



NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
Nordic Journal of Architectural Research

2-2018

Nordic Journal of Architectural Research

ISSN: 1893–5281

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5,5 Euro (for individuals who get access to the journal through institutions).

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Denmark, pay to: Danske Bank 16780995, reg.nr. 3409

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Norway, pay to: Den Norske Bank 7877.08.13769

Outside the Nordic countries pay in Euro to SWIFT-address: PGS ISESS Account no: 4190325–3, Postgirot Bank Sweden, SE 105 06 Stockholm.

Published by SINTEF Academic Press

P O Box 124 Blindern, NO-0314 Oslo, Norway.

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MEAT AND CREATIVITY: ADAPTIVE REUSE OF SLAUGHTER- HOUSES AND MEATPACKING DISTRICTS

PER STRÖMBERG

Abstract

This paper investigates the adaptive reuse and urban regeneration of former slaughterhouses and meatpacking districts in which the buildings are adapted to new functions. The purpose is to describe and critically scrutinize the political-economic context in which “meat and creativity” became a rhetorical device for postindustrial regeneration.

This comparative multiple case study includes meatpacking district in NYC, Rome and Copenhagen. It poses two primary questions: In what ways and for what reasons have slaughterhouses and meatpacking districts in the West been redeveloped during the last two decades, and how are the cultural reuse values put to work in different contexts?

The Meatpacking District (NYC) functions as a point of reference for other slaughterhouse renewal projects. This unexpected fusion between the meat industry and the creative industries suggests a “postindustrial grammar” which induces “serial monotony” on its surface. However, the grammar is very elastic, meaning that it is very much related to national policies and discourses of the “creative city”, thus having regional and national variations. In Italy, public slaughterhouses have formed an alternative grammar which is more connected to the free arts and cultural activities supported by public institutions. Slaughterhouse renewal projects like Kødbyen in Copenhagen suggest a middle way which evoke the “hybrid city”.

Keywords:

adaptive reuse; post-industrial heritage; slaughterhouse; creative city; urban redevelopment



Introduction

There is a striking paradox within branding-influenced contemporary city planning. Although almost every city-branding theory claims that cities should promote their own distinctive character, many cities stick to the same postindustrial formulas such as the redeveloped waterfront, loft living and the neo-factory. This subsequently leads to mainstream solutions and what Boyer calls “serial monotony”, that is, “producing from already known patterns or molds places almost identical in ambience from city to city” (Boyer, 1988, p.50). There is an extended history of conformity and trends in urban development. Nevertheless, should we not expect more diverse city planning today due to frequently applied city-branding theories?

One illustrative example of this paradox is the continuous redevelopment of slaughterhouses and meatpacking districts in European cities over the last twenty years due to deindustrialization and the relocation of the preceding activities. The “urban frontier” (Smith, 1996) has now reached the peri-urban areas where many slaughterhouses were constructed in the end of the 19th century. Like urban waterfront renewal projects, slaughterhouses and meatpacking districts form a specific sub-genre within postindustrial redevelopment in which adaptive reuse of the historical buildings is an essential strategy and the user-patina a crucial cultural value.

Figure 1
Meatpacking District in Greenwich
Village, once an underground place for
nightlife in New York City in the 70s.

PHOTO: PER STRÖMBERG, 2012.

One reason for this aforementioned “sameness” is that the postindustrial cities in the West are dealing with similar issues such as deindustrialization and gentrification. However, that does not describe the whole picture. We risk not distinguishing the differences. Even though this paper identifies a postindustrial schema of redeveloped slaughterhouses, formulated by the slogan “Meat & Creativity” in the case of Copenhagen, there is a variety of how this occurs. This leads to the twofold research question: *In what ways and for what reasons have slaughterhouses and meatpacking districts in the West been redeveloped during the last two decades, and how are the cultural reuse values put to work in different contexts?*

The goal of this serial case study is to describe and analyze urban renewal projects of this functional building type as a specific genre, with a closer analytic comparison of three different cases: *Meatpacking District* (MPD) in New York City, *Kødbyen* in Copenhagen and *Ex-Mattatoio Testaccio* in Rome.

In this comparison, the MPD largely defines this postindustrial schema in which the meat industry (food production/distribution) coincide with the cultural/creative industries (i.e. advertising; architecture; art; craft; design; fashion; film; music; publishing; multimedia; and tourism). However, the MPD is more of a point of reference than a role model for the other renewal projects. In fact, there are a variety of slaughterhouse renewal projects whose goals and outcomes depend on several factors such as location, city planning, cultural policy, path of redevelopment and level of gentrification. One of the features that defines the character of the projects is whether the meat production/distribution industry is still running or not, and whether the renewal projects are business-oriented, or have a focus on cultural activities supported by the city.

This study shows that slaughterhouse renewal projects in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries tend to relate to the discourse of creative industries, whereas in Italy, *macelli pubblici*, like most of the *mataderos* in Spain have for several reasons become centers for social and cultural activities funded by the public sector, or “alternative areas” (Franzén, 2005) squat by artists and new social movements.

Like any other postindustrial renewal project, the cultural values of reuse play an essential role in creating attractiveness. A common aesthetic principle of slaughterhouse renewal is what I call “industrial raw”, representing the brutality of the slaughter activities: The harsh industrial environment, raw food and bodily nightlife are parts of the concept. The user-patina of industrial buildings is a fundamental value of “authenticity” that may be converted into profit. It is the core benefit of any adaptive reuse for urban redevelopment, and the core of creative destruction: Capital tend to abandon places only to return later when they are fully

destroyed so that the marginal benefit of investment is greater than returns from elsewhere.

Therefore, adaptive reuse as a strategy is not only a way of creating unique settings for different activities; it is a part of a larger cultural economy applied on the real estate market. Like the industrial slaughter of cattle, every single part of the abattoir – spatiality, props and patina – are appropriated and re-used.

Methodological framework

Descriptive comparison is the first step in actually considering slaughterhouse renewal as a subgenre of postindustrial redevelopment. For that reason, I will pursue a comparative analysis, or an “analytic comparison” (Franzén, 2005, p.53), of a selected sample of three cases – *Meatpacking District*, *Kødbyen* and *Ex-Mattatoio Testaccio* – in view of an overall compilation of projects in some of the main European cities (Appendix: table 1). In an initial stage of this research project, another two slaughterhouse districts were included in the study: Teurastamo in Helsinki and Slakthusområdet in Stockholm. However, they were finally left out in order to concentrate the study, also because the Finnish case corresponds to the Danish one, and because the Swedish case still is in its early stage of redevelopment.

These three cases have been chosen as examples of slaughterhouse renewal projects *per se*, for their geographical spread in three different urban, cultural and political contexts and for their potential for generating knowledge. The selection is “information-oriented”, that is, “to obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case processes and outcome” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.230). While the MPD is more or less given as an “intrinsic case study” (Stake, 1998) because of its prominent position as an international role model – or a point of reference – within this subgenre of postindustrial renewal, the other two are chosen because of their significance in their urban and regional contexts.

This is an analytic “multiple-case study” (Johansson, 2000). It has the instrumental goal to identify, describe and categorize the diverse character of this specific subgenre of renewal project that at the first glance appears to be rather stable and consistent. Using classification theory from Mommaas (2004) and Anttiroiko (2014) as an analytic tool, I have sought for a heterogeneous sample of renewal projects, which have a potential to reflect differences in view of cultural context (urbanism; planning; management; cultural policy), text (design; architecture; cultural staging; spatial relation to the urban texture), stage of redevelopment, and significance (representation).

I do not claim to include every project in Europe, nor highlight every aspect of adaptive reuse. A general problem of comparisons is whether one can isolate the factors they are studying so that everything else is equal, which is not always manageable. Despite these limitations, I argue that comparative studies contribute to a general discussion on adaptive reuse, cultural appropriation, gentrification and postindustrial renewal, and highlight both general tendencies and particular features and challenges of slaughterhouse renewal projects.

First, the cases are briefly described individually. Second, they are synthesized by considering the cases point-by-point, thematically structured in the paper on the basis of the rhetorical device “meat and creativity” which is in fact articulated as a vision in the strategy documents of Kødbyen, Copenhagen (*Strategi for den hvide kødby*, 2011, p.8). “Meat” and “creativity” capture the essence of many slaughterhouse renewal projects, which is the reason why I find this thematic approach to be fruitful. I will moreover discuss how these two themes interrelate, co-exist and contradict each other. I pursue a data triangulation of the empirical material that is based on interviews; reviews of literature and policy documents; observation and participation through field studies in New York, Rome, Copenhagen, but also, to other slaughterhouse areas such as the ones in Helsinki, Stockholm, and Milan. Unfortunately, none of the representatives of the developers of the MPD responded to my request for an interview. On the other hand, the case is rather well documented. This study mainly covers and relates to several fields of research: interdisciplinary research on urban planning and urban sociology; culture studies on globalization and appropriation in postindustrial society; and finally, the discourse of “creative” or “cultural economy” (Cunningham, 2009; Cunningham and Flew, 2010). Adaptive reuse as a strategy for renewal (Kohn, 2010; Mommaas, 2004; Strömberg, 2013) and the redevelopment of the postindustrial city (Barnes and Hutton, 2009; Hutton, 2004; 2009; Loures, 2015; Zukin, 1983; 2010) in general has been addressed extensively over the past 30 years, especially with a focus on the “creative city” (Evans, 2009; Smith and Warfield, 2008).

On this field of research, gentrification has been a central issue, it is a relevant but not central topic to this study. To the extent the topic is treated in the paper, it is rather the demand-side (consumption) than the supply-side (production) of gentrification that is the focus. But as Hølgersson and Thörn (2014) argue, they are both important in order to understand the dynamics of gentrification.

At this moment, public abattoirs are being defined by urban planning, in order to create “soft cities” with “soft values” (such as “authenticity”) which suit the middle classes who now define much of the cultural values of the city. This trend can also be identified as the New Economy’s high regard for place brands, place identity and place marketing where

commercialism and aesthetics “gloss over” a place (Löfgren and Willim, 2005). At the same time, these places invite other forms of sociality, organization and power structures, sometimes opposing the establishment. In urban planning as well as for culture policy-making, urban tourism development and creative clustering (Mommaas, 2004) play a considerable role and are often viewed as catalysts for urban redevelopment. Today, cities compete by applying “warfare” strategies (i.e. city marketing) rather than “welfare” strategies (Caldenby, 2006).

Waterfront redevelopment has been treated extensively (Bruttomesso, 1993; Craig-Smith and Fagence, 1995; Hoyle and Pinder, 1992; Malone, 1996) as well as that of manufactory industries (e.g. Kohn, 2010; Legnér, 2009; Olshammar, 2002; Willim, 2008), and office buildings (Heath, 2001; McCormick, 2002). My contribution is to describe the latest genre of postindustrial redevelopment, that of slaughterhouse renewal, which few scholars have previously considered. One exception is Fuentes, et al. (2015) general analysis of the redevelopment of public abattoirs in Spain. Other exceptions are Irene Ranaldi’s (2012) and Maria Nyström’s (2015) case studies on the regeneration of the former slaughterhouse in Testaccio, Rome, and Mari Ferring’s (2016) historical study on the Stockholm slaughterhouse area.

Theorizing slaughterhouse areas

In his work *La production de l'espace* (1974), Henri Lefebvre presents one of his most important theoretical findings, that “(social) space is a (social) production” (Lefebvre, 1992 [1974], p.26). This theoretical relation is also appropriate for this study, especially in considering the ways spaces and places are taken into possession and being re-appropriated. Mattias Kärrholm (2004) has elaborated the theories of Lefebvre (cf. perceived, conceived and lived space) and de Certeau (1988 [1980]) by developing the notion of *territoriality* and different forms of “territorial production”. Especially useful for the understanding of slaughterhouse renewal projects is the way Kärrholm discusses the intended or pragmatic use – or reuse – of space with regards to “territorial production”: *territorial strategy* (impersonal and intentionally established space) and *tactics* (personal and pragmatic relation to planned space), moreover, *territorial association* (associational functionality of space) and *appropriation* (unintentional use and manifestation of space through regular practice). For example, this multiple-case study shows that that different territorial production can operate at the same place but at different times, for example, in relation to gentrification processes.

“Appropriation” is also theoretically considered in terms of art. Today, it is a well-established art practice of stealing or borrowing, making new uses of objects, images and artifacts of a culture (Evans, 2009; Schneider, 2006; Young, 2008). Furthermore, appropriation is central to artists’

visions for alternative futures and their critique of the contemporary society (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001).

The manner in which industrial buildings and urban waste spaces are reused, repurposed, re-enacted, and redesigned today is analogous to the art practice of the “readymade” or “found objects” of the modernist avant-garde. Readymades are ordinary manufactured objects with non-art functions that the artist selects and modifies, such as Marcel Duchamp’s exhibited urinal, which is considered as the first readymade. By simply choosing the object and repositioning or joining, tilting and signing it, the object becomes art (Evans, 2009).

Analogously, I use the neologism of “readymade space”, or alternatively “found space”, as a theoretical *metaphor* in order to describe practices of adaptive reuse. As Walter Benjamin (2008 [1935]) states in his book *The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction*, mechanical reproduction has changed the way we consider art. Consequently, the constantly changing notion of art has also had an impact on how we consider manufactured and mass-produced everyday objects or pieces of trash in aesthetic terms. This also includes the way industrial spaces are reevaluated. Like the readymade object, “readymade spaces” such as slaughterhouse areas are borne from mass-production and share attributes of seriality, prefabrication and standardization: they are *spaces of mass-production* and *mass-produced spaces*.

On the basis of previous studies (Strömberg, 2013; 2017), I distinguish two categories of readymade spaces: firstly, buildings and spaces which are modified, comparable to Duchamp’s “assisted readymade”: *the readymade space as a makeover*. Secondly, buildings and spaces that are preserved as they are, but placed in a new context by making room for other activities and narratives. It is similar to “the unaltered readymade” of Duchamp, thus, *the readymade space as a stage*. In this essay, the second category is emphasized even though in reality, the two are not necessarily discrete entities but exist on a continuum.

For competing cities, industrial legacies such as agro-industrial have become geopolitical ammunition in which reuse value is a fundamental resource for place-making. The term “reuse value” has been discussed before, notably in the book by Brilliant and Kinney (2011) which studies reuse, appropriation and *spoliation* from the Roman to the contemporary period. However, the term has not been placed in relation to a postindustrial cultural economy, which is a gap I wish to fill. Few scholars have undertaken theoretical studies on adaptive reuse as a *creative skill* impacting the cultural economy; and even fewer have considered its spatial aspects. Such a discussion would also help us to understand the role and conditions of reuse in today’s consumer society, and provide us with new knowledge about the nature of aestheticization processes (Welsch, 1996) in urban planning and the cultural economy.

Meatpacking districts in transition

Specific establishments for animal slaughter, *slaughterhouses* or *abattoirs* (fr.), analogous to *marcelli publici* (it.), were constructed all over the western hemisphere during the 19th century as a consequence of increased population and urbanization, technological developments and concerns about public hygiene. Due to a range of reforms, private slaughterhouses – butchers or slaughtering stalls – which were earlier located in the backyards of the cities, were replaced by public slaughterhouses outside of the city centers (and the city walls) where animal slaughter could be organized, concentrated and routinely inspected (Young Lee, 2008).

The aim of these rational and institutional reforms was to avoid both the visual pollution (ocular separation), and the environmental pollution of the exiting open-air slaughterhouses in the city. By these measures, animal slaughter became a sanitized mass-production industry from which Henry Ford adapted the concept of assembly-line production (Fitzgerald, 2010).

In the USA and in other parts of the West, public slaughterhouses have experienced a decline since the 1960s and 70s. The continuous mechanization of meat processing, improvements in refrigeration, the popularity of beef boxes, the National supermarket system – and subsequently lower prices on meat – consequently made many slaughterhouses either obsolete or technically outdated. Hence, many slaughterhouses have successively been closed down or been relocated even further out from the cities in fewer, larger and more modernized establishments (Fitzgerald, 2010). These structural changes are reminiscent of the relocation of city harbors which has occurred since the 1960s (Gospodini, 2001; Storm, 2008) as a part of a larger de-industrialization in the West (Bell, 1973).

Ex-Mattatoio

The first of the case studies, Ex-Mattatoio, the slaughterhouse area of Testaccio (built 1888–1891) in Rome, is a good example of this kind of de-industrialization. In 1975, the city closed and relocated the enterprise to more modernized slaughterhouse establishments in the outskirts of Rome. For over two decades, there was an extensive debate regarding what to do with the area. Already in 1976, the architect and politician Renato Nicolini stated that Testaccio should be “[...] recognized as cultural heritage, not due to its’ [sic] ‘artistic’ values, and not only due to its significance as a sign of the history of the city, but by its capacity to assume new urban uses and thus new values” (Nicolini, cited in Nyström, 2015, p.36).

This concept, envisioned by the historian Simonetta Lux, was later carried into effect after the turn of the century and then further elaborated upon according to the regeneration project of Ostiense-Marconi. The

plan sought to establish an alternative city center as well as a general upgrading and reinforcement of local identity in the former working-class district of Testaccio and in the adjacent Ostiense. Since its closure in 1975, the slaughterhouse has been a contested space, both politically and spatially. In the early 90s, Somalian and Senegalese immigrants temporarily appropriated the area adjacent to a settled Roma-Kalderashi camp at the former cattle market. A squatting group of young activist architects called “Stalker”, initiated several artistic interventions and served as mediators between the inhabitants and the stakeholders in power during this during this state of “permanent-provisional” (Olshammar, 2002) contestation of space. Thus, the technically illegal use of these buildings actually developed in a constructive way, but not for all, as the Roma-Kalderashi people were evicted from the cattle market in 2008 (Nyström, 2015; see also Ranaldi, 2012).

The first stage of the renewal project began with a social project, when the social center Villagio Globale was established in the end of the 90s. The second stage was finalized in 2000 when the main stakeholders of the area, the University of Roma Tre, opened their school of architecture. Today, Ex-Mattatoio hosts The Museum of Contemporary Art of Rome (MACRO); Accademia di Belle Arti (Academy of Fine Arts); the Kurdish association Ararat; and Città dell’Altra Economia (The City of Alternative Economy) which includes an organic food restaurant and a farmer’s market. The latter two are loosely based non-profit organizations aiming to support solidarity and sustainable development. They have initiated events such as food truck festivals, car trunk sales and short-film festivals. (Figure 2.) Thus, from being a result of territorial tactics of new social movements and ethnic groups, that is, to make use of abandoned areas within the urban fabric, these social groups have become an integrated part of the territory and the urban planning of the area.

Even though Ex-Mattatoio has earlier been characterized as the “most New York-ish of Rome” (Bruscolini, cited in Nyström, 2015, p.45) and later compared with the Meatpacking District of New York (MPD) in travel guides (e.g. Gross, 2008), there are many differences in terms of both goals and means, as will be discussed later. Both areas have gone through several stages of development but the MPD has reached a far higher level of commercialization and gentrification than Ex-Mattatoio.

The Meatpacking District of New York

The MPD is more integrated into the urban fabric than its Italian counterpart and is located close to one of New York’s city centers in Lower Manhattan: Greenwich Village. The MPD has been a hub for the distribution of meat since 1884. Similarly, the MPD started to decline in the 60s because of changes in the distribution system and the explosion of the suburbs, which decreased the demand for meatpacking services in the Gansevoort Market area. Concomitant to deindustrialization, the



Figure 2
There is a focus on arts and social events at Ex-Mattatoio. Here, you find cultural institutions such as art gallery of MACRO (see image), the University of Roma Tre and Cit delle Arti.

PHOTO: PER STR MBERG, 2013.

area soon became a place of prostitution and drug dealing. The first nightclubs, which especially catered to the gay community, were established during the 70s. The first restaurant, Florent Morellet, opened in 1985 (Shockley, 2003). Since then, nightlife and creative industries have successively taken over the area. It has become remarkably expensive to live in the neighborhood since it turned “from prime meat to prime real estate”, Zukin (2010, p.24) argues. The “re-commodification of a previously decommodified space” (Mommaas, 2004, p.522) puts an increasing pressure on the real estate market, driving up the cost of industrial areas as it did earlier in Manhattan (Zukin, 1989 [1983]). The question is, for how long can the last butchers afford to stay? (Figure 3.)

The MPD has undergone an incredible metamorphosis illustrated by the photographers Pamela Greene in her book *Blood and beauty* (2011) and Brian Rose (2014) in his, *Metamorphosis: Meatpacking District 1985 + 2013*.

According to Jeremiah Moss, who wrote the foreword to Rose's book and published the book *Vanishing New York* (2017), there was a tipping point when Markt and Fressen, two fashionable restaurants, opened in 1999. The rents soon increased to \$30.000 per month. Next came the High Line, the high-fashion retailers, and Keith McNally's Pastis, the restaurant often blamed for the death of the "greasy old Meatpacking District", Moss (2013) writes.

This metamorphosis came about in a period when the Meatpacking District Initiative (MPDI) was formed in 2003, aiming to promote the area. Seven years later, a new non-for-profit organization emerged, the Meatpacking District Improvement Association (MPIA), with the same aim but also to redesign, revitalize and commercially develop the public spaces of the district. The MPIA is also responsible for creating events and food & wine festivals to attract people to the area (Inaugural Report, 2011). During this period, high-end stores (e.g. Apple Store; Stella McCartney; Christian Louboutin; Alexander McQueen) and offices of creative industries (e.g. architects; fashion and graphic designers) have increased their presence while very much of the rough-edged ambience of the historical district has disappeared in favor of a clean and polished urban landscape of consumption. The construction of The Standard High Line Hotel (2009) and The Whitney Museum of American Art (2015) further reinforced this high-end image. For some, especially the pop-cultural avant-garde in NYC, the MPD has become a place for tourists and "bridge-and-tunnel-people" (i.e. people from New Jersey), which is a patronizing description picked up in conversation with New-Yorkers living in Queens. (Figure 4.)

Kødbyen

While the economic capital of the MPD area seems to accumulate with ongoing redevelopment, its cultural capital seems to implode, or is converted into another social framework: From being a role model for slaughterhouse redevelopment, the MPD has turned out to be more of a point of reference to which the urban planners refer. According to Rasmus Sanchez Hansen (personal communication, 12 November 2014), the urban planner responsible for the property department of Copenhagen municipality that runs the slaughterhouse renewal project of Kødbyen, the MPD has been a point of reference but not a specific role model. His counterpart in Helsinki, Timo Taulavuori (personal communication, 15 April 2015), the managing director at the Teurastamo slaughterhouse area in Helsinki, expresses the same opinion and mentions Kødbyen as a model for renewal.

In any case, for Copenhagen, the MPD is considered to be a "creative district" where the original businesses and the creative industries are juxtaposed in an exciting way. Their strategy documents also point out the *NSDM shipyard* in Amsterdam, Toronto's *ArtScape*, and *Musicon* in Roskilde as sources of inspiration (Strategi for den hvide Kødby, 2011). Whether the MPD is – or is not – a role model for slaughterhouse renewal projects



Figure 3 and Figure 4

Above: The High Line in the background of the meatpackers. It still exists some meat distribution in Meatpacking District in New York City. The question is for how long.

Below: A shooting session for a Michael Kors ad in the streets of MPD. Besides the newly established high-end stores in the district, it is an explicit symptom of the ongoing gentrification process of the area.

PHOTO: PER STRÖMBERG, 2012.



in other parts of the world is something that seems to alter in time, perhaps due to the recent gentrification process of the MPD.

In comparison to the other two cases, I argue that Copenhagen has chosen a middle way between Ex-Mattatoio and the MPD in terms of commodification and commercialization. The regeneration of Kødbyen has commercial objectives both regarding the minimum rent claimed by Copenhagen Property, and of the ambitions of branding Kødbyen as an attractive district, “designed for life”, for citizens and tourists. On the other hand, its development policy explicitly endorses small and middle sized creative business – not fashionable chain businesses as in the MPD – and focuses on uniquely profiled businesses and activities that are able to contribute both economically and culturally to the profile of the area as a creative district with a rough-edged ambience. Longer-term planning is more achievable in Copenhagen due to greater city government control, whereas market-driven New York is characterized by rather fast changes in its urban environment (Melendez, 2015).

The slaughterhouse area of Kødbyen is in the former working-class area of Vesterbro, close to the central station. It consists of two parts: *Den Brune Kødby* (en. the “brown slaughterhouse”) built in 1878, and *Den Hvide Kødby* (en. the “white slaughterhouse”), in service from 1934. The brown slaughterhouse was closed in the 70s while the white one still houses meat distribution businesses. After having served as a stage for free theatre in the 80s, the brown slaughterhouse later became a vital part of Copenhagen’s strategy to upgrade the Vesterbro. In 1996, the structure was converted into a multifunctional cultural center with a great exhibition hall (*Øksnehallen*), which soon became a showcase for Danish creative industries and employed as a stage for music festivals, art exhibitions, and fashion fairs during Copenhagen Fashion Week.

The next phase of the slaughterhouse renewal project concerns the white slaughterhouse, which is still in use. The ambition is to transform the area into a gastronomic and creative role model for urban regeneration in Copenhagen and Denmark. According to the strategy document of Kødbyen (Strategi for den hvide Kødby, 2011), meat distribution, creative businesses, retailing and nightlife will be taking place simultaneously in the area, but at different hours of the day. Thus, different forms of territorial production can be operating at the same place while overlapping temporally during the day. The urban planners involved use the words “meat and creativity” in combination as a rhetorical devise to promote the vision of *Kødbyen* as an exciting and authentic site where existing food production is blended with leisure consumption, and trend setting with creative innovation. According to its mission statement (Strategi for den hvide Kødby, 2011), this interplay is what makes *Kødbyen*’s profile unique.

In conclusion, I distinguish two general types of slaughterhouse renewal projects which are similar to waterfront redevelopment tourism planning (Xie and Gu, 2015): First, cases in which the meat industry has ceased and functions as a historical setting for the leisure industry (e.g. Ex-Mattatoio Testaccio); second, cases where the existing meat industry is used as a pull factor for the leisure industry and is considered to be a mark of authenticity and a point of departure for creativity and innovation (e.g. Kødbyen). In both cases, there are possibilities to make relevant connections to food production and food consumption.

As indicated earlier, both policy documents and my overviews (Appendix: Table 1–4) show an emphasis on slaughterhouses as culture & art centers, or, slaughterhouses as sites for food and creative industries. The latter reflects a specific discourse within contemporary urban development, explicitly articulated by Copenhagen. In the following two sections, I will proceed with a simultaneous analytic comparison with the aim to generalize. It is based on what I define to be the most significant features of slaughterhouse renewal projects during the last two decades: *meat* and *creativity*. (Figure 5.)

Theme 1. Meat: Urban foodism, body politics and the industrial raw

The great emphasis on food in slaughterhouse renewal projects indicates that gastronomy more than ever is an urban attraction for both local citizens and tourists. At Ex-Mattatoio, the Farmers' Market *BioMercato* is one of several markets that are culinary attractions in Rome. Likewise, the great new food market at Kødbyen is a complement to already existing food festivals and events, and at the MPD, the MPIA regularly arranges food and wine-festivals.

Another clear example is the slaughterhouse area of Helsinki. In the city's culinary culture strategy, *Helsinki foodism*, the goal is to create centers for good food such as Teurastamo which can encourage the city to become "a top-quality European culinary city" in the long run (City of Helsinki culinary culture strategy, 2009). (Figure 6.)

As Susan Parham (2015) shows in her book *Food and urbanism*, there are a multitude of ways in which food constitutes a "place" for which both aesthetics and spatiality, and sociability (habitus and rituals) are significant factors. Slaughterhouses as presented above represent a specific genre of "gastronomic townscapes" that is highly hybrid and diverse.



The vast majority of public slaughterhouses are gated. For this reason, besides being multifunctional, they can be defined as “enclosed food streets” encompassing a multitude of “food relations” in accordance with Parham’s (2015) definition: food production; food shops and Farmers’ Markets; restaurants; pop-ups and food vans; outdoor eating in food festivals; and even micro gardening. Most of these food relations are a consequence of territorial strategies, as developed areas for culinary experiences, while others are more related to tactics through individual ways of eating and drinking.

As La Trobe (2001) states, local food (in opposition to what supermarkets offer) is considered to be more healthy, more fresh and more tasty. Moreover, to purchase food at the Farmer’s market at Ex-Mattatoio or to taste homemade Finnish-Italian ice cream (Jädelino) at Teurastamo, might also be a way of supporting local producers as well as helping to revitalize rural or urban economies.

Both Parham (2015) and Zukin (2010) argue that food consumption is a way of expressing distinction, recalling Pierre Bourdieu’s work on taste and habitus. Food is used to form a kind of “culinary capital” (Naccarato and LeBesco, 2012) as an indicator of social status. This has an impact on the planning and upgrading of these urban spaces and subsequently on gentrification processes, which Zukin (2010) explores in her book *Naked*

Figure 5
Meat & Creativity, the slogan for the Slaughterhouse renewal project of Købbyen. The point of departure for its development is the principle of public-private partnership and a conceptual (themed) approach to the meatpacking history.

PHOTO: PER STRÖMBERG, 2014.



city. She relates the growing interest in the selling, preparing and growing of food in urban spaces – what the British debater Steven Poole (2012) pejoratively calls urban “foodism” – to the discourse of authenticity in which the “local” plays a considerable role. At the same time, when rents rise due to incoming high-end stores and real estate capital, restaurants are the second to leave after the butchers. Florent Morellet, the grungy old French bistro, was closed in 2008 mainly because of the high rents, which might be seen as counterproductive if the ambition was to create a culinary destination.

One determinant for slaughterhouse renewal projects is a historical or ongoing connection to meat production. “Real” food production and distribution becomes a part of the setting. The remaining meatpackers and meat wholesalers become co-creators of authenticity in the way they represent what is left of the pre-Fordist and Fordist city, in which production and handling of food were located in closer proximity to population centers. Slaughterhouse renewal projects like Kødbyen try to meet this perceived need for authenticity by suggesting a “user value” that is still relevant. As Copenhagen claims: “[at Kødbyen] it will continuously be possible to experience arts, slaughters and superior gastronomy side by side” (Strategi for den hvide Kødby, 2011, p.8).

Furthermore, the scale and organization of slaughterhouses in which new activities take place suggest a social framework that evokes small-scale city life, namely, the “convivial city” which Parham describes as “the evanescent, sociable pleasure, reflected in the daily physical and

Figure 6
Ex-Mattatoio in Testaccio, Rome, stand out as being poles apart in comparison to MPD in terms of management, commercialization and gentrification. The Farmers’ Market BioMercato (see image) is one of the attractions in the area.

PHOTO: PER STRÖMBERG, 2013.

social recreation” (2015, p.10). These ideas of urban authenticity seem to be transferred to places like slaughterhouses which were previously located outside of the common life in the city. This is a somehow contradictory and common problem for urban developers and their territorial strategies, because of the difficulties in creating a spontaneous flow of people through such areas.

Whereas convivial consumption and local food production are vital for creating values of authenticity, the industrial materiality of the slaughterhouses features aesthetic values that underline the same. The redundant industrial structures work as a backdrop for consumption and cultural activities as well as a source of inspiration for creativity and entrepreneurship. For the restoration of Ex-Mattatoio, it was important to preserve and expose construction details and slaughter equipment such as cast iron, rails, wooden and steel trusses, animal fences, ceramic tiles, hooks and boilers as testimonies to the industrial past. Still, this must be done in a non-superficial way, the architect Massimo Caramassi argues. At the same time, the building must be adapted to its new functions, and thus inevitably altered (Mulazzani, 2010).

Authenticity has gradually become important in the aestheticization of industrial places. This kind of “heritage aesthetics” demands a certain form of “patina management” in which patina and functionality is balanced and controlled: to create a feeling of aging and authenticity on the one hand and to avoid complete decay on the other (Willim, 2008).

The industrial materiality of slaughterhouses is corporeal and somewhat horrifying. Perhaps the most characteristic props related to slaughterhouses are white ceramic tiles and animal hooks in the ceiling. At the brewpub War Pigs in the MPD, these details are preserved and appear as key objects for the setting: “We still have the hooks in the ceiling where the carcasses used to hang from the ceiling, and all the walls are proper butchers’ walls that are easy to wipe”, says the pub manager (Melendez, 2015).

Hooks in the ceiling, cold stores, plastic curtains, and ceramic tiles are often represented in popular culture in horror movies such as *Slaughterhouse* (1987), *The slaughterhouse massacre* (2005) or *Saw III* (2006) where the horror action and bestial dehumanization takes place at slaughterhouses. In other cases, the slaughterhouse becomes a site for the reproduction of masculinity. In *Rocky I* (1976), the underdog fighter and daily meatpacker, Rocky Balboa, uses a dead animal carcass as a punching bag and by that associates masculinity, violence and meat in an expressive way. Also in the fashion industry, meat and slaughterhouses have been a recurring theme. The best-known example is when Lady Gaga showed up in a meat dress at the MTV awards in 2010. Soon meat dresses appeared at fashion weeks, in New York (2010) and Amsterdam (2013), to mention two.

Certainly, “meat aesthetics” has a symbolic power to which many people can relate in one way or another, not least regarding the body politics of meat, beauty and pleasure. From 2002 to 2010, Pamela Greene explored this connection by catching the circadian rhythm of the MPD, its denizens and the gentrification process from 4 p.m. onwards. In her photographic book *Blood and beauty*, the meatpacking industry and nightlife, as well as meatpackers and drag queens, are represented equally in order to underline this bodily connection as if they were two sides of the same coin.

This chain of associations is also evident in the way entrepreneurs in regenerated slaughterhouse areas refer to “meat”, “flesh” and “slaughter”, for example in the names of the temporary club “Flæsk” (en. pork) as well as the fitness center *Butcher’s Lab* in Kødbyen, or the night clubs *Slakthuset* (en. the slaughterhouse) at the meatpacking district in Stockholm, which also elaborate these “territorial associations” with similar raw expressions.

In the case of Kødbyen, the municipal government has a policy for enterprises that want to rent, specifically, there should be some kind of connection to the rental site’s industrial heritage. In the case of *Butcher’s Lab*, the entrepreneur had to come up with a business concept with more edge than simply that of an ordinary fitness center (personal communication, 12 November 2014). Similar to Zukin’s observations (2010), creative workers, bohemians and gentrifiers add aesthetic reuse values to the use-value of butchers and the exchange-values of real estate developers. (Figure 7.)

To conclude, I would like to elucidate this discussion by alluding to the ethnographer Robert Willim’s (2008) trope “industrial cool” which illustrates an aesthetic and somewhat distant approach to old factories. Whereas “industrial” refers to mass production, “cool” signifies creative and reflexive attitudes towards materiality and thought regarding these sites. Central to this notion is the process of “cultural sorting”, a selective attitude that visitors or developers have in order to maintain a distance in relation to the former activities of such sites. The separation between the killing of animals and the gaze of the public was one of the reasons for erecting public slaughterhouses in the 19th century. Similarly, this ocular separation is still relevant for postindustrial slaughterhouses.

Analogously, we can speak about “industrial raw” as an aesthetic principle for many slaughterhouse renewals in which the brutality of the slaughter activities, the harsh industrial environment, raw food and bodily nightlife are parts of the imaginary concept. There is an exchange of aura in the aesthetic interplay between the gory hardware and the culinary and arty software, the contemporary design merges with the remains of the slaughterhouse era.



This kind of semiotic play of props and words is an explicit feature of “readymade spaces” mentioned in the introduction: spaces of mass production in which new activities take place totally apart from the original use but linked through association. The contrasting effect constitutes a considerable part of the aesthetic reuse value of the site. In terms of post-structuralism, the postmodern interest for appropriation may be described in the way the reused objects are being negotiated semiotically “in-between” two use values. In other words, the difference between what the building has been used for previously (meat production or distribution) and the purpose for which it is being re-used now (e.g. restaurants, nightclubs, art gallery, fashion fairs, performance art, etc.), creates a contrast which is able to be expressed as both creativity (potentials of innovation) and spectacularity (potentials of being attention grabbing). The raw slaughterhouse setting becomes a stage for new associative activities: the readymade space as a stage (Strömberg, 2013; 2017).

The basis of these ventures is an aesthetically grounded postmodern neo-romanticism, which turns the industrial relics of hooks and blood-stained tiles into appealing gestures over the former activities on site. The “cultural alchemy” (Löfgren and Willim, 2005) of these makeovers mixes the high with the low, exclusive gastronomy and high-end stores with the industrial raw, while it creates a spectacular contrast which conveys a statement about the place or business.

Figure 7
Body politics of the “industrial raw”.
The gym Butcher’s Lab at Kødbyen
adapted their business concept to the
overall conceptual and territorial strategy
of the area implemented by the city
of Copenhagen.

PHOTO: BUTCHER’S LAB, 2017.

Another aspect is how the newcomers, the entrepreneurs, can turn creativity into gold between these ceramic tile walls.

Theme 2. Creativity

As mentioned above, one main difference between slaughterhouse renewal projects is whether the aim is to develop cultural centers (e.g. Ex-Mattatoio in Rome; ExMà in Cagliari; Matadero Madrid), or to create “melting pots” for the creative industries (e.g. Kødbyen in Copenhagen; Teurastamo in Helsinki). Smith and Warfield (2008) make a similar two-fold distinction between “culture-centric” orientations (arts, culture, and community wellbeing, access and inclusion) and “econ-centric” orientations (urban economic sustainability and wellbeing through creative initiatives/industries) for the development of “creative cities”.

This dichotomy is the most common point of departure in culture policy debates (Cunningham and Flew, 2010) and is thus very effectual as a rhetorical device while being somewhat simplistic at the same time. Case studies show much greater diversity and refinement.

As many scholars already have observed (i.e. Cunningham, 2009; Cunningham and Flew, 2010; Throsby, 2008), there is no strict division between these two orientations, and there are more refined categories. In addition, scholars (Barnes and Hutton, 2009; Chapain, Clifton and Comunian, 2013; Anttiroiko, 2014) stress the importance of *place*. They argue that geographical differences are underplayed in many analyses of creative cities. To put it differently, the successes of San Francisco (see Florida, 2005) or the MPD are not easily repeated, not least in smaller cities or rural places. To challenge this culture economic-dichotomy theoretically and to understand the complexity of slaughterhouse renewals, Ari-Veikko Anttiroiko (2014) suggests a set of refined categories of creative city policies, whereas Hans Mommaas (2004) proposes a series of variables for “culture cluster classification”.

Anttiroiko advocates four creative city policy approaches in refined forms. First, in the *business-oriented approach*, the development and clustering of creative industries is in focus, that is, competitiveness and synergy through creative industries and clusters; the critical mass of creative industries; specialized content production; new technology; and market logic (profitability). The Meatpacking District is the most obvious example of this category. Kødbyen is very much influenced by an entrepreneurial approach as well, even though the local governments, in accordance with the Nordic model, try to strike a balance between the market-perspective, institutional governance and community-based development. (Figure 8.)



Figure 8
The hybrid city. Købbyen is an open but gated urban village in a corporate city, containing both creative businesses and cultural events supported by the public.

PHOTO: PER STRÖMBERG, 2014.

Ex-Mattatoio has a more complex nature because of changing circumstances, and it is certainly a mix of several approaches. The planning policy for the slaughterhouse area sprang out of creative initiatives in local civil society utilizing the community-oriented approach. This approach is based upon the evolutionary development of culture and creativity in local civil society; two variants of this approach involve locating creative quarters in urban settings and cultural development in small and remote local communities. Today, Ex-Mattatoio has been taken over by cultural institutions (MACRO; Roma Tre; Cit@delle Arti) representative of the institutional approach. This approach emphasizes special programs and cultural institutions and is typical of global cities, capital cities and arts cities. It is typified by institutional thickness; a large pool of cultural institutions; dominance of publicly funded cultural institutions; and high culture. The last category, socially oriented creative city policy, is associated with urban regeneration and policy objectives such as “social inclusion, empowerment, sustainability and public health” (Anttiroiko, 2014, p.857).

Mommaas (2004) takes another perspective in terms of classification of cultural clusters. He puts forward the following parameters: the type of portfolio of activities (horizontal or vertical) being promoted, the way

they are managed and financed, their spatial and programmatic position within a wider urban infrastructure, and their specific development trajectory. Furthermore, classification of a site is based upon whether it is consumption or product-oriented, predominantly art- or entertainment-based; the result of top-down planning or bottom-up organic growth; relying on closer and hierarchical or open and network-based forms of finance and management.

In comparison, as presented in Appendix: table 2, it is clear that the MPD and Ex-Mattatoio stand out as being poles apart in many aspects: in terms of city policy, spatial position; financing; existing or non-existing meat production; and development path. There are many reasons for these differences.

Firstly, to state the most obvious, being centrally located in Manhattan, there is a greater commercial pressure on the MPD, where the gentrification processes have been much more far reaching, whereas Ex-Mattatoio is more isolated and peripheral, with relatively low real estate prices. Secondly, as Bertacchini and Borrione (2013) have observed, the business-oriented approach only appeared in Italian national culture policies as late as in 2007. There is a more rural focus than in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries. The Scandinavian case takes a middle-position, being market-oriented and publicly supported at the same time. The combination of production/consumption and private/public interplay – also applicable to the other Scandinavian cases – seems to be a Scandinavian feature, perhaps influenced by the triple helix-model.

Mommaas (2004) also takes a closer look at the discursive field of the creative clusters and their justifications and legitimations in which he identifies five motives which are sometimes used in coalition with one another. In the following, I will treat them in relation to the multiple case study (Appendix: Table 3).

First, there is a great emphasis in all cases on issues of branding and place-positioning strategies, which are designed to “strengthen the identity, attraction power and market position of places”. The strategies of the “catwalk economy” (Löfgren and Willim, 2005) for which city marketing is crucial, have been addressed extensively in research over the years (for an overview, see Vanolo, 2015), and they are more relevant than ever. Slaughterhouse renewal projects are yet another example of postindustrial reuse in which the buildings play a representative role by accentuating the imaginary of the “creative city”. They are considered as geopolitical ammunition in competition with other cities, and they are explicitly articulated in the subheadings of Kødbyen’s and the MPD’s strategies: “The White Kødbyen is branding Copenhagen” (Strategi for den hvide Kødby, 2011, p.8) respectively “Secure the Meatpacking District’s image as a leading destination” (Inaugural Report, 2011, p.5).

Secondly, “stimulating a more entrepreneurial approach to arts and culture” is something that has been integrated into culture policy in Scandinavia during the last decade, although one may dispute the overall correspondence between the Nordic countries (Power, 2009). However, there are no explicit ambitions of promoting cultural entrepreneurialism in any of the individual cases, but the approach does exist within the overall cultural economic discourse.

Thirdly, creative clustering often has the goal of “stimulating innovation and creativity” by creating “creative melting pots”, which is a frequently used metaphor in the often tautological discourse of the creative industries. Whereas Ex-Mattatoio has become a site in which artistic innovation and creativity take place in cooperation between educational and cultural institutions, Kødbyen takes a more entrepreneurial position in order to create a local climate favorable for creative workers, in line with Richard Florida’s (2005) theory of the creative class. If successful, these sites might have an extensive symbolic and infrastructural spin-off by attracting other creative workers. In Kødbyen (which has a comparatively greater emphasis on creative industries; see Appendix: Table 4), there is a self-financed community of creative workers located in one of the buildings, called Slagtehus 40 (en. *slaughterhouse 40*). On their web page, the enterprise is presented as an “informal raw workshop” where the industrially raw setting of “ceramic tiles, swinging doors, and old cold stores” are now reused as studios, workshops and offices.

The ambience of Slagtehus 40 leads on to the fourth motivation of creative clustering, to “find new use for old buildings and derelict sites”, which is a common goal in all cases. Many scholars have observed the increasing demand for place-bound identities (Mommaas, 2002; Hutton, 2004; Barnes and Hutton, 2009), authenticity (Zukin, 2010; Alonso, O’Neill and Kim, 2010), nostalgia (Kohn, 2010) and aesthetics (Mckenzie and Hutton, 2015; Willim, 2008) in relation to industrial heritage, valued for their symbolic, economic and recreational potential (Evans, 2009; Loures, 2015). Renewal projects are a way of preserving the industrial infrastructure of slaughterhouses, whereas heritage is largely considered to be an ideal setting for innovation and creativity, by urban planners as well as by users. According to the owners of bicycle company *Butchers & Bicycles* at Kødbyen, the ceramic tile walls and historic architecture help appeal to visitors, and the environment keeps the company’s bike designers inspired: “It influences our creativity [and] it gives us a lot of energy to come down to our really cool showroom, and it’s also a workshop” (Melendez, 2015). In that aspect, the readymade space becomes an inspiring driver for innovation.

Finally, a fifth motivation for cultural clustering is “to stimulate cultural diversity and cultural democracy”, which is in line with the ambitions of the Ex-Mattatoio renewal project and its social dimensions, in particular

the social center (it. *centrosociale*) of *Villagio Globale* and with the inclusion of various ethnic groups on site. Ex-Mattatoio opens up an urban cultural platform for otherwise marginal groups and tastes. The City of Alternative Economy (Città dell'Altra Economia) is yet another enterprise that reinforces the image of Ex-Mattatoio as an “alternative area” (Franzén, 2005) within the urban fabric.

Conclusion

Are slaughterhouse renewal projects yet another grammar of the postindustrial – and for some critics, neoliberal – city? The answer is yes, on the surface of it. They have a similar building structure, they are located in peri-urban locations, they have a similar path of regeneration and gentrification, and moreover, they have similar objectives as sites for recreation and cultural renewal. And finally, they have similar appearance in terms of “industrial raw” which is the outcome of the semiotic play of the former industrial activities and the conceptual base of the ready-made space of slaughterhouse areas.

However, the grammar is very elastic, meaning that they are very much related to national policies and discourses of the “creative city” and thus having regional and national variations. Moreover, slaughterhouse renewal projects are hybrid in several cases and nuanced in many senses: spatially (open but gated; peri-urban); functionally (multifunctional); financially (public-private in some cases); economically (multi-sectorial); historically (preservation through renewal); aesthetically and socially (industrial raw and convivial); and highly hybrid in terms of production regimes (pre-Fordist, Fordist and post-Fordist production).

Another aspect of hybridity is that the slaughterhouse renewal projects not only imply different types of territorial production: from the territorial tactics of the remaining meatpackers and the first gentrifiers (squatters and bohemians) to the territorial strategies of city planners and developers who seek to turn degraded areas into hipsteresque neighborhoods of “creative cities”. The territorial productions also follow different rhythms, depending on what kind of activity is taking place in what time of the day and in what season. In that aspect, their territoriality is multi-layered. However, the level of territorial complexity varies among the three cases, that is, the level of “publicness of place as a product of several intermingling territorial layers at a place” (Kärrholm, 2004, p.295). While MPD is highly privatized leaving less room for territorial appropriation, Kødbyen and Ex-Mattatoio open up the area to a wider range of uses and thus relates to the issue of exclusion and homogenization.

Perhaps slaughterhouse renewals ultimately reflect what Zukin (2010 p.53) calls the “hybrid city” that we regard as authentic while containing both “hipster districts and luxury housing, immigrant food vendors

and big box stores, community gardens and gentrification”. Købbyen, to refer to the most obvious example, is an open but gated urban village in a corporate city, containing creative businesses and cultural events supported by the public, a legal needle exchange for drug addicts and a runway for fashion shows, and meat production and food consumption on an industrial raw and convivial site.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the Swedish Research Council (project no: 2013-1860) and a part of the author’s post-doctoral project entitled “Cultural Economy of Reuse” (2014-15), which has mainly been affiliated with (1) Department of Art History, Uppsala University, but also (2) University of South-Eastern Norway.

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Appendix

Table 1

A compilation of slaughterhouse renewal projects in Europe and the US in the last decades. The list is incomplete and not definitive.

Name of the slaughterhouse area	Function	City (Country)	In use	Renewal	Main activities today
Abattoirs d'Anderlecht; Slachthuis van Anderlecht; Les Caves	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Anderlecht (BE)	1890–	1990s	Meat & Farmer's Market; Food & Drink; Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture
Slachterij-Schijnpoort	Slaughterhouse	Antwerpen (BE)	1877–2006	Not yet	Future transformation
Ex Macello Lugano	Slaughterhouse	Lugano (CH)	1891–	2010s	Food & Drink; Art & Architecture
1933 Shanghai/Old Mildfun	Wholesale market	Shanghai (CN)	1933–	2000s	Food & Drink; Shopping; Creative Industries; Art & Architecture
Prague Market in Holesovice	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Prague (CZ)	1895–1983	2000s–10s	Food & Drink; Cultural Activities; Shopping; Farmer's Market
Zentralvieh- und Schlachthof	Slaughterhouse	Berlin (DE)	1876–1991	N/A	No transformation
Alter Schlachthof	Slaughterhouse	Dresden (DE)	1873–1907	2000s	Food & Drink; Shopping; Creative Industries; Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture
Schlachthof Hamburg	Slaughterhouse	Hamburg (DE)	1892–1996	2000s	Meat Wholesalers; Meat Market; Food & Drink
	Wholesale market		1892–		
Kødbyen	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Copenhagen (DK)	1878–1970 (Brune)	2000s	Meat Wholesalers; Food & Drink; Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture; Creative Industries
			1934– (Hvide)	2010s	
Matadero Madrid	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Madrid (ES)	1911–1996	2000s	Food & Drink; Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture; Creative Industries
Les Abattoirs	Slaughterhouse	Toulouse (FR)	1825–1988	1990s	Art & Architecture; Cultural Activities
Abattoirs de la Villette	Slaughterhouse	Paris (FR)	1867–1974	1980s	Art & Architecture; Cultural Activities
ExMà	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Cagliari (IT)	1880s–1966	2000s	Art & Architecture; Cultural Activities
Macello Pubblico	Slaughterhouse	Milan (IT)	1929–	Not yet	Architecture; Squatting; probable future transformation
Ex Macello Padova	Slaughterhouse	Padova (IT)	1908–1975	1990s	Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture
Cantiericulturali ex Macelli-Officina Giovani	Slaughterhouse	Prato (IT)	?	1990s	Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture
Testaccio Ex-Mattatoio	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Rome (IT)	1888–1975	2000s	Food & Drink; Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture; Farmer's Market; NGO's
Ex-Mattatoio	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Torino (IT)	1821–1999	2000s	Food & Drink; Cultural Activities
L'Abattoir de Casablanca	Slaughterhouse	Casablanca (MA)	1922–2002	2000s	Cultural Activities; Art & Architecture
Slakthusområdet	Slaughterhouse;	Stockholm (SE)	1933–	2010s	Meat Wholesalers; Food & Drink; Food Production
	Wholesale market		1923–		
Sütlüce Mezbahası	Slaughterhouse; Wholesale market	Istanbul (TR)	1923–1990	2000s	Cultural Activities
Smithfield Market	Wholesale market	London (UK)	1868–	1990s	Meat Market; Food & Drink
Meatpacking District	Wholesale market	NYC (US)	1884–	1990s	Wholesale Market; Food & Drink; Shopping; Art & Architecture; Creative Industries

Table 2
Characterization of three slaughterhouse renewal projects in 2015, in reference to Mommaas' (2004) classification of urban development.

Characteristics	NYC	ROME	CPH
Strengthening the identity, attraction power and market position of places	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stimulating a more entrepreneurial approach to arts and culture	No	No	No
Stimulating innovation and creativity	No	Yes	Yes
Finding new use for old buildings and derelict sites	Yes	Yes	Yes
Stimulating cultural diversity and cultural democracy	No	Yes	No

Table 3
Justification and legitimation of three slaughterhouse renewal projects in 2015, in reference to Mommaas (2004).

Characteristics	NYC	ROME	CPH
Start of renewal projects	00s	00s	90s/00s
Spatial position: central/peri-urban	Central	Peri-urban	Central
Meat production/distribution	Yes	No	Yes
Management structure	Strong	Strong	Strong
Horizontal portfolio: intracluster collaboration	Multisectorial	Multisectorial	Multisectorial
Vertical portfolio: cultural functions	Multifunctional	Multifunctional	Multifunctional
Financial situation	Private	Public	Public-Private
Level of openness or closeness of the spatial and cultural programs involved	Openness /Adaptability	Openness /Adaptability	Openness /Adaptability
Development path	Top-down	Bottom-up	Top-down
Creative city policy	Business-oriented	Institutional (Community-oriented)	Business-oriented

Table 4
Entrepreneurial activities at three slaughterhouse renewal projects in 2015.

Activity/Business	NYC		ROME		CPH	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Eat/drink (restaurants; bars; nightclubs)	50	28 %	1	10 %	26	17 %
General food production/distribution		0 %	1	10 %	15	10 %
Specifically meat production/distribution	5	3 %		0 %	8	5 %
Retailers/shops	75	42 %	1	10 %	10	6 %
Creative Industries	22	12 %	2	20 %	37	24 %
Accommodation	11	6 %		0 %		0 %
Public organisation (education; youth centers; GO's)		0 %	4	40 %	14	9 %
NGO/Non-profit org.	1	1 %	1	10 %	4	3 %
Other businesses (banks; services; logistics; consultancy; wholesalers of tools)	14	8 %		0 %	40	26 %
Sum	178	100 %	10	100 %	154	100 %

* Definition: Creative industries defined UK Government Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) definition which describes the creative industries as: Advertising and marketing; Architecture; Crafts; Design: product, graphic and fashion design; Film, TV, video, radio and photography; IT, software and computer services; Publishing; Museums, galleries and libraries; Music, performing and visual arts.

NYC = Meatpacking District, New York City

ROME = Ex-mattatoio Testaccio, Rome

CPH = Kødbyen, Copenhagen



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