eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
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Abstract

This paper sets out to provide an illustrative discussion of emergent and somewhat decentralized urban uplift through a lens of entrepreneurial urbanism. Informal interventions by citizens and entrepreneurs can positively contribute to the urban environment which in turn provides the setting for real estate assets. This whole landscape perspective underlines the increasingly important partnership between citizens, private and public sectors in delivering a resilient yet adaptive urban environment as is evident in the recent shift from 'managerialism' to 'entrepeneurialism' in urban planning.

The examples provided here demonstrate opportunities and beneficial effects of informal and appropriated uplift of spaces which fall outside of formal regeneration and renewal projects. It is asserted that this kind of democratization of space will be increasingly relevant for urban development as public budgets are reduced and funding opportunities become more limited. Value creation and maintenance of the whole urban environment is increasingly a shared responsibility, requiring businesses to acknowledge greater levels of reciprocity and inter-dependencies. Cities are evolving 'organic' entities through which a more holistic and co-dependent appreciation of individual assets is suggested here in order to fully appreciate the environmental context and interplay between business and society.

Keywords: Entrepreneurship; urbanism; urban development; cities;

1. Introduction

Urban entrepreneurialism through engaged citizenship and real estate management have an important and synergous role for the future of urban areas in an age of austerity and reduced public expenditure. Real estate, capital, and labour are often regarded as the three key drivers for production (Farzana and Murtaza 2009; Liow, 1995). Abatecola et al (2013) provide an important review of previous research and future directions in real estate management and outline the value to overall corporate profitability (see also Dombrow and Turnbull 2004; Bon et al 2003). Additionally, the review underlines the increasing significance of real estate as a topic for research given the growing importance and impacts of environmental and sustainability concerns upon business practice. For example, in looking at the hotel industry Farzana and Murtaza (2009; referring to Liow 1995) underline that real assets are relatively more important in the balance sheet of hotel companies compared to other non-real estate sectors. However, a significant risk to any real estate asset is the quality and resilience of the urban environment within which it exists. Real estate is not simply the space which accommodates production but also represents a significant organizational asset that resides within a living urban system. The overall collective of these assets forms our urban environment. It is here where the value of companies' real assets is strongly tied to the urban landscape and social, environmental and economic systems within which they are integral.

> "Central to the achievement of sustainable development is the reconciliation of economic and environmental objectives […] Although the early environmental movement saw business as the villain of the piece, there is now a generally acknowledged need to consider the 'competitive environment' alongside the biophysical." (Selman 1996, p. 127)

Urban uplift through regeneration strategies have been successful in many European cities for maintaining and increasing land and building value, but finding public funds to maintain this kind of investment is unsustainable in the longer term. The influence of urban design and the urban landscape context upon real estate assets has been explored (Tiesdell and Adams 2011; Nasar 1994) and has been a key element for the recent European project Creating a Setting for Investment (CSI) which aimed to draw links between landscape improvements and economic investment decisions. However, these are predominantly concerned with formal design projects and do not reflect the potential beneficial impacts on the urban environment which result from the enterprising citizen and entrepreneur.

Since the publication of the Brundtland Commission Report Our Common Future (WCED 1987) there has been an increased recognition of a moral need for sustaining resources and for enhancing quality of life throughout the whole urban landscape. It is here that connectivity across the three pillars of sustainable development provides an important framework for action. Mechanisms for achieving these goals are now less centralized and rely on local partnerships and seek to encourage regional diversity. In addition, more recent European planning conventions have seen a move from segregated land uses to mixed use development (i.e. the 'multifunctional' landscape). To achieve these aims, current

perspectives in planning now rely less on conflict management in development and instead emphasise 'place-making' and collaborative planning: "the latter half of the twentieth century was dominated first by regulation and then by conflict management from the 1980s onwards, with the possible emergence of a new paradigm of a collaborative, multi-stakeholder place-making mode for the new century." (Gilg 2005, p.171)

The purpose of this discussion paper, which draws upon examples from the UK, Germany and France, is to initiate further debate around the nature of co-dependency between 'asset' and 'environment' through entrepreneurial rather than managerial urban strategies (Andrew and Goldsmith 1998). The lens through which the discussion is framed is that of organisational space and landscape. It is asserted here that landscape provides a holistic medium through which asset management may be positioned thus engaging with a more rounded notion of 'place'. An emerging emphasis on urban entrepreneurialism is suggested here as having the potential to support a new wave of entrepreneurial regeneration that can be biophysically, culturally and socially responsive.

2. Entrepreneurialism and Cities

Whilst value creation may be achieved through regeneration projects and urban renewal in the short term, long-standing social and economic problems locally will mean that urban real estate will always be a vulnerable asset. For much of Europe, the age of austerity has shifted the attention of many governments toward the reduction of structural deficit and what Tallon (2013) describes as aspatial urban policies and a "shift to local and city-wide enterprise and governance, with local authorities and local communities afforded a greater role." (Ibid 2013, p.106). Value creation and maintenance of the whole urban environment is increasingly becoming a shared responsibility requiring businesses to acknowledge greater levels of reciprocity and inter-dependencies. As local communities become increasingly empowered to shape the urban environment this new wave of entrepreneurialism related to urban space has the potential to form urban development less deterministically.

Entrepreneurial Urbanism has been referred to within the field of urban studies to broadly capture recent processes of decentralization and the shift from 'local government to local governance' (Andrew and Goldsmith 1998). Harvey (1989) is described as being the first to use entrepreneurial urbanism as a construct to frame this shift (see also: Ward 2003; Chapin 2002; Hubbard 1996). In the UK, regeneration was characterized throughout the 1980s by what has been described as an economic entrepreneurialism (Tallon 2013; Grainger 2010; Jones and Evans 2008; Gilg 2005). After this period, the entrepreneurialism of the 1980s was replaced by a competitive bidding process for regeneration funds (De Gregorio et al 2013; Jones and Evans 2008) initiated by the incoming New Labour government. However, reflecting upon the subsequent renewal strategies of the last decade or so and the associated gentrification of urban centres, Grainger (2010) asks: "whether urban areas have improved beyond flagship and amenity developments and new retail centres and water-fronts. In other words, is urban renewal, […] leading to actual lasting change or resolution of problems in those localities?" (Ibid 2010, p.9).

The traditional, 'narrow' perspective on entrepreneurialism considers it as an expression of creative innovation mobilized to produce an effect for the benefit of economic development (Schumpeter 1934; 2012). However, in recent years, the traditional notion of entrepreneurship has broadened to include other forms of value generation such as social change and social equity (Bjerke 2013). Regardless of the 'currency', entrepreneurship may be described as the "process of pursuing limitless opportunities using the resources currently at hand" (Bhāle and Bhāle 2013, p.172). This is typified by a 'bricolage' view of entrepreneurial resource dependency (Desa and Basu 2013; Baker and Nelson 2005) and is pertinent to concerns over sustainable growth. An apparently contrasting perspective has been offered by Anderson (1995) regarding entrepreneurship in rural communities. Through ethnographic study he describes entrepreneurship in this context which involves the "the creation and extraction of value from an environment" (p. 85). However, we are reminded by Anderson (1998) that:

> "If we reduce entrepreneurship to its essence we can see that what entrepreneurs do is to create and extract value from a situation […] But it is only our conventions which may cause us to think of value only in monetary, or economic terms. Value is a much richer concept." (Ibid, p. 137)

It is from this perspective that we might consider the three pillars of sustainability as an important valuation framework for our urban fabric and combined real estate as a communal asset. The competitive and biophysical environments, referred to by Selman (1997), are indeed inseparable and in fact are equally embedded within the socio-cultural conditions of community and 'place'.

Jones and Evans (2008) outline that economic policies to support 'entrepreneurial' city growth and regeneration may be divided in to four main categories, 1) improving the knowledge base; 2) encouraging enterprise; 3) education and training, and; 4) empowering local businesses. Resilience through localism requires urban communities and businesses to reduce external economic dependencies through a participatory planning and democratization of space. In many ways we might consider this as pointing toward Lefebvre's Right to the City (1968) and Sennett's The Uses of Disorder (1971), which considered the very rights of people to shape urban life as basic rights. To this end, thirty years later, Harvey (2008) calls for the democratization of the power to shape the urban experience, and it has been argued by Harvey (1998) that expenditure of public money should focus more directly on education and training for disadvantaged communities "[…] rather than spending millions of pounds in public money on flagship buildings that have no real purpose" (Jones and Evans 2008, p.80). From Harvey's perspective, we might look toward the multi-level democratization of space as an important means to support the entrepreneurial city; from the combination of individual actions, up to level of city-wide policy. All urban assets exist within this synergous and dynamical evolving system; a perspective which Grainger (2010) considered somewhat missing from many urban regeneration and renewal strategies to date.

The following case examples from UK, France and Germany aim to illustrate how local action and city-wide policy can form a synergous and co-dependent relationship in renewal and value creation within the urban environment.

3. Urban Entrepreneurialism - from action to policy

As buildings lie empty they can symbolize stagnation and decay and the concern around the emptying of once busy and bustling high-streets is acute for many towns.   However, at the local level, the individual entrepreneur or small enterprise plays an important role in transforming abandoned, derelict and disused spaces:

> "Small shops have a significant role to play in their local communities […] they act as a 'hub' for the local community: undertaking a central role in providing a place of social interaction, they meet the needs of 'disadvantaged' and socially excluded groups […]" (Quinn et al 2013, 81)

SMEs are a major source of local entrepreneurial innovation and a significant contributor to local and regional economies (Quinn et al 2013; Calderwood and Davies, 2012; Clarke and Banga, 2010; Smith and Sparks, 2000). In the UK, SMEs have created two-thirds of all new jobs (Jones and Evans 2008) over the last two decades, and are significant drivers of innovation.   Small enterprises can also contribute positively to urban and regional cultural development: "[The] SMEs sector has emerged as a sector that enhances the growth of highly capable entrepreneurs who not only make profits, but also contribute to a better quality of life for the millions who make the profit possible." (Bhāle and Bhāle 2013, p.168).

For example, in this otherwise struggling high street in Walkley, Sheffield, UK (Figure 1), a butchers shop 'Beeches of Walkley' and a local fruit and vegetable shop 'Fruits and Roots', joined forces to take over a former convenience store, and transformed it into its new incarnation as the 'inner city farm shop of the Walkley quarter'. Whilst it could be said that this is designed to appeal to a gentrified clientele, the business is clearly rooted in the wider local community, promoting local produce and local provenance.

Figure 1: Beeches of Walkley and Fruits and Roots, Sheffield, UK

For the spaces that easily lend themselves to adaptation and reuse their transformation requires less invention. However, thinking of new uses for some degraded spaces can be more challenging. These include abandoned or derelict spaces which provide less obvious financial gain to the entrepreneurial investor as is commonplace amongst post-industrial 'shrinking cities'.

> "One of the most visible links between urban shrinkage and economic decline is the de-industrialisation of cities. Industrial districts in shrinking cities are characterised by underused or derelict buildings and vacant brownfield sites." (Schlappa and Neill 2013, p. 31)

Whilst the above example illustrated the kind of localized action commonplace in any city, the following example aims to explore how more informal appropriations of space can provide both immediate solutions to derelict and degraded urban space but also how such practices may become embedded in policy.

Berlin was one of the first modern European capital cities to acknowledge the value of entrepreneurial urbanism in city regeneration strategies in its planning policies. As a result of its extraordinary geo-political post-war situation Berlin became a shrinking city, with a legacy of depopulation, de-industrialization, derelict buildings and waste spaces. The resourcefulness of local entrepreneurs and social enterprises, who became known as 'urban pioneers', in making unofficial use of these spaces attracted the attention of city planners. Examples range from high density mixed use occupation of empty buildings (described locally as 'besetz') in the Kreuzberg quarter (Sheridan, 2007), urban beach bars along the

River Spree, to the development of a new park on a derelict site in the Prenzlauer district of former East Berlin (Figure 2) (SSB, 2007).

Figure 2: Community Park on former derelict site in the Prenzlauer District of Berlin

It was acknowledged that these informal appropriations of buildings and spaces could lead to grass roots regeneration with multiple benefits for local communities, nearby business and the wider city. Consequently planning regulations were changed to facilitate temporary occupation and short-term tenancies as a means of pump priming small businesses and kickstarting urban regeneration at a grass roots level (SSB, 2007).

Arguably, as a result of these processes of informal urbanism continuing for over half a century in Berlin this culture of appropriation has become both emblematic of the city, and deeply socially ingrained. Thus, in many parts of Berlin, pavements are areas whose use and ownership is constantly negotiated between multiple actors. In Figure 3 a restaurant has expanded its street furniture to the full width of the pavement, whilst keeping a passageway open for passersby.

Figure 3: A restaurant appropriates public pavement space in Berlin but keeps a passageway for pedestrians open

On a larger scale, the creation of pop-up allotments was seen as a desirable part of the process of transforming the disused Berlin Tempelhof airport into a major new public open space (Figure 4). Oswalt et al. (2013) have documented similar processes in a number of European Cities.

Figure 4: Public and private space is negotiated in the pop-up allotments at Berlin Tempelhof

Nantes for example, situated on the Loire River, created streetscape temporary greening and pop-up seating areas close to the city's art gallery (Figure 5) in 2013, providing useful new spaces to relax and socialize. Nantes has been described as 'the most liveable city in Europe' and was the 2013 winner of the European Commission's 'European Green Capital' award. These kinds of partnership activities between city decision-makers and citizens help create an urban vibrancy aimed at increasing the competitiveness of the city; as a place of work, residence and recreation.

Figure 5: Temporary greening and seating areas in Nantes, France

Whilst this kind of action is focused primarily on providing social and cultural benefit it may also be interpreted as a temporary act of 'uplift' from a city marketing perspective to help to reinforce the built environment as a 'hard asset' and communicate cultural vibrancy and attractive living. In many ways this example illustrates the blurring of distinctions between the socio-cultural and economic drivers for creative action and any subsequent gains.

4. Discussion

To ensure a sustainable entrepreneurial urbanism at the city-wide level, which supports citizens and business assets alike, there needs to be a shift from disconnected project-orientated activities to a greater level of holism through an ecosystem or landscape perspective. The shift from managerialistic governance to one of more public, private and citizen partnerships points toward a new mode of urbanism requiring multilevel and evolutionary understanding of urban development. In a sense the research resurgence of evolutionary approaches in social sciences and urban studies provides an important lens through which to theorize this shift (see Aldrich and Ruef 2011; Hodgson and Knudsen 2010; Abatecola 2013). Sustainability beyond the immediate impacts of short-termism is a question of how entrepreneurial urban responses may become encoded and replicated as

characteristics of practice into the urban 'genotype'. Whether selected and retained into planning policy (Dobson, 2012) or held as shared cultural norms and enacted across generations through 'performative' (Butler 1997) means, the achievement of such a multi-level evolutionary process is a critical one if projects are to be maintained as replicable practice across generations. According to Bianco (2010) the evolution of urban practice is concerned with 'the performance of tradition as a living system' and as such is a process of 'self-sustained cultural production, of gradual innovation, and creative integration of external influences'.   In this sense, cities are no longer the rational acts of planners (Koolhas, 2006) but instead emerge through ongoing and multilevel negotiations of space (see figure 6).
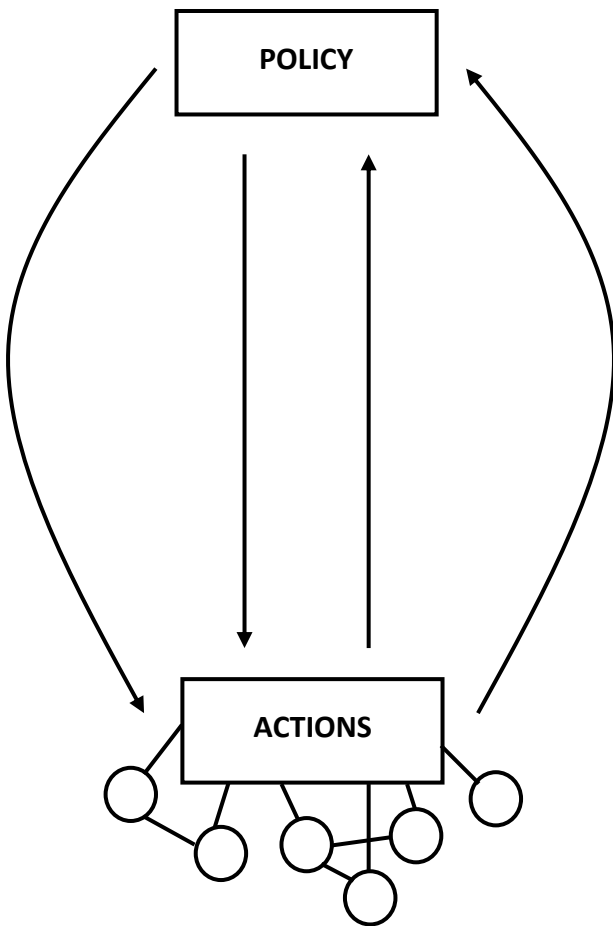
Figure 6: Co-evolutionary relationship between urban policy and the combination of interacting actions

Supporting flexible and emergent urban development (from managerialism to entrepreneurialism) requires a shift from a deterministic to a stochastic and less certain urban planning policy framework. It is here that greater levels of flexibility can support enterprise and innovation at the local level. In Berlin, the impacts of urban pioneers are still felt in the vibrancy and success of the city because successful acts of informal entrepeneurialism had become encoded in the thinking of city planners and policy makers. Another case example is provided here concerning how a unique approach to land use planning is currently aiming to support entrepreneurial space.

Finding the optimum balance between certainty and flexibility is a key component of Sheffield City Council's innovative approach in their introduction of land use options:

> "Certainty is needed to inform decisions about infrastructure, land purchase and investment in property and to enable public confidence about the future for neighbourhoods. But it is not possible to be confident about every prediction […] sometimes it is necessary to keep options open to attract investment in regeneration areas. And landowners and developers generally prefer more rather than less flexibility for their own sites to enable maximum responsiveness to changing economic circumstances and opportunities. So, although certainty and flexibility are mutually exclusive, it is necessary for the new development planning system to have elements of both. (SCC 2010)

These policies are described by planning staff as aiming:

> *"...to provide a level of certainty (which is part of what the development plan* should do) whilst also allowing flexibility to cope with changing circumstances *over time. We will also have mixed use areas with menus of acceptable uses"* - Sheffield City Planner

It is acknowledged by the city planners that the Sheffield Development Framework (SDF) needs to be checked for areas where it "could be criticized for giving spurious certainty where more flexibility would be in order" (SCC 2010). A balance of both of these is suggested by the SDF as important for supporting sustainable regeneration and growth.

> "[...]the greater the certainty given by a policy, the less the flexibility it allows; and the more flexibility that is built in, the less certain users can be about the outcome[...] The overall approach in the SDF is to create certainty through allocating specific sites for particular uses and to enable flexibility through designation of wider policy areas, where certain uses are preferred but a range of others is still acceptable" (SCC 2010).

Interviews conducted with planners at Sheffield City Council suggest it was local business leaders that had called for greater flexibility as opposed to certainty in Sheffield's approach to land use planning, and that this led to the city's development of a more flexible land use allocation strategy (figure 7).

Most sites will have one preferred use, which relates to the Policy Area it sits within. But, a proportion of non-preferred uses may also be acceptable. The following requirements will apply:

a. For housing sites, at least 85%+ of the site will be used for housing (assuming a policy requirement of up to 10% for open space and 5% for other ancillary uses), as specified in City Policies Preferred Option PH2

b. For sites in Business Areas, Business and Housing Areas, Business and Industrial Areas, Industrial Areas and Priority Office Areas, City Policies Preferred Option PB7 sets down the minimum requirements for the preferred uses for these Policy Areas. These build in a significant measure of flexibility for a range of uses and enable a high degree of mixing along with the preferred uses. The proportions of different uses *for the policy areas are 'in principle' indicators for the whole of each area and its* constituent parts. In the case of the site allocations the minima will be applied more prescriptively. On allocated sites in Priority Office Areas, Business Areas and Business and Housing Areas, the exceptions identified in policy option PB7 are unlikely to apply. On allocated sites in Business and Industrial Areas and Industrial Areas the stated proportions will apply to the individual site and not just to the broader area in which they lie. Indeed, some of the allocated sites may have capacity for a larger proportion of the preferred uses and this could go some way to reducing the gap between forecast requirements and employment land supply over the plan period. The possibility of higher proportions on specific sites will be explored in the light of comments on the allocations as currently proposed and further analysis of the findings in the Employment Sites Survey (the Atkins Report).

c. For sites in Neighbourhood Centres, District Centres, and the City Centre, City Policies Preferred Options PS1 and PS5 state the minimum street frontage that has to be occupied by retail uses.

Figure 7: Sheffield City Council 'City Sites Preferred Options consultation'
(Source: http://sheffield-consult.limehouse.co.uk/portal/sdfcsites/)

The approach adopted by Sheffield is currently been applied and so its full impacts are yet to be realized, however, in principle it aims to provide greater levels of flexibility through an acknowledgement of the benefits, even the necessity, of uncertainty in supporting local economic growth and urban development. In many ways the framework was developed to challenge what was considered a tenet of 'certainty' expressed in the UK planning system. This is evident in the national Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS1) in its reference to: "This

plan-led system, and the certainty and predictability it aims to provide, is central to planning and plays the key role in integrating sustainable development objectives." (PPS1 2005, 3)

Healey (2005) and Gilg (2005) suggest that such an argumentative (or 'agonistic') approach presents a better forum for engaging with diversity by leaving a continuous space open for constructive conflict, debate, and re-evaluation of the urban landscape as a common resource. Most significantly it may be considered that this also acts to enable a negotiable space for creativity and innovation - characteristics considered valuable for achieving urban resilience against uncertain futures. From this perspective, urbanism grown from local entrepreneurship is envisaged to offer a strategy for supporting and delivering urban regeneration and resilience; increasing the adaptive capacity of cities through more flexible, emergent means which are grounded in the locality and specifics of 'place'.

Whilst entrepreneurialism, especially in the age of austerity may be seen as a logical extension of localism and devolved development decision-making and implementation, embracing a necessary level of uncertainty of outcomes is a key challenge to strategic planning. It is valuable to note that a strategy offered by Sheffield City Planners is an increased emphasis on Landscape Character as an integrating tool whereby urban design aspirations and landscape/townscape assessment may be used actively to help guard against buildings or uses which do not respond to each other or are at very differing scales.

5. Conclusion

As outlined in this paper, a number of drivers have led city planning away from previous managerialist models of governance toward greater levels of citizen participation. Sheffield's approach to land use options is one proposal to achieve this and further research will be usefully employed to establish the impacts of this newly adopted framework for the city. Secondly, value may also be unlocked through the production of multifunctional urban places that encourage multiplicity of uses. Deregulation through being less prescriptive about the land-uses attached to a particular spatial unit, and the relaxation of the restrictions on the activities that may take place in urban public spaces would appear to offer an obvious route to these ends. However, as noted by Adams (2001), such unregulated entrepreneurialism has, in the past, also resulted in undesirable social and also environmental consequences.

In 1971, Sennett's vision of city planning for 'dense, disorderly cities' (Sennett, 1971: 136) called for both a more participatory form of governance, and a change in the concept of order in the planning of the city: 'the city must be conceived as a social order of parts without a coherent, controllable, whole form' (Sennett, 1971: 116). This would involve the creation of city spaces for varied changeable use:

> "For when predetermined use through zoning is eliminated, the character of a
> neighbourhood will depend on the specific bonds and alliances of the people

within it; its nature will be determined by social acts and the burden of those acts over time as a community's history" (Sennett, 1971: 116)

It was expected that this would require people to become responsible for the development and policing of their own neighbourhoods, and would be forced to take responsibility for themselves and others. Many of the ideas he put forward are now well-established, or undergoing a revival of sorts, under the auspices of varied economic and political agendas. However, the social formation of place is central to Masseys' ideas about space and place (1993 and 2005); and his advocacy of densification and mixed use, vertically as well as horizontally, anticipate mainstream approaches in contemporary urban planning.

The views of City Planners in Sheffield are that landscape design as a collaborative guiding hand rather than prescriptive vision may help create a visual and structural coherence and help steer a direction through an increasingly devolved and entrepreneurial urban environment. However, as Harvey asserts, this must also be achieved through investment in education and residential support, rather than focusing on large set-piece architectural projects, to foster creative entrepreneurial action which is grounded in place and both socially and biophysically responsive. In recent years, the traditional notion of entrepreneurship has broadened to include many forms of value generation such as social change and social equity. Creative and democratized use of space - whether permanently or temporarily, through collective action or individual efforts - can emerge anywhere in the city so long as space for negotiation and renegotiation of space and our interpretation of it is kept 'open'. It is suggested here that such an entrepreneurial approach to urbanism may help to ensure that a sustainable and adaptive urban environment are not opposing aspirations to those of business; that we might shape resilient urban landscapes through, rather than simply whilst, doing business.

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