Creative Spaces in Suburban Places

Creative Place Making within the Suburban Context

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by

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Abstract

In the 1970s, urban regeneration processes that took place in many industrialised inner-city cores initiated a new economic and cultural vitality that made a departure from an industrial past, on towards a post-industrial future. Today, these postindustrial cities are home to the ‘creative industries’, in which through their development, economic and social benefits have become increasingly visible. Hence, urban planners and policy makers worldwide are working to create strategies to ensure certain places become or remain ‘creative places.’ Richard Florida’s work has become particularly influential within the creative development discourse, as has Charles Landry’s. But as the first wave of creative development planning and policy implementation wanes, important questions are emerging. It is by now clear that most creative development approaches in the attempt to create an ‘ideal creative place’, have only yet focused on the inner-city core.

In this research, the focus is shifted away from the inner-city to where most people of the developed world live: the suburbs. The thesis therefore, asks how a suburb can better provide for its suburban creative class, support creative processes and regenerate into a creative place. This is explored by the formulation of a creative development strategy for Johnsonville; a suburb within Wellington City of New Zealand. The research’s findings suggest that within any suburban creative development agenda, there should be:

- An underlying urban development plan that sets out measures in strengthening the suburb’s Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity
- An explicit attempt in supporting creative enterprises and their functioning, such as proposing ‘Creative Cluster’ formations and associated ‘Incubation’ facilities
- An overall consciousness for the suburban community’s social cohesion and wellbeing

The usefulness of this research and its findings lies within the practise of urban planning, design, and policy implementation, offering a theoretical basis and template for the evaluation and development of suburb’s urban creativity.

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1 Introduction

‘A breakthrough in new housing’ – this is how Delfin Lend Lease, one of Australia’s largest land developers, has described their new residential typologies within their ‘warehouse living’ range. These ‘warehouses’ emulate inner-city industrial built form that in recent years has been extremely popular for gentrification and inner-city living. However in this case, Delfin Lend Lease has located these warehouses twenty two kilometres away from Melbourne’s city centre – within the suburbs. In the developer’s words, the warehouse designs “suit a trend towards a more urban lifestyle. ... Designed specifically for Delfin Lend Lease communities across Australia, the Delfin Warehouse will be sited along specially designed, tree-lined Warehouse lanes, reminiscent of historic inner-city laneways” (see *Delfin Launches New Housing Concept For Warehouse Living*, 15 July 2002).

As odd as these warehouse designs maybe, they are nonetheless an attempt made by the developer to respond to new lifestyle preferences now present among suburban populations. From Fordist methods of mass-production, to post-Fordist methods of target-market production, suburban dwellings as commodities have taken on new symbolic meanings and value. These ‘warehouses’ are an example of this transition, and act as representation of the changing socio-economic conditions, sub-market groupings and cultural preferences present amongst urban populations. Indeed, such changes can go far enough to challenge to the common perception of suburbs being “boring, uniform, isolated, domestic [places]... full of identical people doing identical things” (Pile, 1999). With whatever negative associations suburbs have come with, it is evident that emerging demographic, social and economic complexities are indeed transforming these places.

Interestingly enough, the warehouse’s response to ‘suit a trend towards a more urban lifestyle’, not only suggests a general diversification of lifestyle choice changes within the suburbs, but also suggest of the existence of a suburban Creative

Class. Originally coined by Richard Florida - an economist and social scientist – the Creative Class is a socioeconomic sub grouping that has been seen to have a liking towards the built environment of the inner-city core. In addition, the diverse and individualistic lifestyle enjoyed by the Creative Class involves an active participation in a variety of experiential activities. Florida (2002) uses the term Street Level Culture to define this kind of stimulation, which may include a “teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros, where it is hard to draw the line between participant and observer, or between creativity and its creators” (Florida, 2002, p. 166). Hence, the Delfin Warehouse development can arguably be seen an attempt by the developer to bringing a sense of the inner-city core, into the suburb, and to cater for an emerging suburban creative class.

Whether or not these warehouse designs are targeted exclusively towards the desires of a suburban creative submarket, they none-the-less indicate a positive perception among urban populations towards the now gentrified and creative inner-city core. As this research will later outline, this gentrification process has its beginnings in the 1970s, when urban regeneration processes that took place in many industrialised inner-city cores initiated a new economic and cultural vitality. This vitality made a departure from the city’s industrial basis and arrived to what is now recognised as a ‘postindustrial’ condition. The conversion of old historic buildings and industrial built form into stylish new commercial, office and residential premises, became synonymous of this process.

Today, these postindustrial cities are home to the ‘creative industries’, in which through their development and support, economic and social benefits have become increasingly visible. Hence, urban planners and policy makers worldwide are working to create ‘creative development’ strategies to ensure certain places become or remain ‘creative places.’ Richard Florida’s work has become particularly influential within the creative development discourse, as has Charles Landry’s. But as the first wave of creative development planning and policy implementation wanes, impor-

tant questions are emerging. It is by now clear that in the attempt to create an 'ideal creative place', most creative development approaches have only yet focused on the inner-city core.

As signalled the developer's target marketing in the case of the Delfin Warehouse, those whom take part in the creative industries – the creative class – are perhaps not confined to the inner-city core, but also present within the suburbs too. Contrary to popular belief, and as this research will later highlight, the creative industries' functioning as part of the postindustrial city's creative economy, is not limited to the inner-city, but is also active within its suburban counterparts. To some extent, this comes to no surprise as the vast majority of urban populations do not live within the inner-city, but the suburbs. For instance, more Americans live in suburbs than in central cities, and the accounts of this extensively documented. From the 1950s towards the beginning of the new millennium, more than 90 percent of all growth in the United States' metropolitan areas has been in the suburbs. As a consequence, the percentage of people living in central locations of cities over 500,000 people, dropped from 17.5 percent in 1950 to barely 12 percent in 1990 (see Wendell Cox Demographia, *USA Urbanized Areas over 500,000: 2000 and 1990 Comparability*).

Hence, any attempt of 'creative place' making where a city's creative development efforts are limited to its historical inner-city core, is simply lacking. The suburbs must be included.

1.1 Aim of Research

This research therefore, aims to formulate a creative development strategy for a suburban setting.

In this introductory chapter, the research has used the case of the Delfin Warehouse as an interpretive device to expose issues present within suburbs, as it is a manifestation of the same issues and phenomena relevant to this research. As novel the developer's new suburban dwelling typologies maybe, it is questionable if whether a mere emulation of inner-city built-form is an adequate response to suburbs new found aspirations and existing insufficiencies. This research is hence elevated to an urban history, theory, and planning perspective, and asks how a suburb can better provide for its suburban creative class, support creative processes and regenerate into a 'creative place'. The research hence explores this, via the formulation, proposition and evaluation of a creative development strategy for a selected suburb.

1.2 Research Approach

To achieve the research aim, chapters 2 and 3; 'Urban Regeneration, Culture and the Postindustrial City' and 'Urban Regeneration through Creative Development', will firstly present the theoretical background of urban regeneration approaches that have been applied to the inner-city core and their implications to the social, economic and cultural realms of the urban setting. The significance of these chapters lie in their purpose to firstly, provide an overview of how the inner-city core transformed to become, as suggested earlier, positively perceived and 'aspirational' to suburban counterparts. Secondly, to explain how the 'creative development' approach to urban regeneration emerged and superseded prior approaches. And finally, to inform the formulation of a creative development strategy for a selected suburb.

Following these two chapters, chapter 4; 'The Suburban Gap' will make an elaboration the research 'problem' and will postulate the argument of this thesis. This argument emerges from the shortcomings that exist within the theory and practice of creative urban development in regards to the inclusion of suburban contexts within creative development schemes. This argument is constructed by firstly, making a general observations of the significance of the suburban living environment worldwide, secondly, by exposing the role the creative economy has within these environments, and finally, how there is still no explicit attempt to support it there. Noting that although the chapter reviews supporting material from international contexts and sources; particularly that of Australia, it however, draws special attention to the major cities of New Zealand.

In subsequence, chapter 5; 'The Underpinnings of Urban Creativity', will begin the research's imperative, with the intention to establish the foundations prior to any creative development approach. As the chapter's title suggests, it attempts to provide a theoretical basis for creative development strategies and aims to outline the fundamental preconditions necessary to prompt urban creativity. These preconditions will be developed from the ideas expressed by those recognised at the forefront of the creative development discourse; principally, the ideas of Richard Florida and Charles Landry. Noting also, that the ideas utilized will predominantly be those that have an implication to urban and architectural design. The ideas explored within this chapter will hence be useful in their function to define the key principles within the creative development strategy of a suburb.

Before proceeding with the investigation, a suburb will be identified as the contextual setting for the formulation of this strategy and the investigation as a whole, this will be done in chapter 6; 'Contextual Setting of Investigation'. For the purposes of this research, the suburb will be selected from one major city within New Zealand. The creative development strategy will be formulated in chapter 7; 'Creative Development Strategy - Urban Development Plan', the creative development strategy will

attempt to expose the urban design implications the urban creativity concepts have on the contextual reality of the chosen suburban locale. This will be presented in the form of an urban development plan that will set out specific objectives for the future development of the suburb in effort of regenerating it into a 'creative place'. The urban development plan will focus its planning propositions to an area of which indicates the most prospect for creative dynamism and which is most significant in the functioning of the suburban locale.

As it will be first discussed in chapter 'Urban Regeneration through Creative Development', the efforts to develop and reinforce particular building groupings, and their occupants as, respectively, 'creative clusters', has been used as a method to directly support and grow urban creativity within inner-city cores. Within chapter 8; 'Creative Development Strategy - Johnsonville Creative Cluster', the creative development intention will move into a smaller geographical area within the suburban locale, and will explore the viability of forming a suburban 'creative cluster.' The creative cluster will be designed in accordance to the key principles and objectives outlined by the preceding urban development plan, whilst also exploring the application of key ideas to a smaller, architectural scale. The chapter will conclude with an evaluation of the creative cluster in regards to its speciality-of-case, limitations, and implications to the wider suburban context.

Finally, chapter 9; 'Conclusion' will present the overall conclusion to this research, by returning to the research aim and reflecting on how it was achieved. This concluding chapter will outline the creative development strategy for the selected suburb; reflecting upon the key measures necessary in effort to regenerate it into a 'creative place,' and the way in which these can be achieve via the particular urban development and architectural design methods that were explored. In addition to this, the concluding chapter will reiterate the significance the overall research undertaking has in regards to existing theory and practise of creative development, and will mention any limitations as well as further research opportunities the research may present.

2 Urban Regeneration, Culture and the Postindustrial City

From an American point-of-view, Bruegmann (2008) expresses that although the move of manufacturing out of the central cities and competition from outlying centres, few of the direst prediction of urban experts of the 1960's have come to pass. The historic core of most American cities has not disappeared. Many citizens who could have moved remained, and they helped define for their city centres a viable niche in the new urban system as a command post for government and high finance and a magnet for culture and tourism. The historical core of San Francisco, like that of London or Paris, has experienced a commercial and residential gentrification, becoming a kind of "boutique" downtown, catering to international business, luxury retail, culture and tourism and providing accommodation for an increasingly affluent and privileged residential population. Increasingly, the downtowns of cities like Chicago or Denver are following in the path of Paris or San Francisco (Bruegmann, 2008).

Similarly, New Zealand cities have also experienced a comparable regeneration process in-line to that of their larger American and European precedents. With the economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, the social realms of the city centre were impacted and offered new opportunities in recreational, leisure and lifestyle choice. Weekend shop-trading hours, liquor sales, bar opening hours and gambling laws were liberalized, encouraging more cafés, nightclubs and casinos. In port cities, old wharfing areas were redeveloped into bustling café, museum and leisure precincts. Old warehouses and run-down spaces of the city centre were redeveloped into stylish new lofts and apartment complexes. City centres, once empty in the weekends, were filled with life. An inner-city culture distinct from a traditional suburban culture had been shaped.

This chapter therefore, discusses the various urban regeneration processes that influenced the city centre's transformation into what is known as the 'postindustrial city'. It firstly, looks at a foregoing approach that placed culture as a consumable within what has been termed the 'experience' or 'symbolic' economy and although in many cases has resulted in highly successful urban regeneration outcomes, has been subject to various criticisms and limitations. Consequently, the reassessment of this preceding approach has influenced a paradigm shift towards an arguably more prospectful approach to urban regeneration. This emerging point-of-view not only acknowledges the significance of consumption, but also recognises the role of productivity; shifting the idea of culture from being a mere commodity, towards a creative product of a community.

2.1 Culture as a Commodity

The centrality of culture in the urban development of de-industrialising cities has its roots in the 1970s, when the first major redevelopment projects began to use cultural facilities, such as museums, concert halls, theatres and cinemas, as a focus to regenerate visitation and to improve the image of rundown central city districts. Zukin (1995) identified this process within the general development of the symbolic economy. She argued that the contemporary emphasis on culture is:

A concerted attempt to exploit the uniqueness of fixed capital – monuments, art collections, performance spaces, even shopping streets – accumulated over the past. In this sense, culture is the sum of a city's amenities that enable it to compete for investment and jobs, its 'comparative advantage.' Zukin (1995, p.268)

Similarly, Amin and Thrift (2002, p.124) argue that cities are seeking to develop comparative advantage by re-engineering the experience of cities through a process of theming, as a result of which "spaces compete with each other by promoting their performativity across a whole set of activities formerly set apart, such as shopping, dining, recreation and even education (in visits to increasingly 'hands-on' museums)". In the development of what Pine and Gilmore (1999) also term the 'experience economy', culture has come to be viewed as a crucial resource in the post-industrial economies of cities in creating animation and developing their socio-economic vibrancy.

Culture is therefore increasingly being included in urban regeneration strategies as a means of stimulating physical redevelopment, adding vibrancy to areas of the city centre and generating economic and cultural benefits. However, as Evans (2004) points out, culture may be included in regeneration strategies in various ways, ranging from 'culture-led regeneration', in which culture provides the engine for development, through to 'cultural regeneration' where culture is an integral part of regional strategy, to 'culture and regeneration' which is the default model of non-

integrated or incidental cultural development.

Although strategies adopted by cities have distinct goals and methodologies, Richards and Wilson (2006) argue however, that there is a high degree of equifinality in terms of development outcomes. Richards and Wilson (2006) identify four main types of development stemming from such regeneration processes, reinterpreted in this thesis chapter as: iconic structures, heritage, mega-events, and thematisation.

Iconic Structures

Cities have increasingly constructing iconic landmarks as a means of creating or changing an image and focusing cultural and economic activity. The development of the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum in Spain is a good example of this, but there are numerous examples of others that have also been intended to prompt similar success stories. In Wellington, New Zealand, Te Papa Tongerewa exemplifies this effort. Its success however, has been questionable, especially in the light of the "Transition Building" proposed by UN studio that presented a second attempt of the effort, but was never realized. As a side thought, the construction of iconic buildings across the world indicates an effort that is not only symbolically and economically motivated, but in some cases, as an attempt to redefine a focal point amidst prevailing decentralising forces; sky-towers remain archetypal.

Heritage

When cities decline, they are usually forced to conserve the past because they do not have the resources to redevelop it. In these situations, cities are often left with a rich historical legacy, even when other economic resources may be missing. Cities such as Bruges, Venice, New Orleans and Kyoto have led the way in valorising their past to stimulate current economic vitality. It can be said therefore that nostalgia for the historical city and an interest in preserving the remnants of the past has become a major popular movement. During the past few decades, in cities and towns all over the

world, historical societies and preservation groups have burgeoned. Old landmarks have been inventoried and protected. Historic districts have multiplied. Owners have restored and cleaned facades, and City officials have replaced modern light fixtures, benches, and other street furniture with historic fixtures.

Mega-Events

Many cities have tried to use major international events as a stimulus to development. In addition to sporting events, such as the Olympic Games, cultural events, such as World Expos, the European City of Culture or the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sponsored Universal Forum of Cultures, have become popular means of stimulating economic development and improving city image.

Thematisation

Some cities have tried to distinguish themselves by developing a specific cultural theme. For example, cities such as London and New York compete for the title of 'world cities', with New York in particular positioning itself as the 'cultural capital of the world' (Zukin, 1995). Other less well-endowed cities have selected more humble alternative, such as 'walled towns' (Den Bosch in the Netherlands) or the 'garlic capital of the world' (Gilroy, California). It therefore seems that for many cities being oneself is not enough, but you have to borrow recognition by becoming the something of somewhere: The Venice of the North (Stockholm, Bruges, St Petersburg, Amsterdam), the Athens of the North (Edinburgh) or the Edinburgh of the South (Dunedin, New Zealand).

Such strategies have been successful in a range of different settings, but the most spectacular results have arguably been achieved in what Bianchi and Parkinson (1993) term 'declining cities', where the need to replace lost manufacturing employment has

driven a search for cultural development as a new source of jobs and income. Well-known examples of this type of redevelopment include Baltimore, which has used culture to attract visitors and regenerate its waterfront and Rotterdam, which has used cultural events including the European Cultural Capital to improve its image and cultural infrastructure

2.2 The Rise of Serial Replication

As indicated, an overly commoditised or consumption oriented approach to culture-led urban regeneration has prompted a problem known as 'serial replication'. This refers to the idea that certain cultural-led initiatives that have been seen as successful (or which are successfully sold as successful) are readily copied by other cities. Borrowed ideas have the advantage of being 'proven', they can be easily communicated to the electorate (because examples are at hand) and this is seen as a relatively safe strategy (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

As Richards and Wilson (2007) point out, serial replication is also paradoxically stimulated by the search for distinction. Cities hire signature architects to build distinctive buildings and create a new image, but these very same architects end up producing similar icons in different cities across the world. Rodgers, Calatrava, Zaha, and Gehry are now virtually household names in urban development circles. Cities want unique icons, but architects want to recycle their ideas and underline their own distinctive style. For example, Frank O. Gehry's Guggenheim in Bilbao is very similar to his Los Angeles concert hall, which was actually designed before the Bilbao museum but which had the misfortune to be finished later.

As a result of the proliferation of similar development models, new projects across the world are running into problems. There is a growth competition, which stimulates a greater need for distinction, while at the same time the physical shape of developments and development strategies seem to be converging as Evans (2004)

notes this is already leading some regions to reject the idea of urban regeneration based on ‘new landmark investments’.

2.3 Gentrification and the Cultural Resurgence

In spite of criticism such as the rise of serial replication, many urban regeneration efforts have indeed succeeded in improving the physical conditions as well as perceptions of the inner-city core. This in turn has not only boosted tourism and visitation, but has also set a pace for residential gentrification. In many cases, this has led to the formation of new inner-city residential classes and distinct urban cultures and lifestyles. In both Europe and North America, the residential districts surrounding the business core of central cities have demonstrated this. In Paris, for example, entire quarters that used to house working-class families are now filled with affluent citizens. Emblematic of this transformation has been the fate of the Communist Party headquarters in the north east part of Paris. Once firmly entrenched in a working-class district, today the party chiefs looking out their windows can see abundant signs of a rising tide of affluent bourgeoisie (Bruegmann, 2005).

Gentrifiers' movement into the central core – where some of their grandparents had been born or worked – represented a generational movement ‘back to the city’ and an endorsement of the city’s social diversity. It also represented a cultural movement away from the alienated, private lifestyles of the suburbs; a negation of the historical separation – dating back to the 19th century – of home and work; and a desire for ‘authenticity’ – in terms of hand-made work, large residential spaces and stately homes – at prices these gentrifiers, and most commonly, young, middle-class men and women could afford. When newspapers and ‘lifestyle’ magazines featured stories about gentrification, they emphasized the aesthetic values of historic homes and lofts. They glamorised the lifestyle of people who lived in either brownstone townhouses with their original panelling and wood-burning fireplaces, or in large

factory lofts. To some degree, then, the public image of gentrification was one of aesthetics and an ‘artistic’ lifestyle (Zukin, 1989).

In New Zealand, a revival of inner-city living started in the late 1980s, most prolifically in Auckland and Wellington. Facing a weakened office market at the end of the 1980s, Wellington City funded experiments with waterfront apartments, confirming a latent demand. By this time the English term ‘flat’ had been replaced by the more fashionable American ‘apartment.’ Developers were tentative at first, but within a decade 2,000 new apartments had been approved in Wellington and by 2008 the number had trebled to over 6,000. In 2009, inner Auckland had 17,500 apartments. Other cities were soon to follow with new apartment blocks also redefining the skylines of Hamilton, Tauranga and Christchurch (Morrison & Schrader, 2010).

In another sense, gentrifiers established an ensemble of urban consumption activities – in housing, in shopping and in supporting cultural amenities from restaurants to art galleries – laying the groundwork for a private-sector-led model of urban renewal. Gentrifiers generally worked as teachers, lawyers, artists, writers, creative staff in advertising firms or retail stores and government or corporate managers. Many of them were interested in good food and the arts – the types of cultural consumption that grew so rapidly with gentrification. Unemployed artists and underemployed performers often found jobs in new gourmet food stores, restaurants and art galleries (Zukin, 1991).

Zukin points out that one of the virtues of gentrification is that it made the inner-city interesting again, to a broad middle class. By supporting historic preservation efforts of the city, it helped rescue a significant number of old buildings from destruction. Together with other social and aesthetic movements, gentrification helped cause a sea change in architecture and urban planning away from modernism. Gentrification also made visible and ‘naturalised’ a variety of household structures; gentrifiers were single and married, with children and childless, straight and gay (Zukin, 1995).

A negative aspect of gentrification is that it did encourage privatisation and social fragmentation. According to Zukin (1995), gentrifiers often rely on family savings – rather than bank loans or government grants – to renovate their homes. Their demand for high-quality education for their children also leads them to send their children to private rather than to public schools. In this way, it can be argued that gentrification often reinforces an abandonment of public institutions. Moreover, gentrifiers' endorsement of social and cultural diversity is frequently transmuted into an aesthetic demand for visual coherence. Institutionalised in coherent consumption spaces, this demand effectively displaces lower-income central core residents, who cannot afford higher rents, taxes or the consumption of introduced services (Zukin, 1995).

2.4 Culture as (a Product of) a Community

It can be said that the various methodologies and approaches utilized in the regeneration of inner-city cores, have in many cases been successful, however, the problems of serial replication seem to underwrite the idea that globalisation is creating more 'placelessness' in cities, as similar environments are copied across the globe. As Richards (2007) points out, the distinctiveness of places is dependant not just on the nature of the physical environment, but also on the people who inhabit them; creative uses of 'standardised' spaces can make them into unique places.

In retort, even if there has been a high degree of replication of urban regeneration approaches between cities, to claim that a creative redevelopment of inner-city cores has not occurred is indeed unfair. The reinvention of the built environment as well as the cultural resurgence sustained by the new residential class is in itself a demonstration of this. Although in hindsight, social inequality and displacement has also been observed as part of the gentrification process.

Such evaluations have thus prompted a reconsideration of culture-led de-

velopment approaches, in the attempt to improve on them. As a result, the need to move away from purely consumption driven agendas, towards increasingly productive and community strengthening initiatives, is increasingly being emphasized (see Richards and Wilson, 2007). Within this paradigm shift, the notion of culture is also revisited. Raymond Williams (1981) encapsulates these new perspectives:

a description of a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour.

He interprets culture in the widest definitional sense; an inclusive attitude consisting of structured and patterned ways of learning, and explains the artistic component of culture as:

Individuals in groups – characteristically respond to and make meaningful the circumstances in which they are placed by virtue of their positions in society and in history.

In parallel, Evans (2004) points out that urban regeneration is not limited to building-based flagships and city-centre public realm schemes, but is increasingly seen through smaller public art projects and concern for design quality in the everyday environment:

Regeneration is not simply about bricks and mortar. It's about the physical, social and economic well being of an area; it's about the quality of life in our neighbourhoods. In relation to the physical, this is as much about the quality of public realm as it is about the buildings themselves.

(ODPM, 2001, p.3)

Evans highlights, with reference to others, that today, what is looked for are the twin benefits of social cohesion and economic competitiveness and their interrelationship, through regeneration and related neighbourhood-based intervention (Boddy and Parkinson, 2004), seeking “Better engagement/consultation with local communities to improve ownership of the (cultural) project and (local) benefits” (DCMS, 2003, p. 2). Evans confirms that, in measuring and evaluating regeneration programmes and culture-led regeneration, tests of sustainability and distributive equity are now imperatives, suggesting that short-term impacts have not been sustained in the past and that social benefits have not been achieved, or have even been displaced by the gentrification associated with major redevelopment projects and high art venues. This is also reflected in one view of the French ‘grands projets culturels’:

Whatever their value as architectural setpieces, they are not the much-vaunted harbingers of a proclaimed urban renaissance. On the contrary, like circus games, they direct attention from the inexorable erosion of Paris and the brutal neglect of its suburbs.

(Scalbert, 1994, p.20).

3 Urban Regeneration through Creative Development

The need to identify new models of urban development to avoid serial replication and social inequity has arguably stimulated a shift away from the ‘cultural industries’ towards the ‘creative industries’. This was one of the early strategies adopted by New Labour in the UK (Smith, 1998), and is also given a fresh impulse by Richard Florida’s (2002) concepts of the ‘creative class’.

As O’Donnell (2004) remarks, “Pop management theory has, since the early 1980’s, raised ‘creativity’ to the level of an entrepreneurial imperative”. There are a number of reasons why creativity has become particularly popular in urban development strategies. The creative industries are often viewed as new and dynamic, and therefore have a wider appeal than the (now) old-fashioned cultural industries. In addition, as Richards and Wilson (2007) list:

- Culture is associated with ‘high culture’, which has a traditional, staid image.
- The cultural sector is not perceived as being very flexible or dynamic.
- The creative sector is broader than the cultural sector alone.
- The creative sector is directly linked to innovation.
- The creative industries include many more aspects of visual consumption (advertising, cinema, design, fashion, video games).
- Women often play a key role in the development of the creative industries.

This chapter therefore, explores regeneration of urban environments through the (now more current) creative development approach. It firstly looks at the meaning of creativity within the theoretical milieu, followed by an examination of the role creativity has within economic growth. The various entities that constitute the new creative economy are also identified, including the particular grouping of the creative

industries and the individuals who play part in the functioning of them. In the final parts of the chapter, discussion on the spatial and social implications the growth of the creative economy has within the urban environment, reveals a way in which urban regeneration can be triggered through the initiation of a creative development process. This is explored specifically by means of ‘creative clustering’.

3.1 Defining Creativity

The Merriam Webster dictionary describes creativity as “to make or bring into existence something new” (Merriam-Webster, 2010). This activity is often manifested in the development of new ideas or the application of old ideas in new ways. Richard Florida describes creativity as “sifting through data, perceptions and materials to come up with combinations that are new and useful” (Florida, 2002).

Cities characterized as creative are seen to have a spirit of experimentation and innovation. Creativity is powered by the broad participation of an eclectic mix of people possessing a diversity of occupations, personalities, economic and cultural backgrounds, and types of knowledge in addressing an eclectic mix of problems (economic, social, environmental, and cultural). They do so both consciously through specific organizations and initiatives, and unintentionally through individual creative action within an interconnected environment (Bradford, 2004 as cited in Noble, 2009).

3.2 Creativity and Economic Growth

The ability to inspire and direct creativity and innovation has been seen as one of the strengths of the modern city and the engines of city growth. For example, in *The Economy of Cities*, Jane Jacobs identifies the development of “New Work” – new goods, services, and processes – as fundamental to the growth and success of cities, and the key difference between those that stagnate or decay and those that grow (Jacobs, 1969 as cited in Noble, 2009).

Cities that are well-suited to developing this new work are those that are more diverse and complex. While such places may have more day-to-day problems than more homogenous places, these problems also spur processes of experimentation aimed at finding solutions. Unusual ideas are developed through trial, error, and

failure. Once developed, these new ideas multiply their impact in unexpected ways, including offering new applications for existing solutions. A continuous process of technological development and advancement in such cities continually improves the quality of life for its citizens. Jacobs refers to these strengths of complex cities the “valuable inefficiencies and impracticalities of cities” (Jacobs, 1969 as cited in Noble, 2009).

If creativity has always been part of the discussion on building strong cities, in the last decade or so, it has moved to the centre of this discussion among many developed countries. A variety of interconnected trends have caused this shift, including advancements in information, communication, and transportation technologies, economic and political liberalization, the rise of the creative economy, and the decline of the manufacturing industries, as production displaced into cities’ periphery and/or offshore (Noble, 2009).

In this competitive urban environment, creativity is seen as a valuable and productive resource. It can allow cities to develop a niche in the global economy based on distinctive physical and cultural characteristics (Duxbury, 2004 as cited in Noble, 2009). Furthermore, creativity can be applied to producing better and more unique products and services as well as contributing to city-building processes that develop, attract, nurture, and retain talented individuals (Gertler, 2004 as cited in Noble, 2009). The economic importance of creativity has prompted some writers to characterize modern, western societies as having entered the “Creative Age” (Florida, 2002 as cited in Noble, 2009).

3.3 Creative Individuals

The Creative Class

The most well known researcher of cities in the creative age is Richard Florida. In *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida refers to creativity as “the defining feature

of economic life.” Florida focuses attention on a specific group of workers in the American economy, whom he refers to as the ‘Creative Class.’ This class is defined by their type of occupation and is divided into two rings; the ‘super-creative core’ and the creative problem-solvers around them. Those in the ‘super-creative core’ are responsible for coming up with the ‘new work’ that Jacobs described – new ideas, products, services and technologies – which Florida calls ‘new forms.’ This core includes architects, engineers, and artists. The second tier is made up of ‘creative professionals’ such as doctors, lawyers, and managers who do not create ‘new forms’ but do engage in independent, creative problem-solving (as cited in Noble, 2009).

The Creative Dual

Within these creative cores, two distinguishable categories of creative workers have also been identified; based on the differences and similarities that exist between their creative work patterns and networks. On the one hand are the ‘technical’ creative workers, consisting of the multimedia designers, graphic designers, architects, advertising workers, entertainment software developers and publishers; those who depend or dedicate most of their creative affairs within the technological realm. On the other hand, the ‘artisans’ comprise the categories of writers, musicians, visual artists, illustrators and performing artists; those involved more so in the tactile realm of creativity. Notably, the transaction and collaboration that occurs between these categories is very important for the fruition of creative products. While this dualistic categorisation has not been standardised in the field of creative industries research, it has been used as a refinement of existing definitions in the purposes of various other research endeavours (see Felton, et al., 2010 and Drake, 2003).

3.4 Creative Industries

While studies by Florida (2002, 2005) and Markusen (2006) look at creative workers and their occupations, economic development researchers and strategists have also sought to understand the creative economy by focusing on particular industries. The goal of this focus is to inform regional economic strategies and direct policy interventions (Gertler, et al., 2005 as cited in Noble, 2009). In 1998, the U.K.’s Creative Industries Task Force (CITF) defined such industries as “activities which originate in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (as cited in *AuthentiCity*, 2008). This description is only one of many, however, and there is significant debate over how best to define and classify such industries, which industries to include, and even whether the term “creative industries” is appropriate. (In 2005, London- and Toronto-based research teams produced the report, *Strategies for Creative Spaces Phase 1*, which includes an extensive discussion of the value and definition of creative industries and the debates about its definition (Gertler, et al., 2005 as cited in Nobel, 2009) The key factor influencing these definitions is the local context and time period in which they are developed.

Discussions of creative industries are often linked to development of industry groupings. Definitions of creative clusters also vary, but typically refer to a “linked grouping of creative industries, firms or cultural activities which has a spatial concentration and significant growth potential” (Gertler, et al., 2005 as cited in Nobel, 2009). The Auckland City Council’s *Blueprint* (see Car, et al., 2007) sets out the council’s action plan for supporting and growing the city’s creative economy, and defines the city’s leading creative groupings as:

- design (including graphic design, architecture, advertising and designer fashion)
- publishing (including books, periodicals and newspapers)

- music
- performing arts
- visual arts, crafts and photography
- screen production and radio (including film, television, video and digital media).

Some see this list as incomplete. Blay-Palmer and Donald (2006), for example, have argued persuasively for the importance of the ‘new food economy’ from a cluster and innovation systems perspective. The new food economy is defined as: locally owned ‘specialty, local, organic, and ethnic companies that process food for either local consumption or for export.’

3.5 Creative Clusters

Cluster economic theory appears to offer the greatest potential for the creative sector role in urban development. Production-driven cultural clusters arise out of the social networks developed to meet common needs among producers in a given sector. Clusters, says economist Michael Porter (1998), are geographic concentrations of inter-connected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, and associated institutions in a particular field. Famous industry clusters include Hollywood and ‘Silicon Valley.’

Clusters affect competition ... by increasing the productivity of companies based in the area; ... by driving the direction and pace of innovation, which underpins future productivity growth; and ... by stimulating the formation of new businesses, which expands and strengthens the cluster itself. A cluster allows each member to benefit as if it had greater scale or as if it had joined with others formally—without requiring it to sacrifice its flexibility.

(Porter, 1998 as cited in Stern, et al., 2008)

However, Evans (2009) goes on to describe that emerging clusters as part of late-capitalist business agglomerations, differ in scale and in social dynamic to earlier models of clustering. He defines them as places that demonstrate mutual cooperation through informal and formal economies of scale, spreading risk in R&D and information sharing via socio-economic networks; but also as reactive anti-establishment action (avant garde, artists’ squats); and as a defensive necessity, resisting control from licensing authorities, global firms, guilds and dominant cultures – artistic and political.

The economic factors that contribute to this concentration and proximity include cost-savings in the production chain, cross trading, joint ventures (e.g. in marketing, IT, R&D, capital investment), reflected in the rediscovery of live-work facilities and the shared workspaces within former industrial zones and buildings (Evans, 2009). Evans (2009) highlights the fact that in late-capitalist forms agglomeration, there is a benefit of proximity between residence and employment that not only supports traditional conceptions of productivity, but more importantly, facilitates innovation and creativity.

Evans (2009) goes on to highlight that the emergence of creative industry clusters today appear to be counter-factual; given the vertical integration, then disintegration and post-Fordist dispersal of production to lower cost areas nationally and globally (Krugman, 1991; Harvey, 1989, as cited in Evans, 2009), and the supposed placelessness or ‘footloose’ nature of communications technology and the new media practice (Castells, 1996; Braczyk, et al., 1999; Backlund & Sandberg, 2002, as cited in Evans, 2009). However, as Gottdiener (2000, p.98) claims:

While the information economy progresses to an increasing degree of disembodied spacelessness, the producers of knowledge still require

specific locations or spaces to work. In short, our new economy will function in this respect very much like the old one with persisting need for adequate design of the built environment.

Similarly, Pratt (2000) suggests that the ‘death of distance’ is exaggerated, demonstrating in a case study of new media firms in New York’s Silicon Alley, that place and space are still important, as is the value of social interaction. Moreover, spatial proximity of individuals and firms is seen to facilitate intense social networks, which spur a cross-pollination of ideas and innovations. Manuel Castells (1996) calls this organisational structure a network enterprise and the location where proximity generates synergy a milieu of innovation, as ‘social networks of different kinds powerfully contribute to the consolidation of a milieu and to its dynamics’ (Castells, 1996).

According to Ffowcs-Williams, chief executive of ‘Cluster Navigators’ (as cited in Light, 2000), highly successful clustering communities have four common elements.

1. At the core of each cluster are specialised businesses working in the same industry that compete with each other strongly, yet have the ability (and the will) to cooperate when appropriate.
2. Supporting these core businesses are an array of specialised firms providing inputs such as machinery, components and services. They are highly specialised and closely tied to the fabric of the core firms.
3. there is social (“soft”) infrastructure that includes tertiary institutions, schools, trade and professional associations, and technology transfer organisations are able to integrate into a cohesive team to meet the evolving needs of the core businesses.

4. there’s also “hard” infrastructure – ie transport facilities, telecommunications systems and power supplies.

Linking these four elements, says Ffowcs-Williams (cited in Light, 2000), is some form of steering group. The group involves the senior stakeholders across the cluster. Elements come together to upgrade the wealth-generating capacity of the local cluster – for the benefit of all. Ffowcs-Williams concludes by saying that clusters start naturally, but their development can be consciously accelerated. He suggests that a practical early step is building a cluster’s identity, something which local bodies are often best equipped to do as they are ‘neutral’ in the eyes of businesses and often have the people, the will and administrative infrastructure to kick-off and guide the process (as cited in Light, 2000).

3.6 Creative Clusters and Urban Regeneration

As indicated in the previous discussions, economic, social and cultural forms of growth are intrinsically linked and interdependent. Creative development literature reinforces the creative economy’s focus on production and cross-sector interactions. At the same time, however, a cluster perspective steps out of the standard economic understandings to explore the social relations that spur innovation and investment. Clusters demonstrate that the social and economic intertwinement within the creative economy’s functioning, form the linkages with community, culture and creativity.

Gertler (2004) highlights these linkages within his discussions of ‘creativity, competitiveness and cohesion’ in Canadian cities. Economic competitiveness is driven by creativity, which in turn depends on the ‘quality of place’ in a community, including its social cohesion; ‘strong vibrant neighbourhoods, relative freedom from social deprivation, and access to employment and social services such as shelter, education, nutrition and health care are fundamental components of quality of place’

(Gertler, 2004). Florida (2002) addresses similar issues in the American context, while putting a strong emphasis on the pull of the ‘experiential lifestyle’ – access to ‘intense, authentic experiences’ found in high-achieving work environments, participatory sports in a clean environment, and vibrant and diverse neighbourhood streets (Florida, 2002).

Additionally, creative development discourse includes a focus on the instrumental role ‘artisan’ creatives contribute to the economic success of the city. Here, artists are seen to contribute to regional economies in a variety of ways. First, they create and export unique products. Secondly, they are typically entrepreneurial, seeking to work in different industries, and enhancing the level of creativity in those industries, bringing improvements in areas such as product design, production, and marketing. Finally, through their work, artists improve the image and attractiveness of a region and therefore attract other creative workers. Taken together, the benefits that accrue to a region with particularly high concentrations of artists have been described as the ‘artist dividend’ (Markusen and King, 2003, as cited in Nobel, 2009).

Community arts researchers have found direct connections between art and regeneration. In a study of ten Chicago neighbourhoods, Grams and Warr (2003, as cited in Stern, et al., 2008) identified social networks as a key mechanism by which community arts contribute to social improvement. By developing social networks, low-budget arts programs leverage local and non-local assets that result in direct economic benefits for the area—new markets, new uses of existing facilities, new jobs for local artists—as well as broader community engagement.

Therefore, cities that invest in creative development schemes are seen to trigger a virtuous cycle in which creative people are inspired, artistic and technological innovations produced, economic growth spurred, and hence more money invested in urban development. In regards to such virtuous cycle, the development and reinforcement of particular building groupings and their occupants as, respectively, creative clusters, presents itself as a tactical way into its activation.

4 The Suburban Gap

Although current theory on creative development does provide an opportunity for a much more socially inclusive and productive approach to urban regeneration, it however, has evidently placed a large focus on the historical inner-city core. The development and strengthening of creative clusters within the central city may indeed result in successful urban regeneration outcomes, producing distinctive works of art, science and technology as well as highly attractive and desirable urban environments. However, even if these strategies are successful, it is important to be aware of what is missing from them. The peripheral, suburban settings have not prolifically been targeted with specific initiatives, nor have they been incorporated into citywide strategies. This is a gap that unless responded to promptly will leave the majority urban populations outside the core of the creative milieu – both physically and metaphorically.

4.1 Suburban Persistence

For number of people living in the developed countries, the inner-city centre is not the predominant living environment, the suburbs are. For instance, more Americans live in suburbs than in inner-city centres, and the accounts of this extensively documented. From the 1950s towards the beginning of the new millennium, more than 90 percent of all growth in the United States' cities' metropolitan areas has been in the suburbs. As a consequence, the percentage of people living in central locations of cities over 500,000 people, dropped from 17.5 percent in 1950 to barely 12 percent in 1990 (see Wendell Cox. *Demographia, USA Urbanized Areas over 500,000: 2000 and 1990 Comparability*).

Similarly, European inner-city centres sustained losses-to the tune of more than 3 million residents – data on urban area density indicates a decline of 50% in central city population density from the 1960s to 2000 (see Wendell Cox. *Demographia, Western European Urban Area (Urban Agglomeration) Population Densities 1960-2000*). Indeed, these patterns have been observed worldwide, including within Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as more than 90 percent of cities' metropolitan-area growth (of the largest cities of these nations) since the 1960's, has also been in the suburbs (see Wendell Cox. *Demographia, Japan; Australia & New Zealand; Canada*).

Although suburbs are the dominant living environment in much of the developed world, they have been much maligned by writers as “boring, uniform, isolated, domestic [places]... full of identical people doing identical things” (Pile, 1999, p.29). However, with whatever negative associations these places do carry, emerging demographic, social and economic complexities are demonstrating that these places are indeed changing. This in turn has caught the attention of much of the academic world in suburbanized countries, triggering an effort to re-conceptualize the suburban phenomenon as part of a ‘post-suburban’ studies agenda. For example in England, Kingston-upon-Thames’s has devoted a new ‘Suburban Studies Centre’,

in North America, revisionist suburban historians give extensive insight in suburban restructurings (see Sugrue and Kruse, 2006; Lassiter, 2005; Lars Lerup, 2001) and in Australia, the University of Western Sydney’s Centre for Cultural Research led a ‘Post-Suburban Sydney’ conference and research programme in 2005 (see Anderson, et al., 2006). One facet of this research endeavour is the examination of the suburbs role in the functioning of the creative economy and hence a review of its position within the creative milieu.

4.2 Suburbia and the Creative Economy

Despite the sheer size of the suburban living environment, it is generally understood that the creative economy’s activity outside the central core is to a bare minimum. In New Zealand, Auckland City Council – which appears to be at the forefront of the creative development agenda – has mapped out the location of creative individuals and industries within its region. Their findings show that the strongest concentrations of creative sector employment is within Auckland’s Central Business District (CBD) (31 per cent) and CBD fringe areas (36 percent); including Ponsonby, Newton, Grafton, Newmarket and Parnell. This means that two-thirds of Auckland city’s creative sector employment is located in the CBD and its fringe areas (see Lyons & Pradhan, *Snapshots*).

Results such as these suggest that an inner vs. outer binary of the creative economy does exist. However, it is important to note that although the CBD and fringe areas do account for a large proportion of Auckland City’s creative sector employment, creative businesses are more dispersed across the conurbation than creative sector workers. In fact, there are 1,653 creative businesses located in the CBD and fringe areas, with another 1,807 creative businesses spread across the rest of the conurbation (see Lyons & Pradhan, 2005).

Similarly, studies of creative industries in the outer suburbs of Australia’s

largest city, Sydney, found that ‘ex-urban’ Statistical Local Areas (SLA) such as Wollongong and the Blue Mountains experienced the highest rates of creative industries employment growth in Sydney between 1991 and 2001 (Gibson & Brennan-Horley, 2006). Additionally, the ‘ex-urban’ areas of Wyong, Camden and Wollondilly achieved higher rates of growth in creative work in the last 20 years than did inner-city SLAs such as Sydney City and Marrickville (ibid, 2006). In part, this is because outer-suburban areas are the fastest growing areas in Australia, so it is not surprising that their creative industries workforces are also growing quickly (ibid, 2006).

From a more qualitative perspective, a study of the creative industry’s topological work patterns within another Australian city – Darwin – revealed what significance the suburbs have in the functioning of the creative economy. Within this study, the ‘mental maps’ drawn out by interviewees, exposed the variety of locations that host creative practice across Darwin, hence, in argument, yielding a more thorough appraisal of the geographies of creative work. Such results provide an evidential base for repositioning the suburbs as not only a dormitory location for inner-city workers, but instead, just as important of-a-place as the central city core (Brennan-Horley, 2010).

4.3 Inner-City Primacy

In spite of these insights into the functioning of the creative economy over the wider urban topography, the suburbs receive little attention within creative development schemes. For example, Auckland City Council’s *Blueprint* (see Carr, et al., 2007) and Wellington City Council’s Regional Strategy, commonly express that “innovation, creativity and new endeavours are welcomed and encouraged” (*Internationally Competitive Wellington*, 2007, p. 4). While they do claim to encourage community arts and culture, and “invest in projects that stimulate and nurture creativity and innovation in the city” (see *Creative Wellington*) suburban areas however, are not strategically targeted.

Moreover, such documents reveal that creative development plans are largely concerned on the competitive economic strengths of the city/region, including positioning the city as ‘Creative Wellington - Innovation Capital’; attractive to world-class creative industries and internationally mobile creative individuals (see *Creative Wellington*). Such strategies therefore, naturally place focus on developing the existing strengths of the ‘iconic’ inner-city and in the case of Auckland by; “develop[ing] creative quarters within the CBD, in particular, Aotea Quarter, Learning Quarter, Victoria Quarter, and the Britomart Precinct, develop[ing] and promoting the CBD fringe and vibrant local centres that support creative industries” (Carr, et al., 2007, p.10).

In regards to creative clustering in Wellington, early attempts that although are claimed to have brought positive tangible results, have largely been limited to the same economically motivated and inner-city orientated strategies. In 1994, Wellington City Council’s Capital Development Agency (CDA) was one of the first to begin to push the cluster concept. “When the CDA wrote its economic development strategy in 1996 one of the tools it identified as having real value was clustering,” says CDA manager Clare Nolan (as cited in Light, 2000, p.20). “Wellington needed to build some sectors of excellence and specialisation, and clusters are one of the ways to do that. We identified several sectors we thought had promise and had a desire to cooperate” (ibid, p.20). The first clusters to form were film and television, earthquake engineering technology and creative multimedia, all of which are located in the CBD and CBD fringes (see Light, 2000).

4.4 Towards a Creative Development Strategy for the Suburbs

As mentioned earlier, it is evident that suburbs are home to an inexorable number of people within many developed nations. New Zealand is no exception. In spite of this, the creative economy's largest concentration of employment is manifestly within the central city core. It can be argued that as a result, city authorities' propositions for the further development of it also naturally make a focus there. However, recent insights on dispersion of creative businesses, creative worker's topological networking patterns and the rates of growth of creative industries, reveals that today, not only do suburbs provide a home and business premises for creative workers, but also play a influential role in the functioning of the city's creative economy.

In addition to this, the significance creative development has in urban regeneration is well documented. Today, in light of the production orientated and community strengthening perspective, creative development has the potential to not only be applied, but be beneficial to a multitude of places. Restricting propositions to central cores – by implication leaving out the suburbs – will indeed be to the detriment of the city's prosperity as a whole. It can be said that cities cannot afford to simply confine creative development efforts to their inner-city cores.

Hence, the suburbs today present themselves as highly pertinent subjects for urban regeneration the creative development approach. The following chapters commence this exploration.

5 The Underpinnings of Urban Creativity

Before a creative development strategy can be developed for a suburb, it is important to figure out what ‘key ingredients’ are required in potentiating urban creativity within a place. As it has been suggested, creativity emerges from a complex set of interactions that are influenced by both the spatial conditions and the people and programmes that inhabit the place. Florida (2002), attempts to explain this by suggesting that creativity comes from the sum of three key qualities, they include:

- ‘Who’s there’ – the diverse kinds of people, interacting and providing cues that anyone can plug into and make a life in that community.
- ‘What’s going on’ – the vibrancy of street life, café culture, arts, music and people engaging in outdoor activities.
- ‘What’s there’ – the combination of the built environment and the natural environment; a proper setting for pursuit of creative lives – altogether a lot of active, exciting, creative endeavours

(Florida, 2002, p.232)

Hence the following within this chapter, is a reinterpretation of this concept and an elaboration of each of these three key qualities or dimensions with reference to supporting urban planning theorists including Richard Florida, Charles Landry, Paul Lukez and others. For the purposes of this thesis, the three qualities are titled ‘Diversity’, ‘Connectivity’ and ‘Authenticity’.

5.1 Diversity – People and Programmes

Economists have long argued that diversity of firms or industries are important to economic performance. The economist John Quigley, for instance, argues that regional economies benefit from the location of a diverse set of firms and industries (Quigley, 1998). Jacobs long ago, also highlighted the role of diversity of both firms and people in powering innovation and city growth. As she saw it, great cities are places where people from virtually any background are welcome to turn their energy and ideas into innovations and wealth (Jan Jacobs, 1969).

This has also been a key point made within Florida's criteria for creative cities. Florida asks; "Does living in an open and diverse environment help to make talented and creative people even more productive; or do its members simply cluster around one another and thus drive up there places' creativity only as a by-product?" (Florida, 2005, p.91). He expresses that both are going on, but the former being more important. Places that are open and possess low barriers to entry for people gain creativity advantage from their ability to attract people from a wide range of backgrounds. All else being equal, more open and diverse places are likely to attract greater numbers of talented and creative people – the sort of people who power innovation and growth (Florida, 2005).

Additionally, diversity in terms of the various types of activities a locale offers is also important. Florida's (2002, 2005) research not only quantifies this argument, but gives further insight to what the creative class is particularly attracted to. Despite some limitations to his sampling, he claims that talented individuals appear to be attracted more by cultural than by recreational facilities (spectator sport), although Florida suggests that the latter is not unimportant. (Florida, 2005, p.99) Similarly, Charles Landry (2008) also stresses that the quantity, quality, variety and accessibility of a combination of facilities are crucial for encouraging creative processes in a city, three in particular stand out; research capacity, cultural facilities, and affordable creative space.

Research and Education

The intellectual underpinning of a potentially creative city is a differentiated and comprehensive research and educational system, ranging from primary schooling to technical and humanistic universities as well as research capacity in universities, government agencies and private organizations. The possibility of transferring theoretical knowledge into practical applications is key. Science parks, especially linked to universities or incubator units are important. They are key components in retaining and attracting skilled personnel and thereby giving them opportunities to further their personal development.

Cultural Facilities

Cultural facilities and activities are significant factors in generating inspiration, self-confidence, debate or ideas exchange as well as the creation of a city's image. They help attract skilled and talented personnel, as well as provide opportunities for residents. Consuming high-profile arts and cultural activities has less strong transformative effects in individuals than direct participation, whose impact is greater in terms of human development and tapping creative potential.

Creative Spaces at Affordable Prices

Creative people and projects need to be based somewhere. A creative city requires land and buildings at affordable prices especially for younger business or social entrepreneurs. These are likely to be available on the urban fringes and in areas where uses are changing, such as former port and industrial zones. Cheap spaces than can be innova-

tively adapted to reduce financial risk and encourage experiments, even at the most banal level of opening a new type of restaurant or a shop.

(Landry, 2008, p.123)

5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction

A large wealth of theory exists on the relationship between economic performance and connectivity. In general, it is recognised that within an urban system, the larger number of connected nodes, and the higher efficiency of transit in between, the more positive economic performance will be. This includes, but depending on differing conditions, both productivity and innovation (see Cervero, 2001; Conrad & Seitz, 1994). In terms of the creative economy, the importance of connectivity as a practical necessity of getting from 'a to b' in relative ease is especially true. Florida (2005) for example expresses that his focus groups and interviews indicate that Creative Class people value connectivity very highly, both as a way to get to point to point (on a 24/7 basis) but also as a way to save time.

One of the main reasons why the creative economy draws special importance on connectivity is due to its high dependency of networking and associative structures. According to Landry (2008), Networking has two aspects: networking within a locale and networking internationally. Landry (2008) goes on to highlight the fact, however, that the nature of networking is changing as communities become more mobile and technically connected. Illustrating it through a bird's eye view of a city, he describes the idea as a series of overlapping communities and networks criss-crossing through and well beyond, creating a form of invisible glue that holds the city together, generating multiple interactions, but also creating loyalty and connection far beyond the reach of the city. Each network sees the city in a different way – some intensely local, others more global. Reinforcing previous ideas, Landry stresses that

networking and creativity are intrinsically symbiotic, as the greater the number of nodes in a system the greater its capacity for reflexive learning and innovation.

Connecting urban communities both to themselves and other places is such a crucial issue that it is time for local authority departments concerned with 'connectedness' and networking to be brought into being. Their primary aim would be to bring people together physically or virtually, focusing on communicating in the city. This might include urban information services like libraries or a council's own PR department encouraging internationally orientated networking – for officials, local businesses, schools or old age pensioners – as competition and comparison with other cities provides stimulus and benchmarking. The brokering of new connections and new economic scientific and cultural collaborations is key for future urban prosperity.

(Landry, 2008, p.126)

From a social perspective, connectivity can be understood as the ability of a locale, site or space to facilitate social interaction and communication. In this sense, the spatial quality of the connecting environment is brought into attention. Arguably, a community's ability to facilitate this interaction appears to be more important in today's highly mobile and quasi-anonymous society. In his book *A Great Good Place*, Ray Oldenburg also notes the importance of what he calls 'thirdplaces' in modern society. Thirdplaces being neither home nor work – the 'first two' places – but rather, venues like coffee shops, bookstores and cafes in which we find less formal acquaintances. According to Oldenburg, these thirdplaces compromise 'the heart of a community's social vitality' where people 'hangout simply for the pleasures of good company and lively conversation' (see Oldenburg, 1999).

Similarly, the creative individuals within Florida's focus groups and inter-

views reported that such thirdplaces play key roles in making a community attractive. This is because the two other sources of interaction and stability, the family and workplace, have become less secure and stable.

People are more likely to live alone, and more likely to change jobs frequently. Thirdplaces fill a void by providing a ready venue for acquaintance and human interaction. The importance of thirdplaces also arises from the changing nature of work. More of us do not work on fixed schedules and many of us work in relative isolation – for instance, in front of a keyboard at home, as I often do. Reliable human contact is thus hard to come by, and e-mail or phone interruptions provide only a limited form. So I frequently take a break and head to the coffee shop down the street just to see people on the street; or I take a bike ride to recharge, then head to the café to see my associates there. Many people I interview say they do much the same thing.

(Florida, 2002, p.232)

Landry (2008) also emphasises that public space, sometimes known as the public sphere or realm, is a multifaceted concept at the heart of the innovative milieu. According to Landry, the public realm helps develop creativity because it allows people to go beyond their own circle of family, professional and social relations. The idea of the public realm is bound up with the ideas of discovery, of expanding one's horizons, of the unknown, of surprise, of experiments and of adventure (Landry, 2008).

5.3 Authenticity – Local History and Built Character

Authenticity is also a notion brought up within discussions of the creative milieu. People within Florida's interviews and focus groups often define 'authenticity' as the opposite of generic. They equate authentic with being 'real', as in a place that has real buildings, real people and real history. According to Florida, an authentic place offers unique and original experiences.

Thus a place full of chain stores, chain restaurants and nightclubs is not authentic: Not only do these venues look pretty much the same everywhere, they offer the same experiences you could have anywhere.

(Florida, 2002, p.228).

From an urban morphological perspective, a sense of authenticity is generated by the degree in which a place acts as a repository of people's lives as individuals and members of a community. It is understood that places in which demonstrate and enable a layering of natural and historic 'traces' relative to changing social, economic, and cultural impetuses, are most capable of offering this sense of authenticity. By implication, the strength of urban authenticity depends not only on the uniqueness of the activities harboured, but also on the richness of built character presented within the locale – such richness can only be developed over time. Indeed, "Paris wasn't created in a single day, single stroke, or a single master plan. There are many examples of rich time-layered cities, which serve as repositories for man's interventions with site. Such evolving sites show how individuals and institutions have sought to find the right fit between places and the societies they support. This process of searching for the form of a place creates opportunities for individuals to orientate themselves spatially and temporally relative to larger societal forces" (Lukez, 2007, p.23).

As postulated by Paul Lukez in *Suburban Transformations*, character of place

emerges from the successive operations of transformation on a site over time. Lukez defines 'site' not only by the natural site and all the systems that have produced its unique rock, water and vegetation patterns, but also by the man-made interventions that inhabit a site. A virgin landscape is as much a site as a densely inhabited urban condition (Lukez, 2007, p.26).

Lukez's (2007) examples of time-layered sites including Cologne, Pergamon, and Manhattan reveal how the unique character of a place emerges out of the interaction of social, economic and cultural forces, upon the physical location, over time. Lukez reiterates that a number of factors influence the development and transformation of a locale's character, including the landscape, people, building and infrastructure typologies, and cultural and aesthetic imperatives driving the society. However, although the qualities of a site, typologies, or cultural imperatives may vary from place to place, Lukez highlights that each share a process of 'erasing' (demolition) and 'writing' (construction) on the site. It can be said therefore, that when such a process is executed by means of conscious intervention, the way in which the built form makes a response to the uniqueness of the locale, will not only determine character but will also contribute to the overall sense of authenticity.

5.4 Summary

This conceptual triad is useful in identifying the main constituents for urban creativity, presented by this chapter as comprising of Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity. The findings within this chapter will inform the investigation methodology of this research, by articulating the fundamental requisites in the development of creativity within urban settings such as a suburb. They will hence influence the investigation framework of this research, including the assessment of the existing creative potential a locale, as well as inform consecutive design interventions as part of a creative development strategy.

6 Contextual Setting of Investigation

A suitable suburban context must be identified and presented in order for the investigation in creative development to proceed. This chapter intends to this by firstly exploring the relevant history and background of the context chosen, and then summarising why it makes a good subject for the investigation. The suburb of Johnsonville is selected, within Wellington City of New Zealand.

6.1 Wellington – The ‘Creative Capital’

Wellington is the capital city and third most populous urban area of New Zealand. The urban area is situated on the south-western tip of the country's North Island, lies between Cook Strait and the Rimutaka Range and is home to 195,500 people. Wellington City's historical background as being the capital of New Zealand means that the manufacturing industries never took a strong foothold within the central city district. However, with its beginnings as a colonial port-city, it still held a vital role for Wellington region's industrial activity and growth. Today, many of the industrial buildings that remained have been converted into new office premises, residential apartments and recreational facilities. Wellington's waterfront is indeed very much archetypal of the cultural regeneration efforts carried out by postindustrial cities, providing an array of iconic structures, restored historic buildings, and venues for major events.

The supersedence of a creative economy in Wellington was observed when specialist services made a substantial contribution to overall employment growth in the city and region. Between 1996 and 2001, Film, TV, museums, publishing, IT engineering, sciences, telecommunications, education, recreation and media contributed 114% to overall employment growth in Wellington City. That compares with 95% for the Wellington Region and 92% nationally (Infometrics, 2003). Within the Wellington Region, 83% of the screen and digital sector is located in Wellington City and from 2007 – 2009 the number of business within the sector grew by 14.9%. The screen and digital sector alone contributes a significant sum to Wellington City's economy; revenue from feature film production alone grew by 70% to \$429 million in 2009. This compares with New Zealand's total film production revenue for the year of \$508 million. Wellington also had the largest share of the total screen industry's post-production output (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

In addition, services have increased their share of Wellington City's economy

at a faster rate than elsewhere in New Zealand. That is mainly because Wellington has reduced employment in other areas of its economy. Predictably, the most common occupational group in Wellington is 'Professionals' and within the service sector, the creative industries make a big contribution to overall employment. Data for Wellington show that around 33% of people are employed in creative businesses and that ratio rises to 43% in the CBD area. Within what is referred to as the super-creative core, education and computer services are the two biggest specific creative industries (Infometrics, 2003).

As a city, Wellington prides itself as being a culturally dynamic and creative centre. This is not only supported by the significance the creative economy has within the city's functioning, but also, by the other various events and cultural activities it hosts. Wellington City Council's *Annual Report 2009/10* (2010) asserts that a majority of New Zealanders recognise Wellington as the nation's 'events capital' and as having 'a culturally rich and diverse arts scene'. An example of this is given of how the city is home to many of the country's foremost arts and culture institutions and events, such as Te Papa and the New Zealand International Arts Festival. During a year, events such as the World Press Photo Exhibition and the World of Wearable Arts show are claimed to have brought thousands of visitors and tens of millions of dollars to the city's economy (*Annual Report 2009/10*, 2010).

Figure 1: View of Wellington's Inner-city

6.2 Johnsonville – From Town to Suburb

Located seven kilometres north of Wellington's inner-city centre, at the top of the Ngauranga Gorge and on the main route to Porirua (State Highway 1), resides the suburb of Johnsonville. Johnsonville origins date back to a timber mill that was established by Frank Johnson in 1840, within what was at the time a bush clearing and timber felling track from Wellington to Porirua, known as Johnson's clearing. The name 'Johnsonville' came later when it was suggested to Frank Johnson that the locality needed a better name. The settlers initially felled timber for the local sawmill, but after a few years of clearance, employment was dominated by pastoral farming and Johnsonville became a servicing town centre for farms in the district. Johnsonville was also a popular stopping point for horses travelling north. There were four hotels in the area including the Rifle Volunteer and Ames Arms in Johnsonville ('The Johnsonville Story' in *Johnsonville Town Centre Plan*, 2008, p. 5).

The coming of rail in 1883 made a big difference to the growth of Johnsonville. Suddenly, it was on the main line to Manawatu and Wellington and it started to grow more rapidly. Before that the journey to Wellington had taken two hours by coach. Around 1894, Freeman R. Jackson and Co. established the saleyards next to the railway station making it the chief stock station on the Wellington-Manawatu railway and a main supplier for the Wellington Meat Export and Freezing Works at Ngauranga. By 1908 Johnsonville had become an independent town district, and the area prospered in the booming 1920s, as local amenities such as electricity, piped water and sewerage were developed. The population reached 1313 by 1926, and 1813 a decade later. However, the opening of the Tawa Deviation on the Main Trunk Line in 1937 meant a loss in stock traffic from the north which reduced Johnsonville to a terminus on the suburban railway. This coupled with the rapid population growth which steadily reduced available farm land, saw Johnsonville's role as a rural township diminish ('The Johnsonville Story', in *Johnsonville Town Centre Plan*, 2008, p. 5)

It was particularly after WWII when Johnsonville's suburban character took form. In 1953, its amalgamation with the City of Wellington redefined the locale as a suburban satellite to the inner-city core ('The Johnsonville Story' in *Johnsonville Town Centre Plan*, 2008, p. 5). Coupled with the growing car culture and suburban ideals of the baby-booming generation, Johnsonville's development deviated further away from any prospects of a traditional self contained town. Rather, it veered increasingly towards a car orientated and highway umbilical centre. Today, apart from the few cottages, churches and historic sites that remain, the locale consists of typically suburban typologies such as the low density residential dwellings, the mall and the office park.

6.3 Johnsonville as a Major Growth Centre

Nevertheless, Johnsonville evidently holds great significance within Wellington City's metropolitan area. Today, it is one of Wellington's largest suburbs outside of the central city, home to about 9000 residents (or 3500 households), and has experienced significant growth in the last few years. Between 1991-2001, Johnsonville had a 9% population increase, with a further 4.2% increase between 2001-2006 ('The Johnsonville Story' in *Johnsonville Town Centre Plan*, 2008, p. 5). Johnsonville's significance is recognised in Wellington City Council's 'Growth Spine' policy, which identifies the suburb as a major centre within Wellington's larger metropolitan area, and integrates it within a strategic growth area designated for further urban intensification and consolidation. According to the policy, the growth area or 'spine' is intended to become the "economic engine room of the regional economy" (*Internationally Competitive Wellington*, 2007, p.37).

Figure 2: Wellington City Council's Growth Plan

6.4 Johnsonville's Economy

Currently, employment in Johnsonville is dominated by retail followed by the construction and service sectors. The retail core includes the Johnsonville Mall on the central triangular block. The property owners intend to expand the shopping mall in this central location. Johnsonville contains over 711 businesses employing almost 2750 people (see *Land Use Survey – Johnsonville*, 2006). At least twenty businesses that are classifiably creative exist within the locale, and are mostly small to medium in size. These include Nebula Graphics, Penny Newman Design, Primesite Homes, Calcott Architecture & Landscape Design, and ABUILD™ Consulting Engineers (see *Appendix A*). They are predominantly premised within buildings in the suburban centre zone, and interestingly, some show a sign of clustering around and within the existing office park facility on Broderick Road. A few others are premised within the surrounding residential zone of Johnsonville.

Figure 3: View of Johnsonville's Suburban Centre

6.5 Summary

From these observations, it can be said that Johnsonville establishes itself as a significant suburban sub-centre of Wellington City that is qualified for an investigation in creative development. The reasons why Johnsonville makes a suitable setting for an investigation in creative development can be summarised as following:

- Firstly, although Johnsonville historically emerges as a rural servicing township, it is now predominantly suburban in character and lies on the periphery of Wellington City's metropolitan area. Johnsonville is hence relevant in the purposes of this investigation as it is a suburb, both characteristically and governmentally.
- Secondly, it is the largest suburb outside the central city that plays a strategic role within Wellington City and the wider regional economy. Any attempt of 'growing' Johnsonville, must not be limited to the development of its existing consumption orientated economic strengths, but must also invest in its creative production potential.
- And finally, whilst Wellington City is a reputedly 'creative capital', Johnsonville on the other hand does not support this. Even though it does evidently foster a number of small to medium sized creative enterprises, it is not known for its cultural or creative dynamism, but more so, for its dominating retail core. If Wellington City wants to live up to its creative identity, it must look into developing its suburban counterpart's creative reality.

Suburban Centre

Figure 4: Existing Conditions: Johnsonville's Suburban Centre

Facilities and Activities

Figure 5: Existing Conditions: Johnsonville's Facilities and Activities

Street System

Figure 6: Existing Conditions: Johnsonville's Steet System

Public Space
 Figure 7: Existing Conditions: Johnsonville's Public Space

Legend

- Rail
- Property and Building Footprints
- Public Open Space
- Public Property

Heritage Sites and Topography
 Figure 8: Existing Conditions: Johnsonville's Heritage Sites and Topography

Legend

- Rail
- Property and Building Footprints
- Heritage Sites and Objects
- Landform Contour
- Public Open Space
- Historic Stream Path

7 Creative Development Strategy - Urban Development Plan

The first part of the creative development strategy, is presented within this chapter as the Urban Development Plan for Johnsonville. The Urban Development Plan sets out key urban planning and design objectives (and implicating design intervention actions) that are needed in order to strengthen the Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity of Johnsonville; and hence its creative potential. It is important to note, that prior to this urban design plan, has been an appraisal of Johnsonville in regards to its existing enabling and disabling features for creativity (see *11.2 Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity* in *Appendix*). The appraisal has informed as well as determined much of the design needed to be carried out as part of the Urban Development Plan. It is also important to note that some the objectives within this urban development plan have been adopted from the *Johnsonville Town Centre Plan* (2008); specifically the ones that are consistent with the creative development agenda.

Other objectives within this plan further supplement the existing ‘town centre plan’, as well as offer alternative approaches that veer closer towards a creative development intention. These are not only derived from the findings in chapter 5 *Underpinnings of Urban Creativity*, but also supported by the urban design practise guidelines as those within the *Urban Design Compendium* (Davies, 2010).

7.1 Diversity – People and Programmes

Suburban Centre

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville – An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; *Johnsonville Town Centre Plan*, 2008 and Davies, 2010, *Urban Design Compendium* p.39)

- Redefine the Suburban Centre zone:
 - Review and if necessary amend the boundary for the Suburban Centre zone to recognise existing commercial uses adjacent to the existing centre.
- Increase the capacity for development:
 - Review and if necessary amend the District Plan to allow for higher intensity development along Johnsonville Road, in the central triangle and along the motorway.
- Promote growth in employment opportunities in the traditional strengths of Johnsonville – the retail, construction and service sectors:
 - Encourage expansion and intensification of retail in a compact retail core, including shops and entrances along primary street frontages.
 - Encourage owners of the Johnsonville Mall to increase the retail mix in any redevelopment proposals.
 - In addition to sub-regional shopping, encourage local and neighbourhood-serving shops and services for residents to meet daily needs.
- Provide for a variety of other services and uses:
 - Encourage the development of leisure and entertainment facilities in the suburban centre.

Diversity

Figure 9: Urban Development Plan: Diversity

- Encourage the development of cafes, restaurants and bars.
- Work with property owners to provide facilities that stimulate a night-time economy.
- Allow for hotels.
- Allow for office uses above the first floor and on non-primary street frontages.

Housing

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; *Johnsonville Town Centre Plan*, 2008, and Davies, 2010, *Urban: Design Guide*, 2002, p.35)

- Introduce housing into the suburban centre:
 - Promote the opportunities for ‘mixed-use’ development in the suburban centre with apartments on upper storeys through increased maximum building heights and other incentives.
 - Promote the opportunities for ‘mixed-use’ development behind primary commercial frontages and along transition frontages through the District Plan and urban design guidelines specifying appropriate locations for housing in the suburban centre.
 - Encourage landowners to include apartments within any redevelopment proposals.
 - Ensure that the design of new residential dwellings in the suburban centre incorporates noise insulation to protect this noise sensitive use.
- Build on the compact urban form of the suburban centre by allowing for the development of high quality medium-density housing (ie townhouses and terraced housing) in areas with good walking access to the suburban centre.

- Allow targeted housing developments within a boundary that considers proximity to the centre (5-10 minute walk to the centre), topography, natural landscape breaks, accessibility, land uses such as schools, amenities, road quality, infrastructure, lot sizes, and development patterns.

Affordable Creative Space

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity* and Landry, 2008, p.123)

- Promote opportunities to grow the creative industries by providing affordable creative spaces for new and start-up enterprises within and around the suburban centre:
 - Investigate the development of creative studio premises for Artisan enterprises and individuals
 - Investigate the development of creative office premises for Technical enterprises and individuals

7.2 Connectivity – Movement and Interaction

Urban Grain and Street System

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; 5.2 *Connectivity - Movement and Interaction* and Davies, 2010, *Urban Design Compendium* p.47)

- Encourage new development to form a finer-grain urban block system that defines better connection routes and articulates a street hierarchy consisting of high intensity primary streets and pedestrian orientated secondary streets.

- Ensure that any new development is designed to be serviced by multi-modal transport options, including public transport, walking and cycling as well as private vehicles.

Public Facilities and the Transit Station

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity, Johnsonville Town Centre Plan, 2008*)

- Work with landowners and Greater Wellington Regional Council to facilitate the provision of additional 'park-and-ride' (for vehicles) facilities close to the railway station.
- Encourage cycling storage facilities in conjunction with park-and-ride.
- Work with the owners of the Johnsonville Mall, Greater Wellington Regional Council, KiwiRail and Mana Buses to facilitate the improvement of rail/bus interchange and bus setdown and pick-up areas.
- Examine options to improve Memorial Park by reconfiguring gardens, unused edges, entrances and paths. Consider new access points and paths along the south and east edges of the park.
- Improve Memorial Park's connection to the suburban centre and community facilities by creating a link to Moorefield Road beside or through the community centre and swimming pool.
- Examine options to improve the connections between Alex Moore Park and the suburban centre, which may include creating a recreational hub.

Connectivity

Figure 10: Urban Development Plan: Connectivity

Primary and Secondary Streets

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; 5.2 *Connectivity - Movement and Interaction* and *Urban: Design Guide*, 2002, p.20)

- Emphasise both primary and secondary streets as living public spaces and third-place settings:
 - Through design guidelines, provide for wider footpaths and outdoor dining set-backs where appropriate to encourage gathering on public streets.
 - Ensure that any road infrastructure improvement works are designed to also improve the function of the street as a public space.
 - Require that any new streets and/or pathways through large sites in the suburban centre incorporate suitably-scaled environments, quality landscaping and materials to become useable public space.
 - Renew streetscape throughout the suburban centre to define gateways, enhance character, unify and beautify the area.
 - Consider limiting vehicle access driveways along frontages (see Urban Design section for frontage definitions) through District Plan provisions and design guidelines.
 - Evaluate the suitability of activities introduced on primary and secondary frontages and their ability in developing active edges.

Primary Streets

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity* and 5.2 *Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*)

- Work with the New Zealand Transport Agency to investigate the feasibility of an additional motorway interchange at Helston Road. This could significantly reduce through traffic on Johnsonville Road and provide additional capacity to

cope with expected traffic growth resulting from the Mall redevelopment.

- Improve the key road intersections along Johnsonville, Broderick, Moorefield and Middleton Roads.
- Maintain and, where possible, enhance cycling links to, from and through the suburban centre. This includes the safety, directness, legibility, convenience and attractiveness of those links.
- Investigate the potential to install additional bike parking facilities on streets and encourage developments to incorporate bike parking within individual proposals.

Secondary Streets

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; 5.2 *Connectivity - Movement and Interaction* and *Urban: Design Guide*, 2002, p.20).

- Maintain and where possible enhance walking links to, from and through the suburban centre. This includes the safety, directness, legibility, convenience and attractiveness of those links:
 - Improve pedestrian accessibility with better road crossing opportunities across Johnsonville, Moorefield and Broderick Roads to better link the shopping centre, surrounding residences and community facilities such as the community centre, pool and library.
 - Improve pedestrian accessibility to the north of the suburban centre.
 - Improve pedestrian accessibility throughout surrounding residential neighbourhoods, including existing mid-block access, pathways through parks, and other public footpaths.

- Ensure that any changes to the street network have a positive or, at worst, neutral effect on the length and safety of active mode journeys such as walking.
- Improve the safety of the pedestrian underpasses under SH1 at Burgess Road and Disraeli Street.
- Improve the surrounds of these passageways, including access and visual appeal. Work with landowners, Greater Wellington Regional Council and KiwiRail to facilitate the improvement of the rail station and related facilities.
- Work with developers of the Johnsonville Mall to provide for shopper and employee parking in appropriate locations, carefully designed to support a quality pedestrian-street environment.

7.3 Authenticity – Local History and Built Character

Heritage

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; 5.3 *Authenticity - Movement and Interaction* and McClean, 2007, *Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage: Discussion Paper No. 4* p.10)

- Recognise and acknowledge the importance of built heritage sites as contributing to the community's understanding and awareness of a sense of authenticity by the following measures:
 - Recognise the historic pattern of subdivision with individual and small storefronts in designs for large redevelopments.
 - Identify and protect built heritage sites with significant heritage value to ensure their protection, promotion, conservation and appropriate use for

present and future generations.

- Encourage, as appropriate, the integration of existing built form in development proposals, in order to preserve historical traces in the creation of time-layered sites and building character.
- Investigate and consider creating a view shaft along Johnsonville Road, to protect important views to St John's Church and its setting.
- Ensure that any new development which by its character or location might adversely impact on the setting of the Johnsonville Cemetery heritage area is carefully considered in terms of any area-based rules that might apply.

Landmarks and Visual Cues

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; 5.3 *Authenticity - Local History and Character* and McClean, 2007, *Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage: Discussion Paper No. 4* p.10).

- Encourage the development of landmark features on key sites within the suburban centre, including making provision for increased heights where appropriate. Some examples of landmark features include buildings, gateway architectural elements, public art and landscape features.
- Reduce the visual impact of car parking in new developments by locating parking behind buildings and below/above grade, allowing surface parking in discreet individual groupings, providing landscaping in surface lots and incorporating active-ground floor uses in parking structures.
- Celebrate the transit station as an important gateway/node as well as a piece of infrastructure, and consider it an integral part of the suburban centre.

- Undertake an audit of signage and related infrastructure in the suburban centre and identify potential management options including:
 - Reviewing and if possible rationalising Council street signage and related infrastructure
 - Improving interpretation of heritage sites and events
 - Working pro-actively with landowners and tenants to encourage better quality signage
 - Limiting proliferation of billboards and/or large format signs on blank wall faces.

Natural Setting

(see *Appendix B, Johnsonville - An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity*; 5.3 *Authenticity - Local History and Character* and Davies, 2010, *Urban Design Compendium* p.25).

- Identify landscape assets to preserve, understanding that particular ecological or geological features add to a place's character.
- Strengthen the structure of the landscape:
 - Particularly on greenfield sites, efforts should be made to work with the 'grain' of the land and incorporate and preserving existing features of the landscape into a scheme.
- Re-use and repair greyfield land, considering ways of:
 - Introducing new landscape features and wildlife habitats.
 - Restoring damaged parts by, for instance, re-profiling slopes and re-planting.
 - Reviving historic natural features including streams, watercourses, and local ecosystems.

Authenticity

Figure 11: Urban Development Plan: Authenticity

Legend

Rail	Heritage Sites and Objects	Public Open Space
Property and Building Footprints	Landform Contour	Historic Stream Path
'Writing' of New Built Form	View Shafts	Potential Watercourse Restoration
'Erasure' of Existing Built Form	Potential Landmark Locations	

Figure 12: View Shaft a

Figure 13: View Shaft b

Figure 14: View Shaft c

Figure 15: View Shaft d

Figure 16: View Shaft e

Figure 17: View Shaft f

Figure 18: View Shaft g

Figure 19: View Shaft h

7.4 Summary

The Urban Development Plan has set out key urban planning and design objectives (and their implicating actions) that need to be implemented in order to strengthen the Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity of Johnsonville; and hence its creative potential. The Urban Development Plan has not however, present a direct method of targeting and supporting creative activity. Hence, a more explicit strategy is needed in addition to the Urban Development Plan. As highlighted within the literature review of earlier chapters, ‘creative clustering’ has been used as a tactical method within creative development strategies of inner-city centres; targeting creative enterprises, creative individuals, and defining a setting that caters specifically to their needs. Creative clustering therefore presents itself as a possible strategy for suburbs too. The following chapter hence explores this.

8 Creative Development Strategy - Johnsonville Creative Cluster

As mentioned in the earlier chapters, the effort to develop and reinforce particular building groupings and their occupants as, respectively, ‘creative clusters’, is a tactical method in creative development strategies for central cities. Even though creative cluster configurations have been observed to first emerge organically from social and economic forces within the urban core, investigating how they could be realized within the suburbs is not a worthless cause. In operation, this implies the import of a methodology from one distinct setting to another. This raises the question of how a specific creative development technique intended for the central city can be implemented in a suburban context, and what it would mean for the suburban locale. This chapter therefore, is an exposé of the likely answers to this question, by means of proposing a Creative Cluster development for the suburb of Johnsonville.

8.1 Creative Cluster Development via a Suburban Office Park Conversion

The forms of suburban workplaces have often been a product of the broader urban economic restructurings that first made shift from a basis in agriculture to manufacturing, and then to ideas and services. The suburban office park can be seen as the product of an early decentralisation process of the service economy, where its typological premise had been simply imported from the higher-density inner-city core, and adapted to the suburb. Today, with the precedence of the new creative economy as part of the postindustrial city, as well as a heightening concern over urban consolidation and regeneration, suburban office parks are now faced with a burgeoning need for reinvention.

Hence, a creative clustering process by means of an office park redevelopment not only represents another decentralisation process of a manifestly inner-city based economic activity, but also, an attempt to initiate and encourage creative urban activity within the suburban locale itself. In this case, this is achieved by a direct attempt to support and provide for creative workers and creative businesses that seek apt living and working premises within the suburb. Furthermore, in regards to the office park's value for the research process, it makes a useful subject for the investigation as it is common and typical of suburbs generally, hence broadening the relevance and applicability of the research's findings.

As it has already been mentioned, most successful forms of creative clusters have emerged via a process of organic evolution within the cities' inner core; often witnessed in the redevelopment of derelict sites and underutilised buildings and supported by regeneration efforts of both the public and private sector. Thus, such an approach naturally presents itself as an appropriate model for creative cluster formation within the suburban context. The office park enables the application of such a model because firstly, the office park already provides a site with building masses

similar in form to those of the central city (which in some cases are evidently derelict and underutilised). And secondly, the office park offers the most likely premise of existing creative economic activity and organic business clustering; Johnsonville Office Park is an example.

Additionally, the restored and converted old industrial buildings within the urban core have arguably become an emblem of the creative economy's preferred habitation. Such typologies are seen to surpass existing suburban office parks in terms of their attractiveness as workplaces for today's creative industries and creative workers –not only aesthetically but both physically and functionally too. Hence, in order for suburban office parks to remain competitive in the creative industry workplace market, they too must be revised. In 2004, Steve Crosby, chairman of the National Association of Industrial and Office Properties in the US, expressed that although there is still more interest in redeveloping old warehouses and factories in cities' industrial districts, he claims that the redevelopment of suburban office parks has "...clearly come onto our radar screen" (see Nasser, H. E. USA TODAY: Suburban office parks get urban injection, 2010)

Alternative to a 'recycled' or 'greyfield' development approach where existing building form is renovated and redeveloped, an entirely new creative cluster as part of a 'greenfield' development strategy is also an option. However, taking such approach underlines a favouring to further sprawl patterns. Richard Florida (2005) highlights this himself in his list of 'open questions' at the end of his book *Cities and the Creative Class*. He expresses that the success of the creative economy can produce development pressure that threatens the environment and stable ecosystems. This, in turn, undermines many of the natural features and amenities that made these places attractive in the first place (Florida, 2005, p. 172). Thus, it can be said that instead of building-a-new on natural and unspoilt land, the redevelopment of an existing office park is much more consistent with anti-sprawl efforts that resonate from a broader concern over environmental sustainability – hence avoiding the potential of another

‘sprawling’ master plan that by nature conflicts with notions of organic formation anyway.

8.2 Johnsonville Office Park

From the preceding discussion and reasoning behind why an office park is a suitable subject for creative cluster development, an existing office park within Johnsonville is chosen as the site for this case study design investigation. This office park is located on the southern edge of Broderick Road, and is situated directly opposite to Johnsonville’s main commercial and retail centre where an extensive shopping mall redevelopment plan has been proposed. Broderick Road currently functions as a main ‘collector’ street within Johnsonville’s Suburban Centre zone, and makes a link between two other main collector streets, those being Johnsonville Road and Moorfield Road.

The legal bounds of the office park site measures approximately 7400 square meters in total and topographically, gradually rises from street level to where eventually at its western and southern edges, is bound by steep embankments that in some places reach over 10 metres in height. The office park facility is comprised of three main buildings; one built in the late 1970’s that faces onto Broderick Road and is four levels in height, and two others built in the 1980’s, set against the embanking edges of the site and are both two levels in height and identical in form. Noting that the original plan of the office park that was first proposed in 1979 depicts these other two buildings of the same typology as the front four level one. Never-the-less, the resulted office park is still similar to that originally intended and is very much the same in its functional quality.

One characteristic of this office park that maybe atypical to the majority of suburban office parks, is its close proximity to the suburb’s main commercial and retail centre. This perhaps originates from Johnsonville’s historic beginnings as

a centralised town centre that however, and as mentioned earlier, had much rapidly developed later in time taking on features largely characteristic to that of post-war suburban settlements. Hence, such characteristics that maybe unique to the Johnsonville office park that may present added benefits to the functioning of a prospect creative cluster, may however be a limitation in providing an accurate depiction of typical office park conditions.

Figure 20: Satellite View of Johnsonville Office Park Site

Johnsonville Office Park Location
Figure 21: Johnsonville Office Park Site Location

Legend

- Property and Building Footprints
- Railway Line
- Office Park Site

Figure 22: View of Existing Front Office Park Building From Broderick Road

Figure 23: View into Existing Office Carpark

Figure 24: View of Existing Back Office Building

Figure 25: View of Existing Back Office Buildings

Figure 26: View of Existing Back West Office Building

Figure 27: View of Existing Front Office Building From Carpark

Figure 28: Front Office Building Circulation Core

Figure 30: Front Office Building Foyer

Figure 29: Front Office Building Kitchen

Figure 31: Front Office Building Foyer

PROPOSED OFFICE PARK AT BRODERICK RD, JOHNSONVILLE.

THE APPLICANT IS TO ENSURE THAT THE BUILDING OR STRUCTURE HAS SATISFACTORY CLEARANCES FROM BOTH ELECTRICITY AND TELEPHONE LINES AND UNDERGROUND CABLES THAT NO DAMAGE IS CAUSED TO THESE SERVICES AS A RESULT OF HIS WORK AND HE IS TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COST OF ANY NECESSARY ADJUSTMENT OR ALTERATION TO THESE SERVICES.

ANY ELECTRICAL WORK CONNECTED WITH THIS APPLICATION REQUIRES A PERMIT FROM YOUR LOCAL POWER BOARD AUTHORITY.

KOFOED KENNEY & PARTNERS
ARCHITECTS ENGINEERS

Figure 32: Original Office Park Proposal

LANDSCAPING INTENT

AREA 1 LANDSCAPED AREA
ESTABLISH 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 2 LANDSCAPED AREA
ESTABLISH 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 3 & 15 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 4 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 5 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 6 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 7, 12, 13, 14 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 8 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 9 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 10 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

AREA 11 PLANTED AREA
PLANT TO 10' HEDGELINE WITH TREES, SHRUBS, GROUND COVER, AND MULCH. SELECTED TREES UP TO 10' HGT. EXTENSIVE GROUND COVER, UP TO 25%.

NOTE: SEE ALSO LANDSCAPING SECTION OF ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS FOR THE FOLLOWING:
- PLANTED AREAS
- PLANTED AREAS
- PLANTED AREAS

cn	drawing reference
8898	36 FEB 1979

figured dimensions shall take precedence over scaled dimensions report any discrepancy to the architect before proceeding

drawing reference prefix key

1	location
2	assembly details
3	equipment
4	0-10-00 plant installation
5	1-10-00 shrubs
6	2-10-00 ground cover
7	3-10-00 trees
8	4-10-00 shrubs
9	5-10-00 trees
10	6-10-00 shrubs
11	7-10-00 trees
12	8-10-00 shrubs

revision by	date

KOFOED, KENNEY & PARTNERS	
Architects & Engineers	
Wellington P.O. Box 2551 Tel. 723 833	
consultants	
job architect	J E MOOGALL
drawn	P.A.E.
checked	J.E.R.
date	FEB 1979 scale 1/200

OFFICE PARK, JOHNSONVILLE	
LANDSCAPING PLAN	
cn	drawing reference
8898	07 11

Figure 33: Original Office Park Plans: Landscaping Plan

Figure 35: Original Office Park Plans: "Section A-A"

The Building Inspector
is to be given 24 HOURS Notice
prior to him carrying out the
following inspections:

Figure 37: Original Office Park Plans: Back Office Buildings Site Plan

Figure 38: Original Office Park Plans: Back Office Buildings Floor Plans

Figure 39: Original Office Park Plans: Back Office Buildings Section

Figure 40: Original Office Park Plans: Back Office Buildings Block Wall Elevations

Figure 50: Original Office Park Plans: Back Buildings Elevations

LEGEND	DESCRIPTION
+	SHOPPING CENTRE ENTRY
+	EXISTING / PROPOSED BUS STOP
+	EXISTING TRAIN STATION
→	INTERNAL PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION
→	EXTERNAL PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION
→	EXTERNAL PEDESTRIAN CIRCULATION (ROAD CROSSING)
→	VEHICLE CIRCULATION (CARPARK ENTRY / EXIT)
△	LOADING ZONE
△	PEDESTRIAN ZONE (WALKWAYS / MALLS)
△	PROPOSED RETAIL / CARPARK
△	EXISTING RETAIL - MODIFIED
△	EXISTING RETAIL - UNMODIFIED
△	ROAD NETWORK / SERVICE

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Scale: 1:10,000
 Date: 18.08.2008
 File: A-RC2-0011.dwg

NOTE -
 LAYOUT OF MAJORS, MINI-MAJORS,
 SHOPS & FOOD COURT IS INDICATIVE
 ONLY

DNZ
 Property Group

JOHNSONVILLE
 SHOPPING CENTRE
 REDEVELOPMENT
 RC APPLICATION - STAGE 1
 & STAGE 2
 SITE CIRCULATION

purpose RC APPLICATION
 job no 707033
 scale 1:750 as A1
 created April 2008
 plotted 18.08.2008 at 03.19pm
 file W:\07\707033\PLANS\RC Plans\Scheme 3B
 A-RC2-0011.dwg

drawn by CAD A-RC2-0011
 checked by A
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Figure 51: Proposed Mall Development In Johnsonville's Suburban Centre

Figure 52: Proposed Mall Development Floor Plan

JOHNSONVILLE ROAD ELEVATION

BRODERICK ROAD ELEVATION

MOOREFIELD ROAD ELEVATION

Buchan Bucken Laid & Brendon Pty Ltd
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Item	Rev	Revision	Rev	Rev
A	1.0.0	PRELIMINARY (OFFICE IN PROGRESS)	PC	01
B	20.0	RC APPLICATION	RC	01
C	1.0.0	ARCHITECTURAL APPLICATION	01	01

FINISHES LEGEND

- A** TYPED LAMINATED FLUSH MOUNTED SLABING ON PARTED STEEL STRUCTURE
- B** ALUMINIUM FRAMED TYPED SLABING POWDERCOATED FINISH
- C** STEEL COLUMN PAINTED FINISH
- D** EQUIVARIANT FINE COATED INSULATED PANELS
- E** STEEL FRAMED PAINTED GALVANNEED METAL PANEL COMBINATION BORDERS
- F** GRAPHIC SQUARE PANEL
- G** PAINTED BRICKWORK
- H** LIGHTWEIGHT PANEL CLADDING BLADES
- J** PRE-COATED PC ON STEEL FRAMING
- K** ALUMINIUM FRAMING POWDERCOATED CLEAR GLAZED SHEETWORK. INSULATION GLAZING TO EACH 100mm STRUCTURAL COLUMN SPACING. STONE CLADDING

NOTE -
SIGNAGE IS INDICATIVE ONLY

client

DNZ
Property Group

project

**JOHNSONVILLE SHOPPING CENTRE
REDEVELOPMENT
RC APPLICATION - STAGE 1
& STAGE 2**

drawing sheet

ELEVATIONS

purpose: RC APPLICATION
job no: 707033
scale: 1:500 @ A1
created: November 2007
checked: 18.05.2008 @ 14:13pm
file: W:\707033\707033\RC\Plan Scheme 01
A-RC2-0013.dwg

date: 18.05.2008
drawn by: A-RC2-0013
checked by: C
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Figure 53: Proposed Mall Development Elevations

8.3 The Creative Cluster Proposal

This section of the chapter presents the creative cluster design outcome and discusses the development process taken – done by means of redeveloping the existing office park within Johnsonville. The discussion within this chapter reflects back to the three main principles set out by the Urban Development Plan, those being Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity, and describes how the cluster design has responded to each of their strategic objectives. The discussion also attempts to evaluate the office park in regards to its enabling and disabling features for the design intentions, as well as the strengths, weaknesses and limitations highlighted during the design process. The discussion is then followed by an overall conclusion to the chapter, summarising and evaluating the creative cluster design as a whole, and discussing its significance for the creative development of Johnsonville.

8.3.1 Diversity – People and Programmes

Intensification

The creative cluster's development programming introduces a larger number and more diverse range of facilities and services within the original office park premises. This not only responds to the deficiencies of the suburban centre, but also generates a 'critical-mass' of activity needed to for the functioning and vitality of the cluster as it increases the density and concentration of (both consumption and production) activities on site. The various programmes include:

On Site

- Public Open Space

Incubator Building

- Workshops
- Office/Studio
- Gallery and Exhibition
- Café, Restaurant and Bar
- Specialist Services
- Incubation Facility - Studios/Offices
- Multiuse Spaces for - Rehearsal/Meeting/Conferencing
- Shared Research and Resources
- Residential

Powerhouse Buildings

- Offices/Studios
- Workshop
- Residential

Base Buildings

- Specialist Services/Workshop
- Office/Studio Space
- Roof Garden
- Multiuse Space

The front and back buildings of the office park exhibit generic and open plan layouts, which enable a large range of possibilities in accommodating the prescribed programmes as part of the Creative Cluster. The only limitation of these buildings is the level heights, as they may be too low and restricting for some of the new programmes introduced within the spaces; particularly the workshops, studios and gallery. However, it is possible to remove floor plates in some parts, that although reduces tenatable floor area, doubles the ceiling height. This has been done for the gallery space within the Incubator Building.

The vacuity of the office park site is also enabling for the development of new buildings to accommodate additional programmes. The Creative Cluster introduces new buildings on the area the previous office car-park occupied. The opportunity for new building forms allows a more prescribed design response in the aim of providing apt creative spaces. In comparison to the existing buildings, the new Base Buildings offer a much more massive and sturdy premise, enabling a facilitation for heavier workload intensities that maybe necessitated by some creative enterprises. The building form and layout is also relatively generic to enable future re-adaptation and redevelopment.

Figure 56: Johnsonville Creative Cluster Programmes

Residential Integration

The Creative Cluster development introduces residential programmes into the existing office park to offer new residential options within the suburban centre, as well as new residential typologies catering for different lifestyle and working preferences – suitable for creative entrepreneurs. These include the following:

Incubator Building

- 2x One Bedroom Live-Work Units with studio/office space, bathroom, laundry and kitchen.
- 2x One Double Bedroom Live-Work Units with studio/office space, bathroom, laundry and kitchen.
- 2x Three Bedroom Live-Work Units with studio/office space, bathroom, laundry and kitchen.
- 4x Three Bedroom Residential Units, comprising of a lounge, kitchen, bathroom, laundry and storage.

Powerhouse Buildings

- 5 Three Bedroom Residential Units, with a living room kitchen, bathroom, laundry and storage. Bedroom size varies in each unit.
- 3 Two Bedroom Residential Units, with a living room, kitchen, bathroom, laundry and storage. Bedroom size varies in each unit.

The light roof construction and massive structural base of the existing front office block of the office park enables the opportunity to add additional levels with relative ease. On each building, one level has been added to accommodate the residential units, each sizing a good 140(approx) square metres in total area; comparable in spa-

ciousness to typical suburban residential dwellings. In contrast however, open space and ease of access is lessened.

Similarly, an additional level has also been added on each of the back buildings (Powerhouse A and B) accommodating new residential typologies. Although the existing buildings' lighter construction methods do enable a lot more flexibility and opportunity for significant change, the level additions may necessitate increased structural support specification. In addition, although the depth of the existing floorplates offer a generous area to work with, their ability to accommodate good quality residential spaces is limited, as the existing envelope (and in skirmish with other important design interventions) restricts the range of possibilities for good quality residential spaces – particularly in regards to light, ventilation, access and bedroom sizes.

Affordable Creative Space

Although Johnsonville suburb presents an affordable work and living premise for creative enterprises and entrepreneurs (see *Appendix B*), the Creative Cluster must also reflect this. The creative enterprise incubation facility (within the Incubator building) offers a common short-term premise for new firms, including both 'Technical' and 'Artisan' occupations, and offers below market rents for prospective firms via public subsidies. In addition, the incubation facility includes an array of both tangible and intangible support services designed to meet the needs of small start-up enterprises that are often owned by inexperienced or first-time entrepreneurs. Within the Incubator building of the Creative Cluster, the tangible services and facilities include:

- 'Technical' Incubator – office setting and common space for technologically orientated enterprises.
- 'Artisan' Incubator – studio setting and common space for tactile-work orientated enterprises.

Figure 57: Johnsonville Creative Cluster Programmes: Incubator Building

- Shared Lab and Resource room providing equipment such as copy machines, phones, faxes, computers and internet access.
- Shared Multiuse spaces for Rehearsal/Meeting or Conferencing.
- Shared Gallery for exhibition and showcase.
- Shared Workshops for timber and metal work.

The indefinite and impermanent nature of the occupants within the Incubator building means that a high degree of spatial flexibility will be needed in order to facilitate frequent change. In response to this, the Incubation Building's thick rectangular columns are used to articulate walls with deep internal cavities – intended to house electrical cables, wiring systems, and other plumbing and HVAC services. These walls form permanent features of the space, and are repeated throughout the building. Set amongst these walls would be partitions, working surfaces and other specialised furniture systems designed to allow flexible and interchangeable arrangements in accordance to the incubator's altering requirements. This system for adaptability is applied within the Base Buildings too. However, further investigation is needed for the design specification and resolution of these interior elements.

Note

For the purposes of the design, precedents of incubation facilities within creative cluster developments have also been reviewed, and are appended. These precedents have been selected from a variety of places, including England, Canada, and Australia, and which have also been identified as examples of 'best practise' (see Montgomery, 2007). It is important to note that although incubators have various community strengthening abilities, such examples have once again privileged the inner-city core; all of which are premised within converted industrial or historic buildings. These precedents are useful however, as a point of reference for the suburban creative cluster development of this research.

8.3.2 Connectivity – Movement and Interaction

Proximity

With the necessitation of new built form for the accommodation of additional facilities, the densification on site results in closer physical proximity between one space to the next, improving connectivity on the pedestrian scale. The physical proximity between the workers, firms and facilities, allows a heightened opportunity for face-to-face networking, collaboration and spill-overs, very much the concept behind the term 'cluster'. In addition, the mixed nature of the programming allows the opportunity for the creative cluster to operate self-sufficiently, through cross-trade support and interaction that would occur within the confines of the site.

Apart from the new Base buildings that increase density upon the site as a whole, the existing office park buildings themselves are enabling for internal programmical proximity. This in part comes from their background of being inner-city office block typologies that have been simply imported from a much denser and confined urban setting, to one that is less so. This is particularly true for the older front building block that as an Incubator building, manages to accommodate a number of facilities within a five-level envelope and a relatively small building footprint. Its confined nature makes it more suitable for micro to small enterprises, hence making it the premises of incubation and associated facilities.

The original back buildings of the office park however (converted into the Powerhouse buildings), are not direct implants of inner-city typologies, but rather, have been modified in line to the spatial liberties offered by the suburban setting. The existing office buildings offer a generous floor area that has only been achieved by the spaciousness of the suburban setting. However, these large floor plates are limited in degree of activity they can support as they lack an equally generous provision of servicing and amenities. Hence, in the Creative Cluster proposal, interventions have attempted to increase servicing capacity and therefore the density of activities

Figure 58: Johnsonville Creative Cluster Site Plan

and their proximity to one-another. This has not only been done in the addition of an extra residential level, but also, by a subdivision of the existing building masses by means of new servicing and circulation arrangements. This results in a larger number of and better defined work premises for small, medium and even large sized enterprises, twelve in total.

Thirdplaces

The Creative Cluster's various programming arrangements and design interventions attempt to improve the range of 'thirdplace' settings as well as the general amenity of public space in and around the site. The notion of 'thirdplaces' within the design is not limited to the public-private edges of the street, but transcends to other scales and locations that exhibit a opportunity for social and economic encounters and exchange. These include Broderick Road, the Creative Cluster site and within each of

the cluster buildings.

Broderick Road

Although Broderick Road is not directly part of the Creative Cluster's site and programmes, its agency to the cluster highlights its importance for the cluster's functioning. Hence, design interventions extend onto the street and not only imply and improvement to the general public space quality of the suburban centre, but attempt to enhance the amenity of space sitting immediately to the cluster.

The improvements begin with the widening of the pedestrian sidewalks from under 3 metres to 4 on the south side, and 5 on the north. Further improvements respond to the quality of space in terms of its functionality and attractiveness for pedestrians, including the in-

Figure 59: Johnsonville Creative Cluster Broderick Road

corporation of street furniture, new lighting fixtures, planting of trees and better paving finishes.

The street-crossing has been moved up from its existing location and linked to the clusters entry promenade – offering pedestrians a direct access point into the site. The crossing is raised beyond the surface of the road to not only articulate its position but to also assist in traffic calming, as vehicles slow down on approach.

In order to improve active edge conditions between the cluster and street, the design makes changes to the front-building frontage and immediate sidewalk on Broderick road. Firstly, programmes such as the gallery, café and commercial space for specialist services, have been strategically located here in order to allow a better public-private interface and thirdplace setting. The design goes on to enhance this active edge by ‘opening-up’ the spatial conditions of the space. This is achieved by specific design features responding to accessibility, such as the flattening of the adjacent sidewalk surfaces into the gallery and café, the design feature of flight of stairs (in front of the commercial space) that acts as a thoroughfare and seating space, as well as the widening of sidewalk to allow better pedestrian linkage and wheel chair access from further up the street.

Some of the existing disenabling features of the street include its slope incline towards the west which may limit its capability of providing a good thirdplace setting as it may be less attractive as well as physically challenging for some individuals (in contrast to flatter streets such as Johnsonville Road). However, the incline is not severe. In various cases, and particularly at the cluster’s front building edge, a significant amount of excavation will be needed in order to form flat ‘pedestrian-friendly’ surface. In other cases, such as the widening of sidewalk

against the front cluster building, the specific typographical characteristics, building position and elevation, and legal boundary lines, limit the development possibilities.

Broderick Road’s functioning as a ‘collector’ road implies that vehicular traffic through the street is high and this is indeed evident. Coupled by the fact that Johnsonville’s residents depend heavily on cars for getting into and around the suburb as well as the prospect for even more vehicular activity in the light of the mall’s redevelopment, the street’s amenity as a thirdplace setting will be diminished by the intensity of vehicular traffic. The functionality and provision of a raised pedestrian crossing on an arterially functioning street is also doubtful.

The Site

The design of the Public Promenade within the Creative Cluster site functions as a central public space that can be used for public events hosted by the cluster and offers a much more sheltered thirdplace setting than Broderick Road.

In similarity to the design interventions of Broderick Road, the promenade incorporates new landscaping features such as planting, furniture and lighting fixtures. It is also articulated by an active edge formed by the new building development, where once again, the programmes have been strategically allocated in order to enable an interface of transaction between the members of the public and the occupants of the cluster. Here, the gallery/exhibition and specialist service spaces make a frontage onto the promenade. From this main promenade are also two main links up into the Creative Clusters ‘Spinal Circulation.’

Although the existing office park car park seems enabling for the development of public open-space, the uneven topography of the site

however, presents a challenge. A great deal of excavation will be needed in order to achieve a flatter, 'pedestrian-friendly' surface. The promenade's extent of usability as a pedestrian orientated space however, is limited by the car and servicing access that is integrated in the design. Hence it is possible that, here too, amenity of the thridplace setting is once again diminished.

Adjacent to the Public Promenade, is Broderick Road Church, that although may benefit from the improvements of its neighbouring site, it may however come to odds of the activities and events that may occur on the promenade and cluster in general. In regards to neighbouring property, the Creative Cluster aims to allow the opportunity for the development for more connective linkages beyond its site boundaries.

However, the particular typographical conditions limit these possibilities and hence, linkages are most viable around and behind Broderick Road Church, towards Johnsonville Road.

Figure 62: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Public Promenade Section b-b

Figure 63: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Public Promenade Section c-c

Section c - c

Figure 64: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Spinal Circulation Section e-e

Section e - e

Figure 65: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Public Promenade Section d-d

Section d - d

Incubator Building

Interior circulation space's potential in offering thirdplace settings is highlighted by the fact of its integral role in accommodating thoroughfare and connection between the housed programmes. Although the existing front building of the office park does offer a functional circulation core, it is no longer sufficient in providing adequate servicing nor does it realize its thirdplace potential.

In the Creative Cluster proposal, the circulation core of the original front office building is completely deconstructed to create a central atrium space that services the buildings new circulation system, as well as provid-

ing the main entry into the cluster's spinal circulation that extends through the site. A feature staircase is installed within this atrium, making a direct connection between the ground floor, workshop and incubation spaces.

The Incubator building's circulation is articulated around the perimeter of the structure that already existed. The externalisation of circulation space not only changes the building envelope's architectural character on the outside, but from the inside, expands the buildings floor plate and enables the various programmes to appropriate out and onto the new space. In this case, circulation space goes beyond mere functionality, and offers a much more usable setting for social encounter and exchange.

Figure 68: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator Building Section h-h

Figure 70: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator Building First Floor

Figure 71: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator Building Second Floor

Figure 72: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator Building Third Floor

Figure 73: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator Building Fourth Floor

Figure 74: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator Building Fifth Floor

Powerhouse Buildings

Following through the Creative Cluster's Circulation Spine, a series of 'boxes' articulate the points of entry and the main circulation spaces of the Powerhouse buildings. These boxes are new additions that not only subdivide the original buildings into a larger number of better serviced, tenantable work spaces, but also provide an opportunity for thirdplace encounters and interactions.

In contrast to the Incubator building, the Powerhouse buildings' circulation remain internalised, however, is strategically designed to allow for social encounter and interaction between the various occupants that neighbour one-another within these buildings. The staircases articulate central circulation spaces, and in the case of the southern building, are flanked by a shared common-room and staff kitchens that offer the opportunity for business collaboration and social interaction. The boxes are extensions of this central circulation and service space, containing a secondary elevator and providing a direct connection to the roof gardens of the new central buildings.

Base Buildings

The response for circulation space in the new Base buildings is somewhat different to that of the other buildings of the cluster as it is purposely undefined. Rather, the Base building's circulation occurs at its edges, where communal spaces such as staff kitchen and common rooms

face out onto the main thoroughfare route. Here, the edge between the building envelope and Creative Cluster Circulation Spine offers the opportunity for an active-edge and thirdplace setting. Due to the structures reasonably generic design, the multiplicity of internal spatial variations will influence how thirdplace settings are defined.

The Base buildings do, however, provide a permanent and structurally integrated flight of stairs that connects the lowers level up to the roof gardens above. On the larger, Base building 'A,' a multiuse space is placed upon the roof, offering a setting for the Creative Cluster's occupants to use as needed. Here, the multiuse space can function as a centralised space for specific events held by the creative enterprises or even the community itself.

Public Transportation

The importance of public transportation for creative processes is reflected in the design interventions applied on Broderick Road.

The design interventions on the road include the provision for a cycle lane on each side of the road, facilitating cycling as another mode of transport for residents and workers of the Creative Cluster and suburb itself. However, the practicality of this cycle lane is unclear, as in order for it to be fully functional, it would need to be well connected to adjoining streets, implying that efforts for the facilitation for cycles cannot be limited to Broderick Road, but would need to extend further out into the suburb.

In terms of the Bus, there is a potential for a bus-stop to be located in adjacency to the Creative Cluster, however, due to the vehicular lane's tightening with the widening of pedestrian sidewalk, provision of cycle lanes, and an expectancy of high

Figure 77: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse A Ground Floor

Figure 78: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse A First Floor

Figure 79: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse A Second Floor

Figure 81: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Base 1 & 2 First Floors

Figure 84: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse B & C First Floor

Figure 85: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse B & C Second Floor

vehicular traffic, the prospect for a good quality bus-stop is limited. Hence, design interventions have not made an effort for it.

Vehicular Access and Parking

The car will remain an important mode of transportation for suburbanites and its associated creative class (see *Appendix B*). The interventions on both Broderick Road and the creative cluster take this into consideration, and respond accordingly.

In terms of the road, its provision for vehicular activity remains within the confines of a single lane on each side, to the exception of the intersection into Johnsonville Road. The prioritisation of the pedestrian sidewalk as well as the physical limits of the road, have restricted the number of vehicular lanes achievable. The widening of the sidewalk as well as the introduction of cycle lanes will also come to the cost of the free off-street parking that currently exist on Broderick Road.

Within the Creative Cluster, provision for vehicular access on site is preserved in order to facilitate both carparking and site servicing, but is significantly restricted. The sizeable car park that provided parking for around 160 cars is replaced with a car-stacking unit located in between Powerhouse 'B' and 'C.' The car stacking unit is fully automated and provides storage for a total of 32 cars. Once again, due to the prioritisation of pedestrian space, the provision of area for vehicular access and servicing is limited to standard passenger and small to medium sized freight vehicles or trucks. A truck turning circle has not been achievable.

8.3.3 Authenticity - Local History and Built Character

Heritage and Natural Setting

Layering of history is understood to be expressed through a process of successive transformational operations applied on a site that develop the character of a place and its sense of authenticity. The Creative Cluster development proposal exhibits a number of erasure (deconstructive) and writing (constructive) interventions which are not only informed by the change in social, economic and cultural imperatives, but also by their role in developing this sense of authenticity.

The act of converting an existing office park facility in itself (in contrast to building from scratch) is enabling for this process, as there is a historical repository of man-made interventions already present on site. The addition (or subtraction) of extra layers therefore, further adds to this.

In terms of the site, the original office park gives little expression of previous lives. Prior to the office parks development, the site was occupied by seven residential dwellings that were most likely to have been small cottage typologies. The development of the office park has completely removed any traces of these buildings, and it is unlikely that they will ever be recovered. Hence, in the next stage of the sites development, taking form in the creative cluster proposal, the design interventions build from the features existing on-site, beginning with the carpark.

In the creative cluster design proposal, the carpark's traces are represented through the conservation of vehicular access on site and the facilitation of carparking space by modern means – the carstacker. The carstacker is not only a functional feature responding to programmical requirements, but is also a symbol of the vehicle's changing priority and role on the site. The car no longer dominates the physical expanse of the site, but rather, is set aside within the confines of this new structure. The car stacker is elevated over the public promenade, and hence displays this statement to the clusters occupants as well as the general public.

Figure 86: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Aerial Perspective

The Buildings

In regards to the office park buildings, they are currently not included in the district plan's designation of buildings qualified for heritage preservation, as they are not seen to be perhaps old or distinctive enough. In this sense, the office park buildings give an opportunity for the improvement of their aesthetic value. In case of such buildings, this is informed by their functional, constructional and structural qualities.

Incubator Building

The original front building within the office park arguably provides the most character amongst the original

typologies within the office park. This is partly because of its older age, distinctive presence and structural massiveness. In the Incubator building design interventions for this building, there is an intention to expose and express this structural quality. This is done in the removal of the various elements that appear to be superficial and only functioning as mere conceals. These include external (non-structural) façade spandrels, internal wall linings, and suspended ceiling panels. In this instance, a sense of authenticity is achieved by the expression of the buildings materiality and fundamental form.

Consequently, a new building envelope is also in-

Figure 87: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator and Entry

Figure 88: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Incubator North-Western Corner

troduced. It, firstly, references the silhouette of the existing building, secondly, enables the development of a new building façade system, and lastly, forms a backdrop for the new circulation addition. This envelope is comprised of ‘fins’ that run from the base of the building to the apex of the roof, allowing for openings and an overall building transparency. The new envelope system has the potential to be adaptable, through the development of a façade system integrating structural members (the fins, potentially timber) with glazing and allowing for movement and adjustment. The exact specifications of this new façade system have not been developed by the design proposal, and

hence would need further investigation and resolution.

Powerhouse Buildings

The original back buildings of the office park are arguably less distinctive. This is partly because of their wide generic form, plain frontages and repetition onsite. In their conversion into the Powerhouse buildings, interventions have been strongly informed by the new functional and programme requirements, such as the need for density, new circulation and building servicing cores, and the accommodation of the parking facility between Powerhouse B and C. Hence, as mentioned earlier, the character of these

Figure 89: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Thridplace Cafe Frontage

Figure 90: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Gallery and Multi-use Space

Figure 91: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Artisan Incubation Facility

Figure 92: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Technical Incubation Facility

Figure 93: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Technical Incubation Common Room

Figure 94: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Artisan Incubation Common Room

buildings has been formed by the subdividing interventions, resulting in a much more variegated building mass.

Although the generic form of the original buildings as well as the lightweight nature of their construction methods, their structural form has not strongly dictated intervention decisions. On the one hand, less character has been achieved as layers of existing form are much easier to change or remove. On the other hand, there is much more flexibility for design changes, offering a broader range of possibilities. Within these buildings, the internal layout has been completely changed, an extra level added, and in the case of the original back building, a significant

portion removed to create Powerhouse B and C and to integrate the car-stacking facility. On these buildings, a new building envelope is once again introduced.

Base Buildings

The Base buildings' character has been influenced by a number of factors. These include the various functional requirements, programming imperatives and existing physical conditions and features. As mentioned earlier, the new buildings' role extends beyond a mere facilitation for additional tenantable space, but rather, defines new circulation routes, open spaces and features – further de-

Figure 95: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse B & C Roof Garden

Figure 96: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse C Studio Interior

Figure 97: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Powerhouse A Workshop

Figure 98: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Base A and Loading Hoist

Figure 99: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Base A Ground Floor Interior

Figure 100: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Base A Studio Interior

Figure 101: Johnsonville Creative Cluster: Roof Garden and Multiuse Space

veloping the site's character.

In regards to the suburb and its association to open, natural settings (see *Appendix B*), the original office park did reflect this, however was designed for the automobile. The original carpark offered an open setting for the suburbanite office park worker, but its usefulness as a public garden setting was limited, as it was designed to accommodate vehicles. Hence, the Base buildings in the Creative Cluster design (along with the Public Promenade) make a reference to the value of the natural open space within the suburb, and respond by integrating roof gardens that are accessible from site and from the surrounding back buildings. The new Base buildings' physical height and dimensions have been restricted by the need to conserve amenity and accessibility for the neighbouring buildings, and various design characteristics, such as the elevated multiuse space, have drawn from the surrounding architectural gestures and features. However, further design detail is needed for the landscaping and vegetation specifications, and admittedly, the roof garden's value as an open setting will probably never equate to that of an earth grounded one or the natural bush.

Figure 102: Johnsonville Creative Cluster:
Spinal Circulation View

Figure 103: Johnsonville Creative Cluster:
Incubator Atrium Interior

8.4 Evaluation of the Creative Cluster Proposal

The aim of this chapter was to investigate how to go about forming a creative cluster within a suburban context, in operation, implying the application of a methodology from one distinct setting to another. The chapter hence, exposed how such technique that had been part of inner-city creative development strategies, could be applied to a suburban context and what it would mean for the suburban locale. For the purposes of the research, the suburb of Johnsonville within Wellington City of New Zealand was chosen as a case study for creative cluster formation, and the redevelopment of an existing office park has been identified as an appropriate way to do achieve this. As postulated by the research, an office park makes a good subject for creative cluster formation for the following reasons:

- It is a common typological setting within many post-war suburban contexts.
- It already provides a site with physical building masses similar in form to those of the central city (albeit adapted to the suburbs)
- It is a likely premise of existing creative economic activity and organic business clustering
- It is subject of weakening functional and aesthetic appeal, and in some cases has exhibited severe deterioration
- Its redevelopment is consistent with anti-sprawl and urban consolidation efforts that resonate from a broader concern over environmental sustainability

Additionally, as part of a wider scheme for suburban creative development, the proposed conversion of the office park into a creative cluster has attempted to respond to the various design objectives set out by the Urban Development Plan, hence presenting a vignette of entailing design interventions at a spatially architectural scale. The design interventions implied by these objectives, coupled by the creative cluster-

ing imperative, have hence made an attempt to ascend the original office park into a much more relevant and responsive suburban workplace setting. Within the chapter, these have been discussed under the same three defining principles of the Urban Development Plan and can be summarised as following.

8.4.1 Diveristy – People and Programmes

Intensification

The creative cluster's programming introduces a larger number and more diverse range of facilities and services within the office park site. This not only responds to the deficiencies of the suburban centre, but also attempts to generate a 'critical-mass' of activity needed to for the functioning and vitality of the cluster as it increases the density and concentration of (both consumption and production) activities on the site.

Residential Integration

The creative cluster development introduces residential programmes into the existing office park to offer new residential options within the suburban centre, as well as new residential typologies catering for different lifestyle and working preferences – suitable for creative entrepreneurs.

Affordable Creative Space

The creative enterprise incubation facility (the Incubator Building) offers a common short-term premise for new firms, and offers below market rents for prospective firms via public subsidies. In addition, the incubation facility includes an array of both tangible and intangible support services designed to meet the needs of small start-up enterprises that are often owned by inexperienced or first-time entrepreneurs.

8.4.2 Connectivity – Movement and Interaction

Proximity

With the necessitation of new built form for the accommodation of additional facilities, the densification on site results in closer physical proximity between one space to the next, improving connectivity on the pedestrian scale. The physical proximity between the workers, firms and facilities, allows a heightened opportunity for face-to-face networking, collaboration and spill-overs, very much the concept behind the term ‘creative cluster’. In addition, the mixed nature of the programming allows the opportunity for the creative cluster to operate self-sustainingly, through cross-trade support and interaction that would occur within the confines of the site.

Thirdplaces

The creative cluster’s various programming arrangements and design interventions attempt to improve the range of ‘thirdplace’ settings as well as the general amenity of public space in and around the site. The notion of thirdplaces within the design is not limited to the public-private edge of the street, but transcends into other scales and locations that exhibit prospect for social encounter and exchange. The creative cluster design hence prioritises the pedestrian and the walking experience rather than the automobile and the driving experience.

Public and Private Transportation

The importance of public transportation for creative processes is reflected in the design interventions applied on Broderick Road, particularly the facilitation for cycles. In addition, the car will remain an important mode of transportation for suburbanites and the suburban creative class. The interventions on both Broderick Road and the creative cluster take this into consideration, and have responded by maintaining – although readjusting – vehicular access and parking.

8.4.3 Authenticity – Local History and Built Character

Natural Setting

In regards to the suburb’s customary value of providing open and natural settings, the creative cluster recognises this and attempts to maintain this notion. This is achieved by the integration of open green spaces among the existing and upon new built form, taking in the form of the Public Promenade, Spinal Circulation and the Base Building roof gardens.

Heritage

Layering of history is understood to be expressed through a process of successive transformational operations applied on a site that develop the character of a place and its sense of authenticity. The creative cluster development proposal exhibits a number of erasure (deconstructive) and writing (constructive) interventions which are not only necessitated by social, economic and cultural changes, but are informed by their role in developing this sense of authenticity.

The act of building upon the of the existing traces of the office park facility itself (in contrast to building a-new) is proactive of this process, as the addition (or subtraction) of extra layers develop a historical repository of man-made interventions on the site. What emerges from the creative clustering design interventions is a setting that represents a hybridisation between inner-city office blocks, the suburban context, and now the creative industry’s inhabitation of them. In effect, creating built character that is new in form and distinctly unique to that site.

8.5 Evaluation of the Office Park's Physical Conditions for Creative Cluster Design

In the attempt of reinventing the existing office park to accommodate the creative industries and creative processes, the research has exposed that the office park has spatial and physical features that are both enabling and disabling for the certain creative clustering design objectives. These existing features have in many cases determined the various design moves executed, as well as have influenced the degree of success of the various design outcomes. These features can be summarized as following.

Buildings

Single-Use

Because the office park building typologies had originally been intended for office use only, the construction of these buildings restrict the range of new programmes able to be accommodated, particularly those that require larger spatial requirements or heavier floor-load capacities such as the exhibition gallery and workshop spaces. In these instances, removing structural elements in some places as well as strengthening others in other places is necessitated.

Bulky Volumes

Some of the existing buildings are too large in volume to function appropriately with the creative clustering intention. Here, these buildings have been subdivided into smaller and better serviced work premises, acting as the various components that constitute the creative cluster entity.

De/Reconstruction

The light weight construction methods of some of the buildings allow an ease of extensive redevelopment and retrofit, however, in the case of the older, more massive building, extreme changes are much harder to achieve and hence new development has to work around what is already there; metaphorically or literally.

Generic Plans

The multilevel office block plan in some cases is enabling for programmes that still function within a conventionally office-type workplace setting, as the generic and open plan enables a multiplicity of workplace layouts. This is particularly important for the incubation spaces that, as discussed, will require a high degree of flexibility and adaptability.

Internal Circulation

With all of the office park buildings, the internal circulation routes are not appropriate for the intentions of the creative cluster. These spaces therefore have to be redesigned to not only better service the work premises but to also offer 'thirdplace' settings for social exchange and encounter.

Site

Site Vacuity

The vacuity of office park site is enabling for the addition of new built form that can respond more purposely to the specific functional re-

quirements of prospective creative businesses. In the case of this creative cluster design, the Base buildings attempted to do this while at the same time improving the general conditions of the site too.

Surrounding Building Restraints

The design possibilities of new-built-form onsite, however, are restricted by the surrounding existing buildings. These buildings demand, as part of any redevelopment proposal, a maintained, if not improved degree of amenity in regards to such things as daylight, noise level, ventilation and access.

Topographic Circumstances

The particular topographic conditions of the office park site that can although add to the site's character, can also however, be disabling to the various design intentions of the creative cluster. This is particularly true in areas where there is a need to provide attractive pedestrian orientated spaces and thirdplace settings such as public open spaces and between-building circulation connections, necessitating extensive excavation and resurfacing alterations.

Building-to-Building Connections

The existing office park does not provide a discernable circulation link between the building entities on site, as it is simply dominated by car-parking spaces. The creative cluster design articulates a new Circulation Spine that attempts to form a main link between the various buildings within the cluster, and space for thirdplace encounter and exchange.

Car vs. Pedestrian

The office parks privilege of the automobile, as well as the need to maintain vehicular access within the creative cluster design, has in some cases compromised the degree of quality of pedestrian orientated open spaces.

Historical Traces

The existing office park provides little traces of the past and its specific locale, and hence does not produce a strong sense of authenticity. The creative cluster redevelopment does however build upon what is already there and hence strengthens this sense of authenticity, by adding another chapter to the sites operating life.

Beyond the Site

Site-to-Suburb Connections

The particular topographic conditions as well as the nature of the surrounding urban grain means that the connective linkages (for pedestrians or vehicles) the office park can offer is limited. Even the ones that are possible present a difficulty as they implicate a significant intervention to existing buildings and privately owned property.

The Church

The adjacency of the neighbouring Church to the office park may present a challenge to the functioning of the prospect creative cluster as it may conflict with differing nature of activities present upon the site.

Broderick Road

Because Broderick Road is a main 'collector road' of the suburb, it is expected that it will have a high intensity of vehicular traffic, especially after the major mall redevelopment. This limits the potential for pedestrian connectivity between the prospect creative cluster and the wider suburban centre, and diminishes the quality of thirdplace settings along the street itself.

Proximity to Commercial/Retail Centre

As suggested earlier, the office park's proximity to the suburbs main commercial/retail centre will be enabling for the prospect creative cluster design, as it will supplement activity and economic exchanges on and around the site.

8.6 Significance of Creative Cluster's Incubation Facility for the Creative Development of Johnsonville

The importance affordable creative spaces have in the development of urban creativity has been recognised by the creative cluster proposition in the form of the Incubation Building facility. As mentioned earlier, the Incubation building is a short-term premise for new firms, and offers below market rents for prospective firms via public subsidies. In addition, the incubation facility includes an array of both tangible and intangible support services designed to meet the needs of small start-up enterprises that are often owned by inexperienced or first-time entrepreneurs.

This Incubation facility of the creative cluster design is perhaps the most strategic attempt in directly supporting creative enterprise activity and growth within the suburban locale. The significance incubation facilities have in regards to their economic value comes from their role of increasing the chance of survival of small

firms. Enterprises that began their life in an incubator have been found to have a higher rate of success than those that did not, due to the increase in the number of employees, a reduction of labour and operational costs, as well as an increase in gross sales, net profits, net value, and overall benefit to the entrepreneurs (Frenkel, & Shefer, 2002; Gatewood et al., 1985; Mian, 1996).

The interest in incubators also lies in the role small business plays in the local economies and community. For example; small locally owned businesses appear more innovative and can be developed in greater numbers more quickly than larger, often non-local businesses. Moreover, because the small businesses typically aided by incubators are owned and operated by local entrepreneurs, they build the local economic base and are more likely to remain in place than are foot-loose multi-national firms. The support for local business creation can aid in keeping entrepreneurs in place, helping to avoid the loss of skills and education experienced in some more isolated places. Hence, Small businesses can employ local residents and foster indigenous entrepreneurs, as well as creating new local and regional economic capital (see Reese, 2010).

8.7 Variegation of the Creative Cluster Concept

As mentioned within the literature review, and as suggested by Ffowcs-Williams, chief executive of 'Cluster Navigators' in New Zealand (see Light, 2000), creative cluster configurations have been observed to first emerge organically from social and economic forces within the inner-city core, followed by conscious interventions for the acceleration of their development. Ffowcs-Williams also points out that one element that highly successful clustering communities have in common, is that within the core of each cluster, are specialised businesses working in the same industry, competing with each other strongly, yet having the ability (and the will) to cooperate when appropriate. Supporting these core businesses is an array of other specialised

firms providing inputs such as machinery, components and services. They too are highly specialised and closely tied to the fabric of the core firms (see Light, 2000).

In regards to Johnsonville, the way in which the creative clustering strategy differs from that of an inner-city based one, is that it doesn't not necessarily wait for signs of organically forming creative industry clustering, even though the office park does evidently provide the best setting for this to occur. Rather, the creative cluster within Johnsonville attempts to stimulate creative industry clustering by providing an overt setting for it, and by offering the Incubation facility in the support and growth of emerging creative enterprises. Hence, the creative cluster within Johnsonville, would differ in regards to its level of maturity, and will not necessarily be home to one specific creative industry grouping, but rather, a home to a broad range of micro, small and medium sized firms and enterprises.

This notion creative clustering is supported by Graeme Evans (2009) in his attempt to define the various creative cluster operation scales that can exist. He provides a spectrum for the 'stage of evolution' of creative clusters, ranging from Dependent, Aspirational, Emergent, and finally to Mature. Under the Dependent category, Evans describes that creative enterprises are developed as a direct result of public and sector intervention through business support, infrastructure development and finance to SME and micro creative enterprises, where public subsidy would be required to sustain the cluster. According to Evans, this form of creative cluster would occur within places exhibiting limited and underdeveloped local markets –being the case with Johnsonville and perhaps many other suburbs too.

8.8 Issues in need of Further Resolution

To fully understand the viability of a creative cluster development, further investigation needs to be carried out in regards to issues unresolved by this research. As depicted earlier, some of these issues arise from the technical implications the con-

cepts introduced have on the creative cluster design. Whilst other issues emerge from relating ideas, that although fall beyond the scope of the research, are still relevant in delivering a well measured creative cluster proposal. The issues are summarised as following.

Constructional Detail Design

The creative cluster design has responded to various objectives set out by the Urban Development plan whilst also exploring the application of key ideas at an architectural scale. Hence, the operational implications these concepts have, necessitate specific constructional detailing and resolution. Some examples that have been mentioned include the façade systems, and interior elements that are required to enable flexibility and adaptability, particularly within the Incubator building. Others mentioned include the roof gardens of the Base building that would need specialist design to become attractive garden settings. In addition, high quality servicing system are also important for the success of the design, including HVAC, electrical, lighting, fire and plumbing systems. Ofcourse, all of this would be offset by an expert review of what is constructionally achievable onsite and with the existing buildings, as well as meeting regulatory requirements such as those set out by the current NZ Building Code.

Environmentally Sustainable Design

What will further inform the constructional detail design of the creative cluster, is the level of environmentally sustainable systems it will integrate. The need to provide environmentally responsive design is not only becoming paramount in the field of urban and architectural design, but is also reflected in the values held by the creative class. The creative class is understood to be very aware of the impact of their individual choices and the long-term effects they have on the world. Today, most creative class workers are particularly interested in working for companies that are socially conscious and invest in both the local community and the world at large (Steelcase,

2009). Hence, a creative cluster that responds to the need for sustainable environmental design, would not only be conscientious of a globally spanning issue, but would be better received by creative businesses and creative workers alike. Although the creative cluster design does already possess environmentally sustainable considerations, its potential can be further developed by the implementation of building practises set out by LEED and Green Star.

Financial Feasibility

Another crucial aspect to the creative cluster proposal is its financial feasibility. The extensity and specification of the creative clusters constructional design will be reflected within its overall development cost and value (with the addition of any development margins). In a proposition where the provision of affordable creative space is vital for the purposes of the design and overall community, these development costs (as well as ongoing operational costs) must not offset the clusters actual productive value; essentially determined by its tenancy income. Although the cluster's development would be supplemented by public sector subsidises, excessive government spending in attempt of maintaining affordable tenancy rates, will in the long-term, be unsustainable. A financial feasibility study will determine development costs against prospective productive value, and hence, will measure the economic design viability of the creative cluster proposition.

Management

Finally, another issue in need of consideration is how a prospective creative cluster will be managed and maintained, as this will effectively determine its ongoing operational growth and success. To answer this question, would to firstly identify a management model appropriate for this proposition. In this case, a public-private partnership would be most likely, forming a co-operative venture between principal stakeholders of the proposition. In context of Wellington, on the public side, these

stakeholders could include Wellington City Council, Creative New Zealand, Creative HQ, and other publically funded organisations within the suburb. On the private side, the property owners, tenants and other associate creative individuals. In the case of such partnership, a careful consideration of how these two parties engage and support one another and how they go about maintaining the cluster's various facilities and operations, will be crucial to the success of it. Chris Bilton (2007) expresses this from an organizational perspective, and argues that the idea of a rigid distinction between creatives on the one hand, and 'uncreative managers' on the other is an illusion. As he puts it: "the separation of creative individuals from their...managers, and the splitting of innovation and novelty from questions of value and judgement reflects a partial, incomplete view of the creative process" (Bilton, 2007, p.8). Without effective management, it is very unlikely that optimum value of creativity and innovation will be unlocked.

8.9 Beyond the Office Park and Creative Cluster

Further investigation, that is not necessarily in the interest of strengthening this research in particular, but rather, to further extend the understanding of creative cluster development within suburbs generally, is also of value. This could take in the shape of exploring the potential of other characteristically suburban typologies for this kind of development, including industrial parks, the mall, community centre, colleges and even residential dwellings. In outcome, this would imply a further departure from conventional understandings and definitions of creative clusters; presenting completely new possibilities for creative enterprise support premises formations, totally unique to the suburb.

From a creative development perspective, the need to explore other types of suburban typologies for this kind of development is also echoed, as a creative cluster alone, and in infancy, will not be sufficient in generating creativity into the

wider extents of the suburb. Hence, a creative cluster should not be the only tactic to a suburban creative development strategy, but instead, a desirable addition to a number of other efforts that explicitly promote creative activity within the suburban community.

9. Conclusion

As revealed by the literature review, today's postindustrial cities are home to the 'creative industries', in which through their development and support, social and economic benefits have become increasingly visible. Hence, urban planners and policy makers worldwide have created urban regeneration strategies to ensure certain places become or remain 'creative places.' Richard Florida's work is evidently been influential within the creative development discourse, as is Charles Landry's. However, as this first wave of creative development planning and policy implementation wanes, important questions have emerged. It is by now clear that in the attempt to create an 'ideal creative place', most creative development approaches have only focused on the inner-city core.

This shortcoming of existing creative urban development theory and practice has hence motivated the undertaking of this investigation, and has been carried out from an urban history, theory, and planning perspective. The research firstly, revealed that suburban contexts are sufficiently significant of subjects to be considered and included within creative development schemes. This has been argued by the fact suburbs are not only the predominant living environment for urban populations worldwide, but contrary to popular belief, also play a important role in the functioning of the creative economy. Despite these facts, creative development schemes have been applied disproportionately within cities' metropolitan areas, such in the case of Auckland and Wellington, where efforts have naturally placed a focus on developing the existing strengths of the 'iconic' inner-city.

This investigation therefore, has asked how a suburb can better provide for its suburban creative class, support creative processes and regenerate into a 'creative place'. This has been explored by the formulation of a creative development strategy for the suburb of Johnsonville within Wellington City of New Zealand.

9.1 The Initial Steps

Chapter Five began the research's imperative, by setting the foundations to any creative development approach. Here, a theoretical basis for creative development strategies has been provided, outlining the fundamental preconditions that are necessary to prompt urban creativity. The preconditions are termed Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity, and have been derived predominantly from the ideas expressed by Richard Florida and Charles Landry. In regards to each of these preconditions, the concepts presented refer to three different qualities or dimensions that together, and as Florida expresses, determine the creative dynamic of a place. From an urban design point of view, Diversity refers to the quantity and variety of people and programmes present within a place and the activity they generate, including social, economic, educational and cultural forms. Connectivity refers to the efficiency and spatial quality a place provides for enabling the movement and interaction of these activities, both within and beyond the place. Finally, and from a more metaphysical standpoint, Authenticity refers to the degree in which a place emanates of a unique local history, particularly through its morphologically acquired built character; shaped by both natural and sociological forces. Hence, it is postulated that the stronger the qualities of Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity a place has, the higher the level of urban creativity it will potentiate. This is the premise in which the creative development strategy of this research has been formulated.

Subsequent to this, was selecting an appropriate context in which the formulation of the creative development strategy would be investigated. Johnsonville presented itself as a significant suburban sub-centre of Wellington City qualifying for an investigation in creative development. This is justified by the fact that, firstly, Johnsonville is the largest suburb outside the central city that plays a strategic role within Wellington City's and wider region's economic growth plans. Hence, a creative development strategy insures that any attempt of 'growing' Johnsonville's economy,

includes a component of creative production. Secondly, whilst Wellington City is a reputedly 'creative capital,' Johnsonville on the other hand does not substantiate this. A creative development strategy, in operation, identifies this issue and responds to it, hence assisting Wellington City's interests in maintaining a creative identity.

9.2 The Creative Development Strategy

In the attempt of regenerating the suburb of Johnsonville into a creative place, the research has proposed a creative development strategy that by nature consists of two important parts. Firstly, the strategy provides an Urban Development Plan that sets out key objectives and their implicative actions that are necessary in initiating urban creativity; indeed an intention to strengthen the Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity of the place. It is important to note that the Urban Development Plan and the way in which it responds, was informed by an initial appraisal of Johnsonville's, by exposing the existing conditions in regards to these three qualities and indicating what actions are necessary as part of a Urban Development Plan. This appraisal is appended (see *Appendix B*). Secondly, since this larger urban planning approach to creative development is by nature piecemeal and indirect, a much more immediate response is necessitated. A 'creative clustering' proposal directly targets the creative enterprises and individuals, and creates a defined setting catering specifically to them and their creative processes. At the same time, the creative cluster also instigates objectives set out by the Urban Development Plan. The design interventions implicated by the two components of the creative development strategy, can be summarised as following.

Urban Development Plan

Diversity - People and Programmes

A redefinition of the Suburban Centre zone that increases the capacity for development and provides for a variety of other services and uses; including the integration of residential housing and the provision for affordable creative space.

Connectivity - Movement and Interaction

The development of a finer-grain urban street system that improves public and private transportation routes and stations, develops linkages between both community and commercial facilities, and emphasises both primary and secondary streets as public spaces and ‘thirdplace’ settings.

Authenticity - Local History and Built Character

The recognition and acknowledgment of the importance built heritage sites and unique landscape features have in contributing to the community’s sense of authenticity. The development of landmark features on key sites and the improvement of the visual attractiveness of place by the mitigation of invasive and excessive signage.

Johnsonville Creative Cluster Proposition

In regards to the creative clustering intention, it can be said that an existing office park site presents a viable premise for its formation. The creative cluster has not only a demonstration of the above design interventions, but is a response that looks more specifically to the needs of creative occupants on site and within the community – the Incubation facility is a key example. During this process, the office park as the

subject for the creative cluster development, has presented various opportunities and challenges. These can be summarised as following.

Buildings

The generic plans, single-usage and bulky forms of the existing office park buildings have presented both challenges and opportunities within the creative cluster proposal. In their redevelopment, the construction methods of the existing buildings in some cases appear to be enabling for extensive redesign, in other case not so much. Where extensive redesign has not been favourable, careful consideration of how the existing structure has been integrated into new design has added to the overall building character. For all of the existing office park buildings, internal circulation has presents itself as a feature in need of significant alteration.

Site

The site vacuity of the existing office park has been enabling for the design of new-built form. However, the particular topographic conditions as well as the existing buildings onsite have challenged and restrained the possibilities for new building form and hence, have strongly influenced the overall design outcome. The re/design of pedestrian orientated linkages between buildings onsite has been a major feature of the creative cluster development. However in many cases, the design outcomes of these linkages have been comprised by the need to maintain vehicular access and parking. Also, the lack of richness in past historical traces has meant the office park alone is the only layer of history the creative cluster development builds upon.

Beyond the Site

Further limitations to the connective linkages achievable beyond the site are presented by the specific topographic conditions and surrounding urban-grain of the office park. The ones that are achievable implicate significant interventions to existing buildings and property under private ownership. The nature of activities that occur around the site also present various challenges, such as the neighbouring Church and the uncertainty of it giving consensus to a prospect creative cluster due to the potentially conflicting nature of activities. Additionally, high vehicular intensity expected on the adjacent street will limit the success of pedestrian linkages and open spaces. The close proximity of the office park to the suburban commercial/retail centre is however advantageous.

9.3 Evaluation of Possible Gentrification Effects of the Creative Development Strategy

The urban redevelopment interventions the creative development strategy implements can be understood as a form of investment expended into the area, resulting in a living environment that is of a better quality, stronger in desirability, and hence subject to higher demand. This may possibly inevitably lead to a general rise in property value and tenancy prices, meaning that for those wanting to move into the suburb, can only do so if they have the means for it. From an economic perspective, this gentrification process is positive in a few respects. Current home owners, commercial property and rental housing owners can all realize benefits from increased property values. Additionally, the influx of higher income household and the increase in property values can generate higher sales and property tax revenues for the City Council, resulting in even more earnings for further urban redevelopment initiatives.

However, these gentrification effects are overshadowed by the negative aspects the rise in property values and tenancy prices implicate. For current rental tenant, increases in the value of rental units or commercial spaces may result in higher rents that they cannot afford to pay. It will also be more difficult in the future for many young current residents to establish independent households in the neighbourhood in which they were raised. In addition, as property values increase generally, the property tax burden on long-time residents also increases, and some property owners will not afford to pay the taxes that result from the increased property value assessment. As result some current residents and business are likely to relocate outside of the suburb either to capitalise on the financial opportunity to sell their property or to seek lower-cost housing or business locations (*A Review of Best Practices for Mitigating Gentrification throughout the Country*, 2004).

Indeed, these socially deteriorative effects of gentrification go completely against the intentions of the creative development agenda, as gentrification-led displacement may expel those who contributed to the suburbs creativity in the first place. As mentioned within the literature review, what is looked for (now) are the twin benefits of both economic competitiveness and social cohesion and their interrelationship, seeking “Better engagement/consultation with local communities to improve ownership of the (cultural) project and (local) benefits” (DCMS, 2003, p.2). This not only underlines the importance of the provision of affordable creative space within the creative development strategy, but also highlights the importance of engaging the community within the planning process. It is therefore, an imperative for the creative development strategy to employ a range of mitigation measures that ensure any urban development minimizes its adverse gentrification impacts on the suburb. Some features of the creative development strategy already exhibit this, such as the Incubation facility that plays a key community strengthening role in the creative cluster proposal. However, additional measures can also be pursued as part of the broader creative development process. These include the following:

- Community involvement in the planning process to ensure that the types of programmes for the suburb are consistent with community goals.
- A tax mitigation fund, backed by revenues derived from new development or voluntary contributions from community members, can be used to lower the property tax burden on households of limited income.
- Assemblage of public and private financing sources to reduce the need to maximize revenues from new development, thereby allowing lower-priced development to be financially feasible.
- Community ownership and management of any future projects within the strategy, providing that the created entity has the necessary financial and technical capabilities.

(see *A Review of Best Practices for Mitigating Gentrification throughout the Country*, 2004)

9.4 Significance of Research

The research has responded to the question of how a suburb can regenerate into a creative place by investigating the formulation of a creative development strategy. It can be concluded that the significance of this overall research undertaking exists in both the theory and practise of urban planning and design. More specifically within this field, the research adds to the existing body of knowledge concerning urban regeneration and creative development, by making a contribution to an area that isn't fully understood – that is creative development within the suburban context.

In regards to the suburban context, the research also underlines a current endeavour within the academic world of much of the suburbanised countries; that is, a revision of suburban areas' role within the broad functioning of city conurbations. The endeavour has been the task of a number of individuals and research teams

worldwide. As it has already been mentioned, England's Kingston-upon-Thames's has devoted a new 'Suburban Studies Centre. In North America, revisionist suburban historians give extensive insight in suburban restructurings (see Sugrue & Kruse, 2006; Lassiter, 2005; Lerup, 2001) and in Australia, the University of Western Sydney's Centre for Cultural Research led a 'Post-Suburban Sydney' conference and research programme in 2005. Although suburbs have been much maligned by writers and described as "boring, uniform, isolated, domestic [places]... full of identical people doing identical things" (Pile, 1999, p.29), emerging demographic, social and economic complexities are demonstrating that these places are changing, and hence, worthy of investigating.

Indeed, the Delfin Warehouse development in Melbourne, Australia is an example of these arising complexities, and within the opening of this thesis, was used as a device to introduce fundamental ideas underlying this research (see *Delfin Launches New Housing Concept For Warehouse Living*, 2002). The Delfin Warehouses, as described in the thesis introduction, are suburban dwellings that appear to emulate inner-city industrial built form, and in the words of the developer, are designed to "suit a trend towards a more urban lifestyle. ...sited along specially designed, tree-lined Warehouse lanes, reminiscent of historic inner-city laneways" (cited in *Delfin Launches New Housing Concept For Warehouse Living*, 2002). Even though this development is commendable in making a response to new submarket preference and lifestyle choices within suburbs, questions arise regarding if whether a mere emulation of inner-city built-form is an adequate response to suburbs' new found aspirations and existing insufficiencies. Answering this question is not necessarily the purpose of this thesis, as it does depend on the nature of the suburb, the specificities of the project, scope of the development and the developer's own intentions – certainly, an entirely separate investigation in its own right.

However, what can be said is that if the developer's intentions are to cater for an emerging suburban creative class, support creative processes and generate ur-

ban creativity, then the development can be evaluated against its strength in achieving Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity. For one thing, a mere stylistic emulation of built form is arguably not authentic, but perhaps more of a gimmick.

The usefulness of this research and its findings within the practise of urban planning and design, is hence highlighted in its ability to provide a theoretical basis and template for the evaluation and development of suburb's urban creativity. The research's findings suggest that within any suburban creative development agenda, there firstly, should be an underlying urban development plan that sets out measures in strengthening the suburb's Diversity, Connectivity and Authenticity. Secondly, there should be explicit attempts in supporting creative enterprises and their functioning, such as proposing 'creative cluster' formations and associated 'incubation' facilities, and thirdly, an overall consciousness for the suburban community's social cohesion and wellbeing. These are key constituents of any suburban creative development strategy.

9.5 Opportunities for Further Research

This thesis opens up a broad scope of further research opportunity within the field of creative development. During the course of this thesis undertaking, it has become apparent that two possible approaches in the formulation of creative development strategies for suburbs can be taken. These two approaches are discussed in this section and have been titled as 'place-based creative development' and 'non-place-based creative development'. In terms of a place-based approach, its concern is primarily with the development of the physical environment, regulated by governmental authorities and defined by geographical boundaries; indeed an urban planning and design approach to creative development of which this thesis has taken. The second 'non-placed-based' approach is primarily concerned with the development of the 'intangible dynamics' or sociological dimensions of the creative process, such as or-

ganisational structures and networking relationships. These approaches exist within two different but interrelating fields of theory and practise, and both deserve further research and investigation.

Place-based Creative Development Research

A place-based approach to creative development is premised on the idea that even though today's post-industrial economic transactions can occur above and beyond the restrictions of geographical distances and boundaries (see Castells, 1996; Braczyk, et al., 1999; Backlund & Sandberg, 2002), the value of real 'face-to-face' interactions are still highly valued (see Gottdiener, 2000) . As mentioned earlier, Pratt (2000) suggests that the 'death of distance' is exaggerated, as he demonstrates in a case study of new media firms in New York's Silicon Alley, that place and space are still important, as is the value of social interaction. Moreover, spatial proximity of individuals and firms is seen to facilitate intense social networks, which spur a cross-pollination of ideas and innovations. This indeed has been one of the core ideas within this research; substantiating the need to formulate urban development plans and 'Creative Cluster' formations, in the attempt to provide the spatial conditions necessary to facilitate and generate such 'place-based' creative processes.

In the case of this research, the urban development plan has articulated such spatial interventions by the three defined principles of Diversity, Connectivity, and Authenticity. It is postulated that if these three qualities are strengthened within a suburb, then more of this 'place-based' creative energy will be potentiated. This implies that if some suburbs are comparatively advantaged with such qualities and their spatial preconditions, then they are more inclined to foster urban creativity and perhaps more enabling for additional creative development interventions (and vice-versa). This indeed may be true. However, further research is needed to test this assumption and to provide further insights into how creative development can differ in its application of various suburbs. This can be done by means of investigating a

range of suburbs that vary both in age, size, character and location.

In any case, creative development should be applicable and valuable to any suburb, regardless of what level of urban creativity it may already have, because for instance, a creative development strategy should not exclusively focus on existing ‘cultural capital’ of place as preceding models of urban regeneration did, but rather, have in interest in the creative reinvention of its existing ‘standardised’ spaces. It is however, paramount that creative development strategies for suburbs do not simply ‘copy’ other strategies utilized, as that would undermine any notion of Authenticity and simply repeat the same ‘serial replication’ problems of preceding urban regeneration models. Creative development strategies, that although may utilize the same principles, should always be sensitive and responsive to the differing contextual histories and conditions of each suburban place.

Non-Place-Based Creative Development Research

In parallel to place-based creative development research, non-place-based research must also be carried out. As Graeme Evans (2009) points out, a creative development approach that is limited to planning and zoning can bypass or under-value economic and cultural interaction, focusing on the built environment and fabric, but ignoring what goes on inside and between occupants and their constituencies, which include social, educational and cultural and trade networks and “users” (see Lefebvre, 1974). As Evans highlights, such interactions are often hidden, existing in memory, as well as in the finer grain of cultural exchange, whether through the production chain, or through informal networks and synergies that produce the creative clusters in the first place. Without these externalities, clusters are little more than an arbitrary concentration of economic activity or heritage legacy, with little value added or comparative advantage to ensure a viable local production system, let alone opportunities for innovation and wider impacts (Evans, 2009).

Hence, further research is needed to be carried out in order to understand the relationships and networking structures that drive the creative dynamic. Indeed, the findings of such research already carried out, is what challenged the inner vs. outer binary within conventional understandings of the creative economy, as creative activity has been observed beyond the primacy of the central city and present within the suburbs too. A better understanding of these complex networking structures and flows will further reveal how they function, and hence how they can be generated, strengthened and maintained as part of a creative development agenda. Such findings therefore, would also inform any ‘place-based’ creative development approaches, as the networks dynamics in themselves necessitate specific urban planning and spatial design responses.

It can be said that although these two areas of creative development seem paradoxical to each other, they can however, be understood to be the two flip sides of the same coin. In both research and practise of creative development, it is very difficult to separate social and economic phenomena from physical space and time. Therefore, while it makes sense to direct certain aspects of creative development within the defined borders of particular suburbs, it also necessary to keep in mind the complexity and breadth of the creative dynamic. This will ensure that creative development initiatives continue to provide a consistency of responses across a city’s larger metropolitan area – including its inner-city, the suburbs, and perhaps beyond the suburbs too.

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Appendix A

Creative Enterprises in Johnsonville

At least twenty businesses/firms/enterprises that classify as part of the creative industry definitions (see 3.4 *Creative Industries*) are premised within the suburban boundaries of Johnsonville.

These findings were acquire by typing the keywords; “design”, “graphic design”, “architecture”, “advertising”, “fashion”, “publishing”, “music”, “art”, “performing arts”, “visual art”, “crafts”, “film”, “photography”, “television”, “media”, “digital media”, “radio”, “video”, into the search function of the *Yellow Pages* web-site;

[http://yellow.co.nz/index.jsp?cid=_mkwid_s4yg60h62_pcrd_7248181340_kwd_yellow%20pages_mt_b&gclid=CNaGwODsvqsCFcWFpAodCE27tA], filtered by the word ‘Johnsonville’. The business recorded within this list are only the ones of which there service descriptions are consistent with the creative industries definitions (see 3.4 *Creative Industries*). The business listed give only an indication of the number of creative enterprises that are either premised or function within Johnsonville; as listed within the *Yellow Pages* search results conducted on the 26th of June, 2010.

The Creative Enterprises:

Samantha Hannah Style & Colour Consultant
0-21-226 6644
140 Cortina Ave, Johnsonville, Wellington

Nebula Graphics

04-972 5666

6 Kipling St, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Lance Tomuri Graphics

04-920 5961

17 Petherick Cre, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Penny Newman Design

04-477 6742

28 Haumia St Raroa, Wellington 6004

Primesite Homes Limited

04-478 8719

6 Burgess Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington

F S Design

04-939 2185

40 Haumia St, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Calcott Architecture & Landscape Design Ltd

04-478 8871

18 Fraser Ave, Johnsonville, Wellington 603

Eric Sue Architect Ltd

04-478 5355

5 Chesterton St, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Full Circle Business Solutions Ltd

04-461 7172

5 Moorefield Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

creatingCustomers Marketing Consultants

04-478 6877

9A Swinford Cre, Johnsonville, Wellington

Ahradsen's Bookshop

04-478 3003

12/32 Johnsonville Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Mack's Track

04-939 0963

4 Johnsonville Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington

All Ears

04-920 1929

Level 1, /20 Moorefield Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington

Cooper & Co

04-939 0911

120 Johnsonville Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Urlich and Kippenberger

04-939 0899

19-21 Broderick Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington

Stonewood Homes

04-478 8105

6 Burgess Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Primesite Homes Limited

04-478 8719

6 Burgess Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington

Design Lighting

04-939 1400

1A Fraser Ave, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

Cardno Limited

04-478 0342

4 Frankmoore Ave, Johnsonville, Wellington 6037

ABUILD TM Consulting Engineers Limited

04-478 3929

Level 2, 21 - 29 Broderick Rd, Johnsonville, Wellington

Russell Properties Ltd's offices are at:

Level 3 West, 21-29 Broderick Road, Johnsonville,

P.O. Box 13-407, Wellington.

Quinovic Property Management

0800 784 668

Level 1, East, 21-29 Broderick Road, Johnsonville, Wellington

Appendix B

Johnsonville – An Appraisal of Enabling and Disabling Features for Creativity

Diversity - People and Programmes

Summary of current Conditions

The intensity of activities and range of facilities are concentrated within the suburban centre zone, these include:

- A dominant retail core surrounded by other commercial and service industries including creative.
- Limited residential activity in suburban centre zone.
- Some residential above and close centre at Broderick Road.
- Public library.
- Five churches.
- Keith Spry Pool.
- Community Centre.
- Kohanga reo and crèche.
- Council housing.
- Council Housing – 60 house units.
- Four playgrounds.
- Fire station.
- WINZ office.
- General medical practitioners.
- Police station.

- Two playing fields.
- Nine or so areas comprising of playgrounds, fields and green areas.

Within the rest of Johnsonville:

- 9 Childcare Centres.
- Two Primary Schools.
- Raroa Intermediate School.
- Onslow College.
- 4 Elderly Care Centres.
- Nauranaga Industrial Zone.
- Adjacent to Mt Kaukau Bush Reserve.
- The remaining Residential Expanse.

Other key information from Statistics New Zealand, *Wellington City Council Community Profile*, based on the 2006 national census:

- Population of 9,246 individuals and 3,305 households.
- The largest ethnic group (72%) is European, followed by Asian (18.1%) and Moari (8.4%).
- One Family Household (67.2%), Lone Person Household (24.9%).
- Household sources of income include, wages and salaries (75.7%), self employment or business (21.5%), and government benefits (23.8%).
- The largest changes in Johnsonville's household income sources between 2001 and 2006 were:
 - Wages, salary, commissions, bonuses etc (+222 households);
 - Interest, dividends, rent, other invest. (-90 households);
 - Other govt benefits, payments or pension (+60 households), and;

- Self-employment or business (+54 households).
- The fields of qualification among residents include Management and commerce (10.2%), Engineering and related technologies (7.4%), Society and culture (8.5%), Information technology (2.7%), Architecture and building (2.7%), Creative arts (2.0%).
- The largest changes in the fields of study in Johnsonville between 2001 and 2006 were:
 - Society and culture (+198 persons);
 - Engineering and related technologies (+144 persons);
 - Management and commerce (+117 persons), and;
 - Architecture and building (+60 persons)
- Most popular occupations Professionals (1,461 people or 28.8%), Managers (834 people or 16.5%), Clerical and administrative workers (822 people or 16.2%).

Observations

Disenabling Features

Smaller Local Markets and Resource Pool

In contrast to the CBD, Johnsonville's lower concentration and limited variety of public and private facilities and services, means that there is a smaller resource pool for creative work and production. Similarly, the lower intensity and limited consumer market of Johnsonville may entail less local demand and consumption for creative products, setbacking the economic viability of some creative enterprises within the locale. Furthermore, the range of

retail activities at JTC is reasonably generic and repeats those commonly found in other centres (see *5.1 Diversity - People and Programmes*).

Limited choice in housing type

The diversification of lifestyles and family structures highlighted in 'post-suburban' studies (see *4.1 Suburban Persistence*) indicate a changing demography who may no longer find conventional suburban dwelling typologies apt for their present needs. This also reflects special requirements that may be necessitated by the emerging suburban creative class in the execution of their creative endeavours. Johnsonville presents a very limited pallet of housing choice.

Conservative Values

Florida describes the members of the creative class as footloose individualists seeking the intense "experiential life" (Florida, 2002). Hence, the conservative, family orientated values that suburban communities have been likened with may clash with the more unconventional lifestyle choices akin to some members of the creative class.

Enabling Features

Lifestyle Choice

On the other hand, those engaged within the creative economy that don't fit within the socio-cultural categori-

sation of Florida (2002) and the likes, may find the suburban setting much more enabling in the balance of family needs, religious commitments, and recreational choice, as well as offering a better sense of ‘community feel’. Johnsonville provides a variety of facilities in the support of families, such as child and elderly care, as well as recreational facilities catering for both youth and elders, such as playgrounds and sports fields. A number of churches also exist.

Education

Although Johnsonville does not exhibit advanced learning centres and institutions, it does offer primary and secondary schooling. Such places provide a setting for learning, research and creativity for the younger generation – developing individuals’ talent and creative enquiry in the early ages of life. This significance highlights a creative capacity and capability that exists within the suburb, as well as illuminating a strategic potential for creative development initiatives for the suburb (see *5.1 Diveristy - People and Programmes*).

Affordability

Market rental data as of 2010 confirms that Johnsonville is much more affordable as a residential and work premise than the comparatively expensive urban core (compare tables in *Department of Building and Housing: Market Rent: Wellington* website). This not only enables low barriers to en-

try for people of lower socio-economic backgrounds, but also creative workers who are either only in the start-up phase of their creative efforts, or are wanting to expand out – seen typically to be the most financially pressing stage in the development of their enterprise. For example, this may mean the development from a home-based office or studio towards a more apt professional space (see *5.1 Diveristy - People and Programmes*; Florida, 2005, *‘Low Barriers to Entry’*).

Community Centre

Of the few cultural facilities Johnsonville does have (see *5.1 Diveristy - People and Programmes*), the community centre is the most pertinent. The suburbs community centre facilitates a range of community supporting activities, venues and services. The centre offers regular activities, including arts and crafts classes such as ‘Happy Hands Holiday Programme’ and dance and music tutoring including ballet and guitar. The centre also organises occasional public events such as the ‘Johnsonville Plunket Garage Sale’ and ‘Monster Book Fair’. Within the centre, a variety of hireable spaces also exists – ranging from small meeting rooms, to a large events hall. The centre also provides an opportunity-shop and community crafts store.

Connectivity - Movement and Interaction

Summary of Current Conditions

Urban grain and Street system:

- Johnsonville suburban activity is focused around a disproportionately large triangle shaped block – bounded by Johnsonville, Broderick, Moorefield roads.
- The blocks are dominated by large footprint buildings with large areas of open space in the form of surface car parking – the site built coverage is some 29%.
- On-site parking abuts and fronts to street edges in many places.
- The gateways to Johnsonville are the motorway over-bridge in the north (Stewart Drive) and (although less clear in image), from the motorway off ramp to the south via the commercial service area on Johnsonville Road.

Transport Services and Activity:

Rail

Johnsonville is serviced by a regular train service to-and-from the Wellington Railway Station. The railway line runs parallel to Moorefield road and stops just before, and on the opposing side of the street to the community centre.

Bus

In Johnsonville, bus services extend to the northern suburbs and also into Wellington. Johnsonville Bus station ‘hub’ is located in close proximity to the train station, and shopping mall.

Vehicular

- Vehicular traffic volumes in Johnsonville suburban centre are high. Johnsonville Road has up to 25,000 vehicles per day, Moorefield Road up to 19,000, Broderick Road up to 15,000.
- There is Some 500 parking spaces in the mall car-park and 50 “park and ride” spaces. A total of 1400 parks in the vicinity of the suburban centre.
- Unrestricted on-street parking at present.

Cycle

- Although cycle activity is evident, there is little facilitation for this.

Pedestrians and Public Space

- Johnsonville Road acts (on the west side) as a ‘main street’ with a relatively continuous shop frontage between Broderick Rd and McDonald’s/service station at the north end and has been improved (west side only) with a wider footpath, trees and seats. No other places within JTC provide any better ‘thirdplace’ settings.
- Within the central triangular block, there are no public open spaces – aside from the surrounding streets – where any day-to-day public gatherings or events can occur within the suburban centre.
- Some activities have opened into the block to face the large areas of car parking (generally west facing).
- Surrounding streets have various cross-sections, all have footpaths and some have building edges in part.
- Civic functions (e.g. library and the public park) that might be as-

sociated with one another are peripheral to the central block and dislocated from one another.

- Mall has internal circulation corridors and central food court which acts as a meeting place but is limited for evening and night-time use.

Disenabling Features

Dispersion and Segregation

The low density nature of the suburb presents a broad dispersion of facilities over the topography. The large footprint buildings set back by large areas of surrounding open space results in a wide separation between facilities, making them physically disconnected from one another – particularly on the pedestrian scale. Additionally, the haphazard distribution and segregation of the various types of facilities further limits their integrative potential. Such conditions are disabling for networking, collaboration, and cross dissemination processes of ideas and activity – seen to be key drivers of urban creativity and crucial factors for creative growth (see *5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*).

Lack of ‘Third-places’

Similarly, particular spaces recognized to be key settings for such processes - termed ‘third-places’, are lacking within Johnsonville. These intermediary spaces which tend to be located on the public and private edge of streets and in-between destinations, allow an intertwining of social and economic interaction, reflecting the work and lifestyle patterns of creative workers and the general postindustrialised population. In Johnsonville, the large blocks and large areas of surface parking limit the interest which can be found in more historical urban centres

that depict a finer grained street pattern. Existing streets are generally functional for vehicle traffic with more of an arterial scale as opposed to slower traffic, walking priority streets. Johnsonville Road, although improved recently and currently offers the best third-place setting, it however suffers from the apparently greater street width generated by a lack of built edge definition to the east and limited quality to key areas (see *5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*).

The Shopping Mall

Although the existing mall as well as the proposed, does have an internalised pedestrian street system, it is questionable if it provides a valuable ‘third-place’ setting. The mall’s internal circulation and food court will have limited value as public space – no access at night, controlled by mall entity and hence limited as a genuinely public environment (see *5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*). Furthermore, it is limited as a place for creative production, and the expansion of it will only strengthen the retail, consumption oriented core of Johnsonville’s suburban centre. However, the mall redevelopment might benefit some creative enterprises, as it may improve the resource pool and market activity of those premised in adjacency, as well as the street frontage on Broderick Road.

Underdeveloped Area around Transit Station

As it has been highlighted, the degree of transferability for the enablement of creative processes is not only important between facilities on a local scale, but also between the locales themselves and the central core (see *5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*). Hence, the physical premises that facilitate this transit are also important. In Johnsonville,

the train station and bus stop hub present little public amenity, integration and function, as they are set against a busy road, a vast open car park and have limited pedestrian access. The facilitation for cycling as another mode of transport is also limited.

Enabling Features

Regional Location

While Johnsonville is on the periphery relative to Wellington's central core, it however positions itself centrally between Wellington CBD and Porirua City. This enables Johnsonville in having connections to both centres, allowing creative industries an opportunity to draw resources and activity from both ends (see *5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*).

Public Transportation

Although the physical premises of public transportation in Johnsonville are not adequate, the services however are reasonably good. Johnsonville has a coupled service of both bus and train, enabling efficient connection to the CBD and to other parts of the Northern Suburbs (see *5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*).

Parking and Highway Access

Although an overly car orientated environment is seen to be detrimental to pedestrian experience, as well being associated to other negative environmental impacts, Johnsonville's ability to provide good car access and facilities will still be valued as most residents as well as creative workers will depend on their vehicles to get around and into the suburb

(see *5.2 Connectivity - Movement and Interaction*). In this regard, Johnsonville's close proximity to the State Highway 1 as well as its unrestricted side-street parking is enabling for car users.

Authenticity - Local History and Built Character

Summary of Current Conditions

- Johnsonville suburban centre sits in the floor of the natural basin formed by the hills extending north that define the Northern Corridor. The hills to the west rise gradually to provide an open aspect in that direction with steeper hills to the east. The flanks of the hills support residential suburbs which overlook JTC.
- Heritage board at community centre frontage on Moorefield Road describes heritage of area.
- Historical accounts of a Maori village but location unknown.
- District Plan heritage sites, objects and buildings in Johnsonville include:
 - No. 364 St John's Church 1921, Bassett Road, corner of Ironside Road.
 - No. 366 Johnsonville Masonic Hall 1908, 25 – 29 Phillip Street.
 - Object No. 39 Trooper Retter Memorial 1902, Moorefield Road.
 - Area No.20 Johnsonville Cemetery, Norman Lane.

Disenabling Features

Heritage

Although Johnsonville's history dates back to the 1800's, an accumulation of cultural capital over the past 200 years-or-so is not present. In saying that, for a peripheral locale to not fall subject to a great deal of architectural richness is not surprising. Nevertheless, the representation

of history through other layers of natural and man-made traces is also not apparent. Johnsonville lacks distinctive character and a strong sense of authenticity. For one thing, this is not only disenabling for urban regeneration strategies with intention to exploit 'fixed cultural capital' of place, but may also limit the capability of a creative development approach (see *5.3 Authenticity - Local History and Built Character*). Members of the creative class, who are seen to be key drivers of the creative development process, may perceive the locale as less attractive of a place to live and work in, and to showcase their creative efforts from. Furthermore, the degree in which workers in the creative industries (located within the suburb) can utilise the attributes of the locality as a resource of prompts, ideas, signs or 'raw materials' during their processes of design or aesthetic innovation, may also be limited. (see *This place gives me space* by Graham Drake (2003) for an insight of the relationship between locale and individualised creativity).

Enabling Features

Natural Setting

The idea that natural environments foster cultural and intellectual creativity has a long history within the arts. Seasonal or periodic relocation to a more natural setting for inspiration – an artists' retreat – is certainly common phenomenon in the visual, musical and literary arts. Many of the creative workers interviewed by Alison Bain (2010) expressed this romanticised understanding of the suburbs as a place close to nature and away from the tension, intensity, and frenetic pace of urban life. Johnsonville too can be seen in this way, as it is in relatively sheltered from the bustle of central Wellington, offers more opportunity

for intimate garden settings (particularly on residential property), and has good access to surrounding natural features, such as Mt Kaukau conservation park.

New Creative Opportunity

Although history of place is known to inspire and nourish creative processes, according to Landry (2008), it can also become a burden or weight. Landry (2008) illustrates this idea by comparing two Italian cities - Florence and Prato. He expresses that as beautiful Florence maybe, many regard the city today as a place that merely reflects, reinforces or reinvents its past glories. Self-satisfaction and arrogance, as he argues, over-ride everything, generating a sense of closure to outsiders and a lack of new ideas. Industrial Prato nearby, by contrast without the weight of history and expectation has developed many recent innovations in the Italian context, related to new forms of business alliance to project the city or the contemporary arts. Similarly, the lack of historical richness can work in favour of Johnsonville (and suburbs in general) too, as the virginity of place may liberalise entirely new creative possibilities and opportunities, for both creative worker and city authority alike.

Appendix C

Precedent Review of Incubation and Managed Workplace Organisations and Premises

The following is a list of precedent incubation facilities within creative cluster developments. These precedents have been selected from a variety of places, including England, Canada, and Australia, and which have also been identified as examples of 'best practise' (see Montgomery, 2007).

The Workstation and the Showroom

Location: Sheffield, South Yorkshire, England

Established: 1993

Premises

Formerly

A 1930s car garage and showroom building (Kennings Building) in a marginal area of the city centre which was once a thriving industrial and workshop centre, by the 1980s, had become characterized by vacant and derelict buildings and gap sites.

Currently

A standalone building consisting of about 5,400 sq m of incubation office and workshop units, a 325 sq m exhibition suite and reception area and 278 sq m of exhibition and conference rooms. Adjacent to the Workstation in the Kennings building is the Showroom Media Centre which is a Workstation tenant. The Showroom takes up 2800 square metres and consists of four cinemas/conference rooms, a café and bar.

- Incubation Workspaces: 32

Occupants

Ranging from the Northern Media School graphic designers, The Designers Republic, the Community Media Association, the Yorkshire Screen Commission and various film production companies such as Picture Palace North and Dream Factory. Typical of the sector, tenant companies are small to medium size, about 70 in number and employing from two to six staff members, although certain companies employ 25 and upwards.

Developer/Operator/Owner

A partnership between the City Council, the Chamber of Commerce and the local cultural industry community formed a registered charity, Sheffield Media & Exhibition Centre Limited (SMEC) to develop the project. The Charity set up a development subsidiary, Paternoster Limited, who took a 125 year lease on the building.

The Custard Factory

Location: Digbeth, Birmingham, England

Established: 2002

Premises

Formerly

A complex of buildings of Bird's – a custard manufacturer, in an area of former dereliction lying adjacent to the Bull Ring in Birmingham

City Centre.

Currently

A large arts and media complex offering spaces for cultural production and consumption at some 20,000 sq m. Today the Custard Factory provides over 23,000 square metres of workspace occupied by over 1,000 people working in the arts and cultural industries. Within the several buildings comprising the complex, Scott House includes a 220 seat theatre space, dance studio, art gallery/exhibition space, four rehearsal/meeting rooms, two small recording studios, a restaurant and bar, a gymnasium in the basement, and a small amount of retail space. New plans for a small luxury hotel, live/work apartments and a 4,000 square metre design showroom have been announced.

- Incubation Workspaces: 200

Occupants

110 small creative enterprises, Ranging from the Medicine Bar, Punch Records, Fused Magazine and the Tindal Street Press, and the Birmingham branches of the National Trust, the Press Association, Royal Town Planning Institute, Terrence Higgins Trust, and Prince's Trust. The complex is also engaged with approximately 500 artists.

Developers/Operators/Owners

Property Entrepreneur; Bennie Gray. Regional development agency; Advantage West Midlands

The Cable Factory (Kaapelitehdas)

Location: Ruoholahti, Helsinki, Finland

Established: 1992

Premises

Formerly

A building originally constructed as a cable factory in 1939–1954 for Suomen Kaapelitehdas Oy (Finnish Cable Works), hence the name. The building is situated on the waterfront, 3 km from the centre of Helsinki. Cable manufacturing started in 1943 and was discontinued in 1987. The main feature of the building is The Sea Cable Hall which was used to manufacture sea cable that was then loaded straight into ships waiting at the wharf.

Currently

The largest cultural centre in Finland at approximately 53,000 square metres. It houses 3 museums, 13 galleries, dance theatres, art schools and a host of artists, bands and companies. Many unique spaces are also available for rent on a short-term basis to stage concerts, exhibitions, festivals and fairs. Within The Cable Factory, the 110 m long and 15 m high Sea Cable Hall has been converted into a cultural use space for exhibitions, theatre and dance performances, concerts, congresses and other events. The Pressing Hall at 500 square metres and the Rolling Mill at 280 square metres are over 4 m high and like the Sea Cable Hall, they are used for exhibitions, performances, events and meetings.

- Incubation Workspaces: Indefinite

Occupants

The residents of the cable factory include around 100 Finnish artists and musicians, architects, dancers and designers. It is the everyday workplace for more than 700 professionals and houses dozens of artistic and cultural, commercial and non-profit organizations and enterprises such as the Adult Education Centre, Zodiak – Centre for New Dance and TV/radio station The Voice.

Developers/Operators/Owners

Kiinteistö Oy Kaapelitalo, City of Helsinki.

!Metro Arts

Location: Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

Established: 1981

Premises

Formerly

In 1879, the address '109 Edward Street', in Brisbane CBD was home to a hairdresser's shop, billiard saloon and an oyster saloon. In 1889, these stores were replaced with a five-storey warehouse built for glass, pottery and china imports.

Currently

Home to Metro Arts (formerly known as Brisbane Community Arts Centre) providing creative and artistic production, display and performance spaces. Metro Arts describes itself as:

... a Creative Enterprise Hub providing a centralised source of practical growth assistance for entrepreneurial artists and arts groups in the pursuit of a culturally dynamic and sustainable industry.

The Metro Arts building has four levels housing a range of spaces of differing sizes, natures and lay outs, including studio and rehearsal spaces from 9 to 165 metres squared and two 200 metres squared galleries. The office/studio spaces range in size from 7 metres squared to 70 meters squared in order to cater for artists working alone through to art groups and organizations working together, or individual artists who require larger spaces. Office and studio spaces are provided as shells and can be adapted to suit the needs of the particular creative artist. Painters require open rooms with little clutter, whereas writers require rooms with space for furniture and telephone/data access points. Arts organizations may require enough space for several desks and storage.

- Incubation Workspaces: 25

Occupants

Tenants incubating at Metro Arts include visual artists, painters, writers, small theatre/production companies, film-makers, architects, print-makers, and representative organizations. Two examples are Archimage: specializing in 3D imaging, animation and CD/DVD multimedia presentation for the architectural, construction, legal, town planning and engineering industries, and deBASE productions who deliver

comic performances encompassing many forms – from sketch comedy and clown shows to political satire.

Developer/Operator/Owner

Metro Arts Board and Staff, Brisbane City Council.

Artscape Distillery Studios: Case Goods Warehouse

Location: Distillery District, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Established: 2003

Premises

Formerly

Case Goods Warehouse was created to process and store cases of alcoholic goods, both beverage alcohol like whisky and rum, and industrial alcohol like anti-freeze. These products were bottled or canned in Buildings 58 and 59 (The Cannery) directly across Case Goods Lane

and dispatched to the Case Goods Warehouse through a third-floor bridge. Within Building 74, goods were moved by freight elevator and a conveyor system comprising a two-storey spiral slide of rollers rather than polished metal and connected to a horizontal roller conveyor that led to a freight door. The large open floors allowed case goods to be stored and moved around as required. The Gooderham & Worts distillery was closed down in mid-1990.

Currently

Recognized as a national historic site, Toronto's Distillery District contains over 40 Victorian buildings that document the nation's architectural and industrial heritage. The Distillery Studios is described as an arts, entertainment, retail and residential complex with four residential buildings, one of them a tower, with two more condominiums currently under construction. Within the complex, The Case Goods Warehouse comprises of approximately 5,000 square metres of space, incorporating incubator studios for artists, retail studios, offices, and rehearsal and performance spaces.

- Incubation Workspaces: 63

Occupants

Various artists and creative entrepreneurs such as Emily Hamill, Akroyd Furniture, Redeye Gallery, Lilith, Proof Studio Gallery, Tank, Millicent Vee, Tenacious, Hag Atelier, Leif Benner, Studio Fuse, DISH Gallery + Studio, and non-profit arts organizations including Prologue to the Performing Arts, Art of Jazz, Tapestry New Opera Works, Le Laboratoire d'Art (LE LABO), Modern Times Stage Company, Planet in Focus: International Environmental Film & Video Festival.

Developers/Operators/Owners

Artscape, Cityscape Development and City of Toronto. Other entities involved include 401 Richmond Limited, Zeidler Grinnell Partnership Architects, Dalton Engineering and Construction.