the city and its new/redesigned environment. This is in line what Garcia and Cox (2014) have concluded in their big study of all the ECoC of the three decades. However to generalize this statement for Leeuwarden more people have to be questioned. Next remarkable finding is that the flagship Lan fan taal cannot be yet seen as a flagship according to the definition of Bianchini et al. (1992). However the catalytic working of Museums as catalyst seems to be correct (Grodach, 2008). In future studies more focus could be put on catalytic working of cultural facilities in combination with cultural tourism.

In Hudec et al (2019) it was found that culture-led development is hindered by the lack of participation and activism and may lead to a shift in focus to cultural tourism. In Košice for instance the cultural capital of 2013 there has been an expansion seen of creative industries by young artists and entrepreneurs that did not choose to move(Hudec et al.2019). Concerning Leeuwarden there seems to be enough participation and activism to let cultural and creative industries development. However therefore additional studies have to be made after a longer time period from the ECoC 2018 to find out if the development was successful.

Additionally an increase in civic pride has been accounted for in Guimarães (ECoC 2012) and Košice, just like in Leeuwarden and many other former ECoCs(Hudec et al. 2019)(Lui, 2019)(Garcia and Cox, 2013), (Akcakaya, 2008), (Deffner and Labrianidis, 2005). Lastly the study has only limited itself on the city centre. However it would be beneficial to look at how the ECoC had an impact on the whole city to see if the event has created polycentric development in the city or even region as it was described in Garcia (2004).

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Appendix I: List specific information interviewees

| Name | Role | Stakeholder |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Ynze Haitzma | Project manager transformation of train station area | Municipality |
| Bernhard Bijma | Project manager transformation Blokhuispoort area | Municipality |
| Peter de Boer Maaïke Venema | Wijkpanel Binnenstad | Active citizens |
| Baukje de vries | Vereniging de Oosterstraten | Entrepreneur |
| Cisca Blauwbroek | Vereniging promotie Zaailand | Entrepreneur |
| Menno Bakker | Film maker, producer at Narvic media, former director tourist information office Leeuwarden | Creative entrepreneurs |
| Wytse Dijkstra | Project manager Use-it, program coordinator Asterix | Creative entrepreneurs |

