Creative hubs in Amsterdam and Rotterdam

Policy interventions in practice

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Abstract:

The aim of this research is to assess whether policy interventions regarding the creative industries in Amsterdam and Rotterdam attain the desired effect; facilitating favorable conditions for the creative industries at large, in the city. The focus will be on one such intervention; the facilitation of creative hubs. Due to their suggested nature of being hotspots for innovation, offering relatively cheap working spaces and enabling talented creatives to develop their skills, creative hubs are ideal locations for the creatives to flock to and the creative industries to flourish. Looking at the types of businesses present in the selected creative hubs we can assess if the policy aims come into fruition in practice i.e.; they *will* harbor a broad selection of different sectors of the creative industries. In order to do so a way of dividing businesses into specific sectors of the creative industries has been developed using literature on defining the creative industries. Using a framework of traits specific to the different subsectors within the creative industries, data is collected with which the firms can be divided into subcategories and show if this broad selection is present in the selected creative hubs. Provided with this overview it becomes possible to assess this policy intervention and discuss the outcomes, future interventions and possible steps to be undertaken to align theory and practice.

Keywords:

Cultural economics, Creative (cultural) industries, Creative hubs, Policy interventions, Amsterdam, Rotterdam.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

During one of my internships I had the fortunate chance of visiting several creative clusters in Rotterdam. I became interested in their relationship with the Rotterdam municipalities' cultural policy knowing they were created to house the creative industries. I tried to find out what the motives of the Rotterdam municipality concerning these creative clusters were. As it seemed they were facilitated by the municipality to stimulate a creative environment in the city by offering cheap working spaces for any whom are considered to have a creative profession. The rather vague definition of 'creatives' and 'creative profession' made me wonder about the practical outcome of the policy. In my experience the clusters were mainly inhabited by architects and graphic designers who, unable to deny them being creative as well, were certainly not the entirety of the creative industries. This led me to believe that the policy might not achieve what it was developed for. As a broadly defined economic sector the difference in aspects like production scale, dealing artistic integrity and what motivates the producer are vast. These differences might not be addressed accordingly ultimately leading to the marginalization of specific sub categories. Especially the, already struggling, 'arts' (e.g. painters, sculptors, visual artists) might get snowed under in the rapidly changing attitude towards subsidizing (on which they heavily relied) and the focus on developing entrepreneurial exploits (which are possibly difficult to integrate in their way of producing). The main idea behind this thesis is essentially three fold. First a model is developed for classifying the many sectors part of the creative industries, second this model is applied on selected creative clusters in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Third, using the results it becomes possible to see if the Amsterdam and Rotterdam theoretical policy aims match their intended aims to harbor a broad range of firms from the creative industries within the creative clusters.

The creative industries have only recently started playing a major role in national, regional and local policies. Many policy makers understood that the creative industries are one of the few economic sectors where growth was still possible in urban areas. Kloosterman (2004) used a selection of cultural industries[1] to show that this sector still showed promising growth. In 2011 according to Rutten (Rutten et. al., 2011; Rutten, 2012) the number of jobs in the creative industries grew faster than in the economy in general in the Netherlands. With 280.000 jobs it accounted for 3.5% of all jobs in the Dutch economy. Besides the promised

[1] Publishers, Architectural services, advertising, movie and video production, radio and program production, new agencies and journalists and libraries, museums and nature protection (note the absence of painters, sculptors and other autonomous artists!)

growth another issue linked with the rise in interest in the creative industries was the advent of the global economy. With distances rapidly disappearing western cities needed to make themselves ‘different’ and ‘attractive’ to visitors, labor force and companies in order for them to visit or settle there. This competitiveness amongst western cities even made the European Union undertake a study into the creative industries and the impact it has on local economies. The rapport (KEA, The economy of culture in Europe), published in 2006, transformed the creative industries into one of the major pillars for economic development (Lavanga, 2013) using culture and creativity as instrument to combat the threat of so called ʻclone citiesʼ (Law, 1992; Landry in Hartley, 2005. This made European cities more diverse and attractive in what they have to offer in terms of cultural and social amenities. At the same time the economy in general went through a form of ‘aesthetizationʼ (Lash and Urry, 1994; Scott, 1997) where economic goods started adopting a set of properties or (symbolic) values usually associated with the arts. Properties like image or style which are not so much related to their usage value but more related to their ability to portray a way of life. On the other hand the cultural products and their potential to revitalize urban economy where starting to be seen as commodities that can be used in a more practical way. With the promise of growth to look forward to, the increasing globalization taking place and the economy in general going through big changes, it is no surprise that policy makers started seeing the creative industries as a ‘cure all’ medicine, turning it into a useful ‘tool’ to combat major urban issues.

Having shown that the creative industries can boost the economy, Richard Florida together with Charles Landry also pointed out that the creative industries can have other positive effects as well (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002). Florida states that art and cultural amenities are a necessity when it comes to attracting highly skilled, highly educated, creative and talented people to a city (which he calls ‘the creative class’), in turn they attract or start creative businesses and high-tech companies. Besides the accusation that Florida uses; ‘the creative industries(...)as an instrumental sideshow’ (Pratt, 2008) his theory is also debated for the fact that he does not take into account the difference in social, historical and the political background of the urban areas that implement his ideas (Deinema, 2012). This leaves a certain amount of uncertainty whether or not they will work in any given setting (Peck, 2005; Markusen, 2006) making his ideas possibly less useful. Charles Landry (2000) posed the idea of the ‘creative city’ He also advocated an attractive living environment to attract talented (creative) individuals boosting a cities ability to be innovative, creative and capable of competing with other ‘creative cities’.

Recent years have seen an increase in policy documents using the creative industries to boost local economy without any actual empiric evidence(Evans, 2009; Wolfe and Gertler, 2004) Even though the theories all seem straightforward within academia there is much debate on whether or not these policies actually work and might also depend on other features as well (Communian, 2010; Evans, 2009; Gleaser, 2009; Pratt; 2008; UNCTAD, 2008; Markusen , 2006; Scott, 2000). The main issue at hand is the fact that no evidence has yet been found that there is one universal theory or policy that will work no matter where it is implemented or what aims the policy has (Evans, 2009). Besides these difficulties there is another issue that makes implementing a certain policy aimed at developing a healthy creative industries difficult; defining the creative industries. Policymakers have difficulty figuring out what to include into the creative industries and what not (Evans, 2009; Cunningham, 2002) Cunningham (2002) further warns us about the dangers of policy driven definitions. He argues that if policy and policy makers are allowed to come up with their own definitions they have a tendency to go for the one that suits their purpose best. This adds to the already growing concern of certain sub categories within the creative industries, getting snowed under because they demand a far more specific approach or do not fit the intended outcome of a policy. All in all the idea of the creative industries being a ‘cure all’ medicine for modern day urban issues, is an understandable one theoretically yet highly uncertain in its outcome in practice. The aim of this thesis is to look into one of many possible policy interventions; the creative hub used as a means to a sector wide boost the creative industry.

Literature thus yields three major concerns regarding policies involved with the stimulation of the creative industries all of which could be seen as cause for a failing policy;

1) Lack of a clear definition of the creative industries.

2) No empiric evidence supporting the claims that these policies work.

3) Disregarding the path dependency of a city in regards to the creative industries.

This thesis approaches these issues using the cases of Amsterdam, as well established creative hub and Rotterdam, as a relative new comer.

1.2 HYPOTHESIS:

Policy aimed at facilitating the creative industries in creative hubs, uses ill defined definitions of the creative industries and in doing so disregards the differences of firms within the creative industries allowing policy makers to in- and exclude sectors as they see fit. Focusing more on the strategic use of the creative industries for financial gains rather than the implementation of a policy that truly stimulates creativity and innovation in a city, sector wide runs the risk of marginalizing certain sub categories. These concerns have led to the following hypotheses:

1) Current municipal policy regarding creative clusters in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, does not acknowledge the differences between firms from the cultural and the creative industries.

2) Current municipal policy in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, regarding creative clusters, is focused on entrepreneurs in the creative industries rather than the creative industries at large.

3) Current municipal policy in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, regarding creative clusters, uses creative clusters as tool for economic development rather than tool for housing the creative industries at large.

4)Current municipal policy regarding creative clusters in Amsterdam and Rotterdam marginalizes the arts sector in creative clusters.

Given the economic importance the creative industries is bestowed with, within urban development today, a clear scientific definition is needed based on empirical evidence in order for policy makers to assess the outcomes of their interventions. First off, the distinction between creative industries and cultural industries, as is suggested by Throsby (2001) and Cunningham (2002), has to be taken into account when developing a policy. This suggests that the difference between the two is significant enough to see them as two separate branches of the (creative/cultural) industries which raises the question whether or not they can be ´governed´ by the same policy. Whether it be because of difference in scale of production, motivation of creation or path dependency of the cities, there is a strong rationale for the need to make this distinction. Second, the specificities of the two groups should be identified as they can serve as firmament on which to distinguish the two and construct more effective policies. Thus creating a basis on which a better defined, better equipped policy can be written. A policy that acknowledges the differences and is equipped for handling the specificities of firms part of the creative industries making sure that policy scope, goals and instruments are aligned to reach the same goals.

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The distinction between cultural- and creative industries is rarely made in policy documents (Cunningham, 2002) even though a clear distinction can and should be made . Based on a framework derived from literature (KEA, 2006) consisting of dimensions able to distinguish different sectors part of the creative industries, a methodology is proposed designed to asses policy outcomes in practice. This methodology can serve as a tool for policy makers involved with the creative industries assisting them with making policies able to make this distinction. This gap in knowledge will be addressed guided by the following research question;

Are the current intervention policies, regarding the positive stimulation of the creative industries through facilitating creative hubs as implemented by the Amsterdam and Rotterdam municipalities, adequate to cater for a the entirety of the creative industries within these cities?

Furthermore sub-questions are formulated based on the issues identified in the literature regarding the facilitation of the creative industries that can be answered following this research. The answers to these questions provide us with an holistic overview of the policy situation and identify possible deficiencies.

Sub questions:

Do the Amsterdam and Rotterdam policies regarding the creative industries acknowledge the distinction between cultural and creative industries?

Do the Amsterdam and Rotterdam policies regarding the creative industries acknowledge the historical background of the city as beneficial and/or constraint?

As part of a larger discussion about subsidizing the arts this discussion should be seen in the context of a changing landscape towards subsidies and entrepreneurship, a landscape in which choices have to be made. This topic therefore touches several other topics adding an interesting layer to the discussion; Do municipalities support art or do they support economic growth with their creative industries policies? A relevant question especially in the Netherlands, where certain sectors, of what is now called the creative industries, were heavily reliant on subsidies by the national or the municipal government. Still subsidizing the arts yet with a changing set of underlying motives it becomes important to see how this change affects the sector.

1.4 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY.

The change in attitude is having a profound impact on the internal structure of the creative industries itself where art, the artist, entrepreneurs, commerce and creativity are no longer seen as mutually exclusive but all part of a larger economic entity. Not only did it change the way policy makers regarded the sector but also the way subsidies are given. More and more policy makers let go of the idea that art as 'Art' is a good thing with enough merit in itself to be eligible for government support. This view of art for art's sake is in danger of being eroded and might be changed into a view that the arts should be able to generate (at least a growing part) of its own income. This is already stated in the cultural policy documents of both Amsterdam (Hoofdlijnen kunst en cultuur 2013 – 2016, 2012) and Rotterdam (Midden in de Stad - Cultuurplan 2013 -2016, 2012) and even on national level (Ministerie van OCW, 2011) Yet, not acknowledging the many specificities of the different sectors and only assessing the creative industries as a whole, runs the risk of marginalizing certain sectors unable to cope with this shift towards self reliance, a development (willingly?) overlooked by policy makers. This work aims to develop a tool to assess the state of different sectors within the creative industries and through that assess the policy, a crucial step towards getting a better view and better equip policymakers to address issues specific to these different sectors.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS.

Succeeding the introductory chapter, chapter two of the thesis consists of the literature review in which is discussed firstly the guiding principles that sparked the interest in and usage of the creative industries as 'tool' for urban/economic regeneration, showing us the motives behind the policies and providing a context in which we should understand current policy development. Second it raises general issues concerned with the application of policies aimed at stimulating the creative industries. The second part of the literature review will address the problems that arise when trying to define the creative industries and the implications this has on policies. From this second part the variables and concepts are attained that will be used to develop our methodological framework needed to assess policy outcomes. Chapter three will discuss the two Dutch municipalities chosen as cases for this study; Amsterdam and Rotterdam as well as a brief overview of 'creatives' in the Netherlands. Both municipalities have an outspoken policy regarding the creative industries yet approach the matter differently.

The policies and approaches will be briefly discussed as well as their aims. This gives us the opportunity to assess the two approaches and explain possible differences in outcome. Chapter four will consist of the methodological framework and addresses the operationalization of the research question and its concepts. Chapter five will report on the outcome of the research and interprets these outcomes. A discussion is started on the findings as well as answering the research question if possible. The last chapter, six, will review the results and draw a conclusion. Furthermore the limitations as well as recommendations for future research will be presented to the reader. These recommendations are based on the methodology used in this thesis and the accompanying research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW:

This thesis is aimed at developing a model able of assessing policy interventions regarding the stimulation of creative clusters as part of the creative industry. The developed model will be applied to current policies in Amsterdam and Rotterdam and assessed is whether policy aims align with policy outcomes. One of the main reasons for the development of this method is the concern of marginalization of groups within the creative industries. Meaning these groups are not able to benefit from the implemented policies.

The first part shows the fundamental differences between sub sectors part of the creative industries and why it is vital to take these into account if one wants to stimulate the creative industries at large. Furthermore this section provides the basis on which a general but very useful division can be made. The second part discusses theoretical models that enable us to divide the creative industries further into sub sectors and provide us with the concepts used to develop the methodology enabling us to operationalize the research question and research the selected cases; creative hubs in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The third part of the literature review discusses the rationales policy makers can have when deciding to implement a policy regarding the creative industries. These rationales provide us with an overview of the possible outcomes and the theoretical motives behind the development of the policy.

2.1 THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

The idea of creative people being a fundamental part of a viable urban landscape has been thoroughly researched and recorded (Currid, 2010). Vice versa, creative people benefit highly from an urban environment. Be it because a concentration of population enables deviant behavior in relative anonymity or because a large population allows for the formation of subcultures, city life makes unconventional living possible (Fischer, 1995). This is one of the main underlying thoughts found in policy documents regarding the creative industries. It made policy makers believe that these kind of environments can be managed through policy interventions serving their needs.

The fact that, in order for a city to be competitive in today's (global) economy, policy makers should focus on the creative industries, has been shown many times (Evans, 2009; Lavanga et. al. 2007; Currid, 2007; Markusen, 2006; Scott, 2006). Using the creative industries, cities would once again become hubs of production albeit not in terms of factory driven mass-production but in terms of less tacit objects like knowledge, services and creative/cultural goods. Scott (2000) argues that today the focus of production has shifted from mass consumption to a market consisting of one; 'increasingly differentiated... by

...fragmented consumer cultures'. Highly suited for the personal, intimate forms of production found in the cultural industries. As mentioned before the shift from mass produced, impersonal products to products that focus more on the 'aesthetics' and deriving more value from symbols using advertising and branding. Or as observed by Lash and Urry (1994): 'ordinary manufacturing industry is becoming more and more like the production of culture'.

Showing promising growth in terms of jobs (Rutten et. al., 2011; Rutten, 2012) and already accustomed to the concepts of human capital and innovation, the creative industries presented the perfect candidate for generating economic growth, a cities economic competitiveness and urban regeneration. Popularized by Richard Florida (2002) and his 'creative class' approach, and Charles Landry (2000) who shows the existence of 'creative cities', governments started seeing the merits 'creative' people have to offer to a city. Bringing with them knowledge, they are seen as the ideal labor force in the knowledge economy.

The link between art, culture, innovation and creativity is often made, as creativity is a necessity of cultural production (Frey, 2002). Having a vibrant cultural presence within ones city would, according to Florida, attract a highly skilled labor force, high-tech businesses and more creatives providing new ideas and innovation who were looking for these conditions. Culture and especially the creativity that goes along with it became a highly sought after commodity used for various urban problems and inner city issues. In politics the creative sector quickly became a miracle cure.

Australia was the first country to acknowledge the interaction between commercial and cultural activities (KEA, 2006) spurred on by the vast technological changes in the new media sector. This acknowledgement meant a growing interest (in politics and the scientific world) resulting in the identification of specific (entrepreneurial) characteristics of the creative industries further allowing them to be defined as a separate industry. They are considered to be; 'risk-taking', 'self-starting', 'idea-driven' and 'lifestyle-based' (Foord, 2008; Bilton and Leary 2002). Or as Cunningham (2002) argues that these characteristics are; the enterprise dynamics of the arts. Coinciding with a shift towards a knowledge based economy where human capital is the main aspect, the renewed interest in the production of cultural goods is, in hindsight, a logical one. Scott (2006) summarizes it best by describing recent economic growth and innovation as coming from; 'sectors such as high-technology industry, neo artisanal manufacturing, business and financial services, cultural-products industries (including the media), and so on..' further emphasizing the importance of knowledge intensive industries. Features linking these industries as one whole are; the presence of a well developed market (specialized firms, extended networks, presence of like-minded people), a fluid and competitive labor market (part-time, freelance project-based contracts) and third; flexible specialization and growing niche markets. These features closely relate to the dynamics of the arts. Innovation and creativity have always played an important role in the production of culture so has project-based work, the need for well developed networks and flexible specialization, making cultural production an ideal fit within the knowledge based economy. John Howkins already articulated this in 2002; ‘creativity is not new and neither is economics, but what is new is the nature and the extent of the relationship between them and how they combine to create extraordinary value and wealth’ (Howkins, 2002). Nevertheless, there are some major issues when trying to merge creative, knowledge and the basic economic theory of supply and demand, into one. Especially when considering the arts. No matter how closely related one finds the characteristics of present day goods to one from the creative industries, denying the specificities and assuming that these two economic sectors can be compared, one will be faced with trouble. The nature of an end product should not be a reason to regard two economic sectors as more or less the same, especially when using it to develop a policy. Indeed the development in knowledge within the creative industries is apparent throughout the sector and is similar to that identified in the knowledge economy yet this in no way can justify a merger of these two sectors as easily as is done now. The main concern is that this characteristic is but a small part of what it is that ‘art’ as a creative output entails. Concerns about artistic integrity, intrinsic motivation and the willingness or ability to mass-produce are regarded very different in the arts compared to the more industrialized sectors where these issues (can) play a far less important role. Not acknowledging these specifics will result in a blind spot where ‘the arts’ become marginalized and are expected to function as part of the rest of the creative industries forgoing their own integrity as a separate entity within the larger creative industries.

A fierce contester of the creative industries theory is Nicholas Garnham (2005). Similar along the lines of the aesthetization of products identified by Lash and Urry (1994), he argues that this shift towards the use of cultural production as factor for economic growth is opportunistic. He sees the term ‘creative’ as opposed to ‘cultural’ as a means of including vastly more sectors than would be possible when the term ‘cultural’ would be used. As was the problem encountered by Lash And Urry, with the trend of aesthetization , an emphasis should be put on developing a method of distinguishing between sectors in terms of their peculiarities and economic impact and not give a definition that on its own is too broad or unspecified but easy to use. Following this distinction between cultural and creative Garnham argues that especially the ICT sector could now be included in the creative industries. This sector showed promising growth (digitization) in contrast to the declining manufacturing sector, so including it would mean an increase in importance (in terms of jobs and economic growth) for the ‘creative industries’ at large, justifying policy interventions. This example is mainly focused on the UK definition of the ‘creative industries’ and its arguments against it are imbedded in the politics during the time in which the first attempt was made of defining the ‘creative industries’. Regardless however if one agrees, Garnham points out a deficiency that still holds true today; policies on the creative industries can have many different aims some of which might be less well stated and lacking clear vision of what is strived for. Creating policies that seem to be able to tackle the problems at hand but will in practice never succeed because of the immense diversity of conditions needed within the entirety of the creative industries which will be overlooked. In this sense Garnham’ concerns are still legitimate when we consider the difficulty that arises when trying to define the creative industries to this day. Some rationales for policy intervention by facilitating the creative industries, might stem wholly from the belief in the growth of an economic sector that is ill defined and thus shows artificial growth rates causing the policy intervention to fail or only serve a certain subsector of the industry at large. Developing a policy based on an ill defined term and utilizing an economic sector comprised of many different sub-sectors, that at best shows some overlap at the edges, will have consequences on the outcome in practice. If not addresses properly, interventions based on this policy will struggle and assessment will not yield reliable results. It is therefore important to see whether it is possible to first identify and second categorize the many sub sectors that fall under the creative industries allowing for a clearly structured overview of the creative industries at large needed for a well founded assessment.

2.2 DEFINING THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

When trying to answer the research question guiding this thesis it is imperative to make a distinction between the different sub categories present in the creative industries. Doing so one can show that the differences between them are sufficient enough to justify separate policies or at least a policy able to address specific characteristics. To do so, the creative industries should first be defined in terms of which sectors are included within and a rationale on which the selected sectors are based. Reasons are that the term ‘creative industries’, as used in policies, is an ill defined concept with numerous in- and exclusions varying from

country to country and even between municipalities. The first attempt at defining the creative industries was made in the United Kingdom when the Creative Industries Mapping Document was issued in 1998. Underlying idea was to; 'raise awareness of the industries, the contribution they made to the economy and the issues they faced' (Creative Industries Mapping Document). They defined the creative industries as; 'industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property'. Highly aimed at exploiting creativity and innovation to strengthen (national / regional / local) economies in globally competitive world, it met with much resistance. Accompanied was a definition of the industry and which sectors to in and exclude[2]. Issues concerning this definition immediately started to develop. Flew (2002) stated that the list was to incoherent and no underlying threads could be found on which to link all the included subsectors as being part of a coherent industry. Ranging from more laborious, intimate forms of production such as painters and performing arts to highly industrialized sectors in terms of production (film). The list also included commercial sectors 'strongly affected by business cycles' such as design and architecture (Flew and Cunningham, 2010). Garnham (2005) has a serious issue regarding the inclusion of the software sector and other IT related subsections into the definition. Including those would unjustly enlarge the size of the creative industries and the impact it has on the economy. The main concern was the use of the concept 'intellectual property'. Using this as basis on which to comprise the list, excluding a sector becomes a difficult task.
Another attempt was made by KEA, European affairs (KEA, 2006) based on the initial definition of the DCMS[3]. KEA states: Cultural industries include;

"the traditional arts fields and cultural industries, whose outputs are exclusively "cultural". The following fields of activities are included: visual arts (crafts, paintings, sculpture, photography, etc.), performing arts (theatre, dance, circus, festivals, etc.), heritage (museums, libraries, archaeological sites, archives, etc.), film and video, television and radio, video games, music(recorded music performances, revenues of collecting societies in the music sector), books and press (book publishing, magazine and press publishing)".

As opposed to the creative industries or content industries;

[2] Included where; Advertising, Antiques, Architecture, Crafts, Design, Fashion, Film, Leisure software, Music, Performing arts, Publishing, Software and TV and radio.

[3] Department for Culture, Media and sports in the UK who issued the Creative Industries Mapping Document.

“which are referred to as distinct from, although complementary to, the Information and Communication Technologies (or ICT) sector. The expression is used to describe the industries which produce “information content products”, digital or otherwise”.

A definition followed by the United Nations and which is specified as follows;

“including among creative industries those that derive value from copyrighting and distributing creative content, while cultural industries generate content through ‘traditional arts‘, e.g. visual and performing arts, literature, etc”. (UNCTAD, 2004)

The main issue that arises today when trying to ‘define’ culture, and the main reason why it is important to do so, is the fact that according to Flew (2002), the term nowadays can be used for almost anything that is being produced. Especially the term ‘symbolic meaning’ which was once regarded solely the domain of artistic and intellectual work alone. The ‘symbolic meaning’ a product can have for a given society, in which it is generated, and the role it can play for members of this society nowadays can be found in many more products from many more industries. Based on the idea by Lash and Urry (1994) that the trend of ‘aesthetization of products’ (increased meaning derived from a certain product due to conventions within a society) plays an ever increasing role in society at large today. Since not only cultural goods posses the ability to convey ‘values’, ‘ideas’ or ‘symbolic meaning’ defining culture using these traits leaves us with a term that has little definitional value. Hedmonshalgh and Pratt (2005) however disagree and define the main contribution by or distinction of the cultural industries as being found in its outputs that have; ‘a strong influence on the way we understand society’. They feel that there is still a deeper sense of ‘symbolic meaning’ that goes beyond trends and fads that come and go. It is however noteworthy that any kind of product nowadays has to offer something more than just practical usage value and has to touch, however slight, the boundaries of offering an experience or a sense of belonging to a certain society or group within a society. This does not entail however that these products should be part of the same economic sector and governed by the same policies.

It becomes clear that a simple definition of the creative cannot be given. There are many arguments that oppose the idea of using one overarching term stating that its use is too easily applied without actually understanding the many specificities within the sector causing them to get lost in the process. If we truly want to understand if a policy concerned with stimulating the creative industries through facilitating creative hubs works, we have to make a distinction as to categorize and assess these different sub sectors individually.

2.2.1 Cultural and creative industries

If we want to develop a model able to assess policies to see if certain sub sectors are indeed marginalized, we need to develop a way of distinguishing them from each other. In order to categorize the multitude of firms part of the creative industries first a very basic division has to be made. This is due to the fact that the generally accepted and widely used term ‘creative industries’ encompasses several distinct sectors as is shown in the previous paragraph. For use in theory this might be enough, after all using this definition discussing the creative industries can be done with relative ease seeing as that there is a clear distinction of sectors which are all part of the creative industries. However, blindly following this distinction when making a policy will have several consequences. The most important of which is the impact of the creative industries when researching the industry within an economic sphere. Seeing the creative industries as one large entity and not acknowledging the major differences within the sectors will result in a exaggerated importance of cultural production as being driving force for the economy (Flew, 2002; Garnham, 2005) It might very well be that some sectors are able to generate a more substantial economic development than others or that these developments are more straightforward. Closely related to the problems that arise when using the term cultural industries as container concept is how to address problems arising in specific sectors. For example a certain sector might not do well but if the creative industries in general is showing growth it will be difficult to identify. Further problems arise when looking for rationales for subsidies. Subsidizing (parts of) a booming industry is difficult to justify. Caves (2002) identified seven[4] characteristics of the creative industries that are now seen as being part of the more core creative art side and with which a strong case can be made to distinguish between the creative industries and the cultural industries. Several aspects can be pointed out as distinctly different from other branches within the creative industries, e.g. mode of production and size of the firm. These terms are important when developing a method that can classify sectors within the cultural industries because they are mutually exclusive to parts of the cultural industries. That is to say that opposing characteristics will hold true for different subsectors within the cultural sector.

Another footing that makes it possible to make a distinction between sectors in the creative industries might be centered on supply-driven rather than demand-driven production.

[4] 1 Uncertainty about demand, 2 producers derive non-economic forms of satisfaction from their work, 3 collective nature of creative outcomes, 4 infinite variety of creative outcomes, 5 vertically differentiated skills, 6 coordinate diverse creative activities within a finite amount of time, 7durability of cultural products for economic rents long after production.

The supply-driven part would consist of creative products, more labor intensive and a highly developed artistic side which would rely to a certain extent on public subsidies, rather than the demand-driven side which are creative products in essence commercial but production still does involve a certain amount of creativity. This distinction enables us to account for visual artists such as sculptors do be distinguished as making art for art's sake without having thought beforehand if the art is going to sell as opposed to an architect designing a house because they like it without considering if it is going to sell. UNCTAD (2008) introduces these as 'cultural goods' versus 'creative goods'. Foord (2008) poses that emphasizing the social value of cultural production might be a key factor. UNCTAD (2004) defines cultural goods as; 'Cultural goods refer to those consumer goods that convey ideas, symbols and a way of life'. This enables the use of the term cultural industries within the broader scope of the creative industries. Hedmonshalgh (2008) explains that the distinction stems from a historical context both with own rationales. On the one hand you have the (subsidized) 'high arts' mostly portrayed in the more traditional forms of art (e.g. visual- and performing arts) both of which historically shunned commercialization of their product, on the other the emerging 'new media' side prone to more commercial activities. Cunningham and Flew (2010) and Galloway and Dunlop (2007) are concerned by the fact that cultural economists use the terms cultural and creative industries as interchangeable. In doing so ignoring the specificities of both sides. Even though little literature is found on what these specificities are, perhaps because they are hazy and difficult to identify, several basic assumptions do appear.

These assumptions are based on six main themes; creativity, intellectual property, symbolic meaning, practical use value, methods of production and repeated sunk costs (Flew 2002, 2008), Caves (2003), Lash & Urry (1994), UNCTAD (2008), Galloway & Dunlop (2007), KEA (2006) Baumol (2006), which are used in most definitions of the cultural industries (Galloway and Dunlop, 2007). The assumption mainly entail the difference of importance given to each dimension providing the opportunity to make a distinction based on this. Arguably some, mainly creativity and intellectual property, cannot be denied as being just as much part of the more creative industries side yet provide insightful views on the dimensions that constitutes the creative industries itself.

As shown there are six well established dimensions on which the creative industries can be divided in at least the cultural and creative industries. This distinction provides a useful insight on which to further develop the model to assess the policies. Using the six dimension it now becomes possible to categorize the various sub sectors based on dimensions that are universally true for the entire creative industries but are distinct in importance according to the sub sector one is analyzing.

2.2.2 Sectoral distinction of the crative industries

The general distinction made, providing us with the basis on which we can further distinguish the creative industries and together with the six dimensions on which to base these distinctions it now becomes important to establish a way of framing these distinctions. In doing so it becomes possible to a; strengthen the idea of the importance of a policy that can distinguish the sub sectors in the creative industries, showing that these dimensions are regarded with varying levels of importance per sub sector and b; create a framework in which one can place the sub sectors relative to each other to show overlap but more important show how policies should address them using different rationales.

In general there are four models produced so far that go beyond the cultural / creative industries division , each with their own merits and drawbacks. These models all use different starting points from which they draw their rationales for choosing this criteria. The *UK DCMS* model is describes above. The *concentric circles model* is based on the idea that the more cultural value or content a product has the closer it is to the cultural core. Creative ideas (produced within culture) are formed in the core and pulsate outwards making more outward circles less concerned with culture but very much influenced by it. The peripheral rings are considered more commercial or market oriented. The *symbolic texts model* stems from a critical-culture-studies approach and differentiates between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ art where the popular art is most abundant in a society because of its base within this society where it is created, unlike the ‘high’ art which is considered elitist and transcending motives found in everyday life. Lastly the *WIPO copyright model* is based on the idea of copyrighted works. Intellectual property as the physical form of creativity. An important distinction is made between industries actually producing the intellectual property goods and those needed to distribute them. Table 1 summarizes these attempts at defining the cultural industries each with their own rationales.

1. UK DCMS model	2. Symbolic texts model	3. Concentric circles model	4. WIPO copyright model
Advertising Architecture Art and antiques market Crafts Design Fashion Film and video Music Performing arts Publishing Software Television and radio Video and computer games	**Core cultural industries** Advertising Film Internet Music Publishing Television and radio Video and computer games **Peripheral cultural industries** Creative arts **Borderline cultural industries** Consumer electronics Fashion Software Sport	**Core creative arts** Literature Music Performing arts Visual arts **Other core cultural industries** Film Museums and libraries **Wider cultural industries** Heritage services Publishing Sound recording Television and radio Video and computer games **Related industries** Advertising Architecture Design Fashion	**Core copyright industries** Advertising Collecting societies Film and video Music Performing arts Publishing Software Television and radio Visual and graphic art **Interdependent copyright industries** Blank recording material Consumer electronics Musical instruments Paper Photocopiers, photographic equipment **Partial copyright industries** Architecture Clothing, footwear Design Fashion Household goods Toys

Table 1. Classification systems for the creative industries derived from different models. Scoure: UNCTAD (2008).

To try and generate consensus on what to include into the cultural industries a study was undertaken by UNCTAD in 2008. This was done to address the problem of the many national and/or local definitions that existed giving birth to the problem of comparison when looking at the impact the cultural industries have in different geographical areas. By comparing the definitions of thirteen geographically bound locales and one organization[5] they derived an aggregate list on what to include;

1. Publishing and literature.
2. Performing arts.
3. Music.
4. Film, video, and photography.
5. Broadcasting (television and radio).
6. Visual arts and crafts.
7. Advertising.
8. Design, including fashion.
9. Museums, galleries, and libraries.
10. Interactive media (Web, games, mobile, etc.).

The symbolic texts model, copyright model and the concentric circle models make distinctions within the selected (main)sectors further distinguishing them from each other.

[5] Ten countries, one region, one city, the European Union and the World Intellectual Property Organization.

This implies the existence of certain motives for a distinction that can be made within the cultural industries, showing which sectors are considered more prone to be involved in the production of culture and which operate more in the periphery and only slightly involve themselves with the production of culture. Using this assumption we can see which arguments, on how to further divide the 'cultural industries', can be found in the literature.

Most definitions address the (very basic) difference between 'cultural' and 'creative' fields. But the KEA (2006) model for example provides a list of characteristics common to the 'branches' in which they divided the creative industries. One being 'the cultural sector' (further divided in *the core arts field* and *cultural industries*) and the other 'the creative sector' (divided in *creative industries and activities* and *related industries*). The addition of the characteristics for each of the branches yields a useful overview of how the branches relate amongst each other. Furthermore the different characteristics provide insightful terms able to distinguish the very subtle differences as well as the similarities and interlinkages between the branches, showing that although they are all part of the creative industries there is a reason to see them separate by their own right[6].

Drawing from these models UNCTAD (2008) provides us with a classification of the creative industries. As guiding principle UNCTAD uses a rationale of inclusion based on creativity. Again a very difficult term to define (*involving imagination and the capacity to generate original ideas* is a start). Human, Social, Cultural and Institutional capital form the basis from which creativity emerges. Creativity however is not monopolized by culture. In today's economy scientific and economic creativity are also important factors. Regardless of the commercial nature of the product all forms of production are inherently linked to some degree of creativity which makes the importance of identifying 'special' characteristics for the subsectors that much more important.

Distinguishing four major groups within the creative industries (Heritage, Arts, Media and Functional creations), every group is divided into a specific subgroup essentially placing every profession in a certain group. This distinction is made based on definitions provided by UNCTAD (2008). The general range that is provided goes from activities; *'rooted in traditional knowledge and cultural heritage such as arts and crafts and cultural festivities to more technology and service oriented subgroups such as audiovisuals and new media'*. Figure 1 gives a clear overview of their classification.

[6] See page 41 fig 2 for the complete overview of the KEA (2006) model.

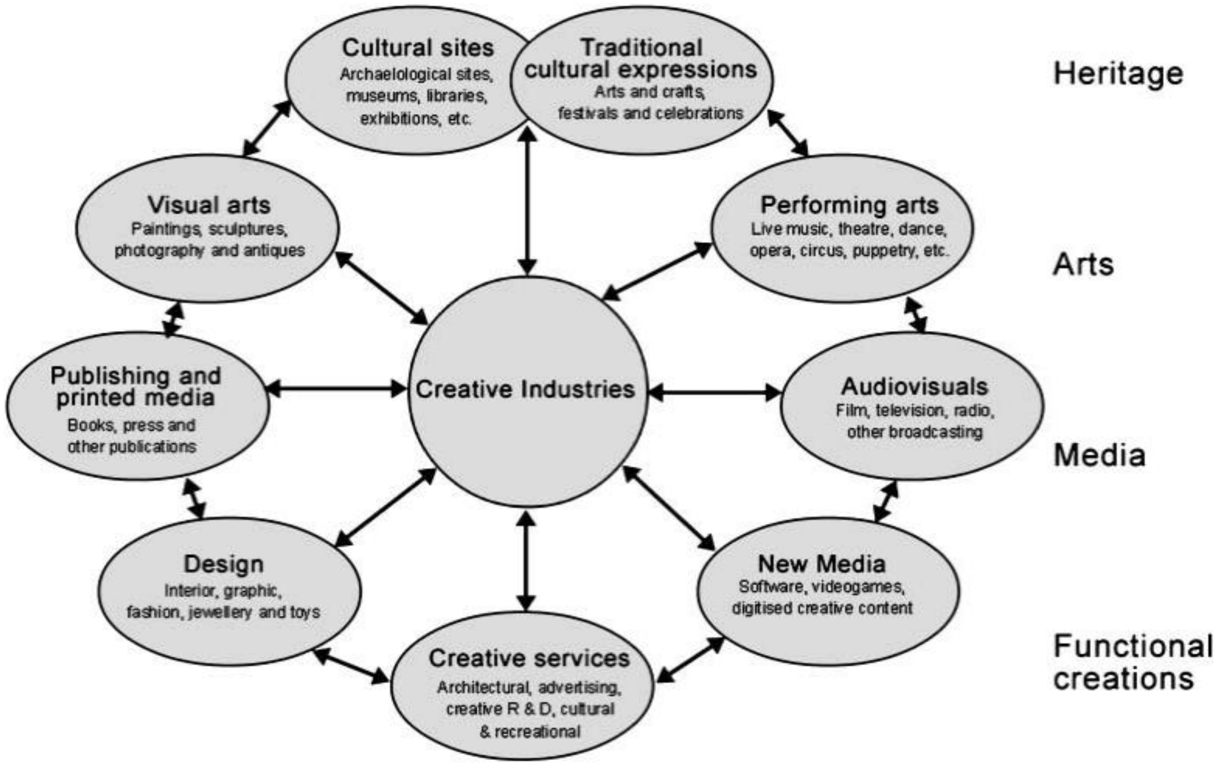

Figure 1. Classification of creative industries. Scource: UNCTAD 2008.

The useful addition of the range in the description, depicting two extremes of a set of characteristics, provides us with a direction on which to classify the subsectors as being part of the more 'cultural' side of the creative industries or more on the side of the 'creative'. Besides UNCTAD (2008) other authors (Flew; 2002, 2008; Lash & Urry 1994; Galloway and Dunlop, 2007; Caves; 2003) also identified several basic 'ranges' with which further distinction can be made. Now it becomes possible to make a distinction based on a combination of characteristics that together have the ability to categorize the sub sectors empirically. After establishing the theory on which we will build the framework how to identify the sub sectors in the creative economy we can now focus on the rationales behind the policies.

2.3 POLICY RATIONALES FOR SUPPORTING THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

The following paragraph discusses various policy rationales regarding the support of the creative industries, the importance of having clearly defined goals and an understanding of the complexity of the industry at large. When we wish to assess any policy regarding the creative industry to see if the intended outcomes hold true we first need to establish which rationales there are for implementing such a policy.

According to Mulcahy (2006) rationales for supporting culture have always been subjected to change. The foundations of current rationales there for should not be seen as separate from these developments. A struggle between rationales favoring populism (low arts) , making use of an as broadly defined creative sector as possible (making sure culture addresses to anyone) and elitism trying to narrow down the definition ultimately led to where current debate now stands. Has culture grown into a utilitarian policy tool concerned with the economical impact culture can have? In essence current policy rationales can be split into two main branches. They either favor the traditional approach of subsidizing the arts (sectoral benefits)or they are rooted in the belief in 'the creative city' (spatial benefits), capable of having an impact on (Goff and Jenkins, 2006).

2.3.1 General issues concerning creative industries policies

Foord (2008) identified nine[7] distinct rationales municipalities can have for implementing a creative industries policy. As underlying factor Foord (2008)recognized two key assumptions about the creative industry; growth and Innovation. Growth was seen in terms of increase in employment rate and growth of the GDP due to the growth in the creative industries. The second assumption with which policy makers viewed the creative industries, according to Foord , was the idea that seemingly endless levels of innovative ideas would come forth from them. Innovation was linked to the knowledge economy by acknowledging 'ideas', 'networks' and 'tacit knowledge' as part of the new economy. However Foord warns us for the lack of empirical evidence supporting these assumptions. Rather he emphasizes the fact that policies are justified by using individual products or specific locations that were successful as examples. This implies that policy nowadays is lacking and willfully overlooks the risks involved of policy failure in terms of aims and actual outcomes. This is supported by the fact that no final definition of the creative industries has been developed in order to assess policy outcomes.

A different criticism on the policies regarding the creative industries is that none address the consumers i.e. the demand side (Hartley, 2008 in creative metropoles). It could be the case for a municipality to have very sophisticated policies that seem to work yet do not have a network present to support the creative firms. Any policy regarding the facilitation of the creative industry in creative clusters, is inherently aimed at providing workspaces for this industry. It does not however look if there is demand for products coming forth out of this industry. A successful creative industry within a municipality does not only have the spaces

[7] 1) Economic development, 2) Infrastructure, 3) Education and Training, 4)Tourism/Events, 5)Regeneration, 6)City branding, 7)Social / Access 8)Amenity Quality of living, 9) Heritage.

where the works can be made but must also contain a network of buyers and distributors. This holds especially true for the core arts where buying and selling is still very much a personal matter and because of the nature of the products they are difficult to transfer, let's say digitally. The presence or lack of this so called 'thick market' is far less apparent amongst policy makers and the question remains if it is at all possible to develop a policy regarding this. The 'thick market' issue is closely related to the issue of path dependency that is named as a key factor for success in literature which is usually overlooked. The major concern that is raised regarding policies facilitating the creative industries, is whether or not policy makers sufficiently consider the path dependency of the 'creativity' within a city. Path dependency and embeddedness might be reasons why some policies fail. Musterd et. al. (2007) argue that cities with a tradition in 'creativity' have a higher chance of appropriating this knowledge. Being historically a geographical area where art has flourished will greatly increase the chances of a viable creative industries within a municipality. All three issues pose a serious threat to policy makers who have rationales on which they base policies that are not fully developed or show a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of the creative industries at large by, for instance, using ill defined definitions and/or not acknowledging the different guiding principles amongst firms within the creative industries, failing to integrate these issues into the policy.

2.3.2 Framing of Creative industries policies

The development of a well deliberated policy starts with a clear vision of the goals. Having clearly articulated goals will prove indispensable for understanding how to approach the problems one is addressing. These goals or rationale for doing what one is doing not only guides the development but structures it and makes it possible to later assess if the policy has reached its intended goals. Furthermore it reveals the complexity of the field on which it is supposed to be applied. This theoretical framework will be put next to the policy documents regarding the creative industries of both Amsterdam and Rotterdam providing us with a preliminary understanding of the policy played out in practice.

The report published by Creative Metropoles[8] (2009), regarding rationales for municipalities to invest in the creative industries, identified four[9] themes that depict the rationales why municipalities invest in the creative industries and what these policies hope to achieve. Out of these four themes they derived five distinct policy aims that act as motive for the development of the policy. All of them are very distinct in their approach and their outcome. The policy aims all differ on three main themes; who they focus on (in terms of individuals or sector wide), which sectors they focus on (the various sub categories within the creative industries) and what they hope to achieve (economic growth, stimulating the cultural sector) See table 2 for detailed description. The overlap in the 'scope of the concept', is rather large and there for less useful. What is very useful is the description based on the 'central category of analysis'. With this we can frame policies based on the question what they hope to stimulate, individuals or the creative industries as a sector. This can easily be found the policy documents. The priorities given combined with the level of acknowledgement (creative industries level, sectoral level, individual level) of the different guiding principles found in firms within the creative industries make it possible to frame the policy.

[8] [8] A project based initiative funded by the European Regional Development Fund aiming to help policymakers to make policy, regarding the creative industries, that is better focused and more efficient in spending public means.

[9] 1) Public support for enhancing business capacity and internationalization of creative industries.
2) Developing urban space and creative city districts.
3) Financing of creative industries.
4) Demand for creative industries products and services.

		CENTRAL CATEGORY OF ANALYSIS (sector, individual,etc.)	SCOPE OF CONCEPT (the sectors in focus)	CENTRAL FOCUS OF THE CONCEPT
CREATIVE ECONOMY	People / companies working in certain sectors	Sector	1) R&D, 2) Publishing, 3) Software, 4) TV and Radio, 5) Design, 6) Music, 7) Film, 8) Toys and Games, 9) Advertising, 10) Architecture, 11) Performing Arts, 12) Crafts, 13) Video Games, 14) Fashion, 15) Art.	Economic (copyright, patent, etc.)
CREATIVE CLASS	Social class, people working with creativity (problem solving)	Individual on the basis of occupation / field of activity	The core occupations: 1) scientists and engineers (including software programmers), 2) university professors, 3) poets and novelists,4) artists, 5) entertainers, actors,6) filmmakers, 7) designers, 8) architects, 9) editors (journalism, broadcasting?), 10) cultural figures, 11) other opinion-makers The "second round" occupations around creative core: 1) high-tech sectors; 2) financial services; 3) lawyers and other legal professions; 4) health care professions; 5) business managers; 6) physicians; 7) technicians.	Economic, spatial, and cultural/social
CREATIVE CITY	Overall importance of creativity for urban development	Holistic approach to urban development	The list of sectors is not comprehensive. Among others, the following fields are highlighted: 1)high-tech enterprises, sectors, 2)R&D, 3) universities, 4) creative industries (including sectors producing cultural goods and services), 5) cultural/heritage tourism, 6) leisure activities, 7) urban planning, 8) transport, etc.	Attempted integral approach, including economic, spatial, social, cultural dimensions
CULTURAL ECONOMY	Close to creative economy; cultural people working in certain sectors	Sector	1) Performance, 2) fine art, 3) literature and books, 4) journal magazines, newspaper, 5) film, 6) radio, 7) television, 8) recordings on disc or tape, 9) advertising. Also considered are the production, distribution and display processes: 1) printing, 2) broadcasting, 3) museums, 4) libraries, 5) theatres, 6) nightclubs, 7) galleries.	Economic and cultural
EXPERIENCE ECONOMY	Creative people and companies as providers of "experience"	Stage in the economic development	Specific sectors are not in focus; 'experience' is seen an attribute which can be theoretically attached to every service, product, commodity.	Economic

Table 2. Policy aims and rationales regarding the creative industries. Source: Creative Metropoles,2009.

The main question policy makers should be made aware of and one that can help in setting goals is; are we facilitating because of market failure or to stimulate the creative economy? Two completely different points of origins for developing the policy that, regarding the differences in types of firms part of the creative industries as shown in the previous paragraphs, will have different intervention instruments, different goals and different outcomes. We have to keep in mind though that these are highly theoretical constructs and far from directly applicable policies. As such they have no merit on their own. The main contribution of this model is that it will acts as a reference with which policies can be assessed on the level of scope, goals and policy instruments. We now have a clear overview possible rationales behind the policies, what they theoretically aim to achieve and the need of clearly stated goals. Yet, in order for us to fully answer the research question we need to understand one last concept; the creative cluster.

2.4 CREATIVE CLUSTERS AS THEORETICAL CONCEPT

Creative clusters as a concept have two major functions (Momaas, 2004) used in creative industries policies one; they offer workspaces for the creative industry thus stimulating the this sector within a geographical location and two; generate 'spill-over' effects in terms of positive urban development (safer, livelier) in general make the area more attractive to live or visit. With the declining inner cities due to the advent of the knowledge economy the dual functions where ideal for policy makers to combat the deprivation of the inner city. Combined with the emerging interest in the creative economy clustering the creatives became a 'hot' policy tool.

Landry (2000) emphasizes the significance of a *creative milieu* that forms the base of the development of a cities creative industry. He defines this as being a combination of hard infrastructure (buildings, amenities, institutions) within a city and soft infrastructure by which he means; *'the system of associative structures and social networks, connections and human interactions, that underpins and encourages the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions'* (Landry 2000: 133). Musterd, Bontje, Chapain, Kovács & Murie (2007), elaborate on this by explicitly stating that creative firms can be stimulated to settle at certain locations by factors such as an attractive residential environment and the creation of (public) meeting places. Markusen and Johnson (2006) argue however that artists make reasoned and researched choices between alternatives such as New York and smaller arts-rich cities that trade off access and being `where the action is' with livability, artistic networks and philanthropic support (Markusen, 2006; Markusen and King, 2003). Furthermore they stress that attracting forces are complex. It is both low costs of living as well as attractive living environments that play a part. The concept of clustering was developed by Michael Porter in the beginning of the 1990's (Porter, 2000). Clustering companies in general provides several advantages; lower rents, the pooling of resources and the presence of suppliers all of which also apply directly on creative clusters. These advantages are called efficiency externalities and within the creative industries are supplemented with innovation externalities (Karlsson, 2008). Based on knowledge it shows that creative clusters need more than the efficiency externalities and enter the realm of face to face interaction, human capital and in general a creative environment (de Jong, 2012; Zhao & Qi, 2012) or the so called soft infrastructure.

It is clear that the standard economic clustering approach is hard to duplicate in an environment aimed at housing the creative industries. Being such a broadly defined industry housing extremely varied firms it is hard to imagine only policy concerning the location factors will be sufficient to cater for the entire industry. This raises the question if different branches of the creative industries benefit differently from these interventions. Zukin (1996) argues that an artistic 'mode of production' has emerged in which increasingly entrepreneurial artistic enclaves are used methodically by developers to manage profitable turnover in neighborhoods, showing a branch in policy development that treats facilitating creative clusters as if they are part of regular economics. Together with our observation the issues discussed here strengthen the belief that policies are unable or unwilling to really address the issue of marginalization of the arts. It is there for imperative that policy makers understand that facilitating creative clusters just by clustering is not enough.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The literature yielded two main features of this thesis. First it identified issues concerning the policies tasked with facilitating the creative industries and thus provided us with arguments to do our research. Second it provided us with a framework needed to constitute our model and assess the Amsterdam and Rotterdam cultural policy. The first chapter describes the creative industries and provides an overview of today's interest in the sector as well as introducing us to issues regarding the definition and application of the term in policies regarding the creative industries. Lack of a definition raises questions of the proper use of the term and points out that without it policy makers can more or less use the term as they see fit. The second chapter discusses the research undertaken to try and find a definition. As of yet it has not been found, yet certain characteristics, that make a distinction between firms within the creative industries possible, have been identified. These stem from making the very basic distinction of cultural versus creative industries. Using the KEA (2006) and the UNCTAD (2008) models it proves possible to develop a hybrid model capable of categorizing subsectors and thus assess them individually and not as a whole. In the third chapter we discuss rationales for supporting the creative industries. This chapter provides us with a model that can frame the policy and see the theoretical outcome providing us with the opportunity to construct a preliminary answer of the research question. Furthermore it acts as a reference to see if policy goals, instruments and scope are aligned to achieve the same outcome. This is a crucial step in assessing and further proving or disproving our hypothesis. The model also provides insights that can help in reflecting on the policy. Showing us where possible improvements can be made to better match theoretical policy outcomes and the practical outcome found through our research. The final chapter is involved with the concept of creative clusters. It explains the specifics of creative clusters and provides insights in the context in which creativity should be addresses if one wants to facilitate it by the use of a creative cluster policy. Clustering in the creative industries proves to need a different, more elaborate way of managing than the standard economic approach.

CHAPTER 3. CASES AMSTERDAM AND ROTTERDAM

The chosen cases for this research are Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Two very different cities in many respects; social demography, economic demography, cultural demography, history yet they are similar in their cultural policy. Both municipalities aim to be cities in which creativity is a large part of the economy there for trying to accommodate many different firms part of the creative industries within the city. But coming from different backgrounds both municipalities approach the matter differently. Amsterdam has always had the dominant position regarding the creative industries in the Netherlands (Kloosterman, 2004) where as Rotterdam only in the last ten years has shown a significant development of their cultural industries mainly Architecture (Deinema, 2013). Pitching these two cases, Amsterdam with its established creative industries and Rotterdam as relative new comer will yield interesting insights in the effect 'path dependency' has on the development of a policy.

Given the issues that play in the discussion about policies regarding the creative industries and for a complete assessment of the policy we need to see if; a) what the goals of the policies are and compare them to the theoretical policy framework to see if we can find discrepancies, b) the Amsterdam and Rotterdam policies make a distinction between the creative and cultural industries and c) regarding the issues, creative clusters as theoretical concept have, are addressed. The three themes will provide us with an in depth understanding of the policies and can be used later to analyze the results further and discuss if and where improvements can be made.

3.1 AMSTERDAM

As the Netherlands' capitol, Amsterdam whishes to be at the centre of the Dutch creative industries. Already having a history in being fertile ground for Dutch artist to come to fruition, the city of Amsterdam wishes to maintain this status by investing in arts and culture. Facilitating and subsidizing the arts and culture is a practice rooted in the cities DNA but, ever since the 2008 credit crisis, the old system of providing subsidies for as many cultural/creative initiatives has been found outdated and inefficient. Forced to make budget cutbacks transparency and effective use of the subsidies became more important thus resulting in the emphasis on quality over quantity and more strict regulations in what is expected of the initiatives in terms of expenses and incomes. However, the Amsterdam city council sees it as its task to keep arts and culture on the political agenda.

3.1.1 Goals of the current policy

In the latest municipal policy document regarding the arts and culture (hoofdlijnennota 2013 – 2016) the Amsterdam city council identified three major goals it will address overall feel is the wish for culture to be shared by as many people as possible and a growing support for local art;

- Development of talent
  - Cultural organizations are expected to have a clear vision on either cultural education or introduce programs for exceptional talents.
  - Closely related is the wish for broader audiences and the democratization of the arts. Introducing young children to art is seen as a way of reaching this goal.
  - Emphasis on the availability of places where exhibitions can be held for starting artists and spaces for exhibitions of world fame
- Support art and culture of world fame
  - Special focus on cultural organizations that show the ability to strengthen the image Amsterdam has as international competitive cultural city.
  - Through this, artistic connections can be developed raising artistic quality. As important is the business side of the arts. Internationalization provides interesting views how arts are managed, financed and communicated elsewhere.
- Encourage cultural entrepreneurship
  - Developing ways to enlarge entrepreneurship and expanding potential visitors. Main rationale is the democratization of the art to make it appeal to larger audiences.
  - Wishing supply to match demand and as such reflect the Amsterdam society making organizations financially more independent.

3.1.2 Distinction made between cultural and creative industries

Amsterdam has detached the creative industries from arts and culture acknowledging that both branches are sufficiently different to warrant separate policies. The fact that they do not make a lump sum of the creative industries, by seeing the creative industries as a whole, making a clear distinction between creative industry and arts and culture should ensure specific issues are addressed properly in the policy. As main subsidiary body the Amsterdam city council has neither the knowledge nor the intent to evaluate the applicants by themselves. To do this, a special branch (Amsterdamse Kunstraad) exists within the city council that does have the appropriate knowledge to make well informed decisions on who or what to subsidize. Keeping in mind the issues the city council wants to address, the Amsterdam art council advises the city council.

Amsterdam does have a very outspoken policy on the development of talent within the city. Especially young artist are regarded as important for reaching the cities aims. The distinction between cultural and creative is expressed explicitly in the emphasis on the availability of workspaces and the acknowledgement of specificities found in the sub sectors in the creative industries. Practically, this approach is implemented by independent yet governmental bodies tasked with housing the creatives.

3.1.3 Application of Creative clusters

Real estate currently owned by the Amsterdam municipality is being evaluated on what to do with it. Priority though lies on the fact that real estate with a cultural function will keep this function. There is a special branch of the Amsterdam municipality that deals exclusively with the housing of artists[10] and managing of the cultural real estate, CAWA (Commission Artisan Workplaces Amsterdam)[11]. CAWA supports the Amsterdam city council with an in depth understanding of the housing situation of creatives in the city. The city council provides CAWA with locations which are to be developed into creative clusters. CAWA is actively involved in the housing of individual artists as well as involvement in what branch within the creative industries has priority when a branch is inadequately represented or runs the risk of disappearing from the city due to lack of adequate working spaces. CAWA maintains close contact to the various creative educations found in Amsterdam providing them with an

[10] Housing should be seen in terms of workspaces and where possible work/living spaces.

[11] http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisatie/overige/cawa/doet-cawa/

accurate overview of the demand for and type of workspaces needed.

Besides CAWA there is another municipal body actively involved in aiding, subsidizing and facilitating creative cluster; Bureau Broedplaatsen. This agency acts as a expertise centre open to anyone who is interested in starting a creative cluster. Their mission is to realize 10.000m^2 of creative cluster a year in addition to developing a hundred new live/work spaces for individual artists (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2011).

3.1.4 Conclusion

The current Amsterdam policy on the cultural sector has no in-depth policies into the facilitation of creative industries. Rather they see the creative industries as economic opportunity as in; promoter of the city, creating of jobs and developing the cities attractiveness. They do however distinguish cultural from the creative industries. To address the two branches adequately Amsterdam maintains two municipal bodies dedicated to the implementation of the cultural policy regarding creative clusters. This way they make sure the general policy is adequately equipped to combat market failure. The two bodies act as advisors of the municipality and even apply market correction if needed.

3.2 ROTTERDAM

Recently Rotterdam has been labeled a relative ‘success story’ in the creative industries even though Rotterdam does not have a history as a ‘creative city’ Deineman (2013). This provides an interesting case seeing our observation regarding the creative clusters in Rotterdam mainly being occupied by architects and graphic designers. Seeing as the creative industries have been of significant interest within the city council over the past ten years, Rotterdam provides an interesting case in assessing how effective policy can be in stimulating the creative industries. Rotterdam spends a relative large portion (31,6%) of the available budget for culture on subsidizing the ‘established order’[12] in the city. Implying a focus on what is already there and not so much the development of new things. This raises the concern if policy really stimulates the entire sector or just parts of it.

[12] Visual arts; Museum Boijmans, Heritage/museum; museum Rotterdam and Worldmuseum, Film; IFFR and Lantaren Venster.

3.2.1 Goals of the current policy

The core policy points of the Rotterdam municipality (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012) are structured around three main topics:

- Entrepreneurial city
  - Cultural organizations are responsible for themselves meaning the municipality expects more entrepreneurship, more democratization of the arts, and take responsibility for reaching their own goals.
  - Generating own income is important to the municipality and organizations are supposed to accomplish this through; visitor differentiation, nongovernmental funding and merchandising.
  - Entrepreneurship in the cultural sector is seen as a way of promoting the city. Especially the sharing of Rotterdam arts and cultural products is seen as a way of strengthening the cities position on an international level. Operating on an international level is according to the municipality key to artistic innovation but at the same time seen as a new way to expand market share and visitor numbers for cultural organizations.
- A City for developing talent – youth in contact with art/culture. Art 'activities' as part of free time activity (besides TV, Sport, gaming, going out etc ect). For adults there is no longer any direct subsidies given, instead focus lies on facilitating their use/implementation of art/culture.
  - the municipality struggles with the question to either develop local talent or attract talent from abroad seeing merit in both strategies.
- Developing a lively (inner) city – create a city where people want to live, work and visit. This should ensure that the is economically more competitive and enable Rotterdam to keep a key position in the region.
  - The municipality acknowledges that the city is not able to bind higher educated people to the city due to a inner city that is considered less attractive (dKC, 2010).
  - The creative industries are seen as means to enliven the city.

3.2.2 Distinction made between cultural and creative industries

Within the policy documents regarding the creative industries, the municipality makes a clear distinction between cultural and creative. They have divided the creative industries in clear sections[13] and developed strategies on how to develop these. Rationales for supporting the creative industries stem from the belief that they can have a positive influence on their surroundings; 'It is clear that the presence of creatives in many cases provides a positive impulse on the livability and attractiveness of the cities boroughs' (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012). Interestingly enough the only time the policy mentions creatives as individuals, that should provide this impulse, is when discussing the sector architecture, new media and (graphic) design. Current policy for this sector is aimed at maintaining the 'design' climate found in the city today. This is done by facilitating creative entrepreneurs that want to settle within the municipality. The municipality sees to it that sufficient and appropriate (temporary) housing and workspaces will be made created. Policy on the other sectors is mainly aimed at supporting the large organizations within that field.

3.2.3 Application of Creative clusters

The development of creative clusters is left to the market, meaning the municipality facilitates by acting as a platform that connects parties interested in developing a creative cluster. They have no active involvement in developing and/or maintaining creative clusters themselves. Housing of creatives is left to a non-profit organization; *Stichting Kunst Accomodatie Rotterdam* (SKAR). Not a municipal body yet funded in part by the municipality. There are some issues raised concerning this set-up (RRKC,2012): first SKAR receives a four year subsidy if the municipality acknowledges their task to be aligned with policy goals, if not no subsidy is given. Second SKAR (not being a municipal body) relies on the willingness of the municipality to grant them available spaces to be turned into creative workplaces. Rotterdam has no specific policy on appointing buildings to SKAR or any other organization to develop into temporary housing. Following the priority the municipality has to stimulate the creative industries through facilitating creative clusters, the lack of overview on the makeup of the clusters in terms of the types of firms present, leads to concerns about this approach. If the care for creative clusters is left to the market there can be no intention of the Rotterdam municipality to address market failure and standard economic principles will apply.

[13] 1 architecture, new media and (graphic) design;2 the arts;3 heritage and museums; 4 film; 5 writing; 6 theatre and dance

3.2.4 conclusion

The main focus throughout all policy documents is the creation of an attractive living city. This is shown by the ongoing quest to connect the creative economy to social, economic and spatial problems found in Rotterdam (dKC, 2010; Gemeente Rotterdam, 2015; 2012; 2007). In Rotterdam the creative industries are as much part of the cultural policy as they are part of the city planning policy (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2008) and inner city development (dKC, 2010). The creative industries are regarded as an instrument used as a tool to reach this goal. A very revealing quote from the current municipal policy formulates it as follows; the arts and culture are necessary conditions for the realization of the ambitions this city has on the economic, spatial and societal sphere. (midden in de stad – cultuurplan 2013 – 2016). This sentiment is further emphasized by the fact that the city council states that they are not looking at what they can do for the sector but mainly how the organizations/individuals in the sector will benefit the city and its ambitions. As such the Rotterdam municipality seems to give no priority to the actual development of the creative industries as a whole. In Rotterdam, on the level of individuals, there is no distinction between cultural and creative industries this only happens on the level of organizations. In this sense the Rotterdam municipality does not acknowledge the difference adequately. Architecture, new media and (graphic) design branch is the only one that the municipality developed an active supporting policy for (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012). The investments in the already established order seem to indicate a hesitancy for investing in new developments.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

Focus lies on the policy intervention regarding the facilitation of the creative industries by researching the firms that have found workspaces in creative hubs within Amsterdam and Rotterdam. As stated in both the cities' cultural policies; facilitating favorable conditions for the creative industries in the city.

4.1 THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The aim of this work is to assess whether or not current policy interventions regarding the creative industries in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, are able to reach their intended goals; facilitating favorable conditions for the creative industries at large, in the city. They aim to achieve this by facilitating workspaces in creative clusters. Having firms from all sectors in the creative industries present in the creative clusters to a degree which can be expected from the average in the Netherlands, the policy can be seen as a working policy. However if a certain sector is overrepresented or a sector is marginalized than we assume policy outcomes do not match policy aims. To further evaluate the policy we will also look into two influential factors that need to be addresses in policies to make them work.; the acknowledgement of the difference in cultural and creative industries and the influence a cities historical background has in the success of a policy.

The research question that should answer this is formulated as such:

Are current policies, regarding the positive stimulation of the creative industries through facilitating creative hubs as implemented by the Amsterdam and Rotterdam municipalities, adequate to cater for a the entirety of the creative industries within these cities?

And the accompanying are two sub questions;

> *Do the Amsterdam and Rotterdam policies regarding the creative industries acknowledge the distinction between cultural and creative industries?*
>
> *Do the Amsterdam and Rotterdam policies regarding the creative industries acknowledge the historical background of the city as beneficial and/or constraint?*

All three questions answer one of the concerns regarding an adequate assessment of creative industries policies

1) there is little to no empirical data to back up claims that policies regarding the creative industries work.

This issue will be addressed by the research model developed in this thesis. Based on this model it becomes possible to empirically categorize the types and the amount of types found in creative clusters making comparison possible between cities and assess in policy aims are reflected in the results.

2) a clear definition of the ‘creative industry’ has not yet been given.

3) current policies regarding the creative industries have little to no notion of the historic, path dependant context of a place when developing a policy.

These issues will be addresses using the review of the municipalities policy documents and see if they address these issue.

By answering the research question and the two sub questions we can assess if and why policy interventions reach their intended goals, within the scope of this research; creative hubs in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In order to answer the main research question a way of distinguishing the firms present in the selected creative hubs must be developed as to divide them in the three chosen sub categories. This is necessary to make it possible for us to see whether or not sub sectors in the creative clusters are marginalized and thus assess if the policy, aimed towards facilitating the entire creative industries, works. Four distinct steps were taken in order to do so;

First, six attributes were indentified in the literature concerning the nature of products or services of firms in the creative industries: *creativity, intellectual property, symbolic meaning, use value, methods of production and repeated sunk costs* (Flew (2002, 2008), Caves (2003)Lash & Urry (1994), UNCTAD (2008), Galloway & Dunlop (2007), KEA (2006) Baumol (2006). Two identified characteristics are difficult to operationalized; *creativity and intellectual property*. Both are debated in literature as to what extent they are distinctly related to the creative industries. Proposed is the introduction of another characteristic that is able to set firms within the creative industries apart; *motivation of creation.* These characteristics hold true in varying degrees according to the different sections within the creative industries one is looking at thus providing us grounds on which to make our distinction between firms. The operationalization of the concepts will be done in paragraph 4.6

Second, a model (the KEA, 2006 model) was chosen which describes the characteristics relative to each circle within the creative industries. The characteristics enabled us to operationalized the five identified plus the one added, attributes of the products produced within the creative industries in relation to the circles. Added to the KEA (2006) model is the range of opposing extremes provided by the UNCTAD (2008) model. The range enables us to place firms, that on some characteristics match but on others not, along a scale between these extremes, providing further detailed distinction between the three characterized groups. The fourth circle (related industries), originally part of the KEA model, was left out due to lack of characteristics that are adequately able to distinguish companies in this sector from the other three. The hybrid model enabled a system capable of empirically testing the types of firms present in the chosen creative clusters.

The model that was chosen is the KEA (2006) model:

CIRCLES	SECTORS	SUB- SECTORS	CHARACTERISTICS
CORE ARTS FIELD	Visual arts	Crafts Paintings – Sculpture – Photography	• Non industrial activities. • Output are prototypes and "potentially copyrighted works" (i.e. these works have a high density of creation that would be eligible to copyright but they are however not systematically copyrighted, as it is the case for most craft works, some performing arts productions and visual arts, etc).
	Performing arts	Theatre - Dance – Circus - Festivals.	
	Heritage	Museums – Libraries - Archaeological sites - Archives.	
CIRCLE 1: CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	Film and Video		• Industrial activities aimed at massive reproduction. • Outputs are based on copyright.
	Television and radio		
	Video games		
	Music	Recorded music market – Live music performances – revenues of collecting societies in the music sector	
	Books and press	Book publishing - Magazine and press publishing	
CIRCLE 2: CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND ACTIVITIES	Design	Fashion design, graphic design, interior design, product design	• Activities are not necessarily industrial, and may be prototypes. • Although outputs are based on copyright, they may include other intellectual property inputs (trademark for instance). • The use of creativity (creative skills and creative people originating in the arts field and in the field of cultural industries) is essential to the performances of these non cultural sectors.
	Architecture		
	Advertising		
CIRCLE 3: RELATED INDUSTRIES	PC manufacturers, MP3 player manufacturers, mobile industry, etc...		• This category is loose and impossible to circumscribe on the basis of clear criteria. It involves many other economic sectors that are dependent on the previous "circles", such as the ICT sector.

: "the cultural sector"
: "the creative sector"

Figure 2: Division of branches of the creative economy according to KEA (2006).

Third, a questionnaire was devised using the characteristics to act as extremes along a scale on which the firms present in the creative hubs can place themselves and indicate where they see themselves along this scale. The questionnaire is able to distinguish the companies by means of analyzing all the answers given together. A questionnaire was chosen in order for the companies to place themselves on the scale. Letting the companies do it themselves yields less danger of being biased. Furthermore making a distinction on individual level provides the opportunity to separate more industrialized operating firms from the more laboriously operating ones. The questionnaire will be discussed in more detail in paragraph 4.3

Fourth step, 'ideal types' were constructed using the five attributes found in literature plus the one added as suggested. All 'ideal types will be given a score using the questions from the questionnaire. These will act as templates in order to categorize the companies into a certain sector and even on individual firm level. The 'ideal types' are constructed from the same attributes found in literature plus the one added in step one. With these 'ideal types' a comparison can be made of the hypothesized 'ideal scores' and the actual results from the survey. Assuming the less difference in the 'ideal score' as opposed to the actual score, the closer the firm belongs to the sector.

Focusing on characteristics that also incorporates more artisanal values this model provides the opportunity to go beyond the sectoral division. The added value of this system is found in the ability to distinguish individuals e.g. fashion designers (theoretically part of the design sector) to be understood as applying a much more artisanal mode of production. The belief in the necessity of a model capable of doing so is that within the sectors there are many differences even between firms themselves. The 'ideal types' will be discussed in depth in paragraph 4.6.

4.2 DATA COLLECTION.

The study focuses on the two major cities in the Netherlands because one; they have similar policy aims, facilitating favorable conditions for the creative industries in the city, two; both municipal websites provided a list of creative clusters within the municipal borders which implies Amsterdam and Rotterdam can be seen as stakeholders in the development of these creative clusters, three; the difference in historical background regarding the creative industries present in varying degree in both cities provides an interesting case. The importance of path dependency in the successful harboring of the creative industries should be considered the main reason. Literature on the topic stresses that if a city was a creative hub historically it is easier to remain a creative hub (Deinema, 2012) today. This adds an interesting layer to the question if policy can promote change or that success is based on additional factors as well.

The aim of both municipalities to facilitate favorable conditions for the creative industries is assessed to be true in practice. In order to do so this research focuses on firms that have settled in creative hubs within the municipality. These firms should show a division that reflects the creative industries at large as found in the Netherlands. The selection of creative hubs is based on the hubs being presented on the sites of both Amsterdam and Rotterdam municipality.

4.2.1 Population and Sample

Choosing from the website of the municipality shows some level of municipal involvement in the cluster. Be it because the cluster was initiated by the municipality, the cluster houses in a building owned by the municipality or simply because the municipality recognizes the importance of such a facility and shows this support through exposure on the municipal website. Important to note is that certain creative clusters were designated to house a specialist branch within the creative industries. These where left out of the list for selection because including them in the survey would throw of the reliability of the research. The clusters were specially developed to house one sector and thus it is impossible for firms from other sectors to rent working space there. Because of specialist policy being implemented on these hubs they fall out of the sample group. In Amsterdam this meant that the cluster ‘pakhuis de zwijger’ would be left out (for it is especially aimed at housing ICT related businesses) and in Rotterdam de ‘Schiecentrale’ (aimed at housing ICT/media businesses) was left out of the list. Email addresses where collected of firms renting workspaces in the selected hubs. The selected creative clusters act as the population from which the samplei sselected. The firms that are renting workspaces in the selected creative hubs are selected as sample. As proxy for the policy regarding the facilitation of the creative industries these firms should show a divide equal to that found in the creative industries in the Netherlands at large. The sectors found in the creative industries are not equally large so a division based on that is expected to be present. Analysis is done to see if a sector is larger or smaller than is expected based on the overall numbers.

In Amsterdam 58 clusters where found. The site of the Rotterdam municipality yielded 10 clusters designated for the creative industries. Using the communal website of the clusters email addresses where found of the companies that rent office/working space. Strived for is some 500 email addresses in total divided equally over the two cities. The clusters will be randomly selected using an online randomizing tool[14].

4.3 QUESTIONNAIRE:

The research was conducted using a questionnaire sent out to firms that rent a working space in the selected creative clusters in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The questionnaire allows us to make a distinction between firms based on their answers. Each question consist of two opposing statements these statements are derived from the operationalized dimensions. Assumed is that respondents from different firms will have more affinity with one of the two opposing statements and there for chose the one over the other. The combining of all the questions, because they cover sentiments for all of the dimension, will result in a sentiment for all dimension expressed in a value. The answer will be given in terms of a number along a scale ranging from 1 to 7, where '1' corresponds to one of the statements and '7' to the opposite extreme. Lastly to make the actual distinction the values of the respondents are measured against the hypothesized 'ideal type' discussed in paragraph 4.6. The difference in total score is calculated and subsequently the respondent is categorized in the group with which the score difference is lowest. To make sure respondents are correctly categorized the difference between the lowest and second lowest score difference has to be more than 1*SD of the three score differences. This ensures that the differences are big enough to truly categorize the subject in this sector and we can assume that the respondent is sufficiently removed from the other categories. If not, this subject is categorized in a hybrid category based on the lowest and second lowest score.

4.4 OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS.

The attributes that will be operationalized are based on the four remaining distinguishing dimensions found in literature plus the one added. All have two concepts which are essentially opposites of each other. As opposites the respondents can show their preference for one or the other showing which dimensions they are more aligned too.

[14] www.random.org

4.4.1 *Motivation of creation.*

Production not on commission (intrinsic). Rationale; art for art's sake, the more artistic one is, the more one is driven to make the art regardless if it sells, i.e. not primarily motivated by financial outcomes (Bilton and Leary. 2002). Amabile (1996) argues that rewards (on commission) for creative tasks might have a secondary impact only and undermine intrinsic motivations. Further stressing that having no intrinsic motivation will drive an individual to not perform a task at all or only to the extent that is needed to receive the reward. This suggests that financial rewards (in whichever form) make people do just enough required to receive the reward possibly not fulfilling their creative potential. This is contrary to what is shown to be the case for artists, who forgo a stable income in exchange for creative freedom.

Production on commission (extrinsic): Rationale; some creative products are not suited by their nature to be produced 'not on commission'. Think of a website or a house created beforehand. Trying to find a buyer who wants exactly that which is already created will pose great difficulty and is counterproductive. Instead products of this nature will always be created as a joint effort. Having to combine legal constraints, personal preferences of the commissioning body and practical issues to adequately supply demand, production processes will always box in a certain amount of creativity.

4.4.2 *Symbolic meaning.*

Quality peer reviewed. Rationale; artistic or aesthetic value (striving for recognition) deemed as least as important as monetary value. The 'meaning' of creative work is created within a social milieu (Currid and Williams, 2009; Becker, 1974) attached are values and symbols created within this milieu. Conventions on distinguishing high quality creative products from lesser quality products also arise in these milieus. Subsequently they are applied by peers who then make an informed decision. Being difficult to measure peer reviewing a product helps (partly) solve this by letting experts give their opinion. Because creative goods are experience goods it is difficult beforehand assessing the demand which entails high uncertainty. It thus becomes difficult to argue that television shows are not being peer reviewed, they are equally risky to create as a theatre play. The difference here should be seen in terms of financial success. A good television show must also be a commercial success in order for it to be continued. This is usually captured in huge audiences (who act as indicators of demand). A theatre play does not have to be a commercial success, instead it can rely on positive reviews by peers (which is then recognized as being of high quality regardless of the level interest from attendees). Trying to communicate these values or meanings is seen as primary function. The symbolic meaning of a theatre play, painting, sculpture or even high end fashion design all carry greater weight then their commercial success.

Quality captured in sales records. Rationale; selling in volume is a guiding principle for firms producing goods being part of this section. Commercial success is highly sought after. Whether or not a product is able to do something more than just that for which it is made is of little concern, the product is mostly exploited for profit. If the product is selling well the company might consider producing other similar products without being hampered by values such as artistic integrity or the need to innovate.

4.4.3 *Practical usage value.*

High practical usage value. Rationale; main characteristic of the product is that the product itself can be commodified. Besides having a practical use it serves no other apparent intended application.

Low practical usage value. Rationale; cultural goods have a relative low practical usage value. Besides being aesthetically pleasing the communication of ideas is a well established attribute cultural goods can have. For example a painting or a theatre play conveying meaning or value to its audience, has little to no practical use. It is not the physical product (in whichever form) that is commodified but the communication of ideas, feelings, values or other non-physical attributes.

4.4.4 *Method of production.*

Work is mass produced. Captures: High levels of industrialization. Rationale; inherent to the industry, firms have to mass produce in order to earn back their investment. Firms part of this section of the creative industries utilize economies of scale to regain their initial investments as part of their strategy. The possibility of reproducing many (perfect) copies enables them to significantly lower their price per unit. Creating many copies does not diminish artistic integrity because it is either not strived for or it is unable to maintain within this industry.

Work is not mass produced: In order to correctly operationalize this attribute it has to be divided into two main rationales; *cannot be mass produced* and *chosen to be not mass produced*. Adding this distinction will enable us to make a distinction between types of products that potentially can be mass produced but are not due to conventions within the cultural world and those less affected by these conventions, further determining in which category a firm belongs when not mass producing:

> Work cannot be mass produced. Rationale: Making a copy of the product still takes time even though a first copy has been produced, perfect copies do not exist. The nature of the product does not allow for mass production (Baumols'cost disease). Famous example is a performance of an orchestra. No matter how much technology is used to perform, if the piece takes ten minutes to perform it will always be ten minutes. Using technology to boost production is not possible.

> Chosen to not mass produce. Rationale; production is small scale, producer does not want it to be mass produced. Artistic creation is based on being innovative and repetition is less likely to appeal to both consumer and producer of the product. The products sold are like prototypes.

4.4.5 *Repeated sunk costs.*

Always prototypes. Rationale; the KEA rapport (2006) uses the word ‘prototype’ describing products that in theory can be mass produced but are not necessarily done so. The high fixed- and sunk costs of prototypes makes a product not mass produced relatively expensive especially in comparison to highly industrialized production which will benefit from economies of scale. Subsequently, in artistic creation, replication is not sought after. Creating something ‘novel’ is what is strived for. This suggest that creating ‘prototypes’ is what is done mostly in the creative industries. According to Baumol (in Ginsburgh and Throsby, 2006), because creative industries produce novel goods, every single time they have to factor in the sunk costs when deciding on price as opposed to other industries that regard this cost as being lost for good only once per product. Yet not all firms in the creative industries are able to rely on economies of scale to redeem (some of) the costs. A good example of this would be fashion design. Designing and producing a dress takes time, effort and resources and in theory when the first prototype is produced industrialized production could take over. Yet if the designer feels that his artistic integrity should remain intact mass producing the dress is not desirable, effectively rendering potential advantages from economies of scale useless.

Economies of scale. Rationale; although closely related to the ‘mass production’ attribute this rationale is more involved with the returns on investments part of producing. Having no issues with conventions regarding copying, selling many units of the same product or artistic integrity, the revenue model is based on low costs per unit. A firms competitive position within the market is based on supplying large quantities for a low price instead of a limited amount. Due to the relative ease with which the first prototype can be reproduced prices can be lowered easily. The availability of many substitutes in turn, makes this a necessity.

Not including the creativity and intellectual property and adding repeated sunk costs yields five dimension that are considered as vital in various degrees to products labeled as being produced within the creative industries.

DIMENSION:	ATTRIBUTE OF PRODUCT/SERVICE:	RATIONALE:
Motivation of creation	Not on commission (intrinsic)	Art for art's sake
	On Commission (extrinsic)	Asked for by market
Symbolic meaning	Quality peer reviewed	Artistic and aesthetic value important
	Quality based on sales records	Commercial success important
Use value	High usage value	Product itself is commodified
	Low usage value	'Ideas' behind product are commodified
Method of production	Mass produced (industrialized)	Inherent to the industry
	Not mass produced (craftsmanship)	Choice not to mass produce (artistic integrity, innovation)
		Cannot be massed produced (artistic integrity, innovation PLUS no exact copy possible, cost disease)
Repeated sunk costs	Always prototypes	Price per unit remains high
	Economies of scale	Price per unit low

Table 3: Summary of operationalization of the dimensions.

4.5 IDEAL TYPES.

The 'ideal types' are created to act as a benchmark. The ideal types represent the ideal firm in each section of the creative industries or in other words the theoretically expected outcome for a certain firm part of one of the circles. Based on characteristics or traits found in the literature (Flew (2002, 2008), Towse (2003), Lash & Urry (1994), UNCTAD (2008), Galloway & Dunlop (2007), KEA (2006) the 'ideal types' can be constructed. Each 'ideal type' within a group gets appointed a certain value for each of the questions asked. Values are seen in terms of more towards the core arts field as opposed to more towards related industries or more in line with the creative industries and activities. The questions will therefore be answered using statements on the opposite extremes of the scale. The closer one answers to a statement the more affinity the respondent has with it. Subsequently the less affinity one has with the opposing statement. Each statement is related to one of the defining attributes (see table 3) Letting the subject fill in the questionnaire will enable him/her to place the company along this scale. Each questionnaire will then be compared to the 'ideal types' and placed within the best matching group.

For example; the expectation is that companies better fitting the core arts field (painters, sculptors) will scale their company closer to the extremes where mass production is not possible and undesirable. On the other hand companies better matching the cultural industries will scale towards mass production as a pro and very much desired (record industry).

4.5.1 Ideal Types elaborated:

In the *core arts field*, due to the physical nature of the product, mass production[15] is impossible. After making the first copy it would still involve a great amount of skill and time to make a reproduction. The reproduction cannot be an exact copy (**mass production not possible**). Even if it were possible, there is little desire to make exact copies. Innovation is highly regarded as part of the creation and is seen as a core value (**mass production not strived for**), repetition therefore is considered not done. Uniqueness and the extreme scarcity of the product are big factors in terms of price determination because this industry cannot make use of economies of scale (**prototype**) and also maintain artistic integrity. Being purely aesthetic by nature in general the products will have a very **low practical usage value**. Products are made disregarding market demand. The producer makes the product regardless if it will sell (**intrinsic motivation**). Success in terms of financial gains plays a relative small part. Reputation and **recognition by peers** are at least as important if not more so. Firms are likely to be small. See table 4 for a summary per sector.

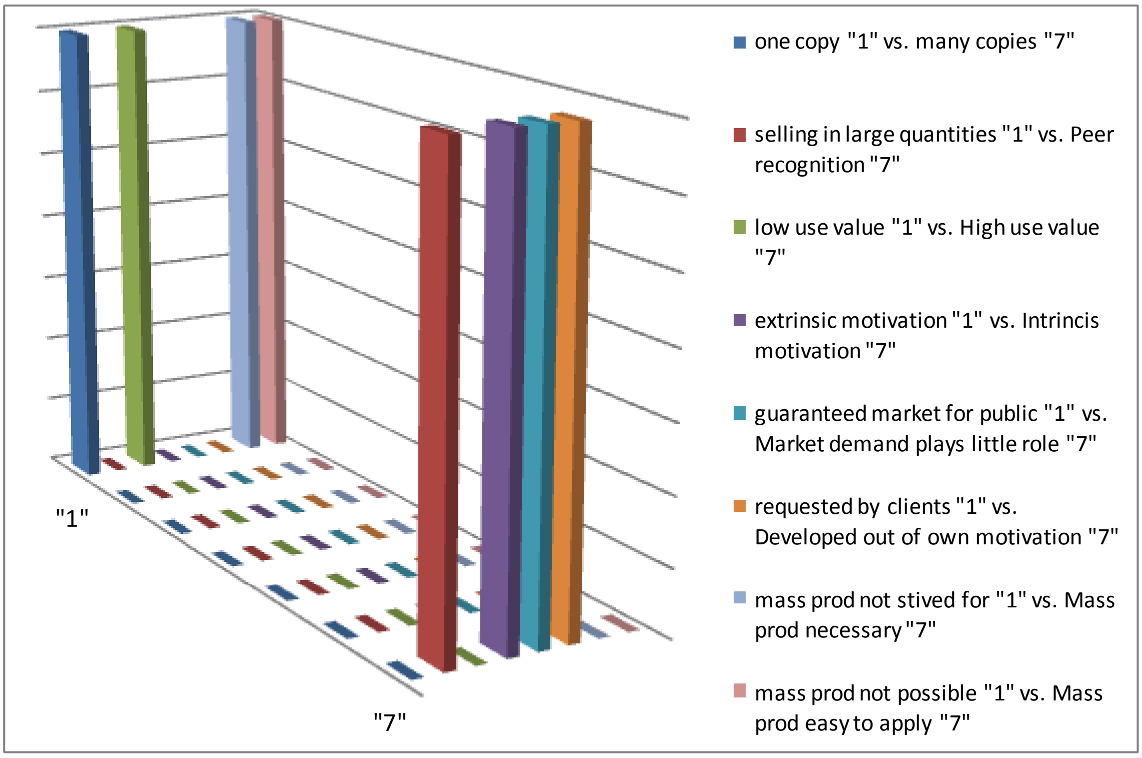

Fig 3. Core arts field 'ideal type' template.

[15] Mass production should be seen as 'possible to produce on an industrial scale', ten concerts of the same orchestra playing the same piece of music does not count as mass production.

Cultural industries; firms belonging to this group are able to make use of mass production. Mass production is even considered a must and the only way to make a profit. The high sunk costs for making the first copy are relatively easy to earn back by selling many copies (**economies of scale**). The nature of the products allows for easy reproduction (**mass production possible).** Theoretically there are endless, virtually identical, copies which is reflected in the price. Uncertainty about the market can be and most likely will be countered by creating products that are likely to do well, with some exception factored in. These exceptions are balanced out by the success stories. Selling large volumes is key in this sector (**mass production desirable**), quality or peer recognition less so. Yet, because they are cultural products they will have a **low high practical usage value.** It is not the physical product that is important but the content. Due to the fact they are created for the market and, in that sense, disregard any attempts of being 'more than a product', **market sales are considered indicators of success**. Firms are likely to be big. See table 4 for a summary per sector.

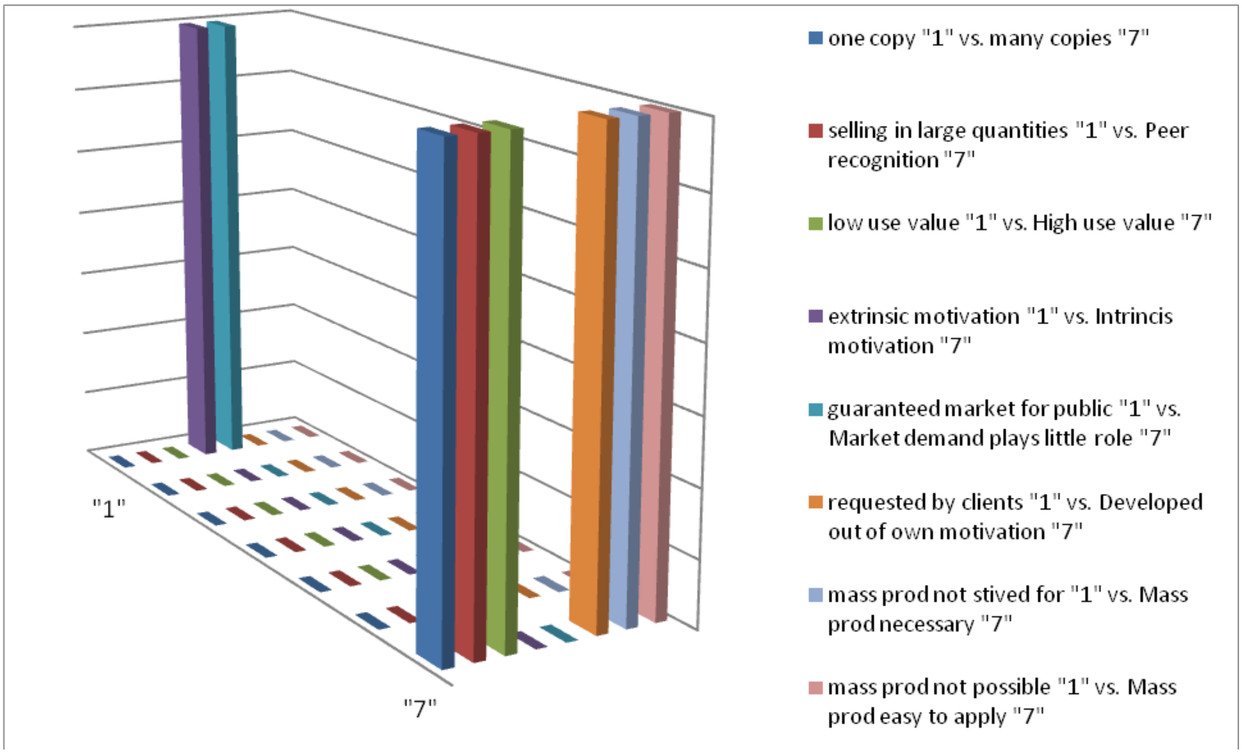

Fig 4. Cultural Industries 'ideal type' template.

Creative industries and activities; this group distinguishes itself by working mostly on commission (**extrinsic motivation**). Working on commission means close ties to the market. More market orientated than the core arts field, they forsake a part of their creative freedom to work within the specifications of the commissioning body. Even though a high level of creative skill still remains, products are tailor made to suit specific needs making the **practical usage value high**. Finished products are **able to be mass produced** but this is not a must as was the case with the cultural industries. This is due to the fact that innovation and artistic integrity are considered important but also due to the nature of the product that does not allow for of the shelf solutions and should be regarded as **prototypes.** Selling products is an important motivation for producing but is balanced by a strong presence of artistic integrity **(mass production not strived for).** Firms are likely to be small. See table 4 for a summary per sector.

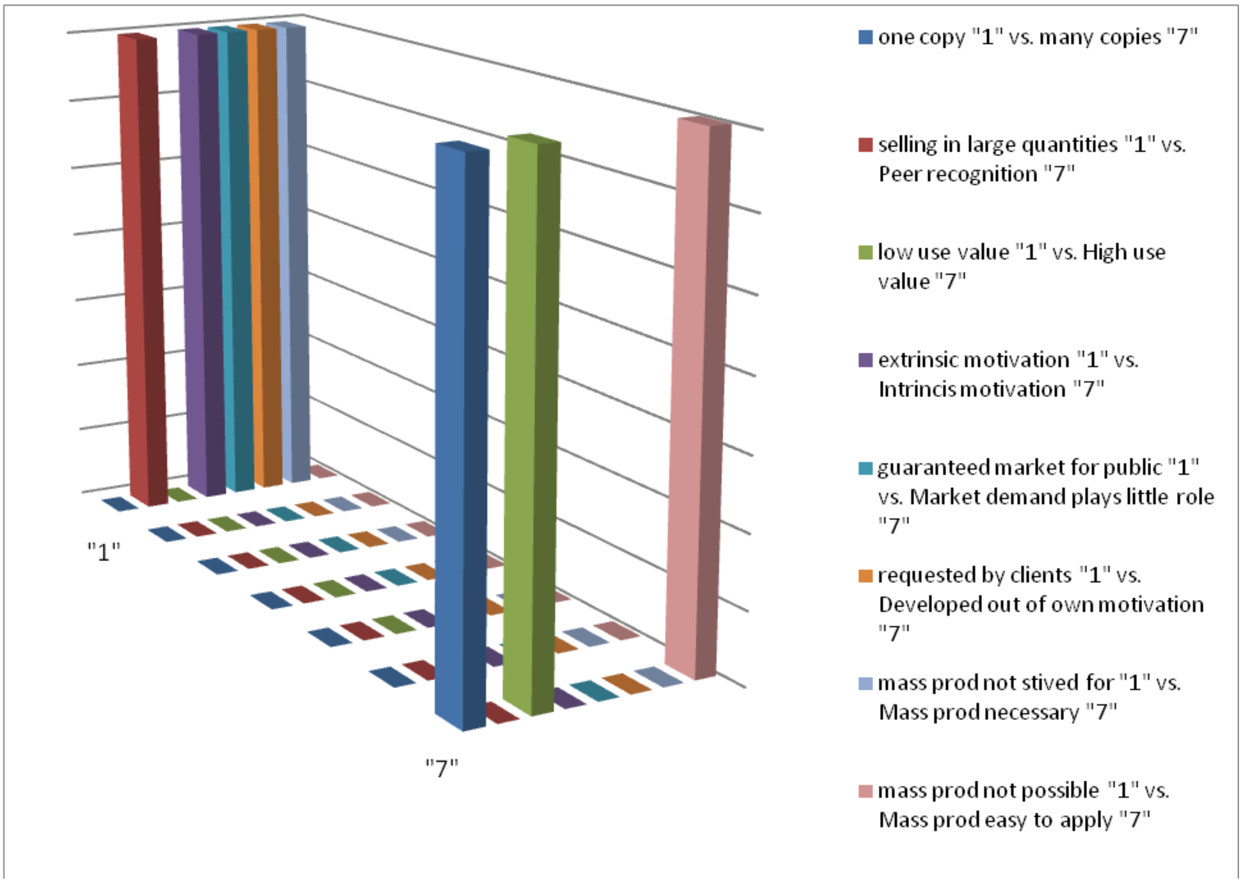

Fig 5. Creative industries and activities 'ideal type' template.

	Method of production					
	Mass production possible	**Mass production desirable**	**Motivation of creation**	**Repeated sunk costs**	**Use value**	**Quality peer reviewed**
Core arts field	Not possible	Not desirable	Intrinsic	Prototypes	low	Yes, important factor
Cultural industries	Possible	Desirable	Intrinsic	Economies of scale	low	No, market/sales records
Creative industries and activities	Possible	Not desirable	Extrinsic	prototypes	high	No, commissioning body yet artistic integrity prevents mass production
Related industries	--	--	--	--	--	--

Table 4: Summary 'Ideal types'. Note: if mass production is possible and is desirable than counts as mass produced.

CHAPTER 5. RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data that follows from the results of the questionnaire will be used to answer the research question. The answers on the two sub questions allows us to evaluate the policies themselves giving us a better understanding of the context in which the policy has been developed. This in turn strengthens our cause if recommendations are given how and where to improve the policy. In total 88surveys returned out of the 593[16] surveys sent, 44 where returned in Amsterdam and 44 in Rotterdam, 28 in total were incomplete. The total number of useable surveys was 60 yielding a return rate of 10%. Rotterdam yielded the largest response with 32 complete questionnaires and 12 incomplete resulting in a 72,7% usability rate. Amsterdam yielded 28 complete surveys and 16 incomplete 63% usability rate. The Amsterdam firms are relatively small compared to the Rotterdam ones. The 286 surveys were sent divided over 10 different clusters. In Rotterdam reaching this number only needed 5 clusters. In Amsterdam firms with one employee is by far the largest group (72,2%). In Rotterdam only 35% of the companies have one employee, closely followed by firms with two employees (30%).

We will now take an in-depth look at the division that can be made using the results from the survey. To make a distinction between firms the difference in scores is calculated using the 'ideal type score' and the actual score as derived from the questionnaire. Per question the difference between the respondents score and the ideal score is calculated. This is done for each category; Core arts field, Creative industries and Cultural industries and activities. All the score differences will then be added up to get a number that represents the score difference. The respondent will be categorized in the group that corresponds best with its score, in other words the 'ideal score' with which it shows least difference or shows the lowest score in comparison. However the lowest score and the second lowest score must be at least 1*SD apart from each other otherwise the scores are too close to each other to be of value. Furthermore the respondents that cannot be categorized in this way will be placed in hybrid classes.

[16] 286 in Amsterdam and 287 in Rotterdam.

The results are as follows:

	AMSTERDAM		ROTTERDAM		NETHERLANDS[17]
	frequency	percentage	frequency	percentage	percentage
Core arts field	18	64,3	16	50	20,1
Cultural industry	0	0	0	0	40
creative industry and activities	1	3.6	5	15,6	39,9
Hybrid Cultural industries / creative industries	4	14,3	2	6,25	-
Hybrid core arts / creative industries and activities	4	14,3	4	12,5	-
Hybrid core arts / cult industry	1	3,6	5	15,6	-

Table 5: Results survey.

Following the results of the survey table 5 shows us the results. As we can see the core arts are the largest groups present. Both in Amsterdam and Rotterdam there is a clear presence of this sub sector of the creative industries. The cultural industries could not be identified as a separate group present and the creative industries and activities sub category is present yet far smaller

[17] Scource CBS Statline See Appendix IV

than one would expect when compared to the statistics of firms present in the creative industries in general. Two main observations can be drawn from this; a Amsterdam and Rotterdam prove to be very successful in housing firms from the core arts field in their creative clusters; b creative clusters are better suited to house the core arts field as opposed to the other two sectors. An interesting result are the hybrid forms of the sub categories that appeared. The hybrids cultural industries/creative industries and core arts/cultural industries are well represented in Amsterdam. In Rotterdam the hybrid forms of core arts/creative industries and core arts/cultural industries are well represented. If we look into the statistical significance of the overall results we see a moderate relationship (Cramer's V = ,548 and p= <0,000) between the cities and the Netherlands in general. It now becomes possible to pose some general statements. If one is part of the creative industries in Amsterdam they will be more likely belong to the core arts field as is the case in Rotterdam or the Netherlands in general. In Rotterdam, as a firm from the creative industries, one is more likely to belong to the hybrid form of the core arts field/creative industry, this sector shows a larger presence in Rotterdam than statistically is expected.

5.1 THE CORE ARTS FIELD.

If we look at the percentage of firms that belong to this category in Amsterdam we see that 64,3% of the respondents falls in this category. Out of this group 16,7% shows a score difference of 4 or less comparing with the ideal type score. More than half of the total group(55,6%) has a point difference between 5 and 14 and 22,3 % score 15 or more points. In Rotterdam 50% of the firms belong to the 'core arts field' category. Out of this group 12,5% has a score difference of 4 or less with the 'ideal type score' which suggests a very close resemblance in attitudes with the proposed 'ideal type'. The majority of the Rotterdam core arts group (75%) has a score difference between 10 and 19 even though part of the 'core arts field' this group shows less resemblance to the ideal type of the core arts field. 6,25% has more than 20 points score difference with the ideal type.

In Amsterdam the largest group (55,6%) can be found having at least a 5 score difference and a maximum of 14. In Rotterdam the range in score differences of the largest groups is higher with a minimum of 10 and a maximum of 19.

The average score difference of the category in Amsterdam is 10,2 points score difference. In Rotterdam this score is 12,8. This can be shown when we create classes show in table 6.

	Amsterdam		Rotterdam	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
0 >-4	3	16,7	2	12,5
5 >- 9	5	27,8	1	6,25
10 >-14	5	27,8	7	43,75
15>-19	4	22,2	5	31,25
20>-24	1	5,6	1	6,25
total	18	100	16	100

Table 6: Score difference in classes Amsterdam/Rotterdam

It will be interesting to see on which characteristics the two largest groups might differ. This comparison is useful because the largest group in Amsterdam lies closer to the 'ideal type' score than in Rotterdam, meaning that the overall core arts field in Amsterdam shows closer affinity to the characteristics associated with the core arts field. These characteristics might be more diffuse in Rotterdam where firms from the core arts field show a deviant attitude towards the 'ideal type'. Identifying this yields more insight in the sentiments within the two largest groups present. We can compute the average score difference of the questions within these groups and compare on which question the groups differ most and on which they differ the least. This yields the following results:

		One copy vs. many	Sell in large quantities vs. peer recognition	Low vs. high usage value	Extrinsic vs. intrinsic motivation	Guaranteed market vs. market demand no role	Requested by clients vs. developed out own motivation	No mass production wanted vs. mass production necessary	Mass prod. not possible vs. mass prod. easy to apply
AMS largest score core arts class	Avg score	1,7	6,5	3,4	5,9	5,3	5,3	1,1	1,7
	St. dev/ result	0,9	0,5	1,6	1,3	1,3	1,8	0,3	0,8
ROT largest core arts class	Avg score	2	5.7	4	5.4	4.4	3.8	1.8	1.3
	St. dev/ result	1,4	1,2	1,5	0,9	1,1	1,7	0,8	0,5

Table7: Score differences according to largest core arts class Amsterdam / Rotterdam.

We expect higher average scores in Rotterdam just because this group lies further away from the 'ideal score' for the core arts field and thus having a higher score difference in general per respondent. We will assume there for that the Rotterdam core arts field is more inclined towards the opposites of the ideal type of the core arts field.

Most striking is the difference between the willingness to sell in large quantities opposed to striving for peer recognition. This question addresses the dimension of 'quality peer reviewed'. On this characteristic the largest group of the core arts in Rotterdam differs the most compared to the largest group within the core arts in Amsterdam. In Rotterdam therefore a bigger part of the core arts field has sentiments about mass producing that are less aligned with what we expected to find in the core arts field in general. The second biggest difference is found in the comparison of extrinsically motivated versus intrinsically motivated forms of production. Because we are talking about the largest groups from both cities that are found in the core arts field sub category it is possible to say that within the identified Rotterdam 'core arts field' sub category most people have a bigger tendency towards producing on commission (extrinsically motivated) . The question on which the average score difference is smallest also provides an interesting insight. Firms part of the core arts group in Amsterdam and Rotterdam tend to agree on the question if mass production can be applied easily or that it is not possible. All three questions (peer recognition and motivation of production) show that there is an indication that within the core arts field in Rotterdam a businesslike approach is more common as opposed to Amsterdam .

This idea can be further strengthened by the results we see in table 5. In Rotterdam the hybrid group core arts/creative industries and activities is as large as the creative industries category. These results are significant thus there is an indication that in Amsterdam the core arts field category, in its purest form, is more strongly represented than in Rotterdam where businesslike sentiments can be identified even within the respondents part of the core arts field category. Or in other words, in Rotterdam there is a significantly higher chance of operating as a hybrid core arts/creative industries firm as opposed to Amsterdam.

5.2 CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

We have been unable to identify any firms that could be considered as part of the cultural industries both in Rotterdam and in Amsterdam. We did however found several hybrids that include this sector. These hybrid forms will be discussed in paragraph 5.4.

5.3 CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND ACTIVITIES

In Amsterdam 3,6% of the firms are part of the creative industries and activities. This is far lower than one would expect based on national data (39,9%). Even if we would include the hybrid forms that encompass this sector in Amsterdam[18] for a total of 21,5%, the outcome is still lower compared to the Netherlands in general. In Rotterdam however this sector is doing better. With 15,6% of the firms present in the selected Rotterdam creative clusters belonging to this subcategory. If we take the hybrid forms into account[19] 34,4% of the firms can be categorized in this sector which is close to the national of 39,9%. Because in Amsterdam the number of firms identified to belong to this group is only 1 there is no argument to compare averages. There for we will look at the range of the results found in Rotterdam per question. Table 8 shows the results.

[18] In Amsterdam Cultural industries/creative industries 14,3% and core arts/creative industries 3.6%

[19] In Rotterdam Cultural industries/creative industries 6,25% and core arts/creative industries 12,5%

		One copy vs. many	Sell in large quantities vs. peer recognition	Low vs. high usage value	Extrinsic vs. intrinsic motivation	Guaranteed market vs. market demand no role	Requested by clients vs. developed out own motivation	No mass production wanted vs. mass production necessary	Mass prod. not possible vs. mass prod. easy to apply
Creative industries and activities Rot	Avg score	5	5,8	5,4	3,2	2,6	2,2	1,2	3,2
	St. dev/ result	2,5	1,3	2	2,6	2,3	1,8	0,4	1,6

Table 8: Dispersion of results Creative Industries in Rotterdam

The standard deviation of the total score difference of the respondents categorized in this group is SD = 1,64[20]. Striking is the relative consensus that has been reached on the question regarding mass production not wanted versus mass production necessary. With an average of 1,2 a very low deviation and an 'ideal score' of 1, most respondents from this category agree that Typical for the creative industries As striking are the result shown for the question 'extrinsic versus intrinsic motivation' and 'one copy versus many copies'. Results on these questions appear to be more spread out. It seems that respondents from this category agree to a lesser extent that only one copy of their product exists and agree less on the motivation of their production seeing as some are motivated intrinsically and others more extrinsically. Connect to the duality of the group in which some app builders do have many copies out there and architects don't…designers might do a lot of work for themselves (almost as an artist) so also show no interest in mass production…this model might be capable of distinguishing on firm level..these results show that…

5.4 HYBRIDS

One of the most interesting results is the appearance of the hybrid categories. So called because several respondents scored matching score differences on different sub categories or because the criteria of being removed at least 1*SD of total score difference away (lower) from the second lowest score.

In Amsterdam results show 14,3% to be belonging to the cultural industries/creative industries, 3,6% belonging to the core arts/creative industries category and 14,3% to the core arts/cultural industry. In Rotterdam the cultural industries/ creative industries is least represented with 6,25%. The other two hybrids are shown to do better core arts/creative industries 12,5% and core arts/cultural industry 15,6%.

So what are the characteristics that bind the respondents from this group? In order to assess this we will again look at the dispersion per question. The questions that show least dispersion can be considered as holding true for the entire category and gives extra merit to the actual existence of such a hybrid ruling out the possibility of defining a category that actuallydoes not exits. In comparing Amsterdam and Rotterdam we can also look if there is a difference between the cities.

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20 Mode = 16, median = 16 and average = 16,6.

5.4.1 hybrid cultural industries/creative industries

First we will take a look at the hybrid cultural industries/creative industries. The results are shown in table 8. In Amsterdam we see that 4 out of 8 averages revolve around ‘4’ which is the ‘middle’ or ‘no preference’ option in the questionnaire. Combined with the high deviation we must conclude that these characteristics do not show a common sentiment amongst the respondents. In Rotterdam however the results are more clear. In the distinction between low and high practical usage value the sentiment is towards high practical usage value with an average score of ‘6,5’ (score of ‘7’ for this question ideally for both categories). Furthermore the average score of ‘6’ regarding no mass production strived for vs mass production easy to apply is closer related to the cultural industries where ‘7’ is considered to be the ideal score. An average of ‘6’on the question of mass production not possible vs mass production easy to apply points in the direction of both cultural as well as creative industries (score of ‘7’ for this question ideally for both categories).

		One copy vs. many	Sell in large quantities vs. peer recognition	Low vs. high usage value	Extrinsic vs. intrinsic motivation	Guaranteed market vs. market demand no role	Requested by clients vs. developed out own motivation	No mass production wanted vs. mass production necessary	Mass prod. not possible vs. mass prod. easy to apply
Amsterdam hybrid cult/creative Ind	Avg score	4,8	3,8	5	3,5	3,8	3,3	4,3	5,5
	St. dev/ result	2,6	2,5	1,1	1,7	1,7	1,7	0,5	0,6
Rotterdam hybrid cult/creative Ind	Avg score	5	2,5	**6,5**	3,5	1	3,5	**6**	**6**
	St. dev/ result	1,4	2,1	0,7	3,5	0	3,5	1,4	1,4

Table 9: dispersion of results within hybrid cultural industries/creative industries per city.

5.4.2 hybrid core arts / creative industries and activities

This theorized hybrid shows more incline towards actual consensus on multiple characteristics. If we look at the average scores we see that in both the Amsterdam and Rotterdam case, they look more outspoken (either close to a ‘1’ or ‘7’). Selling in large quantities vs peer recognition scores in both cases a high average. This means that respondents in Amsterdam as well as in Rotterdam prefer peer recognition over selling in large quantities (‘7’ being the ideal score for the core arts). Yet the deviation in Rotterdam (St Dev = 1,8) and the lower average (5) warrant caution and could point to a inclination towards selling in large quantities. Furthermore in Rotterdam, with an average score of ‘6’, respondents feel their product to be of ‘high practical usage value’.

An interesting observation can be made by combining three results. Rotterdam firms are inclined to work more businesslike. The first result pointing in that direction is; having shown that in Rotterdam the core arts are more inclined to operate more than Amsterdam firms, in a business like fashion (see paragraph 5.1), the second following from this discussion (see table 10 for the results) where peer recognition is highly regarded but a inclination towards selling in large quantities (business like approach) can be detected in Rotterdam and third the observation made in the general discussion where it is shown that firms from the creative industry in Rotterdam have a moderate likely hood of belonging to this hybrid sector when compared to Amsterdam and the Netherlands in general. To further assess this we can look if there are other indicators that can set the business like approach in Rotterdam apart from the pure core arts attitude in Amsterdam. In Rotterdam the attitude towards one copy or many vs many copies is also one of the most dispersed characteristics. Compared to Amsterdam, firms in this hybrid category in Rotterdam agree less amongst each other (St Dev = 2,4) on average when it comes to selling many copies. In the core arts field selling many of the same copies is regarded harmful for the artistic integrity of an artist/firm, artistic integrity being one of the most basic ‘core arts fields’’ traits. With a more businesslike approach selling many copies might be is what is actually strived for. This would mean that the characteristic mass production necessary (vs no mass production wanted) needs to be addresses as positive too. Results however show that respondents from both cities have a strong consensus (low average because the ideal score is ‘1’ for both categories and low dispersion St Dev = 1) towards not willing to mass produce. The oppositions of requested by clients vs developed out of own motivation also proves to be insightful. Both cities show a low average (the score of ‘1’ relates to requested by clients as opposed to ‘7’ which means produced out of own motivation). The low dispersion combined with the low average makes it possible to assume that in both cities a consensus has been reached in which extrinsic motivation is the driving force.

This hybrid sector clearly shows signs of a sector open to a businesslike approach (extrinsic motivation for producing, and especially in Rotterdam high practical usage value and an inclination towards selling in large quantities) yet also of characteristics that hold true to the opposite where artistic integrity is highly regarded and mass production is not strived for. If we combine these results with the emphasis on entrepreneurship (especially in Rotterdam) we can ask ourselves if the policy forcing firms from the core arts field into operating more like a business putting more emphasis on market demand and economies of scale.

		One copy vs. many	Sell in large quantities vs. peer recognition	Low vs. high usage value	Extrinsic vs. intrinsic motivation	Guaranteed market vs. market demand no role	Requested by clients vs. developed out own motivation	No mass production wanted vs. mass production necessary	Mass prod. not possible vs. mass prod. easy to apply
AMS hybrid core arts/creative Ind	Avg score	2,3	5,8	4,5	3	2,8	1,8	1,8	2,5
	St. dev/ result	1,5	1	1,3	2,3	1	1	1	1,7
ROT hybrid core arts/creative Ind	Avg score	2,8	5	6	3,8	3,3	2,3	1,5	2,3
	St. dev/ result	2,4	1,8	1,2	1	1,5	0,5	1	2

Table 10: dispersion of results within hybrid core arts / creative industries and activities.

5.4.3 Hybrid core arts / cult industry

Again in Amsterdam only one firm is categorized in the core arts/cultural industry hybrid. In Rotterdam five firms were categorized in this group. The results are shown in table 10. Amongst the respondents in this category peer recognition is still preferred over selling in large quantities (the classical opposition of arts for art's sake or producing what is in demand). This is also shown in the preference for the market demand plays no role (as motivation of production). The uncertainty of demand has little influence on the eventual development of the product. Both characteristics are related to the core arts field.

In Amsterdam the results are difficult to interpret. The many '4' on the results show the 'I don't know' option. Because the core arts field and cultural industry operate very different from each other it is difficult to believe that such a hybrid would exist. Especially on some key feature where they are completely different. In the cultural industries selling large quantities is a must (cd's, books, economies of scale to lower prices) whereas in the core arts field this is avoided.

		One copy vs. many	Sell in large quantities vs. peer recognition	Low vs. high usage value	Extrinsic vs. intrinsic motivation	Guaranteed market vs. market demand no role	Requested by clients vs. developed out own motivation	No mass production wanted vs. mass production necessary	Mass prod. not possible vs. mass prod. easy to apply
AMS hybrid core arts/cult Ind	score	5	6	4	7	7	4	4	7
	St. dev/ result	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ROT hybrid core arts/cult Ind	Avg score	3,6	6	5,4	5,4	5,8	4,6	3,4	3
	St. dev/ result	2,6	1,2	1,5	1,9	1,1	2,5	1,9	1,9

Table 11: dispersion of results within hybrid core arts / cultural industries

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

The reason for this research to be conducted was an observation made by the author regarding the businesses preset in creative clusters in Rotterdam. The observation led to the belief that the 'arts' as a subcategory of the creative industries was marginalized because of faulty policies. Literature yielded three major issues concerning policies aimed at facilitating the creative industries. The first lack of a definition of the creative industries strengthened the this idea Evans, 2009; Cunningham, 2002).. Without a proper definition it becomes difficult to see what it actually is we want to stimulate with a policy and how to evaluate if theory (policy aims) and practice (types of firms present in the creative hubs). The second issue addresses the lack of evidence proving that policies that have as goal stimulating the facilitation of the creative industries, work (Evans, 2009; Wolfe and Gertler, 2004). And third, the disregarding of a cities historical background as indicator for success (Kloosterman, 2004; Deinema 2012). It is shown that cities with a history of housing creatives will do better in facilitating of, maintaining of and attracting creativity to the city. Thus policy makers should be aware of the constraints present when setting the scope and focus of the policy. All in all creative industries policies are not simple tools that can be implemented in any situation under any given circumstances (Peck, 2005; Markusen, 2006). Even though the growing popularity of these policies showed the opposite. These differences will be addresses in various degrees using the results found.

6.1 HYPOTHESIS AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Several hypotheses were constructed at the beginning of the research . Using the literature, our results and an in depth review of policy documents of the Amsterdam and Rottedam municipalities regarding the facilitation of the creative industries we are able to prove or disprove them.

1) Current municipal policy regarding creative clusters in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, does not acknowledge the differences between firms from the cultural and the creative industries.

The policy documents both cities have show a deep and meaningful understanding of the differences between firms from the cultural and creative industries. However, even though a distinction is made between cultural and creative, both policies fail to explicitly state how they will address these differences. Furthermore, especially in Rotterdam policy mainly regards culture in terms of large organizations and creatives as entrepreneurs. Cultural entrepreneurs *are* therefore regarded as being marginalized, at least in the current policy. The Amsterdam municipality houses two governmental bodies that oversee and manage the housing (work/living spaces) of creatives. They thus remove part of the risk of not having an explicit policy to address differences between the sectors. In Rotterdam no such municipal body exists.

2) Current municipal policy in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, regarding creative clusters, is focused on entrepreneurs in the creative industries rather than the creative industries at large.

3) Current municipal policy in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, regarding creative clusters, uses creative clusters as tool for economic development rather than tool for housing the creative industries at large.

This holds true for Rotterdam, less for Amsterdam. Policy documents show that in Amsterdam artists are mentioned in the context of 'art for art's sake', giving them some merit on which they should exist outside of an economical one. Amsterdam sees creativity as important economic factor but chooses to focus on developing artistic talent from within the city. The Rotterdam municipality still struggles with the question to either import talent from abroad or develop local talent. In Rotterdam the ties with entrepreneurship are very much apparent throughout the policy documents. There is an ongoing quest to integrate the creative industries in all sorts of other areas where the government is responsible for (social, spatial, economic problems). When comparing this to the model on policy rationales (see table 2) by creative metropoles (2009) , the closest match is the creative class approach. This approach focuses on 'individuals in a certain field of activity' (creative metropoles, 2009) and people working with creativity.

4)Current municipal policy regarding creative clusters in Amsterdam and Rotterdam marginalizes the arts sector in creative cluster.

To answer this question a new model has been developed that is capable of empirically categorizing firms in the creative industries based on distinguishing characteristics. As such we are able to provide the statistics needed to answer this question. Our research results shows that current municipal policy is not marginalizing the arts sector. The core arts field shows a well established presence in both cities. Even more than could be expected with data from the Netherlands in general. One sector did remain unidentified; the cultural industries. In neither Amsterdam nor Rotterdam a single firm could be found. The third category; creative industries and activities was identified but less than what could be expected based on data about the Netherlands in general.

On a side note, the policy in Rotterdam as it is implemented now (period 2013 – 2016) does raise some concern. In this policy the creative industries are seen as tool for urban development. This does not have to cause issues regarding the core arts field but in the long term, not addressing this group could become problematic. In an interview with the director of the organization that provides housing for artists in Rotterdam he (SKAR) he told that he felt bound;

'I really hoped for more temporary buildings from the city council..this would have helped the developments that I initiated with the buildings on stadhuisplein and delftsestraat which I also manage and unfortunately middellandstraat I had to give back. This would have furthered my cause greatly further then I am now'. Chris Bouma – CEO SKAR.

The Rotterdam municipality does not have a long term strategy regarding buildings for autonomous creatives. As an example he gives the constant moving around of people SKAR houses because of the municipalities plans to sell the building. Together with SKAR the Rotterdam arts council has expressed these concerns to the city council.

6.1.2 Path Dependancy

Amsterdam a success story? Rotterdam struggling? Based on the theories this is what we should have found. It appears however to be only partially true. Regarding the core arts both cities show a well established population to be present in the creative hubs. The absence of the cultural industry though remains a mystery. If Amsterdam is doing better than Rotterdam we cannot say. The results show a mixed result where some categories are better represented in Amsterdam and others in Rotterdam.

Rotterdam showed some interesting results in regards to 'playing to your strengths'. The creative industries is quite strongly represented in the Rotterdam creative clusters. This together with the observed indication that firms from the core arts field in Rotterdam operate more business like leads to the idea that Rotterdam is might actually just invest in the sectors in which it has proven to be successful (architecture). The creative industries and activities show quite some similarities with the core arts field making a hybrid between the two quite possible. This, together with the emphasis the Rotterdam municipality puts on entrepreneurship might be the reason for the strong presence of the hybrid group.

6.2 LIMITIATIONS

One of the main limitation of this research is the time span in which it was conducted. The surveys represent at best a momentary glimpse of what policy can or cannot achieve. Every four year the municipality of Amsterdam and Rotterdam develop new policies and strategical documents. All will affect the sector some immediately for others it will take longer to see the effect. Nonetheless the research gives an accurate up- to- date view of the creative industries in Amsterdam and Rotterdam as found in creative clusters. It would be a useful addition and one that can strengthen our conclusion , if the research is done again with the same creative clusters and see if there is a change in the size of the categories.

With the newly developed model, which has shown to be capable of making a distinction on sectoral level, it became possible to empirically categorize firms found in the creative industries. In theory it proved easier than to do so in practice. The model shows to be having difficulty when it comes to categorizing firms that appear to operate as hybrids. These firms fit as well in one category as they do in another. Interestingly this setback also provided with new insights in the creative economy at large. Furthermore the amount of responses is cause for awareness about the measure of representativeness. The number of 60 useable surveys cannot be seen as representative for all firms in the Amsterdam and Rotterdam creative clusters.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS.

The model should be made better equipped to handle hybrid artists. This could be done by implementing a score factor to questions in the questionnaire that are very specific to the category one is looking at. This, for example would ensure that respondents that resemble the ideal type score very close will be identified better. A score close to the ideal type score will be less affected by the penalty than one that is the biggest possible score away. Current model relies on averages that cannot distinguish between a very close score and one that is further removed from the ideal type score. Stretching out the score differences might help in better equipping the model to deal with respondents that score average on most questions. Another adjustment that can be made to improve the distinguishing power of the model is to add per category a key question that has to be filled in correctly, as in exactly the score as the ideal score otherwise one is not placed in the corresponding group. During the processing of the results it was noticed that some respondents gave clearly different answers overall yet ended up in the same category.

An effort should also be made into researching other major cities in the Netherlands. Seeing as we have identified that two of the four largest cities in the Netherlands (the others being Den Haag and Utrecht) show a large percentage to be part of the core arts field, it will be interesting to see whether Den-Haag and Utrecht also display similar high percentages. This opens up an interesting debate about the spatial distribution of the core arts field in the Netherlands. It might be the case that firms from the core arts field have a high preference for cities and this is the reason why they are found to be overrepresented.

The final recommendation would be to research the soft-location factors that could be of influence whether or not firms settle in the creative clusters. Following the results (a higher percentage of core arts in Amsterdam and Rotterdam creative clusters) it would be beneficial to see if creative clusters might be especially suited for the core arts field and less for the other sectors (the cultural industries were not present and the Creative Industries and Activities less than could be expected). Features such as the size of the rooms for rent can be of influence on which type of firm will want to rent it. An in depth study into the features of creative clusters should be done in order see if certain cluster are better equipped to house a certain category. We have shown that creative clusters need more than just the physical aspects in order for them to be successful yet it will be in the interest of the research to maybe distinguish clusters from each other based on the physical attributes they have and the attributes tenants look for.

6.4 ON HYBRID ARTISTS

One of the most surprising results was the identification of the hybrid groups. Not an intended feature of the model yet even more interestingly so. First, room has to be created in the model to be able to address their existence. This means characteristics and ideal types have to be created. The results found in this research found an indication at best. It will be interesting to see if there is literature on the topic of hybrid artists. With that we can further develop the model to better distinguish the hybrid artists.

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APPENDIX I

The survey:

Thank you for agreeing to fill in the survey!

PLEASE NOTE!

The survey consists of 12 questions regarding the prodcut you produce or service you provide.

Answering the questions is done using the scale provided with each question. The scale will indicate to which extent you
feel agreeable, regarding your product or service, to the two extremes on the scale. The closer to one of the two extremes the more you agree.

The term 'produced product' points to a physical object as well as a provided service.

Would you be so kind to keep in mind your core product or service of the company when filling in the survey

Anonimity is assured

The following three questions concern general information about your company.

1 How many people work for the company?

2 When was the company founded?

3 What was the approximate turn-over in 2013 in euro's?

The following 8 questions regard the different characteristics of your product or service.

Remember! The closer to one of the two extremes the more you agree to the statement.

4 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...only one or only a few copies exist	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	...there are many copies in existence

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

Dimension: Method of production

5 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...selling in large quantities is very important	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	...recognition by peers plays a more important role than sales volumes

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

Relates to: Quality peer reviewed

6 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...practical usage value is low	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	...the high level of practical usage value the reason is the product is produced or service is provided

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

Dimension: usage value

7 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...market demand (for similar products) the reason is to start producing or offer the service	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	...production is initiated by intrinsic motivation, regardless market demand

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

Dimension: Motivation of creation

8 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...the product would not be produced or the service not be provided without a guaranteed market for it	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	... market demand plays a small to no role in the decision to start production

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

Dimension: Quality peer reviewed

9 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...they are being developed as requested by clients	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	...they are being developed out of own motivation

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

Dimension: Motivation of creation

10 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...mass-production is not strived for	○	◉	○	○	○	○	○	...mass-production is a necessity seeing competition, other buisinessmodels are not an option for this product or the comoany could not exists without mass-producing

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

Dimension: Method of production

11 It holds true that for the products produced or service provided by my company...

...mass-prodcution is not possible	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	...mass-production is easy to apply

Label: **'1'** **'7'**

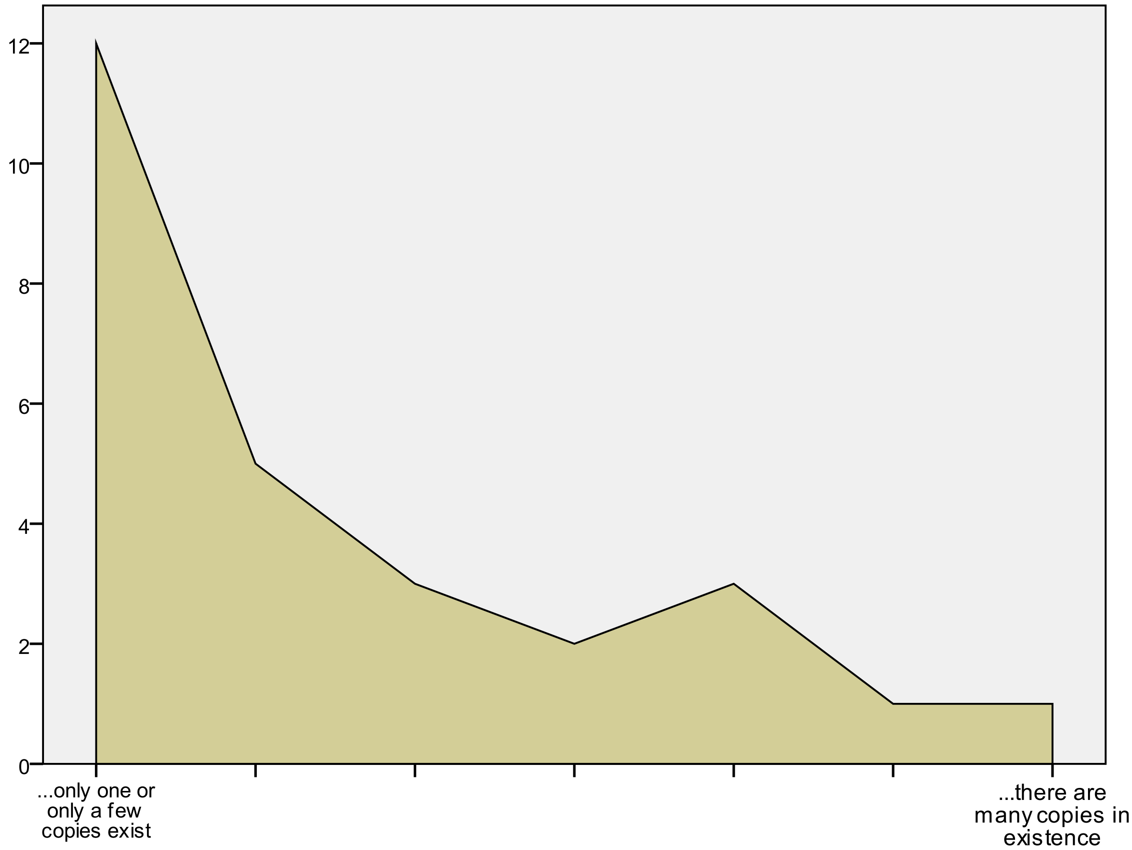
Dimension: Motivation of creation / Repeated sunk costs

12 If you have further notes or questions please use the box below

APPENDIX IIa

Results per question Amsterdam

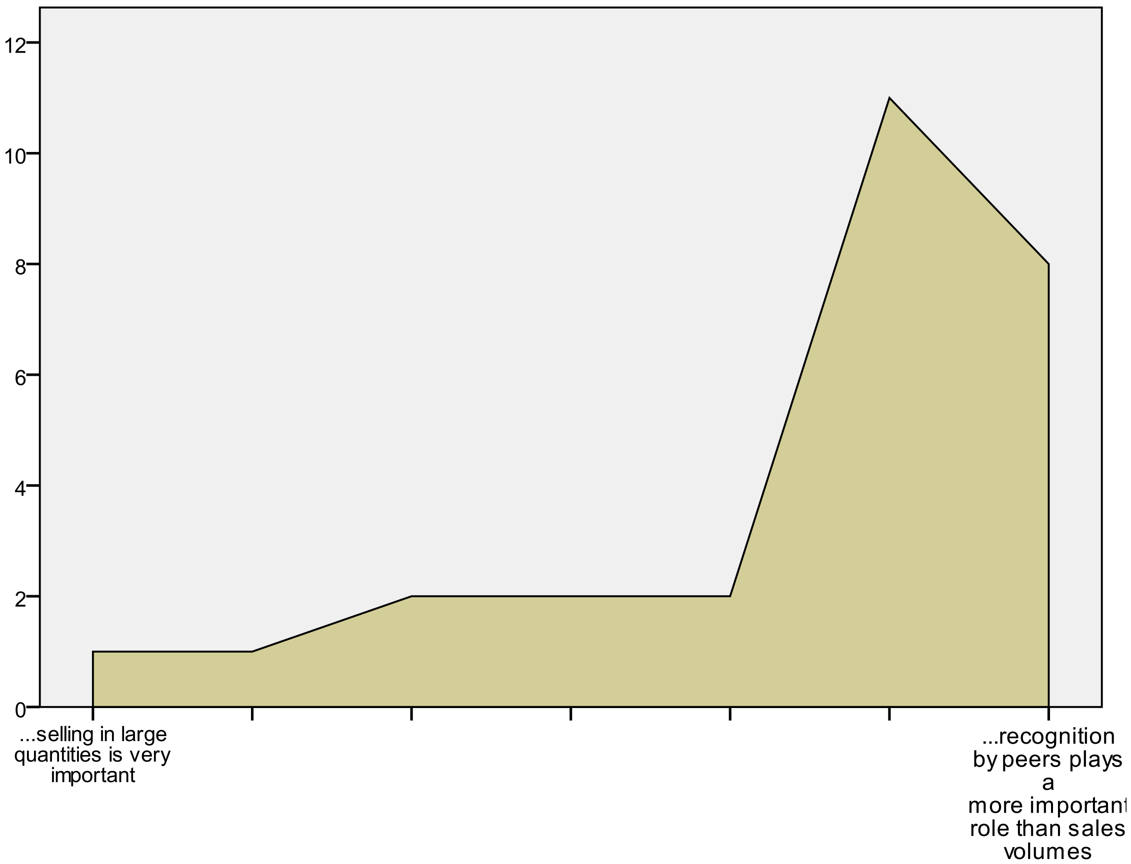
Q4
020



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
4	...only one or only a few copies exist... ...there are many copies in existence	12	5	3	2	3	1	1	27	2.48

Statistic	...only one or only a few copies exist... ...there are many copies in existence
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	2.48
Variance	3.26
Standard Deviation	1.81
Total Responses	27

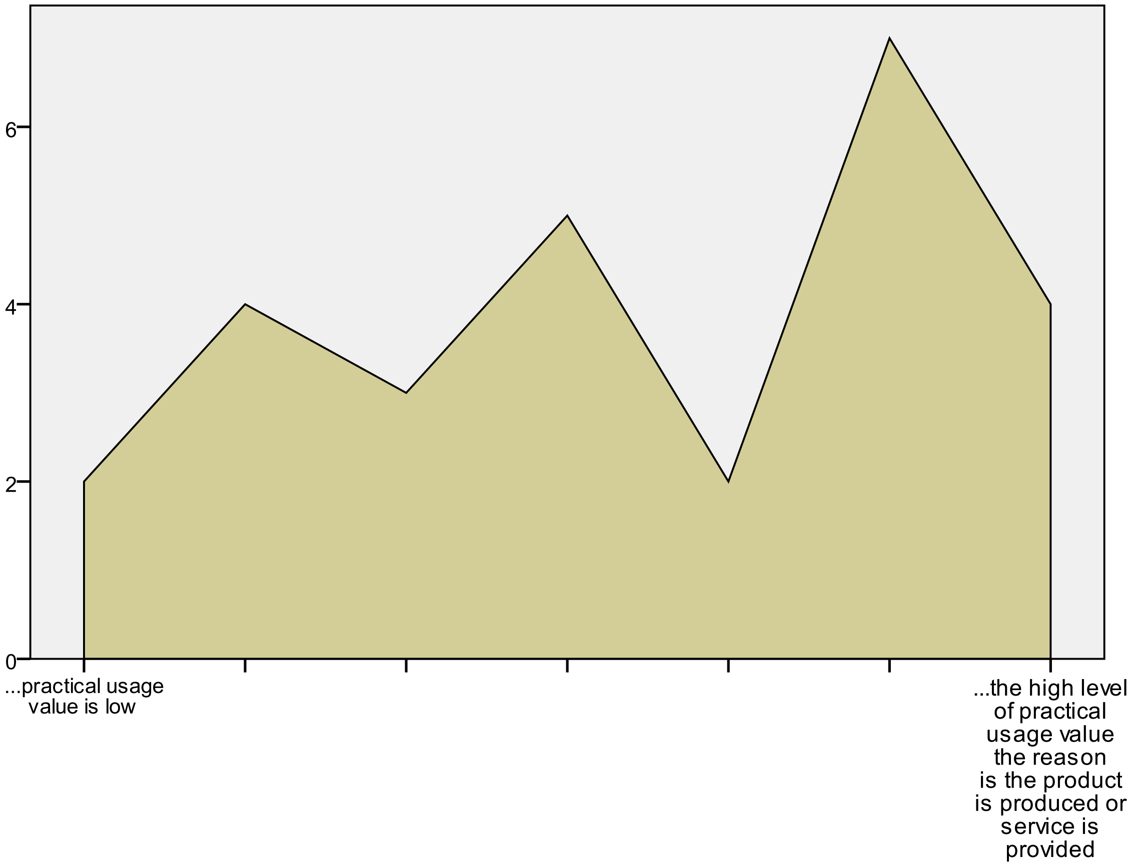
Q5 020



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
5	...selling in large quantities is very important... ...recognition by peers plays a more important role than sales volumes	1	1	2	2	2	11	8	27	5.52

Statistic	...selling in large quantities is very important ...recognition by peers plays a more important role than sales volumes
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	5.52
Variance	2.72
Standard Deviation	1.65
Total Responses	27

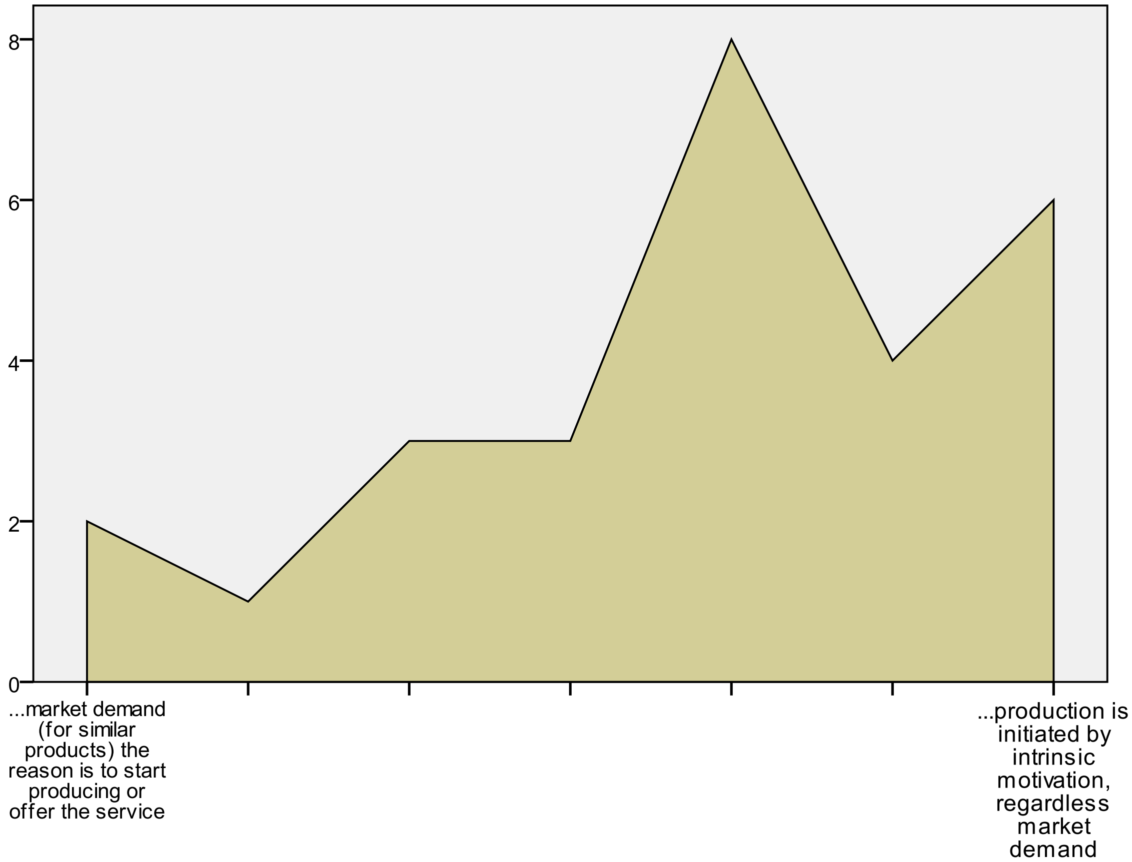
Q6 020



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
6	...practical usage value is low... ...the high level of practical usage value the reason is the product is produced or service is provided	2	4	3	5	2	7	4	27	4.41

Statistic	...practical usage value is low...the high level of practical usage value the reason is the product is produced or service is provided
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	4.41
Variance	3.79
Standard Deviation	1.95
Total Responses	27

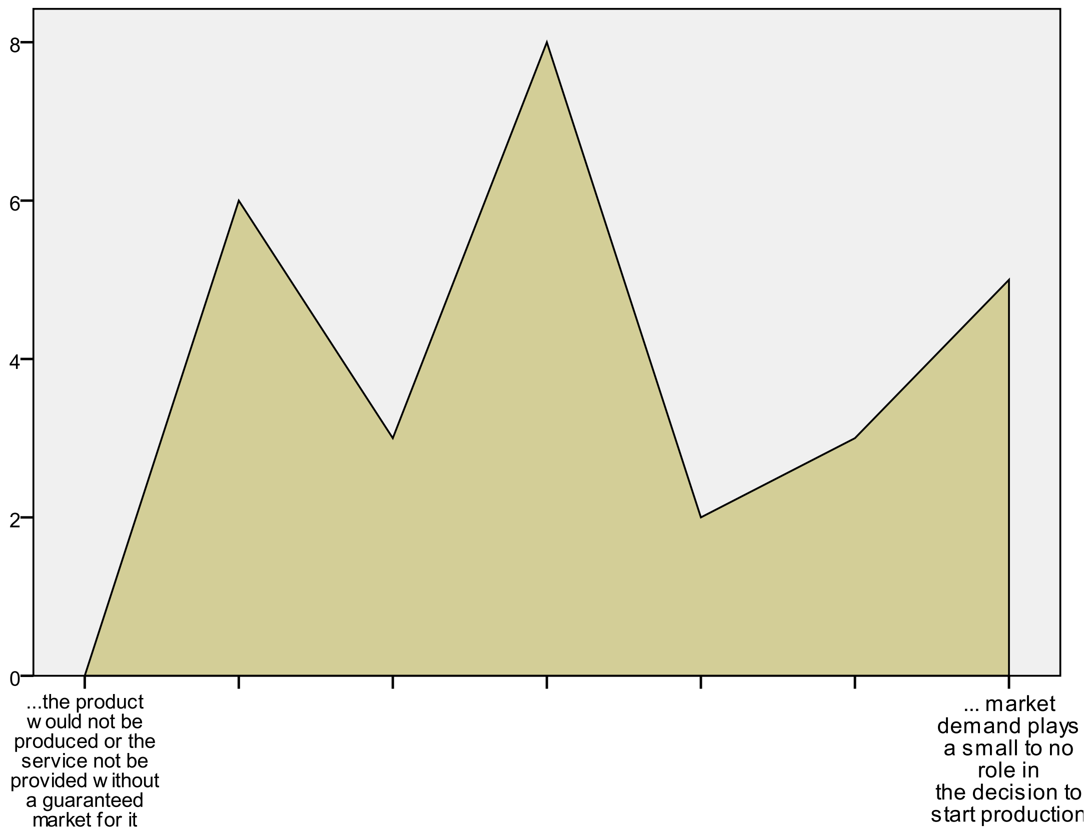
Q7 020



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
7	...market demand (for similar products) the reason is to start producing or offer the service... ...production is initiated by intrinsic motivation, regardless market demand	2	1	3	3	8	4	6	27	4.85

Statistic	...market demand (for similar products) the reason is to start producing or offer the service... ...production is initiated by intrinsic motivation, regardless market demand
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	4.85
Variance	3.21
Standard Deviation	1.79
Total Responses	27

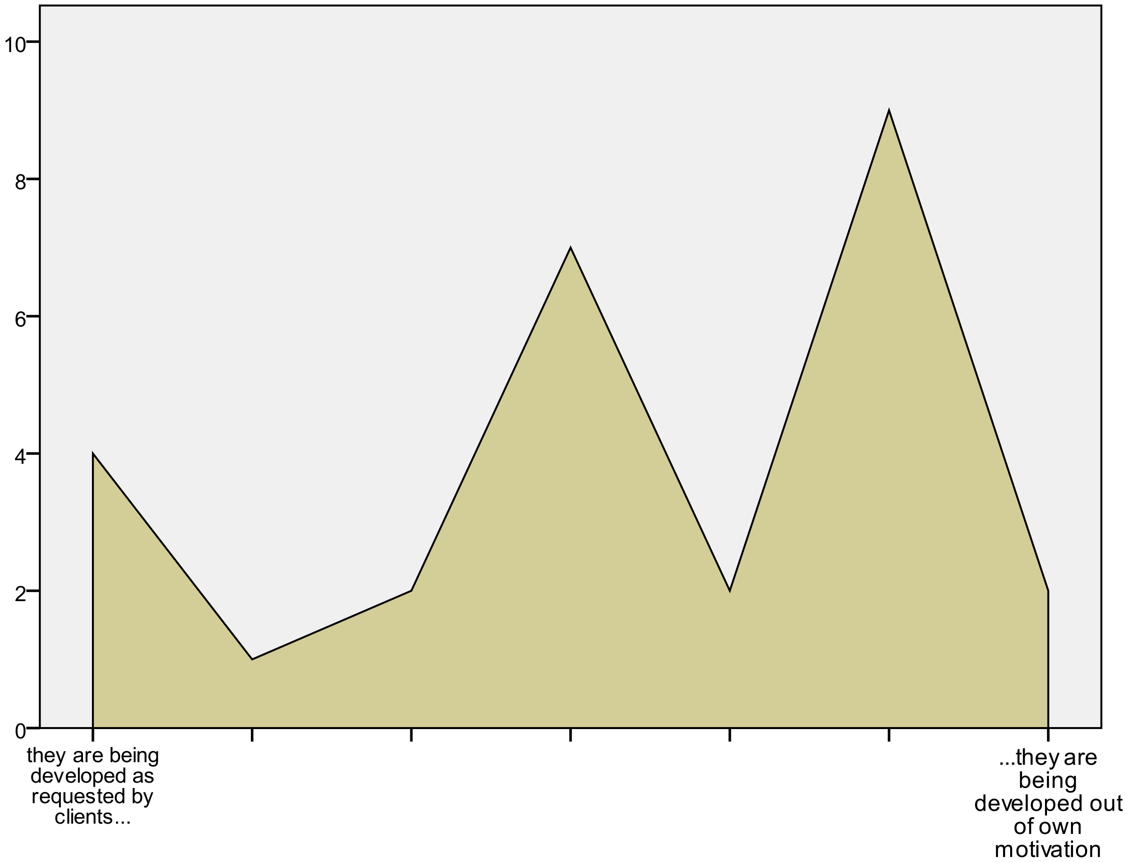
Q8 020



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
8	...the product would not be produced or the service not be provided without a guaranteed market for it... ...market demand plays a small to no role in the decision to start production	0	6	3	8	2	3	5	27	4.30

Statistic	...the product would not be produced or the service not be provided without a guaranteed market for it... ...market demand plays a small to no role in the decision to start production
Min Value	2
Max Value	7
Mean	4.30
Variance	3.22
Standard Deviation	1.79
Total Responses	27

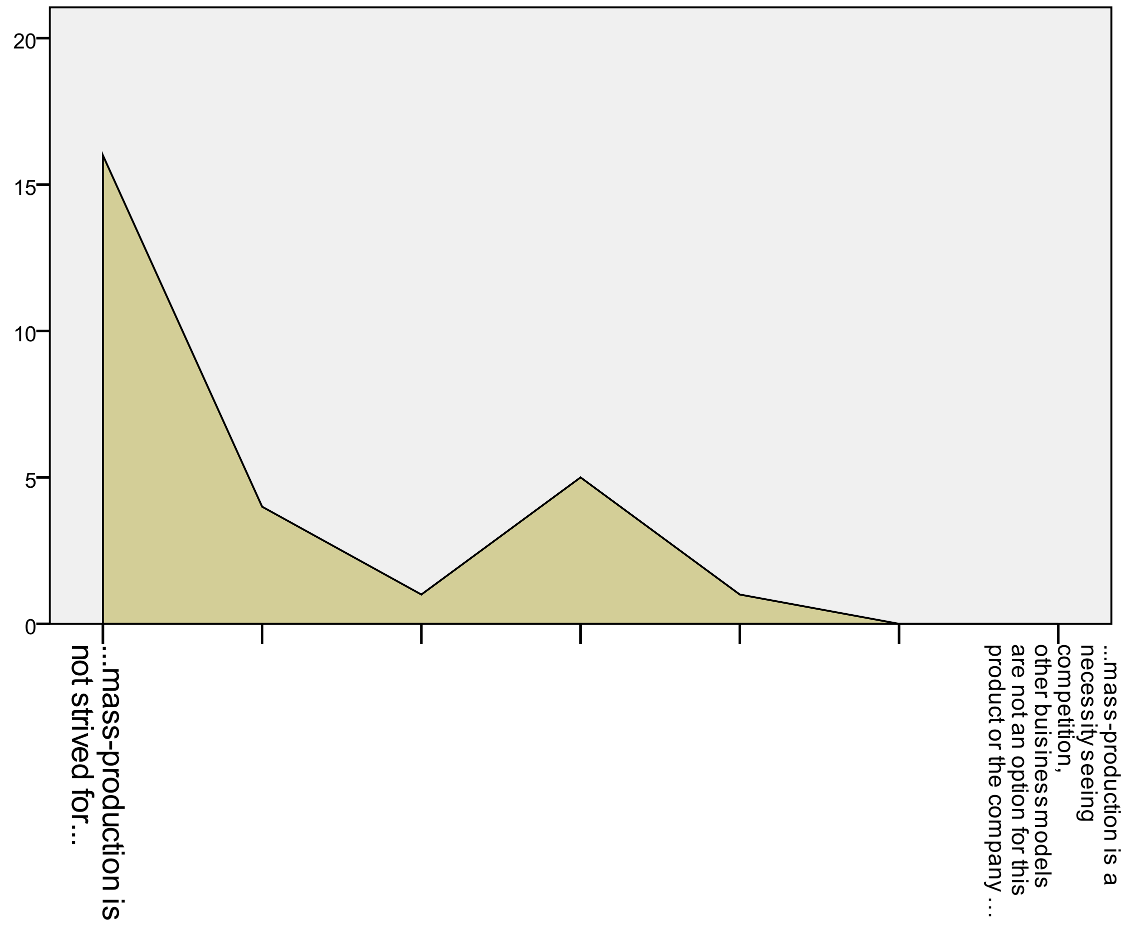
Q9 020



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
9	...they are being developed as requested by clients... ...they are being developed out of own motivation	4	1	2	7	2	9	2	27	4.37

Statistic	...they are being developed as requested by clients... ...they are being developed out of own motivation
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	4.37
Variance	3.63
Standard Deviation	1.90
Total Responses	27

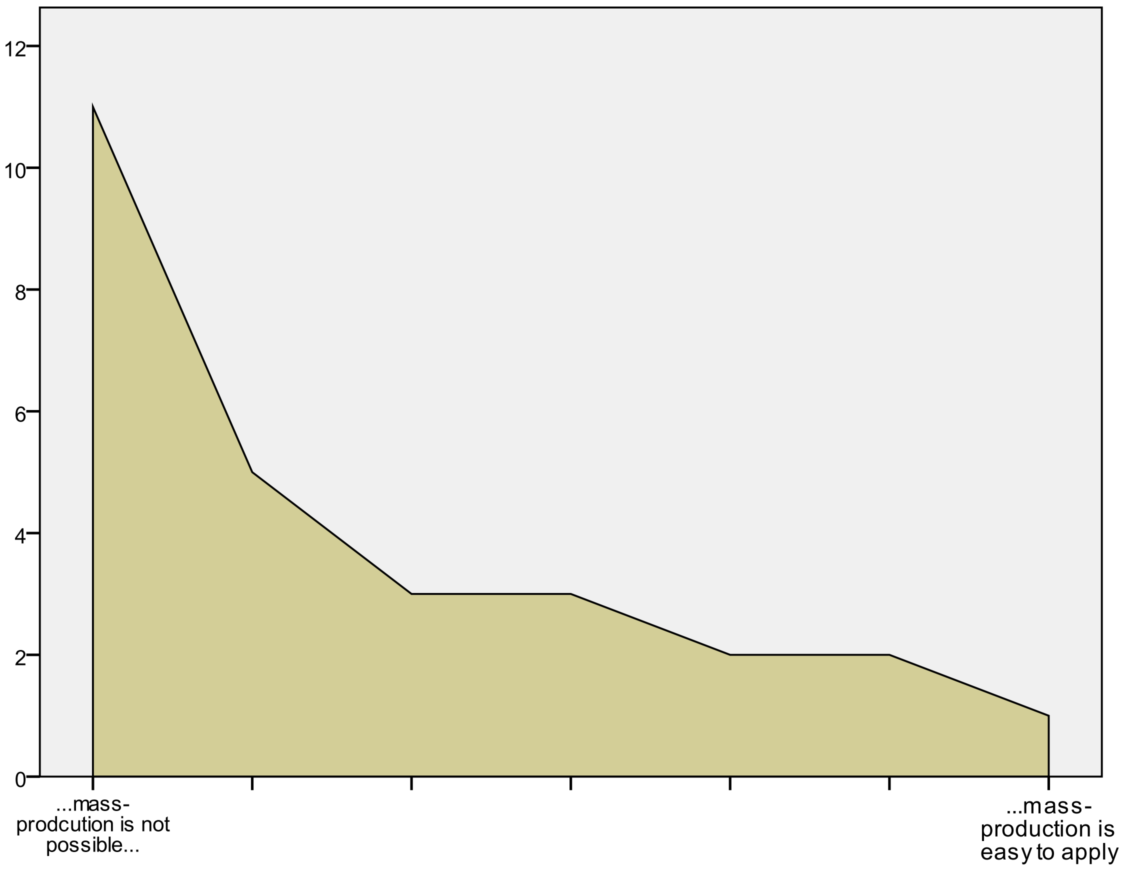
Q10 020



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
10	...mass-production is not strived for... ...mass-production is a necessity seeing competition, other buisinessmodels are not an option for this product or the company could not exists without mass-producing	16	4	1	5	1	0	0	27	1.93

Statistic	...mass-production is not strived for... ...mass-production is a necessity seeing competition, other buisinessmodels are not an option for this product or the company could not exists without mass-producing
Min Value	1
Max Value	5
Mean	1.93
Variance	1.76
Standard Deviation	1.33
Total Responses	27

Q11 020



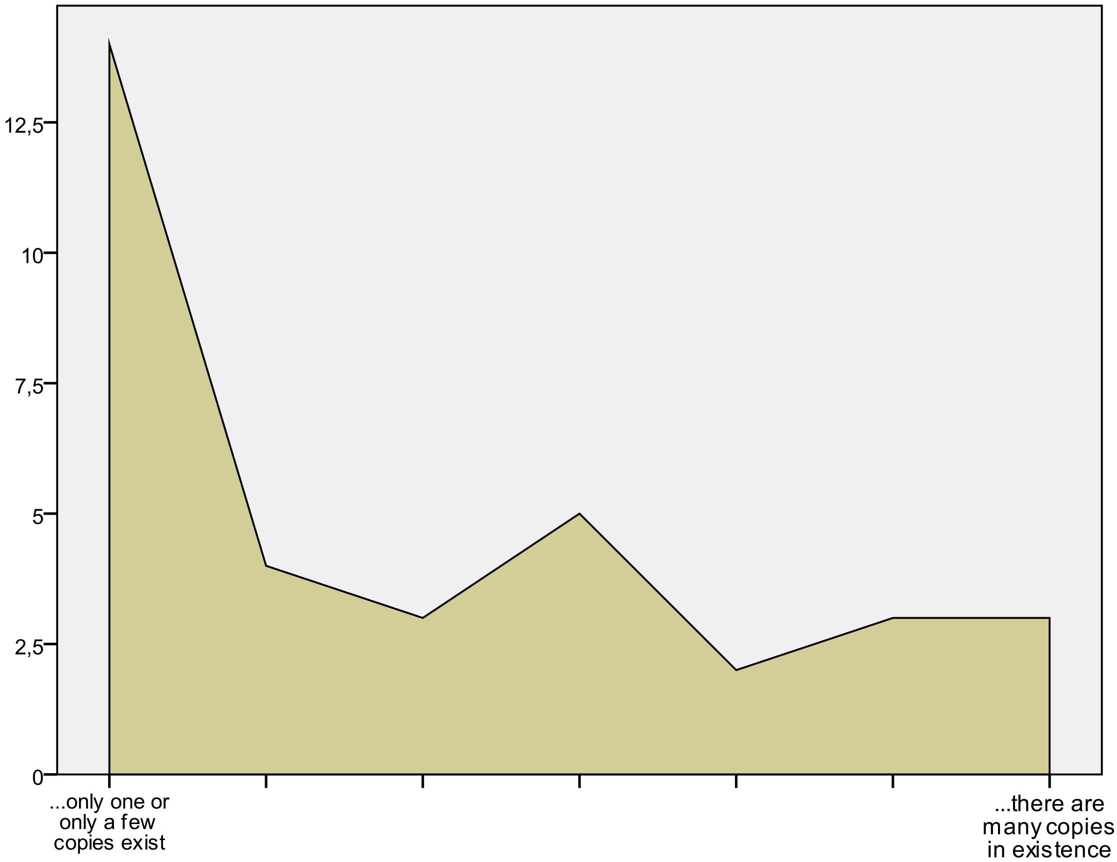
#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
11	...mass-prodcution is not possible... ...mass-production is easy to apply	11	5	3	3	2	2	1	27	2.63

Statistic	...mass-prodcution is not possible... ...mass-production is easy to apply
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	2.63
Variance	3.47
Standard Deviation	1.86
Total Responses	27

APPENDIX IIb

Results per question Rotterdam

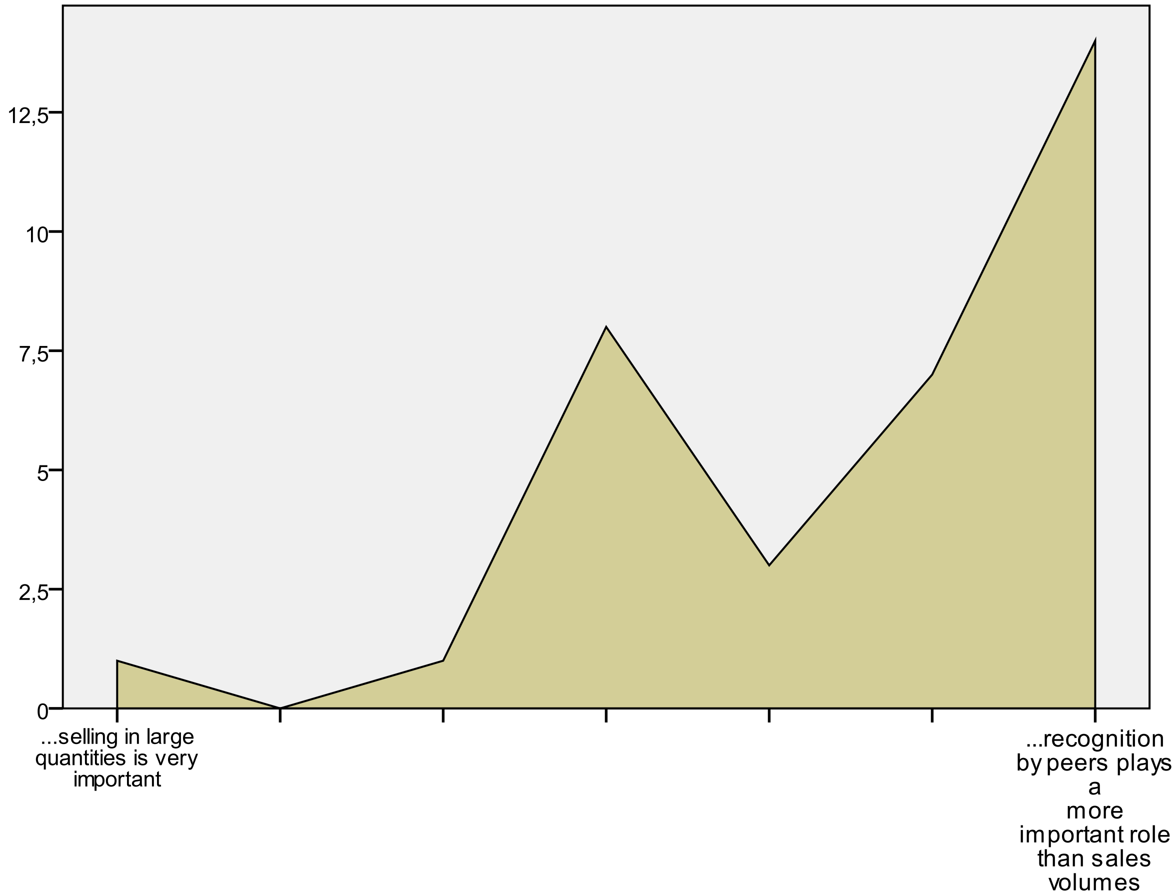
Q4 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
4	...only one or only a few copies exist... ...there are many copies in existence	14	4	3	5	2	3	3	34	2.94

Statistic	...only one or only a few copies exist... ...there are many copies in existence an
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	2.94
Variance	4.62
Standard Deviation	2.15
Total Responses	34

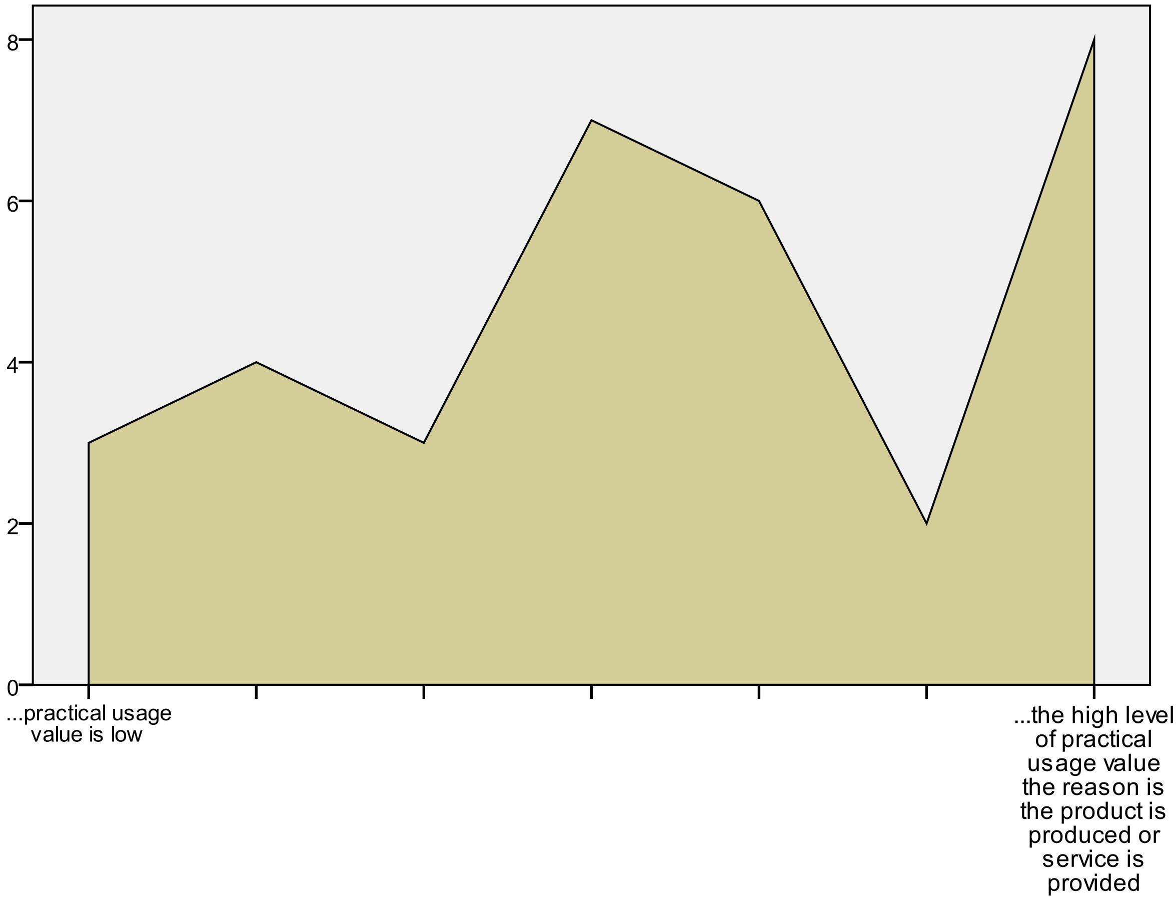
Q5 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
5	...selling in large quantities is very important... ...recognition by peers plays a more important role than sales volumes	1	0	1	8	3	7	14	34	5.58

Statistic	...selling in large quantities is very important ...recognition by peers plays a more important role than sales volumes
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	5.58
Variance	2.38
Standard Deviation	1.54
Total Responses	34

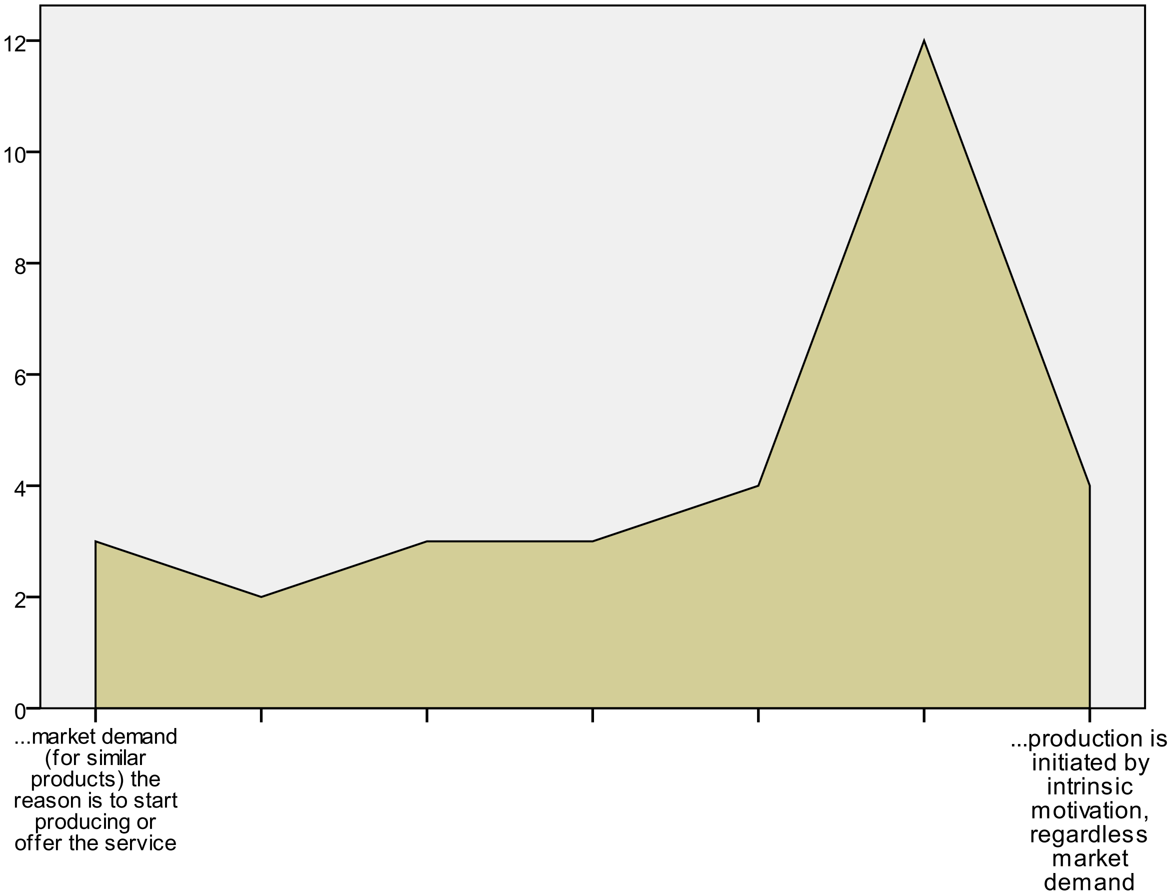
Q6 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
6	...practical usage value is low... ...the high level of practical usage value the reason is the product is produced or service is provided	3	4	3	7	6	2	8	33	4.34

Statistic	...practical usage value is low...the high level of practical usage value the reason is the product is produced or service is provided
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	4.34
Variance	3.85
Standard Deviation	1.96
Total Responses	33

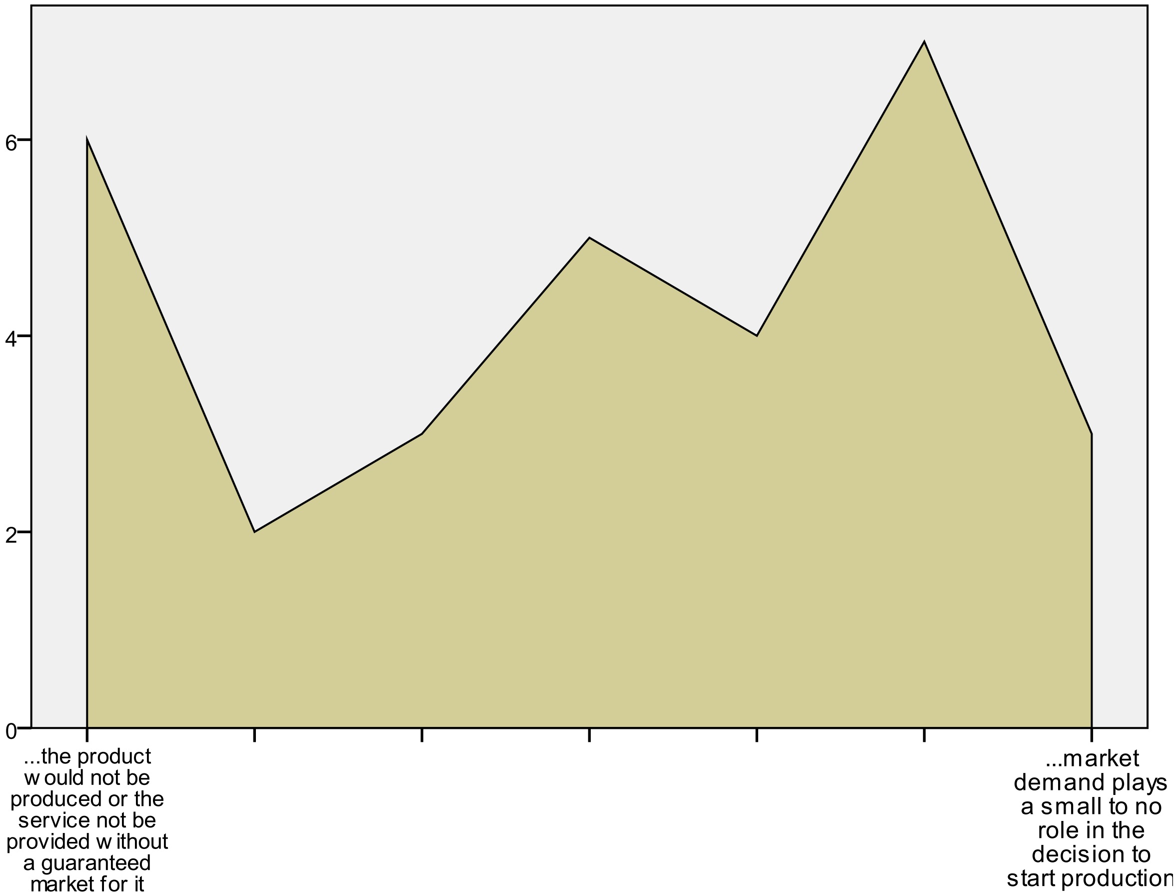
Q7 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
7	...market demand (for similar products) the reason is to start producing or offer the service... ...production is initiated by intrinsic motivation, regardless market demand	3	2	3	3	4	12	4	31	4.77

Statistic	...market demand (for similar products) the reason is to start producing or offer the service... ...production is initiated by intrinsic motivation, regardless market demand
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	4.77
Variance	3.70
Standard Deviation	1.92
Total Responses	31

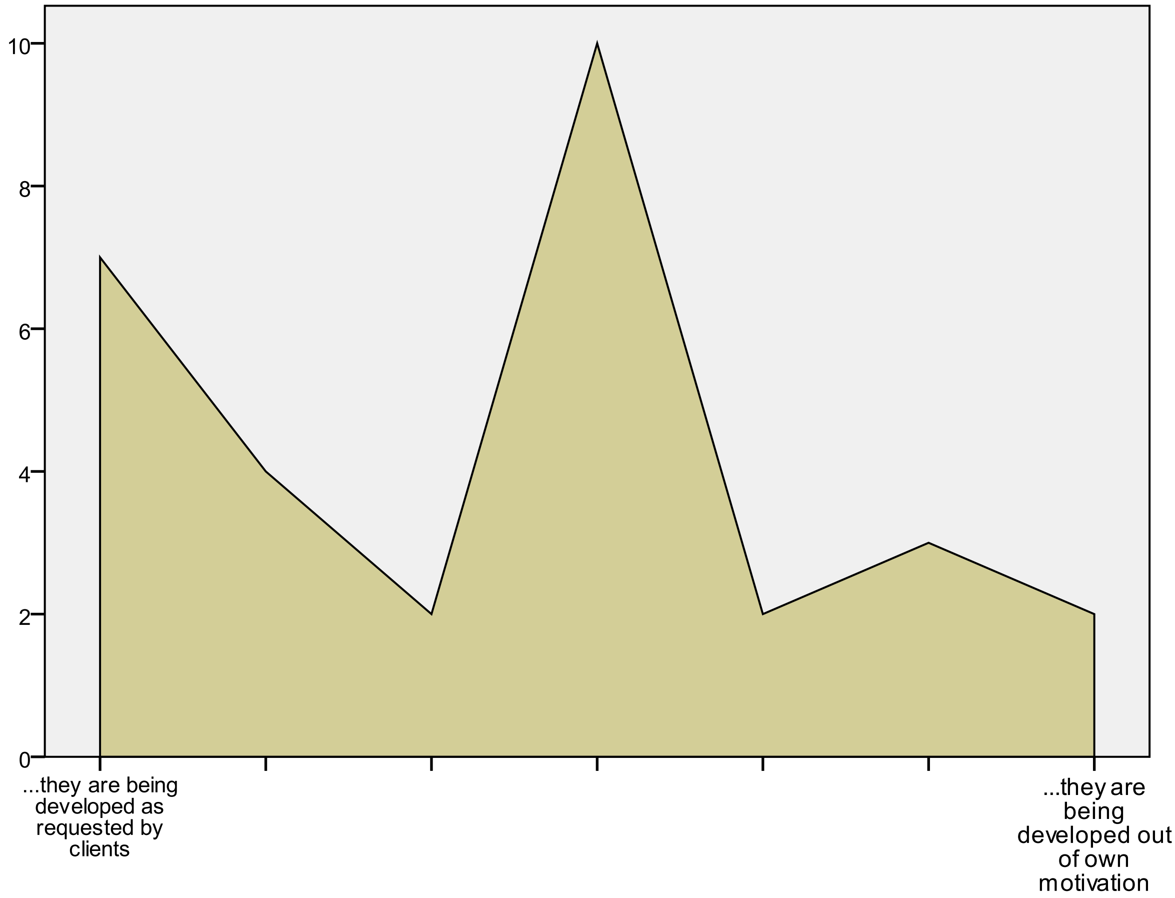
Q8 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
8	...the product would not be produced or the service not be provided without a guaranteed market for it... ...market demand plays a small to no role in the decision to start production	6	2	3	5	4	7	3	30	4.03

Statistic	...the product would not be produced or the service not be provided without a guaranteed market for it... ...market demand plays a small to no role in the decision to start production
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	4.03
Variance	4.39
Standard Deviation	2.10
Total Responses	30

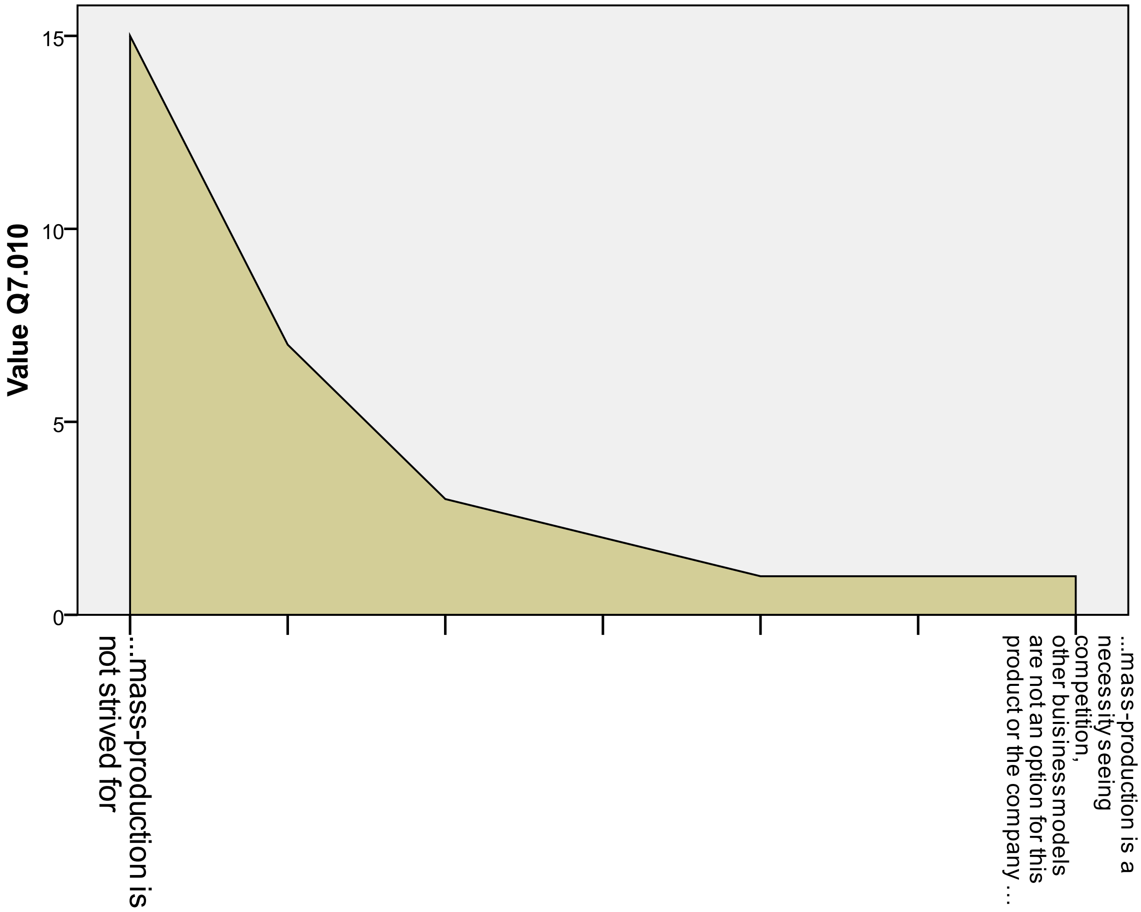
Q9 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
9	...they are being developed as requested by clients... ...they are being developed out of own motivation	7	4	2	10	2	3	2	30	3.48

Statistic	...they are being developed as requested by clients... ...they are being developed out of own motivation
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	3.48
Variance	3.62
Standard Deviation	1.90
Total Responses	30

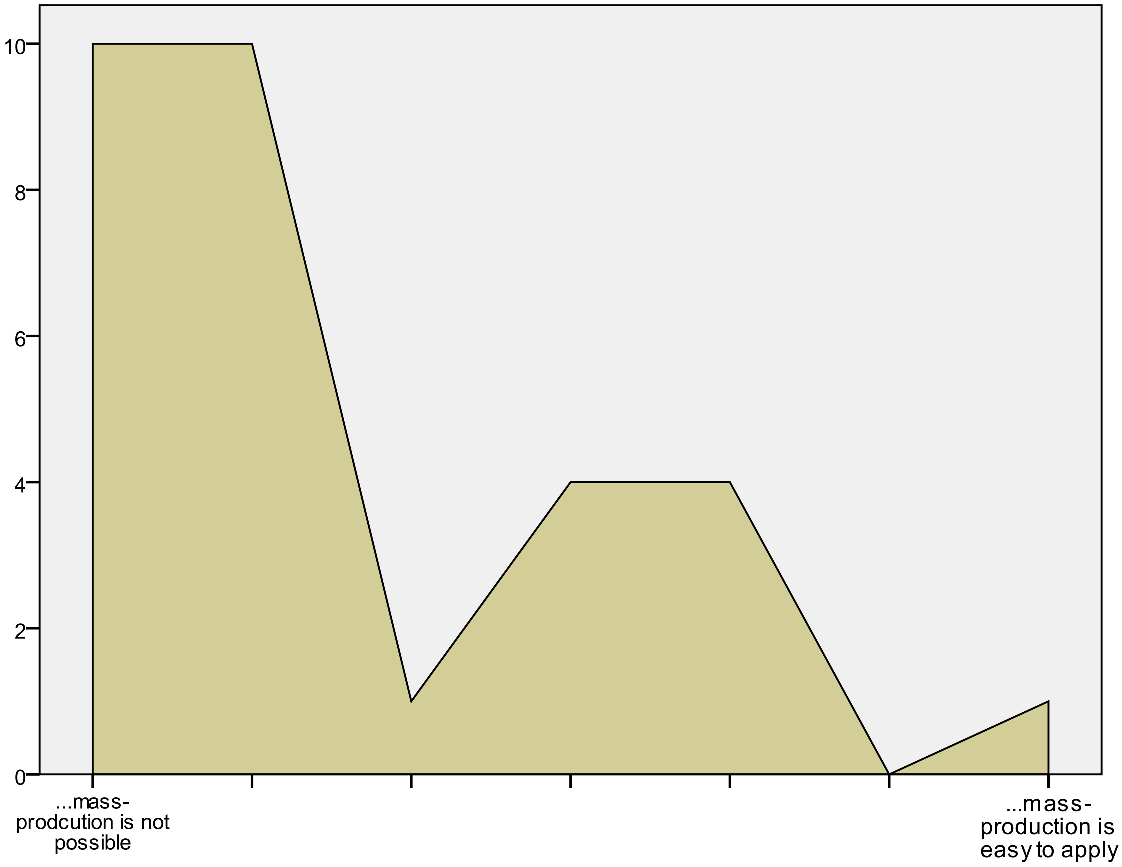
Q10 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
10	...mass-production is not strived for... ...mass-production is a necessity seeing competition, other buisinessmodels are not an option for this product or the company could not exists without mass-producing	15	7	3	2	1	1	1	30	2.17

Statistic	...mass-production is not strived for... ...mass-production is a necessity seeing competition, other buisinessmodels are not an option for this product or the company could not exists without mass-producing massaproductie
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	2.17
Variance	2.65
Standard Deviation	1.63
Total Responses	30

Q11 010:



#	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total Responses	Mean
11	...mass-prodcution is not possible... ...mass-production is easy to apply	10	10	1	4	4	0	1	30	2.59

Statistic	...mass-prodcution is not possible... ...mass-production is easy to apply
Min Value	1
Max Value	7
Mean	2.59
Variance	2.75
Standard Deviation	1.66
Total Responses	30

APPENDIX III

Interview Chris Bouwma Director StichtingKunstAaccomodatieRotterdam (SKAR) – 10/05/2014

Jorick Krastman: my reason for being here is to ask your about your ideas about the Rotterdam city councils policy on the creative industry. They have a very outspoken policy on how they want to use the creative industry for regeneration of the inner city.

Chris Bouma: ehh I told you that there have been many policy written in this city about this topic. Next to SKAR I was also involved in the South of Rotterdam. Three local municipalities there; Ijsselmonde, Feyenoord en Charlois that should have ended up in an initiative called 'Pact op Zuid' which would also contain a creative cluster of which I was part. This pact then was meant be there for 20 years or 16 I believe. So we put in a lot of effort and worked on it with a lot of joy to try and make something out of it because if the municipalities had so much faith in the creative sector we really want to make something out of it. Besides that there was some budget made available, because for these initiatives you need money, it is just like that. So I was extremely surprised to find out that after four years they pulled the plug on the whole project, because according the scholars ('geleerden') it did not work and it had to become something else. So these kind of phenomena, I think, happen too much in this city, the idea that man has an idea; 'the creative industry has a promising future', I have had some support in this from especially the former 'city development', used to be development board Rotterdam,..

I was surprised by the idea of finding many an answers within the creative sector, the problem solving nature the creative industry apparently has…well according to me there isn't an artist or whatever that is able to solve a problem..this just doesn't happen..this is about completely different phenomena.

Of course I can put a lot of nice boys and girls together hoping that it will start to vibrate but yeah,…you have to facilitate that! They did facilitate this quite extensively for a couple of years to support certain initiatives outside the means which I have available for SKAR. You cannot mix up these two. This resulted in the possibility to take a couple of buildings in our care on a temporary base. We had to put in some work to make these buildings suited for what we wanted to do with them..this meant we had to invest which brings along some risks.

At one point DELA vastgoed (property) gave me the opportunity to take control of a building on the stadhuis plein. So yeah this made me very happy but in all honesty the first thing I had to do was to rebuild dp maintenance for about 125.000 euro..there was nothing! AD HOC had been renting it out for 11 years so nothing had been done..yeah you could find a nice pinballmachine but that was about it. I devided the floorspaces into compartments except the upper floor and ehh yeah put in doors, locks. This is money..and with DELA vastgoed I had the deal to rent the place for at least three years. So in these three years I had to write of these costs, because yeah I made costs and three years is three years..

This has happened to me before when I had a big building on the houtlaan, also just invested in the building, luckily not an ridiculous amount, but even so, I had made the investment, the artists where placed and subsequently LSI, the owners of the building, said; 'we are sorry but we will not continue…there is something wrong with the ventilation' or something..this turned out to be a too big of an investment for the time that this building is available. So with that I was the dupe, this did not make me happy. Nonetheless a large part of the artists we could house somewhere else in the building at stadhuisplein which was really nice.

But you question was about something else right? About the autonomous artist?

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JK: Well, I was just really curious because I have the idea that SKAR is more focused at placing people from this ‘group’. But I also read in the advisory rapport of the Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunsten en Cultuur (hence: RRKC) that you are broadening this group including new media and that they warned SKAR to be careful with this.

CB: True, yeah..

JK: So what I would like to know is how you perceive the current policy of the Rotterdam municipality? So they want to facilitate the whole creative industry the complete sector but that the rapport of the RRKC clearly states that you are being held back..

CB: Yeah I am being bound…

JK: To the building made available to you by the city council. So I am curious what you make of this.

CB: So look I now have 24/26 buildings in my care, 60% of those SKAR owns and the rest I rent from the Rotterdam city council.

JK: And renting is only with the Rotterdam city council or also other parties like estate agents, investors?

CB: No, only the Rotterdam city council but they used to be separate city services like sports, education office and ‘city development’ board Rotterdam which is now called ‘’city development’’. From these sections we had buildings in our portfolio. Today everything owned by the city council is placed into one portfolio that is being managed by ‘city development’. This particular section of the city council had dastardly plans. They told me I could stay but from now on maintenance is being done by us and then you will pay us €50,- per square meter, seeing that I rent out the spaces for €45,- per square meter you understand that this will not be a great success. It started with one building that I managed, they let loose some civil engineers and mathematicians which calculated an investment of €80.000,- needed for repairing the roof and painting the communal rooms on the inside.

I have also been doing this for a while so I too asked for some price quotes on the work to be done and I calculated €40.000,-, half the price! So I asked them, do you think this is a proper plan doing this? Not only do you want to make me pay more but I can do it for half the price. Why do you suddenly want to do this yourselves?

I already had a negative experience with this sort of actions by ‘city development’. At the ‘s Gravendijkwal there is a really big building, van ‘t Hoff HBS, there were three dance groups located there and the rest where all autonomous artists. At one point ‘city development’ said; ‘I am sorry we want the building back’. So I was duped again! Because taking the building back meant that I had to put 28 autonomous artists and three dance companies out on the street! What to do? I do not have the capacity to place them somewhere else easily..

So they helped me and offered me another building in the borgerstraat next to the Sparta stadium, beautiful building, much better than the one on ‘s Gravendijkwal. In terms of constructionthat was a terrible building, always leakages and other problems…

The dancing companies are still there at this moment, ‘city development’ said: ‘we will take care of them..’. God luck with that I said. Still nothing yet..they are still there. The building *had* to become available because the museum of education had to move there, which incidentally has opened its door in Dordrecht two years ago, then there was another group that had to occupy the building, a school, they also said no because of the structural issues, no double glazing, roof is ok by the way but

the construction of the building is not all that good..besides after some research they found asbestos in the cellars.

So it is true.. I have been able to relocate the artists the dance groups are still there, one of which has been disbanded, danceworks Rotterdam, so 'Conny Janssen' is still there and 'stichting dans ateliers' is still there. And they have been given an offer to stay there for another two years more eventhough they were harassing me to hand over the building! So I said ok here are the keys see you later..

There is still one artists in there which I placed that does not want to move..he stays as long as the dance groups are also able to stay..well these practices yield this kind of dossiers (CB holds up a folder containing correspondence between the parties involved). Lawyer nonsense and other drivel. I told them if you think you can rent it out for another two years then the urgency with which I had to leave the building might not have been there after all. They were warning me that as of may first, the building had to be empty otherwise the fire brigade would come close the building and clear it out. And if they do it that would be fine with me because the artist that is still in there is not my concern anymore seeing as that I offered him six other workplaces , but he just doesn't want to leave..

So if the urgency is no longer there, then I will not take responsibility anymore for what will happen in this situation that would be nonsense. Two weeks ago I wrote them a letter stating this..as of yet no reaction.

JK: So do you have the feeling that there is a strategy behind it all?

CB: With whom?

JK: The city council..

CB: No of course not..it is just nonsense! At 'city development' there is someone that assumes the buildings will fetch a nice price on the market because they have a couple of examples like the old justice office where they built luxurious apartments for the well off so they thought we can do the same at 's Gravendijkwal 56. This is not the case.. It is an idea of lets sell these buildings. They have 4000 buildings of various size and shape like houses, old school buildings etc. etc. and they want to put these on the market, but there is no market! It is a bit sad to be honest…I had to invest in the borgerstraat to make it suitable, set me back €200.000,-, I can handle something so I managed but it remains a lot of money! And also I am not able to do this every year..

What this whole situation did get me was, for the ten buildings I still had under my care, seven of those now have a collective contract for ten years. That's it!

JK: In this case you mean the rented buildings from the city council?

CB: Yes. Look the ones in own I own and nobody will touch them obviously. And I will make sure they look good and be maintained.

And what strikes me is that the city council takes bad care of their buildings..when they are empty they are empty..they don't do anything about it..so yeah it remains a strange phenomena..

But back to the subject of autonomous art versus applied art, I am indeed focused on the autonomous side. This side is mostly placed in the buildings we have and I was supposed to follow the mainstream ideas about the creative industry, I thought maybe we can try out a combination of the two sides because I think that these autonomous arts house a lot of ideas that can be used in the applied arts it's a sort of gradual scale from autonomous to applied arts. I think this is an interesting area..

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JK: Yes I found you saying this in one of the SKAR journals. I like the distinction and I think this can also help me. Because for me the distinction between the two is an issue that I have to make clear within theory.

CB: yes I think this is an interesting fact that takes me back to my experiences with the 'Pact op Zuid', where this whole artist community made a lot possible. There was a large collective called 'BAD', which is still there, ehhh and they realized a lot of activities especially in collaboration with housing agent 'de nieuwe unie', now called 'woonstad', they got a whole residential block at their disposal and in this residential block are artists, especially from the east of the country who like to come to Rotterdam, are there.

Jeanne van Heeswijk located at the 'Afrikaanderplein', is doing all sorts of things that make sure artists want to settle there, that do not think South is a place to avoid. Most people do not want to be found dead there, which I find a bit typical..because if you stay there for a while you understand that it is actually not that bad. It is an idea, you have to cross the bridge..

Look when I started living here in the beginning of the 80's of the previous century, it was made clear to me..do not cross the bridge..

JK: The same with me. The master in an international one and first thing the foreigners say is do not go to the south.

CB: My son says exactly the same. He does IBMS..he is looking for a place to live so I say go and have a look south! €300,- will get you a whole floor..stop complaining..

Ok so what happens is that around these artists a lot of activities have been taking place, partly initiated by 'Pact op Zuid', because they funded it. You have had the 'gemaal' on 'Afrikaanderplein', which organized event. All in all these initiatives caused a buzz.. for example in Charlois (district in Rotterdam) some 200 artists have settled there. And they so things..dont think they only look at their paintings..they talk, they initiate. An interesting one is Ivo van den Baar initator of Wandschappen.

JK: O Yeah they are located on the Gooilandsingel..

CB: This guy is building the DNA of Charlois! He is making products made with materials that are known to the local inhabitants..a nice example is, mainly the Turkish community, they are extremely well versed in delicate embroidering. So they made little pieces of cloth which they made into bags designed by famous designers. And the funny this is that these bags with these funny pieces of cloth can be found on fairs in Madrid and Tokyo. At that point I think; Look at that that this is possible!

JK: But this wandschappen is a private initiative..

CB : Yes! It was initiated by two artists..they made designs, nice or not, they make them. They just start a lot of initiatives. They work with other designers..Its nice to see what they do..

JK: Hmm i think they won an award; the vanderleeuwkring …two years ago..

CB: Yeah that can be true..

JK: So you feel that these artists located together in a building have added value for the community and their surroundings?

CB: Yes, especially when they can create some sort of buzz. Look this is exactly what my problem is at this point. What do are these autonomous artists up to? Some of them are really outgoing and open,

others are producing works in within the confinement of their workspace. Making paintings, which of course can be beautiful but nobody sees this! The exact same happened on the 'Gravendijkwal, where Conny Janssen danst is located. A respected well know dance company, highly regarded, in come some crazy ladies from 'city development' who say: 'he! nothing happens here..','why do we never see anything happening here' and 'it has to become more lively here', even though Conny Janssen works really hard! Every morning they are practicing, training you know, inviting choreographers to experiment, but where do you see this? Not on the 's Gravendijkwal! But in the 'Schouwburg' in the 'tramremise' (a pop-up stage where Conny Janssen held her latest performance)..

JK: So im am wondering why do you think that for instance in 'het Schieblock' there aren't any autonomous artist?

CB: That's about money..just money..look those autonomous artist are actually really poor..at this moment I am researching, together with the 'centrum beeldende kunst' (hence CBK), to see who our target group actually is. And what is this target group doing? Because sometimes when im walking through the buildings it is actually frightfully empty..nothing is happening there! And now I think 'the world is correct!' there ís nothing happening.. sure they are there in the evening or on the weekend but the thing is time has to be bought! Because they need to eat..and how do you do this? Right you have to work..and certainly not by making a painting especially in these times of crisis..so these people are starting to do all manner of side jobs to make money. Also because I have the feeling that only a very small amount of people make use of social benefits. The downside is that their productivity goes down. Nonetheless they keep renting their workspace because apparently this is one of their life ambitions. That is curious..

JK: So where do you think there is still some margin for 'profit'?

CB: Hmm yeah what is 'profit'? Look I think this autonomous art must always be given the opportunity to exist and the creation of products. No matter if this is a dance performance or music o; r a painting I don't care, what you do see is that these autonomous artists rarely let go/give up..

jkConsider this:

With the advent of the crisis there have never been so many art fairs in the city.. all kinds of activities that are being paid for by nobody mind you..they paid for them themselves..kind of like a barter system. You pay a bit and you, and then you can put up your wares there and sell.. some did sell others not..especially in these times..

Soo where is there still a margin for profit..pfff..

JK: Do you think that the city council can arrange something?

CB: Well look, if the city council really thinks the creative industry is worthwhile and cares for it, they should really start considering the autonomous arts. Just as I being subsidized to make sure the rental prices stay low in the buildings I manage and how I could rent the building on 'stadhuisplein' thanks to DELA vastgoed, like this the city could for their part aid me with their big buildings that they have and which they put on the market but ends in nothing..so yeah..give it at least a function, give me a part, let me regulate, do the maintenance, which is cheaper for them, then at least something will happen.. the building is not going anywhere..

A building like the one on s'Gravendijkwal I managed for thirty years..even though a part before my time here when it was part of 'dienst gemeentelijke kunstgeouwen' (service municipal artbuildings).

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JK: So there was something like 'dienst gemeentelijke kunstgeouwen'?

CB: Yeah there was..it was an assembly of art buildings like the 'schouwburg', 'doelen', the musea..at one point they made all these separate entities (tak van dienst) which meant they alle had to fend for themselves with own budgets..

After that they were left with some 200 strange workspaces for artists..and they knew that if we make them separate entities with own care for budget it will fail..no rents paid, no maintenance so it will become a mess..this was in 1987 when SKAR was founded to take care of this..

JK: And if you talk to the city council what feeling do you get in terms of being listened to?

CB: in my opinion they do not give it priority. They do not want problems so they will do something to solve problems, with me that is..because I am part of the same municipality. It would be strange that two municipal organizations would fight each other..politics have helped me when they let me do it because I could do it cheaper pure profit for the sector. If I have a problem with a client I visit them with an expert and ask what is to be done? The city council sends some engineers who write rapports about the situation..it is a matter how you deal with things.. I do not need rapports..

The inside of the spaces they wanted white..so I said do it every one do their part and me as caretaker will provide the materials! But yeah..the inside of the workspaces are perfectly white but the hallways..o man.. I walk around the buildings now and then and say guys clean up this mess in the hallways..otherwise the fire brigade will shut us down!

So yeah I think the city council would do well to support the autonomous arts and connected to that the applied arts with adjusted rents, specially for the start-ups..

Look something like the 'Schieblock' where rents are in the area of €100,- are unaffordable for the group of artist I serve..they do not have the money..they already work to make due the little bit of rent I ask..it is an expansive trade being an autonomous artist..

Also you have to be up for it you need to be open for collaborations..working there, you have to be the right type of person and you need to be able to pay for it..and now we arrive at some sort of split in the target groups..

To me autonomous artists are quite lone wolfs, they are not aimed outwards..einselgänger, occupied with themselves..their world and they try to portray that world in a special way and sometimes it gets noticed but usually it does not..

Rien jansen, kind of a hermit, small workspace..he is not part of any artists community..makes his own still lives..which you can find on the art fairs..

Looking at the applied arts, these artists operate from a totally different mindset..they think about what they want, well this I my idea this is what I want to make so what do I need? Not only about materials but also which knowledge do I need..

So they look at their surroundings and think: 'he you can do this..could you come over here and help?' In this act a sort of community arises that has a specific target; the development of a product..

But also for more common jobs they look for help..administrative jobs are a good example..in contrast to autonomous artists are the opposite. Somebody like marga weimans is a leading fashion designer, glorious during the Amsterdam fashion week, but she has € 4000,- rental debt..she needs a

business partner who tells her to pay and make her understand that if she does not a (deurwaarder) will come and this will cost even more! Such a shame..

This kind of alertness which I do see with applied artists and not with autonomous artists. This does not say that they are of no value..on the contrary they are of really big value!

CB: Did you want to discuss the application of the RRKC?

JK: Can I get a copy?

CB: yes

JK: I had a question about an organization that does roughly the same as you do in Amsterdam (CAWA) but who are part of the city council there. Would you like to see that happen for you too? Would that make things easier for you in terms of communication?

CB: I would rather not haha..I know the organization and there nobody has any form of power..I think I know all workspace rental agents in the country..In Arnhem they have no buildings for themselves..it is all in the hands of third parties who supply the province of Gelderland with workspaces..

JK: So the future for autonomous arts? More difficult?

CB: Well it certainly won't become easier..yeah it will..i am really curious about the results of the research..because the research will give me insights into who is the contemporary artist? What does he do? How does he make a living? Ehhh..does his/her spouse make the money? Do they have the opportunity to develop thmeselves as artist? Are they doing other jobs to make ends meet? That si the question I want to answerd! Also what kind of netwiorks are there..this world has become so small in terms of distance for whatever trade you are in that if you want you can gave contact in china..

Production is also shifting towards there..

So big..

This is something I do not see the autonomous artist do..look stage arts (music, theare) will do this and dance also. They are all over the world and all over the world is here. Conny janssen is also very international. They think what do I need for my product? And that is what they try to get..maybe sometimes not of the highest standard but they try and do it..

This I think are aspects of the autonomous arts that overlap with the applied arts. And you understand this goes beyond the making of a game or animation..this has an own story..

CB: it will be difficult. I really hoped for more temporary buildings from the city council..this would have helped the developments that I initiated with the buildings on stadhuisplein (DELA) and delftsestraat which I also manage and unfortunately middellandstraat I had to give back. This would have furthered my cause greatly further then I am now.

EXTRA:

Applied arts products better equipped for collaborations?

Betaalbaarheid en fysieke aspecten van een gebouw ook zeer bepalend! Beeldhouwers niet op de tiende verieping!

APPENDIX IV

Bedrijfstakken/branches SBI 2008					
Perioden	2014 1e	2014 2e	2014 3e	2014 4e	
Onderwerpen					%
CULTURAL INDUSTRIES	TOTAL FIRMS	TOTAL FIRMS	TOTAL FIRMS	TOTAL FIRMS	
58 publishing	3470	3525	3540	3580	
59 Film- & tv-production; soundrecording	12795	13000	13300	13525	
60 Radio- en TV broadcast	315	310	305	305	
62-63 IT- & information distribution	55360	56275	57450	58230	
62 IT-services	46540	48695	49680	50205	
63 Services related to information	8820	7580	7770	8025	
total cultural industries				133870	40,0
CREATIVE IND/ ACTIVITIES					
14 Fashion design	2075	2070	2105	2130	
15 Leather and shoe design	430	440	455	470	
18 Grafic industry	3920	3850	3835	3805	
71 Architects and ingenieurs	37595	38080	38640	39135	
73 market research and advertising	34395	34885	35205	35145	
74 Design, photo, translation	48745	49705	50550	52660	
total creative industries and activities				133345	39,9
CORE ARTS FIELD					
90 Arts	61340	62440	63565	64490	
91 Libraries, musea and nature preservation	2630	2675	2690	2685	
total core arts field				67175	20,1
TOTOTAAL				334390	100