EXAMINING CULTURE-LED URBAN REGENERATION THROUGH THE LENS OF TEMPORALITY - THE CASE OF BRUNNENVIERTEL, VIENNA

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ABSTRACT

Culture has become a main asset in urban regeneration over past decades. This 'cultural turn' has happened along larger societal developments: job relocations and rise of creative industries. This shift on the labour market has influenced leisure time patterns, creating a larger interest for cultural activities. Despite these societal transformations and their relevance to culture-led urban regeneration, the temporal perspective is widely ignored in academic discourse. Recent literature on culture-led urban regeneration accommodates a wide range of analyses, but there is no discussion on significance of the spatiotemporal aspect. This paper argues that a sole spatial inquiry is insufficient for culture-led urban regeneration strategies, and suggests time studies as a method of analysis.

The purpose of this paper is to address the research gap through a case study analysis. This article illustrates the culture-led urban regeneration process of Brunnenviertel area in Vienna, elaborating the key development in the local spatiotemporal setting. Austrian capital Vienna is a cultural metropolis of global significance. Culture has offered a significant asset of Brunnenviertel urban regeneration, and the laudable cooperation between stakeholders and local government has allowed an inclusive process. The analysis follows urban time studies research and the 'timescapes approach' as analytical framework. The empirical data for this study consists of local expert interviews, empirical observation material and municipal urban planning documents. The paper argues that a temporal perspective to culture-led urban regeneration could offer systematic dimensions for a critical analysis. The conclusions include methods of assessment and implementation for strategic planning interventions.

Keywords: culture-led urban regeneration, urban regeneration, time studies perspective, temporal analysis, metropolitan setting

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1. INTRODUCTION

The shift from industrialization to knowledge economy, and the growing importance of information businesses, has made culture a key driver of urban regeneration (Ferilli et al. 2017, Garnham 2005). Jobs have moved from manufacturing industries to creative and cultural fields (Ferilli et al. 2017, Garnham 2005, Garcia 2004), evolving in a 'cultural turn' in urban development discourse (Freestone & Gibson 2006). Urban regeneration signifies integrated and comprehensive action addressing long-lasting physical, social, economic and environmental improvement of urban areas (Bianchini 1993, Robert & Sykes 2000). Culture has potential to create notable improvements even with little financial contribution (O'Brien & Cox 2012). Originally, culture in urban regeneration referred to high culture and fine arts, but the current discourse encompasses also creative industries and local cultural production (Bianchini 1993, Evans 2002, Garnham 2005). The definition of culture varies within regeneration areas, but most projects relate to the increased amount of leisure time, where liberated temporal potential enhances cultural consumption and demand for cultural amenities (Bianchini 1993). Thus, time plays a crucial role for culture-led urban regeneration.

However, the temporal perspective in culture-led urban regeneration remains largely unexplored. This paper argues that a temporal reframing would offer a suitability analysis for implementing culture-led urban regeneration and support the existing local spatiotemporal assets. In order to demonstrate the temporal context of metropolitan culture-led urban regeneration process, the paper presents an empirical case study in Austrian capital Vienna. The neighbourhood of Brunnenviertel has undergone an urban regeneration process where culture has played a key part.

This study bases on urban time studies research (Chargboo & Mareggi 2018), the 'timescapes approach' (Degen 2018) and conceptions of time in cities (Madanipour 2017) to generate a temporal framework for the analysis. In order to locate conceptual temporalities in the empirical material, the study applies grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1997), reflecting the emerging sub-categories with Montgomery's (2003) classification of cultural agglomerations. Following a short introduction in the recent discourse on culture-led regeneration and the Viennese context, the article discusses Brunnenviertel culture-led urban regeneration under three temporal strands. An empirical case study demonstrates the temporalities of regenerative interventions.

2. TEMPORALITIES OF CULTURE-LED URBAN REGENERATION

The emphasis of culture-led urban regeneration has shifted from 'flagship' buildings or global mega-scale events (Evans, 2002) to local cultural production and place-specific activities (Mommaas 2004). Temporary uses have been a significant topic in culture-led regeneration, including the discourse on event-led urban regeneration (Richards & Wilson 2006), eventful cities (Richards & Palmer 2010), temporary uses and temporary urbanism (Madanipour 2017, Lehtovuori & Ruoppila 2017). 24-hour-city strategies (Lynch 1972) or the role of evening economies in urban regeneration (Bianchini 1995, Montgomery 1994) has been lively. Nevertheless, the academic discourse on culture-led urban regeneration has never proceeded further on the temporal perspective. Urban continuity through cultural usage patterns remains unexplored. This study argues that a temporal reframing would offer a suitability analysis in order to support the existing assets. The following chapter elaborates the existing temporal conceptualisations for an empirical case study of a neighbourhood culture-led urban regeneration process.

2.1. Temporal framework

This chapter draws together interdisciplinary discourse on urban temporality to illustrate the integrated character of culture-led urban regeneration. Subsequently, it presents a theoretical framework as a tool of analysis. The temporal framework founds on Monica Degen's (2018) and Ali Madanipour's (2017) suggestion of a conceptual triad for urban temporalities. The three conceptual categories are reflected with further perspectives on urban temporality (Charbgoo & Mareggi 2018, Lehtovuori 2010, Lefebvre 2004). The three theory-driven temporalities are designated linear, experiental and relational temporality, which in combination illustrate the complex temporalities of culture-led urban regeneration.

For the empirical case study analysis, this paper uses grounded theory to describe the neighbourhood elements as sub-categories for the theoretical triad. Linear temporality relates to elements of built environment, such as public space, streetscape and urban morphology, whereas cultural events and temporary uses describe experiental temporality. The case study introduced relational temporality via evening economy, social diversity, third places and market activities. These elements serve as sub-categories for the temporal analysis and guide the allocation under theoretical temporal elements. See table 1 for an illustration of the relations between the elements and the conceptual triad. The case study analysis follows the role of each temporal unity to culture-led urban regeneration.

Table 1. Reflecting neighbourhood elements with the temporal conceptualisations.

Temporal concept	Neighbourhood elements	Theoretical contributors
Linear temporality	public space streetscape urban morphology	Montgomery 2003, Gehl 2011, Degen 2018, Charbgoo & Mareggi 2018, Lidegaard et al. 2018
Relational temporality	evening economy social diversity market third places	Montgomery 1994, 2003, Manadipour 2017, Charbgoo & Mareggi 2018, Lidegaard et al. 2018
Experiental temporality	cultural events temporary uses	Manadipour 2017, Lehtovuori 2010, Richards & Palmer 2010, Richards & Wilson 2006

The first category describes linear temporality, where rational and abstract temporal thought dominates municipal urban development approaches (Degen 2018). Permanent and historical structures create a backbone for cultural activity and reinforce the collective memory as identity of the place (Gehl 2011). Municipalities construct new cultural flagship buildings to gain trademarks for the area to attract visitors and investors. 'Built form' ranges from public space to streetscape and urban morphology. The amount and quality of public spaces belong to key traits of cultural districts, while permeable streetscapes enable interaction (Montgomery 2003).

Urban experiences represent the following category. The rise of the 'experience economy´ (Pine & Gilmore 1998) is visible in current urban development initiatives, such as pop-up urbanism and temporary urbanism (Lehtovuori & Ruoppila 2017). These contemporary tendencies are offering an alternative for the permanent domination in urban space production (Madanipour 2017, Lehtovuori 2010). Events have become a key strategy for culture-led urban regeneration (Richards & Palmer 2010). Lehtovuori (2010) claims an entire urban planning paradigm around special moments, calling it 'experiental urban planning'. Culture contributes to image of the area (Richards & Wilson 2006). This article refers to cultural events as one-time urban occurrences, and to temporary uses as ephemeral urban practices (Madanipour 2017).

Relational, or social, temporality (Madanipour 2017) in culture-led urban regeneration refers to networks and stakeholder connections. Relational time as a social phenomenon links people with local spaces. This article defines cultural or urban activity though its continuity – whether daily, weekly or other analogous pattern: urban rhythms, which consist of natural, socio-cultural and spatial frequencies (Charbgoo & Mareggi 2018). Evening economy, social diversity, third places and market activity illustrate the local relational temporality. Evening economy refers to restaurants, cafés and other venues that are open after the

usual working hours, and studies connect it with success of cultural quarters (Montgomery 1994). Social diversity provides identity and resilience, whereas third places represent social places that are neither work or home but enable local interaction (Lidegaard et al. 2018).

3. VIENNESE CONTEXT FOR URBAN REGENERATION

Vienna, the capital of Austria, is both a municipality and a federal state with roughly two million inhabitants. The city consists of 23 urban districts, each of which has their own politically elected district government with controlled budgets. These governments are responsible for facilitation of culture among other things. Urban development in Vienna divides within municipal departments that conduct strategic urban planning, architecture, zoning and planning of public space. On the district level, there are 'local urban renewal' offices (original: Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung, GB*), which are responsible for informing the residents, organising stakeholder participation, helping bottom-up initiatives and supporting the local economies. This paper depicts the regeneration process of Brunnenviertel neighbourhood in 16th Viennese district.

Brunnenviertel depicts an example of culture-led urban regeneration of parallel, overlapping processes that have contributed to the economic, social and physical renewal of the area. In this process, cultural openings preceded and initiated each wave of physical renewal. Although artists have started the processes, the projects have included a wide range of stakeholders, including architects and urban planners, residents, local politicians, market vendors, café owners etc. City of Vienna considers Brunnenviertel a positive example, for the role of culture, integration and inclusion in physical, economic and social urban regeneration.

Map 1. Brunnenviertel morphology.

Map 1 illustrates the urban morphology of Brunnenviertel. The neighbourhood represents a common working class neighbourhood with small-scale industry and

commerce. The built heritage stems from turn of the century. The fragmented morphology and the narrow streets are typical of Brunnenviertel urban structure. Old Vienna is visible in neighbourhood, with exceptional new construction in between. The diversity in urban environment and social backgrounds of the residents lends the neighbourhood its typical charm (Rode et al. 2010). The study area of this paper is limited between the district borders of heavily congested outer ring road Lerchenfelger Gürtel, to Veronikagasse street in the east and Ottakringer Straße street in the north. In the west, Haberlgasse defines a border and in the south, Thaliastraße culminates both the neighbourhood and the Brunnenmarkt street market.

The existing academic discourse on Brunnenviertel urban regeneration ranges from gentrification to peripheral development and further to cultural imaginaries. Rohn (2004) discusses the neighbourhood as peripheral urban development through culture. Assigned by the municipality of Vienna, Rode et al. (2010) researched the role of culture in Brunnenviertel urban renewal. Novak et al. (2011) examine gentrification in Brunnenviertel as physical and socio-economic transformation. Suitner (2015) discusses the transformations of cultural imaginaries from the viewpoint of community institutionalisation, planning-political ideologies and diversity image. Dlabaja (2016) examines Brunnenviertel regeneration through urban space production and its actors. Hammer & Wittrich (2019) present gentrification of public spaces with the example of Yppenplatz. This article adds to existing discourse by illuminating Brunnenviertel regeneration process from a temporal perspective.

4. METHODS AND DATA

The empirical data set consists of interviews, on-site observation material, photographs, municipal plans, maps and statistics, case-specific literature, media discourse, advertisement material, urban planning and policy documents. The two pilot interviews in 2016 clarified the interviewee matrix. The key semi-structured expert interviews in this data set stem from 2018-2019. Key stakeholders were identified with chain referral sampling: interviewees offered further contact persons during the process. Selection followed their central role in development process or activities. The interviews focused on the development process of the area, its temporal specifics in the three theory-driven categories and the role of culture within them. The analysis refers to interviewees by their representation (cultural worker, cultural administrative, urban planner, market vendor, local politician) to provide anonymity. The interviews and further research data was coded according to context-specific theoretical categories. The fifteen individual, semi-structured local expert interviews were recorded and

transcribed. The three key categories derive from theoretical framework; yet, grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1997) elaborated context-sensitive sub-categories and neighbourhood elements from case study context. The coding and analysis of research data was conducted with assistance of qualitative analysis software NVivo 12. The used data sets varied according to each sub-category. All translations by the author.

5. BRUNNENVIERTEL CULTURE-LED URBAN REGENERATION

Brunnenviertel's urban structure began to take form in 1800s. In 1873, first market activity starts in the neighbourhood, continuing throughout the wars. A wholesale market takes place at Yppenplatz. The built form survives the world wars to the large. Despite the rebuilding after Second World War, 75% of all housing in Brunnenviertel is sub-standard still in 1970s (personal interview, urban planner, 2018), meaning that apartments have no personal lavatories but instead, communal lavatories on corridors. In 1972, a fire destroys Yppenplatz market structure and the municipality decides to close down the wholesale market. The neighbourhood buildings are in bad shape and ground floors vacant. Brunnenviertel suffers of bad image, criminality and drug dealing; the amount of poor immigrant population is high. This lack of economic perspective remained for decades - yet a 1998 report claimed Brunnenviertel a "problematic urban area" (Werkstattberichte, 2000).

The municipality of Vienna presented several urban designs for Yppenplatz after the fire and wholesale market closure. As a 1993 proposal suggested demolishing the old market structures and replacing them with a massive seven-storey building (Werkstattberichte, 2000), locals resisted the suggestion and established a stakeholder initiative 'Forum Yppenplatz' with the lead of Wolfgang Veit, owner of 'Club International'. The local stakeholder collaboratives, especially 'Forum Yppenplatz' and 'Marktgeschrei', a cultural initiative for young immigrants, established a basis for subsequent collaborative urban regeneration. The local renewal office GB* became the leading address for Brunnenviertel urban regeneration. In 1997-2000, the first EU project URBAN Gürtel Plus financed urban regeneration of the problematic area around the Viennese outer ring road bordering Brunnenviertel. This funding enabled renovation of Yppenplatz, realised as a collaborative project within the guidelines of preceding local initiatives. (Werkstattberichte, 2000, Rode et al. 2010)

5.1. Linear temporality in Brunnenviertel's urban regeneration

The municipality, the district and EU have invested in the streetscape and infrastructure by renewing the local water provision and Brunnengasse street

market area, improving the traffic situation and introducing pedestrian zones. Public transport access includes metro U6 and four tram and bus lines. The tempo on smaller streets is limited to 30 km/h. The process of pedestrianizing streets is still ongoing in 2019. Brunnenviertel culture-led urban regeneration has transformed the ground floor vacancies to active frontages and enabled a mixture of commerce and residence (Montgomery 2003). The urban morphology enables active frontages: the representative ground floor height corresponds with commerce, restaurants or cafés. Local artists on Grundsteingasse assure that their galleries have showcase windows and thus are visible on streetscape (personal interview, cultural worker, 2018). Brunnengasse street market renovation paid special attention to ensure visibility and permeability between the new market stands and facades behind them: shops, cafés and restaurants (personal interview, urban planner, 2018).

Image 1. Yppenplatz plaza, the central public space.

The district governance has invested in public spaces (Hammer & Wittrich 2019). The urban regeneration of the key public space Yppenplatz featured a masterplan with rezoning, illumination plan, a redesign of piazza and park. Currently the district government is working on trees to fight urban heat islands (personal interview, local politician, 2018). Yppenplatz has kept its historical façade and architectural heritage. Instead of new buildings, there have been renovations and attic floor constructions on historicist buildings (personal interview, urban planner, 2018). Architectural heritage is important for the local identity as it reinforces collective memories that contribute to quality of public places (Gehl 2011). Brunnenviertel residents have considered the changes in the neighbourhood positive as long as architecture of different eras remain, keeping local history recognisable (Novak et al. 2011).

Brunnenviertel represents a diverse built environment with small-scale urban morphology. Instead of cultural flagship building, the local amenities such as Brunnenpassage hide within the heterogeneous urban structure. The trademark

and image that the architectural heritage narrates is that of local everyday life, instead of a trademark for high culture. The mixture of old and new buildings and variety of functions helps cultural agglomerations prosper in times of economic and social change (Montgomery 2003, Jacobs 1961). The large demand for apartments in Vienna causes pressure on the housing market, although the municipality practices strong rental control and protection of tenants. Brunnenviertel's image changes faster than its social structure (Novak et al. 2011), media discourse strengthening the gentrification narrative. Local rents remain yet below the Vienna average (Rode et al. 2010). "*There are around 300 houses in this neighbourhood, and about 50 of these have gone through major transformations. --- City signifies changes that we cannot plan. We cannot plan the housing market. We can take care that small apartments sustain. However, it would be cynical to sustain apartments without lavatories. The municipality has no such objectives.*" (Personal interview, urban planner, 2018)

5.2. Experiental temporality in Brunnenviertel's urban regeneration

Despite the bad image of Brunnenviertel, the "slum of Ottakring", artist Ula Schneider recognised Brunnenviertel's potential: vacant spaces on ground floors, public spaces, affordable rents, networks of artists, potential visitors. In 1999, Schneider founded an art festival, SOHO IN OTTAKRING (later: SOHO). It started as a common art event, offering installations, film, photography, video, music, media, visual and electronic art (Schneider & Zobl 2008) from Ula Schneider's personal concern to do something with local problems. Through the huge resonance it created, SOHO began to affect urban regeneration. Within SOHO, the whole neighbourhood received an exception status for two weeks annually, where the public space extended to ground floors (Rode et al. 2010). In 2003, the organisers made a relaunch of the festival. They included topics and groups of local relevance– thematising local issues, enabling participation and involving neighbourhood institutions (personal interview, cultural worker, 2018). "*In my experience, (culture) has an impact of giving a place another face. For me, this is the key asset of art. A visualisation. Of topics, as well. So that we not only talk, because talk is volatile, but that we can do something. So that there are actions. So that something becomes visible.*" (Personal interview, cultural worker, 2018)

The local problems prior to the regeneration process included criminality and drug dealing, street market issues, housing stock in bad shape and immigration from poor regions together with little financial perspective. The cumulative effect created a downward spiral (personal interview, urban planner, 2018). SOHO cooperated with Viennese Economic Chamber (Wirtschaftskammer Wien) for several years, whose aim was to generate positive publicity by art. Afterwards,

the festival received support from local politics, renewal office GB* and private enterprises. The SOHO actors felt ambivalent about the role of 'art as an engine for urban regeneration' (personal interview, cultural worker, 2018). The tremendous image shift was apparent, media presenting the neighbourhood via art and culture, as ethnic, exotic and trendy. "*Within the logics of urban development, the art project (SOHO) was, if anything, image polishing. It went as far as, real estate people writing 'in SOHO-neighbourhood': 'living in SOHO-neighbourhood'. Instead of 'living in a migrant-neighbourhood', which would have a negative annotation. So, they rather used 'art'*". (Personal interview, cultural worker, 2018)

Currently, Brunnenviertel has good cultural coverage through everything that already takes place there, and few need for new openings (personal interview, cultural administration, 2018). In lack of vacant spaces and without the need to regenerate miserable corners, SOHO left the neighbourhood in 2012 to Sandleiten, a more remote location in Ottakring. Today, Brunnenviertel's leading event is the annual Street Art Festival (Strassen-Kunst-Fest), which strengthens social networks and neighbourhood's identity as village-like community. Art space Brunnen-passage organises the festival together with local merchants and renewal office GB*. (Personal interviews, local politician, 2018 / urban planner, 2018).

5.3. Relational temporality in Brunnenviertel's urban regeneration

The cheap rents, authentic atmosphere and public transport access in Brunnenviertel attracted urban pioneers: students, artists (Zukin 1989, Suitner 2015), and immigrants. These social networks inaugurated the local artist scene. At that time, the neighbourhood suffered of bad image, criminality and poverty. Despite the gentrification claims (Hammer & Wittrich 2019), the changes within the urban regeneration process have been numerous and various. For instance, traditional Austrian businesses have retired, and ethnic economies have taken their place (personal interview, urban planner, 2018). Brunnenmarkt would cease to survive altogether without ethnic economies. In Brunnenviertel, parallel societies coexist in the smallest space (personal interview, urban planner, 2018). Cultural actors wish to live in Brunnenviertel "*because it is multi-ethnic and - as you say - cultural. And this square (Yppenplatz) --- is socially used.*" (Personal interview, cultural worker, 2018)

Image 3. Brunnenmarkt open street market along the Brunnengasse pedestrian street.

In 2007, Art Space Brunnenpassage, a permanent cultural facility opened in a former market hall in Yppenplatz with motto "culture for everyone", with a continuing cultural programme of performances, concerts, discussions, courses and education. They pursue integration of minority groups as part of Caritas charity organisation and Catholic Church. Brunnenpassage represents a significant third place in the neighbourhood, offering a wide range of culture with "pay as you can" principle, encouraging groups with low income, no German language skills, lacking education and any nationality to participate. Their daily and all-year round participative cultural programme comprises performances, concerts, discussions, courses and educational overture. (Personal interview, cultural worker, 2018) "*I think the neighbourhood has given a positive example on how different cultures can coexist and exchange*" (personal interview, cultural administration, 2018).

Brunnenviertel evening economy encompasses the current café and restaurant scene around Yppenplatz plaza. These commerce spaces were vacant for several decades. Rezoning of the former wholesale market area on Yppenplatz enabled these new economies to exist. The explicit economic interest for creative and cultural contents has supported the popular nightlife scene. Where Yppenplatz represents a lively and gentrified cultural spot for the wealthy creative class today, Brunnenmarkt street market vendors sell inexpensive foods (personal interview, urban planner, 2018). It is uncertain whether Brunnenmarkt street market profits of the development of the café and restaurant scene on Yppenplatz (personal interview, cultural worker, 2018).

There are two main market activities in the neighbourhood: the daily street market Brunnenmarkt and the weekly farmer's market at Yppenplatz square, where the former wholesale market was located. Brunnenmarkt is a 600-meter-long street market for food, clothes and ethnic products. "*For me, personally,*

Brunnenmarkt has always been something special. --- It is the longest street market in Europa. We have a street market that spans through the whole neighbourhood." (Personal interview, local politician, 2018) The market was renewed from 2005 to 2010, where the district-led initiative renewed the Brunnengasse market as a pedestrian street, constructed closed market stands for the vendors, as well as renewed the infrastructure and water supply. Social diversity has given a distinctive identity to Brunnenviertel. "*It's the market part, which gives a sign of multi-cultural. --- Every district tries in one way or another to brand themselves with something and culture is one of the, in my opinion, one of the most interesting ones. Integration is one of these.*" (Personal interview, cultural worker, 2018)

6. CONCLUSIONS

The history of Brunnenviertel included two significant cultural opening, as ruptures of experiental temporality, which have initiated urban regeneration: the 1991 local initiative Marktgeschrei for young immigrants; and 1999-2012 annual Art festival SOHO IN OTTAKRING for reusing vacant spaces and local potential. The relational temporality relates to everyday activities, but also to cultural amenities through the permanent Art space Brunnenpassage, est. 2007, for integration and art for everyone. On the other hand, the two big linear urban regeneration projects have transformed the neighbourhood: 1997-2000 Urban Gürtel Plus and 2002-2010 Zielgebiet Gürtel. Whereas several previous studies on Brunnenviertel urban regeneration stress the Yppenplatz evening economies (Hammer & Wittrich 2019, Novak et al. 2011) or cultural events as urban catalysts (Rode et al. 2010, Rohn 2004), the temporal analysis of this study illuminates the importance of mundane everyday activities, such as Brunnenmarkt market and social diversity.

A temporal analysis framework for culture-led urban regeneration enables a reconsideration of regenerative interventions as temporal objectives. The experiental temporal aspects of Brunnenviertel urban regeneration created media attention and discourse, explored the limits of public space, reduced vacant spaces, stimulated real estate development and generated a new artistic image for the neighbourhood. The relational temporality emerged from local social networks, enabling interaction, participation, strengthening of social networks, variation in the local economies, a rise of a local scene and social diversity, whereas the role of linear temporality remained as facilitating rather than actively engaging.

The emerged nightlife scene at Yppenplatz represents the typical gentrification narrative but cultural neighbourhoods require more than after-work activities of the metropolitan creative class to flourish. Degen (2018) reminds of different

social groups bearing a specific temporal relationship to their everyday places. Varied local urban rhythms emerge in interdependence with social diversity. Due to the rising relevance of temporal scarcity over spatial scarcity (Henckel 2007), temporal analysis will gain importance.

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