

EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE TO DEVELOP CREATIVE QUARTERS: THREE CASE STUDIES FROM GERMANY

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ABSTRACT. As the positive economic and social impacts of the creative economy on regions are evident, many regions and local policy makers aim to attract creative industries and creative people by offering adequate spaces and framework conditions (Musterd & Murie 2010). Beside other efforts, creative quarters are initiated artificially by top-down governance. Based on the assumption that creatives (bohemians, core of the creative class) need a certain amount of autonomy and do not want to be instrumentalised, initiating creative quarters top-down seems to be difficult. This paper analyses different ways of governance to develop creative quarters in the range of top-down, bottom-up and co-governance. By reference to three quarters (located in the Ruhr area, Germany) which have been developed by different ways of governance, the research derives ideal governance structures and processes to develop creative quarters considering practical opportunities and limitations.

KEY WORDS: creative quarter, governance, creative industries, creative economy, creative region, Germany, Ruhr area

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1. Introduction

Due to their positive effects, public efforts to stimulate the development of creative quarters in different European cities have recently increased. Those public efforts are often initiated by top-down governance approaches with the public sector or investors as main actors. Applying governance to the creative economy is a young research field, suitable to analyse the development of creative quarters with a focus on the constellation of actors involved, with their motives and power resources (Lange et al. 2010). Govern-

ance is a concept to describe and analyse different forms and mechanisms of coordination and cultures of planning, including different formal and informal constellations of private and public actors with their particular motives, attitudes and power resources as well as new intermediate actors (Kooiman 2003). Top-down governance works for many development projects, but it is questionable whether such top-down governed efforts are an effective way to develop creative quarters, or if the target group of creatives with its special needs requires other ways of governance to be attracted. Regarding creative quarters,

the focus lies on bohemians and parts of the core of the creative class (Florida 2002, 2005) since those groups define creative quarters in contrast to normal business parks.

To answer the previous question, three creative quarters from the German Ruhr area were analysed. The objective was to derive ideal governance structures and processes to develop creative quarters, considering practical opportunities and limitations. The Ruhr area was chosen for a broader case study because many efforts have been made there to support the creative economy and develop creative quarters. In particular, the region is an example of handling structural change, among other means by transforming former industrial areas to cultural uses. When the region became a European Capital of Culture in 2010, the project Creative.Quarters Ruhr was started to support the creative economy by initiating new and enhancing the existing creative quarters. The three case studies are part of this project and present examples of different ways of governance in the range of top-down, bottom-up and co-governance. The governance structures and processes of these particular quarters are very distinct, so were most suitable for comparison. They were chosen because they have a more or less comparable institutional background and framework conditions, as they all belong to the same region and are all part of the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project. They differ regarding the local, or municipal, level in terms of population size and the size of urban centres, but these differences do not substantially affect their governance structures and processes of development.

The methodological approach in the form of qualitative interviews with key actors (creatives, planners, property owners) is based on the grounded theory proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

2. Creative economy in the Ruhr area

The Ruhr area in Germany is a former industrial region which used to be characterised by heavy industry. It is a polycentric region with 5.15 million inhabitants and 53 municipalities, including 11 larger cities, as well as rural areas (Regionalverband Ruhr 2012). Because of the de-

cline of heavy industry, the region had to struggle with a structural change, and still does. The relevance of cultural and creative industries for city development in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia was already recognised in the 1990s. There appeared the idea of a cultural use for former industrial areas and buildings, and several of them were transformed in the course of the IBA Emscher Park International Building Exhibition between 1989 and 1999 (Hospers 2004). In the following years, initiatives, projects, studies and events were launched to enhance the creative economy, and the field was integrated into policy frameworks.

Recently, the awareness of the relevance of the creative economy for economic and social aspects as well as for urban and city development has increased. Apart from its economic effects, the creative economy is also important in terms of social culture, subculture and scene (Landry 2008). Furthermore, it is a growing industry with positive impacts on other economic sectors, which are attracted by areas with a vivid environment, atmosphere and urbanity as well as cultural offers.

Statistical surveys of the creative economy are usually not really representative because jobs are often located outside the classical, surveyed employment circumstances and lots of creatives operate as freelancers or have second incomes (WMR 2010). But some statistical figures (Table 1) are useful for an overview of the region and its creative economy.

As Table 1 shows, the number of companies increased from 8,778 in 2001 to 10,116 in 2007 (15.2%), while that of employees declined from 41,256 to 37,881 (-8.2%). Compared against all branches, creative companies accounted for 6% and creative employees for 3.8% of the total. In 2007 most employees were located in the submarkets of software/ games (37.4%), publishing /recording industry (18.4%), performing and fine arts, music and literature (11.2%), as well as advertising (9.5%) (WMR 2010). Their sales increased from 5,584 to 6,131 million Euro and amounted to 2% of the figure for all branches. There is a spatial concentration of creative companies and employees in the larger cities and urban areas. The structure of companies in the Ruhr area shows them to be mostly small or medium-sized (WMR 2010).

Table 1. Creative economy in the Ruhr area.

	Companies			Employees			Sales (€ million)		
	2001	2007	Change (%)	2001	2007	Change (%)	2001	2007	Change (%)
Publishing/recording industry	418	437	4.5	8,743	6,961	-20.4	2,691,657	2,436,585	-9.5
Film industry, including TV production	364	299	-17.9	1,326	1,051	-20.7	304,765	168,002	-44.9
Broadcasting/TV companies	45	47	4.4	574	509	-11.3	108,563	105,889	-2.5
Performing and fine arts, music, literature	1,093	1,260	15.3	4,129	4,236	2.6	192,598	177,693	-7.7
Journalism/news agencies	479	737	53.9	284	359	26.4	38,101	65,035	70.7
Arts (exhibitions, museum shops)	31	43	38.7	1,401	1,159	-17.3	14,587	23,211	59.1
Retail for books, music supplies and arts	750	634	-15.5	1,848	1,539	-16.7	313,063	447,551	43.0
Architecture	1,738	1,704	-2.0	3,952	2,916	-26.2	364,681	330,710	-9.3
Design	1,481	1,933	30.5	3,852	3,584	-7.0	374,004	441,238	18.0
Advertising	1,396	1,235	-11.5	1,347	1,413	4.9	633,105	717,777	13.4
Software/games	983	1,787	81.8	13,800	14,154	2.6	549,142	1,217,748	121.8
Total	8,778	10,116	15.2	41,256	37,881	-8.2	5,584	6,131	9.8

Source: WMR (2010).

As the creative economy nowadays is regarded as a future branch which fits well into the region, there has recently been a hype about supporting and developing creative quarters. Beside economic advantages in the form of sales

and effects, also for other branches, a reason for the hype is also the opportunity of bringing new uses to industrial brownfields. The hype was enhanced when the region was granted the role of a European Capital of Culture. In its course,

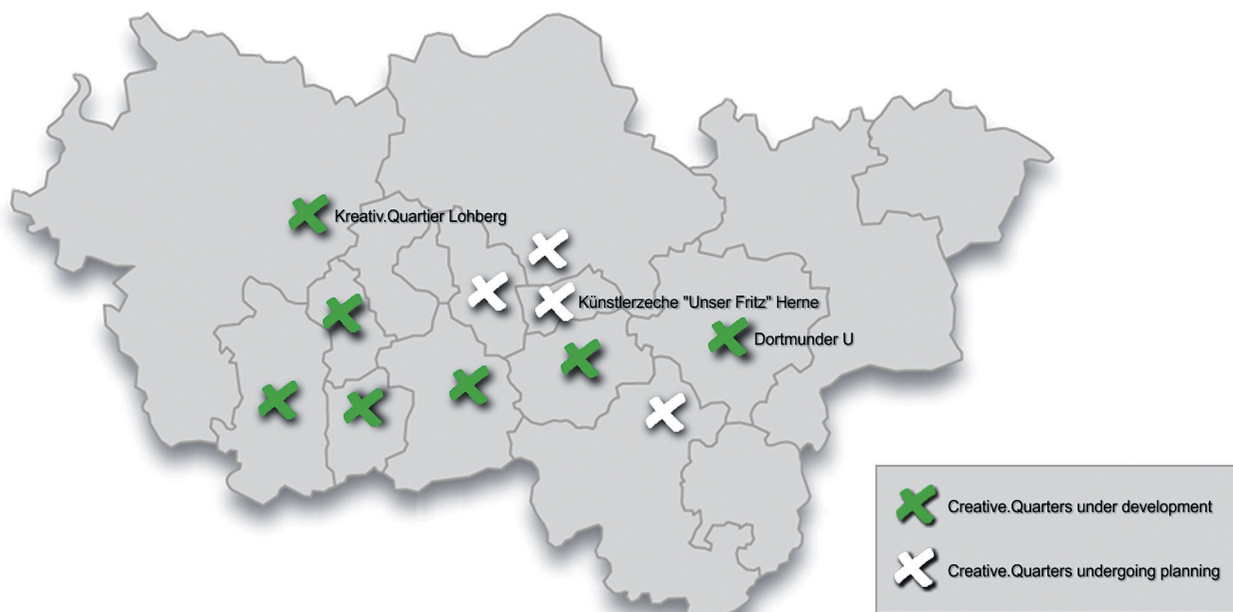


Fig. 1. Creative.Quarters Ruhr.

Source: ECCE GmbH 2012, modified by the author.

one of the main fields was support for the creative economy under the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project (ECCE n.d.).

The newly founded European Centre for Creative Economy (ECCE) is in charge of implementing the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project. Its objective is to utilise the creative potential of the Ruhr area and initiate a process supporting the creative economy in the region and meeting the requirements of the target group. The aim is to increase political awareness as well as draw more attention to the relation of culture, economy and city development. To carry out the project, institutional structures in the form of municipal round tables were installed at which representatives of divergent interest groups (culture and the creative economy, city administration and the private sector) were included in the development processes (ECCE n.d.). This paper goes further into the question of the possibility of developing creative quarters by this means and analyses three of the project's eleven creative quarters.

3. Top-down governance: Dortmunder U

The Dortmunder U is a 5.4 ha inner-city brownfield of the former Union Brewery. It is part of the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project. In its course, the area was transformed into a centre for arts and creativity, opened in 2010 due to the European Capital of Culture (City of Dortmund et al. 2010). The city of Dortmund is one of the region's major urban areas with about 581,000 inhabitants in 2011. It is one of the leading creative cities of the Ruhr area, compared against aggregated values of the whole region, in terms of creative employees in 2007 (standard variance of +0.41- +3.5%), growth in the number of creative companies (standard variance +9 - +12.5% from 2001 to 2007), and growth in the branch sales (standard variance +8.01 - +12.0% from 2001 to 2007) (WMR 2010).

The brewery, with a tower carrying the huge letter U on its roof, which is a kind of Dortmund's landmark, existed since 1926. In 1994 production moved to another place in Dortmund and the buildings stood vacant since then. The process of conversion took almost twenty years and in-

involved many actors. The tower with the letter U was listed while other buildings were destroyed. After a long period of discussions and several attempts to find investors, the municipality bought the area to preserve the tower as a landmark and to find a new use for this huge inner-city brownfield.

The tower and the area around it are to provide a creative milieu with positive effects for the actors located here. The tower is preserved for public and cultural uses like a museum for modern and media arts, cultural education, labs, exhibitions/presentations, a cinema and cooperation with the university as well as gastronomy. The U-tower has its own art management responsible for the cooperation between the institutions in the tower and the staging of the building. A very important institution in the tower is the European Centre for Creative Economy, which activates and supports the creative economy in the area and in the whole region, and presents the Ruhr area in a wider context as a creative region (City of Dortmund et al. 2010).

The area around the tower is available for the creative economy. There is a lot of communication among the institutions within the tower as well as with the companies in the area to create synergy effects. Furthermore the project is to be an impulse for the nearby inner city quarter, Rheinische Straße, which has structural problems and is supported by another development programme. There were already some creative activities and companies in this quarter before the transformation of the Dortmunder U started. Rheinische Straße can be called a creative quarter. Because of low rents, small estate structures and a lot of vacancies, the focus lies more on small companies, start-ups and low-budget companies which are not able to rent a place in the Dortmunder U area. The simultaneous development of the U area and the Rheinische Straße quarter is to create synergy effects (City of Dortmund et al. 2010). Because of the flagship project Dortmunder U, new creative companies have moved to Rheinische Straße and the rents are increasing while the vacancies are decreasing. So there are already gentrification processes visible (an interview with the art management, 2010).

Meanwhile the whole of Dortmunder U area is marketed. It is necessary that creative compa-

nies have the opportunity to move to the area and that there are appropriate properties here which are adequate for their requirements. At the moment there is no more space for creative companies because all properties are rented, the rents are too high for small companies, and the orientation has an excluding character for them. For example, two big health insurance firms have located there because they could afford to pay higher rents than small creative companies. The originally planned competence centre for the creative economy, with co-working and flexible offices, exhibition and atelier structures for growing companies, has not been implemented yet. The development departs from the concept. This shows that the current policy does not really allow a creative quarter to develop.

The public sector is the main actor in the development of Dortmunder U. In the course of the top-down development process, other actors, like architects, planners, project managers, relevant public institutions and resorts were involved, as well as the eventual users and the art director of the tower. The process was characterised by intensive communication between the main public actors and transparency. Later on creative actors from the area were integrated in the development process. A round table for all the actors involved was installed by ECCE. Concerning the location factors of creative companies, the original concept with flexible co-working spaces in a competence centre addressed creative companies, but the actual developments have taken another direction. Due to public investment, which was necessary to renew the buildings and the abandoned area, a bottom-up development would not have been possible, though the idea of a cultural use is based on a bottom-up exhibition which was installed there when the area was still a brownfield. The investment is the reason for the fact that rents in the area are high, only public institutions are located in the tower and sometimes a pragmatic way is necessary, which does not always conform to the strategic aims, like the location of health insurance firms in the creative quarter (an interview with ECCE, 2010).

Top-down governance is not negative *per se* and most of the aims have been reached when the Rheinische Straße quarter has been included in the reflections. The area of the former brewery

has found a new use; all properties are rented, and with the public institutions in the tower culture and creativity are brought to the area. The creative economy is supported in the nearby quarter where creatives can settle down and work independently and autonomously. Both areas together can be regarded as a creative quarter and are approaching co-governance because in the Rheinische Straße the creative use started bottom-up and is now supported by the public sector, and the round table includes all relevant actors in the development process. But the inclusion of creatives, especially for Dortmunder U, is still expandable.

4. Bottom-up governance: *Künstlerzeche "Unser Fritz"*

In the course of the region's structural change, the Unser Fritz coal mine had to close gradually between 1927 and 1967, and new companies moved into the buildings. In 1964 the artist Helmut Bettenhausen, who lived in the neighbourhood and needed some space for his creative work, had the idea to install an atelier there. So he moved into the coal mine next to other companies. As one of the other companies moved out in 1972, he used the opportunity to bring other artists into the building. The loose artistic community developed its own dynamics, artists moved in and out, and with them new styles came to the area. They managed themselves, and the so-called *Künstlerzeche* (artist coal mine) is the result of a bottom-up development. As an "open meeting place", today the former coal mine is an atelier and a place of arts. The artists had to struggle with the public sector for support, because it was not sure if the buildings would be preserved or that they could stay and proceed with their creative work (interviews with *Künstlerzeche* creatives, 2010).

Judging by events and exhibitions organised by the artists, the *Künstlerzeche* got established in the art scene. Over time the public sector also recognised the potential of the *Künstlerzeche* and accepted it as an arts institution. The municipality bought the buildings and the area from the property owner. From 1998 until 2002 the buildings had to be renovated with public subsidies.

Because of this investment the artists had to found an association to have reliable conditions for the public sector. After the renovation, the municipality transferred the buildings for free to the association for twenty years. Today, the project gets public support while the artists still work in autonomy.

The municipality furthermore wants the *Künstlerzeche* to be an impulse for developing a creative quarter around it to enhance city development and for economic promotion (WFG Herne 2010). There were about 164,000 inhabitants living in Herne in 2011. Compared against 2007 aggregated values for the entire region, Herne is not one of the leading creative cities in terms of creative employees (standard variance of $-1.65 - -1.4\%$) and the growth of the branch's sales (standard variance $-33.2 - -19.0\%$ from 2001 to 2007). But there was an extraordinary growth in the number of creative companies (standard variance $+47.4\%$ from 2001 to 2007) (WMR 2010). The idea of such a broader creative quarter is part of the Creative.Quarters Ruhr and has got the necessary round table. Lots of other relevant actors are involved in the development process. Furthermore, there is a workgroup consisting of different administrative departments like a cultural office, economic promotion and a planning office as well as several creatives and the real-estate industry (an interview with Herne economic promotion, 2010).

Near the *Künstlerzeche* there is an abandoned school building which is to be transformed for creative use. Along the nearby canal some creative companies already exist. The idea is to connect these places and support new creative companies in settling down in the creative quarter, and to improve the location factors for the requirements of the creatives. The *Künstlerzeche* is complemented with gastronomy, a shipping pier and a cultural park. The creatives were at least partly involved in the process of development of a creative quarter, though their location is supposed to be the impulse for the quarter. In spite of the fact that the *Künstlerzeche* has been established for several decades now, the broader creative quarter is still at the starting point (an interview with Herne economic promotion, 2010).

The *Künstlerzeche* has developed due to the will and endurance of the creatives, later on with

public support of the municipality because of its positive effects for the building, the quarter and the image. The artists are absolutely autonomous in their decisions. The aim of the artists was mainly to have a suitable place for creative work and the *Künstlerzeche* was developed to meet their requirements. Some creatives are apprehensive of the development of a wider creative quarter because an increasing number of involved actors could in consequence need more institutional and administrative structures. Others support the development of the creative quarter and are actively involved in the process (interviews with *Künstlerzeche* creatives, 2010).

The development of the *Künstlerzeche* is based on a bottom-up approach, but is moving towards co-governance in terms of public support and cooperation projects. The artists are still autonomous and self-governed. This is due to the manageable dimension of the *Künstlerzeche* as well as the number of artists and actors involved, which still enables them to do so. But the municipality and economic promotion took up the idea of a creative use to develop a broader creative quarter, which may change the governance to more institutional and administrative structures. In consequence of the broader creative quarter with the required round table, the project turns even more to co-governance between municipality, economic promotion and the *Künstlerzeche* creatives as well as other relevant actors.

5. Co-governance: Creativ.Quartier Lohberg Dinslaken

In 2005 the Lohberg coal mine, an area of 40 ha, was closed. A huge project for city development was designed to give a new use to the area and have positive impact on the quarters around it (ECCE n.d.). Dinslaken had 69,000 inhabitants in 2011. Statistical data refers to the Wesel district, to which Dinslaken belongs. Compared with the aggregated values for the whole region, the creative economy in the district is developing. While there was still a minor number of creative employees in 2007 (standard variance of $-1.65 - -1.4\%$), the branch's sales (standard variance $+22\%$ from 2001 to 2007) and the number of creative companies (standard variance $+12.51 -$

+18.0% from 2001 to 2007) are increasing (WMR 2010).

Already in 2004, before the coal mine was closed, the municipality of Dinslaken and the owner, RAG Montan Immobilien, as the main actors started a planning association to find ideas for new uses of the area and the buildings. The idea was to revive the area quickly with temporary uses, cultural events and new lasting uses as well as to open the long restricted area to residents. The idea of a creative use came up in the following years and an analysis in 2008 confirmed the potential for this kind of use. Within a radius of ten kilometres, 900 creative companies were located. They were invited to an information event where the concept, the area and the buildings were presented. They were offered the option to rent convenient rooms, to shape the planning process and to create a network in the area. Thirty of the 120 companies which came to the event were interested. By means of a workshop, the planning association tried to find out their location factors and aims for the development project. At the same time, in 2008, the European Capital of Culture agency was searching for creative quarters. Lohberg applied with the concept, which was still in the starting phase, and became an official Creative.Quarter Ruhr in the summer of 2009. In January 2009 the first creative company moved to Lohberg, though the area was not developed yet and still had the character of a construction site. Photographers, musicians and fine-arts companies joined over the time as well as a real-estate office and an office of a planning association. As the rents are low and the area is not fully developed yet, mainly startups and small companies feel addressed. During the transformation and sanitation process more rooms will be available for other creatives. Due to the economic orientation of the creative quarter, supply and demand are going to control the uses (an interview with the Dinslaken planning office, 2010).

The Lohberg creative quarter is still at the beginning of its development. With a flexible framework it offers participative management for the creatives. The aim is to give room and offer space for creative uses and to meet all kinds of needs, from *rent a room* to *rent a desk*, from renovated rooms to rooms in need of renovation. The his-

torical former coal-mine buildings have a certain charm and the area offers a possibility for networking, cooperation and synergy effects because of other creative companies. At the beginning the group of creatives was still small enough for informal self-governance and did not have an official organisational structure. Two location managers for the creative quarter, assigned later on by the planning association, support the development process in terms of coordinating networks, the location of companies, advertising, and image support. They are spokesmen for the creatives and work as an interface between the creatives and the public sector / planning association (an interview with the Dinslaken planning office, 2010). Gastronomy, more sophisticated location factors and the urban atmosphere cannot be found yet, but will complement the offer in the future and attract larger and more established companies. The central area was listed as a historical building and is reserved for the creative quarter, while the huge area around it offers room for other industries, housing and recreation.

The project is funded by public support and private investments from the owner. The owner focuses on the area including infrastructure and real-estate management and has the decisive power for renting the buildings, though he tries to consult the located companies. The municipality together with the economic promotion focuses on city development and the support of the creative companies. The obligatory round table for the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project with different municipality offices, economic promotion, and creatives has been installed (an interview with the Dinslaken planning office, 2010). When systematically different interests and aims have to be coordinated, we are talking about co-governance. The development process in Lohberg can be regarded as a co-governance process because all relevant actors, including the creatives, have been involved from the beginning. Such a co-governance structure implies potential for discussion and conflicts and takes longer than top-down development processes because of coordination and negotiation, but in the end it is more sustainable because all interests are regarded. The creatives are involved in considerations of new uses and development (an interview with RAG MI, 2010).

It is an artificially initiated process which is controlled all the time. The municipality is not planning the creative quarter top-down, though there are several visions and a flexible framework for the development. While the aims of the municipality and the planning association were city development, reactivating the brownfield and economic promotion, the creatives searched for a location to work and recognised the positive conditions of a creative quarter like networking, cooperation and creative quarter managers. This creative quarter might also go through a gentrification process when all places have been rented, when the area has been fully developed, and when further location factors, like gastronomy and a vivid environment additional to the historical buildings, have emerged. The creatives who have been there from the beginning fear that they might have to leave the area when rents increase and established companies are interested (interviews with the Creative.Quarter Lohberg creatives, 2010). As in the case of Dortmunder U, it is possible that a pragmatic, or economic, way will have to be chosen by the owner when an established company, perhaps even from another branch, wants to locate there.

6. Result of the comparative analysis

In the case of the top-down governed Dortmunder U, the public sector is the main actor due to the necessary investment. Creatives were not really involved in the development process, though according to the concept they were the target group. The artificial development process mainly focused on city development, economic promotion and the revitalisation of the abandoned area. As a result, Dortmunder U with all the public institutions and almost no creative companies on the site cannot be classified as a creative quarter, though it is still included in the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project. If some of the planned aspects like the competence centre for the creative economy were implemented and the Rheinische Straße quarter was considered as its important complementary part, it could be called a creative quarter with the governance structure moving towards co-governance because the development of Rheinische Straße focuses mainly

on creatives. Furthermore, the round table of the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project leads it towards co-governance.

By contrast, the *Künstlerzeche* was developed on a bottom-up basis by one artist, who even had to struggle for the creative use of the former coal mine. The artists are self-governed until today, though they have a more formal structure as an association. Considering the public support for the *Künstlerzeche* and the recently planned broader creative quarter, there is a movement towards co-governance, because the latter is initiated by the municipality and economic promotion.

The Lohberg creative quarter represents co-governance because the creatives and other relevant actors have been involved in the planning process from the beginning. The aims of the planning association, as in the case of the Dortmunder U, were to revive an abandoned area, to support city development and economic promotion by initiating a creative quarter. But the way to achieve those aims was different and the aims of the creatives were taken into consideration.

It should be kept in mind that the three creative quarters are in different development stages. While the *Künstlerzeche* has been developing for about forty years, the other projects started a few years ago and are still in an early development stage. There are round tables in each creative quarter because the Creative.Quarters Ruhr project imposes this as a condition, which leads all projects in the direction of co-governance.

7. Ideal governance structures and processes to develop creative quarters

The research shows that strategic top-down city development in abandoned areas is not suitable to initiate a creative quarter. The ECCE deliberately does not want top-down development because such projects have often failed in other areas in the past. Bottom-up development often finds limitations when it meets the public sector because it is bound to framework conditions. On the other hand, one must admit that several aspects and framework conditions which can lead to creative quarters can definitively be planned and broader visions and aims can give impulses into this direction. So the framework conditions

Table 2. Ideal governance structures, processes and framework conditions for developing creative quarters.

Requirements for creative quarters	existing creative potential, creative companies, supply and demand
	adequate areas and spaces meeting special requirements of creatives with potential for development where creatives are welcome
Information	stocktaking of creative economy, supply and demand → realising the potential, positive impacts and relevance of this branch
	monitoring, surveys of areas and vacancies as well as requirements of creatives
	feasibility analyses
Environmental framework conditions	hard location conditions (e.g. infrastructure, traffic connections)
	soft location conditions (e.g. creative milieus, cultural scene, support for cultural infrastructure and education)
Legal framework conditions	enabling (temporary) creative uses
	preservation and enabling of creative quarters and milieus
	less bureaucratic hurdles and more support for creatives
Financial support	basic security benefits
	support for start-ups / setting up businesses and temporary uses
	minimising necessary investment costs (e.g. for building licences) because creative projects need flexibility and are often spontaneous
Planning and development process	open planning processes (with temporary uses)
	adjustment to specific situation
	participation of creatives and residents
	flexible concepts / flexible frameworks, which open for creative configuration
Communication and cooperation	co-governance structures and processes, open for dialogue and negotiation
	calling attention of creatives and giving impulses
	interdisciplinary cooperation inside municipality because creative quarters affect different departments (e.g. culture, city development and economics)
	round tables, coordination, moderation, communication to connect municipality with creatives, creative economy and other relevant actors (perhaps a manager as an interface between creatives, property owners and municipalities)
Impulses for content	consulting opportunities for creatives
	temporary impulses, e.g. events to bring cultural uses to area
	co-working offers (flexible office structures from rent-a-desk to rent-a-room)
Public discourse and tolerance	competence centres for creative economy, impulse projects (flagship projects, established companies)
	seizing ideas of creatives
	open and tolerant policy
	public support of creative economy (legitimation for municipality and creative projects, motivation of property owners and creatives)

Source: results of 2010 interviews.

and the governance structures and processes can support this type of development, while co-governance seems to be the ideal way to develop a creative quarter because all case studies, whether initiated top-down, bottom-up or from the beginning by co-governance, during their development have moved towards co-governance. The results can apply to other regions, as the research focused on the governance structures and processes at the level of the projects and the requirements of the creatives rather than on institutional backgrounds or general governance structures of the area. The main point is to have an open de-

velopment process including all relevant actors in developing creative quarters, since this helps to meet the requirements of all actors, especially of the creatives as the target group with special demands for self-determination.

Table 2 gives an overview of ideal governance structures and processes as well as framework conditions for developing creative quarters. It would be interesting to analyse governance processes and structures of other quarters to expand the results. More best-practice examples as well as those that have failed to work could help to learn from the experiences.

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